

Charity, Architecture and Urban Development
in Post-Tridentine Rome: The Hospital of the
SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti (1548 - 1680).

by

Carla L. Keyvanian

Submitted to the Department of Architecture
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor in Philosophy in the field of Architecture:
History and Theory of Architecture

at the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

September 2000

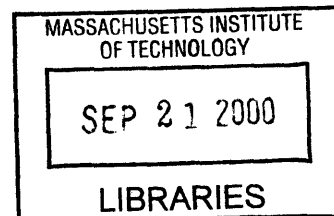
© 2000 Carla L. Keyvanian
All rights reserved

The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce
and to distribute publicly paper and electronic copies
of this thesis document in whole or in part.

Signature of Author
Department of Architecture
August 4, 2000

Certified by
Henry A. Millon
Visiting Professor of History and Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by
Stanford Anderson
Chairman, Committee on Graduate Students
Department of Architecture



ROTCH

Thesis Readers:

David Hodes Friedman

Associate professor of the History of Architecture
Department of Architecture, MIT

Miroslava Benes

Senior Lecturer in the History of Landscape Architecture
Graduate School of Design, Harvard

Charity, Architecture and Urban Development
in Post-Tridentine Rome: The Hospital of the
SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti (1548 - 1680).

by

Carla L. Keyvanian

Submitted to the Department of Architecture
on August 4, 2000 in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor in Philosophy in the field of Architecture:
History and Theory of Architecture

ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the institutional, architectural and urban history of charitable institutions in Rome from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. It highlights the previously ignored central role that these institutions played in the consolidation of papal power and the political administration of the city.

The study focuses on the SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini at Ponte Sisto, a shelter of pilgrims and convalescents, and one of the four large public hospitals in the city. The building history of the Trinità is analyzed from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth.

The impact of the Trinità on the neighborhood is also examined. This reveals an instance of collaboration among three institutions -- the Trinità, the Monte di Pietà, and a Hospice for Beggars built by Sixtus V -- and a papal family, the Barberini, in the transformation of their quarter. These institutions were also an integral portion of papal urban plans. Their large complexes were part of an urban system that included a bridge, the main supply route of the city, and an urban barrier that separated the poorer quarters of the city, and the Jewish Ghetto, from those where wealthy families were building their palaces.

Finally, the analysis of the economic context of the Trinità and similar institutions emphasizes the connection between their sources of wealth and the ways they displayed their identity.

Thesis Advisor: Henry A. Millon
Title: Visiting Professor of History and Architecture

Acknowledgments

I gratefully acknowledge those that, in various ways, helped me complete this dissertation. My greatest debt is to David Friedman, who painstakingly read the drafts of the chapters, posed probing questions and meticulously pointed out those passages that might have been misconstrued by readers. At a time when exhaustion was getting the better over enthusiasm, he found the right words of incitement.

Henry Millon first focused my attention on the lacuna that exists in the architectural history of Renaissance hospitals; and generously contributed of his time, ensuring we could meet to discuss the main issues of this study each time he was in Italy.

At an early stage of the dissertation, Joseph Connors provided encouragement, and Paolo Scrivano organized a lecture I gave at the Turin Polytechnic, followed by a debate with the doctoral students. The Paul Mellon fellowship, awarded through the Center for the Advanced Study of the Visual Arts of the National Gallery in Washington DC, provided generous support in the last, crucial year of the dissertation.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge Hovhannes S. Keyvanian, my now ailing father, for the obstinacy I have inherited from him. Himself a physician, he was only truly reconciled with my decision to study architecture rather than medicine, when he saw me writing this dissertation. With much affection and respect, I dedicate it to him.

Charity, Architecture and Urban Development in Post-Tridentine Rome: The Hospital of the SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti (1548 - 1680).

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Abbreviations | 9 |
| Preface | 11 |
| I. Hospitals in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Rome: The Importance of Charitable Institutions and the Sources of Wealth | 19 |
| 1. Types of Charitable Institutions and their Distribution | 25 |
| Institutions for Women | |
| Institutions of the "Foreign Nations" | |
| The Hospitals of Guilds | |
| The Public Hospitals | |
| Distribution | |
| 2. The Sources of Wealth | 34 |
| Real Estate and its Management | |
| The "Libri di Case" | |
| Rich and Poor Institutions | |
| II. Before the Trinità: Rione Regola | 58 |
| 1. Sixtus IV | 60 |
| 2. Julius II | 84 |
| 3. Regola's "Foreign Nations" | 87 |
| III. From Private Endeavour to Papal Control: the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti | |
| 1. The Early Years | 96 |
| Papal Take Over | |
| Strategies of Separation | |
| 2. Building History to 1575 | 112 |
| Attribution | |
| 3. The Church of the S. Trinità dei Pellegrini | 124 |
| The First Attempt | |
| S. Trinità in Arenula | |
| Attribution | |

| | |
|--|-----|
| IV. The Trinità and Rione Regola in the Seventeenth Century: The Other Protagonists | |
| 1. The Hospice of Beggars | 141 |
| 2. The Barberini, the Monte di Pietà, and the Trinità | 161 |
| V. Towards the End of the Seventeenth Century | |
| 1. The North-West Wing (1640 - 1647) | 174 |
| 2. Form and Function | 184 |
| 3. Epilogue | 190 |
| VI. The Hospitals of Rome: The Models. | |
| 1. Early hospitals | 192 |
| 2. The Hospitals of Rome | 203 |
| The S. Spirito in Sassia | |
| The S. Salvatore al Laterano | |
| The S. Giacomo degli Incurabili | |
| Conclusion | 227 |
| Bibliography | 233 |
| Illustrations | 239 |

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------|--|
| ASR | Archivio di Stato di Roma |
| BAV | Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana |
| Corsiniana | Biblioteca Corsiniana |
| S. Spirito | Fondo S. Spirito in Sassia |
| S. Salvatore | Fondo S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum |
| Trinità | Fondo SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini |
| b. | Busta |

Unless otherwise noted, the author is responsible for translations into English of quotations from foreign language works.

Preface

The idea that urban planning and architecture were used as political instruments is certainly not new. That streets were straightened or enlarged for military purposes is taught in every architectural history survey course. After Tafuri's writings on the Renaissance it is equally well known that Nicholas V explicitly declared his intention to construct buildings that would appear "quasi a Deo fabricati," almost as if built by God himself -- to strike awe in his subjects, over which he was still far from having complete control.¹

Institutional buildings, such as the seats of government or the courts of justice, symbolized the sovereignty of the state, and the orderly administration of justice. At the individual level, the palaces of patrician families, jockeying for social status and prestige, expressed their patrons' wealth and power. To make buildings emerge over the surrounding environment a combination of urban and architectural means were adopted. Baronial families opened squares and streets to afford a better view of their palaces, made facades protrude from the street line, emphasized corners, used ornamentation, or simply strove to erect more massive buildings.

These buildings had an impact the neighborhoods in which they were established, and in which they expanded. In recent years, a number of studies have been produced, on the shaping of the urban environment by the patrons of private palaces, or religious establishments. In Rome, the construction of the Cancelleria, the Palazzo Farnese, or the Roman Oratory are some of the most conspicuous examples.

The impact of a particular category of public buildings in the political life of the city, and in the shaping of the urban environment, has however been largely ignored. Charitable institutions, due to a combination of specific attributes and political circumstances, played a central role in the formation and consolidation of the state from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Charity, i.e., the assumption of responsibility for the weaker members of the community, was always a powerfully legitimizing factor for a ruler. Around the

¹. Tafuri, Manfredo. *Ricerca del Rinascimento. Principi, città, architetti*. Torino: Einaudi, 1992, p. 38.

middle of the fifteenth century, it was harnessed by popes and princes that struggled to unify the fragmented system of administration of their states into a centrally governed one.

The pious nature of charitable institutions rendered them precious allies of the central authority. A vast monumental hospital expressed at the same time the piety (social awareness, we would call it today) of the ruler, and his power. No other type of institution, not even the courts of justice or the seat of the government could be more symbolically charged, expressing the orderly and just government of a city.

This dissertation is a first attempt to understand the architectural development of hospitals and their impact on the built environment, in the context of their role in the political administration of the city. It discusses their development in Rome, focusing on the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The hospitals and hospices in this city, built by independent confraternities or by the papacy, developed into vast complexes. The impact they had on their neighborhoods was much more profound than that of private palaces or religious establishments. While these exerted an influence only on their immediate surroundings, charitable institutions were integral parts of urban plans, influencing the development of whole sectors of the city.

Hospitals are examined in this study not only in terms of their building history, but also of their economic and patronage structures, to identify the specific circumstances that enabled their enormous expansion, and that rendered them ideally suited to the role they played in the strategic plans of princes and popes.

The charitable nature of hospitals justified their construction even in the most strategically sensitive locations. Camouflaged under the cloak of piety, hospitals implemented urban strategies of military significance. Their buildings were used as strongholds to guard sectors of the city over which they held penal jurisdiction; they controlled supply routes of vital importance; and formed barriers between neighborhoods that were to be kept separate. In one instance, the threatening presence of a hospital controlled by the municipal

government influenced nothing less than the decision to move the papal residence from its traditional seat.²

In particular, I will focus on one of the four public hospitals of Rome, the SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini at Ponte Sisto. This institution, that housed pilgrims and convalescents, was founded in almost exact coincidence with the beginning of the Counter-Reformation. Its development parallels that of the religious and political movement, reaching its peak when the impetus of the militant church was at its highest, and declining as the battle against Protestantism wound down.

The Trinità was the last of the public hospitals built in Rome before modern times. The earlier hospitals, built from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, were involved in the civil struggle over the control of the city that saw the papacy and the municipal government as warring factions. The Trinità instead, established when control over the city was definitively papal, fought from within the ranks of the Church a war against an external enemy, the advance of "heresy." The hospital became an important ally of the papacy that struggled to re-establish in Europe a predominant political role for Rome, undermined by the advance of Protestantism.

The international nature of its guests transformed the Trinità in a formidable propaganda machine for the Church of Rome. It specialized in the use choreographic displays of piety, music and sacred performances, for which it adapted the ceremonial spaces of private palaces, or built special structures.

Unlike the earlier institutions, however, it was not entirely subject to the central authority -- whether papal or municipal. The Trinità was governed by a powerful autonomous confraternity with a strong institutional identity, that accumulated a vast estate. The wealth it commanded enabled it to build one of the largest complexes in Rome proper, rivaling the contemporary Collegio Romano of the Jesuits, the very largest. The imposing buildings it constructed, however, were integral portions of urban planning strategies. The history of the Trinità thus highlights the impact on the city produced by the alliance between an economically powerful institution and the papacy.

². See "San Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum," Chapter Six.

Given its aims, the approach of this dissertation differs on fundamental points from the studies so far produced on hospitals. These are not, in any case, very numerous. While scholars have focused on churches and private palaces, Renaissance hospitals have received very scarce attention. Recently, however, some signs of interest in their architecture have begun to emerge.

A few works have been published, mostly on fifteenth century Lombard hospitals.³ These were urban scale institutions that cropped up between the 1450s and 1470s, replacing the smaller medieval structures. They formed a distinctive building type, whose origins and diffusion have been the main focus of the works recently published.

Concerning Rome, as far as I know, there are three studies mainly devoted to the physical history of Roman hospitals. In chronological order, they are a dissertation on S. Giacomo degli Incurabili; an article by Giovanna Curcio on S. Salvatore al Laterano, and one on the S. Trinità dei Pellegrini itself.⁴

The first, written by Marianne Heinz in 1977, has the merit of being the only monograph devoted to the building history of a Roman hospital, S. Giacomo, established in the sixteenth century over a medieval nucleus. The

3. See especially Franchini, Lucio ed., *Ospedali Lombardi del Quattrocento. Fondazione, trasformazioni, restauri*. Como: New Press, 1995. *Ospedali e città: L'Italia del Centro-Nord, XIII-XVI* (1995/97) Firenze: Le Lettere, 1997. Baini, Laura. "Ipotesi sull'origine della tipologia cruciforme per gli ospedali del XV secolo," in *Processi accumulativi, forme e funzioni; saggi sull'architettura lombarda del Quattrocento*. Giordano, Luisa, ed., Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1996.

4. Heinz, Marianne. *San Giacomo in Augusta in Rom und der Hospitalbau der Renaissance*, PhD diss., Bonn, 1977. Curcio, Giovanna. "L'Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano: funzione urbana di un'istituzione ospedaliera." Parts I and II are respectively in *Storia dell'Arte* 32 (1978) 23-40 and *Storia dell'arte* 11 (1979) 103-30. Benocci, Carla. "Il complesso assistenziale della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini: ricerche sullo sviluppo architettonico in relazione ad alcuni anni santi" in *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche*. Fagiolo, Marcello and Madonna, Maria Luisa eds. Roma: Gangemi, 1985, pp. 101 - 08.

Two other studies that only tangentially touch upon S. Spirito in Sassia are: Howe, Eunice. *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV*. New York: Garland, 1978; and Colonna, Flavia. "Il Palazzo del Commendatore e il progetto Cirilliano per l'ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia a Roma." *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 22 (1993-95) 61-70. The first provides little more than a recapitulation of existing information on the building history of the S. Spirito and focuses on its fifteenth century cycle of frescoes. The second is actually on the palace of the governor of the S. Spirito.

second outlines the history of the S. Salvatore from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The most interesting part of this work concerns the urban, rather than the architectural, development of the hospital. This is analyzed more in-depth mainly regarding the seventeenth century restorations.

Benocci's short article proposes instead a direct connection between the building campaigns of this hospital and the Jubilar Years. As we will see below, the building history of the Trinità cannot be simplistically related to these years. The institution certainly made necessary provisions for the large number of pilgrims that arrived during Jubilees. This included necessary restoration work, or renting houses in the neighborhood if the hospital building proved insufficient. But the major construction campaigns were spurred by a more complex set of factors -- papal patronage, availability of funds, opportunity -- than the religious occurrence alone.

The general methodological approach of this dissertation is influenced by the studies that, in the last couple of decades, have been published on the urbanism of Italian cities, and of Rome in particular. Seminal works on fifteenth and sixteenth century Rome were the almost contemporary books by Tafuri, Spezzaferro and Salerno and by Carroll William Westfall.⁵ The first book, *Via Giulia*, published in 1973, is an in-depth analysis of the development of the street opened by Julius II. It represented an early attempt to write the history of a single "episode" in the history of the city -- the opening of a street -- by analyzing its political and economic significance.

The following year, in *In this Most Perfect Paradise*, Westfall analyzed the urban plan of Nicholas V and Leon Battista Alberti in fifteenth century Rome. Westfall's was a broadly contextual approach that incorporated the history of institutional, social and political structures into the analysis of the built environment. His attempt, as he declared in the preface to the Italian edition of his book, was to provide a unifying perspective for urban history, within which architecture and politics would acquire meaning.

5. Salerno, Luigi; Spezzaferro, Luigi; Tafuri, Manfredo. *Via Giulia*. Roma: Staderini, 1973. Westfall, Carroll William. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Pennsylvania State University, 1974.

In 1984, Manfredo Tafuri wrote as introduction to the Italian edition of Westfall's book, "Cives esse non licere." The essay discussed the need for a historiographic revision of traditional ideas on the Rome of Nicholas V and, less explicitly, the methods of urban history. It was also included in Tafuri's latest book, *Ricerca del Rinascimento*, a collection of essays that analyzed significant episodes in the life of Venice, Rome, Milan, Florence and Granada. Tafuri's intention was to dismantle the traditional idea of the Renaissance as the age of the "return to antiquity," by demonstrating that there were multiple models of "tradition" operating simultaneously. The outcome was an analysis of architecture and urban planning that is closely connected to its political context, traced with a method that owes much to the one proposed by Westfall almost two decades earlier.

In the following years, more studies were issued that analyzed the urban development of fifteenth and sixteenth century Rome, with a similar focus on its political implications. Spezzaferro published an article on the Palazzo Farnese, linking the urban projects of Alexander III Farnese to the consolidation of his power. Also the article mentioned above by Giovanna Curcio, a student of Spezzaferro, analyzed the urban transformations of S. Salvatore al Laterano in connection to the struggle for power of the municipal government and the papacy. Her study has stimulated some of the ideas I present in this dissertation on the contribution of hospitals to the political administration of the city.

Another fundamental set of studies are those published on seventeenth century roman urbanism by Joseph Connors. This author's articles on the mechanisms of formation of large complexes, and on the relationship these established with public space have deeply influenced the urban analyses in this dissertation.⁶

The approach I have adopted is not monographic. Understanding the role hospitals played in the formation of the city entails comparing the history of the Trinità to that of the other public hospitals. Although they shared common attributes, each had a distinct relationship to its political context that

⁶ Connors, Joseph. "Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism." *Romische Jahrbuch fur Kunstgeschichte* (1989). Id., "Borromini and Roman Urbanism." *AA Files* 1, 2 (1982) 11-21.

influenced its development. The comparison of the Trinità to the other institutions highlights the effect of different patronage systems on their development, and on the strategies they adopted to construct their public image. Furthermore, the analysis of the impact the Trinità had on its neighborhood necessarily includes that of similar institutions in the same area. The history of the Hospice for Beggars at Ponte Sisto, that developed next to the Trinità, is thus also discussed.

Another aspect not considered in previous studies and analyzed here is the economic history of hospitals, especially concerning the ways it influenced their architectural development.⁷ In the sixteenth century, most charitable institutions accumulated vast estates. The main sources of wealth were donations -- both by the papacy and individuals -- and the income deriving from their urban property. The predominance of one source over the other directly affected the ways institutions displayed their identity (including the use of architecture), to attract donations.

The structure of the dissertation is the following. The first chapter is a general introduction to the quantity, location and types of hospitals that existed in Rome in the period I am concerned with. Hospitals were governed by confraternities, and the first part of this chapter outlines the reasons for the proliferation of these brotherhoods, setting them in the broader post-tridentine context. The second section analyzes the sources of wealth of the Roman hospitals, and emphasizes how these affected their architectural development.

The second chapter discusses the evolution of Rione Regola, the area in which the Trinità was established. I outline the reasons for its unusually high concentration of hospitals, and the radical transformation induced by the construction of a bridge that connected it to the main river port of the city. This is crucial to the understanding of the pattern of development of the Trinità, and

7. Very recently, some studies have been produced on the economic history of charitable institutions, and one specifically on that of the Trinità towards the end of the sixteenth century. Among the most important are: Vaquero Piñeiro, Manuel. *La renta y las casas. El patrimonio inmobiliario de Santiago de los Españoles de Roma entre los siglos XV y XVII*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1999. Serra, Armando. "Funzioni e finanze delle confraternite romane tra il 1624 e il 1797." *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984) 261-92. Borzacchini, Marco. "Il patrimonio della Trinità dei Pellegrini alla fine del Cinquecento." *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984) 237-60.

neighboring institutions. The strategic importance of specific locations, or of the routes that crossed the quarter, explains decisions made in the construction of the hospitals, their orientation, and the architectural response to changes in the built environment.

The third, fourth, and fifth chapters tackle the core issue of the dissertation. In the third, the building history of the Trinità is analyzed from its foundation in mid-sixteenth century to the threshold of the seventeenth. The following chapter interrupts the history of this institution to examine that of the Hospice for Beggars that was established in the same area, and attained comparable dimensions. Another section analyzes the radical transformation of the neighborhood in the first decades of the seventeenth century. And the role of the Trinità, the Hospice, and the Barberini, whose family palace was built on the same street. The fifth chapter resumes the building history of the Trinità until the closure of its vital phase, towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The reconstruction of the building history of the Trinità and the Hospice also sheds light on the activity of some minor architects. The first is Giovanni Paolo Maggi, whose professional figure emerges here for the first time with some substance. Another is Giacomo Mola, whose work was thus far thought to be limited to his contribution at the S. Salvatore on the Lateran. Documentary evidence shows he was responsible for the construction of two large buildings, at the Trinità and the Hospice. This architect thus appears to have specialized in the construction of buildings for charitable institutions that must have appreciated his sober, if uninspired, architecture. The last professional on which new information has emerged is Guglielmo del Piombo, a sculptor also known to have worked as an architect. If my attribution to him of one of the designs prepared for the Trinità is correct, this is the first drawing we can ascribe to him.

The last chapter sets the Trinità in the broader context of the public hospitals in post-tridentine Rome. In turn, these are set against the hospitals built in the previous centuries in Central and Northern Italy to identify the specifically Roman characteristics of hospitals -- developed in response to new practical, ceremonial and urban functions.

Chapter 1. Hospitals in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Rome: The Importance of Charitable Institutions and the Sources of Wealth.

In this chapter, the range of charitable institutions that existed in Rome is outlined, to contextualize the Trinità's distinctive character. The history of charitable institutions largely coincides with that of the lay confraternities that governed them. The characteristics of these associations, and the reasons for their development in the sixteenth century, clarify the nature of their relationship with the papacy.

Confraternities were associations of men and women not bound by vows, but with strong religious inclinations, that started proliferating in mid-sixteenth century. Earlier ones succored the members of the same confraternity, but they would evolve to extend philanthropic assistance to various categories of poor.

They were an eminently urban phenomenon, coinciding with the urbanization of large segments of the rural population in the second half of the sixteenth century. The brotherhoods replaced the traditional social ties that connected smaller, rural communities, and that were severed in a large city. Mediating between individuals and the state, they provided their members with a sense of belonging to a group that was larger than the individual family -- too small a social unit in an urban situation.

It has been pointed out that these forms of association were essentially an expression of the middle class of traders, merchants and professionals. In a city in which industrial and economic expansion -- with the exception of the construction sector -- stagnated, and in which the highest public offices were held by ecclesiastics, the new bourgeoisie vented in these brotherhoods their entrepreneurial capacities. Through these confraternities -- often economically powerful associations -- they acquired political influence in the city, participating in decision making processes.¹

¹. Paglia, Vincenzo. *"La Pietà dei Carcerati." Confraternite e società a Roma nei secoli XVI-XVII.* Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980, pp. 87-88.

Confraternities thus represented a coagulum of vital and, to a large extent, autonomous energies. Although the beginning of the period in which they multiplied coincides with that of the Counter-Reformation, the large majority was not established by papal fiat. They were generally grass-roots movements, whose potential was only subsequently recognized and coopted by the papacy. The charitable activities they performed granted these brotherhoods influence over those that relied on them but, by the sixteenth century at least, this did not represent a threat to central authority.

In earlier periods, however, powerful confraternities had represented a serious challenge to papal authority. In the fifteenth century, when papal control over the city was still contended by the Popolo Romano, the municipal government, the confraternities loyal to it were harshly attacked. The most important of these was the confraternity that owned the hospital of S. Salvatore (now S. Giovanni) at the Lateran. An instrument of the municipal council, it was formed by the same members of the middle class. It owned vast territories in the area between its headquarters and those of the municipality, the Lateran and the Campidoglio, over which it held civil and penal jurisdiction.²

The other powerful municipal confraternity -- whose oratory still stands off the Via Giulia -- was the so-called Gonfalone, from the banner of the Popolo Romano it was entitled to carry in processions. The attack on these brotherhoods was carried out by the establishment of rival confraternities, and by more brutal means such as the expropriation or demolition of property.

In the 1470s, Sixtus IV established the hospital of S. Maria della Consolazione at the foot of the Campidoglio, the seat of the municipality. The pope meant to break the hegemony over public welfare of the S. Salvatore that owned the only public hospital in Rome proper. His nephew, Julius II, gave official recognition to the confraternity that governed the Consolazione, and deprived the S. Salvatore of the jurisdiction it held.³

This confraternity was further prohibited from performing its charitable activities -- the housing and feeding of poor, the dowering of girls, the burial of the dead -- and only allowed to be involved with the ransoming of

². Curcio, Giovanna. "L'ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano: funzione urbana di una istituzione ospedaliera. I." *Storia dell'Arte* 32 (1978) 23-40, p. 32.

³. Id., p. 32.

Christian prisoners captured by Muslims. This was clearly a small category, and not necessarily formed by Romans: the injunction meant to prevent the confraternity from forming a constituency of citizens linked to it by gratitude and loyalty. As we will see below, in fact, the distribution of charity conferred on confraternities obvious authority over those that needed it.

By mid-sixteenth century the struggle between the municipal and the papal authority over the control of the city -- and its confraternities -- was definitively over. Its end was marked by the Council of Trent's conclusion that "hospitals, and other charitable institutions, were to be subject to the bishop of the city" -- in other words, to papal authority unless they fell under royal jurisdiction. The power that confraternities held over those that benefited from their charitable activities, was now harnessed by the papacy. And in Rome, as in other cities, the number of those that relied on relief to survive was enormous.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, over a population of about 100,000 inhabitants, no less than 10% were housed in institutions: almost 4,000 in hospices for the poor and 6,000 in prison houses, most of them for debts.⁴ If we add to these the beggars, vagrants, and the "poveri vergognosi," the shame-faced poor who struggled not to resort to public hospices, the total is about 20% of the urban population.⁵ To these are yet to be added the "crisis poor," those that needed relief during famines, or due to the illness or death of the family bread-winner. According to one estimate, in most early modern European cities, no less than fifty to seventy percent of the urban population relied, either permanently or in specific periods of their life, on public welfare.⁶

The importance of confraternities and of their philanthropic activities is thus immediately evident. The control of relief ensured that a vast part of the population conformed to the moral and religious standards of those that had the power to give, or withhold it. It is for this reason that the possibility to dispense

4. Delumeau has calculated that in one year, from 17 January 1582 to 17 January 1583, no less than 6% of the population was incarcerated for defaulting on debts. Delumeau, Jean. *Vie Economique et Sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XI siècle*. Paris: Boccard, 1959, vol. II, p. 498.

5. Paglia, cit., p. 46.

6. See below, "The Hospice for Beggars at Ponte Sisto."

charity was a "privilege" carefully controlled by the central authority, that alone had the right to bestow it.⁷

Confraternities became powerful allies in the battle of the papacy for the reformation of society in a more religious sense. They channeled the widespread need for a renewed spirituality along the lines established by the central authority, solidly connecting lay society to the church. They formed a network that paralleled and supplanted the parishes, often described as in a state of moral and material demise, at the beginning of the Catholic Reformation. Lay confraternities took over churches, restored them, replaced their rectors and revived religious functions.⁸

Confraternities also contributed to the struggle of the church on the external front. The spread of Lutheranism was eroding whole provinces of the Church's dominion, that had stopped paying their tributes to Rome. In the battle for survival that the Church of Rome was fighting against what they defined "heresy," lay brotherhoods were a precious ally. The moral prestige bestowed on them by their philanthropic work reflected on the Church. With the words of a chronicler writing around 1600, travelers were to come to Rome "no longer to admire the ancient trophies, triumphs, colossi and victories, (...) or the famous statues," but rather her pious zeal and moral rigor.⁹

7. Illuminating in this sense is the dispute that the Trinità dei Pellegrini had, in the early years of its history with S. Giovanni della Pietà, the confraternity of the Florentines. As the Holy Year 1575 approached, both confraternities pleaded with Gregory XIII to be given the right to house pilgrims -- eventually granted to the Trinità. The Florentines claimed theirs was an older confraternity and that their very designation, "della Pietà," rendered them most suited to the task. The Trinità rebutted that they had already been granted the right by Pius IV, and that the Pietà was formed by "foreigners" rather than Romans. Anonymous. *Breve Ragguaglio come cominciase la la S.ta opra di albergare li pellegrini et convalescenti nel S.to Hospedale o Casa della venerabiliss.a Archiconfraternita della S.ma Trinità di pellegrini e convalescenti de Roma*, p. 11v. BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513.

In later years and in various instances, the Trinità would protest that other confraternities were receiving pilgrims -- a right that had been exclusively granted to them.

8. Paglia, cit., pp. 80, n. 10; 83-84.

9. "Non più si laudino gl'antichi trophei, trionfi, colossi et vittorie; scaccinse dal cuore le vanità passate, nè più si parli delle tue superbie, borie, et famosissime statue, diasi bando à gl'altri spassi transitorij et vani, et con molta humiltà et

The Trinità dei Pellegrini was particularly active in this sense, combining its charitable activity with a strong propounding of Catholic dogma. Pilgrims housed in her hospital were carefully instructed in Catholic doctrine. The confraternity had close contacts with the milieus of Filippo Neri and Ignatius from Loyola, towering figures of the Counter-Reformation. Cesare Baronio, author of the history of the Church that aimed to establish the primacy of the Church of Rome by tracing its origins to the first Christians, is reported to have visited the Trinità several times.¹⁰

The papacy in turn strongly supported the militant confraternities. It granted them exemptions and privileges that encouraged their development. The exemption concerned all taxes, tithes, or tolls on the property of the hospitals. It was first granted to the S. Spirito when it was founded in 1198 and initially concerned only the founder of the confraternity that governed the hospital. The franchise was gradually extended until, in the 1470s, Sixtus IV applied it to all the properties of the hospital, including the vassall feuds.¹¹ The concession -- based on the principle that the property of the hospital actually belonged to "Christ's poor" and could therefore not be taxed¹² -- was then extended to the other public hospitals at the time of their foundation.

The privileges instead mainly concerned indulgences that could be obtained by visiting the churches or oratories of confraternities, praying at specific altars, or participating in the processions of certain confraternities. This increased the alms collected in churches, or the compensation for Masses to be said at those altars. At the same time, however, these concessions served to centralize the system of confraternities, placing the Roman ones at the head of a vast network of lay brotherhoods that formed all over Europe.

devotione corraasi al tropheo della S.ma Trinità." *Breve Ragguaglio*, cit., BAV, Vat Lat 5513, pp. 4-4v.

10. Vasco Rocca, Sandra. *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini. Le chiese di Roma illustrate* n. 133. Roma: Istituto Studi Romani, 1979, p 13.

11. The exemption from all forms of taxation was granted to the S. Spirito regarding its "castra, terras et oppida, illorumque vassallos et subditos, bonaque omnia et singula mobilia et immobilia." Da Alatri, Benedetto. *Gli ospedali di Roma e le bolle pontificie. Aspetti giuridici*. Viterbo: Fratelli Quatrini, 1950, p. 90.

12. De Angelis, Pietro. *Il giubileo dell'anno 1350 e l'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia*. Roma: n.p., 1949, pp. 27-29.

For confraternities other than Roman to obtain the same privileges they had to be affiliated to a Roman one that had been granted the status of "archconfraternity." This title entailed the right to grant to other brotherhoods the same privileges it had obtained from the pope, in exchange for a yearly tribute and the acknowledgment of the Roman confraternity's authority.

These affiliations not only represented a further source of revenue for the Roman confraternities, but also ensured that the brotherhoods outside the Papal States conformed to the same principles. A vast network of Italian and European confraternities rapidly formed, garrisoning the religious dominion of the Church of Rome. To quote some examples and clarify the extension of the phenomenon, the Trinità had about a hundred affiliated confraternities and the Gonfalone 250. While the S. Spirito in Sassia, the most solidly papal of all institutions, had no less than 372 affiliates, some established by missionary confraternities in the most remote areas of the world.¹³

Contacts with the affiliated confraternities occurred especially during the Holy, or Jubilee, Years. These were years in which special indulgences were granted to those that made the pilgrimage to Rome. Established in 1300 by Boniface VIII, they were called at fifty year intervals -- reduced to twenty-five under Sixtus IV. Large numbers of travelers arrived in Rome during the Jubilar Years, representing an important source of income for the city.¹⁴ They arrived individually, but also more safely as members of large delegations of confraternities.

The foreign confraternities were ceremoniously received by their archconfraternity at the gates of the city. They would march in long chanting processions back to the parent institution, wearing the same uniform, and displaying their full regalia. The personal contacts strengthened the uniformity of principles and devotional practices, and the supremacy of the roman confraternity also through the hospitality it granted to its affiliates.

¹³. Paglia, cit., p. 85.

¹⁴. Brezzi, Paolo. "Holy Years in the Economic Life of the City of Rome." *The Journal of European Economic History* 4 (Winter 1975) 673-90. See also Miglio, Massimo. "«Se vuoi andare in paradiso, vienci.» Aspetti economici e politici dei primi giubilei" in *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche*. Roma: Gangemi, 1985, pp. 233-37.

Types of charitable institutions and their distribution

The type of institution that confraternities managed, or owned, directly affected their nature and identity. In turn, this influenced the wealth they were able to accumulate, and the ways they chose to display their public image. Not all confraternities owned a hospital; some were devoted to the assistance of prisoners, such as the Pietà dei Carcerati, or provided for the dignified burial of the indigent poor, such as S. Girolamo della Carità. The large majority, however, established hospices that can be grouped in distinct categories. There were asylums for women; hospitals for the members of a foreign community or a guild, and the large public hospitals. Their distinctive characteristics are at the basis of their widely diverging patterns of growth.

Institutions for women

Most confraternities (including the Trinità), in addition to their main activity were involved in the dowering of poor girls so they could either marry or enter a monastery. This was one of the most ancient philanthropic practices, that stemmed from the concern for female honor. Starting in the sixteenth century, it was also part of the more general attempt to curb prostitution.

The same intention gave rise to women's asylums -- female orphanages, and refuges for prostitutes. Santa Maria degli Orfani in Aquiro, the first orphanage in Rome, was officially recognized in 1540 and housed both girls and boys. No other male orphanages were founded until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the San Michele a Ripa (which was rather a juvenile jail) was founded. But five more female ones would be established between the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

Among the best known were S. Caterina de' Funari delle Vergini Miserabili established in the late 1540s by Loyola and his fellow reformer Filippo Neri. And the Conservatorio della Divina Provvidenza (or S. Orsola a Ripetta) established around 1674, that would develop into the largest female orphanage in Rome.¹⁵ These institutions sought to preserve the honor of

¹⁵. The other orphanages were the Conservatorio delle Zitelle Mendicanti (or Zitelle del Padre Garavita) established in Via Tordinona in 1650; and the Conservatorio delle Zitelle Disperse di S. Eufemia established in 1595 near Trajan's Forum. In preparation for the Jubilee of 1700, Innocent XII had female

plebeian girls, helping them to acquire dowries and preventing them from ending up in brothels. Other establishments aimed instead to reform those that had already become prostitutes.

In 1520, Leo X established S. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite on the Corso, a refuge for prostitutes that wished to abandon their trade. The Convertite did not accept married women, as its inmates were secluded for life. Santa Marta delle Malmaritate (the Unhappily Married) instead, established by the Jesuits in front of the Collegio Romano in 1543, was primarily for married women engaged in prostitution or other illicit sexual activities. Unlike the Convertite, Santa Marta aimed to reform married prostitutes and restore them to their husbands, rather than make them lifelong recluses.¹⁶

An institution that strictly speaking does not belong to this category, is the Hospice for Beggars. It was founded by Sixtus V in the 1580s and accepted both men and women. Nonetheless, it shares fundamental characteristics with women's asylums. Poverty and prostitution were closely connected in the minds of contemporary reformers.¹⁷ Both asylums for prostitutes and beggars were the product of a new awareness that the relief of these social ills was the responsibility of the State. Rather than by autonomous confraternities, these institutions were established by the papacy. This had consequences on the connected issues of their corporate identity and economic structure. In turn, this affected their development in ways that are discussed in the last section of this chapter.

orphans housed in makeshift structures near the church of S. Eligio de' Ferrari. Under Clement XI they were moved to the former hospice for beggars at Ponte Sisto and were popularly known as the *Zoccolette*, from the clogs they wore. Morichini, Carlo Luigi. *Degli istituti di carità per la sussistenza e l'educazione dei poveri e dei prigionieri in Roma*. Roma: Stabilimento Tip. Camerale, 1870, pp. 535-553.

16. Matteucci, Daniela. "'Se è mossa intrar in religione, o vero in questa casa, per passione o disperationi, o vero da qual spirito è guidata'. Gli Ospizi di S. Maria Maddalena e S. Marta" in *L'Ospedale dei Pazzi di Roma dai papi al '900*, Bari: Dedalo, 1994, p.331-337. See also Cohen, Sherrill. *The Evolution of Wome's Asylums since 1500. From Refuges for Ex-Prostitutes to Shelters for Battered Women*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 19.

17. In 1560, when Pius IV established the first hospital for beggars in Bologna, the connection was explicitly declared in the foundation bull. Cohen, cit., p. 20.

Institutions of the "foreign nations"

One of the largest groups of hospices was that of the *nazioni forestiere*, the foreign nations, which included all those that were not part of the Papal States. The 1624 Apostolic inspection of the charitable institutions in Rome counted seventeed such establishments.¹⁸ They were the oldest type of hospice founded in Rome; the most ancient were built in the early Middle Ages and were clustered around the basilica of St. Peter's -- the main destination of pilgrimages.

They were not independent buildings but part of the *schola*, a sort of consulate of the foreign community. The *scholae* included a church, lodgings for the resident priests, service rooms, and a shelter for travelling compatriots that had fallen sick, or had other difficulties. Many of the foreign nations owned only small compounds, often at the margins of the inhabited areas. This was the case, for instance, of S. Maria Egiziaca degli Armeni near the ancient river port of Marmorata, on the east bank of the Tiber. Or of St. Andrews of the Scots, on Via delle Quattro Fontane. The most powerful nations, however, built vast complexes in the heart of the city.

S. Luigi dei Francesi expanded over two blocks behind Piazza Navona. One was almost entirely occupied by the vast church built by Giacomo della Porta, testifying to the grandeur of the French nation. Across the same piazza was the large complex of the Germans, S. Maria dell'Anima dei Tedeschi, with an equally grand church on the homonymous street. They owned, as many plaques still show, several houses in the area. The wealthiest of the foreign nations was San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. The largest landholder of Piazza Navona, they built their church and hospice on the piazza itself.¹⁹

However, the actual hospital infrastructure included in the compounds of the foreign nations remained relatively small. These institutions received members of the same community residing in Rome, or pilgrims of the same nationality -- clearly a much smaller number of people than those accepted by

¹⁸. Serra, Armando. "Funzioni e finanze delle confraternite romane tra il 1624 e il 1797." *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984) 261-92, p. 266.

¹⁹. Vaquero Piñeiro, Manuel. *La renta y las casas. El patrimonio inmobiliario de Santiago de los Españoles de Roma entre los siglos XV y XVII*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1999, p. 78.

the public hospitals. The hospice of the English for instance, although it occupied almost a whole block on Via di Monserrato, housed a total of about 200 people per year, in various rooms of the complex.²⁰ The long refectories and dormitories built in the public hospitals in the same years -- prototypical hospital wards that could hold hundreds of beds -- were thus never built in these institutions.

The hospitals of guilds

By the seventeenth century, thirty-seven confraternities formed by the members of a guild existed in Rome -- if we include that of "professional" beggars, S. Elisabetta dei Poveri Ciechi e Storpi.²¹ Among the best known were the confraternity of SS. Biagio e Ambrogio dell'Arte della Lana, grouping workers in the textile industry. Or the archconfraternity of S. Maria della Quercia dei Macellai, the butchers, who in 1535 exercised their right to pardon a prisoner by having Benvenuto Cellini -- condemned to death for the murder of a goldsmith -- released.²² Some represented a very small group, such as S. Elisabetta dei Fornai Tedeschi, the German bakers, who built a modest church on Via Chiavari and a hospice with twelve beds.²³

One of the wealthiest was the archconfraternity of S. Maria dell'Orto, founded in 1492, which included various guilds or *universitas*: the fruit-sellers, the brokers and merchants that worked at the river ports, the millers, cobblers, pasta-makers, and farmers of vineyards or vegetable gardens. They owned the church built by Vignola on Via S. Maria degli Orti in Trastevere, and one of the largest real estates in Rome.

Like the medieval guilds from which they derived, these confraternities assisted their own members when they had been laid off, or had fallen sick. They provided small loans, housed them in their hospital, or provided relief to the widows. Like most confraternities, they dowered girls but generally only those belonging to member families. Although they might have occasionally

²⁰. See below, "Regola's 'nazioni forestiere'" in Chapter Two.

²¹. See Maroni Lumbroso, Matizia; Martini, Antonio. *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese*. Roma: Marco Besso, 1963.

²². Maroni Lumbroso, cit., p. 289.

²³. Maroni Lumbroso, cit., p. 143.

housed foreign colleagues, these associations were very much rooted in the city, and did not cater to travelers. Their hospitals were thus generally even smaller than those of the foreign nations.

The public hospitals

The most important category of hospitals, in terms of the impact they had on urban development, is that of the large urban hospitals. By mid- sixteenth century, there were four such hospitals in Rome. These were S. Spirito in Sassia next to St. Peter's; S. Salvatore (or S. Giovanni) at the Lateran; S. Giacomo degli Incurabili on the Corso, and the Trinità dei Pellegrini at Ponte Sisto. The first two were founded in the thirteenth century, while the last two were both established in the sixteenth.

Unlike the institutions of guilds and foreign nations, these hospitals developed into large independent complexes. They included long wards that could hold hundreds of people, and catered to a much vaster segment of the population than that of a specific guild or nation. The two oldest hospitals, S. Spirito and S. Salvatore, accepted the sick poor of the city. San Giacomo, as the name stated, accepted also the "incurables," i.e., those sick with infectious diseases -- except for lepers, and those ill with the plague.

The Trinità accepted all pilgrims arriving in Rome, and only secondarily the sick poor prematurely dismissed by the other hospitals. Although it was the last of the large hospitals founded, its purpose was the most ancient of all. From shelters for pilgrims -- initially part of convents, and starting in the ninth century independent structures -- all other types of hospitals had evolved.²⁴

The four hospitals, and the confraternities that established them, had a different patronage structure that affected their development. The S. Spirito -- built by Innocent III around 1200, and rebuilt by Sixtus IV in the 1470s -- was an undisputably papal institution. With the popes absent during the Avignon period, the municipality took control of the hospital but lost it almost immediately when the seat of the papacy returned to Rome. Often referred to as *Hospitale Nostrum*, our hospital, by the popes,²⁵ the S. Spirito lacked any

²⁴. See below, "The Hospitals of Rome," Chapter Six.

²⁵. Alessandro Canezza, *Gli arcispedali di Roma nella vita cittadina nella storia e nell'arte*. Roma, n. p., 1933, p. 32.

decisional autonomy even concerning architectural decisions. In exchange for independence, however, it enjoyed an uninterrupted process of expansion and was the most prosperous establishment in Rome.²⁶

S. Giacomo degli Incurabili was built at the northern end of the Corso with Leo X's support, over the medieval nucleus of a small hospice founded by the Colonna. Less directly dependent on papal decisions, it had for a long period the support of powerful patrons, such as Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati. The Cardinal owned property in the same area, where he also established a smaller hospital -- S. Rocco delle Partorienti, a maternity hospital.²⁷ The expansion of S. Giacomo proceeded in fits and starts, closely paralleling the vicissitudes of its patronage.

The S. Salvatore, as has been previously mentioned, was a municipal institution in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, that would subsequently capitulate to papal power. In the decades in which it was under attack by the papacy its building activity ceased almost entirely, as did the aggressive urban expansion that characterized it. Nor would the expansion resume once the hospital was brought under the rule of the papacy, which limited its development to the reconstruction of existing structures and facades.

The Trinità started out as a small pious association that housed pilgrims in a few rooms, but was rapidly coopted by the central authority. It was only following papal support that the building history of the institution started. However, its beginnings as an independent association with strong ideals, and the fact that most of its revenue came from individual donations rather than papal sources, preserved to a large extent its autonomy -- in a way that the S. Spirito, the quintessentially papal institution, never had.

²⁶. See in this chapter, "Rich and Poor Institutions."

²⁷. In this hospital, founded in 1602 by Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati, women could give birth without revealing their identity, and presumably leave the unwanted newborn. Fedeli Bernardini, Franca. "'La nostra povera umanità nascente'. L'arcispedale di San Rocco da nosocomio a ospedale delle partorienti." *L'Ospedale dei Pazzi di Roma dai papi al '900*. Bari: Dedalo, 1994, vol. II, pp. 279-91. Abandoned newborns were sent to the orphanage of S. Maria in Aquiro near Montecitorio, supported by the same Cardinal.

Distribution

To conclude this section, a few comments on the distribution of hospitals in the city. By the end of the seventeenth century, according to a contemporary source, no less than seventy-three charitable institutions functioned in Rome.²⁸ Their location was connected to the type of institution -- hospices were established in the areas most accessible to the categories they catered to. The location of the public hospitals, on the other hand, served an important display function.

The site of the main hospital of a city -- the *hospitalis magnum*, as it was termed in the fifteenth century, when one was built in most Italian cities -- was always a prominent one. Hospitals were considered one of the city's main ornaments, and one of the major achievements of its government. In Rome, where four such hospitals existed, they were each located by one of the main access points of the city.

The S. Salvatore at the Lateran was established just inside the Gate of S. Giovanni, through which the southern consular roads connected Rome to the Campania. It comprised two long perpendicular wings joined at one end: one faced the direction of the gate, while the other lined the initial tract of the street connecting it to the city. San Giacomo degli Incurabili was instead only a few steps away from the northern gate, Porta Flaminia. Spanning its block, the hospital had facades on both the Corso and Via Ripetta, two of the streets forming the trident that connected the gate to the central areas of the city.

S. Spirito in Sassia, next to St. Peter's, had its main facade built in the direction of Ponte S. Angelo, the bridge that connected Rome to the Vatican. The hospital was rebuilt by Sixtus IV in the 1470s, roughly as it stands today. With old St. Peter's little more than a vast ruin, it was the first prominent building travelers crossing the bridge would see, emerging over an area formed by small clusters of medieval houses.

In the same years, Sixtus IV also built Ponte Sisto, next to which the Trinità dei Pellegrini developed. The bridge connected Trastevere and Porta S. Pancrazio -- respectively the neighborhood where the city's main river port

²⁸. Twenty-two of these, almost a third of the total, were established in the same century. Piazza, Carlo Bartolomeo. *Eusevologio Romano: ovvero, delle opere pie di Roma*. Roma, 1698.

was, and the gate atop the Janiculum -- to Rome proper. Also the Trinità was thus one of the very first buildings that travelers entering the city would see -- the very first being yet another hospital, the Hospice for Beggars. Both these institutions would build long uniform facades on the street connecting the bridge to the center of the city.

Also the institutions of the foreign nations were strategically located, albeit not in positions as prominent as those of the public hospitals. They were generally established in the neighborhood in which the members of the specific community mostly lived, or along main travelers' routes within the city walls. In Ponte, the quarter where over one third of all the Florentines in Rome lived, the church and hospice of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini were built. Parione -- the neighborhood that included Piazza Navona with its French, Spanish and German hospitals -- together with the neighboring Regola, hosted almost 40% of the members of these communities combined.²⁹

In Regola also lived 15% of the Spanish -- probably mostly Catalans as their hospice, S. Maria di Monserrato, was on the homonymous street (this was distinct from the Castilian S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Piazza Navona). The English also established their hospice in Regola, where several of their compatriots lived since the fourteenth century. Many of them were *paternostrarii*, i.e., sold rosary beads and other religious objects to the pilgrims bound for the Vatican along the Via Arenula. On this ancient street, several foreign hospices were established.

Via Arenula crossed the city from north to south, running from Castel S. Angelo to the river port of Marmorata on the east bank of the Tiber. It was formed by the current Via Banco di S. Spirito, Banchi Vecchi, Monserrato, and S. Paolo alla Regola. The thoroughfare passed in front of the east end of the bridge that joined the Tiber Island to Rome and ended at Ponte S. Maria (now Ponte Rotto), the bridge that connected Trastevere to the city before it collapsed in 1598.

Since antiquity, travelers arriving either at the Trastevere port of Ripa Grande on the west bank, or directly at Marmorata, would take the Arenula to

²⁹. Lee, Egmont. "Gli abitanti del rione Ponte" in *Roma Capitale (1447-1527)*. Gensini, Sergio ed. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, 1994, Tables 11-12, pp. 327-28. See below, "Regola's *nazioni forestiere*" in Chapter Two.

reach the center of the city -- and eventually, over Ponte S. Angelo, the Vatican. On their path, several foreign nations built their hospices. St. Thomas of Canterbury of the English, S. Maria di Monserrato of the Catalans, and S. Brigida of the Swedes were all built along this route, concentrated in the tract that is the current Via di Monserrato.³⁰ Also the S. Trinità dei Pellegrini was built on Via Arenula, at the junction with the street of Ponte Sisto.

Other main routes also attracted charitable institutions, that thus sought to enhance their visibility. Via del Corso -- connecting Porta Flaminia, the northern gate of the city, to the Campidoglio -- was one of these. Entering through the gate, travelers would first encounter S. Giacomo degli Incurabili. Progressing towards the heart of the city, they would see the Zitelle di S. Orsola, the orphanage for girls; S. Carlo al Corso, the church and hospice of the Lombards; S. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite, the shelter for former prostitutes; and the Zitelle del Padre Garavita, another female orphanage.

Several hospices were also built along Via Ripetta, the street that connected Porta Flaminia to Piazza Navona. Again, the first charitable institution encountered was S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, whose facades were also on Via Ripetta. Further south was S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, the church and hospice of the Illyrians, and the maternity hospital, S. Rocco delle Partorienti.

The presence of this hospital here was not connected to the importance of the street but rather to the fact that this neighborhood, close to the river port of Ripetta, was densely inhabited by prostitutes. And this was precisely the category that would need to retire to a hospital to give birth.³¹ Finally, the southern end of Via Ripetta abutted onto the two large blocks that formed the hospice of the French, S. Luigi de' Francesi.

While hospitals sought to be on a major street to increase both visibility and prestige, an important charitable complex must have seemed an appropriate closure for the large straight streets that were opened in the

³⁰. See below, "Regola's 'nazioni forestiere'" in Chapter Two. Further north along the same route, another small hospice (it comprised 10 beds) was also established around 1650: S. Lucia della Chiavica, for sick priests. Piazza, Carlo Bartolomeo. *Eusevologio Romano*. Roma, 1698, pp. 41-42.

³¹. San Rocco was also termed *Delle Celate*, the veiled women, who thus protected their anonymity.

sixteenth century. Not only Via Ripetta but also Via Giulia was marked by hospital complexes at both ends. The church and hospital of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini formed an architectural backdrop for the north entrance of the street, while the opposite end abutted onto the Hospital for Beggars at Ponte Sisto -- whose monumental fountain was centered on Via Giulia.

The guilds, formed by residents of the city, were instead established without connection to traveler's routes, in the neighborhood in which most of their members lived or worked. Santa Maria degli Orti in Trastevere was in an area of orchards and vineyards, mostly belonging to the members of the confraternity. Sant' Anna dei Palafrenieri, the pope's gentlemen, had their church built by Vignola within the Vatican walls. While S. Giovanni Battista dei Genovesi, although the confraternity of a foreign nation, was located by the river port of Ripa Grande as most of their nationals arrived as sailors, on Genoan ships.

The Sources of Wealth

How did these hospitals support their charitable activities, and develop to build large complexes? In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for both lay and ecclesiastic institutions, the main sources of income were donations, investments in *luoghi di monte* (a sort of treasury bond), and the revenue from the real estate they owned. In 1624, Urban VIII ordered a *Visita Apostolica*, an inspection of all the charitable institutions and the state of their finances. The data collected during the *Visita* shows that, on average, charitable institutions obtained 17% of their income from donations, 20% from *luoghi di monte*, and 40% from real estate.³²

The Trinità represented an exception as almost 40% of its income derived from donations, slightly less (38%) from *luoghi di monte*, while only 23% was from real estate.³³ Furthermore, as we will see below, only about 10% of the real

³². The rest came from a combination of interests cashed on loans, rents paid on farms, and other miscellanea. Serra, Armando. "Funzioni e finanze delle confraternite romane tra il 1624 e il 1797." *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984) 261-92, p. 270.

³³. Serra, cit., p. 270.

estate the Trinità owned had been bought by the confraternity. The rest was acquired through donations, which thus represented by far the most important source of income for this institution.

At the opposite end of the spectrum was the wealthiest of the hospitals of the foreign nations, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, whose real estate management policies were particularly aggressive. It obtained no less than 71% of its income in rents from the houses it owned. The rest came entirely from investments in *luoghi di monte*, as it did not collect any donations.

In this aspect, S. Giacomo was in turn an exception, as all charitable institutions relied heavily on alms. They came from both institutional and individual sources. Under Gregory XIII (1572 - 1585), the Apostolic Chamber distributed 85 scudi per year to every association that qualified as "luogo pio," charitable institution.³⁴ To institutions they favored, popes added further contributions. The Council of Cardinals and the Popolo Romano, the municipal authority, also subsidized hospitals. By the sixteenth century, this was often done following papal instructions.

In some cases, these offerings were of relatively modest entity. In 1603, for instance, the Popolo Romano presented the Trinità with a yearly gift of a chalice and some wax torches.³⁵ However, the Popolo must have also made more substantial contributions. In 1575, at the end of the first building campaign of the Trinità, the confraternity affixed above the main entrance to its hospital the coat of arms of the Popolo Romano -- an indication that these had largely funded the construction of the new hospital.³⁶

Never exerting any real influence over the Trinità, the Popolo was not a patron in its own right and the large subsidy must have been made under papal pressure. Also the pope, Gregory XIII, generously contributed to the building

³⁴. Borzacchini, Marco. "Il patrimonio della Trinità dei Pellegrini alla fine del Cinquecento." *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984) 237-60, p. 245.

³⁵. See below, "S. Trinità in Arenula," Chapter Three.

³⁶. Also the coat of arms of Ferdinando de' Medici, Cardinal Protector of the Trinità, was affixed next to that of the Popolo: "I Sig[no]ri Guardiani et Fabricerij habbino auctorità di far fare l'Harmi di Marmo sopra la porta grande del novo hospitale cioè quella di N[o]stri S[igno]ri del Pop[olo] Rom[ano] et del Card[ina]le Protettore di quella grandezza et qualità che parerà a loro Sig[no]ri." ASR, Trinità, b. 4, 18 September 1575, p. 73.

campaign providing over 11% of the confraternity's total revenues for 1575.³⁷ Popes also indirectly increased the alms an institution received by granting it special privileges. One of the most important was the conferral of the title of archconfraternity.

This not only produced yearly tributes that the archconfraternity received from its affiliates, but also more donations from individuals, due to its increased prestige. In 1562, Pius IV raised the Trinità to the rank of archconfraternity, and marked the event with the donation of the image of a Madonna that was reputed miraculous.³⁸ Similar gifts, or the granting of special indulgences to those that visited the churches or oratories of a specific confraternity, increased the number of visitors and the alms they left.

But papal donations depended on the favor a particular institution enjoyed, and privileges could be revoked. Under Paul IV, for instance, the powerful order of the Jesuits -- formed mostly by nationals of Spain, a country with whom the pope was at war -- was reduced to the verge of bankruptcy.³⁹ The same happened to the Hospice of Beggars, if for less politically charged reasons. The hospice was established by Sixtus V who supplied it with sufficient revenue by allocating to it the income duties paid on wood transported over the river. Clement VIII had different priorities; he revoked the revenues it was assigned, and the hospice almost shut down.⁴⁰

Alms by individuals were a relatively more stable source of income, not depending on papal favor which could vary based on political considerations. Patrician families donated large sums to have a coat of arms or plaque affixed to the hospital building to display their piety. Or to acquire moral rights over the institution, and thereby decisional power in its ruling council. The rest of the population made offerings only for the benefit of their souls. Money came in the form of compensation for memorial masses to be said, or as alms collected in boxes that confraternities affixed in their churches, chapels and oratories.

37. Borzacchini, cit., p. 245.

38. See below, "Building History to 1575," Chapter Three.

39. See below, " Papal take over," Chapter Three.

40. Simoncelli, Paolo. "Origini e primi anni di vita dell'ospedale romano dei poveri mendicanti." *Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea* XXV-XXVI (1973-1974) 121-72, p. 166.

Often people did not donate money but goods -- especially food, furniture and linen. These could be minuscule offerings nonetheless scrupulously recorded, such as the gift of "two used towels" noted by the accountant of the Trinità in 1575.⁴¹

Alms were also collected by *cercanti*, "seekers". These were fund-raisers that scoured the streets equipped with a document certifying they were begging on behalf of a specific institution. They were entitled to a varying percentage of whatever they collected. As an incentive, this percentage increased in times of crisis when donations tended to be less generous. Foodstuffs, which were the majority of donations collected by *cercanti*, were sold to the confraternity at a much lower than market price.⁴²

Alms by both individual and institutional sources were often project-specific. When a confraternity was building a new hospital wing or a church, its representatives would approach the pope and cardinals stressing how deserving the work was, and how it would ornament the whole city.⁴³ The *cercanti* were similarly instructed to stimulate generosity by reminding the population of the pious work underway.⁴⁴ For the same reason, work on the new building itself was to be most visible. When the Trinità started the construction of their church on Via Arenula, they instructed their architect to start building it from the facade, to ensure maximum visibility.⁴⁵

A substantial component of charitable contributions were bequests. These were particularly generous, as donors on their deathbed sought to mitigate divine severity. The papacy sought to reinforce this natural inclination. It prescribed the obligation, for all public notaries, to remind those drafting their wills of the beneficial effects on their souls that a legacy to a charitable institution would have produced. In the 1470s, Sixtus IV stressed to

41. ASR, Trinità, b. 1092, pp. 5-8. Quoted by Borzacchini, cit., p. 243.

42. Borzacchini, cit., p. 248.

43. See, for an instance concerning the Trinità, ASR, Trinità, b. 18, 14 September 1603, p. 23.

44. Ibidem.

45. ASR, Trinità, b. 18, 11 marzo 1603, p. 6v. See below, "S. Trinità in Arenula," note 33, Chapter Three.

both notaries and confessors the particular advisability of making bequests to the papal hospital of S. Spirito.⁴⁶

Another main source of income were interests provided by *censi* --loans granted to individuals that had property as collateral -- and by *luoghi di monte*. These were bonds issued by the Apostolic Chamber, or by baronial families with the Chamber's authorization. The *monte* represented the sum the papacy, or the family, sought to raise. Shares of the *monte* were bought by individuals who would receive interest on them. In 1600, this was between 6% and 10% and was guaranteed by property the family owned or, in the case of a papal *monte*, by the revenues of a tax. *Luoghi* were a very stable source of income, and much favored by charitable institutions. In the case of one hospital, the S. Spirito in Sassia, large sums to be invested in *luoghi* came from a unique source.

On 13 December 1605, Paul V established on the premises of this hospital the Banco di S. Spirito, the first public bank in Rome.⁴⁷ The only other institution that provided rudimentary banking services was the Monte di Pietà. Established in 1539, this was a state pawnshop that initially meant to provide the poor with small loans at no interest. The Banco accepted deposits for which it provided no interest, only guaranteeing safe custody and immediate restitution when the deposited sums were claimed back.

This was an advantage not to be underestimated, as the Monte provided neither an interest nor sufficient guarantees that the sums deposited would be rapidly returned to their rightful owners. The Banco instead guaranteed restitution with the vast land holdings of the hospital of S. Spirito, and it rapidly accumulated large sums in its strongboxes. According to the deed of foundation, the sums were to be invested in *luoghi di monte*. The interest thus produced belonged to the hospital, who thus had an unparalleled source of income.

46. Canezza, cit., p. 44. This custom was not a Roman peculiarity. In 1474, the Venetian Senate planning to build the hospital of Gesù Cristo di Sant'Antonio gave notaries similar instructions. Brian Pullan. *Rich and poor in Renaissance Venice. The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971, p. 213.

47. Ponti, Ermanno. *Il Banco di Santo Spirito e la sua funzione economica in Roma papale (1605-1870)*. Roma: Officina Polig. Laziale, 1951, p. 25. The Banco di S. Spirito existed until very recently, when it merged with the Banca di Roma, to form one of the largest banking groups in Europe.

A few years after its foundation the Banco also started lending the sums that had been deposited -- naturally, at an interest.⁴⁸ In a period when several private bankers were declaring bankruptcy, this bank provided the Roman patriciate with unprecedented credit services.⁴⁹ Private bankers could generally finance trading ventures but could not, for instance, provide the type of sums required to build a vast palace, or adequately dower the daughter of a prominent family. In such cases, the only resort was for the family to establish a *monte*, guaranteed by their real estate -- a lengthy and laborious process.

Patrician families found borrowing large sums from the Banco more rapid and dignified than establishing *monti*. The Borghese, Spada, Frangipani, Gaetani, Cenci, Serlupi, Lancellotti, were only some of the families that owed the Banco large sums.⁵⁰

The bank also provided the papacy with the sums necessary to important projects.⁵¹ In 1608, only three years after its establishment, it financed Paul V's works for the restoration of the Acqua Paola aqueduct and water system.⁵² In the following decades, the Banco would finance projects such as the draining of the Pontine marshes, the acquisition of cereals during a long famine, or of silver necessary to the minting of new coins.⁵³

48. The interest rate was established by law, at 5%. This was the same rate applied by the Monte di Pietà. Demanding interest was prohibited on the religious grounds that one would be demanding payment for time, which rightfully belonged to God. However, when providing loans at no interest rapidly proved unfeasible, a long theological debate ensued to circumvent the prohibition. The idea finally emerged that interest was actually reimbursement for the profit that the lender would have gained if, for instance, he had invested the same sum in a trade. The reimbursement that could be legitimately demanded for this loss of profit was set at the rate of 5%. Tamilia, Donato. *Il sacro Monte di Pietà di Roma*. Roma: Forzani, 1900, p. 32

49. Towards the end of the sixteenth century several bankruptcies occurred all over Italy, not only in Rome. The Ceuli, the Capponi, the Bandini, the Altoviti were among the Roman families whose bankruptcy received the most wide echo, well beyond the city walls. For an analysis of the extent and possible reasons of the phenomenon, see Delumeau, cit., vol. II, pp. 894-937.

50. Ponti, cit., p. 87.

51. Id., pp. 81-83.

52. The hospital of S. Spirito, owning large holdings in the Agro Romano irrigated by the Acqua Paola, also benefited by these works. Ponti, cit., pp. 129-30.

53. Id., pp. 131-32.

Within a few years, the Banco had developed to require an independent building. It was moved to the Zecca Nuova, built by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger in Via dei Banchi Vecchi -- as the name indicates, in the financial district of the city.⁵⁴ Its connection to the hospital from which it had evolved remained however unvaried. The bank produced for the hospital large sums reinvested not only in *luoghi di monte*, but probably also in real estate.⁵⁵ This alliance between a hospital and a bank is probably unique, but significant of the enormous economic power public hospitals in Rome commanded.

Real estate and its management

After the middle of the sixteenth century, the main source of income for most charitable institutions were the rents produced by the houses they owned. In the second half of the century, hospitals greatly increased their real estate, as the corresponding market developed to an unprecedented extent.

The bases for this growth had been set in the century preceding the 1550s, when the city was politically unified under papal rule. Until the end of the fifteenth century, Rome was subdivided into urban fiefdoms in which property largely belonged to a dominant family, which even held jurisdiction over the quarter. The wealth of these families was based on the agricultural production of the estates they held in the country. Their urban property instead, in the quarter around their family mansion, was not considered a potentially valuable source of income.

Landlords rented out their houses with emphyteutic contracts, i.e., perpetual leases that granted buildings for life, or up to the third generation of descendants of the tenant. In addition to the rent, tenants committed to pay for necessary restoration of the building -- a clause appearing in almost all the lease contracts drafted from the end of the fourteenth to the first half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶

54. *Id.*, p. 49.

55. On the large sums the hospital of S. Spirito "borrowed" from the Banco, see Ponti, *cit.*, pp. 104ff.

56. Corbo, Anna Maria. "I contratti di locazione e il restauri delle case a Roma nei primi anni del secolo XV." *Commentari* (1967) 340-42, p.341. Her examples are all based on houses owned by the hospital of S. Salvatore al Laterano. But the practice was common to all large property owners. Other examples of

The restoration work was generally sufficient to ensure the habitability of the building while the tenant lived in it. Buildings were thus returned to their owners roughly in the same conditions they had been rented out. For landlords, this ensured the physical survival of their quarter.⁵⁷ Furthermore, tenants living in the building of a prominent family for generations formed a strong link of loyalty to both the quarter and its lord. But urban property certainly did not produce substantial revenues as, under the pressure of inflation, rents decreased to symbolic significance.⁵⁸

The municipal authorities repeatedly attempted to break the hold of the ancient baronial families on the city but it would be the popes, after the return from Avignon in 1420, that would impose their rule. Antibaronial laws that the municipal government had promulgated were enforced with greater vigor, and new ones were issued. Streets were opened, cutting across the urban strongholds of powerful families -- whose towers had already been demolished by the municipality.⁵⁹ Porticoes and balconies whence the baronial militias could keep the papal army in check were thrown down, and narrow streets that could be blocked by barricades enlarged.⁶⁰ This dismantled the city fiefdoms to a large extent, freeing urban property now available on the market.

Equally important, the political and physical unification of the city led to the formation of areas of commercial or residential importance; of central and peripheral neighborhoods, with varying values of urban property. This gave rise to speculation and large investments, especially in areas that had recently been (or were about to be) developed. In the second half of the sixteenth century, additional factors rendered the investment in buildings much more profitable than before.

emphyteutic leases entailing the obligation of restoration concern houses owned by the hospital of S. Maria della Consolazione. Fregna, Roberto. "Edilizia a Roma tra XVI e XVII secolo." *Controspazio* 5 (Nov. 1973) 48-61, p. 58.

⁵⁷. Fregna, cit., p. 58.

⁵⁸. Ibidem.

⁵⁹. In 1257 the head of the Popolo Romano, Brancaleone di Andalò, had one hundred and forty towers of baronial families demolished. Krautheimer, Richard. *Rome. Profile of a City, 312 - 1308*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 310.

⁶⁰. See below, "Sixtus IV," Chapter Two.

The demographic expansion, as the death rate declined, affected mostly the urban centers, increasing the demand for houses.⁶¹ This pushed up rents which in turn contributed to the rise of inflation that, in the second half of the sixteenth century, reached peak levels in Rome.⁶² Concurrently, the famines that struck Italy throughout the sixteenth century drove the starving peasants into the cities. The cost of labor in the agricultural sector rose, rendering both the production and trade of farming products much less profitable.

The spiraling inflation, the lack of other industries that could provide alternatives to the investment of capital, and the high demand for houses made urban property appear very attractive. Around the middle of the sixteenth century the management of realties, now a precious source of income, changed drastically.

Rents were calculated in very precise terms, at 4% of the value of the building.⁶³ To ensure a more frequent adjustment to the rising cost of living, perpetual leases virtually disappeared, replaced by short term contracts. The importance of the change is underlined by a provision of the Council of Trent that declared null, as harmful to the Church, the perpetual leases existing on its property.⁶⁴

The same measure was adopted by the most important landholders in the city. These were -- apart from some patrician families that had maintained large

61. According to one estimate in only fifty years, between 1550 and 1600, the Italian population increased by 15%. Cipolla, Carlo. *Storia facile dell'economia italiana dal Medioevo a oggi*. Milano: Mondadori, 1995, p. 63.

62. Inflation was high from 1500 to 1630. It rose more sharply after 1550, with peaks from 1570-1580 to 1610. Delumeau, Jean. *Vie Economique et Sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XI siècle*. Paris: Boccard, 1959, vol. II, p. 746.

63. In the 1680 cadaster of the Trinità, each house is accompanied by a description in which its estimated value is listed, together with the rent obtained -- always 4% of the value. According to Fregna, by 1560 houses were generally rented at this percentage of their value, but he does not reveal his source. Fregna, cit., p. 58.

64. "Gli affitti delle cose ecclesiastiche, anche confermati con autorità apostolica, fatti da trent'anni in qua, ovvero per più lungo tempo, o come vogliansi chiamare in alcuni luoghi, di anni ventinove, o quarantotto, il S. Concilio dichiara essere nulli. Il Sinodo Provinciale, e quei ch'esso deputerà, giudicheranno essere stati contratti in danno della Chiesa, e contro le Canoniche Sanzioni." *Il Sacro Concilio di Trento*, Venezia, 1790, p. 317, quoted by Fregna, cit., p. 59.

urban estates (the Orsini, Nari, Cardelli, Verospi, and few others) -- religious establishments and charitable institutions.⁶⁵ In the cadaster of the Trinità drafted in 1597, only four of the forty-nine buildings listed are rented "to the third generation," and one until the tenant died.⁶⁶ The cadasters of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, and of the confraternity of SS.ma Annunziata show similar minor percentages of perpetual leases -- the norm, only a few years earlier.⁶⁷

With urban property now providing a stable source of income not eroded by inflation, as rents were frequently adjusted, many charitable institutions invested heavily in buildings. When the Trinità's first cadaster was drafted in 1597, the confraternity owned forty-nine houses. By 1680, when the second cadaster was compiled, the institution owned 134, and its income from real estate had tripled passing from 2,212 to 6,589 scudi per year.⁶⁸

Most of the acquisitions occurred by the first decades of the seventeenth century, but this was not a peculiarity of the Trinità. Around 1620 - 1630, a crisis of European proportions affected also the real estate market, and the pace of acquisitions noticeably slowed.⁶⁹

The pattern of acquisitions of other institutions closely paralleled that of the Trinità. The confraternity of SS.ma Annunziata, tripled its yearly income from real estate in the same period. In 1563, rents collected by the confraternity amounted to 1,706 scudi. By the first decades of the seventeenth century the amount had increased to 5,245 scudi.⁷⁰ San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, the Spanish hospice, owned 38 houses in 1500 and more than tripled the number by 1626, holding a total of 120 houses.⁷¹

The distribution of the houses that the institutions owned, depended on whether they had been bought, or acquired through donations. Given the

65. Re, Emilio. "Una fonte poco nota per la storia edilizia in Roma" in *Atti del V congresso nazionale di studi romani*. Roma: n.p., 1942, p. 95.

66. These are respectively houses n. 9, 92, 70, 86 and 32. ASR, Trinità, b. 461.

67. Fregna, cit., p. 59.

68. Id., p. 57. The Trinità bought only 10% of the houses it owned, while the rest it received mainly through bequests. From this source, it accumulated urban property at a rate similar to that of institutions with much more aggressive acquisition policies.

69. Id., p. 49.

70. Id., pp. 56-57.

71. Vaquero Piñeiro, cit., p. 76.

smaller community that could provide them with contributions, foreign institutions relied more heavily on the urban property they carefully managed. Most of their buildings had been bought by them, and were thus more strategically located.

St. Thomas of Canterbury, the English hospice on Via Monserrato, owned in 1630 a total of 53 houses. Twenty-four were in the immediate surroundings of the hospice (10 in Regola and 14 in Parione). Eleven of these were concentrated in the neighboring Via del Pellegrino. As the name indicated, this was a major pilgrim route that connected the commercial center of Campo de' Fiori to the Via Papalis -- which in turn lead to Ponte S. Angelo, and the Vatican. Additional nine houses were in Trastevere, close to were the hospice of St. Edmund's stood.⁷² This was another English hospice that had merged with St. Thomas' in 1464.⁷³ Over 62% of the property was thus around either one or the other of the English hospices.

In 1500, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli owned 90% of its property in the most commercially developed quarters of the city: Regola, S. Eustachio, Ponte and Parione, where the institution itself was located, on Piazza Navona. In the neighborhoods that were still marginal -- Campus Martius, Trevi, Campitelli and Monti -- S. Giacomo owned only 6% of its property. As these rioni developed, the concentration of S. Giacomo's property shifted. By 1626, the percentage of the property S. Giacomo owned in Campus Martius and the neighboring rioni had increased to 35%.⁷⁴

An institution that represented somewhat of an exception was the S. Spirito in Sassia. Rather than on urban property, even in the sixteenth century, it relied heavily on its rural estate. The S. Spirito owned feudal towns and vast estates in the country probably making it the single largest landholder in Rome. They had been accumulated mostly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when agricultural production and cattle breeding were the main sources of wealth.

⁷². Cristallini, Claudio; Noccioli, Marco. *I "Libri delle Case" di Roma. Il Catasto del Collegio Inglese (1630)*. Roma: Kappa, 1987, p. 13.

⁷³. See below, "Regola's 'nazioni forestiere'," Chapter Two.

⁷⁴. Vaquero Piñeiro, cit., p. 78.

Through donations and acquisitions, this hospital owned the castles, properties and vassal towns of S. Marinella, Manziana, Respampani, Monte Romano, Civitella, Scarparola, Scorano, Astura, and Corchiano. In addition to these it owned vast farms around the city such as Insugherata, Torriano, Torricella, Stracciapappe, and Paritorio, outside Porta S. Pancrazio, atop the Janiculum.⁷⁵

Many of these fiefs were in St. Peter's Lands, in northern Latium, along the Aurelia and the Cassia. Although not as vast as the S. Spirito's also the S. Salvatore al Laterano accumulated in the same years important estates in the Roman Campagna, along the southern consular roads. Their rural holdings distinguished these two hospitals, both founded in the thirteenth century, from the Trinità and the S. Giacomo degli Incurabili that were established in the sixteenth. Apart from the occasional vineyard within the urban confines -- obtained through a donation and among the first properties to be sold when funds were needed -- the estates of the two latter hospitals consisted exclusively of buildings.

Both the S. Spirito and S. Salvatore largely maintained their rural holdings even after the sixteenth century, when investment in urban property was much more profitable. The sheer extent of their estates, whence they derived income not only from agricultural production but also from taxes levied on the inhabitants, made these institutions maintain their rural properties rather than replacing them with houses in the city. The majority of the other institutions instead focused on the exploitation of their urban property, and devised a new tool to more effectively manage it.

⁷⁵. Over these feudal towns the S. Spirito had civil and penal jurisdiction, including the right to apply the death penalty. At least in one instance, in the feud of Corchiano, it exercised this power in early sixteenth century to repress episodes of violent unrest. Canezza, cit., p. 59.

The "Libri di Case"

The *Libri di Case* were cadasters produced for the first time in late sixteenth century that included carefully surveyed plans of each house an institution owned. A description of essential information generally accompanied each plan. The caption identified the house, specifying its rione and street, and often the owners of neighboring property. It also generally included an estimated value of the property, the rent it produced, the name of the tenant, and the type of contract held.

The earliest Libro di Case was thought to be the first of a series of three belonging to the confraternity of the SS.ma Annunziata. From the date appearing on one of the pages, it was believed to have been produced in 1563. In her dissertation on the urban property of this institution, however, Deborah Wilde pointed out that it is actually a pastiche including plans from around 1563, and others from circa 1597 - 1599.⁷⁶

Two other plan books also appeared in 1597, produced by the S. Trinità dei Pellegrini and the S. Salvatore at the Lateran.⁷⁷ Unlike that of the Trinità, the plan book of S. Salvatore was never completed, as the description of each house is still lacking.⁷⁸ Both books have an elaborate three page frontispice, showing the patron entity of each institution -- the Saviour and the Holy Trinity -- and the coat of arms of the "guardians," the ruling council of the institution.

The similarities between the two Libri are no coincidence as they were drafted by the same architect, who proudly signs himself "Magnifico M. Giovan Paolo Maggi Architetto" in the dedicatory inscription.⁷⁹ Giovanni Paolo Maggi was not the cartographer author of the map of Rome published in 1625.

⁷⁶. Wilde, Deborah Nelson. *Housing and Urban development in Sixteenth-Century Rome: The Properties of the Arciconfraternita della SS.ma Annunziata*. (volls. I-III). PhD. Diss., John Hopkins, 1989, vol. I, p. 17.

⁷⁷. ASR, S. Salvatore, b. 385. Id., Trinità, b. 461.

⁷⁸. At the end of the book, a table of contents identifies each house and its location. ASR, S. Salvatore, b. 385.

⁷⁹. Maggi might have been recommended by Curtio Sergardi who was *Camerlengo* (a treasurer with ample powers) at S. Salvatore, and one of the four guardians of the Trinità. Sergardi's name is inscribed in the frontispiece of both books.

Although he is now almost entirely obscure, he was a respected professional in his time, enjoying various official positions, such as Architetto del Tevere.⁸⁰

In the book of S. Salvatore are drafted forty-three houses plus eight added in a different hand, after the cadaster was completed. Apart from the houses, two taverns, two haylofts and a couple of vineyards and vegetable gardens are also included. These, however, were only recorded as they were attached to the main complex of the S. Salvatore. The plan books did not generally include -- unlike the cadasters compiled before them -- land owned in the country, or even gardens or orchards within the city walls.

In the plan book of the Trinità are drawn forty-four houses (and a vineyard outside Porta S. Pietro), only four of which were bought by the confraternity rather than being acquired through donations. Two chapels -- S. Andrea outside the Porta del Popolo and another outside Porta S. Paolo -- are also in the cadaster as income producing property.⁸¹ The alms collected in boxes affixed in the church, chapels, and oratory of the Trinità provided, in the early 1570s, over 73% of total donations collected.⁸²

In both Libri di Case, a survey of the main hospital building is also drafted. That of the Trinità is a precious source for the reconstruction of its complex -- almost entirely demolished in the 1940s. This Libro also includes the project-plan and elevation of the church of S. Trinità in Arenula that would be built starting in 1603. When the cadaster was drafted, talk of building the Trinità's new church must have been already underway, and Giovanni Paolo Maggi was also commissioned its design. Optimistically, the church drawings

⁸⁰. See below, "S. Trinità in Arenula," Chapter Three.

⁸¹. The chapel near Porta S. Paolo was restored by Giacomo della Porta, who forfeited compensation for his work out of charity. The renunciation deed is dated 8 November 1562; the restoration must have occurred immediately before. ASR, Trinità, b. 461, pp. 15, 38.

⁸². The percentage is the average I have calculated for the years 1571-1574 based on the data published by Borzacchini, cit., p. 242. That possession of a chapel entailed an economic advantage was quite clear to contemporaries. When the chapel next to Porta S. Paolo was donated by Pius IV in 1562, his Cardinal Vicar explicitly stated that it was given "per sovenimento del (...) Hospitale," to "contribute to the support of the hospital [of the Trinità]." ASR, Trinità, b. 461, p. 38.

were not included as a project, but immediately following the survey of the complex as if already forming part of it.⁸³

In the same years as the Libri di Case started appearing, the theory and praxis of surveying were systematized. Books were printed that defined methods and standardized conventions of survey drawings.⁸⁴ The plans included in the Libri di Case are carefully scaled, show wall width and all infrastructure -- wells, fountains, chimneys, ovens, and sewers. In the case of shops, the brick display benches are shown, and often a caption specifies the type of activity.⁸⁵ The accuracy of the plans drawn in the books ensured that they could serve as a base for possible restructuring, now no longer the concern of the tenant but rather of landlords seeking to optimize profits.

A new professional specialization emerged, connected to the unprecedented city-wide survey of the architectural fabric. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, several minor Roman architects were occupied with the survey of the houses of charitable institutions. Most worked for one or two confraternities, not only surveying their property but also participating in its management. These architects estimated the value of property to be sold or bought, and advised the confraternity on necessary restoration work which they then supervised.

One of these professionals, as we have seen, was Giovanni Paolo Maggi who not only drafted the cadasters of S. Salvatore and the Trinità but was also the chief architect of the latter. Another was Orazio Torriani: he was the architect of the English hospice of St. Thomas from 1628 to 1632, and drafted their plan book in 1630. During the same years, he also drafted the plan book of

⁸³. It is probably for this reason that the decorative details of the facade -- which could be changed at the last minute -- were only pencilled in. For all his care, Maggi would never see his facade built. A simple brick wall closed the church until 1723, when the current facade was built by Francesco de Sanctis. See below, "S. Trinità in Arenula," Chapter Three.

⁸⁴. One of the earliest was Fialetti, Odoardo. *Libro dei principi del disegno*. Venezia, 1614. On this issue see also Docci, Mario; Maestri, Diego. *Il Rilevamento architettonico. Storia metodi e disegno*. Bari: Laterza, 1987, p. 112ff.

⁸⁵. This was relevant in the case of particularly noisy or smelly activities, such as those of iron smiths or tanners, to which certain restrictions applied.

the Collegio Germanico e Ungarico.⁸⁶ Yet another was Francesco Peparelli who drafted the 1636 cadaster of the SS.ma Annunziata and worked as their architect, gaining a reputation in the management of large urban estates.⁸⁷

The preparation of the cadaster was preceded by a laborious process to take stock of the estate in exact terms. An archive was often organized for the first time, to collect the deeds proving the confraternity's right over each piece of property. An estimate of the market value of each house had to be made by the confraternity's architect or experts. Finally, on each of the houses they owned, institutions affixed their coat of arms or an inscription stating ownership of the house, and identifying it with a serial number reported on the cadaster.⁸⁸

In 1680, a second Libro di Case was produced by the Trinità whose author does not sign himself. As in the previous one, a survey of the complex is drawn in the first pages. This later survey is drawn in four separate sheets, so as to be reproduced at a larger and more detailed scale, and is elaborately decorated with watercolors.

By 1680, the pace of acquisitions of the Trinità had slowed down, following the general trend. The crisis of the 1620s - 1630s, and the decline of the Counter-Reformation cooled the charitable zeal of both the central authorities and the population. The cadaster produced in 1680 -- including 134 houses, three times the number in the previous one -- marks the peak of the Trinità's development. It represents a now conservative position, when expansion was replaced by an assessment of the status quo.

⁸⁶. This was an institution governed by the Jesuits, and established in 1522. Its aim was to instruct Germans and Hungarians in Catholic orthodoxy so they might propound it after they returned to their countries of origin.

⁸⁷. The frontispiece of the SS.ma Annunziata plan book, signed by Peparelli, is published in: Fregna, Roberto. *La pietrificazione del denaro. Studi sulla proprietà urbana a Roma tra XVI e XVII secolo*. Bologna: Clueb, 1990, p. 101.

⁸⁸. In 1581, the Trinità decided to have a painter fresco their coat of arms and appropriate cadaster number on each house they owned, in preparation for the 1597 Libro di Case. (ASR, Trinità, b. 7, 30 October 1581, p. 38). Several plaques of charitable institutions can still be seen, especially around the holding institution itself. They are particularly frequent in the area around S. Maria dell'Anima, the German hospital, behind Piazza Navona.

Rich and Poor Institutions

The public hospitals were by far the wealthiest group of institutions.⁸⁹ Other types of hospices instead were never able to accumulate a substantial estate, and lived a precarious existence always on the verge of ruin. The reasons for the sharp differences are connected to the nature of institutions, and the public image they were able to construct. The comparison of two hospitals, the Trinità and the Ospizio dei Mendicanti -- the hospice for beggars established by Sixtus V in 1587 -- is revealing. Although they developed side by side, and built complexes of comparable dimensions, their economic situation was entirely different.

According to the Apostolic inspection of 1624, the Mendicanti was the eighth wealthiest institution in Rome, with a yearly income of 14,000 scudi.⁹⁰ Taken out of context, the figure is misleading, as the Mendicanti witnessed extreme fluctuations in its fortunes, and the inspection only recorded one of the few peaks it achieved during its existence.

When the hospice was founded, Sixtus V allocated to it the duties paid on wood transported in the urban tract of the Tiber, and on packs of cards. Together with a few *luoghi di monte*, these duties produced a yearly revenue of about about 2,000 scudi -- sufficient to keep the hospice functioning. The Mendicanti never accumulated any urban property and, in late sixteenth century, it only owned one house and a mill at Ponte Sisto which formed part of the complex acquired to build the hospice itself.⁹¹

Sixtus' successors had different priorities, and reassigned the duties. Without any real estate on which it could rely, the hospice was rapidly forced to turn the beggars back on the streets. Its position in the list above, with an

⁸⁹. This category as a whole had an average yearly income of 24,000 scudi -- more than twice the second wealthiest category, the twelve church chapters that had 10,234 scudi. Followed the other charitable confraternities (3,472 scudi); female monasteries (3,338 scudi); the national hospitals (1,947 scudi), and the confraternities that represented a guild (747 scudi). (Serra, cit., p. 266). In particular, the most affluent institution of all was the S. Spirito in Sassia, with an income of over 133,000 scudi. This was over twice as much the second most prosperous institution, the chapter of St. Peter's that had less than 62,000 scudi. Id., p. 268.

⁹⁰. Id.

⁹¹. Simoncelli, cit., p. 141.

income of 14,000 scudi, is probably a unique incidence in its history. It is very likely due to the patronage of Urban VIII. As I suggest in Chapter Four, the Barberini pope probably funded the enlargement of the Mendicanti, that happened to be on the same street of his family mansion. With the end of the Barberini rule, the hospice resumed its difficult existence always on the verge of bankruptcy, until in 1715 its institutional life came to an end.⁹²

The Mendicanti shares common characteristics with the asylums for women, beggars and orphans concerning its economic bases. Stemming from closely related attempts to relieve poverty and curb prostitution, these were custodial institutions established by the central authorities in the sixteenth century.

None of these institutions ever accumulated any real estate that could guarantee their survival, and remained forever dependent on the varying benevolence of their founders. Rather than founded by an autonomous confraternity, eventually supported by the papacy, these institutions were assigned to an existing one, or to one established by the pope for the purpose. The Mendicanti, for instance, were governed by the Trinità dei Pellegrini; while S. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite, the shelter for prostitutes, by S. Girolamo della Carità.

The governing confraternities never merged with the asylums assigned to them. Nor did they express their corporate image through these reclusive institutions. They did not expend any effort to ensure the main buildings of custodial institutions were developed, or that they would acquire property. If anything, the custodial institutions served to emphasize the charitable nature of their work. And the donations that the parent institutions thus attracted were spent according to priorities that did not include the aggrandizement of a shelter for former prostitutes, or vagrants.

Nor did the confraternities founded for the only purpose to govern one of the reclusive institutions -- such as the Compagnia della Grazia at S. Marta delle Malmaritate, for instance -- fare much better. Lacking the strong identity that

⁹². See below, "Around the Trinità: The Other Protagonists of Urban Development," Chapter Four.

characterized the confraternities of more independent origins, they never seem to have jockeyed for prestige or the formation of a strong public image.

The Trinità, on the other hand, is an instance of the opposite case: an institution whose corporate image was carefully built and enhanced by a confraternity with a strong identity. The public image of the institution was fundamental to attract alms. These formed a substantial part of the income of most confraternities, and this was particularly true at the Trinità. In the years from 1571 to 1579, the Trinità obtained on average over 72% of its income through alms and donations, with a peak of almost 87% in the Jubilee year of 1575.⁹³

In the same years, the income produced by rents collected averaged less than 5%.⁹⁴ By 1624, when the Apostolic inspection was made, this percentage had increased to 23% but with only 10% of the property having been bought by the confraternity, while the rest had also been acquired through donations.⁹⁵ The Trinità thus relied on charity to an extent perhaps unparalleled by any other institution. It is not surprising that it devoted enormous effort to the choreographic displays of its work.

Reading through the minutes of the meetings of this confraternity, one is struck by the quantity of them devoted to the organization of processions. Displaying the insignia of the institution, and accompanied by music and chanting, the pilgrims -- expected to repay for the hospitality by participating in these manifestations -- and the brethren, marched to St. Peter's and the other basilicas on every religious occasion. The processions to receive the affiliated confraternities at the city gates were particularly spectacular, and entailed considerable expense. For the procession held on Holy Thursday of 1575, for

⁹³. The large majority came from individual, rather than institutional sources. From 1571 to 1575, the Trinità obtained on average 62% of its donations from alms boxes; 9% from single large contributions; and 7% from *cercanti*. The remaining 22% came from its members, the pope, cardinals and the Popolo Romano in varying percentages. Borzacchini, cit., p. 242.

⁹⁴. The estimate is based on a table listing the individual sources of income of the Trinità published in Borzacchini, cit., p. 252.

⁹⁵. See above.

instance, the Trinità spent almost fifty scudi on the decoration of the oratory whence the procession started, on torches and music.⁹⁶

Money was also spent on houses in which the affiliated confraternities could be received. In the 1597 plan book of the Trinità, only four of the houses included were bought by the confraternity, two of which probably for this purpose.⁹⁷ The houses were both in Trastevere, one by Ponte Sisto and the other by Porta S. Pancrazio, atop the Janiculum.⁹⁸ Through this gate entered travellers approaching the city from the west. They would descend the hill to Ponte Sisto, and cross it to enter the city proper. The Trinità houses, at both ends of this route, probably served as outposts where the affiliated confraternities were received, refreshed, and equipped with torches and banners before crossing the bridge into the city.

Processions were also organized to celebrate the liberation of a prisoner released at the confraternity's request. The right to pardon a prisoner that had been sentenced to death, or to life on the galleys (once a year), was granted by the pope to certain institutions.⁹⁹ It had great symbolic value as the confraternity thus exercised both the utmost act of mercy and the highest form of sovereignty -- overriding the will of central authority, if only over a single individual.

The prisoner was carefully selected and, on the appointed day, a long procession marched out to take him from the prison in which he was held.

⁹⁶. ASR, Trinità, b. 1066, 1574-1574, p. 55. Quoted by Borzacchini, cit., p. 258-59, n. 73.

⁹⁷. All four were bought after 1600. Houses acquired were surveyed and included in the cadaster for several years after 1597, the date on the frontispiece.

⁹⁸. The two houses had been bought respectively in 1602 and 1610. ASR, Trinità, b. 461, pp. 55, 40. The second was bought in "Piazza delle Fornaci." This must have meant the piazza where Porta S. Pancrazio stands. Via delle Fornaci was the name given to both the current street and its continuation (now Via Garibaldi) descending from the Janiculum towards Ponte Sisto.

⁹⁹. Gregory XIII granted the Trinità the right to pardon a prisoner (two during Jubilee Years) on the feast of the Trinity. Vasco Rocca, Sandra. *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini. Le chiese di Roma illustrate* n. 133. Roma: Istituto Studi Romani, 1979, p. 11.

Dressed in a white robe, he was paraded through the streets with great pomp until he was brought back to the institution, and finally released.¹⁰⁰

Also musical patronage was an important component of the Trinità's public image. Almost every major composer active in Rome in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century was employed at some time or other to provide music for this confraternity.¹⁰¹ The Trinità built its oratory, in which music and singing accompanied religious performances, almost contemporary to the one established by Filippo Neri next to the church of S. Maria in Vallicella.¹⁰² These forms of entertainment greatly contributed to the popularity of religious ceremonies, that were always well attended.

As will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters, the Trinità was also always characteristically sensitive to the need to display its status through the most visible of artforms, architecture. The oratory, in which not only where the sacred performances held but whence processions departed and returned, was the first building to be completed by the newly established confraternity. Its facade, similar to that of a church, was oriented towards Ponte Sisto -- the bridge through which travellers entered the city. Its interior was richly decorated, and completed by an elaborate wooden ceiling built by Giovanni Battista Montano.

For the ritual washing of feet, a choreographic display of Christian piety especially developed at the Trinità, the confraternity built spacious halls in mid-seventeenth century. Fifteen meters long and almost ten meters wide, these monumental halls were visited by popes and cardinals and probably represent a unique case in seventeenth century Rome.

As soon as opportunity arose, the confraternity commissioned the building of a large church, and opened a piazza in front of it to allow its full

100. Several minutes of meetings are devoted to the organization of these processions, or to the decision concerning the prisoner to be pardoned. See, for instance, ASR, Trinità, b. 2, entries dated 13 July 1569; 22 February 1570; 4 July 1570.

101. O'Regan, Noel. *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome. Music at the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550 - 1650*. London: Royal Musical Association, 1995, p. vii.

102. Both oratories were modeled after the famous one of the Gonfalone, only a few steps away from the Trinità, on Via Giulia.

appreciation. The hospice of beggars that the Trinità governed, initially established on the Appia, was rapidly moved next to the parent institution that could thus better display the broad scope of its charitable enterprise.

The architecture, music, and the choreographic expressions of religious rituals displayed the prestige of the confraternity but were also directly connected to its ability to attract donations. Other confraternities also specialized in dramatic displays of piety. One of these was the Gonfalone, for instance, who owned a famous oratory and whose trademark was a grand procession around the Colosseum on holy Friday that re-enacted Christ's passion.¹⁰³

Confraternities such as the Trinità or the Gonfalone specialized in the full exploitation of their display potential. They invested heavily on their public image on which was based their ability to attract donations -- a substantial and, in the case of the Trinità, predominant source of wealth. Other institutions had to adopt different strategies.

Foreign institutions could count on smaller communities for support. They did not receive papal subsidies, and funding from the respective sovereigns was sporadic at best. Consequently, they relied more heavily on the income produced from the real estate they owned. Their landholding policies were probably as aggressive as those of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, analyzed in a recent study.¹⁰⁴ As has been previously mentioned, the concentration of S.

¹⁰³. It is no coincidence that the attacks on this originally municipal, and strongly autonomous confraternity repeatedly targeted the institution's main display of identity. Paul III, and again Pius IV in 1561, prohibited the sacred performance of the Gonfalone from performing their procession under the pretext that it aroused passion and created turmoil. Salerno, Luigi; Spezzaferro, Luigi; Tafuri, Manfredo. *Via Giulia; una utopia urbanistica del 500*. Roma: Staderini, 1973, p. 345. See also Wollesen-Wisch, Barbara Leslie. *The Archiconfraternita del Gonfalone and Its Oratory in Rome: Art and Counter-Reformation Spiritual Values*. PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1985.

¹⁰⁴. An exception was San Luigi dei Francesi that never seems to have owned any income producing property. Unlike the other institutions, it must have been funded by France. It was consequently much less autonomous and represented French interests. In a dispute between Innocent X (1676-1689) and the French ambassador, for instance, S. Luigi sided with the ambassador to the point that its church was struck by papal interdiction.

The dispute involved the jurisdiction that the ambassador, living in Palazzo Farnese, held over the quarter around it. In 1677, Innocent X attempted

Giacomo's property shifted, increasing in developing quarters such as the Campus Martius.¹⁰⁵

Its policy was also carefully adjusted to changes in the legislation, that it sought to fully exploit. On 1 October 1574, the bull *Iure Congruo* established the right, for anyone wanting to restructure and enlarge his or her building, to force the owner of a neighboring (generally smaller) property to sell. While in the 1597 cadaster of the Trinità, for instance, only one very small house is reported to have been bought by enforcing the *Iure Congruo* right, S. Giacomo's policies changed distinctly after the promulgation of the bull.

The Spanish confraternity was careful not to acquire property in blocks where the presence of a large building, or a powerful landlord, might endanger it. They undertook the restructuring of their small properties, joined them to form larger units wherever possible, and strove to fend off would be acquirers of their buildings by initiating long lawsuits. At the same time, they attempted to enforce the bull whenever they were themselves in the "large fish swallows small fish" position.¹⁰⁶

Like S. Giacomo, most foreign institutions accumulated large estates they carefully managed. St. Thomas of the English, S. Maria dell'Anima of the Germans, S. Carlo dei Lombardi on the Corso, even some of the smaller ones, such as S. Croce e Bonaventura dei Lucchesi, all owned important realties.¹⁰⁷ This rendered the foreign institutions particularly independent of both papal and national authority. San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, for instance, in 1624 repeatedly refused to let Urban VIII's officials inspect its books. Referring to the provision of the Council of Trent -- concerning the authority bishops had over hospitals, unless they fell under royal jurisdiction -- they claimed their

to abolish this and the other jurisdictions of European ambassadors in the city, giving rise to conflict. Neveu, Bruno. "«Regia fortuna»: le Palais Farnèse durant la seconde moitié du XVII siècle" in *Le Palais Farnèse*. Roma: Ecole française de Rome, 1981. Vol. I.2, pp. 475 - 507.

105. Vaquero Piñeiro, cit., p. 78.

106. Vaquero Piñeiro, cit., pp. 70ff.

107. Fiorani, Luigi, ed., "Repertorio degli archivi delle confraternite romane." *Ricerche religiose per la storia di Roma* 6 (1985) 175-430.

hospital had been founded by Spanish sovereigns. And that this made it subject to the (distant) Spanish king rather than papal authority.¹⁰⁸

The Trinità, on the other hand, marked the visits of popes or cardinals with ceremonial pomp. Its complex was developed with a mind to the path that visiting dignitaries would walk, when they visited the institution. The halls along this carefully traced inner route were the only ones in the hospital ornamented with marble busts of benefactors, paintings, and elaborately sculpted door frames that marked the passage to the next room of the ceremonial route.

In this chapter, the general context of the development of confraternities, and the institutions they established, has been discussed. The sources of their wealth, and the economic and political reasons for their proliferation in post-tridentine Rome have been outlined. It is now necessary to consider in greater detail the institution that is the focus of this study. To understand its development, however, it is necessary to first examine that of the neighborhood in which it was established. The importance of the location of the Trinità, and the impact this would have on its development, are only understood in the light of the strategic importance the area had acquired in the decades preceding the foundation of the institution.

¹⁰⁸. The confraternity based its claim almost exclusively on a plaque affixed on a house they owned on Via del Pellegrino. The inscription it bore referred to S. Giacomo as having been founded by Ferdinand of Castile. The papal inspectors explicitly declared their doubts on the plaque's authenticity. Vaquero Piñero, cit., pp. 12-13.

Chapter 2. Before the Trinità: Rione Regola

In 1558, when a small group of devotees lead by S. Filippo Neri, a charismatic figure soon to be canonized, settled in the small church of S. Benedetto in Regola, at the crossing of the street leading from Ponte Sisto and Via Arenula, it did so in a neighborhood that had already witnessed dramatic change in the previous three quarters of a century.

Rione Regola, emerging from the Middle Ages, was sparsely inhabited, especially along the Tiber banks, subject to frequent floods. Given its position, however, it was also crossed by large numbers of travellers, especially starting with the fourteenth century, when the two first Holy Years were called, in 1300 and 1350. Its inhabitants were thus mostly small merchants and craftsmen, dealing in trades connected to the presence of foreigners. There was a high concentration of small shop- and inn-keepers, as well as large numbers of prostitutes, mentioned in various occasions, not least as one of the social groups that contributed most generously for the construction of the Spanish church of S. Maria in Monserrato.¹

Two main thoroughfares, of ancient Roman origin, connected Regola to the Vatican. The first was Via Arenula: comprising the current Via Banco di S. Spirito, Banchi Vecchi, Monserrato, and S. Paolo alla Regola, it connected the docks at the foot of the Aventine to Ponte S. Angelo. The second thoroughfare comprised the current Via del Pellegrino, and Via dei Giubbonari. Parallel to Via Arenula, This street starts from Ponte S. Maria (or Rotto), running parallel to Via Arenula until it merges with it at the junction of Via di Monserrato and Banchi Vecchi. Pilgrims and merchants flowed numerous, and often settled, along them.

From a very early stage, this tract of the ancient Via Arenula, is strongly characterized by charitable institutions of the "foreign nations." In particular, the segment between Palazzo Farnese and the Corte Savella was (and still is) entirely occupied, on both sides, by charitable institutions. Undoubtedly, their establishment was favored by the area's nature as a cross-roads, and by the low

¹. Lanciani, Rodolfo. *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno alle collezioni romane di antichità*, 4 vols. Roma: 1902-1912, vol. I, p. 120.

prices of property -- essential to a private charitable enterprise, not endowed with very substantial financial means. After the foundation of the English and Spanish institutions, in the 60s of the fourteenth century, the area increasingly acquired a connotation that induced other institutions to select it. In 1524, S. Girolamo della Carità and (it is unclear when) the small hospice of S. Caterina della Rota, were also established between Palazzo Farnese and S. Maria di Monserrato.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the area started to develop. A few decades earlier, the papacy had established the cereals market and the city's granaries around Campo de' Fiori. This square would become the commercial heart of a burgeoning city, about to blossom into one of the most vital phases of its history.

The small, scraggly houses, inns of dubious repute, and brothels, will continue existing for a long time. In the century that straddles 1500, however, interspersed among these some of the most important mansions of the city were built -- their patrons often disturbed by the promiscuity. The first nuclei of the palaces of the Farnese, the Capodiferro, and the Santacroce (later transformed into the Monte di Pietà), were built. Over the following two centuries, they would grow to completely transform the urban fabric of the area.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Regola underwent a process of transformation. The construction of a bridge, Ponte Sisto, just downstream of this area, spurred development that had barely begun. Ponte Sisto was built by Sixtus IV (1471-1484), Francesco della Rovere, a Ligurian from Savona. Although it was in and by itself one of the two most widely acclaimed works of Sixtus (the other was the restructuring of the hospital of Santo Spirito), it was also part of a vaster urban plan that it will be useful to examine, even if briefly, in its political context.

In this chapter, I will analyze the urban policy of the Della Rovere popes, Sixtus IV and Julius II, his nephew; the foreign communities that lived in the area, and the hospices they established, to provide an outline of the forces at play in the neighborhood in which the Trinità would develop.

Sixtus IV

When the popes returned definitively to Rome after the Avignon period, with Martin V in 1420, the city was governed by the Senate of the Roman People, or *Popolo Romano*, as it was more commonly called. Executive power was in the hands of one, or two, senators appointed, at least nominally, by the pope. They were flanked by a body of *Riformatori*, *Buoni Uomini* or *Conservatori*, whose numbers varied over time. The municipal government included representatives of the *rioni*, and of the *arti*, or guilds, the two major ones being those of the *bovatteri* and the *mercatanti*, the cattle breeders and merchants. Apparently councillors to the senator, the *Riformatori* actually held administrative and judicial power and were elected by the people, through a complex procedure minutely described in the civic statutes. The *Felix Societas Balistariorum et Pavesatorum Urbis*, a sort of civic militia, commanded by two *banderenses*, defended the council.²

Since its taking of power in the middle of the thirteenth century, this civic authority had striven, as its counterparts in many northern Italian cities, to bring under its rule the ancient baronial families. The latter effectively ruled the parts of the city in which they settled, transforming them in urban strongholds, veritable fiefs over which they had jurisdiction.

Even more important, the *Popolo* strove to eliminate baronial control over the roads of access to the city, its ports, bridges and gates. These attempts culminated in the promulgation of antipatrician laws, the *Ordinamenti dello buono stato* of 1347, that aimed to transform a fragmented system of local jurisdictions of feudal origin into a centrally governed city-state.

When the popes returned to Rome, they adopted and intensified the antipatrician laws enacted by the *Popolo*. At the same time, they strove to take over the political and economic sources of power that belonged to the *Popolo* towards an absolutist concentration. The municipal government wielded enough power to represent a serious threat to the papacy until the end of the

². Duprè Theseider, Eugenio. *Roma dal Comune di Popolo alla signoria pontificia (1252-1377)*. *Storia di Roma*. Vol. XI. Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1952, pp. 9-29; 246-49; 661-64. See also Paschini, Pio. *Roma nel Rinascimento*. Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1940, p. 3.

fifteenth century.³ But Sixtus IV managed to do away with whatever authority they still had, and definitively transformed the power relationship between the Apostolic Chamber and the municipal authorities.

The role this pope played, and the strategies he adopted to deprive civic authorities of all effective power, has been explored in recent years.⁴ Sixtus' urban policy on the other hand, has received as yet insufficient attention. Yet it was, at the same time, one of the main instruments and the physical expression of his political take-over. The urban, fiscal and juridical measures taken by Sixtus intertwine and interact, forming his strategy for the assertion of papal rule over the city, setting the basis for the Renaissance state that will emerge from precisely these measures.

With the bull *Ordo Camerae*, issued around 1481, he reorganized the fiscal and juridical state, claiming for the Apostolic Chamber fiscal rights previously belonging to the municipality, individuals -- or simply, not collected. The levying of taxes was both the primary economic advantage of sovereignty, and its manifest sign. With the *Ordo*, Sixtus claimed for himself revenues of both economic and symbolic importance: tolls on city gates, bridges and ports; and took control of important institutions, from the Dogane, the customs houses, to the Abbondanza, the institution for the supply of cereals to the city.

Starting in 1474, he consolidated the take over of the hospital of Santo Spirito, strengthening its privileges against the competition of the hospital governed by the Popolo Romano, the S. Salvatore at the Lateran. In 1478 he established, in the bull *Et si de Cunctarum*, ownership rights over buildings by those that extensively renovated them. Sixtus was probably sanctioning a long standing custom, but most likely also had a mind to his own work at the S. Spirito.⁵

³. Esch, Arnold. "La fine del libero comune di Roma," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il M. Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 86 (1976-77).

⁴. Miglio, Massimo. "Il Leone e la lupa. Dal simbolo al pasticcio alla francese." *Studi Romani*, 30, (1982) 177-86. Id., "L'immagine dell'onore antico. Individualità e tradizione della Roma municipale." *Studi Romani*, 31 (1983) 252-64. Id., "Sisto IV e Giulio II: Pontefici della Rovere. Il tema della Roma moderna." *Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria*. N.S. 25-26 (1989-90) 9-18.

⁵. See below, "The hospitals of Rome," Chapter Six.

In the same bull, he ordered the demolition of porticoes and balconies to clear and enlarge streets. The connection between these urban measures and their political and military significance, did not pass unnoticed among contemporaries. Stefano Infessura, secretary of the Popolo Romano, noted that Sixtus was advised by King Ferrante of Naples that he would never be the lord of the city as long as there were so many narrow alleys -- with porticoes and balconies, from which even women could keep an army in check. "Ever since then, wherever possible -- Infessura writes -- porticoes and balconies have been demolished, and streets widened, under the pretext of having to pave them, or to smooth the ground."⁶

Finally, he provided incentives for construction - especially in those areas in which he had direct interests, between the port of Ripetta and S. Maria del Popolo. The bull set the basis for his urban policy, which would be implemented by the opening and restoration of streets that improved connections between the city and the Vatican, while at the same time isolating the Capitol, seat of the municipal authority.

One of the keys most often used in writing the history of papal urban interventions, has been the occurrence of the Holy Year during their reign. Accordingly, in the case of Sixtus, it has been suggested that the Jubilee Year represented a turning point. In the years preceding 1475 he seems to have focused his attention on areas more directly under his jurisdiction, and mostly on interventions aimed at improving the street system in crucial points along the pilgrim routes. After the Jubilee, papal coffers replenished and his power consolidated, he seemingly becomes more ambitious, intervening on a city-wide scale.

My contention is that Sixtus' urban projects, from the very beginning, have a wider scope, involving transformations more permanent than those justified by even such an extraordinary event as the Jubilee. While it is certainly true that the thousands of pilgrims that poured into Rome were a cause for concern, and that some works are clearly aimed at facilitating their

⁶. "Et dall'ora in po' quanto sia stato possibile sono gittati li mignani et porticali et allargate le strade, sotto colore di fare gli ammattonati et allustrare la terra." Infessura, Stefano. *Diario della città di Roma*. Tommasini, Oreste, ed., Roma: Forzani, 1890, p. 79-80.

circulation, it is also true that the bridge and its connecting streets, although built in the years preceding 1475, is an infrastructure that had a much more wide-ranging urban impact than would be justified by Jubilar importance alone.

Sixtus' projects, considered as a whole, form an "urbanistic" plan, albeit modified by circumstances and opportunity. He had an intriguing capacity for understanding both the infrastructural needs of the city (or more accurately, those parts of it he was most interested in), and the political potential of urban planning.

Between 1473 and 1475, he cleared the square of Ponte S. Angelo at the expense of "veteres porticus" and a "taberna"⁷ and paved the street that continued the bridge, Canale di Ponte, now Banco di S. Spirito; he opened and paved the Via Sixtina, now Borgo Sant'Angelo. Probably, as I suggest below, he also restored the parallel Borgo S. Spirito, on which he had built the monumental homonymous hospital.⁸ He repaired Borgo Vecchio that connected Piazza S. Pietro to Castel Sant'Angelo, and the current Via Octaviana and Via di Porta Angelica. These led travellers approaching from the northern Monte Mario to the Porta del Borgo S. Pietro/Viridaria, which opened directly onto Piazza S. Pietro. Finally, he built a bridge, Ponte Sisto, connecting Trastevere to the heart of the city.⁹

Ponte Sisto is the only bridge ever to be built by a pope. Built on roman foundations, the reconstruction of the old Janiculensis (or Aurelius, or Antoninus) bridge, then commonly known as the *Pons Ruptus*, was a

7. Albertini, Francesco. *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis Romae*, 1510, f. 923, quoted in Ceen, Allan. *The quartiere de' Banchi; Urban Planning in Rome in the First Half of the Cinquecento*. PhD diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1977, p. 194.

8. See below, "The Santo Spirito in Sassia," Chapter Six.

9. Tomei, Piero. "Le strade di Roma e l'opera di Sisto IV." *L'Urbe* II, 2 (1937) 12-20. Ceen, cit., pp. 29-37.

On the importance of bridges, especially those that connected Trastevere to Rome, cf. the title held by the Mattei since 1271: "Custode e commandante perpetuo delle guardie de' Posti e Ponti Quattro Capi ambedue, S. Maria, Ripa Grande, Ripetta e Marmorata." The office was not a ceremonial one. In times of *sede vacante*, as soon as the pontiff died, the Mattei would block the bridges and mount an armed guard over them and the ports. Huetter, Luigi. "I Mattei, custodi dei ponti." *Capitolium* V (1929) pp. 347-55.

remarkable feat and one much applauded by the pope's eulogizers. As for many of Sixtus' works, the name of its architect has not survived in any document. Vasari asserted the bridge to have been built by Baccio Pontelli, and that it "has so strong abutments and its weight is so well distributed that it is very strong and well founded."¹⁰

As is by now widely accepted, however, Baccio could not possibly be in Rome before 1482. Nor is it conceivable that a work requiring in-depth knowledge of the site could be designed by an architect far away.¹¹ Spezzaferro suggested Fra' Giovanni Giocondo da Verona as the designer, with the help of a more experienced engineer, the Bolognese Aristotile Fioravanti. He elaborates his suggestion on the basis of three albums of drawings containing several drawings of ancient Roman bridges. The drawings have been tentatively attributed to Giovanni Giocondo, humanist and architect. Spezzaferro suggested they could have been used to understand the functioning and technique of ancient bridges, in preparation for the design for Ponte Sisto.¹²

As for Aristotile Fioravanti, he was one of the few architects with previous experience in bridge building, and the pope requested his services from the Municipality of Bologna who, on February 11, 1473, agreed to send him to Rome. The first stone of the bridge -- *pro civium et peregrinorum commoditate*, for the convenience of (Roman) citizens and pilgrims, as Sixtus himself declared on the epigraphs still on the bridge -- was laid on April 29 of the same year: Spezzaferro's suggestion seems likely.

The bridge was paved in 1475, with thousands of pilgrims already pouring into Rome, overburdening the medieval street system. Several accounts by contemporary travellers mention the enormous difficulty caused by the long processions of pilgrims passing through the city, the havoc they caused, and

10. "Si gagliardo di spalle e così ben carico di peso ch'egli è fortissimo e benissimo fondato." Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*. Milanese, Gaetano ed., vol. II. Firenze: Sansoni, 1878, p. 653.

11. Vasari, cit., pp. 659-65. Giordani, Paolo. "Baccio Pontelli a Roma," *L'Arte*, XI (1908), pp. 96-112. Tomei, Piero. *L'architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento*. Roma: Fratelli Palombi, 1942, pp. 280-83.

12. The albums of drawings are in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. Spezzaferro, Luigi. "La politica urbanistica dei Papi e le origini di Via Giulia" in *Via Giulia. Una utopia urbanistica del 500*. Roma: Staderini, 1973, pp. 521-26.

the risk of being trampled upon. During the Jubilee of 1450, a stampede on Ponte Sant'Angelo, in which almost two hundred people died, had rendered even more evident the need to improve the road system.¹³

The need to facilitate the passage of these large crowds always stimulated papal attempts to improve the street system in the months preceding the Holy Years. The first of these attempts was by Nicholas V: as the 1450 jubilee approached, had restored the city gates, paved the street between Porta del Popolo and Ponte Molle, which he also restored, together with Ponte Nomentano.¹⁴ After the disaster on the Ponte S. Angelo, he modified the access to the bridge and had a few houses demolished on the left bank in order to form a more ample square.

The following jubilee was called in 1475 by Sixtus, who confirmed a 25 year interval for the Holy Years, first established by Paul II.¹⁵ The construction of the bridge has thus been generally considered a "jubilar" intervention and ascribed - by both chroniclers and contemporary historians - to the need to provide an alternative to Ponte Sant'Angelo which, before the construction of Ponte Sisto, was the only connection between Rome and the Vatican. But this generally accepted idea is untenable.

The new bridge would only be significantly useful to travellers approaching the city from the west, over the Aurelia, and headed for the quarters east of the Tiber bend. Entering through the Porta Aurelia, the present Porta San Pancrazio atop the Janiculum, they would descend the slopes of the hill and cross Ponte Sisto for an easy access to the city. If bound for the Vatican, instead, they would naturally turn left before the bridge, and head for the gate of Santo Spirito along Via Lungara -- then called Sancta, precisely because of the number of pilgrims on it.

13. The episode had wide resonance among contemporaries, several correspondents reporting the incident to their masters. Cf. Pastor, Ludwig von. *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medio Evo*, vol. I, Roma: Desclée, 1950, appendixes, docs. 35-36, for letters by Vincenzo Annidano and Giovanni Inghirami respectively to Francesco Sforza and Giovanni de' Medici. The incident was also reported in a number of chronicles, listed in Romani, Mario. *Pellegrini e viaggiatori nell'economia di Roma dal XIV al XVII secolo*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1948, p. 258, n. 84.

14. Lanciani, cit., vol. I, p. 52.

15. BAV, Vat. Lat. 6204, p. 190.

For all those residing within the Tiber's bend, the shortest way to reach the Vatican remained Ponte Sant'Angelo. If Sixtus' intention had been that of decreasing traffic over Sant'Angelo, the bridge to rebuild would have been the so called *Triumphalis*, only a short way downstream from Sant'Angelo. Its foundations, still clearly visible in summer, when the river runs low, must have been much more substantial in the fifteenth century: as late as in the eighteenth, the ruins of its piers were still of remarkable height.¹⁶

The idea of reconstructing this bridge did in fact strike contemporaries. Only a few decades later, Julius II planned to reconstruct the *Triumphalis* as the extension of the Via Giulia over the Tiber. The idea, although not realized, must have circulated until the seventeenth century at least: the bridge appears as if reconstructed in a guidebook to Rome published in that century.¹⁷

At most, the new bridge would be useful to those residing in the immediate vicinity, or along the Tiber banks, south of the bridge itself. For these, crossing the bridge to the Via Sancta -- little more than a footpath among fields, still not straightened into the Lungara by Bramante -- might have been more comfortable than reaching Ponte Sant'Angelo through the still very medieval city enclosed by the Tiber bend.

These, however, would only represent a very small number of people. By the end of the fifteenth century, Ponte Fabricio -- the bridge connecting the Isola Tiberina to Rome, a short way down the river from Ponte Sisto -- roughly marked the southern boundary of the *abitato*.¹⁸ Nor were these the right sort of people: the area around the eastern end of the bridge was one of the most ill-

16. In 1744, the two piers emerged almost 5 meters above water, when the river ran low. D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Il Tevere e Roma*. Roma: U. Bozzi, 1970, p. 159. See also, in the same book, p. 165, the painting by Gaspar Van Wittel of the Tiber at S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini.

17. Julius' intention is reported by: Albertini, F. *Opusculum*, cit., first quoted in Valentini, Roberto; Zucchetti, Giuseppe. *Codice topografico della città di Roma*. Vol IV, Roma: 1953, p. 467. Cf. D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Il Tevere*. Roma: Romana Società Editrice, 1980, p. 230 (but see the whole section on the *Triumphalis*, pp. 226-30). Cf. also Bruschi, Arnaldo. *Bramante Architetto*. Bari: Laterza, 1969, pp. 628 ff.

18. See the superimposition of the city as represented, around 1490, in the painting by unknown artist (the so-called Anonimo Mantovano), and the Nolli Map, in Insolera, Italo. *Le città nella storia d'Italia*. Roma. Bari: Laterza, 1980, p. 21.

reputed of Rome, mostly inhabited by small shop- and inn-keepers and, according to various accounts, large numbers of thieves and prostitutes.¹⁹

Thus the anecdote about Sixtus, while still a Cardinal in the monastery of S. Salvatore in Onda, right next to the bridge, complaining over having to reach the Vatican through the narrow alleys winding to the Ponte S. Angelo, and swearing that if he ever became pope he would reconstruct the bridge, seems an attempt to explain a work that could not entirely be justified in terms of improved commodiousness for citizens or pilgrims.²⁰

For all the rhetoric about facilitating the passage of people, the most important function of the bridge was to provide a better connection between the river port of Ripa Grande, in Trastevere, and Rome. More specifically, between the port and Campo de' Fiori where the general headquarters and the main warehouse of the Abbondanza was, since 1448. The Abbondanza was the real treasury of Rome, an institution whose aim was to ensure, as its name suggested, abundance of foodstuffs, especially grain, to the city.²¹ A brief digression on the Abbondanza will render more clear its importance, and justify my claim.

The Abbondanza was one of the three Dogane, or customs-houses of Rome, the other two being the Dogana di Ripa at the port, and the Dogana di Terra, at Sant'Eustachio, competent for goods that arrived over land. The role of the institution, previously called Annona or simply Grascia ("and by grascia we mean grain, flour, barley, millet, legumes and every sort of foodstuff, meat, fat,

19. A document of 1496, published in 1878, refers to the area as the "postribolo de Ponte Sixto," the brothel of Ponte Sisto. Corvisieri, Costantino. "Delle posterule tiberine tra la Porta Flaminia ed il Ponte Gianicolense." *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* I (1878) 79-121; 137-71, p. 170. Cf. also Ceccarius (Ceccarelli, Giuseppe). *Strada Giulia*. Roma: n.p., 1940, p. 19. The situation did not change for decades. See Neppi, Lionello. *Palazzo Spada*. Roma: Editalia, 1975, p. 14.

20. Proia, Alfredo; Romano, Pietro. *Roma nel Cinquecento: vecchio Trastevere*. Roma: Tip. Agostiniana, 1935, p. 47.

21. The suggestion that the bridge might also have served to connect the port and Campo de' Fiori is made, in passing, together with the usual one on the connection between the city and the Vatican, by Spezzaferro who however seems to confuse Ripa Grande with Marmorata. Spezzaferro, cit., p. 23, 44.

oil, wine"²²) was to prevent the onset of shortages, hoarding, and speculation over foodstuffs, especially cereals. It did this with (generally ineffective) attempts to increase agricultural production in the Roman district and fixing ceiling prices, but also by acquiring bulk quantities of grain that it would sell with a net loss, especially during shortages.²³

In most Italian townships institutions similar to the *Abbondanza* existed since medieval times. In Rome, its embryonic form had been established, in 1347, with the *Ordinamenti dello buono stato*, the government program attributed to Cola da Rienzo, then at the head of the *Popolo Romano*.²⁴ With the much hoped for Holy Year approaching, but aware of the risk of hosting it in a starving city, Cola sanctioned the establishment of granaries in each rione. But the importance of this measure was also directly related to its belonging to a set of antipatrician laws promulgated in the same document.²⁵

The baronial families, large landowners and agricultural producers, maintained in the countryside a feudal system of privileges and production. They controlled the roads of access to the city, bridges and gates, and their fortresses peppered the countryside, often giving refuge to bandits, to ensure "protection" from which, traders and travellers had to pay toll.²⁶ Wielding control over both agricultural production, and the means by which it was transported to the city, these families held power that was incompatible with the establishment of a centrally governed city-state.

The struggle of the emerging middle class of traders and small land owners that formed the bulk of the *Popolo* against the baronial class -- developing throughout the fourteenth century and widely documented by

22. "Et ipsa grascia intelligatur granum, farina, ordeum, mileum, legumen et omnes genus bladi, carnes, untum, oleum, vinum." Re, Camillo, ed., *Statuti della città di Roma*. Roma: 1880, p. 154. Quoted in Palermo, Luciano. *Mercati del grano a Roma tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Il mercato distrettuale del grano in età comunale*. Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1990, p. 132.

23. Palermo. *Mercati del grano*, cit., see especially Chapter Two: "La formazione del mercato distrettuale del grano e i modi del suo funzionamento," pp. 95-165.

24. See here, n. 28.

25. Id., see in particular on antipatrician laws, the section: "Mercato del grano, carestie e lotta antimagnatizia agli inizi del XIV secolo," pp. 115-121. Cf. also Duprè Theseider, cit., pp. 545-56.

26. Duprè Theseider, cit., p. 438.

chronicles, epistolaries, and especially the by-laws of the municipality of Rome itself -- was primarily based on economic motives. Only freedom of movement for people and goods would have enabled the middle class to participate in the lucrative supply of foodstuffs to the city, the only industry in Rome until mid-sixteenth century, when investment in the expanding real estate market started yielding higher gains.

But the control over roads was also a powerful political instrument. The economic historian, Luciano Palermo, has clearly demonstrated how, paradoxically, shortages were often not due to natural causes, but induced by those that held control over the production and supply of victuals. The threat of starvation, by preventing supplies from arriving to the city proved, on several occasions, an extremely effective way of blackmailing the Popolo into surrendering power.²⁷

The *Ordinamenti dello buono stato* render explicit the magnitude of the struggle undertaken by the Popolo to reduce baronial power and ensure a steady supply of foodstuffs to the city. Articles 8, 9 and 10 assert that "le rocche romane, li ponti, li puorti, le porte, le fortellezze, non deijano essere guardate per nisciun Barone, se non pello Rettore dello Puopolo;" that "nullo Nobile pozza havere aicuna fortellezza" and that "li Baroni deijano tenere le strate secure et non recipere li latroni et li malefattori et che deijano fare la grascia".²⁸

27. Palermo, *Mercati del grano*, cit., pp. 120-21. Food, especially grain, was used as an instrument of political blackmail long after the 14th and 15th centuries. Cf. Delumeau, Jean. *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI siècle*. Vol. II, Paris: Boccard, 1959, pp. 619-22.

28. "The roman castles, bridges, ports and fortresses cannot be held by any baron other than the governor of the Popolo Romano;" "no nobleman should hold any fortress;" the barons have to ensure that streets are secure, are not to give refuge to thieves and brigands, and are to produce the *grascia*." Frugoni, Arsenio ed., *Vita di Cola di Rienzo di Anonimo Romano*. Firenze: Sansoni, 1957, pp. 57-8. Quoted in Palermo, Luciano. *Il Porto di Roma nel XIV e XV secolo. Strutture socio-economiche e statuti*. Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1979, p. 73. A similar phrasing had been used already by Cola when, immediately after his takeover, he made the barons swear to "non venire contra allo tribuno e alli Romani, e de dare la grascia, e tenere le strade secure" ("not to oppose the Tribune or the Popolo Romano, to supply the *grascia*, and to keep roads safe." Anonimo Romano. *Cronica*. Porta, Giuseppe, ed., Milano: Hoepli, 1981, p. 115. Quoted by Palermo, *Mercati*, cit., p. 130, n. 148). Cf. also Massimo Miglio, "Gruppi sociali e azione politica nella Roma di Cola di Rienzo," *Studi Romani*, (1975), p. 451.

To enforce the Ordinamenti, the Popolo established a militia for the surveillance of roads, prepared a small fleet to protect mercantile ships headed for Rome, and meted out severe punishment to bandits and those guilty of acts of piracy. The elimination of feudal privileges of economic significance -- such as the levying of tolls on roads and bridges, and their garrisoning to ensure the safe passage of people and goods -- were of primary importance in the Popolo's process of assertion of sovereignty over Rome and its territory. In this context, the strategic importance of well-stocked granaries, becomes evident.

Wielding control over the Abbondanza, that is the supply of victuals to the city, meant holding a very crude yet effective form of power over its citizens. But control over the Abbondanza also provided a more refined political advantage, the ability to prevent famines being a powerfully legitimizing instrument. The abundance of food -- but especially of bread, laden with symbolic significance, represented in festivals, and religious ceremonies -- was the unmistakable sign of "buon governo," good government, and viceversa its shortage, manifest proof to the contrary.

It is thus not surprising that the Abbondanza was one of the first institutions which the popes strove to gain control over. In 1398, when Boniface IX effectively seized power, he also took over the entire structure of the Annona, claiming for himself the right to appoint both *grascerii*, the magistrates in charge of the institution. Previously, even if subject to formal papal approval, one of the magistrates was appointed by the Popolo.²⁹

By 1448, under Nicholas V, now a much more stable, organized and centralized institution than the one founded in the previous century, and with grain trade a state monopoly, the Abbondanza's headquarters were established in Campo de' Fiori.³⁰

Sixtus' early interest in the Abbondanza spurred Stefano Infessura to accuse him of hoarding grain to starve the people.³¹ The accusation was

²⁹. Palermo, *Mercati* cit., pp. 190-91.

³⁰. Palermo refers to a document of that year that mentions the "Abundancia in campo de flore." Palermo, Luciano. "L'approvvigionamento granario della capitale: strategie economiche e carriere curiali a Roma alla metà del Quattrocento." *Roma Capitale (1447-1527)*, Gensini, Sergio ed. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, 1994, pp. 145-205, p. 165. Cf. also Palermo, *Mercati*, cit., p. 165.

³¹. Infessura, cit., p. 157. Cf. also Pastor, cit., vol. II, p. 617.

probably unfair, but stemmed from the pope's effective take-over of the Abbondanza. The customs duties collected by the Dogane on all goods that arrived to the city and -- in the case of the Abbondanza -- on foodstuffs that were exported from the city, represented one of the largest sources of income of the municipality of Rome. With the *Ordo Camerae* of 1481, Sixtus IV claimed for himself, among other things, the proceeds of the Dogane, leaving the municipal authorities with only shreds of their former economic autonomy.³² Even if the Popolo still had some formal administrative duties, the Abbondanza thus passed, in economic terms, entirely in papal hands.

At the Trastevere end of the route established with the construction of the bridge was the other Dogana, that of Ripa Grande, just inside the Porta Portese. When Ponte Sisto was building Ripa Grande was, as the name suggested, the largest port on the Tiber within the city confines. It was by far the city's most important point of entry for goods since the route over sea, notwithstanding the threat posed by pirates, was much safer than over the consular roads. It was also the main port of arrival for people and had, for this reason, since the 11th century at least, also been called Ripa Romea, the *romei* being Rome-bound pilgrims.

Another port existed on the opposite bank, at the northern foot of the Aventine: it was called Ripa Greca, from Santa Maria in Schola Greca, the Greek hospice close by. Further downstream, at the southern edge of the hill, the port was popularly known as Marmorata, because of the marble unloaded in antiquity for the palaces and temples of the Palatine and Aventine. Once the most important of the city it was, during the middle ages, almost entirely supplanted by Ripa Grande. By the fifteenth century, Marmorata was only one of the minor ports to which smaller boats could moor, similar to the many other that dotted the course of the river.

These smaller ports or *posterule* were, in antiquity, openings in the walls along the banks, and in medieval times nothing more than muddy clearings among the houses that lined the Tiber banks. The most important was Ripetta, on the east shore, a short way downstream from the Porta del Popolo, where

32. Bauer, Clemente. "Studi per la storia delle finanze papali durante il pontificato di Sisto IV." *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria* 50 (1927) 319-47.

boats arriving from the northern hinterland of Rome -- carrying mostly foodstuffs, and wood to burn -- docked.

In the fifteenth century, three interconnected events greatly increased the number of ships that docked at Ripa: the return of the papal curia and its effect on consumption, especially of luxury goods; the demographic increase connected to this return, as the inhabitants of the countryside abandoned it in search of an easier way to earn their living in an expanding city; and the consequent decrease of agricultural production of the Agro Romano, the food-producing district of Rome.³³

The three phenomena led to a strong rise in the quantity of goods that needed to be imported into the city. An indication of the increased importance of the port is the juridical and fiscal reorganization of the Dogana di Ripa, codified in the by-laws promulgated by the Popolo in 1369 and essentially confirmed by the Apostolic Chamber, who had in the meantime taken over, in 1416.³⁴

The port's importance was not only urban-level: the goods that arrived at Ripa (construction material, leather, weapons, precious stones, cloth, foodstuffs, especially wine), disproportionate to the needs of the city, indicate that Rome served as a general market for the rest of the papal states.³⁵ For the city itself, the river and its ports were vital. With the words of a chronicler writing a few years later, "if Rome did not have its river, it would die of hunger within three days and would be abandoned by its inhabitants."³⁶

The Dogana di Ripa had jurisdiction over the whole of the Roman coast, from mount Circeo, 90 km south of Rome to mount Argentario, 120 km north. Ships docking at any port between these two had to pay import duties calculated as a percentage of the value of goods unloaded, including those subsequently

33. Palermo, Luciano. "Documenti su alcuni aspetti della vita economica di Roma nel XV secolo: il problema delle importazioni." *Anuario de estudios Medievales* 9 (1974-79) 573-84.

34. Lombardo, Maria Luisa. *Camera Urbis Dohane Ripa et Ripecte. Liber Introitus 1428*. Roma: Istituto Studi Romani, 1978, p. 39.

35. Id., p. xxv.

36. Giovanni da l'Herba, *Itinerario delle poste per diverse parti del mondo*. Venezia, 1564. Quoted in Delumeau, Jean. *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI siècle*, vol. I. Paris: De Boccard, 1957, p. 121.

transported over land to Rome. The Dogana di Terra, close to Sant'Eustachio, behind Piazza Navona, being only competent for the much smaller quantity of goods transported entirely over land.³⁷

Not all goods, however had to pay customs at the Dogana: cereals were exempt, to encourage their importation into the city.³⁸ Shipments of cereals were thus not recorded on the registers of the Dogana di Ripa and had to proceed to Campo de' Fiori to be inspected and registered by the officials of the Abbondanza, under whose jurisdiction they fell, before they could be sold, stored in granaries, or otherwise distributed.

Except, that is, if they were destined to the pope and his cardinals: in which case, being exempt from duties, they avoided the detour to Campo and proceeded directly to the Vatican along Via Sancta/Lungara. As we will see below, this spurred repeated papal attempts, lasting until the early seventeenth century, to create a direct connection between Ripa Grande and Borgo, by extending the Lungara.

In times of war, however, the more circuitous route from Ripa across Ponte Sisto and back on the other side of the Tiber across the Sant'Angelo, was the only one protected, along its entire length, by the walls. The fortifications along the Janiculum, connecting the two fortified enceintes of Borgo and Trastevere, not being built until much later, in 1642, by Urban VIII.

The construction of Ponte Sisto facilitated the transportation of grain from Ripa to Campo de' Fiori. Before its construction, three bridges connected Rome to Trastevere: the two of the Tiber Island -- Ponte Fabricio, or Alli Quattro Capi, and Ponte Cestio -- and, a short way downstream, Ponte Santa Maria, later Ponte Rotto. But this roman bridge collapsed and had to be rebuilt a number of times, in 1230, and in 1422. In mid sixteenth century, threatening to ruin, it was restored under Paul III and Julius III, to no avail: it collapsed again, only a few years later, in 1557. Reconstructed in 1573-75, it collapsed definitively in 1598.³⁹

37. Esch, Arnold. "Le importazioni nella Roma del primo Rinascimento. Il loro volume secondo i registri dogananli romani degli anni 1452-1462" in *Aspetti della vita economica e culturale a Roma nel 400. Fonti e studi del Corpus Membranarum Italicarum*. Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1981, pp. 7-79, p. 20.

38. The exemption was clearly stated in the by-laws of the Dogana di Ripa of 1369 and repeated in those of 1416. Cf. Lombardo, cit., pp. 87, 91.

39. D'Onofri, *Il Tevere e Roma*, cit., pp. 142-55.

As for the Isola Tiberina, it was hardly suited to the passage of large numbers of people, or goods. In 292 B.C., a temple to Aesculapius, the healing divinity, was built on it and ever since it has hosted hospital facilities. In 1549, the still existing hospital, the Fatebenefratelli, was built on it and, during the plague of 1656-57, the whole island, its bridges blocked up, was transformed into the *lazzaretto brutto*, an urban isolation hospital for those with manifest signs of the disease.⁴⁰

But an even more important drawback was the fact that the island, since the middle ages, was one of the city's main strongholds. In 1084, when Henry IV occupied Rome, only Castel Sant'Angelo and the island remained unconquered. When it was occupied again, in 1111, this time by Henry V, Gregory VII barricaded himself in the island, under the protection of the Pierleoni.⁴¹ By late eleventh century, this powerful family of financiers were ensconced on the island and presumably built the tower that still commands the bridgehead of Ponte Quattro Capi. Around 1300, their mansion and tower passed to the Caetani, who resided on the island until 1522, when they moved to Tor di Nona, keeping however their property on the island until as late as 1638.⁴²

The inadvisability of having vital supplies go across the baronial stronghold was obvious. Before Ponte Sisto, most of the grain bound for Campo de' Fiori must have been laboriously ferried in small boats that docked at the Posterula del Pulvino, the 6th postern between Porta Flaminia and Ponte Sisto, probably close to the current vicolo del Polverone (that would have gotten its

40. "Brutto" was anything that came into direct contact with the disease, from physicians to the boats and carts in which the sick were carried. Besides the island, there were four other lazarettos, on the hills around the city, for convalescing patients and those suspected of having been contaminated: the island was obviously considered the most segregated place in town. Cf. D'Onofrio, Cesare. "Per Roma si sta con molto timore: la peste degli anni 1656-57" in *Roma val bene un'abiura*. Roma: Fratelli Palombi, 1976, pp. 221-59.

41. Krautheimer, Richard. *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 149-50.

42. For the construction of the Pierleoni fortifications on Tiber Island, see Krautheimer, cit., p. 305; on transfer of property to Caetani, id., p. 320. On Caetani property on the island in the 16th and 17th centuries, see Campitelli, Alberta. "L'isola Tiberina e il progetto di un museo di storia urbana" in *Tevere: un'antica via per il Mediterraneo*. Catalog of the exhibition at San Michele a Ripa. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1986, p. 257.

name from it), only a few yards upstream from where Ponte Sisto would be built.⁴³

The bridge spurred the growth of both quarters it connected. In the area around Campo de' Fiori, the most populated of Rome, and of central commercial importance, Sixtus strove to solidly gain control. He achieved this through three main means: he installed papal representatives to keep in check the powerful families of the area; he ensured military surveillance of the vital infrastructure he had built; and encouraged family members to build their palaces around the Campo.

The families that could challenge papal authority in the area were the Orsini, the allied Capodiferro, and the Savelli, allies of the rival Colonna. The Orsini, most powerful of the three, owned palaces at San Pantaleo, and at Monte Giordano but, since the middle of the twelfth century, had established their main family palace, built on the foundations of the Theater of Pompey, right on Campo de' Fiori. In 1291, their property extended from S. Maria in Grottapinta to the Tiber and they could muster an army of 3,000 - 4,000 men but strove, as was customary, to keep conflict outside their own neighborhood.⁴⁴

The Capodiferro instead belonged to the middle class of grain and cattle merchants, the *bovatteri*, whose wealth had consolidated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At this early stage more likely subject to, rather than allies of, the Orsini, they had settled close to Campo de' Fiori, around the same time as the baronial family.⁴⁵ Their *monte*, that is, the extension of their property -- their mansion, houses, warehouses and shops -- was of considerable extent, stretching from Campo to the bridge, around the crossroads formed by the Arenula and the Via dei Pettinari.

⁴³. The by-laws of the Popolo Romano issued around 1471, under Paul II, state that no "posterolaticum" (fiscal equivalent to the "ripatico" paid at Ripa grande), was due on "aliqua grascia que veniret ad urbem," any foodstuff entering the city, unloaded at this postern. Corvisieri, cit., p. 156.

⁴⁴. On Orsini property see Valtieri, Simonetta. "La zona di Campo de' Fiori prima e dopo gli interventi di Sisto IV." *L'Architettura Cronache e Storia* 30/2, n. 8-9 (1984) 648-60, p. 652. On the force they commanded see Cherubini, Paolo. "Il controllo dei luoghi" in *Un pontificato ed una città; Sisto IV (1471-1484)*. Miglio, Massimo et al. eds., Roma: Associazione Roma nel Rinascimento, 1986.

⁴⁵. Neppi, cit., document N. 2, p. 255.

Their power, and the threat it posed to papal authority, could not be underestimated. The Capodiferro had been directly involved in the supply of grain to the city, on which their family fortune was based, long before Sixtus was elected pope. In 1385 one Capodiferro, Lello Maddaleni, was in charge of collecting the "ripatico" of Ripa Grande, the fiscal predecessor of the import duties later to be collected by the Dogana di Ripa. Lello had also come to the aid of the city during a serious famine, by importing grain from Sicily -- an interesting instance in which the head of a prominent family acted as the ruler of a city, providing for its food needs, thereby acquiring corresponding status.

In 1408, another Capodiferro, Paolo Gosi, was lord of the castle of Ostia, in charge of inspecting the cargo of all Rome-bound ships.⁴⁶ The *castellano* would assign the ship's captain a document listing the goods transported, specifying their quantity, especially in the case of cereals, which could thus be unloaded at Ripa -- after duty on them had been paid.

It is unlikely by coincidence that Giuliano della Rovere, nephew of Sixtus and future Julius II, appointed bishop of Ostia and therefore lord of the castle in 1483, started to restore it the same year, appropriating himself of it in the process. Of strategic importance for the defence of Rome, commanding as it did the mouth of the Tiber and approaching ships, the castle was also the outernmost garrison of the Dogana di Ripa.⁴⁷

46. Neppi. cit., p. 10.

47. Work on the castle, directed by Baccio Pontelli, ended in 1486. On July 27, 1483, Sixtus also sent Baccio to inspect the castle of Civitavecchia, the northernmost fortification of the Roman coast; cf. Verdier, Philippe. "La rocca d'Ostie dans l'architecture militaire du Quattrocento," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'histoire*, LVI (1939) 280-331, p. 298. For an instance of the military importance of the castle see, in the same essay, the account of the Neapolitan ships that block the mouth of the Tiber during the war of Naples and Venice, against Sixtus, and how the fire from the castle routed them. Id., pp. 300-01. Cf. also Rocchi, E., "Baccio Pontelli e la rocca d'Ostia," *L'Arte*, I (1898) 27-31; Giordani, Paolo. "Baccio Pontelli a Roma," *L'Arte*, XI (1908) 96-112. Broccoli, Umberto. "Una fondazione Roveresca ad Ostia antica: le vicende della rocca di Giulio II tra storia locale ed archeologia" in *Sisto IV e Giulio II mecenati e promotori di cultura*. Bottaro, Silvia; Dagnino, Anna and Rotondi Terminiello, Giovanna eds., *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Savona 1985*. Savona: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici della Liguria, 1990, pp. 117-26. On the importance of the fortifications of Ostia and Civitavecchia, and how they were restored and often visited by Sixtus' successors, see also: Delumeau, cit., p. 108.

Further along the Arenula were the Savelli, opposed by Sixtus during his whole papacy, as were their allies, the Colonna. In 1482, the measures against them culminated in the deprivation of the office of Maresciallo di Santa Romana Chiesa, held by Mariano Savelli, in punishment for having sided with the Colonna in their war against the pope. The Maresciallo was responsible for both civil and criminal cases brought against lay members of the papal curia. And the Savelli, who owned a prison, the Curia or Corte Savella on Via di Monserrato, and had an armed guard to enforce their sentences, exercised very manifest power.

To keep in check these potential enemies, and to garrison the grain route, Vianiesio Albergati, recently appointed Governor of Rome, was installed literally in their midst, in what would a few decades later become Palazzo Farnese.⁴⁸ The Governor of Rome -- an office established in 1436 by Eugene IV while exiled in Florence -- administered both civil and criminal justice and, more in general, governed Rome and its district, in the name of the pope. The office was generally in conjunction, as in the case of Albergati, with that of Vice Camerlengo of the Apostolic Chamber (roughly equivalent, in modern terms, to that of finance minister). The Governor was thus one of the most powerful men of the papal governing hierarchy. Furthermore, Albergati was the governor of St. Peter's Lands, one of the most important cereal producing provinces of Rome: there could hardly be anyone best suited to the surveillance of the grain route.⁴⁹

We do not know exactly when Albergati settled, with an armed guard, in the palace, but he is certainly there under Sixtus: on February 13, 1478, Albergati's heirs sell the palace to cardinal Pietro Ferriz.⁵⁰ He was appointed Vice Camerlengo by Paul II, on August 29, 1464 and might have moved to the palace on the Arenula following this appointment. Whether it occurred under Paul II, whose interest in Campo de' Fiori is well known, or under Sixtus,

48. The suggestion that the site was not chosen perchance is in Spezzaferro, Luigi. "Place Farnèse: urbanisme et politique" in *Le Palais Farnèse*, I, 1, Roma: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981, p. 86.

49. Del Re, Niccolò. *Monsignor Governatore di Roma*. Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1972, p. 65.

50. Frommel, Christoph Liutpold. *Palazzo Farnese*, 1973, 2, p. 103, doc. 1 e 2. (quoted by Spezzaferro, *Le Palais Farnèse*, cit., p. 85).

Albergati's move to the Arenula is unlikely by coincidence.⁵¹ A few dates are revealing: on July 12, 1473, with the bridge under construction, Sixtus issued the *Capitula declaratoria iurisdictionum Curiarum Urbis*. These drastically reduced the prerogatives of the Maresciallo di Roma, the title that had become hereditary with the Savelli in 1430. Furthermore, they subjected the Maresciallo to the Governor of Rome, with whom jurisdictional conflicts had occurred. With the *Capitula*, the pope endowed the Governor with the power to oversee the work of the Maresciallo and to sanction -- if necessary *etiam via facti*, even by resorting to very direct means -- the Maresciallo's decisions.⁵² Probably the same year, or very soon after the *Capitula*, Albergati was appointed Governor and, unless he was already in the palace on the Arenula, his appointment might have coincided with his settling there.⁵³

Albergati was not the only papal representative to settle in the area: on February 17, 1472 Leonardo, nephew of Sixtus, was appointed Prefect of Rome and, five days after his appointment, accompanied by a procession of cardinals and ambassadors, took possession of his assigned palace, in Campo de' Fiori.⁵⁴ In those same years, Sixtus might have also planned to have trusted family members build their palaces in the area.

Raffaele Riario, nephew of the pope, appointed cardinal in 1477 built, right next to Campo de' Fiori, the palazzo della Cancelleria. According to the most credited hypothesis, work on the Cancelleria did not start until 1488-89, five

51. Paul II's biographer, Michele Canensi, attributes to Paul II the establishment of the Grascia in Campo de' Fiori. (Cf. Gaspare da Verona, Michele Canensi. *Le vite di Paolo II*. Zippel, G. ed., (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 3, 16), Città di Castello, 1904. Quoted in Spezzaferro, *Le Palais Farnèse*, cit., p. 85. Palermo, reporting on a document of 1448 that already mentions the "Abundancia in campo de flore," attempts to explain Canensi's assertion with the complexity of the institution, that might have confused the chronicler. (Palermo, "L'approvvigionamento granario della capitale," cit., p. 165. Cf. n. 26, above). Canensi's assertion is in any case an indication of the interest in the area by Sixtus' predecessor.

52. Del Re, Niccoò. *Il Maresciallo di Santa Romana Chiesa custode del conclave*. Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1962, p. 31.

53. A document of 1474 refers to him with the title of Governatore. Del Re, Niccolò. *Monsignor governatore*, cit., p. 65.

54. Cherubini, Paolo. "Il controllo dei luoghi" in *Un pontificato ed una città. Sisto IV (1471-1484)*. Miglio, Massimo et al., eds., Roma: Associazione Roma nel Rinascimento, 1986, pp. 733-44, p. 740.

years after Sixtus' death. However, there are some indications that the building might have been planned under Sixtus, and that only his death prevented him from seeing it accomplished.⁵⁵

In 1483, Riario was appointed Camerlengo of the Apostolic Chamber and, on October 18 of the same year, cardinal titular of San Lorenzo in Damaso. Sixtus must have been in a hurry: he proclaimed Riario titular as soon as Francesco Gonzaga -- the previous holder of the title, who lived in Bologna and was reported to be ill -- died. Unless, it rather unceremoniously added, *iam obitus est*, he's dead already.⁵⁶ The title gave Riario the right to occupy the palace attached to San Lorenzo in Damaso, that he would rebuild "a fundamentis" a few years later. Riario, although he had other important palaces available -- such as that of the Cardinal Camerlengo Guillaume Estouteville, close to Sant'Apollinare which, as new Camerlengo, he was entitled to occupy -- moved immediately to the old palace of San Lorenzo and resided there from 1484 to February of 1492.⁵⁷

The construction of what would become the largest palace of Rome could hardly be justified in terms of increasing the family estate. As Sixtus himself had established in the bull of 1478, palaces including a titular church could not be inherited, but had to remain property of the Apostolic Chamber. Riario's appointment, and consequent right to inhabit the palace, was for life.

As Frommel has pointed out, however, had he wanted to ensure that the palace remain family property, he would hardly have chosen this site. Personal, rather than family aggrandizement might certainly provide an at least partial explanation for the monumental work. The impulse to build a permanent monument to family glory, precisely when it was losing its dynastic hopes, might be another.⁵⁸ Perhaps, though, the need to garrison the site, while it cannot alone explain the magnitude of the enterprise, might have represented an additional concern. And the Cancelleria perhaps now stands as a tribute to

⁵⁵. Frommel, Christoph Luitpold, "Il cardinal Raffaele Riario e il palazzo della Cancelleria" in *Sisto IV e Giulio II*, cit., pp. 73-85, p. 76. Cf. also Valtieri, Simonetta, "La fabbrica del palazzo del cardinale Raffaele Riario (la Cancelleria)." *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*. Serie 27, N. 169-174 (1982) 3-25, p. 3.

⁵⁶. Neppi, cit., pp. 42 ff.

⁵⁷. Frommel, C.L., "Il cardinal Raffaele Riario," cit., p. 76.

⁵⁸. Id., pp. 80-81.

the attempt to achieve control over the city through the construction of architectural landmarks.

Sixtus also strove to display his presence, with numerous choreographic processions he lead across Rione Parione on every possible occasion. There are at least 20 such occasions, documented by chroniclers, in which he made ample detours, on his way to and from the Vatican to various points in the city, in order to pass by Campo. In early June of 1481, for instance, after saying mass in S. Maria del Popolo, in thanksgiving for Mohamed II's death, he returned along Via del Corso. But instead of turning right on Via Tor di Nona (the most direct route to Ponte S. Angelo), he proceeded further south on the Corso, turned at the Collegio Romano, passed by Piazza della Minerva, and cut across to S. Andrea della Valle. From there, as he always did, he avoided the Via Papalis and cut further south, crossing Campo de' Fiori to go up Via dei Pellegrini, to Ponte S. Angelo.⁵⁹

With the powerful families around Campo de' Fiori kept in check; the grain route guarded by the Governor of Rome; trusted family members installed in the area; and the outermost end of the route, the Castle of Ostia, safely in Della Rovere hands, Sixtus' attention turned to the streets that connected the neighborhood to the rest of the city, and the Vatican. In the years following the Jubilee, Sixtus straightened, paved and restored the streets leading from the bridge to Campo de' Fiori and from there to Ponte Sant'Angelo.

In 1483, he enlarged and paved Via de' Pettinari, continuation of the bridge and, at its end, Via de' Giubbonari, as a still existing plaque at the beginning of Via de' Balestrari testifies. It was a slightly longer way to Campo, but had the advantage of avoiding Vicolo delle Grotte, a bottleneck that cut right through the monte of the Capodiferro.⁶⁰

A few years earlier, in 1479-80, Sixtus had restored Via del Pellegrino, connecting Campo to the current Via de' Banchi Vecchi, which must have been all but occluded before the pope enlarged it, by cutting off part of S. Lorenzo in

59. Cherubini, cit., p. 741.

60. Spezzaferro, "Place Farnèse," cit., p. 87.

Damaso: even today, it is barely 5 meters wide.⁶¹ Together with Via S. Celso (now de' Banchi Vecchi), also restored by Sixtus, the Pellegrino led directly to Canale di Ponte, the current Via del Banco di S. Spirito. Also this street was restored before the Jubilee, in 1473-74, and again in 1480. Having thus established a seamless route between Ripa, Campo de' Fiori, and Ponte Sant'Angelo, Sixtus directed his efforts at improving the connection between the rest of the city and the Vatican.

In 1480, he straightened and paved the Via Recta iuxta Flumen, the current Via Tor di Nona, called Sistina after his intervention. It connected the second most important port of Rome, Ripetta, to Ponte Sant'Angelo. In the same years, he restored the Via Recta (currently Dei Coronari), most likely up to Cinque Lune, the piazza that connected it to Piazza Navona. Finally, he restored a segment of the Via Papalis, the processional route from the Vatican to St. John the Lateran, in the tract from Ponte S. Angelo to the southern end of Piazza Navona. This had also been cleared and paved in 1477, when Sixtus transferred there the main market from the square of the Campidoglio and the slopes of the Capitoline Hill where it had been held for centuries.⁶²

A comprehensive analysis of Sixtus' urban plan is quite beyond the scope of this work. However, what appears obvious if we consider the streets on which he intervened, is that he firmly anchored the vital points of the city to the citadel across the river, where he had established his seat, the first pope to permanently do so. Although Ceen implicitly suggests that Sixtus restored for processional reasons the in-town section of Via Papalis, papal intervention seems rather focused on more material concerns -- such as connecting the new seat of the marketplace to Ponte S. Angelo, i.e. Borgo.⁶³ Removing the market from the capitol to Piazza Navona which -- with Via Recta/Coronari, and the segment of the Papalis from Pasquino to the bridge -- he linked at both ends to Ponte Sant'Angelo, he shifted the whole center of gravity of urban life, leaving the capitol at both its physical and political margins.

61. The years in which Via Pellegrino is restored are known by a document of 1480 in which S. Lorenzo in Damaso is compensated for the part demolished. Valtieri, cit., p. 651

62. Infessura, cit., p. 83.

63. Ceen, cit., pp. 31-33.

Papal action extended to the rione across the Tiber as well. In Trastevere, two projects by Sixtus are particularly significant: the restructuring of the church and convent of S. Cosimato, and that of the church of S. Salvatore ad Pede Pontis.

The church of S. Cosimato, or SS. Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea, dating back to the tenth century, was entirely restructured by Sixtus, who changed its facade and orientation.⁶⁴ Sixtus had it face westwards, and the facade built on the *Rua* or *Campus Judaeorum*, the road that connected Porta Portese to Porta Settimiana. He also restored the convent, building a second cloister and, on both the church and convent facade, placed a dedicatory inscription.⁶⁵

The convent was one of the richest in Rome, owning properties both in Latium and Rome, as is recorded in various documents of its vast archive.⁶⁶ It was also one of the convents most favored by the Roman patriciate: the Orsini, Savelli, Colonna, Farnese and Carafa were among the families that resorted to the convent as the only other viable alternative to marriage for their daughters. Sixtus himself had a sister, Franchetta della Rovere, a nun in S. Cosimato, and this has been generally mentioned as the most natural reason for the massive restructuring of the convent.

What should be emphasized, however, is both the reorientation and the inscription, signalling the pope's expectation that it would be read by many. On the Du Pérac view of 1577, it is immediately apparent how the reoriented S. Cosimato faced the road (labelled *Campus Judaeorum* at one end and *Longara* at the other), connecting the "entry" and "exit" gates of Trastevere, and being the only substantial building on it. The *Rua*, even on the Nolli map of 1748, is still a road winding through fields, entirely uninhabited until the end next to the Lungara, except for the large convent complex.

But *Rua* was, or could have become, an important thoroughfare: it connected Ripa Grande and Porta Portese to the Lungara. Entering through Porta Portese, or disembarking at Ripa, people and goods traveled along this

⁶⁴. Müntz, cit., vol. III, p. 159.

⁶⁵. "Sixtus III pont. max. fundavit anno iubilaei MCCCCLXXV" -- although work, started in 1474, did not end until 1482. Müntz, cit., vol. III, p. 159.

⁶⁶. Sicari, Giovanni. "Monastero dei Santi Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea: sue proprietà in Roma." *Alma Roma* 23 (1982) 30-44.

road until they came on to the Trastevere portion of the Lungara. There they could either enter one of the several alleys leading to Ponte Sisto and Rome, or remain on the Lungara, which would lead them to Borgo.

Thus Sixtus' work on S. Cosimato might have been part of a plan to restore and enlarge Rúa Judaeorum, increasing its importance and encouraging building along it, as he had done around Ripetta. After Sixtus' death, the plan must have been abandoned and S. Cosimato survived as an isolated fragment. The popes that came after him, starting with Julius II, would prefer opening a new street by prolonging Via Lungara in a straight line, even if it meant knocking down built areas, rather than developing an already existing one that wound through fields.

An inscription very similar to that of S. Cosimato, Sixtus placed on the facade of the church of S. Salvatore ad Pede Pontis, at the "foot" of Ponte S. Maria in Trastevere. The church, at the beginning of the Lungaretta, the ancient *Trans Tiberim*, was restored in the same years as S. Cosimato. As can be seen in a drawing by Cruyl, the facade of the church formed a tilted backdrop, smoothing the transition from the bridge to the street. The inscription it bore, commemorating Sixtus' efforts in the Jubilee year, would have been clearly legible only to those crossing the bridge to the Lungaretta.

The Lungaretta, connecting Ponte S. Maria, then still standing, and the Lungara, would be eventually straightened by Julius II. But perhaps the thought to restore it had already occurred to Sixtus. It is an hypothesis for which there is yet no documentation, but the existence of this plan would provide an explanation for the extensive restoration work started by Sixtus in the church, at the junction formed by the Lungaretta and the bridge.

On August 12, 1484, Sixtus died. His immediate successors were Innocent VIII (1484-92) and Alexander VI (1492-1503), but the threads of his urban plan would be picked up again by Giuliano della Rovere, elected Julius II on October 31, 1503.

Julius II

Around 1507-08, Julius II opened the Via Giulia, straightened the parallel Via Lungara and planned to connect them at the north, as they were by ponte Sisto at the south, by reconstructing the Triumphalis bridge, emulating his uncle's feat. Via Giulia symbolizes the continuity between the work of the two Della Rovere popes: had the Triumphalis been built, the street would have connected two of Sixtus' most important works, Ponte Sisto and the hospital of Santo Spirito, extensively rebuilt by Sixtus.

Topping the system formed by Via Giulia and Lungara, the hospital, a monument to papal piety, commanded the two approaches to the Vatican. It was the first building to be seen from those crossing Ponte Sant'Angelo, its dimensions more impressive than today, with its two wings faced by small buildings, and St. Peter's still only a vast incomplete project. The other approach was through the Lungara, and under the gate of Santo Spirito. Those travelling along the Lungara would enter Borgo, skirting the western flank of the hospital to emerge, as they still do, in the square formed by the Della Rovere palace and the tilted façade of the church of Santo Spirito.

Via Giulia has been the object of a number of studies.⁶⁷ Less well known are Julius' works in Trastevere -- which are in some instances a continuation of, and in others a change of direction with respect to his uncle's plans. The most important connection between the Vatican and Trastevere was the Lungara, which Julius planned to prolong all the way to Ripa Grande.⁶⁸

67. See especially Salerno, Luigi; Spezzaferro, Luigi and Tafuri, Manfredo. *Via Giulia; una utopia urbanistica del 500*. Roma: Staderini, 1973, 1975, and the bibliographic note p. 66, footnote n. 4. See also Tafuri, Manfredo, "«Roma instaurata.» Strategie urbane e politiche pontificie nella Roma del primo Cinquecento" in *Raffaello architetto*. Frommel, Christoph Liutpold, Ray, Stefano and Tafuri, Manfredo eds. Milano: Electa, 1984. For the years in which Via Giulia was opened, cf. *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 47.

68. This hypothesis, first suggested by Bruschi (Bruschi, Arnaldo. *Bramante Architetto*. Bari: Laterza, 1969, p. 631), is also supported by a text by Martinelli. Writing in 1644, he asserts that "nella Longara (drizzata dalla porta di S. Spirito fino alla Settimiana da Giulio Secondo, il quale haveva animo di tirarla fin à Ripa, con mandare à terra tutti gl'edificii, che da l'una, e l'altra banda l'havessero impedita) vedrete ...". Martinelli, Fioravante. *Roma ricercata nel suo sito, et nella scuola di tutti gli antiquarii*. 5th edition, Venezia, 1677, p. 24. The first edition was published in Rome, 1644.

The plan was actually implemented by Paul V Borghese who, in 1611 opened Via S. Francesco a Ripa that -- except for the interruption of S. Maria in Trastevere, which could evidently not be demolished -- forms with the Lungara a straight axis connecting the Vatican to the port. At least one other pope before Paul V had planned to do the same: according to an *Avviso* of 1588, Sixtus V Peretti wanted to "knock down buildings from Porta Settimiana in Trastevere to Ripa Grande, to open a beautiful street in the direction of S. Paolo [across the Tiber]." ⁶⁹ It is unlikely that Julius shouldn't have thought to do the same, as this would have been the most logical conclusion of the Lungara he had already straightened.

His other main intervention in Trastevere, as previously mentioned, was on the Lungaretta. He straightened and enlarged the street, perhaps with a mind to restore Ponte S. Maria. This bridge was probably still standing, if in precarious conditions, providing a third connection (after Ponte Sisto and the Tiber Island) between Trastevere and the city. ⁷⁰ There is no documentation regarding this intention, but it is easy to imagine the thought to restore the bridge -- on which construction would actually start in 1548, initially on a Michelangelesque project -- occurring to Julius, as it extended the straight axis of the Lungaretta to across the Tiber.

As previously mentioned, the idea to restore the Lungaretta and its bridge had perhaps already emerged during Sixtus IV's reign. If my hypothesis were true, it would indicate an earlier conception for some of the Trastevere interventions attributed to Julius. The increased importance of Ripa Grande in Trastevere evidently spurred efforts to improve the road system of this rione, and its connection to the city and the Vatican. Thus Sixtus restored San Salvatore on the Lungaretta and S. Cosimato, and perhaps restored Rua Judaeorum, the road connecting Porta Portese and Ripa Grande to Ponte Sisto.

⁶⁹. "Dare un taglio da porta Settimiana in Trastevere fino a Ripa grande, et farvi una bellissima strada, che vada a rispondere verso S. Paolo." *Avvisi*, Jan. 30, 1588. BAV Urb. Lat. 1056, f. 52, published in Petrucci, Giulia. *Una strada del Seicento a Roma: la via di S. Francesco a Ripa*. Roma: Kappa, 1995, p. 11. The quotation from the *Avviso* was first published in: Proia, Alfredo; Romano, Pietro. *Roma nel Cinquecento: vecchio Trastevere*. Roma: Tip. Agostiniana, 1935, p. 88.

⁷⁰. For a reliable history of the construction and various restorations of Ponte S. Maria, see D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Il Tevere*, op. cit., pp. 142-55.

While Julius would restore the Lungara and Lungaretta, the main thoroughfares of the rione.

In the city east of the Tiber, the continuity of Julius' urban policy with Sistine interventions is already well known: Via Giulia would have been meaningless without Ponte Sisto. But between the papacy of Sixtus and that of Julius, a change occurred in the approach to urban planning. Sixtus' restored already existing streets, or enhanced them by restoring buildings he "imprinted" with his name. In Trastevere, he proceeded with small, isolated, interventions that restored, or more clearly marked, existing routes.

In Rome as well, for all the attention devoted to its road system, Sixtus did not open any new streets, except for the short Via Sistina-Borgo Vecchio in Borgo. Julius was instead already a Renaissance pope: he opened new straight roads, demolishing built areas, destroying the internal unity of neighborhoods, and connecting distant ones. The utilization of urban strategies as a political instrument did not start with Julius. Through his urban policy Sixtus pursued similar aims, which were however expressed by projects that were physically different from Julius', whose plans in some instances proved impracticable.

Thus the project to extend the Lungara in a straight line found an insurmountable barrier in the built environment that will prove insurmountable, notwithstanding repeated attempts by Julius' successors. The opening of Via S. Francesco a Ripa by Paul V was the last attempt to realize an impossible plan. In 1624, Urban VIII, paved the street and lined it with trees, effectively decreeing the abandonment of the project.⁷¹

⁷¹. Petrucci, cit., p. 30.

Regola's "nazioni forestiere"

To the Trastevere port -- with the return of the popes and the calling of Jubilees at 25 year intervals -- arrived increasingly large numbers of Romei. Thanks also to Ponte Sisto, Regola was the first rione of the city proper to which they arrived and in which, often, they settled. Foreigners (mostly Spanish, French and Germans), tended to reside in the six central rioni: Campo Marzio, Ponte, Borgo, Parione, Regola and S. Eustachio, with each national group manifesting clear preferences. Between 1450 and the Sack of 1527, in Regola alone lived 20% of all the French in the city, 15% of the Spanish, and no less than 32% of the Germans, a percentage almost identical to that of the Florentines in rione Ponte.⁷² Regola and Parione (which includes Campo de' Fiori) together hosted almost 40% of Spanish, French, and Germans combined. In addition to these communities, there were the Italian nations: in the two rioni also lived Neapolitans and Sicilians (33%), Tuscans (28%), and Lombards (22%).⁷³

Regola and Parione were thus, not surprisingly, among the rioni with the highest number of inns and taverns (and brothels). The center of the Roman hotel industry, since the fourteenth century was, apart from the area around the Vatican and Ponte S. Angelo, that of Campo de' Fiori. In 1526, the importance of Parione was surpassed by neighboring Regola, which had become very densely populated, especially along the Tiber.⁷⁴ Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Regola will remain one of the rioni with the highest number of "hotel" facilities: together with Parione and Ponte, it comprised almost 40% of all those existing in Rome.⁷⁵

Hospitality and accomodation to pilgrims was also provided by the numerous national hospices existing in the area. When Ponte Sisto was built four hospices were already functioning: S. Brigida of the Swedes, S. Niccolò and S. Tommaso, both Spanish, and the English St. Thomas.

⁷².Lee, Egmont. "Gli abitanti del rione Ponte" in *Roma Capitale*, cit., pp. 317-43. Lee bases his figures on a collection of private deeds written between 1450 and 1480 and the *Descriptio Urbis*, the census of 1526-27.

⁷³. Lee, cit., Tables 11-12, pp. 327-28.

⁷⁴. Romani, Mario. *Pellegrini e viaggiatori nell'economia di Roma dal XIV al XVII secolo*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1948, p. 66.

⁷⁵. Id., p. 67.

The hospice of the Swedes -- established in 1406 in a small house in Piazza Farnese -- never developed to dimensions of any urban significance. It was dedicated to Bridget Birgersdotter, who lived from 1354 until her death, in 1373, in a house donated by Francesca Papazzurri, at the corner between Piazza Farnese and Via Monserrato. She was canonized in 1391, and the monastery of Vadsten in Sweden, that inherited the house, established the hospice in 1406, governed by the order she had founded. Most of the revenues of the hospice were based on donations and legacies of the small Swedish community. In 1687, at the death of Christine of Sweden, governor of the hospice, it owned a total of 9 houses and a plot of land at the "Quartaccio," now the western suburbs of the city.⁷⁶

Across Via Monserrato was S. Niccolò dei Catalani, a hospice for Catalan men, founded sometime during the reign of Innocent VI (1352-1362) by a Jacoba Fernández, or Ferrández, a Catalan who bought a house in the block now entirely occupied by the hospice and the Spanish church of S. Maria in Monserrato, between Via Giulia, Via della Barchetta and Via di Monserrato.

Entirely independent of it was a second Spanish institution, also established contemporaneously: S. Tommaso degli Spagnoli, for Catalan women, founded in 1363 by a Margarita Pauli, a Mallorquin. This second institution was built in the block that would later host SS. Giovanni e Petronio, the hospice of the Bolognesi, which probably replaced it. The house in which the hospice was established had a garden on the back, and the facade was most likely on Via del Mascherone, facing the flank of the future Palazzo Farnese. Other two houses, adjoining the first, constituted its whole assets.

At the death of their two founders the two Spanish hospices merged, governed by a Pons Astori, evidently a prominent member of the Catalan community, with the hospice that was more powerful -- as we will see happening in the case of St. Thomas -- taking over the smaller one. After 1425, no further mention is made of S. Tommaso degli Spagnoli and after 1446, the two houses it owned are sold. Neither must the hospice of S. Niccolò, however, ever

⁷⁶. Sibilgia, Salvatore. *La casa di S. Brigida in Piazza Farnese a Roma*. Roma: Tipografia Pace, 1960; De' Angelis, Maria Antonietta. *S. Brigida. Le chiese di Roma illustrate* N.S. 25. Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1991.

have attained very significant dimensions: in the Jubilee year of 1500, a total of 19 people slept there.⁷⁷

On June 23, 1506 a group of aragonese, catalan and *valenciennes* founded the confraternity of S. Maria in Monserrato that was to have its seat in S. Niccolò dei Catalani "next to the house of the hospital commonly said of the Catalans" and provide new impulse for the old hospice, by enlarging its constituency to include the three "nations."⁷⁸ The institution remained relatively modest until, around 1514, it started buying houses in the neighborhood. By the end of the century, with a by now familiar pattern, it would acquire the whole block, thanks also to numerous donations, recorded in the institute's alms book as specifically "to help buy houses."⁷⁹

In the same years, evidently marked by greater prosperity, the confraternity decided to build a larger church in emulation of that of S. Giacomo of the Castilian nation in Piazza Navona. The new church was built over the old one of S. Niccolò and, during the first period of its existence, bore both names. Construction on the new church started on June 8, 1518 but, already on February 8, payments had been made to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger for the work he did on his drawings."⁸⁰ Other payments to Sangallo are recorded in 1520, and construction proceeded until completion of the nave, covered by a temporary roof.⁸¹

The pace of acquisition of houses, and construction on the church, which slows down after 1520, denotes an economically less flourishing situation, which seems to improve only in the second half of the century, when the

77. Fernández Alonso, Justo. *S. Maria di Monserrato. Le chiese di Roma illustrate*. Roma: Edizioni Roma, 1968, pp. 9-10.

78. "Fincade en la casa del hospital vulgarment dit de Cathalans." Archivio della Obra Pia de España en Roma, vol. 664 "Libro de Cofadria;" Fernández, cit., p. 11.

79. "Per ajuda de la compra de les cases." Fernández, cit., p. 13.

80. "Sos treballs de fer los designes." Archivio della Obra Pia de España en Roma, vol. 664, f.336 ss. Fernández, cit., pp. 14-15.

81. For a discussion of the plans produced by Sangallo for the church, and the indecision expressed in them, see: Giovannoni, Gustavo. *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane*. Roma: Tipografia Regionale, 1959, vol. I, pp. 226-32. Spezzaferro has suggested that the reason in all plans the architect insists on a presbiterium with a very elongated shape, must be that there existed a chapel that he strove to preserve, very likely the ancient chapel of S. Niccolò. Spezzaferro, *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 411.

hospice resumes buying houses in its block. In 1552 a house called "della Torretta" is bought, and partly demolished, to build the left chapels of the church and then, in 1575, restructure the hospice: the architect was Bernardino Valperga, charged with the construction of a "novum hospitale" to replace the old, ruining one.

Between 1565 and 1579 two houses adjacent to the "torretta" are bought, and in 1583 the confraternity obtained from Gregory XIII the adjoining small church of S. Andrea, and the square in front of it, in exchange for a house they owned at S. Salvatore delle Coppelle.⁸² With this last acquisition, the hospice had expanded to occupy the whole block.

A year earlier, Giovanni Antonio Dosio had been appointed architect of the confraternity, although Valperga appears to be carrying out the *stime* and *misurazioni*, and proceeds with the plan drafted about 60 years earlier by Antonio da Sangallo, while Francesco da Volterra works on the facade, although only to its "cominciamento." Between 1582 and 1588, S. Andrea was transformed in the sacristy and the three chapels on the right, while work on the facade continued.

On July 3, 1592 the confraternity decided to build the chapels on the left and to complete the facade, the last stone of which was placed on September 6, 1593. To its left, in Via di Monserrato, the door to the new hospice was opened. From 1596 to 1598, Valperga vaulted the nave, while the vault of the apse is not completed until much later, in 1675-75, by Giovanni Battista Contini.⁸³ By then the dimensions of the hospice had become considerable: no fewer than 1,600 pilgrims are reported to have been slept during the Jubilee of 1600.⁸⁴

Directly facing this hospice and founded in exactly the same years was another foreign institution: S. Tommaso degli Inglesi. Named after St. Thomas of Canterbury and the Holy Trinity, it was founded in 1362 in a house on Via Arenula, immediately north of the Palazzo Farnese, by a confraternity of Englishmen that had probably resided in the quarter for many years. Regola and Parione were in fact the most populated by the members of the English

82. Fernández, cit., p. 21.

83. Id., p. 26. Cf. also Spezzaferro, *Via Giulia*, cit., pp. 410-15.

84. Fernández, cit., p. 32.

colony that had, if not been established, substantially increased in the fourteenth century, following the 1300 and 1350 Jubilees.

The hospice was founded in a house with a garden, on the tract of the ancient Arenula now Via di Monserrato, bought from a John Shepherd, *paternostrarius*, seller of rosary beads, with a deed signed on January 27, 1362. The hospital, as explicitly declared in the foundation deed, was to provide accomodation for the English pilgrims coming to Rome and to shelter and care for the "poor, infirm, needy and wretched persons from England."⁸⁵

The institution flourished, thanks to donations and legacies from the English community, the alms collected for it in England, and especially the urban property it carefully accrued. Between 1364 and 1383 the hospice acquired three more houses, next to the first. In 1406, it bought two plots of land adjoining the complex, and a few months later started to build on it. Three more houses were bought the same year, and in the same block, by an offshoot of the hospice, St. Edmund's in Trastevere: it's a very interesting example of a concerted and synergetic action. In the 42 years that had elapsed since its foundation, in the house bought from John Shepherd, St. Thomas had thus acquired the whole block except for Corte Savella and S. Brigida of the Swedes, forming a continuous line of property between the two institutions.

Between 1450 and 1453, the houses that formed St. Thomas were architecturally unified, floor levels were joined and the hospice was given the unitary facade we can see on the Tempesta map of 1593. Apart from the houses that formed the hospice itself, the institution had accumulated substantial property, especially in Regola and Parione. By the time it acquired almost its entire block, it owned a total of 28 houses, one palazzo, and various plots of land and vineyards. Of these, 8 houses (6 of which were part of the hospice itself), and 6 plots had been bought, while the rest had been acquired through legacies or donations, which explains their concentration in Regola and Parione, the two rioni in which most of the English resided. The hospice seems to be

⁸⁵. Linares, Bernard. "The Origin and foundation of the English Hospice" in *The English Hospice in Rome*. Exeter: Catholic Records Press, 1962, pp. 15-42, p. 18.

thriving, for by 1431 it owned 31 houses that provided a rent of 280 ducats per year.⁸⁶

A few years earlier, in 1396, a John White, Guardian of the Hospice, had decided to found another center in Trastevere, close to Ripa Grande for English merchants and sailors. This second hospice, St. Edmund's, was established in a building at the corner between the current Viale Trastevere and Via de' Genovesi.⁸⁷ It seems to have been independent of its mother institution, although in at least one instance -- in the take over of St. Thomas' block -- they joined forces.

St. Edmund's pursued an aggressive acquisitions policy as well. Within a few years of its foundation, it had acquired a whole block between Via Monte de' Fiori and (the current) Via de' Genovesi and, between 1401 and 1408 acquired six more houses in Trastevere and a *vigna* outside of Porta Portese, in addition to the three houses close to the English Hospice in Regola.⁸⁸

In 1464, the two hospices merged, St. Thomas taking over both property and direction of the Trastevere institution, thus further strengthening its economic basis. In 1548, hospice property consisted of no fewer than 45 houses and five vineyards. Seven of these houses were in Trastevere, evidently St. Edmund's legacy, the rest were mostly concentrated around the hospice itself, in Via di Corte Savella (now Monserrato), Via del Pellegrino, the parallel Via de' Cappellari and, between this and Piazza Farnese, Via de' Macellari, now Vicolo del Gallo.⁸⁹

Rentals provided by the houses were undoubtedly the main form of income for this hospice of considerable size: an inventory of 1445, mentions 63 beds altogether. Considering that beds were generally occupied by two at a time, the hospice was able to sleep over a hundred people at a time. This was well over

86. Allen, John. "Englishmen in Rome and the hospice, 1362-1474" in *The English Hospice*, cit., pp. 43-81 but see esp. pp. 44-54. Cristallini, Claudio; Nocchioli, Marco. *I "Libri di Case" di Roma. Il Catasto del Collegio Inglese (1630)*. Roma: Edizioni Kappa, 1987, pp. 7-8.

87. The whole hospice complex was demolished in the nineteenth century, for the opening of Viale Trastevere.

88. Cristallini, cit., p. 8.

89. Parks, George B. "The Reformation and the Hospice 1514-1559" in *The English Hospice*, cit., pp. 193-217, p. 218.

what was ordinarily required: except for Jubilee years, a total of 200 people might come per year.⁹⁰

The layout of the hospice is reproduced in the *Libro di Case* that Orazio Torriani, St. Thomas' architect, drafted in 1630.⁹¹ By then, the hospice occupied the whole block in which the first house had been bought from John Shepherd 270 years earlier, except for S. Brigida and the Corte Savella, finally taken over in 1652.

That year, the Savelli had unwisely asked permission to buy the locals of the adjoining hospice. Innocent X, planning to build in Via Giulia his own prison house -- the eloquent symbol of papal justice -- seized the opportunity to strike the powerful family, eliminating the feudal privilege it still held. The Corte Savella, the family's prisons, famed for their inhuman conditions (but one suspects that these conditions had been stressed in repeated attempts to do away with them), represented a jurisdictional power that was in competition with the papal one.

Taking advantage of the resistance that the English Hospice obviously put up, Innocent appointed Virgilio Spada "Deputato sopra la Congregazione delle Carceri di Via Savella." The latter in turn commissioned Antonio Grande, architect of the Apostolic Chamber, to execute a plan for the restructuring of the Corte by incorporating some houses along vicolo Montoro. Probably the only purpose of the plan was, from the very beginning, to show that rather than restoring the old prison, it was better to build a new one -- eventually Innocent's Carceri Nuove in Via Giulia.

The pope claimed Corte Savella was not secure due to the vicinity of other houses. Furthermore, its height prevented the hospice from benefiting of the *Tramontana*, the northern wind. He thus expropriate the Savelli of the whole Corte, dismembered it and, ironically, sold the part on Via Monserrato to the hospice.⁹² In the following years, St. Thomas built an impressive, five-storey facade, incorporating the Corte on the left, but leaving on the right a segment

⁹⁰. Allen, cit., p. 58.

⁹¹. Allen, cit., pp. 52-54; Cristallini, cit., p. 8. The 1630 plan, preserved in Archivio del Collegio Inglese, Libro 246, was first published, as far as I know, in Del Re, cit., plate IV.

⁹². The episode is analyzed by Tafuri in *Via Giulia*, cit., pp. 359-62.

of still visible *addentellato*, the manifest sign it considered its potential for expansion not exhausted.⁹³

Another large community, the most ancient of all Roman ones, resided in the area; it would play a significant, albeit indirect, role in the formation of the site of the Trinità, and is therefore worth examining in some greater detail. This was the Jewish community, existing in Rome since the first or second century BC. The first mention of the *schola judaeorum* -- *schola* being the accepted term for foreign communities and their compound in early medieval Rome -- is in a document dating to the last few years of the reign of Otto III of Germany (980-1002) when, together with other *scholae*, the Jews paid homage to the Emperor in Rome.⁹⁴

In the fifteenth century, they lived mostly in the streets between Ponte S. Angelo and Ponte Fabricio, of the Tiber Island, the commercial heart of the city. In the same century, restrictive conditions on the liberty of the Jews started being applied that would culminate in the establishment of the Ghetto, in 1555. The overturn seemed all the more sudden as apparently unannounced, but is actually the result of a long process.

In the first decades of the Quattrocento, the anti-jewish preachings of the minor observant orders, especially the Dominicans, had gained momentum. Preachers such as Bernardino da Siena, who started his 40 year long activity in 1405, and his disciple, Bernardino da Feltre, aroused sentiments that would eventually lead to the establishment of the *Monti di Pietà*: state owned pawnshops, whose declared aim was to prevent the poor from having to resort to the banking services of the Jewish community. These undercurrents proceeded parallel to often contrasting attitudes, but would gradually lead to the restrictive measures -- only apparently emerging out of the blue -- imposed in the middle of the following century.

In this chapter, I have analyzed the modifications that the bridge built by Sixtus IV gave rise to. Rione Regola, now crossed by the most important

⁹³. On the *addentellato* - the final portion of the wall between two properties left bare and tooth-like, for the attachment of future property - see Connors, Joseph. "Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism." *Romische Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (1989).

⁹⁴. Milano, Attilio. *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia*. Torino: Einaudi, 1963.

supply route of the city, acquired strategic importance and developed rapidly in the following years. In the second half of the sixteenth century, several charitable institutions were established. These were clustered around the crossing of Via Arenula and Via de' Pettinari, the street that was the continuation of Ponte Sisto. The massive complexes they built, radically transformed the area that represented the "entrance" to the rione. The most important of these institutions was the Trinità dei Pellegrini, whose history is examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 3. From private endeavor to papal control: the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti.

The Early Years

The confraternity of the S. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti was one of the several confraternities, founded in the sixteenth century, that started out very modestly, as an association of private citizens. It carried on without much change until Paul IV took it over. This patronage initiated its expansion, and inaugurated its history of monumental architecture.

The motives for papal interest in the Trinità are easy to understand. After the Council of Trent, the Catholic Reform in response to Lutheran criticism struggled to demonstrate the moral primacy of the Church of Rome. It was a struggle on which the survival of the Church itself depended. The spreading of Lutheran convictions was not only eroding the spiritual empire of the Church, but its economic one as well, as increasingly fewer provinces paid their tribute to the Apostolic Chamber. In this environment, hospitals and charitable institutions in general, acquired central importance. Works of charity were one of the most manifest demonstrations of Rome's moral rigor and pious zeal. As such, hospitals became a privileged instrument of papal policies.

Stimulated by the favorable religious and political climate, several lay confraternities were founded in the second half of the sixteenth century. Many of these, endowed at the beginning with very limited means, settled in Regola where property was cheaper than in the central rioni. These associations, connected by personal ties between the founders, shared religious convictions and missionary ideals. They opposed Lutheran "heresies" by attempting to establish, among their brethren, the discipline of the first Christians, through works of charity, and by theological persuasion. The confraternities generally started out as private initiatives that, once substantial enough, might attract papal attention, funding and support.

One of these associations was the Trinità dei Pellegrini. At the Trinità, pilgrims were met by members of the Confraternita della Dottrina Cristiana, whose purpose was to teach Catholic doctrine as established by the Council of Trent. These explained to pilgrims the recently established principles of

Catholic dogma, especially instructing the priests, "so that they should learn and apply them once they returned home."¹

Conversions were also very prized, and even considered one of the main aims of the Trinità. The few that did occur -- mostly of Calvinists, who would be housed for up to two months instead of the usual four days -- are described by chroniclers in great detail, and cited as instances of a supposedly much larger phenomenon.²

On another front, the Trinità was involved in the conversion of Jews. In their Oratory, facing the Tiber, on the current Vicolo delle Zoccolette, the "predica coattiva," was held since its inception. Witnessed by Michel de Montaigne in 1581 and John Evelyn in 1645, this was a sermon that Jews were forced to attend, and whose purpose was to convert them.³

Not surprisingly, the confraternity of the Trinità had emerged from the ideas of a group of pious men, who were closely involved in the religious climate of the Counter-Reformation. The most well known member of the group was Filippo Neri, eventually the founder of the Congregazione whose Oratory would launch Borromini's fame. Filippo was the mentor of Cesare Baronio, the

1. "Acciò l'imparino, se la faccino familiare, et la mettano nel ritorno in esequione nelle loro Chiese et paesi." *Breve ragguaglio*, cit., BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513, pp. 52-52v.

2. *Breve ragguaglio*, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513, pp. 58-63v.

3. The injunction to attend regular sermons had been issued by Nicholas III in 1278 but had never been applied, except sporadically, and never in Rome. In the 1570s two converts, Giuseppe da Firenze and Andrea de' Monti, started preaching in the oratory of the Trinità. They cannot have had a very large audience, and appealed to Gregory XIII who, with two bulls issued in 1577 and in 1584, established that one third of all the Jewish communities (reduced to a number of 100 men and 50 women in Rome), had to attend the weekly sermons. Milano, Attilio. *Il Ghetto di Roma*. Roma: Staderini, 1964, p. 269.

See also, in the minutes of the meetings held at the Trinità: "E perché N[ost]ro S[igno]re desidera che ogni sabbato si facci un sermone o predica alli Hebrei di Roma et questo si facci nello oratorio n[ost]ro per[ci]ò detta cong[regazion]e g[e]n[er]ale di comune concordia se contentò che si faccia detto sermone o predica nel detto oratorio." ASR, Trinità, b. 5, 17 novembre 1576, p. 17v.

For Montaigne's account I have consulted the Italian edition of Montaigne's journal: Michel de Montaigne. *Giornale del viaggio di Michel de Montaigne in Italia*. Firenze: Parenti, p. 1958, vol. II, pp. 24-25. For Evelyn's report I have consulted the excerpts published in: Segrè, Cesare. *Itinerari di stranieri in Italia*. Milano: Mondadori, 1938, p. 61.

future author of the monumental *Historia Ecclesiae*, and a friend of the older Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits, with whom the Trinità always maintained close links.

The idea of housing pilgrims itself, was hardly an innovative one. Hospitals in Italy had evolved from institutions called *xenodochi*, established since the early Middle Ages, to house pilgrims.⁴ Granting hospitality to those traveling for the love of God was a religious duty, and hostels for pilgrims were built in every town, especially along the major pilgrim routes, such as the Via Francigena that connected France to Rome. The large hospitals built from the fifteenth century onwards, however, were increasingly reserved for the urban poor, while travelers could find hospitality in the hospices of the foreign nations. In mid sixteenth century, the establishment of a hospice for pilgrims meant reviving an ancient custom, adapting it to the universalistic ideals of religious conquest, typical of post-tridentine Church.

For the first time after over a century, a charitable institution was not devoted to taking care of "one's own": the members of a guild, or of a nation. The Trinità accepted all pilgrims, regardless of citizenship, profession, social belonging or even religious creed. It also differed from the three urban-scale hospitals in Rome, who catered to the needs of the residents of the city. The Trinità was more akin to the enterprises that, especially due to the Jesuits, were being founded in the very same years: institutions for particular categories of people, such as the *malmaritate*, women abandoned (or locked up) by their husbands, or the *convertite*, repentant prostitutes. The common factor of these enterprises was a greater concern for the treatment of moral, rather than physical ailments.

Pilgrims did not evidently belong to one of these categories at risk, but the Trinità's founders were similarly concerned for their moral well-being, in the face of advancing Lutheran ideas. The chroniclers of the Trinità insist on how "heretics" would repent of their errors, and convert upon witnessing the charity exercised in the institution.

The development of the confraternity followed the general pattern of newly established charitable associations. The brethren would wander from one

⁴. See below, "The Early Hospitals," Chapter Six.

temporary seat to another, until they established a foothold, usually thanks to the donation of property -- and it was in the same block that they generally expanded. The Trinità was founded by a small group of devotees that started holding their meetings in the mid 1540s, in S. Girolamo della Carità, on Via di Monserrato, next to the Farnese palace.

On 16 August 1548, a brief of the Vicar of Rome, Filippo Archinto, gave official recognition to the association, establishing the Confraternita della Santissima Trinità del Sussidio.⁵ After the 1550 Jubilee, with fewer pilgrims arriving, the confraternity also opened the hospice to the convalescing poor prematurely dismissed by other hospitals, and became known as the Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti.

After the first meetings at San Girolamo, the brethren moved to S. Dorotea in Trastevere, just across Ponte Sisto. Soon afterwards, they moved to San Salvatore in Campo, a small church facing what would later become Piazza della Trinità. It was destroyed around 1640, during construction of the Monte di Pietà.⁶ We do not know exactly when the Trinità moved to this church but the *decreto* of 24 April 1552, the minutes of the first meeting of the confraternity to have survived, states that it was held in San Salvatore.

In 1552, the confraternity moved again. On 12 June, it held its first meeting "in the church of San Benedetto in rione Arenula, instead of in the usual S. Salvatore in Campo, no longer available to us."⁷ There is no further specification of why they could not use San Salvatore, but the move to S. Benedetto in Arenula would prove permanent.

The confraternity had acquired some recognition, for its activity with pilgrims, during the 1500 Jubilee. According to all historical accounts, during the Holy Year they were able to host hundreds of pilgrims per day.⁸ Emphasized

5. Filippo Archinto was member of the confraternity of San Girolamo della Carità, and therefore had personal contact with Filippo and his group. Cistellini, Antonio. *San Filippo Neri. L'Oratorio e la congregazione oratoriana. Storia e spiritualità*. Vol. I, Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989, p. 3.

6. See below, "The Barberini the Monte, and the Trinità," Chapter Four.

7. "In ecc[lesia] S[anc]ti Benedicti regionis Arenule in locus solite ecc[lesia] S[anc]ti Salvatoris in Campo nos impedit." ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 12 June 1552, p. 6.

8. According to Vasco Rocca, the Trinità hosted, during the Jubilee of 1550, 600 pilgrims per day, but she does not mention a source for her estimate. Ponnelle and Bordet lower the figure to 500 pilgrims per day. They base their assertions

as manifestations of divine favor by contemporaries, and uncritically accepted by recent authors, these fictional accounts are part of the Trinità's foundation myth. The miraculous reports of multitudes housed and fed at the Trinità abound in the histories written by chroniclers, generally members of the confraternity themselves.

Several such reports can be found in an anonymous history of the Trinità, written sometime after 1600. The author narrates a long series of monotonously similar events, all hinting at divine intervention. In all episodes, several hundred pilgrims would unexpectedly arrive at a depleted Trinità, and be nonetheless rapidly fed thanks to enormous quantities of food (generally bread), mysteriously appearing at the door.⁹

But even such hagiographic accounts, in which the number of pilgrims received are inflated to enhance the confraternity's prestige, refer to the second Jubilee since the Trinità's foundation, that of 1575. As for the preceding Holy Year, the author quite frankly states that the confraternity was almost caught unawares, being very poor in terms of brethren, houses and necessary provisions. They could provide only about 12 beds in a poor and small shelter, and little more than "kindness and charity."¹⁰ The pilgrims were received in

on a report addressed by the confraternity to Gregory XIII in ASR, Trinità, b. 371, but also cautiously add that it is impossible to verify the figure. Cistellini more prudently calculates a total of 67,000 for the whole year, equivalent to an average of just over 180 per day, without mentioning his source. Vasco Rocca, Sandra. *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini. Le chiese di Roma illustrate* 133. Roma: Istituto Studi Romani, 1979, p. 8. Ponnelle, Luigi. Bordet, Luigi. *San Filippo Neri e la società romana del suo tempo (1515-1595)*. Firenze: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1986 (first edition, 1931), p. 59, n. 1. Cistellini, cit., p. 32.

⁹. *Breve ragguaglio* cit., BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513, pp. 17-18v; 19v; 21-22. The episodes, that the chronicler does not hesitate to define instances of "divini subsidij," divine help, are explicitly compared to the miracle of the transformation of water in wine, or the feeding of multitudes with five loaves and two fishes.

¹⁰. "Essendo la Compagnia poverissima di fratelli, case, et robba (...) le sopravvenne l'anno S[an]to 1550 (...) però posero in ordine circa dodici letti, andando a raccorre molti pellegrini quali venuti al S[antissi]mo Giubileo miseramente dormivano per terra, sotto li porticali de S. Pietro, S. Gio[vanni], S. Paolo, S. Maria Maggiore et altrove, accarezzandoli in povero albergo, et picciol tetto, con amorevolezza et charità." *Breve ragguaglio*, cit., BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513, p. 8.

the few rooms of a house donated by Elena Orsini, by the Arco della Ciambella, one of the arcs of the Thermae of Agrippa.¹¹

The first extensive building campaign of the Trinità took place in the 1570s, in preparation for the 1575 Jubilee. During this campaign, refectories and dormitories that could accommodate hundreds of guests, were built from the foundations. In 1575, the confraternity did in fact receive an extraordinary number of pilgrims. According to a study based on the Trinità's documents, these amounted to around 175,000 for the whole year, about one third of which were women.¹² This would mean that the Trinità housed and fed an average of 480 people a day, with peaks of activity around Christmas, and during the week of Easter. According to the same estimate, Rome received that year a total of 400,000 pilgrims, which means that the Trinità alone housed over 40% of all pilgrims in the city.¹³

The estimate is confirmed by the manuscript of an anonymous author describing the complex of the Trinità during the Jubilee of 1650. The chronicler asserts that its two refectories could seat a maximum of 600 people at a time, although they generally seated 480.¹⁴ The refectories built in 1575 were not significantly expanded until 1737, and the figure mentioned for 1650 is therefore also roughly valid for the Jubilee of 1575.

11. "In alcune stantie contigue, vicino all[a] Ciambella." *Breve ragguaglio* BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513, pp. 7v. The Thermae of Agrippa were close to the current Largo di Torre Argentina. The house no longer exists, or is not detectable, in the first cadaster of the Trinità, dated 1597.

12. Romani, Mario. *Pellegrini e viaggiatori nella economia di Roma dal XIV al XVII*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1948, appendix XI, pp. 323 ff.

13. Romani, cit., p. 15.

14. The chronicler specifies that in the so-called old refectory, three rows of tables could be placed, seating 120 people each for a total of 360. Generally, however, the middle row was eliminated, to allow visiting dignitaries to walk through. This refectory thus normally seated 240 people, while an equal number would be fed in the smaller "new" refectory, for a total of 480.

Only those housed in the hospice were fed. Thus, although the number of beds is not specified by the chronicler, these must have been around 300, calculating the customary two occupants per bed. Anonymous. *Diario delle cose occorse l'anno santo 1650*. ASR, Trinità, b. 372. Undated. Chp. 23, "Refettori vecchi, e novi per servizio de' Pellegrini," unnumbered pages. ASR, Trinità, b. 372. See also below, "Giacomo Mola and the North Wing," Chapter Five.

Another myth connected to the Trinità, was its establishment by Filippo Neri. In the first surviving *Libro dei Decreti di Congregazione*, the minutes of the meetings held by the confraternity in 1552, his name is not listed until the fourth meeting, held on 24 May.¹⁵ On which occasion, he is only mentioned as a priest appointed by the confraternity to hold mass in their church.

His name is only mentioned again decades later. On 9 March 1587, the brethren of the Trinità decided to ask Filippo and his Congregazione dell'Oratorio to say mass in their church, with the hope that the fame of the pious men might increase the devotion of the parishioners. Filippo's name is mentioned without any reference to previous links with the confraternity, and is simply referred to as the "Reverend Priest Filippo of the Congregation of the Oratory."¹⁶

Finally, none of the various surviving accounts on the Trinità's origins, written between 1554 and 1600, ever mention the saint.¹⁷ Although constantly repeated, even in recent historical accounts, the establishment of the Trinità by the popular saint is almost surely a foundation myth that was especially emphasized by popes who, once they took control of the Trinità, sought to establish saintly origins for their institution.¹⁸

Filippo Neri could, however have been associated to the Trinità at an early stage, although with a less important role than his hagiographers would have us believe. Together with his confessor, Persiano Rosa, he was probably

15. ASR, Trinità, b. 87, p. 4v.

16. "Per il servitio della n[ost]ra Chiesa della S.ma Trinità havemo considerato che la cura quanto alle cose spirituali de preti si lassi havere al R[everen]do Pre[te] M[esser] Filippo della Cong[regazio]ne dell'Oratorio et successivam[en]te alla sua Congregazione (...) sperando che per il mezzo della provisione che farà detto pre[te] in d[ett]a Chiesa d'huomini spirituali si augmenti la devotione et il culto divino et così è la mente nostra." ASR, Trinità, b. 9, 9 March 1587, p. 121.

17. Anonymous. *Breve ragguaglio* cit., of circa 1600 in BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513. It is particularly significant that also this account should not mention the saint, whose process of canonization was already underway. It is unlikely the author would have omitted such a source of pride had there been any basis to it.

18. That Filippo is the founder of the Trinità is mentioned in the bull confirming his canonization issued by Urban VIII on 8 August 1623 (Filippo had been canonized by Gregory XV in the previous year). (ASR, Trinità, b. 36, 11 January 1650, p. 76v). Also Pius V had insisted on Filippo being the founder of the Trinità. Baronio, Cesare. *Annales Ecclesiastici. 1570 & 1571*. Raynaldi, Od. and Laderchi Jac., eds. Paris: Sancti Pauli, 1883, p. 288, nn. 173, 174.

part of the group of devotees that had started holding their meetings in S. Girolamo della Carità -- where Filippo himself lived. If they did exert any influence on the Trinità, however, it was in any case short-lived. In 1552, the last meeting recorded, held on 21 August, includes only two sentences. The first is an announcement of little importance: all appointed officers, if defaulting, would be fined five *scudi*. The second, equally curt, is about Persiano Rosa and another of the councilors, whose name is difficult to decipher, that "had a dispute" which forced Persiano to leave the association.¹⁹

There is no indication of what the "dispute" was about, but it must have been on fundamental issues on the nature of the association, or the role it was to play. The evidently incurable divergence of opinions forced Persiano Rosa to leave, probably taking with him Filippo Neri and their followers. Evidently more serious than the laconic minutes express, the separation caused an at least partial interruption in the development of the fledgling association. The entry about the dispute is followed by blank pages, and the reports of the meetings will resume only five years later, in 1557.²⁰

The division weakened the two parts into which the confraternity split, and it must have taken them both a few years to recover, whence the long silence of the minutes.²¹ Eventually, two distinct organizations developed: in the same years Persiano Rosa and Filippo Neri started holding the meetings from which the Congregazione dell'Oratorio would emerge, on which Filippo's fame would largely be based.²² The Congregazione, strongly marked by the saint's ideals, remained an association among seculars (although it enjoyed the support of influential members of the Curia), and rather independent of central interference. The Trinità instead, evolved into a powerful organization

19. ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 21 August 1552, p. 11v.

20. The first meeting after the interruption is held on 6 January 1557. ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 6 January 1557, p. 13.

21. The slowing down of the confraternity's activities is also confirmed by the frequency of legacies in favor of the Trinità. These are only sporadic between 1543 and 1553 and none at all are recorded until 1555 when only one is mentioned. They finally resume with a certain frequency, and substance, starting in 1556. ASR, Trinità, b. 344. "Benefattori e Beneficenze. Rubricella di Testamenti 1543-1723."

22. Cistellini, cit., p. 49.

(autonomous for the administration of assets and internal affairs but) strongly connected to, and often an instrument of papal policies.

Also the governing structure of the Oratory and the Trinità would develop along different paths. Filippo Neri insisted on the equal standing of the members of the Congregation of the Oratory. When its first charter was drafted, in 1583, each was to express his opinion, and it would retain a democratic decision making process.²³ The Trinità instead, in the charter issued in 1578, established a rigidly hierarchical administrative body, more similar to that of the almost contemporary order of the Jesuits.

The confraternity was governed by six "major" officers. The first was the *primicerio* who, after the very early years was by charter an ecclesiastic, generally a bishop. This was not as curious as it may seem, for a confraternity that had started out as an association of seculars. As part of the measures to bring charitable institutions under the control of the Church, the Council of Trent had established, on 15 September 1562, that all hospitals were to be subjected to the authority of a bishop.²⁴ By 1578, when the first charter of the Trinità was issued, the institution was solidly in papal hands, and the application of the injunction unquestionable.

Below the *primicerio* were four *guardiani* or *custodes* and the *camerlengo*, who was in charge of the financial administration of the institution. These officers were elected by the members of the confraternity, and they in turn appointed the "minor" officers, in charge of the daily administration of the confraternity.²⁵

²³. Ponnelle - Bordet, cit., p. 374.

²⁴. *Il Sacro Concilio di Trento*. Venezia, 1790, p. 203.

²⁵. The number of the minor officers varied over the years. In the charter of 1821, thirty two are mentioned. In hierarchical order, they included a secretary, four councillors, an archivist, a secretary for affiliated confraternities, another for the sisters, two syndics, two instructors for the novices, six *infermieri* in charge of the convalescing poor, two prelates in charge of religious ceremonies, two responsible for cashing legacies, two for representing the confraternity in lawsuits, two peacemakers, one to keep the vestments in order, one responsible for funeral functions, and four *fabbricieri* who were responsible for the maintenance of Trinità property. Anonymous. *Statuti della Ven. Archiconfraternita della Santissima Trinità de' Pellegrini, e Convalescenti di Roma accresciuti e riformati*. Roma: Crispino Puccinelli, 1821, pp. 31 ff.

Decisional power belonged to two assemblies, the *congregazione particolare* and the *congregazione generale*. The first included the officers and met generally once a week, to discuss everyday matters. The general congregation instead met twice a year, or when need arose, and summoned all members of the confraternity. It discussed issues that affected the confraternity as a whole and therefore required unanimous consent; and ratified decisions made by the smaller congregation.

The women in the confraternity elected a prioress and an under prioress, and appointed *infermiere* responsible for the housing and feeding of women received at the Trinità. But they did not have any administrative or governing responsibilities, and did not sit in the congregations.

At the very top of the governing structure, but external to it, was the Cardinal Protector, who was elected with a complex procedure by the whole confraternity. The Cardinal acted as intermediary between the institution and the pope and was therefore carefully chosen among those closest to the papacy. The pope, however, found ways of suggesting his favorite candidate. Under Paul IV, for instance, Protector of the Trinità was Otto von Truchsess of Augusta, one of the five cardinals he had appointed specifically to oversee the reform of the Church as he intended.²⁶ Under Sixtus V, and Urban VIII, the Cardinal Protectors were respectively Alessandro Peretti Montalto and Antonio Barberini, the pope's nephews themselves.

The appointment of a trusted relative of the pope as Cardinal Protector, or member of the governing body, was not at all limited to the Trinità, and is a clear indication of the importance attributed to the large urban hospitals. The Rector of the S. Spirito in Saxia, when Sixtus appropriated it for the papacy, was his nephew Innocenzo de' Flavi della Rovere. Eugene IV dispensed with intermediation and appointed himself Rector of the S. Spirito. When Leo X took over the medieval hospice of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, he appointed

²⁶. The reform meant to establish peace in all christianity (imposing the rule of Rome), and to reestablish for the Church the discipline of the first christians. For the appointment of Otto von Truchsess cf. Pastor, VI, pp. 364-65. He is mentioned as Cardinal Protector of the confraternity in ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 9 July 1562, pp. 22-23.

Francesco Cybo, his brother in law, as one of the four Guardians governing the institution.

Soon after the confraternity of the Trinità resumed its activity in 1557, after Persiano Rosa and his followers left, it attracted papal attention and support. On 13 November 1558, Paul IV granted them use of the church that existed in their block, S. Benedetto in Arenula.²⁷ The small Benedictine convent attached to the church and its property passed to the Trinità, constituting its first nucleus. The monks that inhabited it were transferred to the Benedictine monastery of S. Gregorio in Clivo Scauri, to which S. Benedetto belonged.²⁸

A few months after the concession, the Trinità started acquiring neighboring houses, initiating a voracious process of expansion that ended only decades later, when it had taken over all of its block. Papal intervention and the beginning of this process were not coincidental.²⁹

Papal take over

Paul IV (Gian Pietro Carafa, 1555-1559), a violent and temperamental man, elected with the support of the French cardinals, was furiously anti-Spanish. His ill-advised intention to liberate Italy from Spanish rule led to a disastrous war. In 1557, this brought the Spanish army right under the walls of the city, that was threatened by a second sack at the hands of Philip II, son of Charles V, author of the first.

Papal attitude towards newly formed associations was strongly influenced by the political situation. It did not escape Paul IV's attention that Filippo Neri's Oratorians were mostly Florentines, subjects of the Medici, allies of Spain. It was bad enough for the papal states to be caught in a vicious grip with the Spanish

27. ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder "Convenzioni diverse fatte dall'arciconfraternita con il Rettore della chiesa di S. Benedetto Francesco Agneni." Mentioned by Vasco Rocca, *La SS.ma Trinità*, cit., p. 11.

28. Huelsen, Christian. *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo*. Firenze: Olschki, 1927, p. 209; Armellini, Mariano. *Le Chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*. Roma: Pasquino, 1982 (first edition, 1891), p. 408.

29. While in 1558 the Trinità was forced to sell a house, to pay for construction work on the complex, in 1559 it bought the first house we know of. Starting the same year, expenses for construction work are recorded. See below.

ruled state of Naples in the South and the Medici in the North. Paul IV would not suffer supporters of the enemy within his own city, and did everything he could to impede the development of the Oratorians.³⁰ The Jesuits who, like their founder Ignatius Loyola, were mostly Spaniards shared the fate of the Oratorians. The pope withdrew all funding, setting an example for cardinals and privates that immediately followed suit, rapidly reducing the Collegio Romano and the Collegio Germanico to the verge of ruin.³¹

With the Trinità Paul IV adopted a completely different approach. Persiano Rosa and Filippo Neri had left the confraternity a few years earlier, and the "national" (and thereby political), composition of the Trinità was no longer predominantly Florentine.³² The pope granted the Trinità the church, and most likely endowed it with funds that enabled its expansion, after it had lain dormant for five years. His death in August of 1559, only a few months after the concession of the church, prevented him from supporting the development of the confraternity further, but his successors carried out a very similar policy.

After Paul IV, papal control of the Trinità would become permanent. The institution developed under the watchful eye of the popes that endowed it with funds, assigned it privileges and even, in one case, provided it with a design for the whole complex. Increasingly, the confraternity would require papal approval for every project including, and especially, architectural ones. The popes, on their part, controlled the activity of the institution through the

30. Worse still, among the "filippini" were many household members of Cardinal Santafiora, a staunch supporter of the Spanish. Among these was Gian Francesco Lottini, who had a hand in the incident that infuriated the pope, and started the escalation of hostility leading to the war with Spain: the commandeering, from the port of Civitavecchia of three French ships, handed over to the Spanish. Both Lottini and Santafiora were incarcerated in Castel Sant'Angelo in August 1555. Cf. Pastor, VI, p. 364 ff., and Cistellini, cit., p. 64.

31. Pastor, VI, pp. 470-78.

32. An indication of the national composition of the Trinità after the very early years, is found in the history written around 1600. The Trinità and the Compagnia della Carità della Nazione Fiorentina were struggling to obtain from the pope the "privilege" to house pilgrims during the Jubilee of 1575. The Trinità asserted in its favor that, while the other was a confraternity of "foreigners," theirs was almost entirely made up of romans. *Breve ragguaglio*, cit., BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513, pp. 11-11v.

Cardinal Protector, invariably one of his most trusted. The Trinità was deeply imbued with the ideals of the papacy and would become a powerful tool of its policies.

But there were yet more specific reasons for papal interest in the Trinità. More so than the other associations in the area, this confraternity had a potential that the popes did not fail to recognize. With its unique openness to travelers of all nationalities, it was a formidable stage for Roman piety.³³

Perhaps most important of all, however, the institution was in a crucial location: it faced Ponte Sisto, one of the principal points of entry into the city, and would be the first substantial building seen by those entering Rome. It was also strategically placed in relation to another problem to which Paul IV was particularly sensitive. In 1555, three years before the pope permanently installed the Trinità in the block of S. Benedetto in Arenula, Paul IV had established the Jewish ghetto, just south of the Trinità, along the Tiber banks. In the following years, the Trinità developed into the core of a complex that separated the ghetto from the area around the newly opened Via Giulia, where the Farnese, the Capodiferro, and later the Barberini, were building their mansions.³⁴

Strategies of separation

The establishment of the ghetto was the culmination of a tightening in papal Jewry policy, that occurred in mid sixteenth century. The economic historian Kenneth Stow has analyzed fiscal impositions on the Jews in the

³³. Of this international potential the members of the Trinità itself were well aware. In 1603, a brethren pleading with Clement VIII for funding for the new church, emphasized how unseemly it was that an institution so well known "all over the world" should have such a small church. ASR, b. 463, folder "Restauro della Chiesa negli anni 1585 e nel 1603 fino al 1616," sub-folder A1, "Discorso di Pietro Giacomelli sopra il modo utile della Fabrica della Chiesa della SSma Trinità."

³⁴. The first nucleus of the palazzo Farnese (palazzo Albergati-Ferriz) was bought by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1495. In the late 1530s and 40s the Cardinal, now Pope Paul III, was rebuilding the palace and opening the square in front of it. The Capodiferro started building their palace around 1540. The first nucleus of the Barberini's Casa Grande ai Giubbonari was bought in 1581.

fifteenth and sixteenth century, linking them to their theological basis.³⁵ He demonstrates that while policies dramatically changed, their intent -- the promotion of wholesale conversions -- was very consistent. Stow outlines the existence of two opposing parties within the Church: one insisting on the need for greater tolerance to induce conversions, the other on harsher measures.

By the late 1540s, the latter prevailed, and followed "a calculated drive to convert the level of Jewish taxes into a sorely heavy burden."³⁶ The *Vigesima*, a tax imposed on Jews in 1459, was collected increasingly frequently, culminating with a yearly collection under Paul III, who developed Jewish taxation with unprecedented vigor. In 1539, the same pope established the Monte di Pietà, an institution whose declared aim was to lend money without interest, to prevent Christians from having to resort to Jew bankers (and depriving the Jewish community of one of its main economic sources). In 1542, Paul III established the Roman Inquisition. It was headed by Cardinal Carafa, the future Paul IV who, in 1553, issued the inquisitorial decree to burn the Talmud and, on 14 July 1555, with the bull *Cum Nisim Absurdum*, ordered all Jews in the Papal States into a ghetto.³⁷

The Roman ghetto was established a couple of blocks south of the Trinità, in an area already densely inhabited by the Jewish community. Along the east bank of the Tiber, it stretched from the current Piazza delle Cinque Scole (synagogues) in the North, to Via S. Angelo in Pescheria in the South, carefully leaving out Ponte Fabricio. It was the second ghetto set up in Italy, the first having been established in 1516 in Venice. But in Venice, bridges and canals facilitated the separation of the community. In Rome, there were no such natural barriers, and the physical separation of a whole quarter from the rest of the city, was only realized in phases.³⁸

³⁵. Stow, Kenneth R., *Taxation, Community and State. The Jews and the Fiscal Foundations of the Early Modern Papal State. Pápste und Papsttum. Band 19.* Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982.

³⁶. Stow, p. 25.

³⁷. Milano, Attilio. *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia.* Torino: Einaudi, 1963, pp. 244 ff. Cf. also Stow, pp. 25-28.

³⁸. Processional and trade routes that passed through the area had to be deviated. As regards the separation of the population, years after the establishment of the ghetto, Gregory XIII had to resort to threatening Christians

The construction of walls was the first and most evident measure: on 3 October 1555, Sallustio Peruzzi, son of Baldassarre, raised a wall along the outer perimeter of the area to enclose it completely. The churches that stood around the ghetto were gradually restored and reoriented to face its gates, forming a sort of religious *cordon sanitaire* around it. In S. Angelo in Pescheria, restored in 1611, Jews were forced to attend sermons during Leo XII's papacy. San Gregorio alla Quattro Capi would be restored as late as 1723 - 26; on its facade was painted a large Crucifixion under which a quote from the Old Testament, in both Latin and Hebrew, was meant to remind Jews of their obstinacy in not converting.³⁹

For S. Maria del Pianto on Piazza delle Cinque Scole, between the ghetto and the Trinità, plans were more complex. In 1614, it was restored and reoriented to face the main gate of the ghetto, and a plan was drafted for the organization of the surrounding area. The plan included the opening of a square in front of the church, and a street leading from it to the Tiber. The street, completed in 1618, further cut off the ghetto from the surrounding urban fabric and had the explicit aim to separate S. Maria's oratory, built in 1615, from the ghetto's outer perimeter.⁴⁰ In mid eighteenth century, Benedict XIV suppressed the confraternity of S. Maria del Pianto, and donated the church to the confraternity of Christian Doctrine, evidently thought to be most appropriately located facing the main entrance to the ghetto.

Behind S. Maria del Pianto, the Trinità would anchor an urban barrier that separated the area of the ghetto from the one to its immediate north, around Via Giulia. In 1587, the Ospizio dei Mendicanti was built between S. Benedetto in Arenula and the Tiber, providing a closure for Via Giulia that was emphasized, in 1613, by the construction of the fountain of the Acqua Paola.

with death if they approached, except in an emergency, Piazza delle Cinque Scole, an important marketplace. Milano, Attilio. *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*. Torino: Einaudi, 1963, p. 256.

³⁹. Barry, Fabio: "Roman Apartheid? The Counter - Reformation Ghettos," *Daidalos* 59 (March 1996) 18-31, p. 25.

⁴⁰. Barry, p. 28. After the demolition of the walls of the ghetto, the road became part of Piazza delle Cinque Scole.

In 1603, the Monte di Pietà was established in Palazzo Santacroce, and rapidly expanded to face the Trinità.⁴¹ It had been first installed in 1539, in a house in Piazza San Salvatore in Lauro, close to Via de' Coronari. But in most Italian cities in which they had been established -- such as Perugia, where the first Monte was established in 1465 -- the Monti were erected on the way to the Jewish quarter, to intercept potential customers of Jewish bankers. As soon as opportunity arose, the Roman Monte followed suit and was moved to where it still stands, between the central rioni of the city and the ghetto. Together with the Trinità and the Ospizio dei Mendicanti, it formed a horizontal bulwark, with facades whose uniformity along Via dei Pettinari, the street bordering the complex on the North, can still be appreciated.

In the sections that follow, I will analyze the architectural development of these institutions; their process of expansion, and the impact on the surrounding area, starting with the Trinità.

⁴¹. See below, "The Barberini, the Monte di Pietà and the Trinità," Chapter Five.

Building History to 1575

Around the middle of the sixteenth century the Trinità was a relatively small institution. Its very early premises are not easy to reconstruct but, starting in the late 1550s, some indications on its building phases emerge. The earliest record that explicitly mentions work being carried out for the construction of a hospice, is a *decreto di congregazione*, the minutes of a meeting held by the confraternity on 23 May 1558. The congregation decided to sell a house "for the hospital that is being built."⁴² At least part of the hospital, however, was already fit for use. On the 5th of the same month, the meeting had been held "in domo hospitalis," in the hospital house.⁴³

The work carried out on the hospice in those years must have been small scale, probably consisting of the restoration of existing structures. On 22 May 1558, an agreement signed between the confraternity and Francesco Agneni, parish priest of S. Benedetto, granted the Trinità the use of the church and adjoining structures. On November 13, when Paul IV confirmed their right over the church forever, the confraternity started investing on its premises. Documents dated 1560 mention payments made to masons, and for "lime," "pozzolana," and "cartloads of stone."⁴⁴ In the same years, the confraternity started expanding.

In 1559, they bought a house next to the hospice.⁴⁵ On 6 February 1561, the confraternity acquired the perpetual lease contract of another house, adjoining the hospice.⁴⁶ On 28 June 1562, the Trinità was raised to the rank of archconfraternity, and Pius IV donated the image of a Madonna reputed miraculous, that was on the wall of Palazzo Capranica. It was carried in procession to the Trinità, but had to be placed in the church instead of, as the

42. "Pro costruendo hospitalis." ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 23 May 1558, p. 16.

43. ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 5 May 1558, p. 15v.

44. ASR, Trinità, b. 1, unnumbered pages.

45. Borzacchini, Mauro. "Il patrimonio della Trinità dei Pellegrini alla fine del Cinquecento." *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 6 (1984) 238-60, p. 148.

46. ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 6 February 1561, p. 83.

chronicler reports, "in our hospital which is still incomplete."⁴⁷ In 1564, work was still underway on the "nuova fabrica dell'Ospedale."⁴⁸

Towards the very end of the 1560s, awareness of the approaching jubilee spurred greater activity, and the confraternity started selling property not attached to their complex, to fund construction work. In 1569 they decided to sell a vineyard at Testaccio, and in 1570 to sell "valuable buildings (...) for the construction and enlargement of the hospital."⁴⁹

Work started on the west side of the complex, towards the river. On 4 July 1570, the congregation established that the old oratory (evidently part of the Benedictine convent), and the *tinello*, a small refectory, should not be demolished "until the new oratory and *tinello* have been built up to the old ones."⁵⁰ Evidently, the new structures partially overlapped the old ones, which were to be kept standing and in use until the last minute. The new oratory was inaugurated with a solemn procession on 7 April 1571. It was so exquisitely done, according to the chronicler that, "no human mind could have imagined anything more, or better."⁵¹ But the new oratory was only the first element of a much vaster building campaign.

A few months after the inauguration of the new oratory, the pope himself, Pius V, donated a plan for the hospital. On 19 August 1571 Frà Guglielmo del Piombo, architect of the confraternity, presented the project to the congregation. "Having visited the Trinità on a number of occasions, and even participated in the meetings," His Holiness had produced "a beautiful drawing for the new building of the hospital."⁵² And after "long discussions and careful

47. The image could not be placed "in proprio hospitali quod imperfect.' existi". ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 28 June 1562, p. 20v.

48. ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 16 March 1564, p. 90

49. "Bona stabilia (...) pro aedificatione et ampliacione hospitalis." ASR, Trinità, b. 2, 16 May 1570, p. 61v. For the sale of the vineyard, see Id., 19 June 1569, p. 33.

50. "Sino a tanto che l'oratorio novo non sia edificato sino al'oratorio vecchio e detto tinello." ASR, Trinità, b. 2, 4 July 1570, p. 66v.

51. "Mente humana no havrebbe saputo desiderar di più, nè meglio." ASR, Trinità, b. 2, 7 April 1571, p. 88v.

52. "Dopo molte fatiche usate da S[ua] S[antità] in vedere et rivedere il luogo, esser più volte colli SS[ignori] Deputati, et anco in piena congregazione, et fatti più discorsi sopra di questo posto, [è stato prodotto] un bellissimo disegno fatto da S.S. sopra la nova fabrica dell'hospitale." ASR, Trinità, b. 2, 19 August 1571, p. 108.

consideration" the congregation decided to "accept the design, on the basis of which construction would proceed."⁵³

Pius V Ghislieri (1566-72) would give strong impulse to the Trinità in the early phase of its development. A harshly intolerant ecclesiastic, he was responsible among other things, for the massacre of 2,000 Waldensians in Calabria, and the expulsion of the Jewish communities from the papal states (except for those in Rome and Ancona). Rigorously applying the directives emerging from the recently concluded Council of Trent, he supported certain religious orders and lay confraternities. The characteristics of the Trinità made it particularly congenial to him, and he evidently meant to determine even its architectural development.

The Trinità welcomed papal interest as it facilitated expansion. The diplomatic terms in which the confraternity asked the pope to supervise the project "before, during and after" its realization, are a not too veiled request to ensure funds.⁵⁴

The drawing presented to the congregation by Guglielmo del Piombo in 1571, had survived until recently. In 1985, Carla Benocci published an undated drawing preserved in the archive of the Trinità. She accepted the suggestion of the nineteenth century archivist of the confraternity, according to whom this was the same drawing illustrated by Del Piombo to the congregation.⁵⁵ As we will see below, the drawing published by Benocci is indeed a design for the hospital complex of 1571. Unfortunately, the drawing has since disappeared; its

53. [E dopo] "longhi discorsi et considerationi mature fu resoluto di accettare q[ues]to disegno et secondo q.to sequi[ta]re detta fabrica, ringraziando S.S. di tante fatiche et dando ordine che si tenesse memoria di S.S. in tutte le orationi, pregando S. S. si degnasse intervenire con li altri SS.ri Deputati in detto negozio. Et Sua Sig.ria accettò molto amorevolmente questo carico, che tutto segua con buon principio, mezzo et fine a laude della SS.ma Trinità et ad gloria del suddetto Rev[eren]do Sig. Deputato fabricerio et architetto nella detta congregazione." ASR, Trinità, b. 2, 19 August 1571, p. 108.

54. "Che tutto segua con buon principio, mezzo et fine." See preceding note.

55. Benocci, Carla. "Il complesso assistenziale della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini: ricerche sullo sviluppo architettonico in relazione ad alcuni anni santi" in *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche*. Fagiolo, Marcello and Madonna, Maria Luisa eds. Roma: Gangemi, 1985, pp. 101-08, p. 102. The archivist was Egidio Fortini: see below, "The church of the Trinità."

only surviving trace is the small black and white photograph published in Benocci's article.

It represents a square scheme, with a central structure (labeled "dispense" at the corners and "cucina" in the center), subdivided by four "corritori" in a cross shape. Surrounding this core, on four sides, are "refettori," with "dormitori" on the upper floor. An L-shaped section, facing the river and along the side towards S. Paolo alla Regola, comprises a long loggia; a series of rectangular rooms labeled "lavatorij," and a staircase. The caption on the *recto* reads "Plan of the new hospital," while the *verso* reads "Plan for a new building to be erected including a hospital, refectories and laundry facilities."⁵⁶

The folder that contained this drawing, included another one, published here. It is considerably smaller than the one published by Benocci who mentioned it briefly, asserting it to be a more schematic representation of the larger one.⁵⁷ I suggest that this must actually have been a refinement of the first drawing, produced in a second phase, very close to the time when construction on the complex was about to start. In the "small" drawing, some of the cruder elements of the larger one, such as the wash-houses lined on one side, and the loggia on the other, have been eliminated. The refectory attached to the church, that already existed, is taken into account, and the design adjusted accordingly. Finally, the small drawing includes, in pencil lines, the parts of the block that would have to be demolished.

The "small" drawing is cm 25 by 23, and bears no date or other caption. It includes only three wings of a squarish plan, the fourth being the existing refectory, attached to the church. The drawing is cut along the edge where the north wing should be, indicating that it was probably to be attached to another drawing, which would have included the old refectory, and probably the church.

⁵⁶. *Recto*: "Disegno di novo ospitale;" *verso*: "Pianta e disegno di una nuova Fabrica che si doveria fare per un novo Ospidale Refettori e Nove Lavande." Benocci, p. 102.

⁵⁷. Benocci did not record the dimensions of the drawing she published, only declared the one published here to be smaller. Benocci, p. 106, n. 7. Both drawings include a scale, indicating that the two planned buildings had the same dimensions.

The elements that enable us to establish the orientation and extension of the "small" drawing, are the small square that appears in pencil lines marked "piazzetta," and the "vicolo." The "piazzetta" is the one that can still be seen, bordered by the east facade of the Trinità, on Via S. Paolo alla Regola. The vicolo that cut across the block was in part built over, but the wall that marked its southern boundary can be identified in both the 1597 and 1680 plans of the Trinità (see "d" in fig. 3a), and it is possible to roughly trace its course.

The design is characterized by an element of abstract geometry that ultimately rendered it impossible to realize. The plan extends to the edge of the oratory but does not define any architectural relationship with it, or with the Mattei palace and property, on the northwest corner of the block. The planned building was to rise as an almost square rectangle, attached to the church.

Rigid though the plan might have been, however, the confraternity soon set about its implementation. On 24 September 1571, a month after the large drawing was presented to the congregation, the confraternity signed with Antonio di Bella, master mason, a contract to start construction.⁵⁸ Unlike what Benocci thought, the drawings are not two "of a folder in which unrealized projects are collected."⁵⁹ Construction, in fact, proceeded according to the "small" drawing.

This can be easily verified by overlaying the "small" drawing on the survey of the Trinità drawn in 1597 (fig. 8). Only parts of the design were realized: the "old" refectory, parallel and attached to the church, was restructured, and the "new" one, perpendicular to the first, was built.⁶⁰ They correspond respectively to the north and west wings of the small drawing.⁶¹

⁵⁸. The contract specified, as was customary, the price for various types of masonry in *giuli*, "per canna a misura, secondo il solito di Roma." ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder A - *Carte relative alla Fabrica del Luogo Pio Progetti, misure, stime, (...) dal 1572 al 1583*; sub-folder "Dal 1572 a tt.o 1577 -- Misura e stima della fabrica del novo Refettorio con li due Ospedali sopra il d.o Refettorio fatta da M.ro Ant.o della Bella Capomastro Muratore con li Capitoli e Patti sopra la sud.a fabrica da farsi come sopra." Unnumbered pages.

⁵⁹. Benocci, p. 106, n. 7.

⁶⁰. In later periods, the old refectory would be referred to as Refettorio della Trinità, while the new one was termed "degli Angeli," or "di S. Filippo."

⁶¹. The "small" drawing does not include a scale, but the "piazzetta" drawn in it can be used as a term of comparison. If the small drawing is reduced to a scale whereby the dimensions of the "piazzetta" match those of the 1597 survey, and

On the small drawing, the north wing is not drawn. However, the dimensions of the old refectory in the 1597 plan, added to the porticoed courtyard to its west, match perfectly those of the missing wing on the small drawing. The courtyard is what remains of a larger one -- as is shown by the column embedded in its northern wall, visible in the 1597 survey -- that must have predated the building campaign of the 1570s, the first of the Trinità. In the 1597 survey, a wall separates the old refectory from the courtyard: the confraternity must have planned to demolish the wall, build over the courtyard (as they would do later: see the 1680 survey), and extend the refectory.

The old refectory plus the courtyard, probably part of the old Benedictine convent, influenced both the design and the dimensions of the small plan, whose width was made to match the total length of the two structures. The new refectory, instead, was not built to its full length during this campaign. Its width, however, was identical to that of the old refectory -- as envisaged by the small drawing.

If, as I suggested, the small drawing is a refined version of the large one, then the latter must indeed be the one presented to the congregation, only a month before the contract was signed. In chronological order: in August 1571, Del Piombo showed the congregation the "large" drawing, published by Benocci; a few weeks later, the design was adjusted and the "small" drawing produced; in September, contracts were signed, and construction started.

The first building campaign of the Trinità lasted four years, from 1571 to 1575, and its outcome can be largely appreciated in the 1597 plan of the complex. The *misura e stime* (an accurate assessment of the work completed, made to pay the master mason), preserved in the Trinità archive, enable a rough reconstruction of the phases of the campaign. Work appears to have started on the west and south sides, respectively around the oratory and on the wall closing off the complex. On 23 April 1572, the first *misura* were drafted, seven months after the contract with Di Bella was signed.

By then some finishing work had been carried out on the oratory, evidently not complete at the time of its inauguration. Walls had been plastered,

is overlaid on it, all the other elements of the design -- the property boundary lines, the "vicolo," and the refectories -- match perfectly.

and a small room, a "stanzuccia" had been built "between the wall of the cloak-room and the oratory," probably the long narrow room bordering the oratory on the North.⁶² Towards the end of the campaign, the sacristy of the oratory was built, together with the wall that separated the Trinità from the Mattei property, on the northwest corner of the block.⁶³ Around the same time, also the long wall that marked the southwest boundary of the Trinità was erected.⁶⁴

A new chapel was built in 1573, sponsored by Gregory XIII who had succeeded Pius V. As is visible on the 1597 plan, it was cut out of a long rectangular hall that was between the church and the refectory. It was equipped with a privileged altar, which ensured plenary indulgence to the souls of those for whom Mass was offered on this altar. This was one of the "privileges" granted by popes, that had very concrete economic significance for the confraternity, as it secured legacies which carried the obligation to say Masses.⁶⁵ Not surprisingly, when the church was eventually rebuilt, a chapel with an identical dedication, and the same altar, was among the first to be completed.

Work on the old refectory was carried out last, and only completed well into the Jubilee. It only required relatively minor restructuring, and was

62. "Muro della stanzuccia fatta tra il muro dello spogliatoio et l'oratorio." ASR, b. 387, folder A - *Carte relative alla Fabrica del Luogo Pio Progetti, misure, stime, (...) dal 1572 al 1583*; sub-folder A5 - *Misura della Trinità 22 marzo 1575 - Dal 1572 a tutto 1575 - Diverse misure e stime delli lavori di muro fatti per il novo hospedale de' Poveri Convalescenti e Pellegrini fatti fare dalla nostra Arch.ta.* Unnumbered pages.

63. The sacristy of the oratory is "una stanza [...] dal fondamento accresciuta accanto all'oratorio;" (see "a" on fig. 3a). The separation wall is the "muro che seguita verso la Serena" (see "b," on fig. 3a) and a "Muro fatto nella facciata verso Ciriaco de' Mattei" ("c"). The "Serena" is the "osteria" that appears immediately north of the oratory on the 1680 plan. ASR, b. 387, folder A - *Carte relative alla Fabrica del Luogo Pio*; sub-folder A5, *Misure e stime* dated 22 March 1575.

64. "Muro del fondamento sotto il muro dove si sono fatti doi portoni nel vicolo verso li Vaccinari che va a fiume e muro sopra questo." The vicolo towards the Vaccinari and the river is the one drawn in the "small" drawing. ASR, b. 387, folder A - *Carte relative alla Fabrica del Luogo Pio*; sub-folder A5, *Misure* dated 28 August 1573. "Fondamento del muro che serra il giardino dal vicolo accanto all'oratorio" ("d"). This part of the wall was completed around the same time as the sacristy of the oratory. Id., *Misure* dated 17 January 1575.

65. See "e" on fig. 3a.

probably in use while the new one was being built. On top of both refectories, dormitories for the pilgrims were built.⁶⁶ Finally, in December 1574, just in time for the beginning of the Jubilee, the congregation decided "to complete the pavement of the new hospital ward (i.e. the dormitories above the refectories) and do other necessary things."⁶⁷

These "necessary things" probably also included the infrastructure, that would enable the hospice to house hundreds of pilgrims. The *misure* mention in several instances work carried out on the kitchen, its chimneys and water pipes, and on the *tinello* next to it, where the brethren serving the pilgrims ate. Several entries mention the sewage system, with hundreds of *palmi* of pipes installed in and around the hospice, discharging "a fiume," and equipped with vent-holes.⁶⁸

During this campaign, the new refectory was not completed to the length envisaged by the small drawing. The necessary property had still not been acquired, and its south facade was only temporarily raised, waiting for the opportunity to expand. In 1618, a second dormitory level was built on top of the refectory.⁶⁹ By 1680, as is shown on the plan of the Trinità of that year, property had been acquired to the required extent, and a roughly square room had been built to the south of the refectory, and would subsequently be joined to

⁶⁶. "Muro del fondamento della facciata dinanti che serra lo spedale vecchio;" "ultimo solaro dell'ospedale vecchio che s'è rifatto di novo." Id., *Misure* dated 17 January, 1575.

⁶⁷. Pierluigi Fidili, "Fabricerio" is assigned 100 scudi "per fare finire l'ammattionato del Hospitale novo et altre cose necessarie." ASR, Trinità b. 4, 3 December 1574, p. 23

⁶⁸. The system for the elimination of human wastes was more advanced at the Trinità than in most private palaces. In 1612, for instance, the neighboring Casa Grande of the Barberini on Via Giubbonari, had a single "luogo comune," or privy. (Waddy, cit., p. 52). The principal residents of a palace generally used chamber pots and close-stools cleaned by servants. The much larger number of people housed at the hospital required much more efficient facilities. The *misure* of the Trinità report constant construction and repair work on the "luoghi comuni," or "necessari," and on the sewage system.

⁶⁹. ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder B4, *misure* dated 18 May and 23 August 1617, and 4 October 1618; folder B2, *misure* dated 7 May 1618. The *misure* are signed by Niccolò Torriani.

it. The new refectory would grow in an informal way, eventually cutting across the whole block to reach Via del Conservatorio, in 1737.⁷⁰

By then, however, the 1571 design had long been abandoned and the complex would develop along different, if perhaps more chaotic lines. The rest of the 1571 plan, involving a vast part of the block that was still not Trinità property, never got built. The restructured old refectory, and the new refectory, remained as splinters of the old plan, embedded in an increasingly fragmented layout.

Attribution

We must now consider who drafted the plan presented to the congregation, and its later version. Benocci supposes, regarding the "large" drawing, that it was drafted by Guglielmo del Piombo. His real name was Guglielmo della Porta, and he is better known as a sculptor, rather than an architect.

Born in Porlezza, close to the Lake of Lugano (the date of birth is unknown), he died in Rome, in February 1577. Titi said of him that he carved the legs for the torso of the Ercole Glicone found during construction of palazzo Farnese, "with such excellence, that once the original legs were found, Michelangelo did not replace them."⁷¹ Of his work as an architect, on the other hand, very little is known. He is reported to have worked at the Palazzo Farnese,

⁷⁰. A decreto of 22 March 1736, records that Clement XII donated 6,000 scudi to join the new refectory to the square room to its south. During the same campaign, the refectory was extended to Via del Conservatorio. ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder *D - Refettori e Dormitori costruiti nel 1736-1737*. Only a few years later, the Nolli map of 1748 depicts the new refectory to its full extent.

⁷¹. "L'ingresso [di Palazzo Farnese] è ornato di grosse colonne di granito, e sotto i portici del gran cortile riquadrato si vede fra le molte antiche statue il famoso Ercole di Glicone, a cui furono fatte le gambe da F[rà] Guglielmo della Porta con tanta eccellenza, che ritrovate poi le antiche, Michelangelo non volle cambiarle." Titi, Filippo. *Studio di pittura, Scoltura, et architettura, nelle chiese di Roma (1674-1763)*. Contardi, Bruno and Romano, Serena, eds., Firenze: Centro Di, 1987. Vol. I, p. 65.

although in what capacity, it is not clear, and no known architectural drawings by him have survived.

Also the "large" drawing was probably not drafted by him. The *decreto* of 1 August 1571, refers to it as "a beautiful drawing made by His Holiness," which Del Piombo only illustrated to the congregation. It is unlikely that the pope should resort to the Trinità's own architect, to draft a project that was a gift, an extraordinary expression of papal favor.

The more obvious hypothesis would be for Pius V to have asked his own architect to draft the plan. In 1571, "Architetto del Papa" was Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola. A northerner, Jacopo had settled in Rome in 1550, and by 1571 had been the architect in charge of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro for a few years.⁷² It would not be surprising that Pius should turn to his chief architect to draft a plan for the institution he meant to launch. But the crudeness of the design would exclude as its author Vignola, whose name is never mentioned in connection to the drawing.

The plans offer some suggestions about authorship. The Greek cross inscribed in a square in both drawings, is modeled after the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, designed by Filarete, and whose construction started around 1456. The Milan hospital, admired by Vasari, and included in several architectural treatises, represented a model for all contemporary hospitals. And the adoption of the cross scheme in 1571 is neither surprising nor anachronistic. The intersection of wards in a cross, developed into a hospital type that was still used well into the nineteenth century.⁷³

But the designs for the Trinità are only a mindless reduction of Filarete's scheme, which do not take into account the entirely different context. The cross shape is applied forcefully onto the block of the Trinità, without any consideration of either the urban surroundings, or structural and property boundaries. The 1571 plan is designed for an abstract *tabula rasa*, rigidly juxtaposed onto a fragmented lay-out, that could only have been implemented by razing to the ground a square portion of the block.

72. Frey, Karl. *Zur Baugeschichte des St. Peter. Mitteilungen aus der Reverendissima Fabbrica di S. Pietro*. Vol III, Berlin: Grote, 1916, pp. 48, 51.

73. See below, "The Early Hospitals," Chapter Six.

Also the functions attributed to the cross-shaped structure in the Roman drawings, are entirely different from those of Filarete's hospital. In the latter, the porticoed structures intersecting in a cross are hospital wards. In both the Roman drawings instead, the cross is only formed by arcades. The building at the crossing of the arcades is labeled (on the large drawing), "dispense," and "cucina." From Filarete's design, the author of the Roman drawings borrowed only an empty formal scheme, applied to an entirely different context and scale.

The large drawing might have been done by one of Vignola's assistants at St. Peter's, Martino Longhi the Elder. When Del Piombo presented the pope's drawing to the congregation, Longhi was already known to the Trinità, for whom he had signed some measures, in 1570.⁷⁴ After Del Piombo's death, in 1577, he became the Trinità's architect until his death, in 1591 or 1593. Pius V might have asked Longhi to produce a design for an institution with whom he had already established a professional relationship, and which was perhaps strengthened precisely thanks to the design.

There is however no evidence to support this hypothesis, and the attribution of the large drawing must remain an open question. Whoever the author of the large drawing was, the confraternity must have asked their architect, Del Piombo, to modify the design, although not so much as to offend the pope. The outcome was the small drawing, for which some indications emerge in the documents, regarding authorship.

After Pius V's death, in 1572, and the interruption of his support, the confraternity was at a loss as to whether to continue with the impractical design. On 17 August 1573, the brethren turned to their Cardinal Protector, Otto von Truchsess, and asked for his advice. They showed him "the drawing by Fra' Guglielmo del Piombo." After "long discussions," the Cardinal decided that construction, underway since two years, "should be completed according to the same design."⁷⁵

⁷⁴. Martino signed the *misure e stime* for the roof over the church, the sacristy, the oratory, the women's dormitory, the pantry, and the rooms of the chaplains. ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder *Restauri della Chiesa negli anni 1585 e nel 1603 fino al 1616*; sub-folder A7, dated 20 January 1570. Evidently, before Pius V's interest and design spurred a more ambitious building campaign, the Trinità was preparing for the approaching Jubilee by carrying out only necessary repairs.

⁷⁵. ASR, Trinità, b. 3, 17 August 1573, p. 75.

There can thus be little doubt that the plan shown to the Cardinal was the "small" one, on the basis of which the Trinità complex was built in 1571-75. And that Guglielmo del Piombo drafted the plan, the only drawing we can now attribute to him, and supervised the entire campaign: a contract, drafted in 1572 between the confraternity and master mason Antonio di Bella, is signed by him.⁷⁶ Until 1577, the year of his death, and of Longhi's take over, no other architect is ever mentioned in the documents of the Trinità.

As we have seen, the plan was never fully realized. The parts that did get built, the long perpendicular refectories, formed a rigid backbone, around which the Trinità was forced to grow. In the decades that followed, as the complex expanded, the confraternity struggled to regularize its layout. One of the most important attempts in this sense, was the building of a new church, to match the length of the old refectory.

⁷⁶. ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder A - *Carte relative alla Fabrica del Luogo Pio Progetti, misure, stime, (...) dal 1572 al 1583. Misure dated 3 November 1572.*

The Church of the S. Trinità dei Pellegrini

The first attempt

The Jubilee of 1575 absorbed substantial economic energy and, in the years that follow, the furious building activity that had marked the preceding years ceased almost entirely. Only minor works of adjustment or restructuring are carried out. From 1581 to 1583, the *misure* record restoration of roofs, water conduits, doors and windows, and the paving with flints of the tract of the Arenula in front of the Trinità. Some repairs are made on two shops that are part of the complex, probably on Via de' Pettinari.⁷⁷

In the same years, other property of the Trinità is also restored: the old convent of San Sisto, donated by Gregory XIII, to house the poor of Rome.⁷⁸ After only a few months, the beggars had been moved to a small group of houses facing the oratory of the Trinità. The work at S. Sisto cannot have been very extensive, as the *misure* record a total cost of 401 *scudi*. The work on the houses in front of the oratory was even less, as they were restored just enough "to return them to the owners in the same conditions as when we rented them."⁷⁹ For the time being, the short-lived enterprise of Gregory XIII was interrupted, and would be resumed only under Sixtus V.

Almost a decade passes after the Jubilee of 1575, before any substantial building activity is reported at the Trinità. The first signal was the decision, recorded in the *decreto* of 11 February 1585, to build a more ornamented ceiling for the oratory.⁸⁰ A list of brethren pledging to contribute to the work was drafted, but no further mention of the ceiling appears in the *decreti*. From other sources, we know that the ceiling was eventually built in 1588, by

77. ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder A - *Carte relative alla fabrica del luogo pio*, *misure* dated 4 February 1581; 29 December 1582; 25 June 1583.

78. See below, "The Hospice of Beggars at Ponte Sisto," Chapter Four.

79. Id., *misure* dated 26 July 1583. The sum paid for the work on the houses facing the oratory amounted to 87 *scudi*.

80. "Fu proposto da Mons[ignor] B[eatissi]mo Primicerio che saria bene che si facesse il soffitto al n[ost]ro oratorio quest'Anno, et che saria facile di trovar li denari atteso che si trovava in essere una lista de molti della Compagnia che sono obligati di pagar un tanto per uno, et tra quelli et altri che si sotto scriveranno, si puotrà fare facilmente senza che la casa ne senta spesa alcuna." ASR, Trinità, b. 9, 11 February 1585, p. 3v.

Giovanni Battista Montano.⁸¹ His fame would largely be based on the publication of the book of drawings *Porte d'Architettura di Michel Angelo* of 1610. At the time he built the ceiling of the Trinità, however, he was one of Rome's most famous cabinet-makers.

The ceiling existed until 1940, when it was demolished together with most of the complex. It can still be seen in the photographs taken immediately before the demolition. It entailed considerable financial effort, and is revealing of the attention that the Trinità was able to devote, towards the end of the 16th century, to luxurious ornamentation.⁸²

Around the mid eighties however, a much more important project was on the minds of the brethren: the rebuilding of their church. The parish church of S. Benedetto in Arenula (or "de' Scottis," from the name of a family that lived in the area), is mentioned in the list of churches affiliated to that of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, in the papal bull of Urban III of 1186. In 1249, the church was assigned by Innocent IV to the Benedictine monastery of S. Gregorio in Clivo Scauri until, in 1558, it passed into the hands of the Trinità.⁸³

When the Trinità took over, they set about repairing the medieval church. In the confraternity's archive are preserved the *misure e stime* of the work done by a Mastro Domenico Daria de Mezzana, for the restoration of the

81. The most recent contribution on Montano is: Bedon, Anna. " Giovan Battista Montano," catalog entry in *Il giovane Borromini. Dagli esordi a San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane*. Kahn-Rossi, Manuela and Franciulli, Marco eds.; Milano: Skira, 1999, pp. 300-01. Cf. also the bibliography therein contained.

82. For an indication of the expense that the ceiling must have entailed, cf. the contract signed between the Conservatori del Popolo Romano and the French cabinet-maker Flaminio Bolangier on 26 August, 1572 establishing the price of 17 scudi per canna. ASC, *Cred. IV*, t. 95, f. 62, published by Caroselli, Ottaviano. *Il soffitto della chiesa di Santa Maria in Ara-Coeli*. Grottaferrata: Tipografia "S. Nilo," n.d., pp. 34-36. Cf. also the contract with the painter Giovanni Battista Ricci for the painting and gilt work of the ceiling of San Marcello al Corso: the expense for the decoration of the entire ceiling is set at 1,400 scudi. ASR, *Segretari di Camera*, Calderini, vol. 370, ff. 450-51, 457. Both are quoted by Pallottino, Elisabetta. Catalog entry n. 171 in *Il giovane Borromini*, cit., p. 322.

83. On the medieval history of S. Benedetto see Huelsen, Christian. *Le chiese di Roma nel medioevo. Cataloghi ed appunti*. Firenze: Olschki, 1927, p. 209. Armellini, Mariano; Cecchelli, Carlo. *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*. Roma: Edizioni R.O.R.E., 1942, vol. I, pp. 497-98.

church.⁸⁴ Above the main entrance, and around some of the tombs, small parts of the wall were rebuilt. The rest of the items in the *misura* -- apart from the sporadic mention of minor repairs of doors, windows or stone steps -- are mostly "spicconature," "colla" and "arricciature," i.e., finishing work on walls that are replastered. The total expenditure for the work was only 86 scudi, including construction materials.

A few months later, another *misura* of the work by the same Mastro Domenico and his brother Pietro, mentions some brickwork and restoration of the vault next to the main altar, plus small parts of "ammattionato," brick paving, for a total expense of 36 scudi.⁸⁵ During the 1571-75 campaign, as has previously been mentioned, the church was equipped with a new sacristy and chapel, sponsored by Gregory XIII.⁸⁶ But these were relatively minor works in a church that must have been in a serious state of disrepair: in 1586 Martino Longhi, architect of the confraternity, was asked to check and report on the choir of the church, that threatened to collapse.⁸⁷

Martino Longhi (or Lunghi) the Elder, a Lombard native of Viggiù, arrived in Rome probably during the papacy of Pius IV Medici (1559-65), a Milanese. Longhi's first recorded presence in the papal states is in 1567, as an assistant of Vignola, working at the Altemps villa in Frascati. He was known to the Trinità at least since 1570, when he signed the *misure e stime* for the roof over various parts of their complex.⁸⁸ At the time, he was not their architect, a position occupied by Guglielmo del Piombo. But it was common practice for architects to increment their income, by acting as external "measurers" of work supervised by colleagues.

Del Piombo died in February 1577, and Longhi became the architect of the confraternity. In a *decreto* dated 1 July 1577, Longhi's name appears for the

84. ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder *Restauro della Chiesa negli anni 1585 e nel 1603 fino al 1616*; sub-folder A7 - *Misure e Stime*, dated 12 May 1558.

85. "Un pezzo di volta acanto l'altare grande." ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder *Restauro della Chiesa negli anni 1585 e nel 1603 fino al 1616*; sub-folder A7 - *Misure e stime*, dated 27 August 1558.

86. Cf. above, p. 28, n. 62

87. "Habbia cura M[ast]ro Martino Longo a vedere al coro della Chiesa che si dice minacciar ruina." ASR, Trinità, b. 9, 3 March 1586, p. 63v.

88. See above, "Building History to 1575," n. 74, Chapter Three.

first time. The new refectory, built during the 1571-75 campaign, threatened to collapse, and the confraternity decided to challenge the heirs of its builder, Antonio di Bella, appointing Longhi as their expert on the case.⁸⁹ In the following years, reference to "Mastro Martino Longhi nostro architetto," will appear increasingly frequently, in the documents of the Trinità.

Longhi's fame was much more far reaching than that of Guglielmo del Piombo. He was one of those architects with no formal training -- "gente senza disegno," Lomazzo stigmatized them -- that had risen from the ranks of stonecutters.⁹⁰ But in 1577, when he began his collaboration with the Trinità, Longhi was papal architect, and had worked on important projects: Villa Mondragone in Frascati; Palazzo Altemps on Piazza S. Apollinare; Palazzo Cesi in Borgo Vecchio; and on the Palazzo of Cardinal Alessandrino at SS. Apostoli. He had drawn designs for Gregory XIII's wing of the Cortile di San Damaso at the Vatican; for S. Maria in Vallicella, the church next to S. Filippo's Oratory, and was about to win the competition for the erection of a new campanile over the Palazzo del Senatore on the Capitol.⁹¹

For all this, he was at best a mediocre architect, who uninventively assembled the elements of a traditional architectural language. He was only fully at ease when he could resort to his original skill as a stonecutter, carving decorative patterns on flat surfaces, as in the church of San Girolamo degli Schiavoni.

But Longhi was ideally suited to an institution such as that of the Trinità. He was perceived as the continuator of a prestigious architectural tradition, descending from Michelangelo through Vignola. His designs were unmarred by innovative or heretical elements, that the confraternity would have found hard to accept. Well known, but free from transgressions, he represented the perfect choice for the institution that was on the rise in those years. In the last years of

⁸⁹. ASR, Trinità, b. 5, p. 66v.

⁹⁰. Lomazzo, G. P. *Trattato dell'arte della pittura*. Milano, 1584, p. 650.

⁹¹. One of the most valid contributions on Martino Longhi the Elder remains Hibbard, Howard. "The architecture of the Palazzo Borghese" in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*. Vol. XXVII, Rome: American Academy, 1962. Cf. Appendix I: "Biography of Martino Longhi il Vecchio," pp. 83-93. For more recent contributions, see the articles devoted to the Longhi family in *Il giovane Borromini*, cit.

the 16th century, Longhi would be assigned the most important project of the confraternity: the new church of the S. Trinità.

On 24 August 1586, the confraternity decided to build the church, and sought the approval of their Cardinal Protector, Otto von Truchsess from Augusta.⁹² Surprisingly, and unlike what has been assumed until now, they did not decide to rebuild the old church, but rather an entirely new one, rotated by 90° with respect to old S. Benedetto.

An ignored mention of this decision can be found in the writings of Egidio Fortini, an archivist who reorganized the confraternity's archive, around the middle of the 19th century. In 1853, Fortini published a booklet on the church of the Trinità, in which he provided a paragraph long account of its building history. According to the archivist, the church that the confraternity would eventually build, over old S. Benedetto, and which still stands on Via Arenula, is not the one begun in 1586, whose orientation was different.⁹³

Fortini did not provide adequate indications for the sources of his assertion, which is however confirmed by some entries in the *decreti*. On 6 October 1586, the congregation decided that the new church was to be built "recto el refectorio," behind (i.e., to the North of) the refectory.⁹⁴ Given that it necessarily required a facade on the street, the only place where it could be built was on Via de' Pettinari.

The confraternity must have planned to build the new church over the rectangular area behind old S. Benedetto, that appears mostly blank on the 1597 plan of the Trinità. The area included the short alley behind the old church, that was to be built over. The *misure* for the new church confirm this hypothesis. Several entries mention work carried out on the "old wall of the

92. ASR, Trinità, b. 9, 24 August 1586, p. 95.

93. Fortini, Egidio. *Descrizione della Venerabile Chiesa dedicata alla SS.ma Trinità appartenente alla Arciconfraternità de' Pellegrini e Convalescenti di Roma fatta in occasione del nuovo restauro nel 1853*. Roma: Tipografia Belle Arti, 1853, p. 5.

94. "Mons[ignor] B[eatissi]mo Primicerio diede conto [...] d'haver parlato insieme con li Sig[no]ri Guardiani a Ill[ustrissi]mo Cardinal Protettore di questo negotio et cappella che s'ha da fare et che S[ua] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma n'havuto gran contentezza et approvato che si facci recto el Refettorio dove è hora la casa che habbita il n[ost]ro Curato et esattore et così nemene discrepante dalla Congregazione generale fu approvata." ASR, Trinità, b. 9, 24 August 1586, p. 95.

refectory," the west end of the old refectory's northern wall. Also mentioned is a walled chimney "that is currently part of the old church," which must have been on the wall separating S. Benedetto from the alley behind it.⁹⁵

The planned church was thus a small one, almost a chapel. In the congregation in which the *guardiani*, *fabbricieri* and Martino Longhi are instructed to examine the bids of the master masons, and assign the contract, it is in fact referred to as the "chiesa, o cappella" to be built.⁹⁶

The contract was assigned to one Mastro Lorenzo, who however did not survive his good fortune long. On 18 November, the congregation met again because Mastro Lorenzo, who had started work on the church, had died. It was necessary to find another master mason, and new bids were solicited.⁹⁷ On various occasions, in the weeks that follow, the *fabbricieri* and the architect were encouraged to finalize the contract with the master mason of their choice, eventually Bernardo da Castiglione.⁹⁸ At last, the first stone of the new church was laid on 26 February 1587.⁹⁹

Work on the new church, however, cannot have been substantial. On the Tempesta map of 1593, we see depicted the medieval church of S. Benedetto, with a clerestory and a gable-roofed structure as campanile. Behind it, along Via de'

95. "Muro de un pezzo refondato sotto al muro vecchio del refetorio;" "Muro alzato sopra al fondamento che divide la prima dalla seconda cappella [e] muro sopra al detto, longo p[almi] 16, [fatto] con la tagliatura del muro del refetorio." Payment is also demanded "per haver tagliato la risega del muro del refetorio verso la d[ett]a cappella." Regarding the old church: "Muro del fonda[men]to del camino rimurato che è al m[oment]o della chiesa vecchia." ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder *Restauri della Chiesa negli anni 1585 e nel 1603 fino al 1616*; sub-folder A7 - *Misura e stima di lavori di muro fatti da Mro Fran.co Castiglione e Battista d'Urbino nella fabbrica della Cappella della nova Chiesa della SSma Trinità, et in altri luoghi dell'ospedale della nostra Archiconfraternità*, dated 10 March 1590.

96. "Li Sig[no]ri Guardiani, o alcuno de loro con li Sig.ri Fabriceri et anco S[igno]r Martino [Longo] siano insieme, aprino le polizze delli muri et concedino l'opera della chiesa, o cappella, a chi haverà fatto miglior conditione et faccino l'instro[mento] con patti capitoli et conditioni che parerà alle Sig[no]rie loro". Trinità, b. 9, 6 October 1586, p. 101. The *fabbricieri* were officers in charge of repair and construction on the Trinità house and property. Cf. above, "The Early Years," p. 7, n. 13.

97. ASR, Trinità, b.9, 18 November 1586, p. 106.

98. Cf. above, n. 16.

99. Fortini, cit., p. 4.

Pettinari, there is no trace of a possible facade for the new church. On the 1597 plan of the Trinità, as we have seen, the corresponding area was left blank.

Also the *misure* of the new church, dated March 1590, include only relatively few entries. Three attics and the roof of the structures behind the old church, had been demolished; the foundation wall of the facade on the street had been built; and a few walls dividing two chapels had been raised, and attached to the refectory wall.¹⁰⁰ The *misure* are signed by Flaminio Ponzio, who must have acted as an external measurer, and are countersigned and approved by Martino Longhi, as architect in charge.

The total expenditure amounted to only 161 scudi, and these *misure* must have included most, if not all, the work done on the chapel. The entries range from the initial demolition, to the construction of foundations for the facade. And in March 1590, when the *misure* were drafted, work on the church had already stopped.

A *decreto* of January 1590, mentions a donation made for the construction of a chapel, thanks to which the confraternity decided to "resume construction of the church."¹⁰¹ But even this initiative was short-lived, and no further mention is made of what seems only a half-hearted attempt. A few months later, the confraternity turned to its Cardinal Protector, and his uncle Sixtus V, to ask for help. They never mentioned the church -- as they typically would have, had it been under construction -- but only referred to, in very general terms, "our poor hospital."¹⁰²

The project seems to have been unable to raise the enthusiasm of the brethren. It was hardly an ambitious project; it almost entirely lacked potential;

100. "Per haver disfatto il tetto sopra le stanze dove si fa là d[ett]a cappella et chiesa nova [e] per haver disfatto tre piani di solaro." "Muro del fondamento sotto la facciata di d[ett]a cappella; serve per la facciata dinanzi dalla [vecchia] chiesa verso la strada;" i.e. the facade on Via de' Pettinari has been built, starting from the old church towards west. "Muro del fondamento sotto al tramezzo che divide la d[ett]a cappella dalla 2.a da farse." Together with the items mentioned in n. 16, these are almost all the works included in the *misure*. ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder *Restauri della Chiesa negli anni 1585 e nel 1603 fino al 1616*; sub-folder A7 - *Misura e stima di lavori di muro fatti da Mro Fran.co Castiglione (...)*, dated 10 March 1590. Cf. above, n. 16.

101. "Si è risoluto che si dia principio a seguitar la fabrica che a questo effetto s'incominciò." ASR, Trinità, b. 10, 26 January 1590, p. 90v.

102. ASR, Trinità, b. 10, 20 May 1590, p. 98.

and they soon abandoned it. The new church would have been small, on a secondary street, and there was practically no hope of ever opening a square in front of it, facing as it did the church of S. Salvatore in Onda and the *monte* of the Capodiferro.

It is not entirely clear why the confraternity should have decided to build a new church, rather than restore the existing one. The most likely explanation is that the confraternity was not, at the time, entirely sure of ownership of S. Benedetto. Reluctant to spend large sums on it, they preferred to build an entirely new, albeit small, church to call their own.

S. Benedetto had been perpetually assigned to the Trinità by Paul IV in 1558, but did not in fact belong to the confraternity. On a number of occasions, the *decreti* report the conflicts that had arisen with Francesco Agneni, the parish priest of S. Benedetto.¹⁰³ On 23 March 1573, the *primicerio* and some of the *guardiani* were asked to try to acquire the church, which was being "vacated," due perhaps to Agneni's death.¹⁰⁴ They evidently did not succeed: in 1577, they proposed to the parish priest to pay him all his dues from the church, if he relinquished all claims over it.¹⁰⁵ Finally, on 10 April 1579, Gregory XIII granted the church to the confraternity that was however only able to take possession on 21 November 1582.¹⁰⁶ This still did not end conflicts: on 7 April 1601, the Cardinal Protector Peretti Montalto abolished the parish of S. Benedetto, and its priest, to solve all controversies.¹⁰⁷

This probably explains why the idea to rebuild the old church occurred to the confraternity so late. It is unlikely a coincidence that two years later, in

¹⁰³. The disputes were over who was responsible for repairs. On July 9 1562, the Cardinal Protector established that expenses for the roof of the church would be shared. Enlargements, or other forms of restructuring, would be paid for by the party initiating them. ASR, Trinità, b. 87, 9 July 1562, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰⁴. ASR, Trinità, b. 3, 23 March 1573, p. 48.

¹⁰⁵. ASR, Trinità, b. 5, 26 August 1577, p. 77; id., 30 September 1577, p. 81.

¹⁰⁶. A copy of the concession is in ASR, Trinità, b. 464, folder A - *Brevi dei Pontefici Pio IV, e Gregorio XIII relativi alla concessione fatta alla Arciconfrat. della chiesa di S. Benedetto in Arenula oggi della SS.ma Trinità*. In the same *busta*, is a copy of the *decreto* of 21 November 1582, in which is described the ceremony of the *possesto* of the church. (Id., folder B - *Copia di possesto preso della Chiesa di S. Benedetto del Rione della Regola ...*).

¹⁰⁷. Fortini, cit., p. 4.

1603, they were confident enough to start a much more ambitious project than the small church on Via de' Pettinari: the reconstruction, over old S. Benedetto, of a much larger church, with the facade on Via Arenula, and an adequately dignified piazza in front of it.¹⁰⁸

S. Trinità in Arenula

Opportunity arose when a benefactor, Agostino Radice, left a legacy of 3,000 scudi to have a chapel built in old S. Benedetto, and pay a chaplain to say a memorial mass every day. On 6 March 1603, the congregation decided to use the money to start building a new church instead. The confraternity agreed with Radice's brother and heir, Francesco, to dedicate the first chapel completed in the new church to the benefactor.¹⁰⁹

Radice's generous legacy granted the Trinità the possibility to realize a project they had coveted for a long time, and they proceeded with surprising rapidity. Five days after the decision to build the church, the congregation asked Giovanni Paolo Maggi, now their architect, to present the *capitoli*, an itemized estimate of the cost of the project, on the following Sunday. Construction was to start right away, on the day devoted to the Holy Trinity, the first Monday of the second week after Easter. Fabio Mattei, a member of the confraternity, was to advance the necessary money, not yet collected from Radice's heir.¹¹⁰

The confraternity decided to build the church starting from the facade, to continue using it while under construction. And to save, for the time being, the funds necessary to the demolition of the houses behind the church, which was to expand westward. Another reason listed for starting work from the facade was "so that construction on the church might be most visible."¹¹¹ As was

¹⁰⁸. The new church extended to the west, over whatever structures of Longhi's chapel had been built by then.

¹⁰⁹. ASR, Trinità, b. 18, 6 March 1603, pp. 5-5v. The confraternity would keep their promise: see here, n. 39.

¹¹⁰. ASR, Trinità, b. 18, 11 March 1603, p. 6v.

¹¹¹. "La Congregat[i]one è di parere che la fabrica si cominci dalla parte anteriore di essa chiesa, sia per comodità dell'uso di d[ett]a chiesa, et acciò la

customary, this was to show their commitment to what they often referred to as the "Holy Work," thus attracting admiration, sympathy and, they probably hoped, donations.

The project for the new church was an ambitious and important one, and in the *decreti* that follow one can sense the enthusiasm and energy that the confraternity devoted to the project. The plans for the church were extended to its surroundings. The confraternity decided to open a piazza in front of the future facade even before the church was built.¹¹² This however proved too optimistic, for the strained finances of the confraternity. The project of the piazza had to be postponed, and was only realized three decades later, during the reign of the Barberini.¹¹³

On April 10, a special meeting was called "super fabrica," entirely devoted to practical matters of the new church. The Trinità would supply all necessary construction material, and provide masons with a house where they could live, while working on the church.¹¹⁴ On 12 May 1603, the first stone of the church

fabrica sia in vista, come anco per esser meno la spesa di quello anderà à far la tribuna, et per sparagnare la spesa delle case che vanno buttate per d[ett]a tribuna." ASR, Trinità, b. 18, 11 marzo 1603, p. 6v.

112. "Si è trattato che saria bene di fare il gettito delle Case inanzi la Chiesa nostra per le cause allegate, et discusse in Congregat[io]ne. Et risoluto che prima se ne parli all'Ill.mo Sr. Card.le Protettore, et se tratti anco nella Congreg.ne gen[erale] rimettendosi in tutto a quello risolveranno." ASR, Trinità, b. 18, 6 May 1603, pp. 11v-12. "La Congreg.ne giudicò che il gettito delle Case inanzi la nostra Chiesa sia necessario il farsi di preventivo [i.e. before the construction of the church] per molte cause proposte." Id., 9 June 1603, p. 15v. "Essendo necessario di fare il gettito delle case inanzi alla nostra chiesa, (...) et con tutto che ce sia speranza d'elemosine per soddisfare la portione che sarà tassata la chiesa, et hosp[ita]le n[ost]ro, non di meno (...) sarà necess[ar]io di haver denaro pronto per soddisfare alli pad[ro]ni delle Case che vanno buttate." Id., 3 August 1603, p. 20.

113. Cf. below, chpt. V, "The Barberini and the Monte di Pietà."

114. Id., b. 18, 22 April 1603, pp. 9v, 10v. It is an interesting indication that the masons were foreigners, most probably Lombards, as were most of the hands at the Trinità, during the whole period considered. On the church designed by Martino Longhi, the work was done by "Mastro Domenico e compagni de Coldre[rio]," the town of Giacomo Mola, later architect of the Trinità. Bids were also invited of a Bastiano Maderno, likely a compatriot of Carlo Maderno. (ASR, Trinità, b. 10, 18 November 1586, p. 12v). When work started on the new church in 1603, apart from Giovan Paolo Maggi, a native of Como, a master mason Fontana da Como was hired, probably a relative of the famous architect (ASR, Trinità, b. 18, 6 May 1603, p. 11v). Stefano Longo, a stonemason belonging to the

was laid, and work continued rapidly.¹¹⁵ The following week, the congregation had to receive representatives of the Popolo Romano, bearing a yearly gift of a chalice and wax torches, in the oratory, "since the church is obstructed by construction work."¹¹⁶

Six months after construction began, at least the foundations of the new church had been laid. On 20 October, the confraternity decided to sell some property, to "complete construction of the six chapels of the church, vault them and the nave."¹¹⁷ Judging by the dates of the corresponding *misure*, the chapels were completed according to clear priorities. As the confraternity had promised, the first chapel was dedicated to their benefactor, Agostino Radice, and his brother Francesco. The second chapel was dedicated to S. Gregory, to replace the one sponsored by Gregory XIII, in S. Benedetto.¹¹⁸

In 1612, the cupola was built,¹¹⁹ and Paolo Maggi, measured the completed building, producing a thick booklet of *misure* that lists all the work done on the church, from the foundations to the brick paving, and

Longhi family, also worked on the church (ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder C - *Restauri fatti nelle cappelle*, misure dated 12 July and 4 September 1604). The presence of almost exclusively Lombard architects and masons at the Trinità reflects the more general situation in Rome.

¹¹⁵. Fortini, cit., p. 5.

¹¹⁶. "Per esser la chiesa nostra così impedita per la fabrica." ASR, Trinità, b. 18, 20 May 1603, p. 13v.

¹¹⁷. "All'effetto che si possa finire di fabricare le sei cappelle della nostra chiesa con coprirle, et fare la volta alla nave di essa chiesa, et coprirla con il tetto fu risoluto si pigli quello che bisognerà sino alla somma de scudi 3000 delli denari ha[v]uti, et che si haveranno dall'Hospitale de Poveri Mendicanti di San Sisto per l'estintione de censi vitalizi della nostra Congreg.ne." ASR, Trinità, b.18, 20 October 1603, pp. 25v-26. The *censi* are rent paid by the Hospice of Beggars to the Trinità; the latter had settled for a lump sum to be paid instead.

¹¹⁸. ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder C - *Restauri fatti nelle cappelle; Mesura et stima de lavori di muro, et di stucco fatti alla Cappella di M[esser]r Francesco Radice posta nella Chiesa della S.ma Trinità de Convalescenti fatti da M.ro Gio. Gilardini muratore*, 2 September 1605. Id., *Misura e stima di muri, e stucchi fatti per la cappella di S. Gregorio eretta nella nostra Chiesa da M[ast]ro Domenico Muratore*, 17 November 1606. Both *misure* are signed by Maggi.

¹¹⁹. In 1690, the cupola was restored by Giovanni Battista Contini. For an account, see Lemoine, Annick. "Le vicende costruttive della chiesa della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini a Roma dal 1572 al 1690." *Bollettino d'Arte* 86/87 (1994) 111-32, pp. 119-24.

decoration.¹²⁰ On 12 June 1616, the church was consecrated, but work on decorative stonework went on until 1618.¹²¹ For all the confraternity's hurry to begin construction from the front, the facade had not been built, and the church would remain without one until 1723, when it was designed by Francesco de Sanctis.

Attribution

We must now ask who designed the church of the Trinità. The contemporary guides of Rome, with a single exception, attribute the church of the Trinità to Martino Longhi, evidently confusing the first abortive attempt with the church that was eventually built. Only Filippo Titi asserted the church to have been built by Giovanni Paolo Maggi.¹²²

The recent literature on the church of the Trinità, also tends to attribute it to Martino Longhi.¹²³ The error is in part justified by the lack of clarity about the fact that the Trinità initiated two distinct churches. The first, of which neither drawings nor appreciable physical traces survive, was begun in 1587, on Via de' Pettinari, by Martino Longhi. The second, still standing on Via Arenula, was begun in 1603, a decade after Longhi's death, and designed by Giovanni Paolo Maggi.

Giovanni Paolo (or Giovan Paolo) Maggi was born in Como and died in Rome in 1613, but the date of his birth is unknown. Even recently, he has been confused with his contemporary namesake Giovanni Maggi, the designer of the

120. *Mesura e stima de muri fatti per la fabrica della nostra Chiesa della SS.ma Trinità principiando dalla cuppola et altro fatti da M[ast]ro Dom[eni]co Pozzi e Giacomo de Primis muratori.* The booklet includes 32 pages, is dated 24 July 1612, and signed by Maggi. ASR, Trinità, b. 463.

121. See the *misure* for stonework by Stefano Longo (12 July 1603; 4 September 1604); Bartolomeo Bassi (29 October 1616; 4 March 1617); and for the work by Domenico Pozzo on an altar (23 July 1618). The *misure* are signed by Maggi until 1613, the year of his death, and by Torriani in the following years. ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder C - *Restauri fatti nelle cappelle*; and b. 387, folder B - *Carte relative alla fabbrica del luogo pio*, sub-folder B1, *misure* dated 16 and 23 March 1613.

122. "[La chiesa della Trinità] la rifecero in maggiore, e bella forma, e fu terminata nel 1614 con l'architettura di Paolo Maggi." Titi, Filippo. *Studio di pittura, Scoltura, et architettura, nelle chiese di Roma (1674-1763)*. Contardi, Bruno and Romano, Serena, eds., Firenze: Centro Di, 1987. Vol. I, p. 64.

123. See preceding note.

Maggi-Maupin-Losi Map of Rome, published in 1625.¹²⁴ Franz Ehrle, in 1915, distinguished between the two artists, and provided practically all the information we have on Giovanni Paolo.

Although no known works or designs by him have survived, except for those related to the Trinità, Giovanni Paolo held important official positions. He was appointed "Architetto dello Studio," chief architect of the university of Rome, by Gregory XIII and reconfirmed by Paul V. When this pope decided to resume work at St. Peter's, Maggi submitted a plan for the Fabbrica di S. Pietro, together with a report supporting Michelangelo's project against Carlo Maderno's. This did not prevent him from working for the Fabbrica, under Maderno's direction, as a supplier of construction materials, especially timber.

After the disastrous flood of Christmas of 1598, he was among the architects summoned to examine the upper course of the Tiber (the others being Maderno, Giacomo della Porta, Giovanni Fontana and Ottaviano Mascherino). He was commissioned engineering works such as embankments, for the river Chiane. After another flood in January 1606, Maggi was consulted again and submitted a project for Tiber regulation, signed together with Maderno. The experience of Maggi in the works for the Tiber would result in his becoming "Architetto del Tevere" in 1610, a job he held until his death, when his place was taken by Maderno.¹²⁵

It is to this scarce information on Maggi's professional life, that we can now add his position as architect of the Trinità, for which he drafted a cadaster,

124. See Marino, Angela. "I «Libri delle case» di Roma: la città disegnata" in *Il disegno di architettura*. Patetta, Luciano and Carpeggiani, Paolo eds., Milano: Guarini, 1989, p. 151. Cf. also Lemoine's article who asserts Giovanni Paolo Maggi's name starts appearing in the *decreti* in 1583. (Lemoine, cit., p. 117). The name that appears in the early 80s is that of "Giovanni Maggi," while the author of the church of the Trinità is always referred to as "Gio. Paolo Maggi," or simply "Paolo Maggi." Nor is the Giovanni Maggi mentioned in the early 80s the cartographer, who was born in 1566, and would have been a teenager in the early 1580s. This is hardly the only mistake in Lemoine's very confused article.

125. Ehrle, Franz. *Roma al tempo di Urbano VIII. La pianta di Roma Maggi-Maupin-Losi del 1625*. Roma: Danesi, 1915, pp. 8-10. Hibbard, Howard. *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1971, pp. 235-36. Cf. also Manfredi, Tommaso. "La presenza di architetti e maestranze ticinesi nel sistema dell'edilizia pubblica a Roma da Sisto V a Urbano VIII" in *Il giovane Borromini*. cit., pp. 215, 225.

and designed the church. Maggi's name appears in the *decreti* while Longhi was still the architect of the confraternity. When Longhi died, in either 1591 or 1593, Maggi replaced him.

By 1597, he had completed the cadaster of the Trinità. In the cadaster are included designs of the plan and facade of the church, respectively labelled "Pianta, over disegno delli fondamenti fatti della Chiesa nova" and "Facciata della chiesa da farsi." The church of S. Trinità would be built, starting in 1603, according to the design in the cadastre. The comparison of the project plan in the cadaster of 1597, to the survey of the church of 1680, shows this clearly. And there is no reason to suppose that the plan should have been designed by any other than Maggi.¹²⁶

Immediately following the decision to build the church, Maggi was asked to prepare an estimate of the expenditure, and a wooden model of the design he had drafted six years earlier.¹²⁷ Furthermore, the *misure e stime* of the church are all signed by Maggi until 1613, the time of his death.

Definitive proof of his having designed the church, however, is in a document dated 22 January 1604, written and signed by Maggi himself. In it, the architect asserts to have drawn the plan and elevation of the new church of the Trinità, and to have supervised its construction thus far.¹²⁸ With this document,

¹²⁶. Vasco Rocca, the first contemporary author to write on the church of the Trinità, failed to realize that the church started by Longhi in 1587, and the one eventually built by Maggi in the first two decades of the 17th century, are two distinct projects. She therefore suggested that the plan in the 1597 cadaster by Maggi is based on Longhi's ideas because "by that time the church must have been to a large extent built." Vasco Rocca, Sandra. "Alcune note sulla chiesa della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in Roma." *Storia dell'Arte* 38/40 (1980) 285-89, p. 287. Cf. also her earlier contribution in the series *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini*. Roma: Palombi, 1979. The attribution to Longhi was uncritically adopted by the authors that wrote after her: Benocci, Carla. "Progetti e lavori seicenteschi per la chiesa della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in Roma." *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 26 (1985) 106-12. Lemoine, "Le vicende costruttive della chiesa della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini," cit.

¹²⁷. ASR, Trinità, b. 18, 11 March 1603, p. 6v. Id., b. 62, unnumbered pages.

¹²⁸. Maggi asserts that he has "datto (sic) e fatto, il disegno, pianta, et alzato, dela fabrica dela nova chiesa dela Sant.ma Trinita de Convalisienti e Pelegrini di Roma, et di già fondatone et muratone parte, ciouè governata in quello che haspetta alla profesion mia de l'architettura." The document is in ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder *Restauri della Chiesa negli anni 1585 e nel 1603 fino al 1616*; subfolder A. 13.

Maggi renounced all claims to remuneration for his past and future work on the church, as an act of piety. Unless, he added, the confraternity should decide to replace him with another architect. In that case, he reserved the right to claim his fee, and donate it to another charitable institution of his choice.

The last clause is an indication of how strongly Maggi wished to have the merit of the church associated to his name. He wrote the document nine years before his death, when he was probably an aging architect, with no other work connected to him. The church of the Trinità is the only work we can now attribute to this architect.

Maggi's plan, in the 1597 cadaster, represents a single nave church, with three rectangular chapels on each side. The domed crossing is followed by a narrow choir and an apse; the transept is aligned with the chapel walls. Except for the narrow bay placed between the crossing and the apse, and the entrance in the center chapels, the plan is identical to that of the small church of S. Maria ai Monti, designed by Giacomo della Porta, and begun in 1580.

Also for the facade, Maggi seems to have had S. Maria ai Monti in mind: the proportions are similar and, like Della Porta, he used pilasters, except in the central lower bay. In his bay, however, Maggi used free standing columns to support a segmental pediment.

While more common in Lombardy, free standing columns framing a portal are unusual in the Roman architecture of the period. One of the northern examples that readily comes to mind is Pellegrino Pellegrini's church of S. Fedele in Milan, begun in 1569 -- which Maggi, a native of Como, might well have seen. In Rome, the only example I am aware of is in another church by Della Porta (and, incidentally, a national hospice): S. Luigi dei Francesi, between Piazza Navona and the Pantheon. Around 1580, on a flat facade articulated by pilasters, Della Porta, applied a triangular pediment supported by two free-standing columns framing the portal.

But the edicule of S. Luigi is entirely contained in the lower level. Maggi instead gave the classical element greater impact, by making it break into the attic with a segmental pediment. Finally, Maggi borrowed the basic formal

Surprisingly, this document was first mentioned by Vasco Rocca in 1980 (cf. above, n. 46). That notwithstanding, she attributed the design of the church to Martino Longhi.

structure of the three stepped planes, from the exactly contemporary facade of S. Susanna, designed by Maderno starting in 1597.

Another representation of the facade drawn by Maggi, which has received some attention in the literature, is a drawing preserved in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.¹²⁹ On the architraves, it bears the name of the institution, and that of the Cardinal Protector Peretti Montalto. Except for the decorative details -- which are only sketched in pencil in the cadaster drawing, and fully drawn in the Ashmolean -- the two drawings are identical.

The drawing was first mentioned by Schwager, who attributed it to the circle of Maderno, due to its resemblance with the facade of S. Susanna.¹³⁰ In 1971, it was published by Hibbard who, based on Fortini's attribution of S. Trinità to Maggi, suggested the same author for the drawing.¹³¹ This hypothesis would seem confirmed by the similarities between the Ashmolean drawing, and the facade drawn by Maggi in the 1597 cadaster.

Hibbard dismissed the Ashmolean drawing as "merely a mindless reduction of S. Susanna."¹³² As we have seen, Maggi's facade made reference to more models than S. Susanna alone. But Hibbard's curt judgment is substantially true. Maggi's facade is a montage of architectural motifs; the elements he mounted together are often contrasting, and annul the effect they had in the original context. For instance, Maggi adopted the same michelangelesque device Della Porta used in S. Maria ai Monti, silhouetting the 2nd and 5th lower pilaster. In S. Maria, this had the effect of making the lower central bays seem a thin

129. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, largest Talman album, fo. 23, published in Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, cit., plate 16b.

130. Schwager, Klaus. Review of "J. Wasserman: Ottaviano Mascarino and His Drawings in the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 31 (1968) 290-382, p. 261.

131. It is ironical that the works that happen to mention the church of the Trinità, only in passing (such as Hibbard's or, at the opposite end of the spectrum, works of no scholarly value), are based on Fortini's booklet, and therefore correctly attribute the church to Maggi. While the scholars that wrote more extensively on the church, went to great lengths to attribute it to Martino Longhi. Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, cit., p. 43.

132. *Carlo Maderno*, cit., p. 43. Lemoine pointed out that the facade in the 1597 cadaster, and the design of S. Susanna, are exactly contemporary, and concluded it might thus have been rather Maderno that was inspired by the facade of the Trinità. The suggestion is absurd. Lemoine, cit. p. 118.

layer, superimposed on a wider facade whose outer bays are visible. In Maggi's design, the device is rendered futile by the central edicule which, emerging with a powerful vertical thrust, disrupts the "superimposed layers" effect.

The edicule is also the most awkward element of the facade. The models to which it refers (S. Luigi dei Francesi, S. Fedele in Milan), were placed on flat, linear facades on which they were the predominant feature. Maggi instead attempted to articulate his facade with more "modern" plasticity, with a system of receding and emerging planes, pilasters and columns. He was clearly aware of the most contemporary tendencies of architecture, and struggling to contribute to them. But his attempt to emulate the powerful chiaroscuro effect that Maderno had achieved in S. Susanna, in conjunction with the oversize edicule, resulted in a confused and pastiche facade.

At the threshold of the seventeenth century, the Trinità was building an important church, owned a hospital that could receive hundreds of pilgrims, and its reputations in the city was well established. This chapter has discussed the beginnings of the Trinità as a lay confraternity of very limited means; the reasons for its importance (its "universal" potential and strategic location); the papal take over of the institution, and its consequent architectural and urban development until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Before continuing with the history of the hospice for pilgrims in the later part of the century, it is necessary to examine the contemporary development of other institutions in the area; and in particular, the effect of their expansion and interaction on the Trinità. The first neighboring hospice to consider, was established in the last decades of the sixteenth century and was, in a sense, an offshoot of the Trinità itself: the Hospice of Beggars, built by Domenico Fontana for Sixtus V.

Chapter 4. Around the Trinità: The Other Protagonists of Urban Development

The Hospice for Beggars at Ponte Sisto

On the Bufalini map of 1551, two blocks appear between the Trinità and the river, the larger of which includes a tiny church, with the facade on the road separating it from the Trinità, the current Via delle Zoccolette. Three decades later, in their place would rise a hospice for beggars, the Ospizio dei Poveri Mendicanti, founded by Sixtus V.

The purpose of the hospice was to eliminate begging and vagrancy in Rome, by concentrating all the indigent poor in the institution. It was not an isolated initiative; in many Italian and European cities, similar institutions were rising in the same years, in response to the dramatic increase of poverty, due to a number of concurrent factors.

At the beginning of the century, the conflict between Spain and France, for the dominion of Milan and Naples, involved Venice and the Papal States in a war that lasted fifteen years and that devastated whole regions, culminating in the Sack of Rome in 1527. The ensuing economic crisis, coupled with the general demographic recovery that started in the late fourteenth century, as the death rate declined, led to a dramatic increase in poverty.

Famines, the great scourge of preindustrial society, struck Italian cities at almost regular intervals, with peaks around the end of the 1520s and the beginning of the 1590s.¹ The land devastated, they struck the country worst, and hordes of peasants, literally starving to death, poured into the cities. Brian Pullan has estimated that, at the beginning of the modern era, in most European cities, the number of poor -- including among these the "crisis poor," labourers out of a job when the crisis hit the hardest -- were between fifty and seventy percent of the total urban population.²

The urban poor became dramatically visible, as is testified by several accounts, such as that of the townsman of Lyon, complaining of "the great

¹. Pullan, Brian. "Poveri, mendicanti e vagabondi (secoli XIV - XVII)" in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 1. Dal feudalesimo al capitalismo*. Torino: Einaudi, 1978, p. 992.

². Pullan, "Poveri, mendicanti e vagabondi," cit., pp. 988-89.

number of little children crying and hooting with hunger and cold day and night through the town, making a marvellous racket in the churches, disturbing the devotion of the people Oh, what confusion, heartbreak and scandal."³

Abject poverty aroused not only compassion, however, but also fear, as it represented a threat to property and power. Driven to desperation, the poor sometimes rebelled and bread riots exploded violently, as in Lyon in 1529, when two thousand inhabitants, most of them unskilled labourers, women and boys in their teens, looted the municipal granary, a Franciscan monastery nearby, and the homes of several wealthy men. The riot was rapidly and bloodily repressed, but burghers and merchants remained uneasy about the danger of riots for a long time.⁴

The fear aroused by beggars also regarded the risk of infection, as crowds of beggars were thought to enhance the danger of plague. Whenever the Black Death struck, prohibitions against begging were enacted, or more rigorously enforced. (The fear was not entirely baseless: the plague was spread by fleas that lived on rats, and that could infect humans with their bite. The lower hygienic conditions of beggars likely facilitated the passage of fleas from rats to humans.⁵)

On the other hand, in the same years, a humanist culture was spreading in Europe, increasingly concerned with the problem of poverty. Towering figures such as Erasmus from Rotterdam, or the great Spanish humanist Jean Luis Vives, author of *De Subventionem Pauperum*, a widely read and translated booklet, wrote on the spiritual and physical dangers of poverty, and on the moral duty of the community to take care of its poor. As Natalie Zemon Davis suggested, in an essay on the establishment of the hospice for beggars in Lyon, the sixteenth century attempts to eliminate, if not poverty, at least begging and

3. Zemon Davis, Natalie. "Poor relief, Humanism, and Heresy" in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995 (first edition, 1975), p. 24.

4. Zemon Davis, cit., pp. 28-29.

5. Zemon Davis, cit., p. 26. See also Cipolla, Carlo. *Miasmi ed umori. Ecologia e condizioni sanitarie in Toscana nel Seicento*. Bologna: Mulino, p. 1989, pp. 13-14.

death by starvation, implied a new awareness that "there are conditions of life that society should not and dare not tolerate *at all*."⁶

The combination of these factors -- the dramatic aggravation of poverty, the fear of violent social unrest, and a growing understanding that it is the duty of the community to support its poor -- led to the identification of new forms of poor relief. Between the 1520s and 1540s, municipal poor laws spread across western Europe, from Saxony and Flanders, to northern Italy, eastern France, to England and finally to Spain. Towns established procedures to "discriminate between inhabitants and outsiders, to pool revenue in common chests, to appoint overseers for the poor, to find at least rough work for the able-bodied, to correct the idle, and generally to spread the burden of caring for the poor across the entire community."⁷

A further element of innovation, that followed the promulgation of the poor laws, was the construction of institutions in which to concentrate beggars. This time Italy was in the forefront, also due to the work of Carlo Borromeo, the Church reformer that, in the late 1550s, urged the civic authorities to establish such institutions. The hospices for beggars established in the second half of the sixteenth century had characteristics distinct from those of the charitable institutions built until then.

The institutions founded since Medieval times, catered to the respectable poor, supported widows with many children, provided girls with dowries so they could marry or enter convents, aided the members of their confraternity or guild when they fell sick, or had been laid off. The hospices for beggars instead were meant for the abject poor, viewed with a mixture of compassion and fear, and were something in between refuges, and reclusive institutions.

The first hospice for beggars was founded in Bologna, in 1560, followed by the hospice of Cremona, in 1569. In 1586, a famine of catastrophic proportions, lasting four years, spurred the construction of hospices for beggars -- now increasingly "closed" institutions -- that rose in several cities. In Rome, Sixtus V founded in 1587 the Ospizio dei Mendicanti. It was one of the

⁶. Zemon Davis, cit., p. 37.

⁷. Pullan, Brian. "The roles of the State and the Town in the General Crisis of the 1590s" in *The European Crisis of the 1590s: Essays in Comparative History*. Peter Clark, ed., London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985, p. 292.

first and largest in Italy, and would be the model for the hospice of S. Lazzaro, founded in Venice in 1594, one of the most enduring institutions in Europe.⁸

That of Sixtus V was not, however, the first effort to concentrate the beggars of Rome in an institution. An earlier, short-lived attempt had been made by Gregory XIII, in 1580. In both cases, the Trinità dei Pellegrini played a central role.

On 26 June 1580, the congregation of the Trinità was invited to hold their meeting in the palace of Ferdinando de' Medici, their Cardinal Protector. During the meeting the Cardinal, speaking on behalf of the pope, asked the confraternity to take on the task of providing for the beggars of Rome. No further mention of the issue appears in the *decreti* for several months, but an account of what followed is offered by a contemporary, Camillo Fanucci, himself a member of the Trinità.

According to Fanucci, after the confraternity perfunctorily consented to the papal request, they pointed out that they would have been unable to shoulder the additional financial burden that the hospice for beggars would have entailed.⁹ A few months later, Gregory XIII must have managed to reassure them of his support, and the first concrete steps were taken to establish the new hospice.

In February of 1581, several *decreti* are devoted to the provisions that had to be made for the Ospizio dei Mendicanti.¹⁰ The poor were not to be housed in the hospital of the Trinità, but in the run-down monastery of San Sisto, on the Via Appia, just outside Porta Capena, which had been recently abandoned by the nuns that occupied it.¹¹

On 17 February, the congregation of the Trinità decided to buy two hundred beds for S. Sisto, which means they expected to house about twice that

8. Pullan, "The Roles of the State," cit., p. 293.

9. Fanucci, Camillo. *Trattato di tutte l'opere pie dell'alma città di Roma*. Roma, 1601, pp. 58-59.

10. ASR, Trinità, b. 6, *decreti* dated 13 February 1581 (p. 131); 16 February (p. 132); 17 February (pp. 132v-133v); 22 February (pp. 135-135v); and 2 March (p. 136).

11. S. Sisto was assigned to the Trinità with a papal brief, dated 1 February 1581, transcribed in Fanucci, cit., pp. 60-62.

figure.¹² The needs of married couples were also to be taken into account. The confraternity decided to build in S. Sisto "fifteen or twenty" cells in a row, "built simply in bricks, without plastering them," to be used by married couples.¹³ Minor restructuring work was hurriedly carried out, and necessary infrastructure was built.

The new hospice was perhaps not yet fully prepared to receive the poor, but the confraternity, and more likely the pope, seemed anxious to display this unique work of charity. In only a few days, on 6 March, a solemn procession was to lead the beggars to their new abode.¹⁴ In the weeks immediately preceding it, the *decreti* of the Trinità are almost exclusively devoted to the organization of the new hospice, and especially to the procession. White cloth (the color had been specified by the pope), was bought for the tunics that the beggars were to wear during the procession, and arrangements were made for carriages to transport those unable to walk.¹⁵

All that was left, was to procure the beggars themselves. The Trinità issued a proclamation informing the poor "of both sexes," that they were to present themselves to the Trinità within six days, stating their name, number of children and infirmities that ailed them, for the confraternity to make adequate preparations. Once the six days were up, anyone found begging in Rome "would be dragged in jail," and "those opposing resistance would be more severely punished."¹⁶

12. The list of furniture items bought for the new hospice includes "Pagliarici N. 300, Materazi N. 100, Capezali N. 100, Lenzuola para N. 100." ASR, Trinità, b. 6, 17 February 1581, p. 132v.

13. "Fu risoluto che il Sig.r Francesco de Rustici cum li altri Sig.ri deputati provedino quanto prima di far fare 15 o XX celle seguite di matone semplice senza coprirle che possino servir per li maritati." ASR, Trinità, b. 6, 17 February 1581, p. 132v.

14. According to Fanucci, the procession was held on 27 February 1581. Fanucci, *cit.*, p. 243.

15. ASR, Trinità, b. 6, 2 March 1581, p. 136.

16. "Si fa sapere a ciascuno, che cominciando da quella mattina, chiunque sarà ritrovato andar mendicando per Roma, oltre il levarli quello che haverà raccolto, sarà condotto in prigione, dove starà ad arbitrio delli Offitiali, & contra chi se ritrovarà gagliardo, si farà anco più severa essecutione, & si darà maggior castigo." Fanucci, *cit.*, p. 65.

Evidently, not all beggars were eager to be admitted to the new hospice. On 4 March, the congregation decided to appoint a "captain" and a "commissary" to search for beggars and conduct them to the Trinità to be examined. To provide an incentive to the guards, they were to receive two *carlini* for each poor captured.¹⁷ Similar measures are recurrent during the entire existence of the Ospizio dei Mendicanti, and are clear indication of its at least partially repressive nature.

Initial preparations having thus been completed, the procession was finally held. It was a grand choreographic affair, viewed by a large crowd, as the pope had promised a special indulgence to those that escorted the poor to their hospice. The beggars, mostly blind and cripple -- 850 of them, according to Fanucci's perhaps exaggerated estimate -- dressed in white, and escorted by the red-clad Trinitarians, assembled in front of the oratory of the Trinità. They marched to S. Sisto, accompanied by the crowd, "climbing over the Campidoglio more triumphantly than the ancient Romans ever did."¹⁸

Notwithstanding the inaugural pomp, however, the hospice of San Sisto very rapidly turned out to have been a poor choice. Fanucci provides the universal justification that it was "affected by bad air," but also mentions its real defect -- distance. Situated on the Appia, in an uninhabited area, it was far from the heart of town, "and the poor were not visited."¹⁹

Its distance from the Trinità also caused great inconvenience to the confraternity. The brethren assigned tasks at S. Sisto were reluctant to travel the long way, judging by the times they had to be encouraged to do so. And the doctor had to be given a horse, and a raise, to compensate for the long distance he had complained about having to travel, to visit the poor at S. Sisto.²⁰

Probably the greatest drawback of S. Sisto's location, however, was that its limited visibility strongly reduced its capacity to attract desperately needed

17. ASR, Trinità, b. 6, 4 March 1581, p. 136v.

18. "Erano i poveri mendicanti ottocento cinquanta, tra maschi, & femine, piccoli, & grandi, quali salendo, & calando il Campidoglio con maggior trionfo, che non fecero mai gli antichi Romani: finalmente gionsero al desiato porto si San Sisto, ove furono ricevuti con gran pietà, & carità." Fanucci, cit., p. 66.

19. "Per la lontananza dall'habitato [S. Sisto] non era a proposito, & i poveri non erano visitati." Fanucci, cit., p. 59.

20. ASR, Trinità, b. 6, 22 March, 1581, p. 141.

donations. The feeding and clothing of the poor weighed heavily on the finances of the Trinità; and apart from the doctor, also the *computista*, the accountant, asked for a raise to keep the Mendicanti's books in order, and the confraternity decided to hire him full time.

In the *decreti* that follow, there is a note of increasing desperation in the numerous attempts to raise funds for S. Sisto. Repeatedly, brethren (generally accompanied by some of the poor themselves), were appointed as *cercatori*, alms-seekers. They were each assigned a Rione, and warned not to search in other Rioni, "so as not to annoy people" with too many requests, ill-disposing them towards the hospice.²¹ Subsequently, they were granted a *grosso* as incentive for every scudo they raised, "so that they might more diligently seek alms for the poor."²²

By summer, only a few months after the hospice was established, the situation was already critical, and a meeting held on 16 July was entirely devoted to finding new ways to raise funds. The confraternity had to borrow 3,000 scudi "to pay part of the debts accumulated for S. Sisto."²³ After dispatching once more some of the brethren to ask for donations from privates and the council of cardinals, they resorted to taxing themselves.²⁴

The documents do not reveal if Gregory XIII had provided S. Sisto with a stable form of income, but it seems unlikely. Gregory's contribution seems to have been limited to little more than granting the Trinità the right to send

21. "Per non venire in tedio al popolo." ASR, Trinità, b. 7, 1 June 1581, p. 4.

22. "Acciò che faciano magior diligenza nel cercare per detti poveri." ASR, Trinità, b. 7, 14 August 1581, p. 21.

23. The 3,000 scudi were borrowed "a censo per pagare parte del debito fatto per li poveri di S. Sisto." (ASR, Trinità, b.7, 16 July 1581, p. 12). They were forced to borrow another 400 scudi on 14 July (Id., 14 July 1581, p. 18); 3,000 scudi more a few weeks later (Id., 11 September 1581, p. 26), and a final 500 in February 1583, "per l'hospitalità delli mendicanti di San Sisto et in particolare per la necessità che si ha di pagare il fornaro." (Id., 7 February 1583, p. 129v). Fanucci was not exaggerating when he asserted the Trinità to have been forced to abandon the Mendicanti "after having accumulated a debt of several thousand *ducati* for them." Fanucci, cit., p. 66.

24. Three brethren were to approach each member of the confraternity "Per sapere quanto ogni fratello si contenterà tassarsi per elemosina ogni mese per li poveri di San Sisto." ASR, Trinità, b. 7, 16 July 1581, p. 12.

cercanti over the whole of Italy.²⁵ The main, if not only, sources of income for the hospice seem to have been the donations collected from privates and institutions, and the Trinità itself.

It was thus probably with the hope to more easily attract alms, by enhancing their visibility that, barely a year after the grand procession, the decision was made to move the beggars closer to the Trinità. On 12 March 1582, the confraternity appointed five of its members to discuss with the Treasurer of the Apostolic Chamber the location and number of houses necessary to house the inmates of S. Sisto. The representatives of the Trinità were reminded to stress, in the negotiation, that all expenses were to be borne by the Apostolic Chamber, "as the confraternity is already overburdened by debts incurred for the beggars."²⁶

Also the Apostolic Chamber must have been unwilling to spend substantial sums on the enterprise. Gregory XIII instructed the confraternity that the houses for the beggars were to be in front of the oratory of the Trinità and, "for the time being," be rented rather than bought.²⁷ On 14 May, the confraternity decided to restore the houses that had been rented, and to draft an inventory of the furnishings of S. Sisto, preparing for the move which occurred sometime in summer.²⁸

25. On 18 February 1582, the Trinità prepared the "lettere patenti," certificates issued to the *cercanti* that were to be sent all over Italy, by papal licence. (ASR, Trinità, b.7, p. 61). On 22 April, these "Italian" *cercanti* are promised no less than a third of whatever they will collect for the Mendicanti. (Id., p. 73).

26. "Per trattare cum il S.r Thesaurier sopra la locatione et acconciamento di tante case quante sarà di bisogno sopra il negotio delli poveri mendicanti nel loco già eletto conforme alla mente di N[ost]ro Sig[no]re sono stati deputati li SS.ri Abbate Celso, Valerio Scarinci, Melchiori Ceneri, Francesco de Rustici et il S.re Fabio Ursino, alli q[ua]li et a maggior parte di essi fu data facultà amplissima di far quanto sarà di bisogno. Advertendoli che d[ett]a locatione et reparamento habbi da essere alle spese della Camera essendo di già questa Compagnia molto carica di debiti a causa de detti poveri." ASR, Trinità, b.7, 12 March 1582, p. 66.

27. "N[ost]ro Sig.re voleva che per adesso si pigliassero in affitto tante case quante habbiano di bisogno poste inanti al n[ost]ro oratorio." ASR, b.7, 2 April 1582, p. 71.

28. ASR, Trinità, b. 7, 14 May 1582, pp. 78v-79. On 4 June 1582, the confraternity decided to set up a "guardarobba" on its premises for both the convalescents and the beggars, as the latter were about to be moved. ("Havendosi da tramutare vicino al n[ost]ro oratorio li poveri che stano in San Sisto.") Id., 4 June 1582, p. 89.

Notwithstanding the attempt to improve S. Sisto's lot by moving it closer to the heart of the city, however, Gregory XIII's experiment rapidly proved a complete failure. It had been hurriedly set up to rid the city of beggars before 1585, which Gregory had proclaimed a jubilee year, but was not supported by any stable source of income. The new hospice relied entirely on the charitable inclinations of the population that, especially in times of shortages, cannot have been very strong. Given these circumstances, it would have been easy to predict the defeat of the papal project.

Only a few months after the beggars were moved to Ponte Sisto the Trinità was ignominiously forced to open the gates of the hospice, and let the beggars go fend for themselves lest it should see them starve to death within its walls. A *decreto* dated 13 June 1583, about a year after the move, reports on the quarrel with an Alessandro Giovenale, landlord of the houses rented by the confraternity for the beggars. The Trinità was returning to him the houses, but Giovenale refused to waive rent in compensation for the ameliorations made. Judging by how bitterly the confraternity complained of being requested to pay rent "until today," the houses had already long been vacated by the beggars.²⁹

Gregory's short-lived enterprise left however a legacy. The houses rented for the poor by the Trinità facing its oratory would eventually be bought, constituting the nucleus of the hospice for beggars that would be built a few years later, by Sixtus V. Felice Peretti Montalto, elected Sixtus V on 24 April 1585, would not repeat his predecessor's mistakes, tackling the enterprise on a much grander scale, in both economic and architectural terms.

²⁹. ASR, Trinità, b. 8, 13 June 1583, p. 4.

The Ospizio dei Mendicanti of Sixtus V

On 11 May 1587, with the bull *Quamvis Infirma*, Sixtus founded the Ospizio dei Mendicanti, the hospice that was to hold all the beggars of Rome. It was built by Domenico Fontana, Sixtus' architect, and work must have started very soon after the pope's election. Payments are recorded starting in 1587 to Fontana, for parts of the hospice already built, and the dedicatory inscription above the main entrance of the hospice recorded the same year as that of foundation.

A few months before the bull was issued, on 26 October 1586, the Trinità was once again asked to govern the Mendicanti. Having been reassured that the hospice would this time be fully funded, they accepted.³⁰ On 8 December, the pope's architect and that of the confraternity, Domenico Fontana and Martino Longhi, were asked to inspect the houses facing the oratory, and to report on what repair work was necessary.³¹ Fontana would eventually be charged with the construction of the hospice, and Longhi will no longer appear in the documents in connection with the Mendicanti.

Preparations proceeded almost exactly as the first time: an edict was issued by the Trinità informing the poor that they were to present themselves to the Trinità to be judged fit to enter the hospice or not.³² This time, the number of beds and mattresses bought (three hundred), indicates that they expected to house up to 600 beggars. They in fact also ordered 600 "vestiti de festa," the clothes that the poor were to wear, when publicly displayed.³³

Soon after the edict of the Trinità, in the Spring of 1587, the first beggars were admitted and housed in the east wing, the older nucleus of the Mendicanti, while work continued on the rest of the complex. Most of the hospice was demolished in 1879, to build the embankments of the Tiber, and only few representations of it survive. The only existing plan is a survey made in 1668 by

30. "Fu proposto dal Sig[no]r Conte della Gengha, uno delli n[ost]ri SS[igno]ri Guardiani che la mente de N[ostro] S[ignore] è che la n[ost]ra Archiconfraternità pigli carico di nuovo delli mendicanti et l'ill[ustrissi]mo Sig[no]re nostro Protettore desidera assai che s'abbracci questo negozio poi che N[ost]ro Sig[no]re con tanta humanità ci chiama et ci offerisce che del nostro non si haverà a metter cosa alcuna." ASR, Trinità, b. 9, 26 October 1586.

31. ASR, Trinità, b. 9, 8 December 1586, p. 109.

32. ASR, Trinità, b. 9, 14 March 1587, p. 122.

33. ASR, Trinità, b. 9, 15 March 1587, pp. 122-23.

the *Notai di Acque e Strade*, the magistrature over the streets, for the concession of the right to build over the alley behind the hospice.³⁴ By comparing the survey to the *misure* drafted by Domenico Fontana, it is possible to trace the early building history of the complex.

During Fontana's campaign, the north and west parts of the hospice were built, while the older nucleus of the hospice, facing the oratory of the Trinità, and comprising the kitchen and pantry, was restructured. This first campaign lasted four years, from 1585 to 1589, and was probably interrupted due to Sixtus' death in 1590.³⁵ Spezzaferro suggested that, in such a limited amount of time, Fontana could not have built the hospice that appears on the Tempesta map of 1593, and that his contribution must have been limited to the restructuring of an already existing building.³⁶

The hospice building shown on the Tempesta map emerges over the rest of the block, with two perpendicular facades, on the river and on Via de' Pettinari. Contrary to Spezzaferro's suppositions, there are several indications that it was built by Fontana from the foundations.

The first item of the *misure* drafted by Fontana is the "acquisition of various houses, done at the very beginning."³⁷ Almost the whole block was acquired by Fontana himself, later to be reimbursed by the Apostolic Chamber.³⁸ Part of the existing houses, the original nucleus of the Mendicanti, were rapidly restructured and rendered fit to house the poor, while demolition proceeded on the rest of the complex, to be rebuilt according to Fontana's design.

On 2 August 1588, Fontana asked to be paid for 71 palmi (approximately 16 meters), measured from the bridge, of the facade built on Via de' Pettinari from

34. ASR, Notai Acque e Strade, b. 95. The plan was published by Spezzaferro in *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 513.

35. "Libro del S. Cav.re Dom.co Fontana Architetto, ove sono notate tutte le spese fatte nelle fabbriche inalzate dalla gloriosa mem. di Papa Sisto V dall'anno 1585 al 1589". ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 9, p. 23.

36. Spezzaferro, *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 514.

37. "Compra di diverse case fatta da principio," ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 9, p. 23.

38. This was customary for Fontana, whose activity as building contractor is well documented. See Orbaan, J.A.F. "Dei conti di Domenico Fontana," *Bollettino d'arte* 7 (1913) pp. 419-24 and *Bollettino d'arte* 8 (1914) pp. 59-77; Marino, Angela. "I libri dei conti di D. Fontana," *Storia della città* 40 (1987) pp. 45-77.

the foundations to the roof; and for the restoration of another 19 palmi (three meters) of existing wall attached to the first, further along the Pettinari.³⁹ The total length of the built and restored wall, measured on the 1668 plan, indicates that Fontana built the facade up to the second portal from the bridge, corresponding to what appears on the Tempesta map.

The hospice included separate dormitories for men, women, boys and girls, as the patrons wished to ensure that the innocence of the younger should not be threatened by contact with more street-wise beggars.⁴⁰ Seven dormitories were built, or rebuilt, during Fontana's campaign. Six were in the eastern wing of the hospice, probably two each over the kitchen and the "dispensa," and another over the room labeled "infermaria vecchia," old dormitory, on the 1668 plan.⁴¹

Men, women, and boys slept here while the girls, the most protected of the four categories of inmates, were kept as separate as possible, in the seventh dormitory, above the western loggia. The hall of the *zitelle*, literally the "spinsters," was accessed only by the large staircase built between the loggia and the river, and was certainly not connected to the other dormitories on the upper floors.⁴²

39. The new wall, measured from the edge closest to the bridge is: "muro di un pezzo della fa[cc]iata (...) lon[go] p[almi] 71 (...) cominciando dalla banda verso il ponte." While nineteen palmi of "wall above the frontispice of the old portal," ("muro di un pezzo sopra il frontespizio del porton vecchio") are restored. (ASR, Camerale I, b. 1527, folder. 3, p. 7v). The "old portal" is the one to the left of the fountain built in 1613.

40. "Separate apartments" for the four categories are also listed in Fontana's description of the hospice: "In questa fabrica sono saloni grandissimi, e grandissima copia di stanze, e appartamenti separati per le donne, per le zitelle, per li vecchi, e per li fanciulli, (...) il luogo ha tutte le comodità di cantine cucine, e ufficiali, che servono a quanto è bisogno." Fontana, Domenico. *Della transportation dell'obelisco Vaticano et delle fabriche di Nostro Signore papa Sisto V.* Roma, 1590 (1603-04), Libro I, pl. 71v.

41. Payment is demanded for "lavori alli sei dormitoij dove è la cucina." ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 9, p. 23.

42. The *misure* list "the peperino staircase that ascends from the hall along the river [the church, on the 1668 plan] to the dormitory above the new loggia." ("Piano delle scale di peperino che montano dal salone verso fiume al dormitorio [delle zitelle] sopra le loggie nove." ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, p. 13). The "new loggia" is the one closest to the river, also built by Fontana.

The dormitories above the kitchen area, where the *putti*, the boys slept, were the most reclusive part of the hospice.⁴³ In the *misure*, the expressions "rooms for the boys" and "prisons" are used interchangeably, and payment is demanded for having set iron bars to the window of the prison.⁴⁴

An account of the capture of a young beggars in 1595, concludes by noting that he was dragged "in carceribus Pontis Sixti," to the prison of Ponte Sisto, referring to the hospice.⁴⁵ It is a further indication of the reclusive nature of the Mendicanti, although it would appear from the *misure* that "prison" only refers to the boys' section. More repressive measures than those used with the old, or girls, were evidently necessary to keep them in the institution.

Fontana also built the church of the complex, S. Francesco D'Assisi a Ponte Sisto, on Via de' Pettinari, right next to the bridge. Somewhat puzzling is the fact that, in none of the representations made before Falda's engraving of the facade of the Mendicanti in 1665, the entrance to the church appears. On the Tempesta map, only a portal to the left of the future fountain is drawn, whereas in an engraving by Bordini, Fontana's main portal stands in perfect isolation at the center of a squarish facade.

According to Fioravante Martinelli the church was built by Fontana.⁴⁶ However, the *misure* never mention a church, nor is one mentioned by Fontana

This dormitory was equipped with facilities, and built over the ruins of an ancient tower, which was the squarish structure behind the fountain, partially occupied by "luoghi comuni," toilets on the 1668 plan. The dormitory was built as a continuation of the tower: the *misure* mention the "pavement of the girls' hall built in the tower," ("Mattonato del salone delle zitelle per quanto tiene la torre vecchia.") ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, p. 13.

⁴³. In the *misure* we find the pavement of "the rooms of the boys on the first floor, which were property of Giacomo Cordaro." ("Stanzia dove stanno i putti, che era di M. Giacomo Cordaro al p[rim]o piano." ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, p. 17). Cordaro's houses were close to the kitchen area, the old nucleus of the hospice: the *misure* list a "Muro del fonda[me]nto, che attacca con la casa vecchia de' mendicanti riscontro all'horatorio della S.a Trinità et tira attaccare con le casette di M. Giacomo Cordaro." Id., p. 1v.

⁴⁴. "Per haver (...) messo una ferrata alla finestra della prigionie." ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, pp. 6, 17v.

⁴⁵. The account is published by Spezzaferro in *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 515-17.

⁴⁶. D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Roma nel Seicento. "Roma ornata dall'architettura, pittura e Scultura" di Fioravante Martinelli*. Firenze: Vallecchi, 1969, p. 46.

in his proud description of the hospice.⁴⁷ A possible explanation is that the rectangular hall along the river, although built by Fontana, was not originally meant to be a church. Several items in the *misure* refer to it as a "stantione," a large hall, and indicate that it was entirely built during 1585-1589 campaign.⁴⁸ This "stantione," if not yet a church, would not have required an entry on the public street. The stantione must have thus been transformed in a church sometime between the Tempesta map (1593) and the Falda (1665) engraving. Until then, the hospice must have used the small church, visible on the Bufalini map, whose facade was on Via delle Zoccolette.

Fontana also built the staircase behind the church,⁴⁹ leading to the floors above the loggia; the wall enclosing, in terrace-like fashion, the complex along the river, most clearly visible on the Falda map of 1676, and the facade along the Tiber, with its massive buttressed walls founded directly in the water.⁵⁰

Finally, during the same campaign, the two-storied loggia running along the eastern facade of the "stantione" was built.⁵¹ Spezzaferro suggested that

47. See here, n. 40.

48. The *misure* mention "the facade of the hall on the ground floor, on which are the windows overlooking the river. Measuring from the widow closest to the bridge, the facade is 146 palmi (approximately 33 meters) long." ("Muro della fa[cciata] della cortina del stantione da basso dove sonno le fines[t]re che guardano verso fiume lon[go] cominciando alla p[rim]a fines[t]ra verso fiume cioè la spalletta verso il ponte, et caminando sino all'altra testa verso il ponte 4 capi p[almi] 146." ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, p. 8). Thirty-three meters is roughly the length of the church building, from the corner next to the bridge to the furthest edge of the staircase. It was built anew, from the foundation to the roof: an item mentions the wood necessary to build the "tetto del salone che guarda verso fiume." Id., p. 21v.

49. Various items refer to this staircase, such as the "Muro della fa[cciata] fuori delle scale che guarda verso il ponte 4 Capi." ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, p. 8v.

50. The *misure* list several walls which are "fondato nell'acqua," including seven "pilastroni," piers, and their arches. (ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, p. 1v). The facade along the river was built over parts of "un muro vecchio antico" that must have been the foundations of the ancient roman fortifications, over which the houses along the eastern Tiber banks were built. ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, p. 1v.

51. The *misure* mention the four pilasters and arches "che fanno la loggia del cortile." (ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, p. 7v). It was a

Fontana probably meant to build a square arcaded courtyard.⁵² It is a likely hypothesis, especially if we consider that in the very same years the architect was building precisely such a courtyard, for the Lateran Palace.⁵³ Similar to the Lateran palace, the planned hospice had unified three-storey facades on all four sides. The main portal, however -- the only architecturally emerging feature, and almost identical to the one designed for the Lateran -- was centered on Via Giulia rather than on the facade.

To recap, Fontana restructured and enlarged the old nucleus of the hospice, the east wing; he built the wing of the hospice along the Tiber, and the facade on Via de' Pettinari on the tract closest to the river. The outcome of this campaign is shown in the Tempesta map, and in a fresco painted in the Biblioteca Vaticana by Cesare Nebbia, Sixtus' favorite painter. The engraving by Bordini shows instead an idealized version of the facade on Via de' Pettinari, with a centered portal and an additional storey, actually added during the second building campaign.

In the Falda map of 1676, the hospice for beggars has expanded to occupy the entire block, with five-storey facades along both Via de' Pettinari and Via delle Zoccolette. The architect of this later development was Giacomo Mola, and the patrons were probably the Barberini.

Giovanni Battista Mola, brother of Giacomo and author of a famous guide, stated that "the dormitory, the refectory and the staircase [of the Mendicanti] were designed by Giacomo."⁵⁴ These are the halls labeled "hospedale per

two-storied loggia: a "loggia di sopra" is also mentioned. ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, folder 3, p. 9.

⁵². Spezzaferro, *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 514.

⁵³. The Lateran cloister is a two-storied loggia, with Doric columns on the first floor, and Corinthian on the second. Fontana's loggia at the Mendicanti was demolished together with the rest in the nineteenth century. However, the ground level of the loggia along the east wing, built by Giacomo Mola, still survives. It is in the Doric order, which must thus have been the same used by Fontana.

⁵⁴. "La disposizione del dormitorio, refettorio et scale [dell'ospizio dei Mendicanti], fu pensiero di Giacomo Mola." Karl Noehles. *Breve racconto delle migliori opere d'architettura, scultura et pittura fatte in Roma et alcuni fuor di Roma descritto da Giov. Battista Mola l'anno 1663*. Berlin: Hessling, 1966, p. 104, n. 167. This is the east wing of the hospice, which includes the loggia.

Giovanna Curcio is mistaken when she supposes that Giovanni Battista must have confused the Trinità and the Mendicanti, and be referring to work

l'infermi" and "refettorio de poveri," joined by the staircase, on the 1668 plan. Giacomo also raised the facade built by Fontana on Via de' Pettinari with an additional storey, and extended it to Via Delle Zoccolette. He retired from practice in 1649; the new wing of the Mendicanti must therefore have been built before then, in the late 1630s or early 1640s.

In the same years, Giacomo was the architect of the Trinità, for which he also built the new wing on Via de' Pettinari, and whose construction is discussed in chapter seven. The similarities between the buildings built by Mola for the Trinità and the Mendicanti, side by side on Via de' Pettinari, are obvious. The layout of the ground floor is practically identical, with the same number of shops alligned along the Pettinari, and a long rectangular hall behind them. In the Mendicanti, the hall is a dormitory, whereas in the Trinità it was a stable, but the scheme is the same. The two facades are perfectly aligned, and both are five storey high, with simple stringcourses and identical window frames.⁵⁵

Also Giovanni Battista Mola worked at the Mendicanti, as well as at the Trinità. In his guide, Giovanni Battista states that he built "the sewer that drains the water from neighboring houses to the Tiber, as the one previously built by others had been washed away by the river, and water flooded the basement of the Hospital [for beggars]."⁵⁶ The "others" that built the previous sewer were Fontana, as is documented in a section in the *misura* of 1589.⁵⁷ To us, the note of pride in mentioning a more sturdy sewer as his only contribution to this building might sound peculiar, but contemporaries evidently thought

Giacomo did at the former, rather than at the hospice for beggars. Curcio, Giovanna. "Giacomo e Giovanni Battista Mola: due diversi modi di essere architetti a Roma nella prima metà del XVII secolo" in *Pier Francesco Mola 1612-1666*. Kahn-Rossi, Manuela ed., Milano: Electa, 1989, p. 36, n. 53.

⁵⁵. The facade of the Mendicanti on Via de' Pettinari was practically entirely demolished in the nineteenth century, but the one on Via delle Zoccolette still stands, albeit heavily restructured, and enables a comparison with that of the north wing of the Trinità.

⁵⁶. "La chiavica che si vede nel fiume che porta l'acqua delle vicine case et strade nell'istesso fiume, che p[rim]a penetrava nelle cantine dell'Ospitale, è fondata dal detto Gio. Ba. Mola, che per avanti le fatte da altri il fiume se la portate via." Noehles, cit., p. 104, n. 167.

⁵⁷. "Muro d'un pezzo che fa bocca della chiavica qual s'è fatta nel d[ett]o vicolo." ASR, Camerale I, Serie "Fabbriche," b. 1527, fasc. 3, p. 9v

otherwise. Together with "necessari" or "luoghi comuni," toilets, sewers are among some of the most frequently cited elements, and not only in *misura*.

No documents have so far been found that reveal the name of the patron of the new wing of the Mendicanti. If it was built in the 1640s, both Urban VIII Barberini (1623 - 1644) and his successor, Innocent X Pamphili (1644 - 1655), could have sponsored it. Most probably, however, the enlargement of the hospice was funded by the Barberini. This family spent considerable effort on the enhancement of the area around Ponte Sisto, in which their palace stood, the Casa Grande ai Giubbonari. They supported the development of the other institutions in the neighborhood, including the Trinità, and the construction of its north wing, built by Mola.

In the same years, the same architect built the new wing of the Mendicanti, which was likely part of the papal family's plan for the construction of a "Barberini quarter" around their palace. After Innocent X's election, the Barberini were accused of having drained the coffers of the Apostolic Chamber, their property was confiscated, and they were forced to flee from Rome. It seems unlikely that, had the Mendicanti not been enlarged by them, Innocent would have resumed the development of "their" quarter, funding such an expensive project.

The patronage of the Barberini provided, however, only brief respite for the hospice of beggars. Unlike similar hospices in northern Italian cities, founded by the municipal authority which ensured continuity in support, the Mendicanti was a papal institution. By its very nature, it could never command any economic power. It was not the expression of a confraternity that, although aligned to papal policies, had an autonomous identity it sought to strengthen and aggrandize. The Mendicanti depended entirely on the civic inclinations of the popes, and the sharp fluctuations in its fortunes, throughout its existence, were closely connected to the reigning pope.

The founder of the hospice, Sixtus V, had endowed it with a stable sources of income, assigning it a yearly income of 9,000 scudi, deriving from the taxes paid on wood unloaded at the urban river ports. In 1588, he added the revenues

from the concession of a patent on the production of glass, and a new tax imposed on the fabrication of cards, that was also meant to reduce gambling.⁵⁸

His successors, however, did not support Sixtus' initiative as enthusiastically. Clement VIII in particular, reduced the income of the hospice, and released most of the poor back on the streets, while at the same time mitigating the prohibition on begging.⁵⁹ By 1601, according to Fanucci, the hospice housed at most 150 people including servants and officers, but generally much fewer.⁶⁰

After the Barberini parenthesis, the hospice resumed its difficult existence, always on the verge of bankruptcy. In 1693, Innocent XII established the Ospizio Apostolico de' Poveri Invalidi, better known as San Michele a Ripa, which was to receive the poor housed in various hospices, including the Mendicanti. In 1715, Clement XI transformed the east wing of the now empty Mendicanti into an orphanage for girls called the "zoccolette," from the clogs they wore. The wing on Via de' Pettinari was used to house sick priests, and was henceforth referred to as the Collegio Ecclesiastico, or more popularly as the Ospizio dei Cento Preti.

Around 1725, the Trinità was discussing the possibility to buy and annex the hospice for beggars, to house the pilgrims during the jubilee. They planned to join the two institutions with a flying passage over Via delle Zoccolette, and a plan was produced to show how the passage would have connected and modified the inner routes of the two hospices. They eventually decided that the cost entailed was excessive for "an event that occurred only four times in a century," but the outcome was the only existing plan of one of the upper floors of the Trinità.⁶¹

58. Simoncelli, Paolo. "Origini e primi anni di vita dell'ospedale romano dei poveri mendicanti." *Annuario dell'istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea*. 25/26 (1973/74) 121-72. See also above, "The Sources of Wealth," Chapter One.

59. Simoncelli, cit., pp. 143-44; 146-48.

60. "In detto spedale ne sono molti pochi, & per quanto ho havuto informatione, fra poveri, ministri, & serventi per l'ordinario non passa la quantità di cento cinquanta persone; ma il più del tempo molto meno." Fanucci, cit., p. 67.

61. "Non si sa se un utile, che cade quattro sole volte in un secolo, venisse a compensare la spesa che presentemente si farebbe." ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder C - *Misura della scrittura per la compra dell'ospedale di S. Sisto fatta l'anno 1725*

Even if almost always leading a precarious institutional life, however, the hospice for beggars played an important role in the shaping of the neighborhood, until it was demolished. In 1613, Paul V blocked the main portal of the hospice, centered by Fontana on Via Giulia, with the *mostra* of the Acqua Paola in Rome, across the Tiber from the main fountain on the Janiculum. The ornamented doorframe built by Fontana was transferred to an older entranceway, to the left of the fountain.⁶²

The facade of the hospice, with the monumental fountain now centered on Via Giulia, began to shape the area at the foot of the bridge. The attempts to regularize this area would continue in the next decades culminating, in the early 1680s, in an unrealized design by Gregorio Tommassini to transform it into a square.⁶³ The piazza, bordered on the south by the facade of the Mendicanti adorned by the fountain, and on the east by the reoriented facade of S. Salvatore, would have articulated the intersection between Via Giulia and Via de' Pettinari.

The importance attributed to this area, a major point of entry into the city, answers the questions posed by Spezzaferro as to the location chosen for the Mendicanti. According to Spezzaferro, Gregory XIII's old S. Sisto, far from the urban center, was in a location much more suited to what was almost a prisonhouse, which Sixtus had instead installed right in the heart of the city.⁶⁴ As has been previously mentioned, it was visibility that stimulated donations, and precisely its lack that condemned the hospice on the Appia. But a central location, such as that on the path of the many entering the city through Ponte Sisto, also gave patrons the possibility to display the charitable enterprise.

colla pianta della fabrica da farsi per comodo de' convalescenti la quale non ebbe esecuzione. The confraternity decided to extend the new refectory instead, which however only occurred in 1737, when Clement XII provided funds. See "Building History to 1575," n. 72, Chapter Three.

62. "La porta dell'Ospedale [dei Mendicanti] stava dove Paolo V, con disegno di Giovanni Fontana fratello del detto Domenico fece la fonte, che guarda Strada Giulia, et la porta fu trasferita con l'occasione di far detta fonte al luogo, dove hora sta." D'Onofrio, *Fioravante Martinelli*, cit., p. 49. According to D'Onofrio, the fountain was designed by the Flemish Giovanni Van Zanten (or Vasanzio), with the collaboration of Giovanni Fontana. D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Acque e fontane di Roma*. Roma: Staderini, 1977, p. 294.

63. See below, "The North-West Wing (1640 - 1647)," Chapter Five.

64. *Via Giulia*, cit., p. 517.

Fontana's hospice had almost naturally evolved on the vestiges of the institution established by Gregory XIII, on Via delle Zoccolette. But Sixtus and his architect, more aware of the urban context and the possibilities it offered, set the basis for the future transformations of the area at the foot of Ponte Sisto, reorienting the facade of the new hospice on Via de' Pettinari, and centering it on Via Giulia. One of the first hospices for beggars in Europe, it was the first building that travellers encountered after crossing Ponte Sisto. Along its facade, with the elaborate portal bearing Sixtus' coat of arms, travellers would have to walk, to enter the city.

In this section, the contribution of the Barberini has only been briefly mentioned, in connection to the Mendicanti. The effort and sums this family spent on the neighborhood were much more extensive. Under their impetus, the quarter east of Ponte Sisto was radically transformed, with a rapidity probably unparalleled in the urban history of Rome. Their action is the topic of the next section.

The Barberini, the Monte di Pietà and the Trinità

Between the 1620s and the 1640s, the area between Ponte Sisto and Campo de' Fiori was radically transformed, by the patronage of the Barberini. Squares were opened, and streets straightened in close relation to the visual and representational needs of the Barberini palace, the so-called Casa Grande, on Via Giubbonari.

The shaping of urban space around family palaces was common practice. What is particularly interesting in this case, is that the Barberini did not only intervene on the surrounding urban environment, to grant their palace a better view from a piazza, or its abutment onto a straight street. They actively involved, into the process of transformation, the other establishments in the neighborhood. The formation, in only two decades, of massive blocks, straight streets, and regular squares, was thus due to the joint efforts of the main institutions in the area: the Monte di Pietà and the Trinità, directed by the papal family.

Patricia Waddy has extensively analyzed the transformation of the Casa Grande, from 1581 to the death of Urban VIII Barberini, in 1644.⁶⁵ Here, I propose to emphasize the relation between the development of the Casa, and that of its neighborhood; and the role played by the other institutions.

The first nucleus of the Casa Grande was bought by Monsignor Francesco Barberini, in 1581. Including a small southeast addition, acquired in 1588, it was only three structural bays wide, on Via de' Giubbonari. The entrance was not on this street, but on a narrow alley opening onto the east end of Via de' Pettinari. In 1584, Francesco's nephew Maffeo, the future Urban VIII, then only 16 years old, moved in with his uncle.⁶⁶

In May 1600, Francesco died and the house remained to Maffeo who, now a cardinal, started to remodel it within weeks of his uncle's death, to render it suitable to his new status. He bought and demolished a house along the alley, to form a small piazza, providing turning room for the coaches of the prominent new cardinal, and of his numerous visitors.⁶⁷ He acquired property next to the

⁶⁵. Waddy, Patricia. *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces. Use and the Art of the Plan*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990, pp. 132-72. Cf. esp. Fig. 52, pp. 134-35.

⁶⁶. *Id.*, p. 137.

⁶⁷. Waddy, *cit.*, p. 144.

Casa, on Via Giubbonari and Pettinari, and rebuilt it completely. This first campaign lasted until 1612.

Around 1620, the palace was extended to the northwest and to the southwest, toward the Capodiferro. On 6 August 1623, while work was going on to restructure this property, and incorporate it into the Casa, Maffeo Barberini was elected pope. Now Urban VIII, Maffeo moved to the Vatican, and left the Casa Grande to his brother Carlo, and his family.

The Barberini's wealth and prestige having dramatically increased, Carlo set his hand to another enlargement of the Casa Grande. Between December 1623, and July 1624, he bought the property forming the southeast corner of the block, on Via de' Giubbonari and Via de' Pettinari, and joined it to Barberini houses, further along Via de' Pettinari. The houses had been bought by Monsignor Francesco Barberini, together with the first nucleus of the Casa Grande, but detached from it. It is revealing of the early intention to gradually occupy the block. As if completing a puzzle, the Barberini bought property in the block, wherever opportunity arose, while waiting to fill the "blanks" in between.

These acquisitions, however, were only the prelude to the development of the Casa and its neighborhood, that would occur during the regency of Taddeo Barberini. The heir of Carlo, and nephew of the pope, he was the continuator of the family name. Married to Anna Colonna on 24 October 1627, he set about transforming the house where he was born into a residence appropriate to the status of the family he represented.

Work was initially interrupted, when Taddeo and Anna moved to the new palace the Barberini were building, at the Quattro Fontane. In 1634, however, after living at the Quattro Fontane for only two and a half years, Taddeo returned to the Casa Grande, and resumed its development.⁶⁸

⁶⁸. It is unclear why they moved back. Contemporaries only report the usual justification of there being "bad air," at the Quattro Fontane. Waddy has suggested, based on an account by Taddeo's uncle, that the couple decided to return to the Casa Grande for superstitious reasons. Two males were born to Taddeo's wife at the Casa Grande, while she had given birth to a female, in the palace at the Quattro Fontane; (Waddy, p. 244). Even so, this seems hardly sufficient reason to leave the new palace, on which large sums had already been spent, to return to a clearly less prestigious house.

The main problem of the Casa was its cramped entrance. Taddeo's first concern was thus to equip the palace with an appropriate piazza, to give it a more dignified entrance, and distance to properly appreciate the facade. More room was also needed to facilitate the passage of coaches. Especially since Urban VIII had subordinated to Taddeo, who was Prefect of Rome, all ambassadors, and secular dignitaries, regarding the right of precedence.⁶⁹ The ambassadors were outraged by the decision, and intense quarrels arose, especially in the streets around the Casa Grande, whenever the Prefect's carriage met that of other dignitaries.⁷⁰

Opportunity to open a square arose in 1634, when a small group of houses across the Giubbonari burnt down. Taddeo promptly bought the burnt ruins and cleared them to form a small piazza (the current Piazza S. Barbara), facing the south east corner of the Casa. He also planned to cut a new street from the piazza, across the Theater of Pompei, and along the side of the church of S. Andrea della Valle, where the family chapel was, to the Via Papalis.⁷¹ As Joseph Connors pointed out, this *Viale Barberini* would have rendered the Casa Grande a nodal point on a long direct route from Ponte Sisto to the Via Papalis.⁷²

The plan was soon abandoned, however, and a few years later, Taddeo adopted an entirely different strategy, that would prove much more fruitful. He reoriented the facade of the Casa by 90 degrees, toward Via de' Pettinari. His attention shifted on the area south of his palace, now facing its facade, and he seemed to lose all interest in Via dei Giubbonari. In the years that followed, the Monte di Pietà, and the neighboring Trinità, would be encouraged to expand,

⁶⁹. Waddy, p. 130.

⁷⁰. Waddy, p. 332.

⁷¹. For the post-fire *gettito* of 15 December 1636, cf. ASR, Presidenza delle strade, b. 446, p. 601; and the *Avviso* of 20 December 1634, in Gigli, Giacinto. *Diario Romano*. Roma: Tumminelli, 1958 (Anastatic reprint), p. 150. For the opening of the street, cf. ASR, Disegni e mappe, c. 83, n. 419. Quoted by Connors, Joseph. "Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism." *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989), pp. 207-94, p. 230. A plan showing the course of the new street is published in *Roma 1300-1875: la città degli anni santi; Atlante*. Fagiolo, Marcello and Madonna, Maria Luisa eds., Milano: Mondadori, 1985, p. 82. Cf. also Waddy, pp. 155; 380, n. 87.

⁷². Connors, "Alliance and Enmity," cit., p. 230.

aligning their facades and regularizing the streets on which they abutted, improving the appearance of what was to become a "Barberini quarter."

A series of grants and concessions to both institutions facilitated their development along lines decided by the papal family, who had full control over them. Antonio Barberini, brother of Taddeo, and appointed Camerlengo by their uncle Urban VIII, was appointed Cardinal Protector of both the Monte and the Trinità -- in other words, their highest authority. While Taddeo himself was *Guardiano Principe*, prime councilor, of the Trinità.⁷³

On 21 September, and 3 November 1637, two chirographs signed by Urban VIII granted the Monte di Pietà permission to buy and demolish some houses facing it, to enlarge the north end of the current Piazza del Monte.⁷⁴ Work was rapidly underway, and the new piazza rapidly cleared. Bordered on the west by the Monte di Pietà, and on the north by the Barberini palace, it granted both buildings distance to appreciate the facades, and turning room for carriages.

The Barberini contributed to the clearing of the piazza by buying and demolishing a house facing the alley that opened onto Via de' Pettinari, leading to the main entrance of the Casa Grande. In 1640, Urban VIII donated to his nephew this alley, which he himself had enlarged three decades earlier.⁷⁵ By 1642, Taddeo transformed it into the grand colonnaded hall of the Casa Grande, opening directly onto the newly cleared Piazza del Monte.⁷⁶

According to Waddy, Taddeo's new scheme for the reorientation of the palace would have been inconceivable before the initiative of the Monte, and he was quick to grasp the opportunity. As we have seen, it is probably more correct to say that the reorganization of the area was the result of a joint effort of the Barberini and the Monte, with the papal family directing the project.

⁷³. ASR, Trinità, b. 33, 4 June 1639, p. 63v. Cf. below, n. 29.

⁷⁴. Waddy, p. 155. For the general treatments and buildings of the Monte di Pietà in Rome see: Tosi, Mario. *Cassa di Risparmio di Roma. Il Sacro Monte di Pietà di Roma*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1937; Tamilia, Donato. *Il sacro Monte di Pietà di Roma*. Roma: Forzani, 1900. For a brief account of its architectural history see Hibbard, Howard. *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1971, pp. 218-20.

⁷⁵. Waddy, cit., p. 156.

⁷⁶. Id., pp. 156-59.

The plans of the Barberini were not limited to the square facing the entrance to their palace. A *licenza*, signed by Cardinal Antonio Barberini on 20 December 1638, granted the Monte permission to build over the "piazzetta" of the church of S. Salvatore, one of the first seats of the Trinità.⁷⁷ The small church, on the north side of the block of the Monte, is clearly visible on the Maggi map of 1625, with a row of small houses behind it.

Around 1640, the church and the houses were demolished, and the piazzetta built over, to form the north wing of the Monte.⁷⁸ The Monte was also granted a strip of public land, on Via de' Pettinari, so it could align its north facade to that of the Trinità.⁷⁹

In the same *licenza*, the protruding northeast corner of the Monte, toward the Casa Grande, was to be cut back, and aligned to both the north and east facades. The redressing of the corner was necessary to straighten the main facade of the Monte, on the piazza. But cutting it back also had the advantage of preventing the corner from partially obstructing the alley that, in the same years, was being transformed in the grand entry hall of the Casa.

The southern border of Via de' Pettinari, on which the Casa Grande's main facade stood, was thus straightened, cutting back the protruding parts of the Monte, aligning its north facade to that of the Trinità, and building a right angle corner over the piazzetta of S. Salvatore.

77. A copy of the *licenza*, dated 18 December 1638, is in Archivio Storico del Monte di Pietà, *Interessi Diversi del Sacro Monte 1604-1699*, vol. 7, p. 147 (new page numbering).

78. Two chirographs of 1640 and 1642, show the completed north wing of the Monte, and label it "fabrica nuova del Sacro Monte della Pietà. See Waddy, p. 157, fig. 77; p. 158, fig. 79.

The church of S. Salvatore was to be rebuilt by the Monte, to the south of their building. Two days after the *licenza* was issued to the Monte, another was signed by Antonio Barberini, granting the Monte two small strips of public land, to straighten the facades of the new church. This would have also straightened the street between new S. Salvatore and the Monte, and regularized the square in front of the church.

79. "Concediamo licenza all'ill[ustrissi]mi SS[igno]ri della Congregat[i]one del Sacro Monte della Pietà di poter fabbricare, e finire il Palazzo del ditto Sacro Monte con isolarlo, tirandolo al filo del fianco della Chiesa della S.ma Trinità di Ponte Sisto." Archivio Storico del Monte di Pietà, *Interessi diversi del Sacro Monte, 1604-1699*, vol. 7, p. 147 (new page numbering).

The Barberini intended straightening their own side of the street as well, as the plan on a chirograph of August 1642, shows.⁸⁰ To do so, Taddeo would have had to buy a row of houses to the west of their portal, belonging to the Fabri da Rieti, which he never managed to acquire. Although the chirograph depicts them as if they were already Barberini property, Taddeo would have to be satisfied with straightening the facade from the corner on Via Giubbonari to the entry hall of the Casa Grande.

The *licenza* of 1638 further stated that the Monte di Pietà was to be "isolated," that is, separated from neighboring buildings. The Monte was to open an alley that cut across its block, running north to south. The block was thus divided into two parts, the larger of which the patrons of the Monte planned to occupy entirely.⁸¹ The measure was necessary for security reasons: together with the contemporary Banco di S. Spirito, the Monte was the first public bank of Rome. But the "isolation" of the Monte also straightened its western facade, and set the basis for the formation of the square piazza facing the church of the Trinità.

The Trinità, although not explicitly mentioned, was in fact also involved in the design of the *licenza* issued to the Monte. Four months after the *licenza*, a chirograph granted the Trinità the right to open a square in front of their church. The new piazza to be opened, between the Monte and the Trinità, was designed as a perfect square, in keeping with the ideas of the time on urban planning.⁸²

The dimensions of the square were determined by the length of the facade of the church, plus twice the width of the flanking Via de' Pettinari, so as to center the church on the piazza. To construct a square, the distance between the church, and the opposite facade of the Monte, had to be identical to that of the side on which the church was. In the *licenza* granted to the Monte, the intention to open a square piazza in front of the Trinità, had to have already been taken into account: the northwest corner of the Monte, built over the

⁸⁰. Waddy, p. 158, Fig. 79.

⁸¹. The Monte would expand even more aggressively than was at the time envisaged. It eventually occupied also the small block produced by the opening of the alley, which was thus closed back, and built over, later in the century.

⁸². Connors, p. 274.

piazzetta of S. Salvatore, was designed to the required distance from the facade of the Trinità.

The chirograph in favor of the Trinità, dated 1 March 1639, gave the confraternity the right to buy the houses facing its church and demolish them, to open a square. It explicitly stated that the piazza was necessary to grant the church facade (which had not been built yet), a better perspective, adding the customary justification that the facade would "adorn both the church and the city."⁸³ But there were also practical reasons to open the square.

The Trinità was no longer an association of a few charitably inclined, devotees. Now a powerful institution, fully in line with papal policies, it owned substantial property; it had enlarged its premises and had built an important church; and it enjoyed the favor and patronage of the nobility. During the Holy Year of 1600, for instance, it had been visited no less than six times by Clement VIII, and a retinue of cardinals.

Like the private palace of a high ranking dignitary, the Trinità needed adequate maneuvering and parking space for the carriages of papal, and other important visitors. The confraternity stated this need very explicitly: the square was necessary, they stressed, "to eliminate the inconveniences incurred, especially during the Holy Week, due to the myriad carriages and pilgrims."⁸⁴

The chirograph set forth detailed instructions for the necessary expropriation. The houses facing the church were to be sold to the confraternity, at a price established by experts. They would have to be ceded even if they were church property, or subject to special conditions, "even if in favor of churches, or other charitable institutions."⁸⁵

83. "Per dare alla facciata della Chiesa la sua proportionata distanza". A copy of the chirograph in ASR, Trinità, b. 464, folder C - *Chirografi di Papa Urbano VIII sopra la licenza conceduta alla Archiconfra. di aprire la piazza avanti la Chiesa.* "Per ornamento di essa [chiesa] e della Città insieme." Id.

84. "Per provvedere à gl'incomodi, che si pativano, et particolarmente nella Settimana Santa dalla moltitudine delle Carrozze e Pellegrini." Id.

85. "Essimiamo le sodette case da qualsivoglia prohibitione di non alienare, patti di succedere, e da qualsivoglia fideicom[m]esi tanto purificati, quanto da purificarsi fatti, & indotti da qualsivoglia persona etiam penitus extranea, con qualsivoglia prohibitioni, e vincoli benche' quantosivoglia penali, e stretti, ancorchè in favor di Chiese, et luoghi pij". Id.

The neighbors would have to contribute to the funds needed to buy and demolish the houses. This contribution was the customary "tassa del gettito," the tax on demolition, to be paid because of the general convenience, and improved appearance, of the neighborhood. The representatives of the Trinità were to calculate the share due by each neighbor.

The contribution of the Monte was calculated to be 1,100 *scudi*. They gave 2,000 instead, specifying that the extra 900 were given "out of charity." A *decreto di congregazione* of the Monte di Pietà records that the generous contribution, as might be expected, was made upon papal encouragement.⁸⁶ Apart from this donation, however, the Trinità never claimed from its neighbors the funds to which it was entitled. Having opened the square almost entirely at their expense, the confraternity became, both morally and legally, its "sole owner," and the brethren would henceforth refer to it as "our piazza."⁸⁷

The chirograph did not mention Gregory XIII's bull *Iure congrui*, establishing the right for anyone wanting to enlarge his or her property, to force the owner of a neighboring property to sell. When the owners of the

86. "Si diano per il sud[etto]o gettito (...) scudi duemila di m[onet]a dal nostro Sacro Monte, cioè scudi mille e cento per la parte di tasse spettante a noi, et scudi novecento per elemosina conforme la facoltà datane da N[ostro] S[ignore]." Archivio Storico del Monte di Pietà, *Decreti di Congregazione dal 1633 al 1643*, Vol. 45, 13 April 1639, p. 125. On the same page, is a transcription of the chirograph with which Urban VIII ordered the Monte to make the donation.

87. "Furono compre alcune case, et demolite tutt'à spese della [Trinità] non ostante che (...) vi fosse facoltà di poter fare una tassa e far contribuire i convicini per il gettito et q[ues]to non fu fatto per altro se non perchè havendo d[ett]a Comp[agni]a grand[issi]mo bisogno di d[ett]a piazza era necess[ari]o ne restasse p[ad]rona assoluta si come ne rimase." ASR, Trinità, b. 464, folder *Piazza formata avanti alla Chiesa*, "Discorso: Raggioni per mantenere un qualche dritto sù la piazza di nostra Chiesa contro il Monte di Pietà." It is thus not surprising that when the Monte di Pietà wanted to open a row of shops on the piazza, in 1647 or 1648, they should request permission of the Trinità. The Trinità refused, claiming that the benches of the shopkeepers would invade "their" piazza; and that the Monte would have gained income from shops on a square cleared at their expense. The case dragged for years, and documents were still being issued in 1651. ASR, b. 464, folder *Piazza formata avanti alla Chiesa*.

For the history of private piazzas see also Elam, Caroline. "Piazza Strozzi: Two Drawings by Baccio D'Agnolo and the Problems of a Private Renaissance Square." *I Tatti Studies* I (1985) 105-35.

condemned property facing the church of the Trinità tried to resist, Urban VIII cited the bull, to give his decision more legal clout.

A fortnight after the first chirograph, the pope issued another addressed to the Camerlengo, his nephew Antonio, Cardinal Protector of the Trinità. He reiterated the concession made in the preceding one, and set out more explicit measures to force the neighbors to sell their property, which are revealing of the interest the Barberini pope had in the rapid realization of the project.

If any should refuse to sell, the Camerlengo was to take "whatever measures were necessary, either by trying to convince them, or by using more direct means."⁸⁸ For each house to be bought, two experts were to be appointed, one by the confraternity, and the other by the owner. Should the owner refuse to appoint his expert, the latter would be chosen by none other than the pope himself. If still no agreement was reached, a third expert was to be appointed by the Camerlengo, and even if this failed, the Camerlengo himself would act as arbitrator, and establish the price to be paid for the houses.

Work was quickly underway. In March 1639, one of the brethren reported that, "the case brought against the owners of the houses in front of the church, was over."⁸⁹ Demolition probably immediately followed, and the piazza must have been cleared around 1640. Even as the piazza was being completed, the Trinità was ready to continue with the straightening of their facades and, consequently, that of bordering streets.

In January of the following year, Cardinal Antonio Barberini signed another *licenza* in favor of the Trinità. It was to enable them to "continue the building they had already begun, by demolishing the old houses, and building new facades, on the straight street that runs from the square of the Trinità to

⁸⁸. "Ricusando li padroni e possessori di dette case di venderle alla sudetta Archiconfrata, li sforziate, et astringhiate con tutti li remedij necessarij, et opportuni di ragione e di fatto à venderglile." ASR, Trinità, b. 464, folder C - *Chirografi di Papa Urbano VIII sopra la licenza conceduta alla Archiconfra. di aprire la piazza avanti la Chiesa*. Chirograph dated 15 March 1639.

⁸⁹. "[Si è] finito il processo del gettito contro li vicini delle case che sono incontro alla nostra Chiesa." ASR, b. 33, 30 March 1639, pp. 59, 59v.

Ponte Sisto, [Via de' Pettinari], and on the perpendicular one that goes towards their oratory [Via delle Zoccolette]."⁹⁰

Furthermore, for the facades to form a right angle corner, a strip of public land was to be donated to the confraternity. This was the northwest corner of the block of the Trinità that was, until around 1640, mostly property of the Mattei. On October 1642, Urban VIII confirmed the right of the Trinità to force them and other owners to sell, on the basis of the *Iure congrui* bull.⁹¹ The Trinità acquired all the property on Via de' Pettinari between their church and the oratory and, between 1640 and 1647, demolished the old houses and built the new wing. Its long facade completed the regularization of Via de' Pettinari, thus straightened from Ponte Sisto to the Casa Grande.

The importance contemporaries attributed to this street is testified by the continuous efforts for its amelioration, which did not end with the demise of the Barberini. Towards the end of the century, a plan was drafted for its initial segment, opening onto a square at the foot of Ponte Sisto. The plan, published by Wittkower and Tafuri, included the reconstruction of the small church of S. Salvatore in Onda.⁹² Not to be confused with S. Salvatore in Campo, this church was on Via de' Pettinari, facing the Hospice of Beggars.

S. Salvatore was to be reoriented by 90°, bringing its facade on Via Giulia, and facing Ponte Sisto. The project was by Gregorio Tommassini, who was also

90. "Concediamo licenza alla Ven Compaga, et Hosple della S.ma Trinità de Pellegrini, e Convalescenti di Roma, che possono far la loro fabrica già comincia con buttare le case vecchie e far le facciate di novo nella strada dritta, che dalla piazza della S.ma Trinità Sud.a va verso Ponte Sisto, et rivolta nella strada traversale, che va al suo Horatorio incontro l'Hospedale di S. Sisto con pigliare del publico un pezzo di sito alla cantonata di detta strada tirando à dritto filo." The *licenza* is dated 10 January, 1641. ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder *B - Carte relative alla fabbrica del luogo pio*, sub-folder B11.

91. A copy of the papal brief, dated 27 October 1642, is in ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder *B - Carte relative alla fabbrica del luogo pio*, sub-folder B11, "Copia del breve di S.S. Urbano VIII nel quale concede facultà alla n.ra Archiconfr.ta di poter obbligare li padroni di case, e d'altri stabili di venderli a favore di detta Arch[ico]nfrat[ernit]a, per fare abitazione commoda per ricevere li pellegrini."

92. Wittkower, Rudolph. "Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of the Full Baroque," *The Art Bulletin* XIX (1937) 242-313, p. 284. Tafuri, Manfredo. *Via Giulia*, cit., pp. 505-10.

probably the author of the more comprehensive plan for the area.⁹³ Tafuri suggested that the reoriented S. Salvatore would thus have "counterbalanced" the church of the Florentines, S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, at the opposite end, and on the other side, of Via Giulia.

This symmetry, however, would have been impossible to visually appreciate. What would have been visible, to travellers crossing Ponte Sisto, would have been an elegant square at the foot of the bridge, closed off by the church facing the bridge, and adorned by Paul V's monumental fountain on the right. Had the plan been realized, it would also have articulated the intersection between Via Giulia and Via de' Pettinari. In Tommassini's design, the corner between the two streets was bevelled, to funnel people, and vision, along Via de' Pettinari. The street leading right into the heart of the city, was bordered by the long facades of an impressive series of charitable institutions -- more than what Via Giulia could claim at the time.

In barely four years, between 1640 and 1644, the Monte, the Trinità, and the Casa Grande, had straightened their facades on the Pettinari. In the previous section, I have suggested that the Barberini were also the patrons of the enlargement of the Ospizio dei Mendicanti. If this is true, the straightening of Via de' Pettinari, the transformation of the institutions along it, and the appearance of the area at the foot of Ponte Sisto, as shown in an engraving by Vasi, is to be entirely attributed to this papal family.

Almost a century earlier, the neighboring Farnese had cleared the piazza facing their palace, opened Via de' Baullari to connect it to the Via Papalis, and regularized the streets around Palazzo Farnese. They had transformed the area around their palace into a "Farnese quarter," over which they had even judicial jurisdiction, teaching a lesson on the display of power by architectural and urban means.⁹⁴

⁹³. The design for the square of Ponte Sisto is undated, but evidently preceded the actual reconstruction of S. Salvatore, on the same site, in 1684.

⁹⁴. An eighteenth century drawing shows the exact boundaries of the quarter over which the lord of Palazzo Farnese had jurisdiction. Neveu, Bruno. "«Regia fortuna»: le Palais Farnèse durant la seconde moitié du XVII siècle" in *Le Palais Farnèse*. Roma: Ecole française de Rome, 1981. Vol. I.2, pp. 475 - 507.

Had Taddeo opened his *Viale Barberini*, connecting the Casa Grande to the Via Papalis, he would have been emulating the ducal family, and it was perhaps precisely for this reason that the plan was abandoned. The Barberini probably meant to surpass the hated Farnese, by building a "Barberini quarter" in which streets were not only straightened, but bordered by a series of imposing buildings with unified facades.

Their attempt to vie with the Farnese is not surprising if we consider the historical context. In 1639, after a long series of insults and provocations between the two families, the papal troops headed by Taddeo Barberini occupied Castro, a Farnese feud, and gave rise to the homonymous war. An almost independent state, Castro was a duchy coveted by the up-and-coming Barberini, who needed it to give ballast to their rank.⁹⁵

During the same years, Taddeo was buying property along the Via de' Pettinari, to achieve the same frontage they had on Via Giubbonari -- almost 300 *palmi*, more than the length of the facade of palazzo Farnese.⁹⁶ A drawing by Carlo Maderno, showing the facade for a palazzo Barberini, traditionally associated to the palace at the Quattro Fontane, is more probably a project for the Casa Grande, as Waddy has suggested. The caption on the drawing states that the facade would be built on all four sides (of an evidently square palace), and the scale indicates that the planned facade was precisely 300 *palmi* long.⁹⁷

The Barberini probably meant to build a square palace larger than that of the Farnese, and to transform the area around it with straight streets, regular squares, and massive blocks, asserting their superiority also at the urban and architectural scale. They only achieved the latter part of their plan but, in so doing, left their lasting mark on the whole neighborhood. Parvenus to the Roman social hierarchy, the Barberini had come a long way, since their uncle Francesco had bought a modest apartment on the Giubbonari.

With their fall from power, the development of the area came to an abrupt halt. When Urban VIII died, on 29 July 1644, and Innocent X Pamphili was elected, the Barberini were accused of nepotism, and of the bankruptcy of

⁹⁵. Demaria, G., "La guerra di Castro e la spedizione de' Presidii (1639 - 1649)." *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana* ser. 3, IV (1898), pp. 191.

⁹⁶. Waddy, p. 151.

⁹⁷. The drawing by Maderno is Uffizi A6720. Waddy, cit., p. 151.

the papal treasury. They had to flee from Rome, and their property was confiscated.

In the years that followed, the Trinità had to do without the help of the Barberini, and the pace of development slowed. During the reign of this papal family, the process of transformation of the hospital from a private confraternity to a papal institution was completed. An episode of symbolic significance was the decision to submit to Antonio Barberini, on 4 June 1639, the list of officers of the confraternity. As their Cardinal Protector, he was to "confirm or modify the names on the list, to elect (sic) the officers for another a year, or decide as he saw fit."⁹⁸ The decisions of the Cardinal would be simply ratified by the congregation. Judging by the "long discussions" that preceded the decision to submit the list, this might have been the first time the confraternity was giving up even the last semblance of autonomy.

Submission to the ruling family, however, had the advantage of speeding up the development of the confraternity, at least in architectural terms. Thanks to the support of the Barberini, the Trinità had opened the square facing its facade, and built the north wing of their hospital. Together with the church, and the old refectory, this wing is the only surviving part of the complex. It is to the history of its construction, that we must now turn to.

⁹⁸. The list of officers is to be submitted to Antonio Barberini "Acciò che sua Em[inen]za confermi, muti, et ellega in ufficiali di detta nra compa.gnia per un anno pross[im]o et in ciò faccia quel tanto che li parerà espediente, et che quel tanto da sua Em.za sarà ordinato, risoluto e fatto, s'habbia rat[ificat]o." ASR, Trinità, b. 33, 4 June 1639, p. 63v.

Chapter 5. Towards the end of the seventeenth century

The Northwest wing (1640 - 1647)

As the Trinità increased its economic power, it expanded in the block, acquiring property. At the beginning of the 17th century, the only other large property owners in the block were the Mattei. Along Via dei Pettinari and Via delle Zoccolette, they owned a house with shops at the lower level, and a garden with a loggia, visible on the 1597 plan.

The confraternity's attempts to buy this property started early. On 24 January 1591, Martino Longhi was asked to convince Ciriaco Mattei to take property of the Trinità, in exchange for some houses he owned, probably in the block.¹ Some agreement was reached, because on 20 August of the same year, the congregation instructed the *fabbricieri* to measure the houses of the Mattei, "together with one of our architects."²

The relative ease with which the agreement was reached, is not surprising. The Mattei were members of the confraternity since its early years, probably the first patrician family to join. Living in close proximity, they took active part to the activities of the Trinità, and were often elected officers. When the confraternity started building its church, Fabio Mattei advanced the money of the Radice bequest, and was included in a list of brethren pledging to donate funds for the construction. The prestige of the institution would in fact, at least in part, reflect on the family.³

For all this, property was not transferred easily. The houses the Trinità bought in 1591 were not all the property the Mattei owned in the block, which was acquired piecemeal in over half a century. On 29 October 1611, the Trinità decided to buy the property forming the northwest corner of the block. They evidently did not succeed, because over a quarter of a century later, in 1637, they voted to buy the same property, "all the houses, and the *osteria* between the

1. The *decreto* does not specify the location of the property the Trinità coveted. ASR, Trinità, b. 10, 24 January 1591, p. 115v.

2. ASR, Trinità, b. 10, 20 August 1591, p. 132v.

3. For the money advanced, see above, "The Church of the S. Trinità dei Pellegrini," Chapter Three. The list of brethren, dated 26 September 1603, is in ASR, Trinità, b. 463, folder *Restauri della Chiesa negli anni 1585 e nel 1603 fino al 1616*, sub-folder A7.

church and the oratory."⁴ But it was only in 1644, after Urban VIII issued the chirograph of 1642, allowing the Trinità to enforce the *Iure Congrui* rights, that a price was agreed, and a contract signed.⁵

By then, work on the north wing of the Trinità was already underway, as documented in the *licenza* of 1641, which granted the confraternity permission to demolish the houses on the site of "the new building, whose construction has already begun."⁶ Work on the new wing must have started while the clearing of the piazza was still being completed. Thanks to the patronage of the Barberini, the Trinità was evidently financially confident enough to tackle two ambitious projects at the same time.

The north wing was built between 1640 and 1647, and its ground floor is shown on the plan of 1680.⁷ It did not include any infrastructure for the hospital, and the confraternity referred to it as "our palazzo." It included a large and richly ornamented sacristy, attached to the church, with a small chapel to the west. The west end of the building, towards the river, had a row of shops at the lower level. Almost in the centre of the new wing was a long entry hall with a large staircase leading to the lodgings of the resident priests, and to the rooms where the congregations would henceforth be held.

The only structure built specifically for the pilgrims during the same campaign was the new *lavatorio*. It was actually an enlargement of the old one,

4. ASR, Trinità, b. 33, 2 October 1637, p. 27v. The "osteria" is that of the Serena. See below.

5. "Copia del breve di S.S. Urbano VIII nel quale concede facoltà alla nra Archiconfr.ta di poter obbligare li padroni di case, e d'altri stabili di venderli a favore di detta Arch[ico]nfr[aternali]ta per fare abitazione commoda per ricevere li pellegrini." The brief is dated 27 October, 1642. ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder B, sub-folder B11. (See above, "The Barberini, the Monte di Pietà, and the Trinità," n. 27, Chapter Four). The contract signed with the Mattei is in ASR, Trinità, b. 34, 16 July 1644, pp. 64-65.

6. ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder B, sub-folder B11. See above, "The Barberini, the Monte di Pietà and the Trinità," Chapter Four.

7. The earliest set of *misure* for the new wing is: "Misura et stima di diversi lavori di muro fatti a tutta robba e spese dalli mri Pietro Fontana et Giovanni Albino Capo M.ri muratori (...) nel fare la nova fabrica che fa fare la Ven.le Compag.ia et Hospit.le della SS.ma Trinità de' Pellegrini et Convalescenti di Roma per la nova sacrestia, et ampliatiione di d.o Hospi.le et cenacoli." ASR, Trinità, b. 382, *misure* dated 2 May 1642. In 1647, the completed shops are rented out: "Che le botteghe della fabrica nova, che va a Ponte Sisto, si affittino dalli Sig.ri Fabricieri." ASR, Trinità, b. 34, 8 July 1647, p. 129v.

attached to the new refectory.⁸ Built between 1640 and 1642, the new *lavatorio* was a large hall in which the feet of newly admitted pilgrims were ritually washed. A re-enactment of the washing of Mary Magdalen's feet by Christ, the "lavanda dei piedi" was a religious ritual, performed in Benedictine convents since their foundation, that became increasingly important in the seventeenth century.

Clement VIII is reported to have washed the feet of pilgrims during each of his six visits to the Trinità, in 1600.⁹ Performed by cardinals and popes, especially during the Holy Years, the ritual washing impressed pilgrims as an extraordinary display of Christian piety and humility. Almost a trademark of the Trinità, it was carefully regulated and described in detail by chroniclers. Some of whom attributed nothing short of miraculous powers to the water used for the washing, and referred of pilgrims preserving some in bottles, as relics.¹⁰

It is not surprising that a new and spacious *lavatorio* should be built during the 1640s, in preparation for the approaching Holy Year. As large as the new refectory, on which it bordered, and half its length, it is described in proud detail by a chronicler of the Jubilee of 1650.¹¹ It was equipped with fixed stone seats, and *chiavichette*, or drain holes, through which water was poured after being used, "without the inconvenience of carrying buckets back and forth." Even more impressive, the seat of each pilgrim was equipped with two taps, one for hot and one for cold water, that could be poured directly on his feet.¹²

8. The old *lavatorio* was in the rooms labeled "f" and "g" on the 1597 plan. After the garden of the Mattei was bought, the *lavatorio* was extended westward by opening its west wall with an arcade, and blocking up part of the loggia of the Mattei.

9. Vasco Rocca, Sandra. *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini*. Roma: Palombi, 1979, p. 13.

10. See, for instance, Anonymous. *Breve ragguaglio come cominciassero la la S.ta opra di albergare li pellegrini et convalescenti nel S.to Hospedale o Casa della venerabiliss.a Archiconfraternita della S.ma Trinità di Pellegrini e Convalescenti de Roma*, pp. 64 ff. BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513.

11. Anonymous. *Diario delle cose occorse l'anno santo 1650*. Undated. A whole chapter is devoted to the "Luogo, e modo di lavare li piedi alli Pellegrini." ASR, Trinità, b. 372.

12. The new *lavatorio* had "Seditori murati alquanto rilevati, ove si assettavano li pellegrini, e si scalzavano, con le chiavichette loro ove si votavano li mastelli dell'acque lorde senza incommodo di portarle, et riportarle per li lavatori. Di più ogni luogo, o seditore haveva alli piedi del pellegrino due chiave d'aquedotti in uno de' quali si conduceva l'acqua calda, et nell'altro l'acqua fresca, tanto che

A separate *lavatorio* was built for women, south of the new sacristy. The two *lavatori* were connected by the small courtyard with a loggia between the two refectories, which was probably walled during the same campaign. The women's *lavatorio*, smaller than the men's, comprised two rooms. One was similarly equipped with stone seats, drains and taps. The adjoining one was only used in times of greater concourse of pilgrims. It was equipped with wooden benches, and water had to be carried with buckets.¹³

The water used in the *lavatori* was the Acqua Paola, tapped from the fountain built by Paul V on the facade of the Hospice of Beggars at Ponte Sisto. The Acqua Paola was drinkable but bad-tasting, and only drunk in times of emergency. At the Trinità, as in the rest of Rome, it was mainly used for washing. On 28 September 1616, Paul V donated two *once* of water from the fountain at Ponte Sisto to the confraternity, that piped it into the hospital.¹⁴ In 1617, extensive work was carried out, to lay the pipes to feed various fountains within the institution, from which water for the new *lavatorio* would be taken.¹⁵

Above the women's *lavatorio* two rooms were built, to be used for the meetings of the confraternity, which would no longer be held in the oratory.

con una voltata di chiave si haveva tutto il servitio." Id., chpt. 22, unnumbered pages.

It is interesting that the infrastructure of the Trinità was more advanced than in most private palaces, where hot baths were very uncommon. In the Casa Grande ai Giubbonari, for instance, Taddeo Barberini had water brought to the washstand in his room not by pipes, but by a chamber assistant. (See Waddy, cit., pp. 47-53). This system would have been too labour intensive for the needs and means of the hospital, that had to develop a much more efficient infrastructure.

¹³. "Il 3° [lavatorio] poi, et per modo di provisione, fu provisto di banchi di legno, e vi si portava l'acqua a braccia, ma molto vicino, perché confinava con l'altro lavatorio, ove erano l'acqua calda, e fredda." *Diario delle cose occorse l'anno santo 1650*. Chpt. 22, "Luogo, e modo di lavare li piedi alli Pellegrini," unnumbered pages. ASR, Trinità, b. 372. The work done on the women's *lavatorio* is recorded in the *misure* of 2 May 1642 (see here, n. 7).

¹⁴. Fea, Carlo. *Storia delle acque antiche sorgenti in Roma, perdute, e modo di ristabilirle; dei condotti antico-moderni delle acque, Vergine, Felice e Paola, e loro autori*. Roma: Stamperia della R.C.A., 1887, p. 184, n. 43. I am grateful to Katherine Rinne for this indication.

¹⁵. *Misure* "per condurre l'acqua Pavola in nostro Ospedale." ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder B - *Carte relative alla fabbrica del luogo pio*; sub-folder B4, *misure* dated 15 January 1617.

The rooms were accessible from the entry hall on Via de' Pettinari, and the large new stairs.¹⁶ The *lavatori* must have occupied the ground and mezzanine level, as did the shops in the west end of the new wing. The *piano nobile* of the new building included the rooms of the priests, directly above the shops, their *tinello*, the rooms for the congregation, and the women's dormitory, directly above the main *lavatorio*.

In the first two years of the building campaign (1640-1642), the new refectory was also enlarged, by building a room of the same width to its south. It was separated from the refectory by a passage, that connected two courtyards. In 1737, the room would be connected to the refectory, and extended to reach Via del Conservatorio.¹⁷

The west end of the new wing, towards the river, was built last. Negotiations for the acquisition of Mattei property next to the Oratory, as we have seen, were only completed in 1644. The row of shops on Via de' Pettinari was completed by 1647.¹⁸ They were equipped with a basement, a mezzanine, and brick display benches. Behind the shops, two large stables were built, that were also rented out.¹⁹ Above the ground and mezzanine levels were a series of rooms, where the resident priests -- more numerous since the construction of the church -- lived. It was probably also during this campaign, that a room for the archive of the confraternity was built in the mezzanine, above the rooms of the congregation, and equipped with ornamented wooden shelves.²⁰

The facade on Via Pettinari, closing the row of shops and the sacristy, was straightened and raised to match the height of the drum of dome of the church. It formed a long uniform backdrop for the initial tract of the street. A similar,

16. They are labeled "stanza della congregazione" on the 1725 plan of one of the upper floors of the Trinità complex.

17. In 1720, when the confraternity decided against the acquisition of the Hospice of Beggars, they planned to extend the new refectory instead. The plan was only realized in 1737, when Clement XII provided funds. (See preceding note, and "Building History to 1575," n. 72, Chapter Three).

18. On 8 July 8 1647, the *fabbricieri* were instructed to rent out the shops in the new building. ASR, Trinità, b. 34, p. 129v.

19. The stables and cellars of the new building were rented out in 1651. ASR, Trinità, b. 35, 13 March 1651, p. 136.

20. A few drawings of the interior decoration of this room have survived in ASR, Trinità, b. 387.

but much shorter, facade was built along Via delle Zoccolette, towards the river, only up to the *Osteria della Serena*.

This was a large tavern, part of the Mattei property acquired in 1644.²¹ It became a significant source of income for the Trinità, that obviously did not manage it directly, but rented it out to an innkeeper. The *Osteria* was on Via delle Zoccolette, adjacent to the oratory, but the Trinità never seemed to be bothered by the proximity. Their entrances only a few feet apart, both the oratory and the tavern were in a privileged position to receive travelers arriving through Ponte Sisto, one out of piety, the other for profit.

When the facade of the new wing was built on Via delle Zoccolette, however, a problem arose. The *Osteria* protruded from the ideal line drawn from the facade of the oratory to that of the new wing on the same street. There was probably some embarrassment as to how the problem could be solved. It would have been too misleading an architectural sign to unify the facade of the tavern with that of the hospital. Undecided, the confraternity interrupted the facade of the new wing at the edge of the tavern. The protruding parts of the *Osteria* were probably not aligned until the 19th century. In the Nolli map of 1748, the silhouette of the tavern still juts out, almost intentionally left as an extraneous element, embedded in a different context.²²

The facades of the north wing are very simple, with a single stringcourse, unornamented window frames, and the main entrance emphasized by pilaster strips. The design is similar to that of the contemporary facades of another Roman hospital, San Salvatore (or San Giovanni) at the Lateran. In both hospitals, the long facade is joined to smaller perpendicular ones by elaborate corners. These smaller facades are on Via delle Zoccolette at the Trinità, and at both ends of the main facade of S. Salvatore. They are framed, in both buildings, by bevelled corners with adjoining quarter-pilaster strips.

Like the contemporary ones of private palaces, which were made to protrude, or otherwise architecturally emphasized, these corners attracted

²¹. The *Osteria* is "Casa n. 7" in the 1680 cadaster of the Trinità: "Qual casa hoggi ad uso d'Ostaria detta della Serena e fu venduta alla n[ost]ra Compagnia dal S[igno]r Duca Girolamo Mattei li 20 Lug[li]o 1644." ASR, Trinità, b. 460.

²². The facade appears aligned in a survey of 1938, drafted in preparation for the demolition campaign.

attention to the importance of the building to which they belonged.²³ In particular, the northwest corner of the Trinità, clearly visible from Ponte Sisto, signaled the presence of the charitable institution to the stream of people entering Rome.²⁴

The similarities between the facades of S. Salvatore and the Trinità are no coincidence. The seventeenth century restructuring of S. Salvatore was supervised, if not entirely designed, by Giacomo Mola, architect in charge of both S. Salvatore, and the Trinità, during the whole building campaign of 1642 - 1647.²⁵

Giacomo Mola was a Lombard, born in Coldrerio in 1583, according to local sources. He moved to Rome around 1591, where he died on 20 January 1650.²⁶ On the death certificate drafted in Rome, he is reported to have been 75 at the time, which would mean he was born in 1575. He became architect of the Trinità sometime between 1624, when a set of *misure* are signed by Niccolò Torriani,²⁷ and 1628, when another set is signed by Mola for the first time.²⁸

The last payment to Mola, for work on the hospital of S. Salvatore was in January 1649, when he was 74 years old, if the Roman certificate is to be credited.²⁹ He must have retired from practice, as also the *misure* of the Trinità start being signed by his successor, Camillo Arcucci, the same year. As was

²³. See Connors, Joseph. "Borromini and Roman Urbanism." *AA Files* 1, 2 (1982) 11-21.

²⁴. Its purpose was similar to that of the elaborate corner of the Roman Oratory that Borromini was building in the same years, in Piazza dell'Orologio, on the Via Papalis, the processional route. See Ceen, *Il Quartiere de' Banchi*, cit., p. 151. The south facade of S. Salvatore, on Via Amba Aradam (to which we can now add that of the Trinità on Via delle Zoccolette), has often been compared to this facade by Borromini.

²⁵. In those years, the *misure* of the new building are signed by Giacomo Mola, and he is the only architect mentioned in the *decreti*.

²⁶. Cf. Curcio, Giovanna. "Giacomo e Giovanni Battista Mola: due diversi modi di essere architetti a Roma nella prima metà del XVII secolo." *Pier Francesco Mola 1612 - 1666*. Kahn-Rossi, Manuela, ed., Milano: Electa, 1989, p. 34, n. 8.

²⁷. ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder *B - Carte relative alla fabbrica del luogo pio*; subfolder B7, *misure* dated 6 November 1624.

²⁸. Id., b. 382, *misure* dated 30 December 1628.

²⁹. Curcio, Giovanna. "L'ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano: funzione urbana di una istituzione ospedaliera. II." *Storia dell'Arte* XI (May - Dec. 1979) 103-30, p. 114.

customary, Arcucci assisted Mola at the Trinità for some years, before taking over: from 1642 to Mola's resignation, the *misure* are signed by both architects.³⁰

Giacomo Mola was more of a contractor than an architect. He must have had scarce familiarity with architectural design, as would seem testified by the fact that no drawings by him have reached us. The respect he enjoyed among contemporaries was based on his being able to manage all phases of complex projects: from the supply of materials, to the hiring and supervision of hands, to the keeping of accounts.

Both the Trinità and S. Salvatore, must have appreciated him for precisely these skills, and for taking the confraternity's interests at heart. His ties with the confraternity of S. Salvatore -- which he joined in 1606, well before he was appointed their architect, in 1631 -- might have been closer than with the Trinità.³¹ But also with the latter, he had a long professional relationship, marked by the trust he enjoyed.

The *decreti* of the Trinità often mention the sensitive tasks that Mola was assigned, especially the evaluation of houses to be bought, or sold, by the confraternity. Like another Roman professional of the time, Francesco Peparelli, with whom he associated, Mola specialized in the management of large urban estates -- a very useful skill for a confraternity such as the Trinità. However, while he was familiar with the more technical aspects of construction, and the general layout of buildings, he had to resort to other architects when it came to the design of facades, or decorative apparatuses.

At S. Salvatore, the small south facade, on Via Amba Aradam, built around 1640, is generally attributed to Giovanni Battista Mola, Giacomo's younger brother and best known for his architectural guide.³² Francesco Peparelli and Carlo Rainaldi are thought the probable authors of the main facade, facing Piazza del Laterano, whose construction Giacomo would thus only have

³⁰. ASR, Trinità, b. 382, *misure* dated 2 and 8 May 1642; 9 May 1646.

³¹. Curcio, "L'ospedale di S. Giovanni. II," cit., p. 114. Id., "Le ambizioni di un ticinese: Giovanni Battista Mola da Coldrerio," in *Il giovane Borromini*, cit., pp. 305-06.

³². Karl Noehles. *Breve racconto delle migliori opere d'architettura, scultura et pittura fatte in Roma et alcuni fuor di Roma descritto da Giov. Battista Mola l'anno 1663*. Berlin: Hessling, 1966.

supervised. Also the north facade, built on Via S. Giovanni, is tentatively attributed to Rainaldi.³³ None of these architects, however, appear in the documents of the Trinità.

The name of Giovanni Battista only appears in passing, in a document concerning a complaint by Giovanni Albino Agostone, master mason, about a mistake in the *misure* whereby he had not been paid his due. The congregation declared that the examination of the *misure* had not revealed whether the mistake had been made "by the two Mola, together with Arcucci, or by Bollini."³⁴ Nor does Giovanni Battista attribute to himself, in the *Breve racconto*, any work at the institution.

He might, nonetheless, have contributed to the construction of the north wing, especially in the design of the facades. A more likely hypothesis, however, is that Giacomo, only few years after the construction of S. Salvatore, built similar facades at the Trinità. The urban context of the two institutions was entirely different. The same broad rhythm of the quarter pilasters that at the S. Salvatore can be appreciated from Piazza del Laterano is much less easily perceived by those walking along the facade of the Trinità on the relatively narrow Via de' Pettinari. The visual perception of the Salvatore and Trinità facades was thus entirely different, but Giacomo Mola was probably not one to overly worry about such subtleties.

What remains puzzling is that Giovanni Battista should not mention the north wing of the Trinità in his *Breve Racconto*. He only credits his brother with the construction of the altar of the church of S. Trinità.³⁵ He assigned, however, the merit of the layout of the new wing of the Mendicanti entirely to Giacomo.³⁶ Perhaps, this was built earlier and, given the similarity with the

³³. Curcio, "L'ospedale di S. Giovanni." II, cit., p. 117-18.

³⁴. ASR, Trinità, b. 464, folder *Conti di diversi artisti relativi alla chiesa e suoi rilievi*. Undated. "Bollini" is Giovan Maria Bolina (or Bolini), another Ticinese architect/contractor. No drawings by him are known. He signed the *misure* for Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane in 1629, and those for the church of Castel Gandolfo, together with Bernini and Mattia de' Rossi. He died in 1666. Donati, Ugo. *Artisti Ticinesi a Roma*. Bellinzona: Istituto Editoriale Ticinese, 1942, p. 369.

³⁵. "L'altare [della Trinità] e disegno de Giacomo Mola." *Breve Racconto*, cit., p. 114.

³⁶. See above, "The Hospice for Beggars at Ponte Sisto," n. 54, Chapter Four.

north wing of the Trinità, Giovanni Battista thought it not worth mentioning what was essentially a second version of the Mendicanti building.

In any case, the indications that emerge from the *misura*, signed by Giacomo Mola; the clear attribution of the new wing of the Mendicanti; and the similarities of this to the north wing of the Trinità, leave little doubt that Giacomo directed the construction of the Trinità building, and that he designed, if not the facades, at least the layout.

Form and Function

The campaign that closed in 1647, marked the end of significant transformations of the hospital building. The plan of 1680, and the almost contemporary Falda map of 1676, show the complex to its full extent.³⁷ On the plan, the attraction exercised by Via de' Pettinari is clearly visible. By the time it was drafted, the northern half of the block had been entirely occupied by the institution, while the southern part was revealingly empty of Trinità property.

By then, the Trinità had completed its development. The institution had infrastructure that could accommodate hundreds of patients and pilgrims, running water, and an advanced sewage system. Spaces and structures had been built in response to specific needs. The layout was articulated by inner private rooms and more public ones, with ceremonial functions. And circulation within the hospice was facilitated by clearly distinct routes for the various categories of residents and visitors.

The confraternity was characteristically sensitive to issues of decorum. Like the palace of a patrician family, its building needed rooms in which high ranking visitors could be appropriately received. The structures of private palaces were adapted to the different needs of a hospital. One such hybrid space, was the old refectory.

Longer than the new one, it could contain three rows of tables, accommodating up to 360 pilgrims.³⁸ The central row, however, was generally removed, so that visitors could walk down the refectory. This was in fact not only a dining hall that could accommodate hundreds: it was also where visiting

³⁷. On the Falda the north wing is clearly visible, with the elaborate corner, the courtyard behind it, the oratory, and the Osteria della Serena between them. The long roof that extends from the oratory facade did not exist as shown, and may represent the old refectory.

³⁸. Anonymous. *Diario delle cose occorse l'anno santo 1650*. Chpt. 23: "Refettori vecchi, e novi per servitio de' Pellegrini," unnumbered pages. ASR, Trinità, b. 372.

This particular *Diario*, one of several similar ones, is particularly useful to the understanding of the functioning of the hospital. Its author is more concerned with documenting the organization and infrastructure of the institution, than providing a hagiographic account.

See also the plan of the Trinità published by Letarouilly in 1853. The tables in the refectories are drawn exactly as described by the chronicler.

dignitaries were received.³⁹ It performed the same function of the entrance hall of a private palace, providing visitors with their first impression of the complex.

It was lined with inscriptions of benefactors' names, and marble busts, that would not have been unworthy of the collection of any cultured maecenas.⁴⁰ Only pilgrims, the more "deserving" poor, ate in this refectory, where they could be seen by dignitaries who walked down the long hall, passing in their midst, almost providing a dramatic representation for each other.

At the end of the refectory, visitors would cross the small porticoed courtyard to emerge in front of the new grand *lavatorio*, the only other structure that is reported to have been visited by popes and cardinals. As has previously been mentioned, it was probably in the 1640s that the courtyard was covered, and the loggias walled, to form a long hall that lead directly from the old refectory to the *lavatorio*.

As the institution developed, the inner routes of the residents, and of visitors, were designed so as to be kept carefully separate, or overlap in well-defined tracts. By 1650, the complex had evolved into a bipolar system, with two equally important (if for different reasons), opposite facades. The "main" facade -- where dignitaries were received -- was oriented towards the city, opened onto the new piazza, and was formed by the church and the old refectory. Opposite this facade, conveniently oriented towards Ponte Sisto, and facing the Hospice of Beggars, was the entrance for pilgrims, often a noisy and tumultuous crowd.

The *Diario* of 1650 refers of a wooden railing across the oratory, with three gates. At each gate, a couple of brethren checked the papers of pilgrims,

39. "Perché questo è il refettorio più nobile, e serve per il primo ingresso di tutto il popolo, non dico de' Pellegrini, ma dei gentilhuomini, e prelati, cardinali, e prencipi, che vengono ad essercitare l'opera della charità, et espetialm. a vedere." *Diario*, chpt. 20, "Modo e luogo di ricevere i pellegrini."

40. The busts were of benefactors of the Trinità. The first, a bust of Clement VIII, by Silla Longhi and Giacomo Laurenziano, was placed in the refectory in 1596. Followed another by Laurenziano, in 1625, of Urban VIII; one by Algardi, in 1650, of Innocent X; Clement X, sculpted in 1680 by Bernini; Clement XI, in 1702, by an unknown artist; and Clement XII in 1739, by Antonio Montauti. The last bust, placed in 1751, was the work of Pietro Bacci, and represented Benedict XIV. ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder B1-9.

and admitted them, or turned them back.⁴¹ Newly admitted pilgrims were led through the door on the left of the altar, and the courtyard directly to the *lavatorio*, through its south entrance, for the "lavanda dei piedi." The pilgrims returning for the second, or third, day of accomodation, would wait in the courtyard behind the oratory, to be led into the old refectory.⁴² This was conveniently covered in part by a wood roofing (probably during the 1640s), whose pilasters can be seen on the 1680 plan.

Visiting dignitaries would be admitted directly into the old refectory and, as we have seen, walk down its whole length to reach the *lavatorio*, point of intersection with the route of newly admitted pilgrims. They must then have returned backwards, along the same path. The plan of the Trinità drafted in 1680, shows this path as almost in straight line, culminating in the monumental *lavatori*, that marked the end of the ceremonial route. After these, came the still informal courtyard recently acquired from the Mattei, and the Osteria della Serena -- certainly not property to be displayed to important visitors.

Before the construction of the church, and the opening of the piazza, the main facade (and the only one with any architectural significance), was that of the oratory, the very first structure to be built. In the early years, the oratory was also used for the meetings of the congregation, and for religious ceremonies such as the *Quarantore*, the adoration for forty consecutive hours of the Holy Eucharist. At the entrance of the oratory, processions were formed, and to it they returned. It was probably also already the point of admittance of pilgrims, a less than ideal situation.⁴³ The establishment of separate and

41. "In mezzo all'Oratorio, e proprio alla drittura sotto il pulpito fu posta una cancellata di legno, con la quale s'impediva l'ingresso più oltre alli pellegrini. Era aperta la cancellata con tre porte. A ciascheduna delle quali stavano due deputati per chiedere le patenti." Id., Chpt. 20: "Modo, et luogo di ricevere li pellegrini."

42. Pilgrims were housed in the hospice for three days, provided they had travelled at least 40 miles, and four days if they were "ultramontani," i.e. had crossed the Alps. Id., Chpt. 20: "Modo, et luogo di ricevere li pellegrini."

43. A chronicler writing circa 1600, states that they were admitted at the "porta maggiore," but it is unclear which entrance he refers to. (*Breve Ragguaglio*, cit., p. 50v). Apart from the oratory, the only other possible entrance to the hospital, on the plan of 1597, is the one on Via de' Pettinari, labeled "Andito che entra nell'Hospidale," leading to Longhi's courtyard.

opposite entrances, avoided the mingling of high ranking visitors with pilgrims, or the sick.

A further separation existed, with respect to the two categories the Trinità catered to. The convalescents, housed at the institute out of need, rather than the love of God, were considered a less deserving category than the pilgrims. The numerous pilgrims housed manifested the grandeur of the institution and, at the same time, the power of attraction of the church of Rome. As such, the number of pilgrims received was recorded, inflated, and boasted about.

The treatment reserved to them was relatively luxurious, and perceived as attractive by pilgrims, and would-be ones. The chroniclers of the Trinità devote several pages to recommendations on how to verify the authenticity of the *patenti* of pilgrims, the documents released by their parish priest certifying provenance, and performance of religious duties. In exchange for the *patente*, the Trinità released a leather token, indicating the days of accomodation the pilgrim was entitled to. The author of the *Diario* complained of how fake tokens were sold by counterfeiters, one of whom they had arrested.⁴⁴

The treatment reserved to the sick poor was instead much less appealing. While pilgrims were prized guests, convalescents were considered -- like those housed in the Hospice for Beggars -- inmates. In one *decreto* the decision of the confraternity is recorded to build a gate, garded by a gate-keeper, to prevent the convalescents "from going into the street to buy fruit or anything else, or leaving the institute until they are dismissed."⁴⁵ The following year, one of the

44. "Ci necessitorno a farne catturare uno il quale nell'hosteria del Paradiso ne faceva quasi publica bottega." *Diario*, chpt. 20, "Modo e luogo di ricevere i pellegrini."

45. "Fu ordinato che si faccia un cancello dove parerà alli Sig.ri Guardiani acciochè li poveri convalescenti non s'accostino alla strada per acomprar frutti né altro, al quale cancello se li habbia da tener continuamente un portinaro che habbia cura di aprire et serrare ad ogni persona et che habbia cura che detti convalescenti non escano se non quando si hanno da partire afatto." ASR, Trinità, b. 7, 25 September 1581, p. 27.

items listed in a set of *misure*, is "a walled door in the wall of the *prison*, towards the refectory."⁴⁶

Convalescents dined in the new refectory, and slept in the dormitories above it. This refectory was equipped with six tables, formed by three rows of two tables each, that could accomodate up to 240 people.⁴⁷ They could have been visited as well, if with a slight detour on the route from the old refectory to the *lavatorio*. But the lack of any form of decoration in their refectory suggests that this was a more private part of the institution.

Another major concern of the confraternity, and one of the factors that influenced design, was the separation of male and female residents. During the Jubilee of 1650, a separate entrance was set up for women in the vicolo di S. Paolino, the small alley that cut into the southern portion of the block. The women admitted for the first time, probably in the rectangular room, south of the large courtyard, would proceed north along the new refectory, and enter the small porticoed courtyard, to reach their *lavatorio*.

Separate lodgings were set up only in 1600, according to the author of the *Breve ragguaglio*, guarded by the most elderly brethren.⁴⁸ Presumably, before then women were not admitted in the hospice. In the 1640s, a separate staircase was built for them, leading to their dormitory, on the upper floor of the north wing.⁴⁹ This dormitory is visible on the plan of 1725, next to the rooms of the priests, and those for the meetings of the congregation. Even before its

46. "Muro d'una porta murata nella prigione verso il refettorio." ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder A - *Carte relative alla fabrica del luogo pio, misure* dated 29 December 1582.

47. "Il 2° refettorio è quello di S. Filippo, nel quale sogliono trattenersi li Convalescenti. Contiene sei tavole in tre file, cioè due tavole per fila, et in tutte le tavole possono mangiare in un tempo 240 persone a ragione di 40 persone per tavola come nel primo refettorio." Anonymous. *Diario delle cose occorse l'anno santo 1650*, Chpt. 23: "Refettori vecchi, e novi per servitio de' Pellegrini," unnumbered pages. ASR, Trinità, b. 372. .

48. "Alle Pellegrine quale entrano per un'altra porta nel loro appartamento particolare destinatele con l'ordine istesso, quale non se faceva l'altro Anno Santo, si deputano fratelli attempati." *Breve Ragguaglio*, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513, pp. 50-50v. The chronicler refers to the Jubilee of 1600.

49. It is labeled "Scala che sale dalle donne" in the plan of 1680.

construction, women slept in the same area, in rooms still belonging to the Mattei, rented by the Trinità.⁵⁰

Women pilgrims, much less numerous than men, were probably housed together with convalescing women. In case of crowding, precedence would be given to female pilgrims. They were more safely housed in the hospice, while the men were sent out, to houses rented for the purpose.

In the second half of the century, with the ebbing of the Counter-Reformation, the number of pilgrims decreased. The ideological impetus that had driven the Trinità slowly disintegrated, and the layout of the institution cristallized. The Trinità would continue expanding in its block by acquiring property. The survey drafted in 1938, in preparation for the beginning of the demolition of the complex that occurred in the 1940s, shows the block almost entirely occupied by the Trinità. But the houses and shops acquired after 1680 were used as income producing property, and not annexed to the hospital, or demolished to make room for its expansion.

The only significant enlargement, after that date, was the extension of the new refectory to the room built next to it in the 1640s, and finally to Via del Conservatorio, in 1737. With fewer pilgrims arriving, the institution probably focused on the sick poor, whence the enlargement of their refectory and dormitories. A few years earlier, in 1723, the ornamental facade of the church, still standing on Piazza della Trinità, was finally built by Francesco de Sanctis, thanks to the donation of Giovanni de' Rossi, a merchant, whose name is inscribed on the entablature.

The two episodes signal the end of the vital phase of the Trinità. The architectural transformations, after the end of the seventeenth century, concerned the construction of ornamental apparatuses. Or of structures that, like the new refectory, grew to absurd proportions as the hospice for pilgrims lost its *raison d'etre*.

⁵⁰. Various sets of *misure* mention the room for the prioress, close to the rooms where the women slept, in the top floor of the future north wing.

Epilogue

The seventeenth century witnessed the apogee of confraternities, and of the institutions they ran. By the middle of the 18th century, however, the wave of mounting criticism against ecclesiastic institutions involved also confraternities. Public welfare was increasingly perceived as the responsibility of the state, and the role of confraternities came under attack.

On 18 June 1798, the Roman Republic decreed their suppression. In 1870, the property of all confraternities, including the Trinità, was expropriated by the newly formed Italian state. In 1916, the Trinità, together with other hospitals, was placed under the management of the Hospital of S. Spirito, now the Pio Istituto di Santo Spirito ed Ospedali Riuniti di Roma. The activity of the Trinità gradually decreased until, in 1920, it was definitively interrupted, and the abandoned complex rapidly fell into ruin.

After a few years in which it was used by the Federazione dell'Urbe, the sports association of the Fascist Party, on 29 December 1938, the Pio Istituto sold the complex to a real estate company, the Società Centrale Immobili.⁵¹ The Società Centrale planned to demolish the entire complex, and rebuild intensively, exploiting the possibilities offered by the urban development plan of 1931, that allowed reconstruction up to a height of eight floors, plus an attic level.

The only parts of the complex that could not be sold, and have thus survived, were the church and the ground floor of the old refectory, enjoyed in usufruct by the Vicariate of Rome. The Società Centrale also bought the southwest corner of the block, that the Trinità had never managed to acquire. The southeast corner remained in the hands of various private owners. In March of 1940, demolition started, beginning with the sixteenth century oratory, to eliminate the building whose destruction could have provoked the strongest criticism, and possible attempts to salvage it. The north wing on Via dei Pettinari was emptied out and rebuilt into apartments. The two facades of the wing were largely preserved, although new rows of windows were opened. The rest of the complex was, within a few months, razed to the ground.

51. For the account of 20th century demolitions and reconstruction of the Trinità, see Valeriani, Enrico, ed., *San Paolino alla Regola. Piano di recupero e restauro*. Roma: Edizioni Kappa, 1987. See esp. pp. 107-113.

After the war, Marcello Piacentini drafted a general plan for the block, approved on 28 April 1947, but variously interpreted during actual construction. Two apartment buildings were erected, between 1952 and 1958, next to the old refectory, one with a project by Emanuele Caniggia, and another with a variation of Piacentini's project. The upper floors of the old refectory were demolished and rebuilt in 1958.

The interior of the complex was cleared and is now crossed by a Via della Trinità dei Pellegrini, running west to east. On the southwest corner, a seven storey apartment building was erected, designed by Piacentini. Its facade stretched on Via delle Zoccolette all the way to the small western facade of the north wing. Construction continued until 1968, when the last building was built behind the old refectory, with a project by Caniggia.

Perhaps the most symbolic episode is the demolition of almost the entire body of the new refectory, except for a sliver of building left behind the facade on Via del Conservatorio. The facade was restructured with a design of one Angelo di Castro, and the ridiculous fragment of the refectory transformed into housing units, in 1952. It is emblematic of the disastrous policy for the "preservation" of the built environment, that reached its height during the Fascist period, but that is far from having been abandoned in Italy. Among the professionals that called themselves "critical restorers," prevailed the idea that only buildings, or parts of them, judged worthy by their "critical" judgment should be preserved. Which generally implied the preservation, if anything, of the main facade of the building, and demolition of the rest.

The tall, thin stump of the refectory on Via del Conservatorio remains a monument to this two-dimensional conception of buildings, brought to absurd extremes.

Chapter 6. The Hospitals of Rome: The Models

In the previous chapters, I have discussed how the institutional nature of the Trinità dei Pellegrini, its patronage and economic structure influenced its physical development. How the role it played as a champion of orthodoxy, and its own display needs modified its architectural and urban development. We must now turn to the development of the other public hospitals in Rome, to understand the character of their architecture, and their impact on the city.

Unlike the Trinità, the earlier hospitals were established when the struggle for the control of the city had still not been won by the papacy. They played a central role as allies of one or the other of the warring factions, that often assigned them an almost military function. This affected their architectural development, and stimulated an awareness of the urban environment that seems unique to Rome.

The Roman institutions, however, adapted what was by then a long tradition in hospital design, that had evolved in Central and Northern Italy. The specific characteristics of the hospitals in Rome can only be understood in the context of this tradition.

Early Hospitals

The large hospitals founded in central and northern Italy around the middle of the fifteenth century evolved from structures to house pilgrims called *xenodochium* or *domus peregrinorum*. The term referred to institutions where early Christians offered shelter and food to their correligionists traveling for pious purposes, and started being used in Byzantium and in Rome around the fourth century. Until the ninth century, however, these were generally not independent buildings, but structures built for the purpose in monasteries and abbeys.

The Rule of St. Benedict (540-560) included also the sick and the poor, as embodying the suffering Christ, among those that had to be received in monasteries. The rule was accepted in all the Carolingian Empire, where in 789

such forms of charity became compulsory for abbeys.¹ Every monastery -- especially the Benedictine, that spread in Europe the medical teachings of eastern monasticism -- was thus equipped with an infirmary for the poor, distinct from the guest house for high-ranking travelers.

The famous plan of St. Gall, representing an ideal Benedictine monastery of circa 820, includes a guest house for pilgrims and poor. This is a squarish structure, comprising four small rooms arranged around kitchens and a refectory.² Similar almshouses can be identified in the plans of Cluniac and Cistercien monasteries as well, of the ninth to the eleventh centuries. Unlike the monks' dorters and refectories, these hospices generally consisted of a number of small rooms, rather than long rectangular halls. An instance is in the Abbey of Cluny of the middle of the eleventh century, where a *domus elemosynaria*, the almshouse, is of minuscule proportions.³ Another example of a relatively small infirmary, is in the Italian monastery of Monte Cassino (1058-1087).⁴

As the number of pilgrims and paupers increased, the almshouses became long imposing halls. They were built separate from the conventual buildings, generally along the outer perimeter of the monastic compound, with an easier access to the exterior. Instances of these buildings are the infirmary of Peter the Venerable at Cluny, of around 1150, and a roughly contemporary one in the Cistercian monastery of Fountains. One of the finest surviving examples is the hospital of Ourscamp, built around 1210 and also part of a Cistercian monastery.⁵

1. Pevsner, Nikolaus. *A History of Building Types*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976, p. 139.

2. The *infirmarium* instead -- structured like a miniature monastery, with three wings arranged around a courtyard -- was rather for sick monks. For a discussion of this plan, see Braunfels, Wolfgang. *Monasteries of Western Europe. The Architecture of the Orders*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972, pp. 37-46.

3. In the *domus elemosynaria* the *mandatum*, or footwashing, for which the Trinità would build special halls, was performed. By the eleventh century there was running water everywhere in the monastery, carried by concealed conduits. Braunfels, cit., pp. 54-55.

4. Braunfels, cit., p. 34.

5. Braunfels, cit., pp. 62; 84-85; 106-08.

Probably as part of an effort to break the control of monastic orders over these forms of charity, the Synod of Aachen (816-817) established the duty of every bishop to build a *domus peregrinorum*, at the expense of the clergy.⁶ The injunction spurred the construction of independent hospices that separated from monasteries, becoming buildings in their own right.

In Italy, several were built, especially in the towns along the Via Francigena, the road that brought pilgrims from France, over the Alps and across Tuscany, to Rome.⁷ Not surprisingly, the hospices founded by bishops were generally built next to the cathedral, their home-church. In other instances, they were built annexed to (but now independent of), monasteries within the city walls.⁸ In both cases, no longer small structures in out-of-hand abbeys, hospitals became eminently urban institutions. They now occupied a prominent location in the city, often on its main square, next to the principal church.

The Greek word to define them, *xenodochi*, was increasingly replaced by the Latin *hospitalis* -- from *hospes*, guest -- and hospices started diversifying. Several were foundling hospitals;⁹ The large majority of medieval hospitals founded in Central and Northern Italy, however, were generically defined *hospitalis pauperum, peregrinorum et infirmorum* -- hospital for the poor, pilgrims, and the sick.

How were these first independent, urban hospices built? Unlike what most authors generally assume, these early hospitals were not organized around a courtyard.¹⁰ The assumption is based on the layout of both the monasteries from which medieval hospices split off and the hospitals built from the

⁶. For a summary of similar provisions made in previous councils, see *Ospedali Lombardi del Quattrocento. Fondazione, trasformazioni, restauri*. Franchini, Lucio, ed. Como: New Press, 1995, p. 16.

⁷. Belli Barsali, Isa. "Le strade dei pellegrini" in *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche*. Roma: Gangemi, 1985, pp. 218-31.

⁸. This is the case, for instance, of the monastery of San Dionigi, built in the eleventh century by Ariberto d'Intimiano, bishop of Milan, with an annexed *hospitale pauperum*. Pecchiai, Pio. *L'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano nella storia e nell'arte*. Milano: Pizzi & Pizio, 1927, p. 12.

⁹. One of the earliest foundling hospitals was San Celso, founded in Milan in 996. Pecchiai, cit., p. 12.

¹⁰. See, for instance, Saalman, Howard. "The Hospital of the Innocents," in *Filippo Brunelleschi. The Buildings*. London: Zwemmer, 1993, p. 33.

fifteenth century onwards, all equipped with courtyards. But these structures, in monasteries and the Renaissance institutions, had a purpose they did not have in the medieval ones.

Porticoed courtyards -- in monasteries whose residents had no, or very limited, access to the outer world -- served several important functions. Here, monks or nuns could meet, talk (an activity often forbidden in other areas), and stroll under the protection offered by the arcades against inclement weather. Courtyards were necessary to inmates confined to an institution where they spent a large part of their lives -- and which they rarely, if ever, left.

But why build such an expensive structure in a hospital located in an urban center which guests could leave, and return to, as they pleased? And who in any case would only live in the institution for few days, to resume their pilgrimage, their work, or their begging? As the monasteries from which they originated, medieval hospices generally housed pilgrims that could not pay for accommodation, laborers temporarily unable to work due to illness, and beggars. They would be housed and fed until they recovered their strength and could resume their pilgrimage, return to their work, or begging -- or died. In an institution whose guests would be gone in a few days, and who were not confined within its walls, a courtyard was an unnecessary luxury.

Few hospices founded before the fourteenth century have survived with a layout intact enough to be reconstructed. But there is no evidence to show that they were organized around courtyards. Rather, they consisted of a single long rectangular aisled or aisleless hall -- the prototypical hospital ward.

Several instances of this hospital type survive in Northern Europe (although they were generally not built within the urban walls). One example is the Great Hospital of Norwich, in England, founded in 1249. Sixty meters long, it consists of an aisled hall with an aisleless chapel east of it. In France, the hospital of Angers, founded in the later twelfth century is an aisled hall, also about 60 meters long, with Angevin rib-vaults. The hospital of Tonnerre, built around 1293, is aisleless, almost 100 meters long, and covered by a wooden tunnel-vault.¹¹

¹¹. Pevsner, cit., p. 141.

The long axis of these halls generally terminated in an apse or chapel, forming almost a hybrid between the long dorters of monasteries and a hall church. In Italy, one surviving example of this type is the Spedale Nuovo della Misericordia in Pisa, with a single long aisleless hall. Its main facade is on Campo dei Miracoli, and it was built around 1337 over an older nucleus founded between 1257 and 1263.¹² The only other instance I am aware of is the so-called Women's Ward of the hospital of S. Salvatore in Rome. Like the one in Pisa, it is a long aisleless hall with the facade on the square of the Lateran, and was also probably built around 1330.¹³

A development of this single ward plan scheme was formed by two or more long halls, radiating from a crossing, and seems to have first developed in Tuscany. Two surviving and well known examples are the hospitals of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence and Santa Maria della Scala in Siena.

S. Maria Nuova started in 1287 as a small infirmary. In 1296, the small convent of S. Egidio was annexed. The convent did include a courtyard, but the subsequent development of the hospital ignored it. In 1312, a first long hall was built, with the facade on piazza S. Maria Nuova. By 1348, another wing was built, perpendicular to the first and joined to it to form an "L." In 1479, the third arm was built and soon afterwards a fourth, forming first a "T" and then a cross.¹⁴

S. Maria della Scala, built in 1185 over an existing nucleus, was formed by two main converging wards, the so-called *Passeggio* and the *Pellegrinaio*, famous for the frescoes painted by Bartolo di Sassoferrato, between 1440 and 1443. Another ward, the *Corsia San Pio V*, was built perpendicular to the *Passeggio* between the 1350s and 1379, also forming a "T" as a development of a previous "L" shape.¹⁵

It was only in the fifteenth century that the layout of hospitals changed radically, and they were built around courtyards. Around 1450, several large hospitals were built almost contemporaneously in many Italian cities. They

12. Franchini, cit., p. 62, n. 3.

13. See below.

14. Foster, Philip. "Per il disegno dell'Ospedale di Milano." *Arte Lombarda* 38/39 (1973) 1-22, pp. 4-5.

15. The crossing of the "T" is also depicted in one of the frescoes. Franchini, cit., p. 17.

were generally built by the civic, rather than religious, authorities and replaced the smaller medieval institutions. They were eloquently and simply defined *hospitale magnum* by their patrons, who devoted enormous effort and funds to the construction of these public buildings.

In these new institutions the dorters, refectories and service rooms were organized around a porticoed courtyard -- now necessary, since the nature of hospitals had changed. The large Renaissance hospitals were institutions whose inmates had become long term residents. The freedom of guests, and especially the possibility to leave the institution, was severely restricted. Spacious courtyards thus became as useful as they were in monastic enclosures, or in the buildings that eventually also developed from these institutions -- prisons.¹⁶

The modifications in the nature and layout of hospitals stemmed from changes in the perception of the poor. In the Middle Ages, they were the *pauperes Christi*, a personification of the suffering Christ. By the fifteenth century -- considered a category with no established place in the social hierarchy, and often the seedbed of popular unrest -- they started being perceived as a threat to the social order. The attitudes towards them evolved from charitable to repressive, as did the tendency to confine them for longer periods of time.

While the medieval hospitals were "open" institutions that their guests were free to leave, from the fifteenth century onwards they were increasingly conceived as a dike to separate the poor from the rest of society. Hospitals turned inwards, opening onto a secluded courtyard. As the poor were made to follow the rigors of monastic life, the layout of hospices changed accordingly, becoming similar to that of monasteries.

The change in hospital layouts from one or more long halls radiating from a crossing, to square or rectangular plan schemes organized around a courtyard swept through Europe in the fifteenth century. In France, the Hotel-Dieu of Beaune, built in 1443 - 1445, or in Germany, the St. Nicholas of Kues, founded in mid-fifteenth century, are instances of this type.

16. The connection between philanthropic institutions and prisons has often been made, especially by French scholars, in the wake of Foucaultian theories. For the architectural relationship between the two types of institutions, see the chapters on "Hospitals" and "Prisons" in Pevsner, cit.

In Northern Italy, a particular version of this plan scheme developed. It combined the older Tuscan tradition of the long converging halls with the more recent developments in hospital design. Around 1450, several hospitals were built in this region with the wings forming a "T" or a cross shape inscribed in a porticoed courtyard. The most famous is the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, built by Filarete around 1456.

The plan designed by Filarete was formed by two greek crosses inscribed in a square, joined by a rectangular courtyard in which a central chapel was to be built. At the crossing of the wings, an altar was placed, surmounted by an octagonal Lombardesque *tiburio* dome.

The Ospedale Maggiore was applauded by Vasari, according to whom "this building is so well executed and with such a regular plan that I do not think there is any other like it in the whole of Europe."¹⁷ Cesare Cesariano, in his 1521 edition of Vitruvius' treatise, published an idealized version of the hospital in Milan, praising it -- together with that of S. Spirito in Rome, and those of Siena and Florence -- as following the Vitruvian canons.¹⁸

17. "E' questo luogo tanto ben fatto ed ordinato che per simile non credo che ne sia in tutta Europa." Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*. Milanese, Gaetano ed., vol. II. Firenze: Sansoni, 1878, p. 456.

18. For a synthesis of the treatises in which the Ospedale Maggiore was published see Foster, cit., pp. 10-18.

If he thought they followed the Vitruvian canons, Cesariano had probably not seen the hospitals of Siena and Florence, i.e., respectively S. Maria della Scala and S. Maria Nuova. It is true that the fame of these hospitals made them models for those built after them. In the bulls of foundation of the cruciform hospitals, the prescription that they should be built "ad instar senensis et florentinensis Hospitalium," modeled after the hospitals of Siena and Florence, is recurrent. This, however, only referred to their general, not architectural, organization. Although S. Maria Nuova had a cruciform plan this had only developed in phases and was not completed until 1479.

Contemporaries were also well aware of this. While designs were prepared for the hospital in Milan, Francesco Sforza, dispatched an ambassador to see the hospital in Siena. This wrote back the S. Maria della Scala could not represent a model for the Ospedale Maggiore because "it is located on a mount, whereas no-one would ever build a hospital like that on flat land." And certainly, he stressed, "Were he alive today, Giotto would never design such a hospital." Leverotti, F., "Ricerche sulle origini dell'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano." *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, CVII, Serie X, 6, (1981-84), p. 89. Quoted by Franchini, cit., p. 18.

The published plan accelerated the diffusion of the cross plan scheme that, within a few decades, spread all over Europe, becoming a model for institutions built well into the nineteenth century. Also Guglielmo del Piombo, when he drafted the 1571 "small drawing" for the Trinità, had probably seen this representation, judging by the similarities between the two. Although the most famous, however, the Ospedale Maggiore was not the first cruciform hospital built in Italy.

In 1449, pope Nicholas V authorized the construction of two hospitals, the S. Matteo in Pavia and the S. Leonardo in Mantova, both with a cross shape from the outset.¹⁹ In June 1449, the first stone of the S. Matteo was laid and the following year the hospital received its first patients -- six years before construction on the Milan hospital started.²⁰ Like this hospital, the S. Matteo is formed by a greek cross whose arms point in the four cardinal directions, with an altar at the crossing. It is inscribed in a square, formed by service rooms. A two level loggia, with arches resting on columns, surrounds the courtyards formed by the arms of the cross.

On the San Leonardo in Mantova construction started in 1450, but it was not completed until 1472, when the first patients were admitted.²¹ The hospital in Mantua also consists of a greek cross inscribed in a square, but with the arms extending to the outer limit of the perimeter. The courtyards are equipped with loggias, with arches on the lower level, and architraves on the upper.

Other cruciform hospitals were built in the years immediately following: in Piacenza one was founded in 1471, with a plan very similar to that of the S. Matteo di Pavia.²² The following year, construction started on the Pammatone in Genoa, whose layout was instead a latin cross.²³ Cruciform plans thus seem to have originated in the small triangle formed by Pavia, Mantua and Milan. The

¹⁹. The patron of the San Matteo was Francesco Sforza, the same that a few years later founded the Ospedale Maggiore.

²⁰. Saletti, C. "La fabbrica quattrocentesca dell'ospedale di San Matteo in Pavia." *Arte Lombarda* V (1960): 48-55.

²¹. *Mantova, Le Arti*, II, 1, Mantova 1961, 67-70, 103-04. Quoted by Foster, cit., p. 8, n. 71.

²². For the bull authorizing construction of the Piacenza hospital, see Albini, Giuliana. *Città e ospedali della Lombardia medievale*. Bologna: Clueb, 1993, p. 227.

²³. Franchini, cit., p. 44-45.

area included Piacenza and Cremona -- where, as we will see below, a variant of the cross plan was built in the same years.

The issue of where the cross plan originated, and who was its author has attracted most of the attention devoted to Renaissance hospitals. Various names have been put forward as possible authors of the cross plan, from Bernardo Rossellino to Brunelleschi, and Alberti. Precedents as distant as the cruciform *martyrion* of Antiochia, and an eighth century hospice built next to the Fatimid mosque of Cairo have been proposed as possible models.²⁴

The issue cannot be resolved here. I instead propose to underline the elements of continuity between the medieval Tuscan hospitals, and the fifteenth century Lombard cruciform buildings. The latter evolved from experiments made in grouping long halls around a point. The attempts produced "L" and "T" shapes, and finally cross plans. In at least two hospitals -- S. Maria della Scala in Siena, and S. Maria Nuova in Florence respectively-- a "T" and a cross scheme developed through the actual subsequent addition of wings.

Not only the cross, but also the "T" shape inscribed in a square or rectangle were widely used in the new Renaissance hospitals. Until recently, this shape was thought a sporadic variation of the cruciform plan. It actually seems to have been equally frequent.²⁵ The first fifteenth century hospital built with a "T" plan from the outset was that of Santo Spirito e San Luca della Misericordia in Brescia, whose first stone was laid on 26 March 1447. Followed the hospital of Cremona, built around 1450. Also the Santo Spirito in Rome, as we will see in the following section, built in the 1470s by Sixtus IV, was probably designed as a "T".

Although cruciform plans had an added symbolic value, the "T" scheme provided the same practical advantages.²⁶ The main one was that an altar placed

24. For a recent review of attributions, and some suggestions of his own, see Franchini, *cit.*, pp. 21-30.

The idea that S. Maria Nuova in Florence was a model for the cruciform hospitals was first discarded by Foster, who emphasized it was built in phases and not completed until 1479. Foster, *cit.*, p. 6-7.

25. Franchini., *cit.*, p. 24. See also, in the same book, the essay by Della Torre, Stefano. "L'ospedale di S. Maria della Pietà a Cremona: appunti preliminari."

26. Concerning the symbolic value attached to the cruciform plans, in several contemporary representations, Christ's cross was actually depicted as a "T." And the ambassadors of Gian Galeazzo and Francesco Sforza both defined the "T"

at the crossing would enable services to be seen by patients in all the wards. This possibility was crucial, in a time when medical treatment was inadequate, and communication with God more urgent than with a doctor. In the single hall hospitals built before the fourteenth century, the altar or chapel was generally placed at one end. Setting it at the crossing of various smaller halls instead, multiplied the number of patients that had a better view of services.²⁷

Another advantage afforded by both a "T" and a cruciform plan was that the crossing provided a vantage point from where all the wards could be kept under visual control. This was a possibility that the patrons of the large, efficient Renaissance hospitals must have found very desirable.²⁸ These institutions were the product of a vast reform movement to centralize public welfare. Taking care of the weaker members of the community was a powerful legitimizing factor for a ruler. The splendor and scrupulous administration of a public hospital was one of the most manifest signs of the "good government" of a city. At the same time, however, providing relief to the poor was a measure of social control.

In the decades that followed, the repressive aspect gained strength. A century later, the reclusive nature of the asylums for the poor was matter-of-factly acknowledged. In Rome, for instance, the Hospice for Beggars built by Sixtus V was interchangeably referred to as *hospitium* or *carceribus*, i.e., hospice, or prison. Also at the Trinità, in at least one instance, the *misure* refer

layout of S. Maria della Scala as "in croce," i.e. representing a cross. Franchini, cit., p. 17.

²⁷. The altar placed in the crossing in Filarete's hospital was thus not an innovation. In S. Maria Nuova in Florence, when the first two wards were joined to form an "L" by 1348, an altar was already reported placed at the crossing, surmounted by a small dome. Foster, cit., p. 5.

²⁸. This possibility must have been increasingly appreciated, and the scheme with three or four wings would eventually develop into a radial plan with multiple spokes. Examples are a late seventeenth century design for a hospital by Antoine Desgodets; another by L. C. Sturm of 1720; and the design for the Hotel-Dieu hospital in Paris by Antoine Petit of 1774. By late eighteenth century these institutions were workhouses or prisons rather than philanthropic centers. The same radial plans were proposed for prisons, the most famous of which is Jeremy Bentham's design for the Panopticon of 1791. Several radial plan schemes were built in the nineteenth century, especially in France, Great Britain and the U.S. See also Pevsner, cit., the chapters on "Hospitals" and "Prisons."

to a room -- perhaps the dormitory of the convalescents -- as "prigione," prison.²⁹

The evolution of charitable into reclusive institutions culminated with the establishment, in 1686, of the Ospizio Apostolico dei Poveri Invalidi of San Michele a Ripa. It was built to receive the inmates of various institutions, among which those of the Hospice for Beggars. Built by Mattia de' Rossi and Carlo Fontana, although it was designated "Ospizio," is best known for being the first modern prison built in Europe, equipped with individual cells for prisoners.³⁰

We must now turn to the architectural characteristics of the main Roman hospitals: the Santo Spirito in Sassia, the San Salvatore at the Lateran, and San Giacomo degli Incurabili. In the next sections, I will outline for each the political context in which they were established, to emphasize its connection to their architectural and urban development.

29. An item in *misure* dated 29 December 1582, is: "Muro d'una porta murata nella prigione verso il refettorio." ASR, Trinità, b. 387, folder A - *Carte relative alla fabrica del luogo pio*, sub-folder "Dalli 4 Feb.o 1582 a tutto 1583. Misura e stima delli muri et altri lavori fatti per la cantina sotto il refettorio grande de' Convalescenti, (...) da Mastro Rocco Orlandi Muratore stimati da Martino Longo Architetto della nostra Archiconfraternità."

30. For the architectural treatment of the S. Michele, see Braham, Allan; Hager, Hellmut. *Carlo Fontana: The Drawings at Windsor Castle*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1977.

The hospitals of Rome

Santo Spirito in Sassia

This was the first public hospital built in Rome, and the most ancient still functioning. It was established on the site of the *Schola* or *Burgus Saxonum*, the compound of the English -- whence the designation "in Saxia," or Sassia. Founded in the eighth century, the Schola also comprised the church of S. Maria in Sassia, a hospice and a cemetery. Like several similar establishments founded between the eighth and the thirteenth century, it was in the immediate vicinity of St. Peter's basilica.¹

In 1198, Innocent III took over the Schola Saxonum, assigned its property to the hospital he established on the premises, and founded the confraternity of S. Spirito to govern it.² The pope must have selected this schola as the seat of his new hospital for its ideal location. Between St. Peter's and Ponte Sant'Angelo, Innocent's hospital was the first institution seen by pilgrims crossing the bridge, and headed for the basilica. Furthermore, the schola was built along the river which supplied water (also used for drinking), and facilitated the disposal of wastes. The Traspontina, an ancient river port on the schola's premises, represented an additional advantage.³

1. The other *scholae* around St. Peter's were that of the Franks and the Longobards founded towards the end of the eighth century respectively near the church of S. Maria della Pietà in Camposanto and around St. Justin's. The Frisians established their schola in the ninth century, around the church of Santi Michele e Magno. The Hungarians and Abyssinians settled, respectively in the eleventh and twelfth century, around the churches of S. Stefano Minore and S. Stefano Maggiore. The Armenian schola, founded in 1220 was by the "portica" of old St. Peter's, and destroyed together with it. De Angelis, Pietro. *L'arciconfraternita ospitaliera di Santo Spirito in Sassia*. Roma: n.p., 1950, pp. 23-25.

2. The take over was approved by John of England in 1204. (De Angelis, Pietro. *Guido di Montpellier, Innocenzo III e la fondazione dell'ospedale apostolico di Santo Spirito in Santa Maria in Saxia*. Roma: n.p., 1962, p. 7). This was probably in exchange for papal recognition of his claims to the throne.

3. Designated as Porto Maggiore in the tenth century, the port functioned until it was demolished to build the Tiber embankments in 1875 (De Angelis, Pietro. *L'architetto e gli affreschi di Santo Spirito in Saxia*. Roma: n.p., 1961, p. 54). Most of the construction material for Sixtus IV's reconstruction of the hospital, or the travertine blocks for the construction of Bernini's colonnade for St. Peter's, for instance, were unloaded here. De Angelis, Pietro. "Un'architetto dell'ospedale

Between 1198 and 1201, Innocent III rebuilt the hospital and transformed it into a hospice mainly for *proietti* -- literally, the "tossed away," i.e., abandoned infants. Although principally a foundling hospital, however, the S. Spirito also received the usual categories of contemporary hospitals -- the poor, pilgrims, and the sick.

According to Vasari, the author of this hospital was Marchionne da Arezzo, the same who built Tor de' Conti, the pope's family tower, also begun in 1198.⁴ As for its architecture, some representations suggest that it was similar to the contemporary ones built in Tuscany. Innocent's hospital appears in Taddeo di Bartolo's map of Rome, a fresco executed in 1414 for the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena; in the Limburg brothers view of Rome dating from 1411-16 in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*; in a miniature executed by Pietro del Massaio in 1471; and in the Strozzi map of 1474 (first engraved in 1450).⁵ Finally, the medieval hospital is also visible in one of the frescoes painted in the fifteenth century wing of the S. Spirito built by Sixtus IV.⁶

In all representations, the principal structure of Innocent's hospital is a long, rectangular two-storied hall. In the fresco in Sixtus' wing, the old building appears as a long brick construction, divided in bays marked by pilaster strips. Windows are on the upper floor, and a large portal in the long side of the building. In the Strozzi map, both this portal and another one on the short facade of the building, towards the river, are shown.

S. Spirito was endowed with estates, granted tax exemptions, and grew to become one of the largest landholders in the city.⁷ By the fourteenth century, the papal hospital had passed under the control of the municipal government, and was of the most important civic institutions in the city. It figured

Sistino di Roma e i porti di Santo Spirito sul Tevere." *Palatino* N. S. 5-6 (1960) 70-72.

4. Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*. P. Barocchi ed., Firenze: Sansoni, 1966, vol II, p. 50.

5. Frutaz, Amato Pietro. *Le piante di Roma*. Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1962, vol. II.

6. The fresco depicts Sixtus visiting the old hospital, before its demolition. It is published in Howe, Eunice. *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV*. New York: Garland, 1978, pls. 24, 28.

7. See above, "The Sources of Wealth," Chapter One.

prominently in the political life of the city, mentioned in several significant episodes.

In 1347, Cola da Rienzo was crowned ruler of the Popolo Romano and a conspicuous part of the sumptuous ceremony concerned the S. Spirito whose scepter and crown, symbolizing dominion, were handed to him.⁸ In a delegation to the pope in Avignon, headed by Cola and formed by the main representatives of the civic institutions, the governor of the S. Spirito was present with a prominent position.⁹

The mission of the delegation was to persuade Clement VI to call a Jubilee for 1350, that would have granted the city economic respite in a time of severe crisis.¹⁰ The pope consented and, to express gratitude, the Popolo decided to erect a statue. Clement's effigy was to be placed in the S. Spirito, now under municipal control and evidently judged an appropriate alternative to the Campidoglio for a commemorative monument.¹¹

After the popes returned to Rome, they strove to regain control of the hospital. In 1446, Eugene IV restored S. Spirito, although it is not clear to what extent, in the attempt to acquire rights over it. More interesting is the pope's claim that he had discovered ancient registers of the confraternity of S. Spirito that proved the hospital had been founded by a pope.¹² The hospital was thus to rightfully return to the papacy after, Eugene emphasized, the unfortunate

⁸. De Angelis, Pietro. *Il giubileo dell'anno 1350 e l'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia*. Roma: Pinnarò, 1949, p. 18.

⁹. The delegation was formed by twelve, six laymen and six ecclesiastics. The former were headed by a Senator of the Popolo, Stefano Colonna, while the latter by a Fra' Giacomo, governor of the S. Spirito. De Angelis, *Il giubileo*, cit., p. 12.

¹⁰. Interestingly, in the letter to the Popolo Romano in which Cola announced the success of his expedition to Avignon, he signed himself "Roman Consul, sole popular champion of orphans, widows, and the poor." (De Angelis. *Il giubileo dell'anno 1350*, cit., p. 16). Charity towards the weaker groups of society appears once again as a powerful legitimizing factor for a ruler.

¹¹. The statue no longer exists but some inscriptions of its base have survived and are preserved in the hospital. De Angelis, *Il Giubileo dell'anno 1350*, cit., p. 18.

¹². "In antiquis quibusdam libris scriptarum ipsorum praedecessorum nostrorum auctoritate in dicto Hospitale institutam." De Angelis, *L'arciconfraternita*, cit., p. 57.

period of Avignon. During which, no longer under the watchful eyes of the popes, the institution had declined.¹³

The restoration of the hospital had to be accompanied by supposedly ancient documents that legitimized papal claims over it -- an indication of how solidly municipal control over the institution must have been. As a final measure, Eugene appointed himself governor of the hospital.¹⁴ These measures, however, must still have been insufficient: Sixtus IV initiated a new series, to render papal control over the hospital irreversible.

For this pope, ensuring that the S. Spirito did not remain an enclave of the municipal government was even more crucial. The institution encroached directly on the Vatican where Sixtus, the first to do so, had permanently established the papal residence. The hospital thus played a central part in a more general plan for the new papal citadel. Sixtus built the first nucleus of the Belvedere, guarded by the Sistine chapel with the huge bastion-like exterior. His nephew, Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, built his imposing mansion directly facing the hospital, that obligingly granted two of its houses for the construction.¹⁵

The Della Rovere palace and S. Spirito guarded Borgo S. Spirito, the street that connected Ponte S. Angelo to the Vatican. Sixtus probably also restored this street that is parallel to Borgo S. Angelo -- which he also straightened and paved, doubling the connection between the bridge and the Vatican.¹⁶

On the hospital itself, Sixtus intervened with both political and architectural strategies. He refounded the confraternity of S. Spirito and, in a choreographic ceremony, registered himself with all his cardinals (among whom the future Julius II), to it. The Santo Spirito having become "Hospitale Nostrum," our hospital, as Sixtus called it, the pope appointed close relatives as

13. De Angelis, *L'arciconfraternita*, cit., p. 60.

14. De Angelis, *L'arciconfraternita*, cit., p. 106.

15. Now Palazzo dei Cavalieri del Santo Sepolcro, and ridiculously restored in the 1950s (De Angelis, *L'arciconfraternita*, cit., p. 117), the Della Rovere palace stands between Via della Consolazione and Borgo Santo Spirito. Construction started in 1478. Tomei, Pietro. *L'architettura del Quattrocento*. Roma: Fratelli Palombi, 1942, p. 194.

16. See above, "Sixtus IV," Chapter Two.

Preceptors, i.e., governors of the confraternity.¹⁷ But it was predominantly through the reconstruction of the hospital that Sixtus asserted control over the institution.

Less than thirty years after Eugene's restoration he rebuilt the hospital, this time "a fundamentis." Construction of the S. Spirito started in 1473 and the main building was completed by the summer of 1476, although work continued for yet a few years.¹⁸ In 1478, not by coincidence, with the bull *Et si de Cunctarum*, Sixtus established ownership rights over buildings by those that had substantially restored or enlarged them.¹⁹ Finally, like Eugene had done before him, Sixtus strove to legitimize the claims of the papacy over the institution by emphasizing its papal origins.

In the cycle of frescoes painted in the main ward, he illustrated the S. Spirito's foundation as a foundling hospital by Innocent III.²⁰ Myth had it that Innocent had built the charitable institution after some fishermen had shown him the nets they had cast into the Tiber full of dead unwanted newborns, rather than fish. A sequence of the frescoed scenes depicts women casting babies into the river, Innocent III appalled at the macabre contents of the fishermen's nets, and his vision of an angel ordering the construction of the hospital. The last scene evidently meant to establish no less than divine will behind the construction of S. Spirito, with the pope as chosen executor.

The cycle ended with images showing Sixtus himself rebuilding the hospital, stressing continuity in the papal efforts for the S. Spirito. In the bull "Illius qui pro Dominici" of 21 March 1477, Sixtus declared "we have demolished the old ruined hospital, and have rebuilt it (...), enlarging it in both length and width, equipped it with courtyards, and lodgings and more spacious and comfortable buildings."²¹

17. In 1477, Innocenzo de' Flavi della Rovere was made Preceptor, followed by Pio dei Medici della Rovere which Sixtus appointed in 1484, the last year of his pontificate. De Angelis, *L'arciconfraternita*, cit., p. 106.

18. Howe, cit., pp. 28, 42.

19. See above, "Sixtus IV," Chapter Two.

20. The complete cycle of frescoes is published in Howe, cit., pp. 386 - 416.

21. "... eiusdem hospitalis structuram vetustate sublata, illud a fundamentis de novo opere concedenti construi, et aedificari fecimus (...) commodo longe

Judging by the early representations of the medieval hospital, the hospital Sixtus built was erected over the same foundations, and with the same orientation as Innocent's hospital.²² It mainly consisted of the Corsia Sistina, a long rectangular hall approximately 120 meters long, with a magnificent loggia along Borgo di Santo Spirito. This was an architectural element already obsolete in contemporary Tuscan hospitals. Important precedents are of course those built in Florentine hospitals in the decades that span 1400, the most famous of which is that of Brunelleschi's hospital of the Innocents.

Florentine loggias in hospitals, facing the public street or a piazza, seem to mark an intermediate phase in the passage from the medieval hospices formed by one or more long halls, to the fifteenth century hospitals organized around a courtyard. Loggias were a semipublic space where inmates could meet with friends and relatives, and convalescents or the elderly watch the outer world go by. After the middle of the fifteenth century, when hospitals became as reclusive as monasteries, loggias on a public street were no longer built. In the years immediately preceding the change, however, many Florentine hospitals had both courtyards and a loggia on the public street -- the remnant of a past about to disappear.

Although their building history is far from clear, this seems the case of the hospitals of San Giovanni Battista in Via San Gallo (or Spedale di Bonifazio), founded in 1377; and of the San Matteo, whose loggia was built between 1393 and 1408. In Brunelleschi's Hospital of the Innocents, the loggia was built around 1420, while one of the last to be constructed was that of Sant'Antonio, a hospital outside the walls of Lastra a Signa on the Pisan road, completed in 1422.²³ Only this last hospital did not have a courtyard -- evidently not yet considered necessary by its patrons, while a semipublic space was still considered such.

Like the Florentine hospitals built until the first decades of the fifteenth century, the S. Spirito in Rome was equipped with both courtyards and a loggia on the public street. The "openness" of this institution, indicated by the loggia,

lateque ampliavimus, claustraque et habitationes." This excerpt of the bull is published in Tomei, cit., p. 143, n. 2.

²². In the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, Vasari asserted some of the structures of the old hospital were still visible. Vasari; P. Barocchi ed., cit., vol. II, p. 50.

²³. Saalman, cit., p. 34.

would seem archaic -- if more enlightened, in our view. However, as we will see below, the reasons for its construction were probably connected to the intention to provide a backdrop for Borgo S. Spirito, rather than to progressive ideas on the institutionalization of the poor.

The architect of the splendid plan of the S. Spirito is unknown. The loggia, however, and the distinctive style, recently defined "late Albertian" by Frommel, have led to suggest various names among the Florentines active at Sixtus' court. The name of Baccio Pontelli, suggested a few decades ago as the architect of both the hospital and the bridge built by Sixtus has long been discarded. It is now clear that Baccio was not in Rome before 1482.

Müntz proposed Giovannino de' Dolci, as possible author of the hospital, basing his suggestion on the similarities of the Corsia Sistina with the Sistine Chapel.²⁴ This is also a long rectangular hall, for which Dolci's contribution is confirmed by the documents. It is however not entirely clear whether Dolci worked as the architect or rather a superintendent of works, executing a design produced by another architect.²⁵

De Angelis proposed as author of the hospital an entirely obscure Giovanni Pietro Ghirarducci from Parma. The attribution is based on an inscription along the cornice over the western arch of the dome which reads "Io Pe. de Ghira ... R. Parmensis a fundament ..." The same Ghirarducci signs himself in the *Liber Fraternitatis*, the book recording the names of the members of the confraternity of S. Spirito on 13 May 1478.²⁶ However, neither contemporaries, nor Ghirarducci himself, ever attaches the title of architect to his name. He was an apostolic acolyte and choirmaster in Parma, and his name appears in contemporary accounts as a member of the church hierarchy. His name on the cornice of the dome is therefore probably to be interpreted as that of the patron and financier, rather than the architect.²⁷

24. Müntz, Eugène. *Les arts à la cour des papes*. Paris: Thorin, 1878, vol. III, p. 137.

25. Ettlinger, Leopold David. *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, pp. 19-20.

26. De Angelis, *L'architetto e gli affreschi*, cit., p. 43.

27. Howe, cit., pp. 70-72.

Very recently, Frommel has proposed the name of Meo del Caprino (1430-1501) based on some stylistic similarities with the Duomo of Turin (1491-1508), built by Meo under the protectorate of Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, Sixtus IV's nephew.²⁸ The evidence, however, is far from being definitive.

The most likely hypothesis is that more than one architect worked on the complex at the same time. This is confirmed by the inscription under a fresco in the Corsia Sistina, depicting the reconstruction of the hospital by Sixtus IV. The inscription declares that "having called the best architects and a great number of workmen from all over, [Sixtus IV] constructed the hospital itself with much care."²⁹

Above all, however, the hypothesis is supported by the contemporary presence of architectural elements deriving from different regional traditions. The most prominent element of the Corsia Sistina is the curiously Lombardesque *tiburio* dome which rises above the center. As has been mentioned, a similar dome was built in Filarete's hospital begun in 1456, less than two decades before the S. Spirito. Although a Florentine, Filarete erected in Milan a *tiburio* over the crossing which belonged to an entirely local building tradition.³⁰ In Rome, however, it probably indicates the presence of a Lombard architect. The plan scheme of Sixtus' hospital, likely designed as a "T," also points in this direction.

The third wing of the hospital, perpendicular to the Corsia Sistina, and meeting it at the crossing, was not built until 1664, by Alexander VII.³¹ But it must have been already part of the design drafted under Sixtus. The imposing dome would thus have emerged over the crossing of three arms. It would have

28. Frommel, Christoph Liutpold. "Roma," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il Quattrocento*. Fiore, Francesco Paolo ed., Milano: Electa, 1998, p. 395.

29. "Accitis undique optimis architectis conductaque magna fabrorum multitudine hospitale ipsum magno studio aedificat." The inscription and translation (here slightly modified) are published in Howe, cit., p. 363.

30. For the Lombard tradition of *tiborios* over the crossing of churches see Heydenreich, Ludwig. *Architecture in Italy 1400 - 1500*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1996 (first published in 1974), p. 102.

31. Curcio, Giovanna. "L'ampliamento dell'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia nel quadro della politica di Benedetto XIV per la città di Roma," in *Benedetto XIV e le arti del disegno*. Biagi Maino, Donatella, ed., Roma: Quasar, 1998, p. 201, n. 6.

been a much more powerful pivotal element, rather than being architecturally meaningless, rising above the center of a long rectangular building.³²

Cruciform or "T" plan schemes (designed as such from the outset), appeared, in the years immediately following the middle of the fifteenth century only in Lombardy.³³ None were built in Tuscany, or other Central Italian regions. In 1473, the presence of this plan in Rome, the tiburio, and also the beautiful brickwork of the exterior, are all indications of the work of a Lombard architect.

In 1571 the Palazzo del Commendatore, the governor of the S. Spirito Spirito, was built between the church of S. Maria in Sassia and the Corsia Sistina by Nanni di Baccio Bigio.³⁴ No further modifications of the hospital took place until the papacy of Benedict XIV. On 23 May 1742, he approved Ferdinando Fuga's plan for the construction of a new ward, that prolonged Sixtus' towards the east.³⁵ The first stone of the new wing was laid on 16 July 1742, and work was completed towards the end of 1744.³⁶ This new ward was destroyed the following century, when the embankment of the Tiber was built, in 1875. The east facade of Sixtus' ward, destroyed when Benedict's extension was attached to it, was reconstructed in 1927-28, mostly on the basis of the S. Spirito facade painted in the background of the "Sacrifice of the Leper," by Botticelli in the Sistine Chapel.³⁷

The Roman hospitals seem characterized by an awareness of the urban context that is, if not unique to this city, certainly much more evident here. S. Spirito is no exception, and its powerfully expressive architectural elements

³². Heydenreich had already observed that the wing built by Alexander VII must have been part of Sixtus' design, based on the layout of the courtyards. Heydenreich, cit., p. 67.

³³. The only exception I am aware of is the Pammatone in Genoa, built in the 1470s.

³⁴. Colonna, Flavia. "Il Palazzo del Commendatore e il progetto Cirilliano per l'ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia a Roma." *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura di Roma*. 22 (1993) 61-70.

³⁵. Curcio, "L'ampliamento dell'ospedale di Santo Spirito" cit., p. 180.

³⁶. Id., pp. 188, 190.

³⁷. The architect of the twentieth century reconstruction was Luigi Lepri. Cecchelli, Carlo. "I restauri di Santo Spirito in Sassia." *Capitolium* IV (1928) 341-55.

shape the physical environment, creating monumental backdrops or "urban theatres," as they would be called in the seventeenth century.³⁸ This is certainly the case of the splendid loggia that lines almost a third of the street that connected Ponte S. Angelo to St. Peter's. The street was thus straightened in the tract closest to the bridge and, with the opposite side regularized by the facade of the new Della Rovere palace, it was probably also paved.

The loggia turned around the building, with a masterpiece solution at the corner, to adorn also the east facade, topped by a triangular pediment. Behind this facade, oriented towards the bridge, rose the imposing tiburio. Since early Christian times, octagonal domes recalled the eight beatitudes described in the fifth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew's: the poor and humble would inherit the earth, and the merciful would be compensated in the afterlife. The tiburio, even if deriving from an architectural tradition that was entirely foreign to Rome, was thus probably thought most appropriate to a philanthropic institution.

Emerging over an area formed by low blocks of medieval insulae, with St. Peter's little more than a construction site, and long before Michelangelo's cupola was built, the monumental tiburio was an unrivaled landmark. Well visible not only from the bridge, but also across the river in the city proper, it signaled the presence of one of the most superb Renaissance hospitals built in Italy.

The imposing buildings, the loggia and the tiburio formed a monumental complex that must have made an enormous impression on contemporaries -- all the more so because it was a charitable institution, a hospital for the poor. If, to achieve this effect, Sixtus had to resort to an eclectic array of architectural elements that were already obsolete in the regions whence they were imported, he was certainly not one to balk at the thought.

³⁸. For a brief discussion of the term and its meaning, see Krautheimer, Richard. *The Rome of Alexander VII 1655 - 1667*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985, pp. 3-7.

San Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum

The first nucleus of this hospital was founded at the corner between Via Merulana and Via Labicana, next to the church of Pietro e Marcellino, facing the Gate of S. Giovanni. It was assigned to the Antonites, a French order that looked after skin-diseases and arrived in Rome in 1190. In 1216, Giovanni Colonna built next to it some "hospital houses" ("case ospitaliere") and probably at the same time established the confraternity of San Salvatore, to run the small hospice.³⁹

Another Colonna, Cardinal Pietro, had the confraternity officially recognized as the Compagnia dei Raccomandati del San Salvatore in 1288. The following year, the Antonites were ousted from the hospital while the Colonna's "case ospitaliere" expanded to take over the adjoining structure.⁴⁰ The baronial family had thus established a foothold immediately inside Porta S. Giovanni, the gate that connected the southern consular roads to the city. Along these roads the baronial family had their castles and fiefs: Zagarolo, Palestrina, Gennazzano and Colonna. Over these roads, protected by their strongholds, the agricultural production of their estates in the Roman Campania were transported to Rome.

Their hospital, immediately inside Porta S. Giovanni, was the last of a series of strongholds along the route they controlled, and the first within the city walls. But the area in which the hospital was established was of strategic importance also for another reason.

The church of S. Giovanni at the Lateran was the home church of the bishop of Rome, i.e., the pope. And the Colonna hospital was established on the last tract of the Via Papalis, the current Via S. Giovanni in Laterano. This street was the only practicable one that connected the Lateran, seat of the papacy, to the Capitol and the rest of the city. Along this street the *possesso* -- the procession with which the pope symbolically took possession of the seat of the papacy, immediately after his election -- was held. Controlling this route meant not only enabling the movement of the food convoys that entered through

³⁹. Curcio, Giovanna. "L'Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano: funzione urbana di un'istituzione ospedaliera." I. *Storia dell'Arte* 32 (1978) 23-40, p. 25.

⁴⁰. Id., p. 26.

Porta San Giovanni heading for the city center, but also ensuring (or not) the smooth running of the *possesso*, and its attached significance.⁴¹

It is certainly no coincidence that the confraternity of S. Salvatore also built a "branch" of its hospital at the other end of the route. Around 1380, they built the small hospital of S. Giacomo, facing the Colosseum. While the main complex of the S. Salvatore would expand to both sides of the east end of Via S. Giovanni, controlling access to the Lateran, S. Giacomo guarded the end of the street that reached the city center.⁴²

Both the area and the route were of fundamental importance also for the municipal government of Rome that was consolidating, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, its control over the city. The history of this hospital is still to be written, but it seems that the Popolo Romano and the Colonna forged a powerful alliance over the control of the area. Their strategies pivoted around the hospital that garrisoned an area that was central to both the economic concerns of the baronial family, and the political ones of the municipal authority.⁴³ Under this joint patronage the hospital rapidly developed.

In 1331, the confraternity of S. Salvatore was reorganized, and given its first charter. In the following years, it started expanding by acquiring property between the Lateran and the Colosseum.⁴⁴ Probably in the same years, the small Colonna nucleus was extensively rebuilt, on both sides of Via S. Giovanni. On the north side, at the entrance to Piazza del Laterano, a long rectangular hall was built, with the facade on the square. Contrary to what Curcio suggested, this structure was not the casual outcome of the reconstruction of pre-existing buildings.⁴⁵ It was rather modeled on the single

41. Several chroniclers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries refer to attacks to the papal processions. Or that these were postponed because the street was blocked by enemy factions, that thus undermined the newly elected pope's prestige and authority. Pareti, Luigi; Brezzi, Paolo. *Storia di Roma*. Milano: Martello, 1963, pp. 553-59.

42. Curcio, "L'Ospedale," I, cit., p. 28.

43. We must not forget that the Popolo Romano was mainly formed by the middle class of cattle breeders and traders for whom the practicability of supply routes was also vital.

44. Id., p. 27

45. Id., p. 27.

ward hospitals built in Tuscany -- and also on the Roman S. Spirito, if my assumptions on the hospital that Innocent III built are correct.

Around the same years, across from this wing, on the southern side of Via S. Giovanni, a group of medieval buildings with a loggia was built.⁴⁶ Behind the loggia stretched a long ward whose main structures are still standing. Around the middle of the fourteenth century, the hospital of S. Salvatore thus mainly consisted of two long halls, on the opposite sides of Via S. Giovanni.

The two wings were probably separate wards for men and women. By the sixteenth century, and until recently, the wing with the facade on the Lateran square was the women's ward, while male patients were received in the complex across the street. The distinction might have dated back to the very construction of the buildings. And would explain the portico along the southern complex, as it would have been more acceptable for men, rather than women, to sit in its shade on the public street.

The Colonna likely preserved ownership rights over the S. Salvatore and, through some form of collaboration with the Popolo Romano contributed to the enlargement of the hospital. As for the municipal government, they transformed it into one of the most powerful institutions they controlled. Their association culminated in 1386, when they assigned the hospital jurisdiction over the area between the Lateran and the Colosseum.⁴⁷ The confraternity thus acted as an instrument of the municipality, controlling a large part of the city, whose inhabitants it had the right to try, sentence and imprison.

The return of the popes to Rome, intensified the struggle for the dominion over the city's territory. Boniface IX (1389-1404) -- who took over the Abbondanza, and abolished the *Società dei Banderesi*, the militia of the Popolo⁴⁸ -- was however not confident enough to install his court in the Lateran, by then fully garrisoned by S. Salvatore. With the Carolingian palace of the

⁴⁶. Rohault de Fleury reconstructed the plan of this part of the hospital in ca. 1462. The main structures of this long hall are still standing. De Fleury, Rohault. *Le Latran au Moyen-Age*. Paris: Morel, 1877, pp. 301-02. See also Curcio, "L'Ospedale," I, cit., p. 27.

⁴⁷. Id., pp. 27-28.

⁴⁸. See above, "Sixtus IV," n. 29, Chapter Two.

Vatican in disrepair, he sought the hospitality of the confraternity of S. Spirito, who presumably accommodated him in the hospital itself.⁴⁹

During the papacy of Martin V (1417-1431), the S. Salvatore enjoyed its last period of prosperity as a civic institution. A Colonna himself, the pope supported the confraternity whose connection with his family was still strong. It was probably during this period that another long wing of the hospital, the so-called Old Ward was built, along the southern side of Via S. Giovanni, between the buildings with the portico and the square of the Lateran. By 1462, perpendicular to this the last wing, the New Ward, was built, forming the western boundary of the square itself.

The hospital had thus reached its maximum extension, with a long facade on Piazza del Laterano, and wings along both sides of Via S. Giovanni. Its buildings formed a sort of gate that controlled access to the Lateran, and was further marked by the Arco di Basile -- an arch of the Claudian aqueduct transformed into a portal that spanned Via S. Giovanni.⁵⁰

Contrary to what one might expect, the layout of the S. Salvatore built in mid-fifteenth century did not reflect contemporary developments in hospital design. The two long perpendicular wards do not seem to have been designed as part of a courtyard scheme. According to the reconstruction made by Rohault de Fleury in 1887, an altar existed at the east end of the Old Ward. When the perpendicular New Ward was attached to this end, the altar was moved by a few meters, evidently, so as to be visible by the patients of both wards.⁵¹ Rather than a cross plan, or one organized around a courtyard, the S. Salvatore seems to have reverted to a more ancient tradition in hospital design: two long hall forming an "L," with an altar at the crossing.

This cannot be imputed, seven or eight decades after the first courtyards were built in Florentine hospitals, to lack of awareness of the evolution in hospital design. Rather, in S. Salvatore, urban concerns prevailed over the

49. This would not have been a unique occurrence. In Sixtus IV's time, his mother and her retinue resided in the hospital; and to escape his debtors, Francesco Cenci, father of Beatrice author of the famous parricide, sought refuge at S. Giacomo degli Incurabili. De Angelis, Pietro. *L'arcispedale di San Giacomo in Augusta*. Roma: n.p., 1955, p. 18-19.

50. Adinolfi, Pietro. *Laterano e Via Maggiore*. Roma: n.p., 1857, pp. 90-91.

51. Fleury, cit., pp. 301-02.

dominant architectural models in institutional design. The patrons did not want a self-sufficient enclosure that was impermeable to the exterior. Quite the contrary, they made their hospital push forward long wings, similar to outstretched arms seeking to hold as much of the territory they controlled as possible.

This was the maximum expansion the S. Salvatore reached, at the peak of its ascent. By the second half of the fifteenth century -- established by the principal church, and one of the main gates for the products of the Roman Campania -- the hospital dominated the Lateran and controlled its connection to the rest of the city. One of the largest landholders in Rome, it held jurisdiction over a large sector of the city and was loyal to the municipal government. At the same time, it was also backed by the Colonna, probably the most powerful baronial family in Rome.

Considering this, the reasons why the popes, after their definitive return to Rome in 1420, abandoned the Lateran, become evident. Several reasons have been suggested for the transfer of the papal seat to the Vatican in the fifteenth century. The fact that Borgo could be more easily defended, and was closer to one of the main destinations of pilgrims in Christendom, were probably all important factors. One reason, however, might well have been that the ancient seat of the papacy had effectively become a stronghold of the municipality, that controlled it through the S. Salvatore.

Nicholas V, around 1450, planned to fortify the Borgo and established the first nucleus of the papal residence. Sixtus IV made the transfer to the Vatican permanent, even though the Vatican palace was still not fit to house Sixtus' whole family. Like Boniface IX before them, the pope's mother and her retinue lived in S. Spirito in Sassia. The struggle between the papacy and the municipality of Rome was already lost, and the declining period of the confraternity of S. Salvatore had already begun. But for a while longer, they would still hold enough power, both economic and military, to be feared.

With Sixtus IV the harshest phase of the struggle to regain control over the city began. He did not underestimate the legitimizing power of charity. With the medieval hospital of S. Spirito in disrepair, the S. Salvatore, extensively enlarged less than a decade earlier, was the only public hospital in the city.

Sixtus rebuilt the S. Spirito with splendid amplitude, providing a grandiose papal alternative to the municipal hospital. In the city proper, he further founded the Ospedale della Consolazione, by joining three existing small institutions. The third public hospital founded in Rome, this was established at the very foot of the Campidoglio, threateningly close to the headquarters of the municipal government.

Most of Sixtus' urbanistic efforts can also be read as part of a plan to break municipal monopoly over the supply of staple commodities. The main target of the plan was once again the S. Salvatore that, in the control of vital routes played a prominent part. The construction of Ponte Sisto -- which enabled the establishment of a new grain route, and a commercial center around Campo de' Fiori -- also provided an alternative to the southern route from the Roman Campania, controlled by S. Salvatore.

Once inside the Gate of S. Giovanni, the food convoys headed for Via S. Giovanni, guarded by the S. Salvatore, to reach the Colosseum and the Campidoglio. On the square and the slope of the Capitol -- under the surveillance of the municipal authority as was customary in Central Italy -- the city's main market had been held for centuries. Sixtus IV removed the market from municipal control by transferring it to Piazza Navona. And improved the connection of the piazza to the Vatican by restoring Via Coronari and Via del Governo Vecchio -- respectively linking its north and south ends to Ponte S. Angelo.⁵²

Julius II continued his uncle's efforts by straightening Via della Lungara. This connected the Vatican to what was becoming in the same years the main point of arrival of supplies to the city, the port of Ripa Grande. The parallel Via Giulia doubled the connection -- with a slight detour, but under the protection of the city walls. In 1510, with the opening of Via Giulia completed and alternative routes available, Julius II struck a powerful blow to the S. Salvatore. He claimed for his officials the control of Via S. Giovanni and the area around it, depriving the S. Salvatore of the jurisdiction they had held since 1386.⁵³

⁵². See above, "Sixtus IV," Chapter Two.

⁵³. Curcio, I, p. 32.

The successors of the Della Rovere popes continued the attack on the municipal institution. In 1521, Leo X Medici decreed that the square of the Lateran and the buildings on it -- including, therefore, the hospital of S. Salvatore -- were to fall under the jurisdiction of the Chapter of St. John the Lateran.⁵⁴ Gregory XIII (1578-1585) straightened and restored the ancient Via Merulana, which connected S. Maria Maggiore to the Lateran, providing an alternative access route to the Lateran and Porta S. Giovanni. The fortified bottleneck formed by the buildings of the S. Salvatore on Via S. Giovanni thus became obsolete.⁵⁵

Sixtus V dealt the final blow to the confraternity. He completed the restoration of Via Merulana and straightened Via S. Giovanni from the Colosseum to the Lateran. In the process, he demolished most of the small hospital of S. Giacomo al Colosseo, cut across the confraternity's cemetery, and demolished its administrative headquarters, on the north side of Via S. Giovanni. Finally, on Piazza del Laterano, he built his palace and raised an obelisk, staking out and marking with papal insignia newly reconquered territory.

In the years following Sixtus' devastation, all building activity of the confraternity ceased, as it sought to recover and redefine its role. In the very early years of the seventeenth century, the sale of the Arco di Basile, the arch that blocked the entrance to the Lateran from Via S. Giovanni, acquires symbolic significance.⁵⁶ The struggle for power definitively lost, the confraternity dismantled its fortifications, and sold them as a quarry for travertine and construction material. Its political clout lost forever, it sought to strengthen its economic power instead turning to the expansion of its property.

The mentality of the confraternity shifted from one under siege to a more entrepreneurial one, and they started to acquire property in the most commercially viable areas in the city, rather than around their stronghold. What was left of the small hospital of S. Giacomo al Colosseo was transformed into granaries for the cereals arriving from the Roman Campania. The confraternity initiated important works (from 1597 to 1604) for the

⁵⁴. Curcio, I, p. 32

⁵⁵. Id., pp. 33-34.

⁵⁶. Gnoli, Umberto. *Topografia e toponomastica di Roma Medievale e Moderna*. Roma: Staderini, 1939, p. 10.

construction of the tract of the Acqua Felice aqueduct from Porta Maggiore to the Lateran.⁵⁷ The water would facilitate the population of the area, where the confraternity owned extensive property, thus raising land price.

S. Salvatore consolidated its estate, adopting a more efficient system of administration, signaled by the commissioning of the cadaster drafted by Giovanni Paolo Maggi in 1597. Also in view of the 1650 Jubilee they restored their hospital buildings and in the 1640s Giacomo Mola and his collaborators built uniform facades for the Old and New Wards.

But they had lost their vital impetus and stopped expanding. No more representing a threat, they were coopted by the papacy who assigned them celebratory tasks in processions, and religious ceremonies. In 1701, whatever remnants of formal autonomy they had were eliminated, as Clement XI deprived the confraternity of the right to elect its Guardians, now appointed by the pope himself.⁵⁸

57. Curcio, II, p. 105.

58. Curcio, II, p. 126.

San Giacomo degli Incurabili

The first nucleus of the Hospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili was also founded by a Colonna, Cardinal Pietro. Pietro left the funds for the hospital in his will in 1326, but it wasn't until 1339 that the executors were able to establish the hospital, as a stone plaque on its premises testifies.⁵⁹ It was built next to Augustus' mausoleum, and was for this reason designated "in Augusta." The area was already a Colonna enclave. Since 1167 at least, they had taken over the mausoleum and transformed it into one of their two strongholds in the city.⁶⁰

In the same years, the wing of the S. Salvatore with the medieval portico was being built, probably also with the contribution of the Colonna. Like the S. Salvatore, the S. Giacomo was established just inside one of the main gates of the city, Porta Flaminia. The baronial family thus seems to have developed a specific strategy in the construction of hospitals in crucial locations.

Pietro Colonna was the same one who, with his brother Cardinal Jacopo, had sustained a two year war, in 1297 - 1298, against Boniface VIII. The pope was a Caetani, and his family interests were in direct contrast with those of the Colonna. The purpose of the war, started under a pretext, was to gain control of the Colonna castles of Palestrina and Zagarolo, and thus open the road between the Campania and Rome to the Caetani. The Colonna were defeated after a long war, excommunicated, and their mansions largely demolished.⁶¹

In 1312, complaining of the devastation of the Colonna residences, Pietro bitterly commented that when in Rome, they were now forced to ask hospitality of friends.⁶² Only a few years later, the funding of a hospital, rather than a family palace, can hardly be ascribed to piety alone. The establishment of S. Giacomo has been interpreted as the desire of Pietro Colonna to make amends for the war his family had fought against the pope. A perhaps more likely reason is that the establishment of a charitable institution, at a time when they

⁵⁹. De Angelis, *L'arcispedale*, cit., p. 6.

⁶⁰. The other Colonna stronghold was in Montecitorio. Krautheimer, *Profile of a city*, cit., p. 157.

⁶¹. Duprè Theseider, Eugenio. *Roma dal Comune di Popolo alla signoria pontificia (1252-1377)*. *Storia di Roma*. Vol. XI. Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1952, p. 309 ff. The family would not fully recover from the devastation until the rise of Martino V Colonna, in 1417.

⁶². Duprè Theseider, cit., p. 326ff.

were still in disgrace, might have been less conspicuous than a fortified stronghold. Furthermore, the charitable nature of this institution protected it almost better than physical bastions. Even a pope (and him especially) would have incurred in harsh widespread criticism had he dared attack not a patrician mansion or castle, but a hospital for the poor.

The early history of the building is entirely obscure, but the hospital did not develop like the contemporary one on the Lateran, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The area just inside the Porta del Popolo was sparsely built, mostly consisting of vineyards and orchards, and was not urbanized until the sixteenth century -- with the hospital itself playing a major role.

The history of the S. Giacomo as the third largest hospital in Rome starts in 1515, when Leo X Medici refounded it, naming it "S. Giacomo degli Incurabili." With the beginnings of medical science, this hospital was no longer simply an amshouse, but was to accept all those affected by sore-ridden diseases.⁶³

The hospital specialized in the "treatment" of syphilis, which the "Incurabili" in its designation mainly referred to.⁶⁴ This type of hospital was not an isolated instance, in Italy. In 1497, one Gaspare Torrella, a bishop and physician, had written a treatise on syphilis, recommending the foundation of special hospitals for the reclusion of those ill with the disease, especially prostitutes. As usual, the concern for moral ailments was closely connected to that for physical ones. Next to various hospitals for "incurables" erected in Italian cities in the same years, refuges for *convertite*, prostitutes that wished to leave their trade, were built.⁶⁵

⁶³. This excluded, however, lepers and those ill with the plague. De Angelis, *L'arcispedale*, cit., p. 10.

⁶⁴. The treatment of syphilis occurred through the distribution of a decoction of Guajaco wood. This was distributed every two years for a period of a few weeks -- from the second half of May to the first half of July. The patients thus treated were housed in the hospital. The distribution of the decoction was judged too expensive to be continued in 1636. De Angelis, Pietro. *Il Cardinale Antonio Maria Salviati (1536 - 1602) benefattore insigne degli ospedali di San Giacomo in Augusta e di San Rocco delle Partorienti*. Roma: n.p., 1952, p. 6; Id., *L'arcispedale*, cit., p. 33.

⁶⁵. One seems to have existed also at the S. Giacomo, built before the same pope established, in 1520, S. Maria Maddalena delle Convertite on the Corso, not far from this hospital. Paschini, cit., p. 40.

The establishment of the S. Giacomo, however, was also connected to the urbanization of the area. In the bull of foundation, Leo X established that the hospital was to be governed by four Guardians, one of which was Francesco Cybo, the pope's brother in law.⁶⁶ It is probably no coincidence that the Cybo owned extensive property in the area, immediately south of the hospital.⁶⁷ Property that would be urbanized with the opening of streets, and the construction of houses to be rented out, in the years immediately following the reconstruction of the S. Giacomo.⁶⁸

Some form of alliance developed between the papacy, the Cybo and the hospital, that must have led to a vast speculative enterprise. The exact nature of this alliance, however, and its economic terms are not clear yet. What is certain is that, by the seventeenth century, the S. Giacomo owned almost the entire area around the hospital, which it had developed with lower category houses to be rented out.⁶⁹

The architect of the S. Giacomo was Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, who produced several drawings with alternative solutions.⁷⁰ The hospital eventually built consists of two long parallel wings that span the whole block between Via Ripetta and the Corso, with facades on both streets. The wings are joined in the middle by an orthogonal one, forming an "H" shape. Sangallo's design was only built in stages, with numerous modifications to his design.

The building history of this hospital has already been reconstructed.⁷¹ Here, I will emphasize an architectural element that seems characteristic of

66. De Angelis, *L'arcispedale*, cit., p. 11.

67. Bilancia, Fernando; Polito, Salvatore. "Via Ripetta." *Controspazio* 5 (1973) 18 - 47, p. 22.

68. Fregna, Roberto. Polito, Salvatore. "Fonti di archivio per una storia edilizia di Roma. II. Primi dati sull'urbanizzazione nell'area del tridente." *Controspazio* 7 (1972) 2 - 18.

69. Id.

70. The drawings are published in Giovannoni, Gustavo. *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane*. Roma: Tipografia Regionale, 1959. A sketch by Sangallo representing the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan was probably not, as Foster suggested, a later design for this hospital, but rather connected to Sangallo's work at the S. Giacomo. Foster, cit., pp. 11-18.

71. Heinz, Marianne. *San Giacomo in Augusta in Rom und der Hospitalbau der Renaissance*, PhD. diss., Bonn, 1977.

hospital design in Rome: the use of church-like facades to signal the presence of hospital wards.

Construction on the S. Giacomo started in 1518, on the south wing. Its extremity on Via Ripetta consisted of a chapel, S. Maria in Porta Paradisi, that could be accessed both from the hospital ward and the street. The chapel was part of the Sangallo design, and was built between 1523 and 1526.⁷² In 1579, also at the Ripetta end of the northern wing, although no chapel existed behind it, a church-like facade was built.

Church-like facades to close hospital wards, and facing the public street, seem to have been adopted in Rome, after the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1591 - 1596, Flaminio Ponzio built a church-like facade for the S. Giacomo al Colosseo, the "branch" of the S. Salvatore on the Lateran.⁷³ On the hospital at the Lateran itself, two other church-like facades appear on the 1625 map of Rome by Maggi. One was superimposed on the north extremity of the New Ward facade, also on the square. It signaled the presence behind it of the perpendicular Old Ward on Via S. Giovanni. The other is the south facade of the New Ward itself, on Via Amba Aradam.

At the Trinità, no church-like facades were built, but probably for a reason. Such a facade to mark the Old Refectory, the institution's main representational building, would have been side by side with that of their church. Faced with the same problem, Borromini would build an extraordinary facade for the Roman Oratory. The Trinità, on the other hand, for all its wealth never benefited from the enlightened patronage of someone such as Virgilio Spada, who staunchly supported the Lombard master's work at the Oratory. And the facade of its ceremonial hall, on the square they had opened themselves, has remained uncharacteristically bare -- another instance of the architectural indecision that appears more than once in their complex.⁷⁴

⁷². Heinz, cit., p. 63-66. The builder of both S. Maria in Porta Paradisi and the southern wing was Giorgio da Coltre. Giovannoni, cit., p. 239.

⁷³. Curcio, "L'Ospedale" II, cit., p. 133.

⁷⁴. The New Refectory of the Trinità, on the other hand, was extended to reach Via del Conservatorio not only for practical purposes but so it could have a facade on the street.

Architectural elements borrowed from ecclesiastic buildings were perhaps thought the most appropriate expression of the pious nature of the institutions. What is certain, is that hospitals could thus easily be identified as such. Long and narrow buildings, closed by a church-like facade, could be nothing but charitable institutions.

At the S. Salvatore, for instance, a viewer standing in the square in front of the hospital would see on the right end of the New Ward a small superimposed facade, representing the ideal "main" one of the ward on Via S. Giovanni. While the "main," i.e., church-like facade of the New Ward itself covered the short side of the building, on Via Amba Aradam.

The two wards thus appeared as attached head-to-tail. It was perhaps not a brilliant architectural solution, and the long facade on the square, treated as the flank of the building, was sacrificed in favor of the one on Via Amba Aradam. But the purpose and nature of the long rectangular buildings on the square could have hardly been more clearly emphasized.⁷⁵

The Roman characteristics in hospital design were developed in response to a greater awareness of the urban environment. The cruciform schemes of the hospitals built in Northern Italy, although copied all over Europe, could not work in Rome. These plans, or those organized around a courtyard, produced buildings that were impermeable to the outer world. In Rome, the urban function of hospitals prevailed over every other consideration. Rather than clustered around a courtyard, the Roman hospitals cut through the urban fabric with long wards, in some cases closed by what seemed the facade of a church. Rather than turning inwards like monastic enclosures, they confronted the city with regular, massive, plainly ornamented facades.

The only attempt to build according to a cruciform plan, made at the Trinità, was destined to a rapid failure. While at the S. Spirito, it was perhaps not only due to the usual scarcity of funds that the entire Corsia Sistina, with the

⁷⁵. In the 1640s, when Giacomo Mola and his collaborators built new facades for the Old and New Wards, they eliminated the ecclesiastic elements of the small facades, but preserved their emphasis. On Via Amba Aradam Giovanni Battista Mola built the elaborate, vaguely Borrominesque facade. The long facade on the square, now transformed in the main one, was marked by two small superimposed facades at both ends -- one replaced the church-like one, the other was added for the sake of symmetry.

monumental loggia and dome were finished to ornamental details under Sixtus IV. They provided for Borgo S. Spirito a splendid backdrop that was precisely such -- like that of a movie set, it concealed nothing behind it. The perpendicular arm built towards the river that would have architecturally "justified" the dome was not even begun. Practically invisible, and appreciable only in plan it would not be built until much later.

Conclusion

This study set out to examine the architectural and institutional history of one of the public hospitals that operated in post-tridentine Rome, the S. Trinità dei Pellegrini. I proposed to understand the patterns of development of the Trinità and similar charitable institutions. To analyze how they shaped the neighborhoods in which they expanded, and to verify their role in the formation of the city.

The central chapters of the dissertation reconstructed the phases in which the Trinità was built. Documentary evidence on the activity of the architects that worked at this hospital was analyzed, and new attributions proposed. In Chapter Four, I analyzed the shaping of the neighborhood in which the Trinità had settled. The study revealed a perhaps unique instance of collaboration among three charitable institutions -- the Trinità, the Monte di Pietà, the Hospice of Beggars -- and the Barberini, in the development of their neighborhood.

The analysis of the transformation of the area immediately to the east of Ponte Sisto emphasized the previously ignored contribution of charitable institutions to urban plans. The Trinità and neighboring institutions were part of an urban system that included a bridge, the main supply route of the city, and an urban barrier. This separated the poorer quarters of the city from those where wealthy families were building their palaces -- marking the beginning of the process of subdivision of the city in "rich" and "poor" neighborhoods.

The other main issue I proposed to explore from the outset was the nature of the relationship that connected the Trinità to the papacy. Predominantly in the first chapter, I analyzed the political role played by this and similar hospitals. I showed how the elaborate displays of religious zeal of charitable institutions were not only necessary to attract donations, but also served the purpose to demonstrate the Church's moral and charitable concerns. In the period of the Counter-Reformation, hospitals were actively involved in the struggle to restore Rome's political clout in Europe, heavily undermined by the spread of Protestantism.

Also in the first chapter, the analysis of the economic life of hospitals proved fruitful for several reasons. The enormous efforts expended by the

Trinità in the construction of its public image were shown to be connected to the hospital's main source of income -- donations. Documentary evidence shows that 40% of the Trinità's income derived from donations, largely in the form of small anonymous ones deposited in alms boxes. The institution obtained another 20% from the urban property they owned but, in turn, over 90% of this had been donated to the confraternity.

Surprisingly, however, the Trinità did not seem to rely on large donations made by member of the Roman patriciate. Neither in the surviving Old Refectory, nor anywhere else in the complex, do plaques or busts, erected in gratitude for important contributions by patrician benefactors, seem to have existed. In a period when the displays of charity by wealthy families became important statements for the consolidation of social status, the unexpected finding highlights the Trinità's independence.

Concerning the means adopted for the construction of their public image, the Trinità and the other hospitals did not adopt elaborate architectural ornamentation. Visibility was enhanced by more choreographic means than architectural decoration. Processions, sacred dramas, musical performances, and religious rituals were all variously employed by the hospitals to emphasize their distinctness.

Charitable institutions preferred unadorned rather than elaborately decorated facades, as better expressing the moral values they upheld. The status and prestige of hospitals was expressed by sober monumentality rather than rich ornamentation. Within the interior of hospital buildings, however, greater leeway was granted to the use of decoration. Marble busts or plaques glorified benefactors in the more public areas of hospital buildings. Ornamented ceilings, chapels or altars within the wards, and sculpted door frames marked the representational areas. Like private palaces, hospitals needed spaces in which visiting dignitaries could be received with appropriate decorum. New spaces were devised that could meet both the functional needs of a hospital, and the representational ones of a prestigious institution.

The image of the Trinità that emerged is that of a wealthy independent institution that relied neither on the papacy, nor on any of the baronial families for its survival. Accumulating an enormous wealth, it was a precious

ally of the papacy. The large complex it built served an important urban function, and its particular activity -- the housing of pilgrims -- made it an effective platform for the ideas of the Church of Rome.

In the course of the dissertation it became clear, however, that the role played by the Trinità in the political life and the physical development of the city was not entirely new. The active involvement of hospitals in the civic administration of Rome, if with different characteristics connected to the specific historical context, could be traced back to at least the thirteenth century.

The scope of the investigation had to be broadened to include the earlier hospitals, and raised new questions, discussed in the last chapter. Three main phases can be identified in the development of hospitals, marked by distinctive institutional and architectural attributes.

During the first, medieval phase, hospitals emerged as independent buildings, built for the first time within the urban enceinte. They were formed by one or more long halls, intersecting in combinations that would lead to the cruciform plans of the fifteenth century hospitals. In Rome, S. Salvatore al Laterano represented an extraordinary example of the relationship between the urban development of a hospital and the political role it played.

Around the fifteenth century the second phase began, when several large public hospitals were built in Central and Northern Italian cities. Their patrons were no longer bishops, representatives of the religious authority, or of municipal governments, but absolute rulers. Rome, where the S. Spirito in Sassia was built around 1470s by the central religious authority, is only apparently an exception. The pope was also the ruler of Rome and the papal states. Like contemporary princes, he strove to establish the institutional foundations of a centrally governed state.

The wave of hospitals built in the central decades of the fifteenth century in Lombardy (plus the Pammatone hospital built in Genoa), and S. Spirito in Rome represented a shift in attitude towards welfare and poor relief. These became the responsibility of the State, rather than of religious establishments or individual initiatives. The new hospitals were the main components of a system of public welfare now managed by the State. Their

cruciform plans reflected the ideas on the need for centralization of the civic system of administration.

A century later, the hospices for beggars and prostitutes, also established by the central authority, represent a further development in the process of formation of the institutions of a modern state. The hospices founded in the second half of the sixteenth century were now of a more reclusive nature. Rather than for the "deserving poor" they were built for the confinement of vagabonds, beggars, and prostitutes. Out of these institutions, rather than modern hospitals, evolved prisons.

In all three phases, hospitals played a previously ignored but fundamental role in state formation. The early hospitals, at least in Rome, grouped a number of functions that would gradually separate into distinct institutions. They were shelters for the poor, contained structures for the reclusion of prisoners, and administered justice. From the hospices established in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, evolved some of the main institutions of a modern state -- hospitals, prisons and, if less directly, courts of justice.

In Rome, only S. Salvatore al Laterano seems to have had jurisdiction over a sector of the city, but it may not have been an isolated instance in other Italian cities. To administer justice, S. Salvatore must have been equipped with a prison house. Similar structures probably existed in several other hospitals. As has been previously mentioned, a part of the complex referred to as "prigione" also existed at the Trinità. This hospital, however, never held jurisdiction over an area of the city. Its prison must thus have been intended for possible offenders in the hospital community itself; or perhaps for debtors, for instance, defaulting on payments to the confraternity.

S. Spirito in Sassia held jurisdiction over the fiefs it owned in the country, and there might have been a small prison on its premises as well. Further research on the hospitals of other Italian cities may reveal how common it was for them to administer justice, and be equipped with reclusive structures.

More in general, future research would have to investigate the role that hospitals played in the formation of the state along two main directions. The first concerns the analysis of the development of the other types of institution,

established in the same period, as part of the construction of a centralized administrative structure. These were the prisons built by the state, rather than managed by various organizations, and the courts of justice.

In the case of Rome, this would include the Carceri Innocenziane in Via Giulia, only briefly mentioned in the second chapter, in conjunction with the dismantling of the Corte Savella, the prison owned by the Savelli. Another institution mentioned only as the epilogue of the process of establishment of charitable institutions, is the S. Michele a Ripa. Although defined "Ospizio," it is considered the first modern prison in Europe and is symbolic of the thin dividing line that existed between the two types of institutions. Including prisons in a study on hospitals will entail understanding the patterns of development whereby they differentiated from institutions that grouped religious, charitable, and reclusive functions.

The second direction of future research concerns the role of architecture and urban planning in the political administration of the city. In particular, the ability of the Della Rovere popes to consolidate their power through these means, discussed in the second chapter, deserves further investigation. The projects of Sixtus IV and Julius II can be read as part of vast urban plans. Examining the political significance of architectural projects as integral parts of these plans allows us to understand the meaning of phenomena that is otherwise difficult to capture.

Bibliography

The following are the texts most frequently cited in the dissertation. More specific bibliographic references are in the footnotes.

- Albini, Giuliana. *Città e ospedali della Lombardia medievale*. Bologna: Clueb, 1993.
- Alessandro Canezza, *Gli arcispedali di Roma nella vita cittadina nella storia e nell'arte*. Roma, n. p., 1933.
- Anonymous. *Statuti della Ven. Archiconfraternita della Santissima Trinità de' Pellegrini, e Convalescenti di Roma accresciuti e riformati*. Roma: Crispino Puccinelli, 1821.
- Armellini, Mariano; Cecchelli, Carlo. *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*. Roma: Edizioni R.O.R.E., 1942.
- Barry, Fabio: "Roman Apartheid? The Counter - Reformation Ghettos," *Daidalos* 59 (March 1996) 18-31.
- Bauer, Clemente. "Studi per la storia delle finanze papali durante il pontificato di Sisto IV." *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria* 50 (1927) 319-47.
- Benocci, Carla. "Il complesso assistenziale della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini: ricerche sullo sviluppo architettonico in relazione ad alcuni anni santi" in *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche*. Fagiolo, Marcello and Madonna, Maria Luisa eds. Roma: Gangemi, 1985.
- "Progetti e lavori seicenteschi per la chiesa della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in Roma." *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 26 (1985) 106-12.
- Bilancia, Fernando; Polito, Salvatore. "Via Ripetta." *Controspazio* 5 (1973) 18 - 47.
- Borzacchini, Marco. "Il patrimonio della Trinità dei Pellegrini alla fine del Cinquecento." *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984) 237-60.
- Braunfels, Wolfgang. *Monasteries of Western Europe. The Architecture of the Orders*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.
- Brezzi, Paolo. "Holy Years in the Economic Life of the City of Rome." *The Journal of European Economic History* 4 (Winter 1975) 673-90.
- Brian Pullan. *Rich and poor in Renaissance Venice. The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971
- Cecchelli, Carlo. "I restauri di Santo Spirito in Sassia." *Capitolium* IV (1928) 341-55.
- Ceen, Allan. *The quartiere de' Banchi; Urban Planning in Rome in the First Half of the Cinquecento*. PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977.
- Cherubini, Paolo. "Il controllo dei luoghi" in *Un pontificato ed una città. Sisto IV (1471-1484)*. Miglio, Massimo et al., eds., Roma: Associazione Roma nel Rinascimento, 1986.
- Cistellini, Antonio. *San Filippo Neri. L'Oratorio e la congregazione oratoriana. Storia e spiritualità*. Vols. I-III. Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989.
- Cohen, Sherrill. *The Evolution of Wome's Asylums since 1500. From Refuges for Ex-Prostitutes to Shelters for Battered Women*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Colonna, Flavia. "Il Palazzo del Commendatore e il progetto Cirilliano per l'ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia a Roma." *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura di Roma*. 22 (1993) 61-70.

- Connors, Joseph. "Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism." *Romische Jahrbuch fur Kunstgeschichte* (1989).
- "Borromini and Roman Urbanism." *AA Files* 1, 2 (1982) 11-21.
- Cristallini, Claudio; Noccioli, Marco. *I "Libri delle Case" di Roma. Il Catasto del Collegio Inglese (1630)*. Roma: Kappa, 1987.
- Curcio, Giovanna. "L'Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano: funzione urbana di un'istituzione ospedaliera." Parts I and II are respectively in *Storia dell'Arte* 32 (1978) 23-40 and *Storia dell'arte* 11 (1979) 103-30.
- "Giacomo e Giovanni Battista Mola: due diversi modi di essere architetti a Roma nella prima metà del XVII secolo" in *Pier Francesco Mola 1612-1666*. Kahn-Rossi, Manuela ed., Milano: Electa, 1989.
- "L'ampliamento dell'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia nel quadro della politica di Benedetto XIV per la città di Roma," in *Benedetto XIV e le arti del disegno*. Biagi Maino, Donatella, ed., Roma: Quasar, 1998.
- "Le ambizioni di un ticinese: Giovanni Battista Mola da Coldrerio," in *Il giovane Borromini. Dagli esordi a San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane*. Kahn-Rossi, Manuela and Francioli, Marco eds.; Milano: Skira, 1999.
- D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Roma nel Seicento. "Roma ornata dall'architettura, pittura e Scultura" di Fioravante Martinelli*. Firenze: Vallecchi, 1969.
- *Il Tevere e Roma*. Roma: U. Bozzi, 1970.
- *Il Tevere*. Roma: Romana Società Editrice, 1980.
- Da Alatri, Benedetto. *Gli ospedali di Roma e le bolle pontificie. Aspetti giuridici*. Viterbo: Fratelli Quatrini, 1950,
- De Angelis, Pietro. *L'arciconfraternita ospitaliera di Santo Spirito in Sassia*. Roma: n.p., 1950.
- *L'arcispedale di San Giacomo in Augusta*. Roma: n.p., 1955.
- *L'architetto e gli affreschi di Santo Spirito in Saxia*. Roma: n.p., 1961.
- Delumeau, Jean. *Vie Economique et Sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XI siècle*. Vols. I, II. Paris: Bocard, 1959.
- Duprè Theseider, Eugenio. *Roma dal Comune di Popolo alla signoria pontificia (1252-1377)*. *Storia di Roma*. Vol. XI. Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1952.
- Esch, Arnold. "Le importazioni nella Roma del primo Rinascimento. Il loro volume secondo i registri dogananli romani degli anni 1452-1462" in *Aspetti della vita economica e culturale a Roma nel 400. Fonti e studi del Corpus Membranarum Italicarum*. Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1981.
- Fanucci, Camillo. *Trattato di tutte l'opere pie dell'alma città di Roma*. Roma, 1601.
- Fiorani, Luigi, ed., "Repertorio degli archivi delle confraternite romane." *Ricerche religiose per la storia di Roma* 6 (1985) 175-430.
- Fontana, Domenico. *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco Vaticano et delle fabbriche di Nostro Signore papa Sisto V*. Roma, 1590 (1603-04).
- Fortini, Egidio. *Descrizione della Venerabile Chiesa dedicata alla SS.ma Trinità appartenente alla Arciconfraternità de' Pellegrini e Convalescenti di Roma fatta in occasione del nuovo restauro nel 1853*. Roma: Tipografia Belle Arti, 1853.
- Foster, Philip. "Per il disegno dell'Ospedale di Milano." *Arte Lombarda* 38/39 (1973) 1-22.
- Franchini, Lucio ed., *Ospedali Lombardi del Quattrocento. Fondazione, trasformazioni, restauri*. Como: New Press, 1995.
- Fregna, Roberto. "Edilizia a Roma tra XVI e XVII secolo." *Controspazio* 5 (Nov. 1973) 48-61.

- Fregna, Roberto. *La pietrificazione del denaro. Studi sulla proprietà urbana a Roma tra XVI e XVII secolo*. Bologna: Clueb, 1990.
- Frommel, Christoph Liutpold. "Roma," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il Quattrocento*. Fiore, Francesco Paolo ed., Milano: Electa, 1998.
- Gustavo. *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane*. Roma: Tipografia Regionale, 1959.
- Heinz, Marianne. *San Giacomo in Augusta in Rom und der Hospitalbau der Renaissance*, PhD. diss., Bonn, 1977.
- Heydenreich, Ludwig. *Architecture in Italy 1400 - 1500*.
- Hibbard, Howard. *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture 1580-1630*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1971.
- Howe, Eunice. *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV*. New York: Garland, 1978.
- Huelsen, Christian. *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo*. Firenze: Olschki, 1927.
- Infessura, Stefano. *Diario della città di Roma*. Tommasini, Oreste, ed., Roma: Forzani, 1890.
- Insolera, Italo. *La città nella storia d'Italia*. Roma. Bari: Laterza, 1980.
- Karl Noehles. *Breve racconto delle migliori opere d'architettura, scultura et pittura fatte in Roma et alcuni fuor di Roma descritto da Giov. Battista Mola l'anno 1663*. Berlin: Hessling, 1966.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Rome. Profile of a City, 312 - 1308*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Lee, Egmont. "Gli abitanti del rione Ponte" in *Roma Capitale (1447-1527)*. Gensini, Sergio ed. Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, 1994.
- Lemoine, Annick. "Le vicende costruttive della chiesa della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini a Roma dal 1572 al 1690." *Bollettino d'Arte* 86/87 (1994) 111-32.
- Lombardo, Maria Luisa. *Camera Urbis Dohane Ripa et Ripecte. Liber Introitus 1428*. Roma: Istituto Studi Romani, 1978.
- Manfredi, Tommaso. "La presenza di architetti e maestranze ticinesi nel sistema dell'edilizia pubblica a Roma da Sisto V a Urbano VIII" in *Il giovane Borromini. Dagli esordi a San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane*. Kahn-Rossi, Manuela and Francioli, Marco eds.; Milano: Skira, 1999.
- Maroni Lumbroso, Matizia; Martini, Antonio. *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese*. Roma: Marco Besso, 1963.
- Miglio, Massimo. "Il Leone e la lupa. Dal simbolo al pasticcio alla francese." *Studi Romani*, 30, (1982) 177-86.
- "L'immagine dell'onore antico. Individualità e tradizione della Roma municipale." *Studi Romani*, 31 (1983) 252-64.
- "Sisto IV e Giulio II: Pontefici della Rovere. Il tema della Roma moderna." *Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di Storia Patria*. N.S. 25-26 (1989-90) 9-18.
- Milano, Attilio. *Il Ghetto di Roma*. Roma: Staderini, 1964.
- Milano, Attilio. *Storia degli Ebrei in Italia*. Torino: Einaudi, 1963.
- Morichini, Carlo Luigi. *Degli istituti di carità per la sussistenza e l'educazione dei poveri e dei prigionieri in Roma*. Roma: Stabilimento Tip. Camerale, 1870.
- Müntz, Eugène. *Les arts à la cour des papes*. Vols. I-III. Paris: Thorin, 1878.
- O'Regan, Noel. *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome. Music at the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550 - 1650*. London: Royal Musical Association, 1995.
- Ospedali e città: L'Italia del Centro-Nord, XIII-XVI* (1995/97) Firenze: Le Lettere, 1997.

- Paglia, Vincenzo. *"La Pietà dei Carcerati." Confraternite e società a Roma nei secoli XVI-XVII.* Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980.
- Palermo, Luciano. *Il Porto di Roma nel XIV e XV secolo. Strutture socio-economiche e statuti.* Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1979.
- *Mercati del grano a Roma tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Il mercato distrettuale del grano in età comunale.* Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1990.
- Pastor, Ludwig von. *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medio Evo.* Roma: Desclée, 1950.
- Piazza, Carlo Bartolomeo. *Eusevologio Romano: ovvero, delle opere pie di Roma.* Roma, 1698.
- Ponnelle, Luigi. Bordet, Luigi. *San Filippo Neri e la società romana del suo tempo (1515-1595).* Firenze: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1986 (first edition, 1931).
- Ponti, Ermanno. *Il Banco di Santo Spirito e la sua funzione economica in Roma papale (1605-1870).* Roma: Officina Polig. Laziale, 1951.
- Pullan, Brian. "Poveri, mendicanti e vagabondi (secoli XIV - XVII)" in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 1. Dal feudalesimo al capitalismo.* Torino: Einaudi, 1978.
- "The roles of the State and the Town in the General Crisis of the 1590s" in *The European Crisis of the 1590s: Essays in Comparative History.* Peter Clark, ed., London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985.
- Romani, Mario. *Pellegrini e viaggiatori nell'economia di Roma dal XIV al XVII secolo.* Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1948.
- Salerno, Luigi; Spezzaferro, Luigi; Tafuri, Manfredo. *Via Giulia. Un'utopia urbanistica nel 500.* Roma: Staderini, 1973.
- Serra, Armando. "Funzioni e finanze delle confraternite romane tra il 1624 e il 1797." *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984) 261-92.
- Simoncelli, Paolo. "Origini e primi anni di vita dell'ospedale romano dei poveri mendicanti." *Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea* XXV-XXVI (1973-1974) 121-72.
- Sisto IV e Giulio II mecenati e promotori di cultura.* Bottaro, Silvia; Dagnino, Anna and Rotondi Terminiello, Giovanna eds., *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Savona 1985.* Savona: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici della Liguria, 1990.
- Spezzaferro, Luigi. "Place Farnèse: urbanisme et politique" in *Le Palais Farnèse,* I, 1, Roma: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981.
- Stow, Kenneth R., *Taxation, Community and State. The Jews and the Fiscal Foundations of the Early Modern Papal State.* *Päpste und Papsttum. Band 19.* Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982.
- Tamiglia, Donato. *Il sacro Monte di Pietà di Roma.* Roma: Forzani, 1900.
- The English Hospice in Rome.* Exeter: Catholic Records Press, 1962.
- Tomei, Piero. *L'architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento.* Roma: Fratelli Palombi, 1942.
- Tomei, Piero. "Le strade di Roma e l'opera di Sisto IV." *L'Urbe* II, 2 (1937) 12-20.
- Tosi, Mario. *Cassa di Risparmio di Roma. Il Sacro Monte di Pietà di Roma.* Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1937.
- Valeriani, Enrico, ed., *San Paolino alla Regola. Piano di recupero e restauro.* Roma: Edizioni Kappa, 1987.
- Valtieri, Simonetta. "La zona di Campo de' Fiori prima e dopo gli interventi di Sisto IV." *L'Architettura Cronache e Storia* 30/2, n. 8-9 (1984) 648-60.
- Vaquero Piñeiro, Manuel. *La renta y las casas. El patrimonio inmobiliario de Santiago de los Españoles de Roma entre los siglos XV y XVII.* Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1999.

- Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*. Milanese, Gaetano ed., vol. II. Firenze: Sansoni, 1878
- Vasco Rocca, Sandra. *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini. Le chiese di Roma illustrate* n. 133. Roma: Istituto Studi Romani, 1979.
- "Alcune note sulla chiesa della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in Roma." *Storia dell'Arte* 38/40 (1980) 285-89.
- Waddy, Patricia. *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces. Use and the Art of the Plan*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990.
- Wilde, Deborah Nelson. *Housing and Urban development in Sixteenth-Century Rome: The Properties of the Arciconfraternita della SS.ma Annunziata*. Vols. I-III. PhD. diss., John Hopkins, 1989.
- Wollesen-Wisch, Barbara Leslie. *The Archiconfraternita del Gonfalone and Its Oratory in Rome: Art and Counter-Reformation Spiritual Values*. PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1985.
- Zemon Davis, Natalie. "Poor relief, Humanism, and Heresy" in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Manuscripts

- Anonymous. *Breve Ragguaglio come cominciassse la la S.ta opra di albergare li pellegrini et convalescenti nel S.to Hospedale o Casa della venerabiliss.a Archiconfraternita della S.ma Trinità di pellegrini e convalescenti de Roma*, BAV, Vat. Lat. 5513.
- Anonymous. *Diario delle cose occorse l'anno santo 1650*. ASR, Trinità, b. 372.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. The English Hospice on Via di Monserrato.

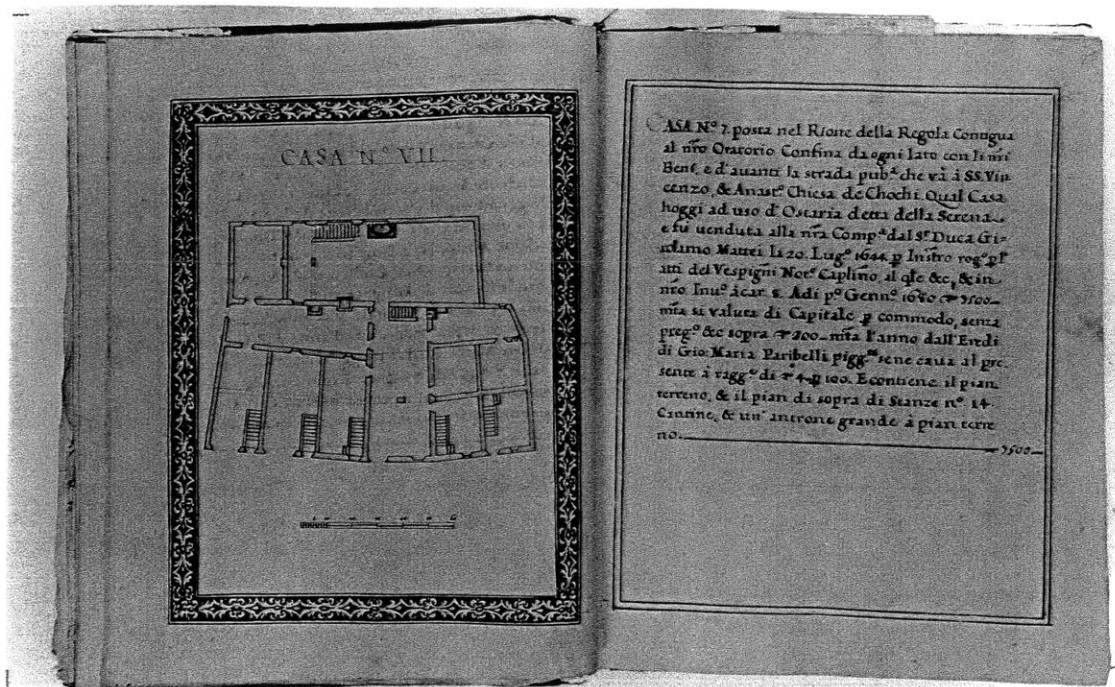
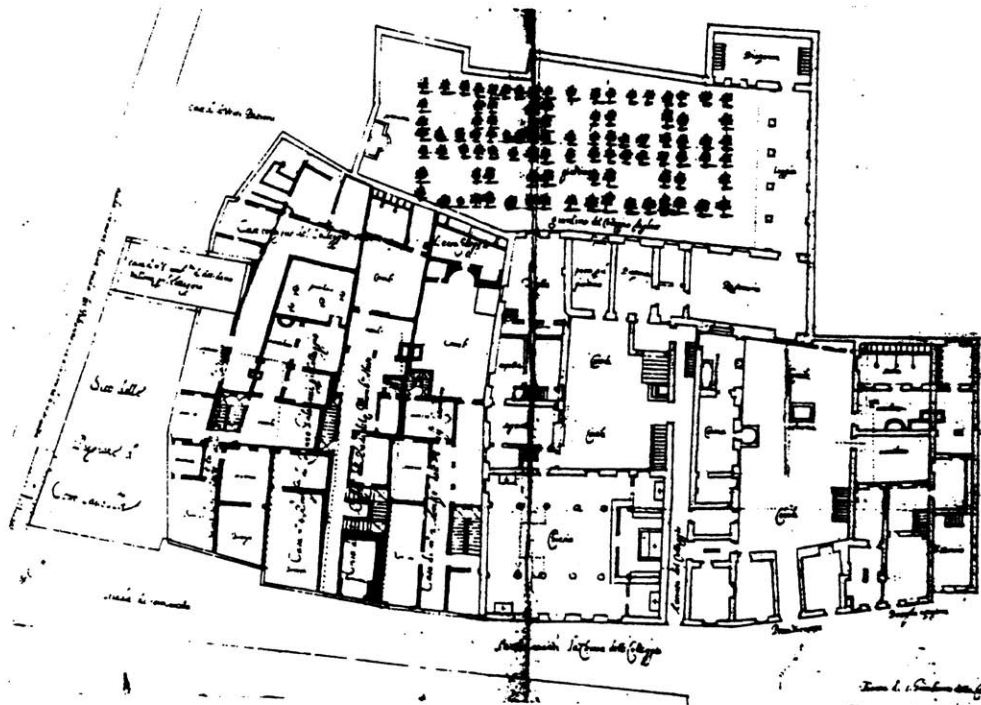


Fig. 2. ASR, S. Trinità dei Pellegrini, b. 460, Libro delle Case of 1680.

Fig. 3. Plan of the English Hospice in the Libro di Case of 1630 (Cristallini - Noccioli, I "Libri delle Case di Roma, p. 9.).



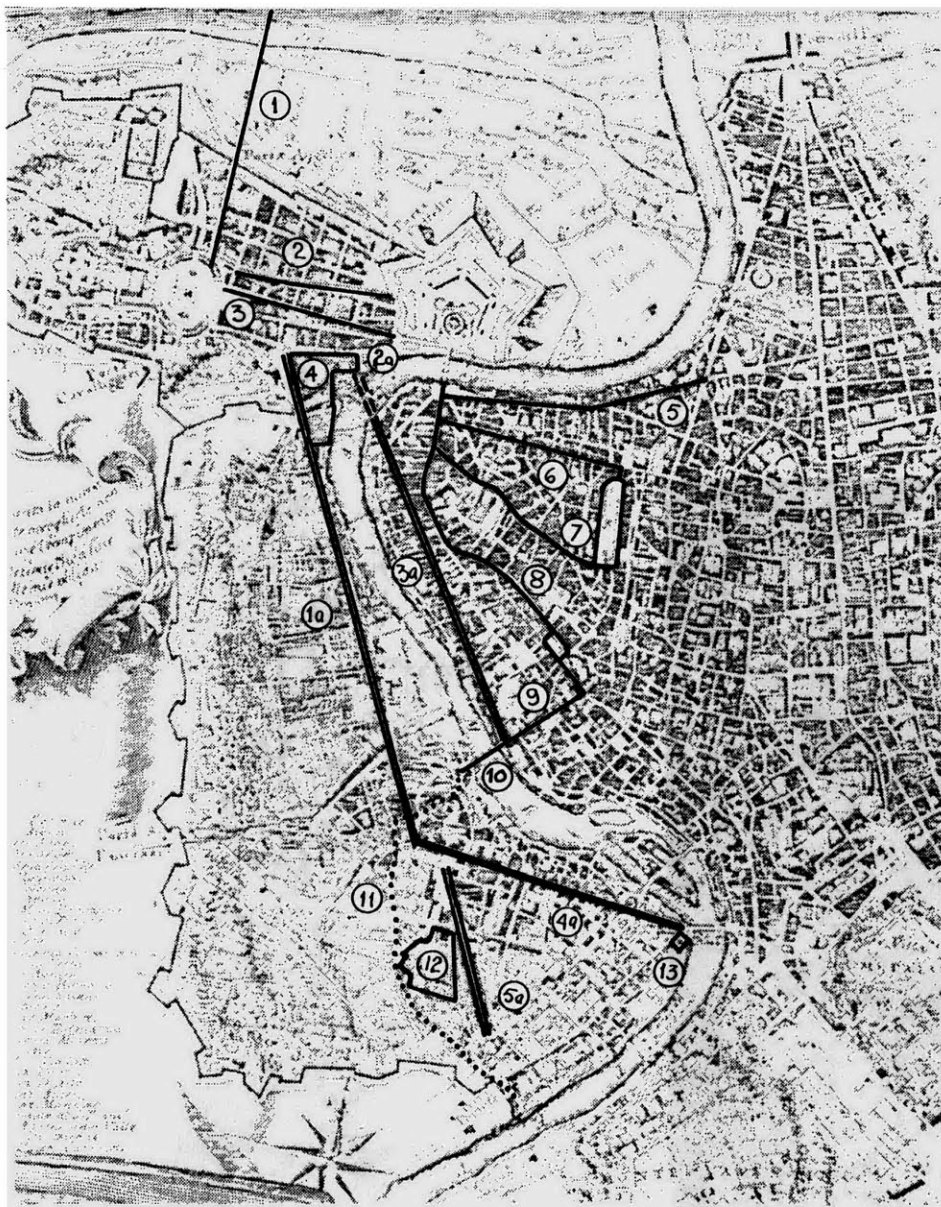


Fig. 4. The projects of the Della Rovere popes

Sixtus IV ———

1. Via di Porta Angelica
2. Via Borgo S. Angelo
3. Via Borgo Vecchio
4. Hospital of S. Spirito
5. Via Tor di Nona
6. Via Recta/Coronari
7. Via Papalis
8. Via del Pellegrino
9. Via dei Pettinari
10. Ponte Sisto
11. Rua Judeorum (?)
12. S. Cosimato
13. S. Salvatore ad Pede Pontis

Julius II ———

- 1a. Via Lungara
- 2a. Ponte Triumphalis
- 3a. Via Giulia
- 4a. Via Lungaretta
- 5a. Via S. Francesco a Ripa (Paul V)

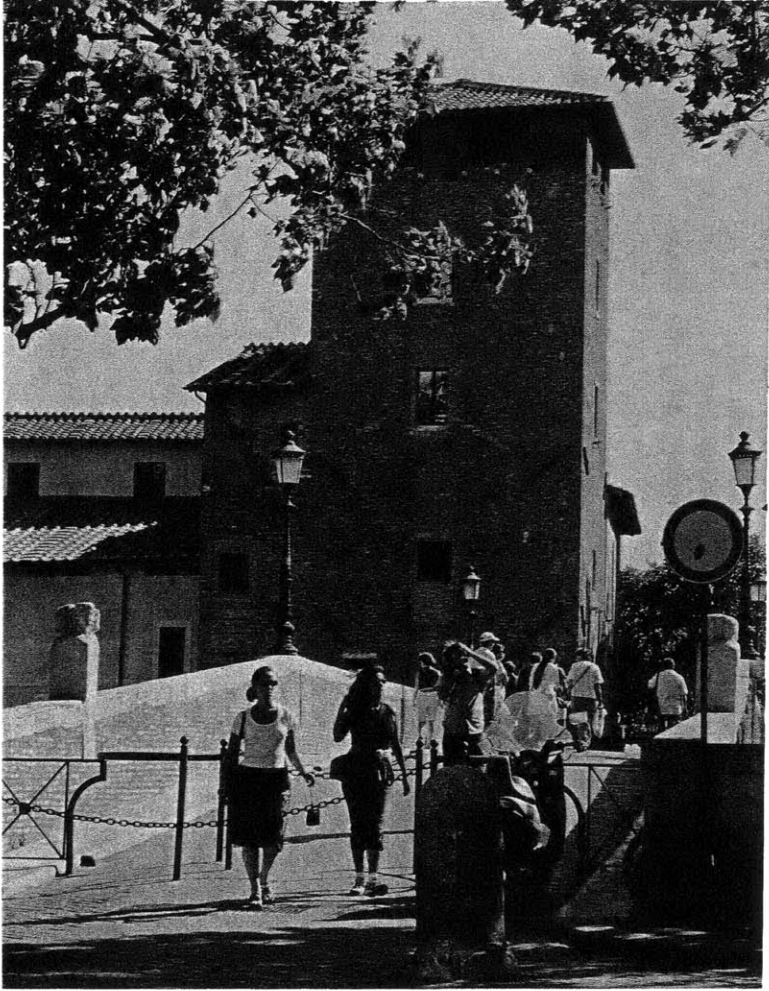


Fig. 5. The tower guarding
Ponte Fabricio

Fig. 6. Anonymous, 16th
century. The Tiber Island
and its fortified bridges
(Egger, *Roemischen
Veduten*, I, pl. 62).



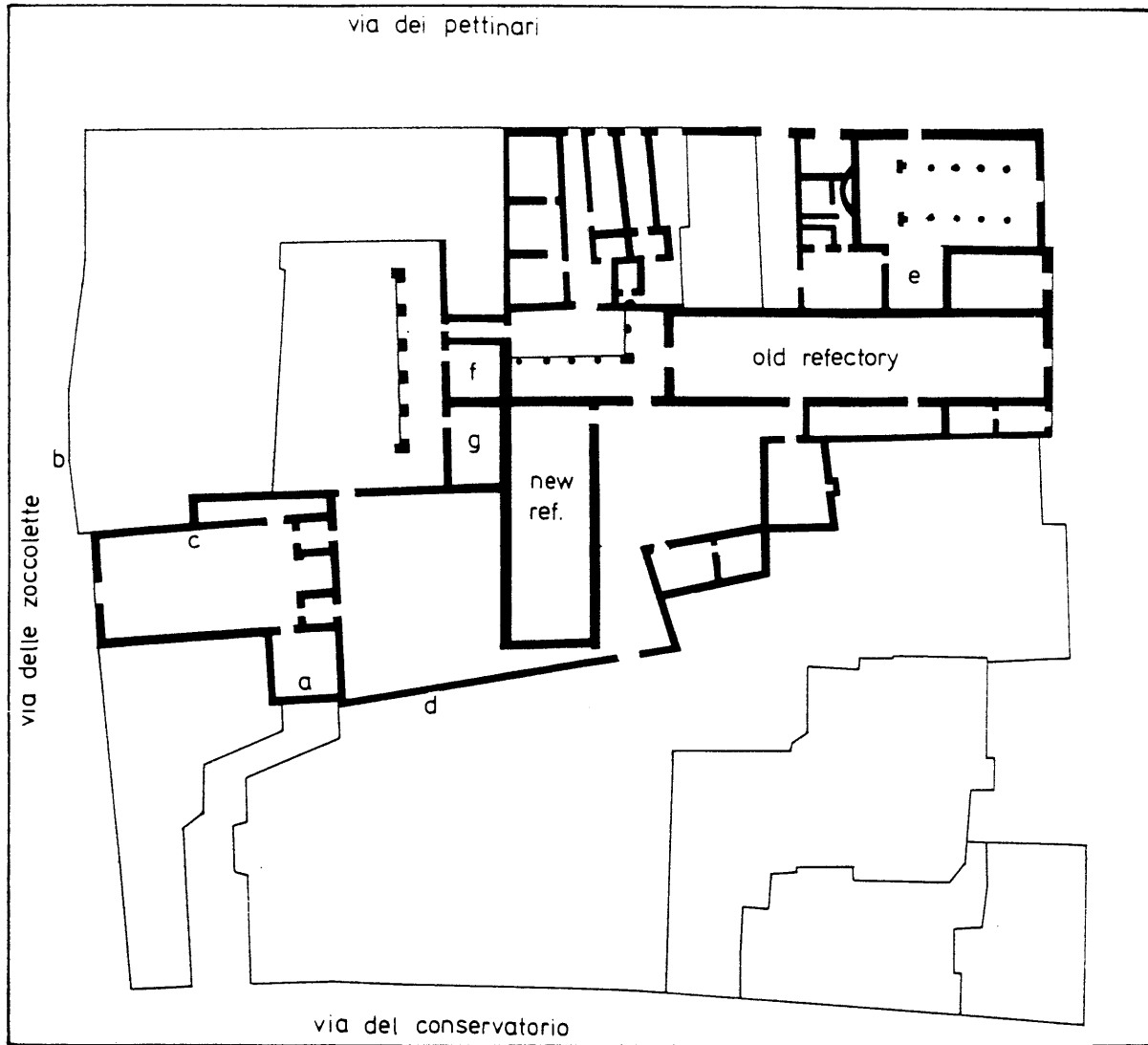


Fig. 7. Redrawing of the Trinità survey by G.P. Maggi, in the Libro di Case of 1597.

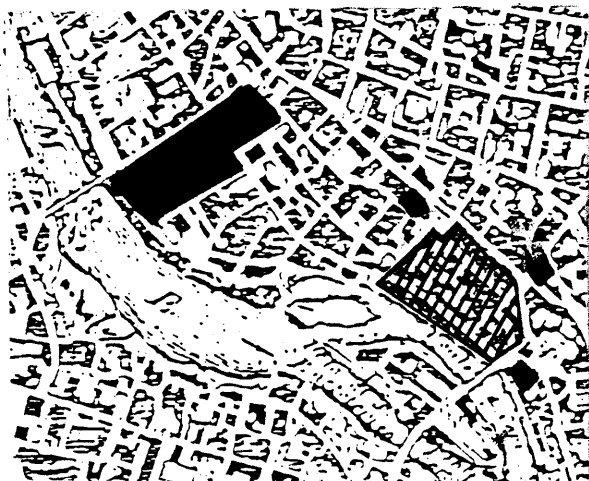


Fig. 8. Nolli map, 1748, detail. The Ghetto

Mendicanti/Trinità/Monte and the churches around the Ghetto. Clockwise: S. Maria del Pianto, S. Angelo in Pescheria, S. Gregorio ai Quattro Capi

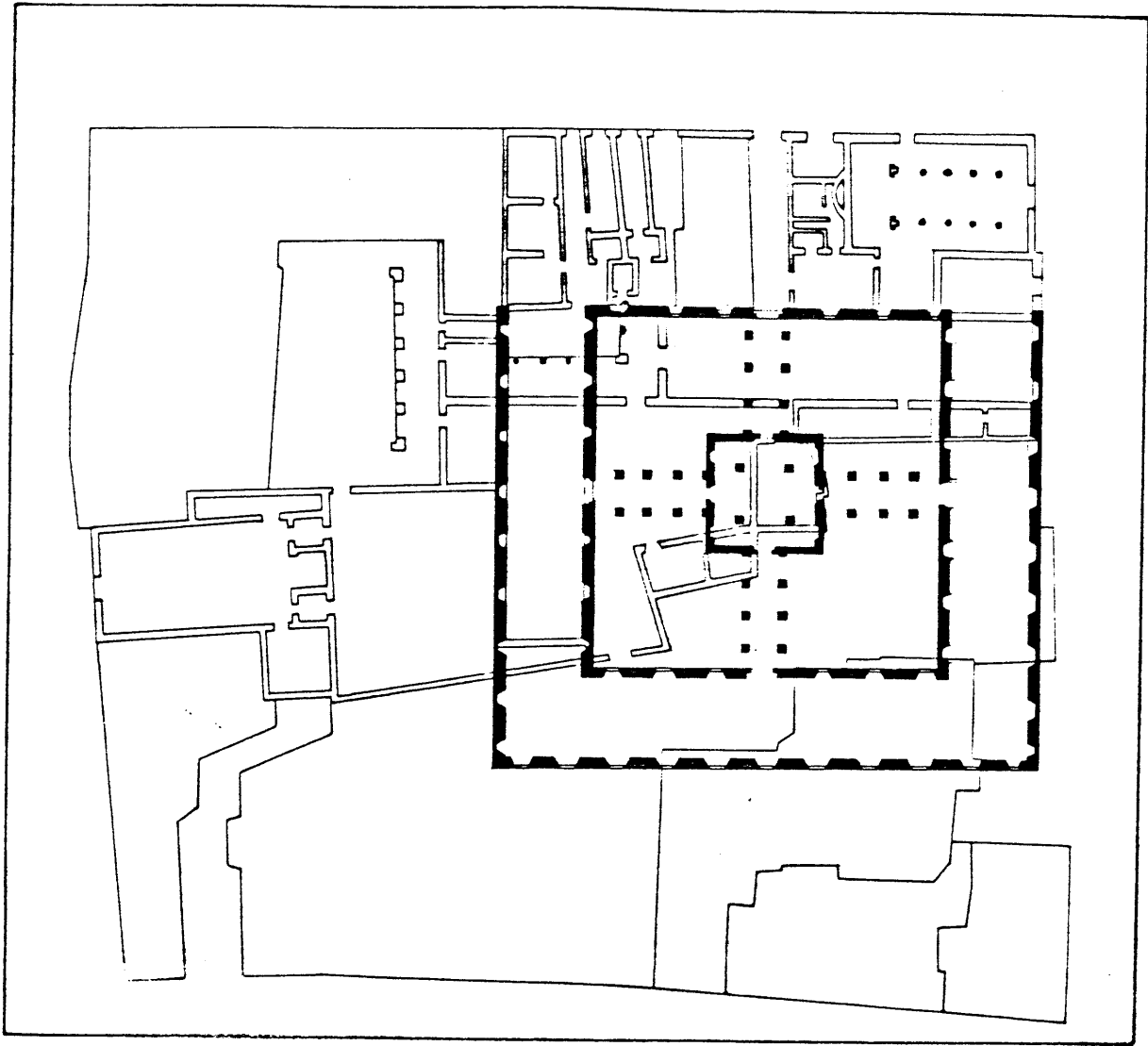


Fig. 9. Overlaying of the 1571 project plan ("small drawing") on the 1597 survey of the Trinità.

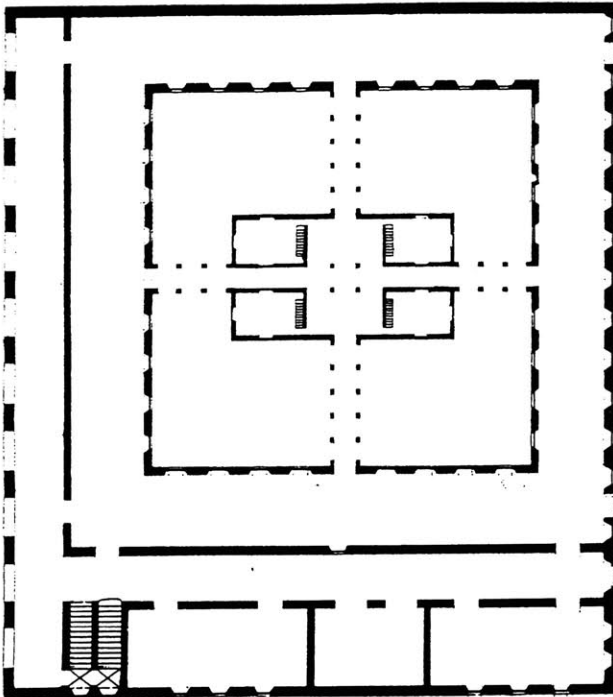
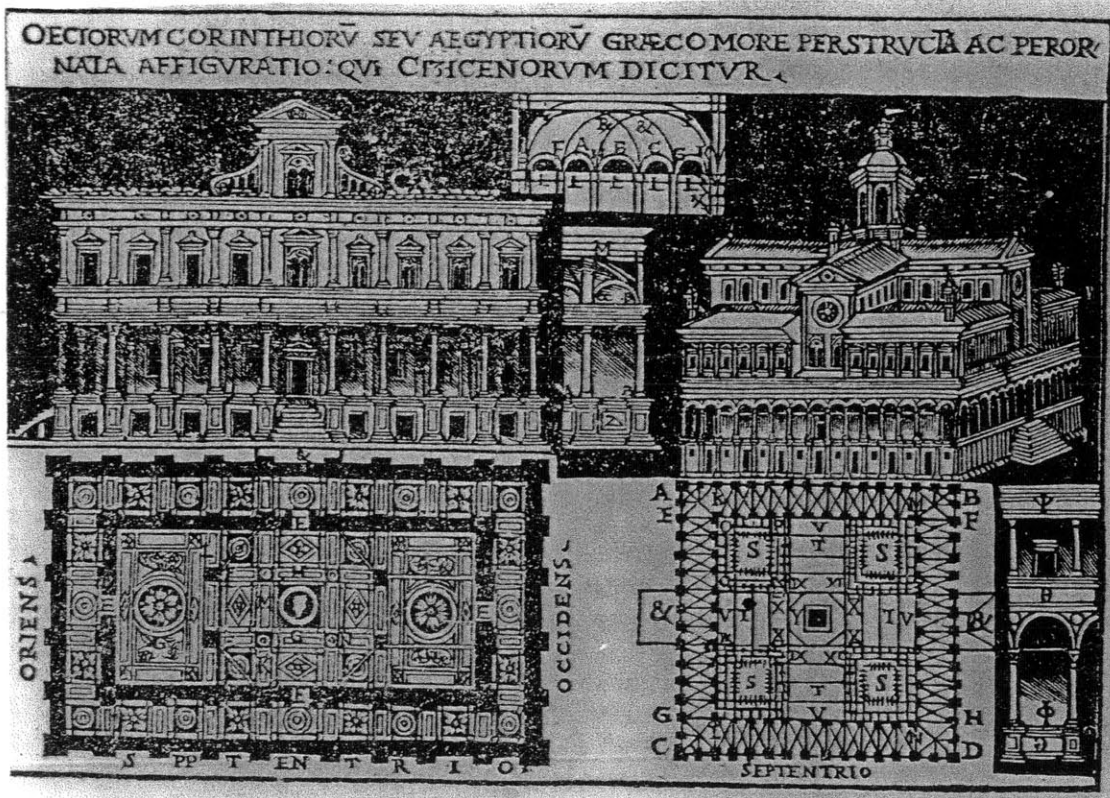


Fig. 10. Redrawing of project plan for the Trinità, c. 1571 ("large drawing").

Fig. 11. Cesare Cesariano's representation of Filarete's Ospedale Maggiore in Milan in the 1521 edition of Vitruvius' treatise.



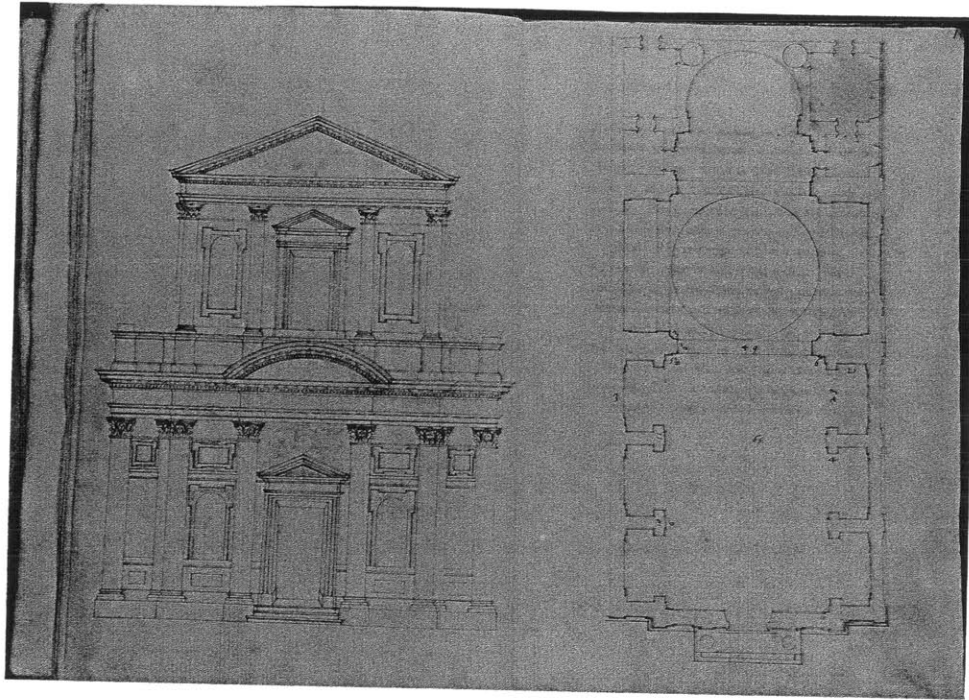


Fig. 12. Project plan and elevation of S. Trinità in Arenula by G.P. Maggi. ASR, Trinità, b. 461, Libro di Case of 1597.

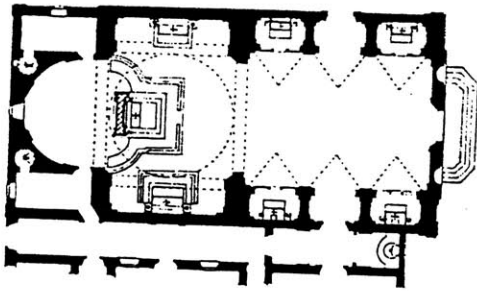


Fig. 13. Giacomo della Porta, Rome, S. Maria ai Monti, begun 1580.

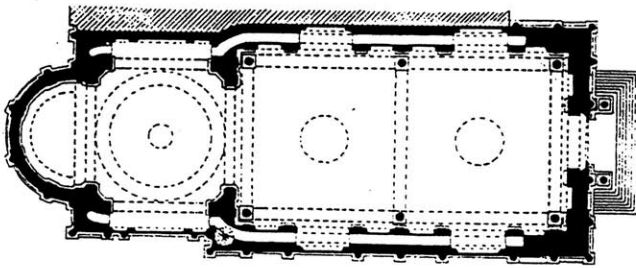


Fig. 14. Pellegrini Pellegrini, Milan, S. Fedele, begun 1569.

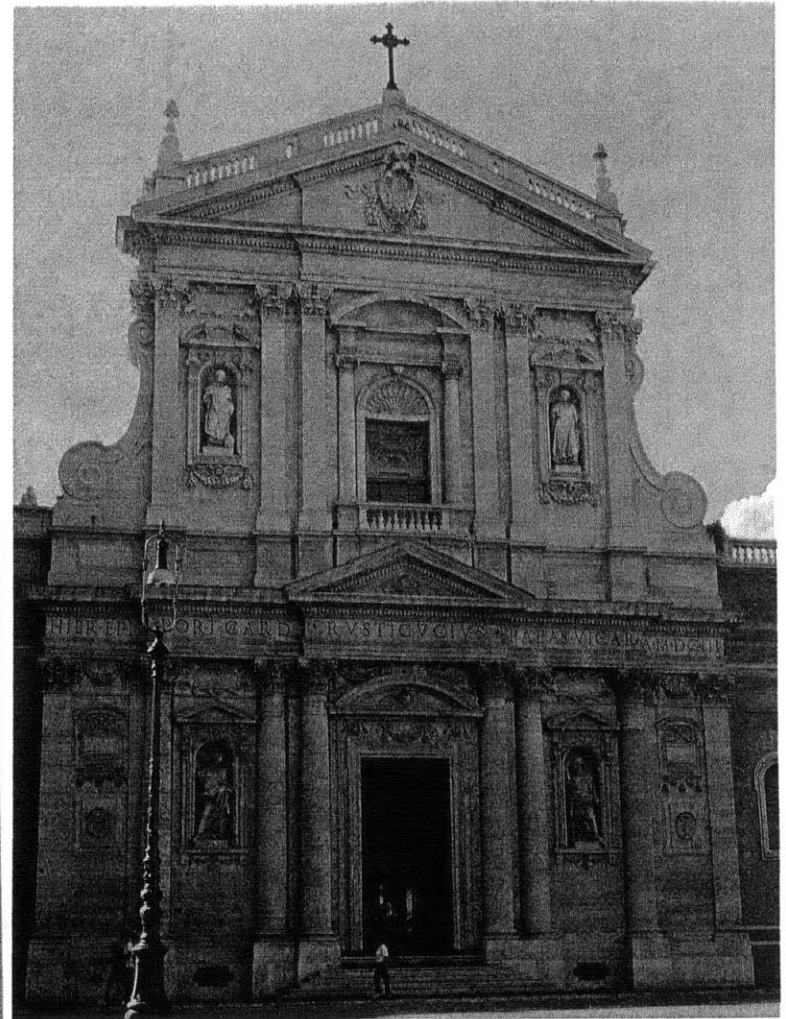
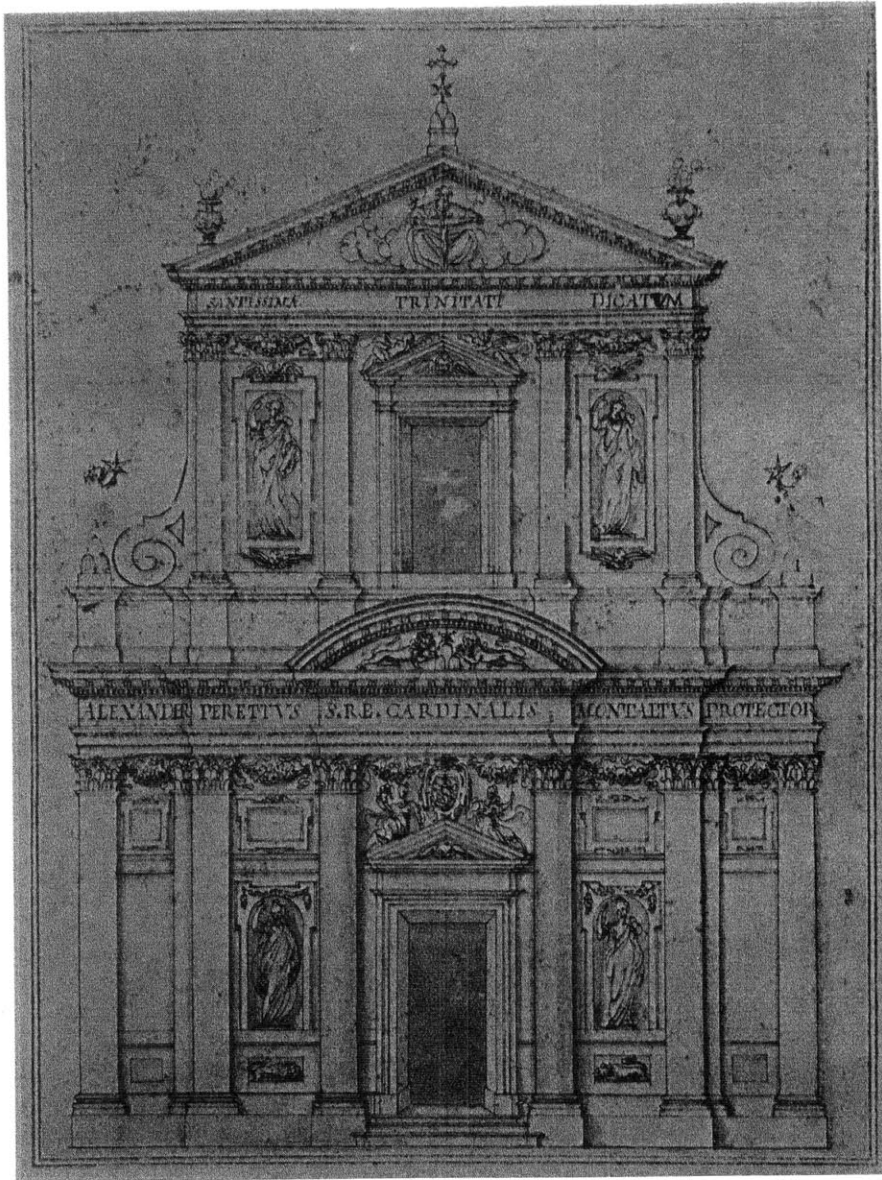


Fig. 15. G.P. Maggi, project for facade of S. Trinità dei Pellegrini. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, largest Talman album, fo. 23 (Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno*, pl. 16b).
 Fig. 16. Carlo Maderno, S. Susanna, begun 1590.

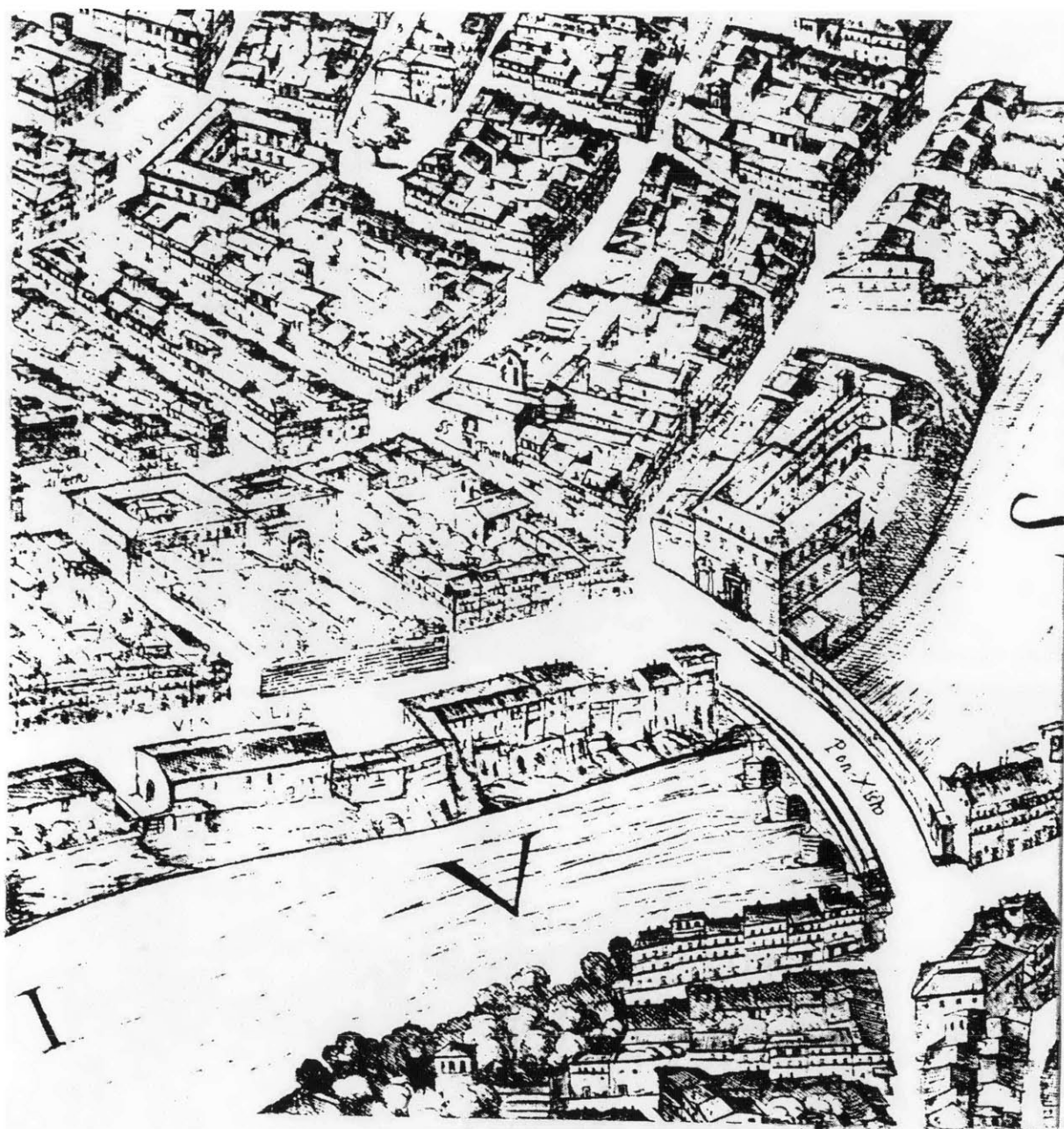


Fig. 16 a. Tempesta map, 1593, detail showing Ospizio dei Mendicanti built by Domenico Fontana.



Fig. 17. Fountain of Acqua Paola on the Ospizio dei Mendicanti. G.B. Falda, *Il nuovo teatro delle fabbriche*, 1665.

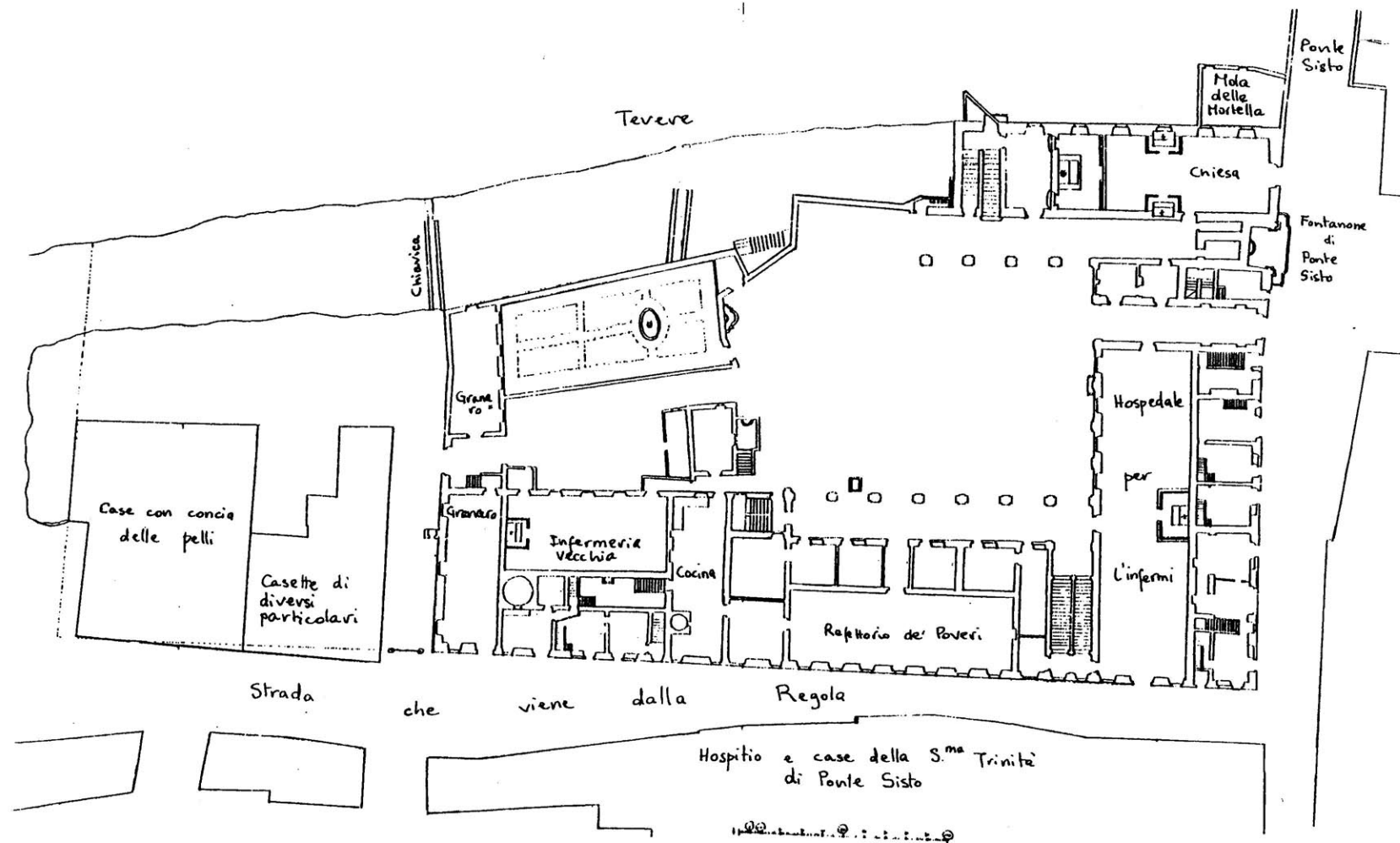


Fig. 18. Redrawing of survey plan of Ospizio dei Mendicanti, 1668. ASR, Notai Acque e Strade, b. 95.



Fig. 19. Ponte Sisto. On the right, the 19th century wing of the Mendicanti built in place of the one demolished for the construction of the Tiber embankments. The north-west corner and the dome of the Trinità are also visible.
Fig. 20. The Mendicanti on Via delle Zoccolette. On the right, Trinità wing rebuilt by Marcello Piacentini.



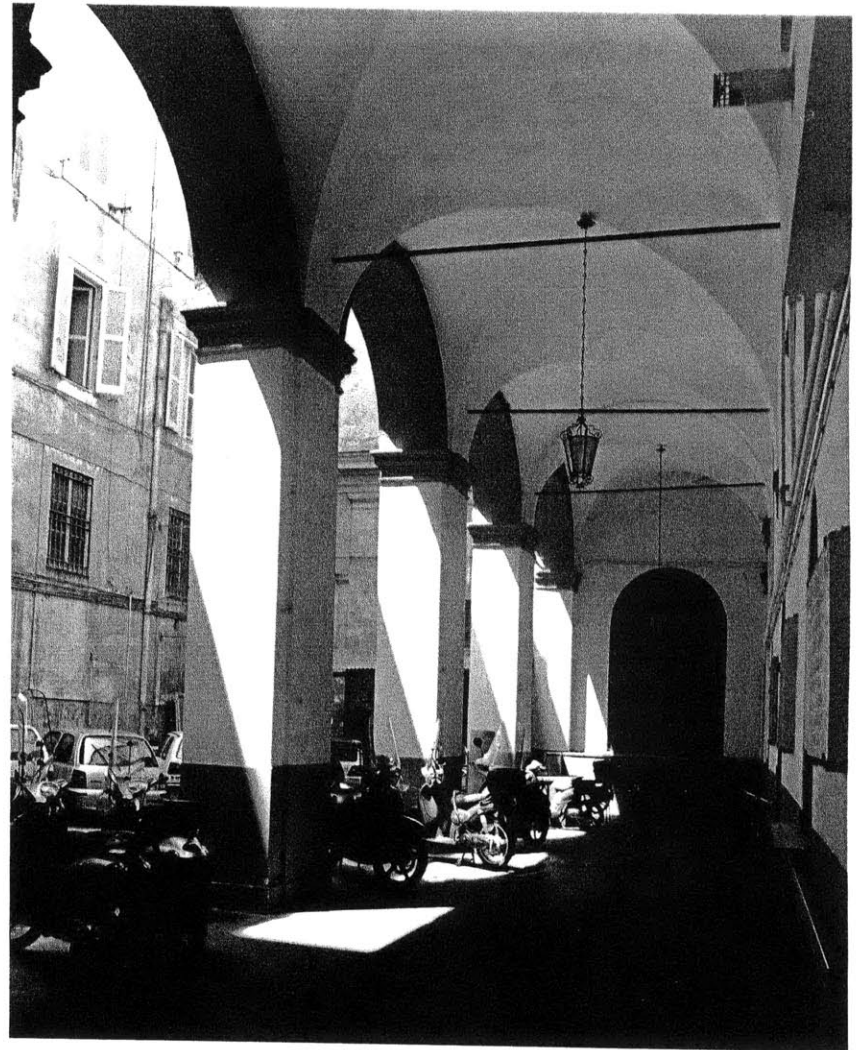


Fig. 21. Ospizio dei Mendicanti. Eastern loggia, built by Giacomo Mola, 1640s (?).



Fig. 22.
Maggi map, 1625,
detail. Center left:
the church of
S. Salvatore,
demolished in 1640
to make room
for the Monte.

Fig. 23.
Piazza del Monte.
Left, Monte facade.
Center, Casa Grande.



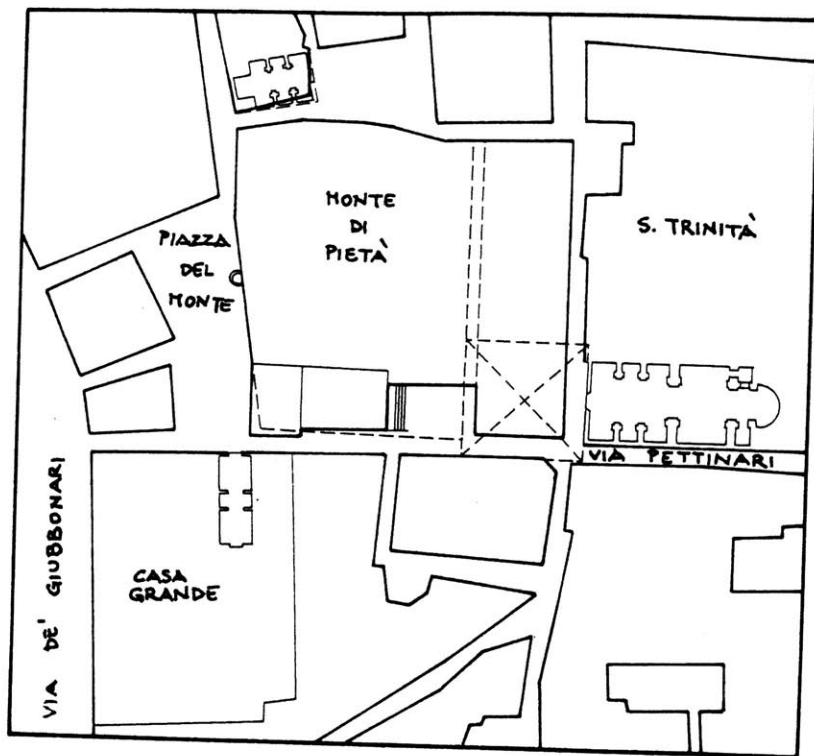


Fig. 24.
Area around the Pettinari.
The dotted lines show the
projects carried out under
the Barberini.

Fig. 25.
Chirograph of 1638,
granting the Monte
permission to build
over Piazzetta
S. Salvatore, and cut
back north-east corner.

Noi Antonio Tirolo S. Agata Diacono
Card. Barberino di S. Maria Comarensis.

1723
17

... abbiamo licenza all' M^{te} B^{te} della Congregat^{ione} del sacro Monte della Pietà di poter fabbricare, e finire il Palazzo del detto sacro Monte con
... tirandolo al filo del fianco della Chiesa della S. Trinita di Ponte Sisto, per la strada detta con serrare il sito della Piazzetta di S. Salvatore, secondo
... concessione formale da N^{ro} Sig. come per Chirografo appare, spedito sotto il 9. Novembre 1630: con ruotare al filo della facciata del detto Monte
... tirando la strada da farsi, come si vede nella qui sotto designata pianta, e linee punteggiata d'oro di giallo, si come ancora, se li dà il filo della face
... della Piazza di S. Martinello tirandolo al filo dell'Angolo dove, e ha porta principale di detto Monte: con facultà di poter mettere le Colonne
... Canonarie, come anco si dai avanti la Porta per tirare la Capra: Sei tanto comandamo, che per tal conto non siano molestati. Data dal
... Palazzo questo detto di Dicembre 1630.

Antonio Tirolo

Scritto Angelini, 1638

Bernardino Meffi m^o di Paolo
Giovanni P. m^o di Paolo

Palazzo del Monte

Intorno a S. Martinello

Casa

Chiesa di S. Salvatore

Si ordina la fabbrica
... in tutto il Palazzo
... del Monte.

Casa di Pavesioni

Chiesa

Chiesa della S. Trinita
Ponte Sisto

Intorno a S. Salvatore

Casa di Pavesioni

Casa di Pavesioni

Intorno a S. Salvatore

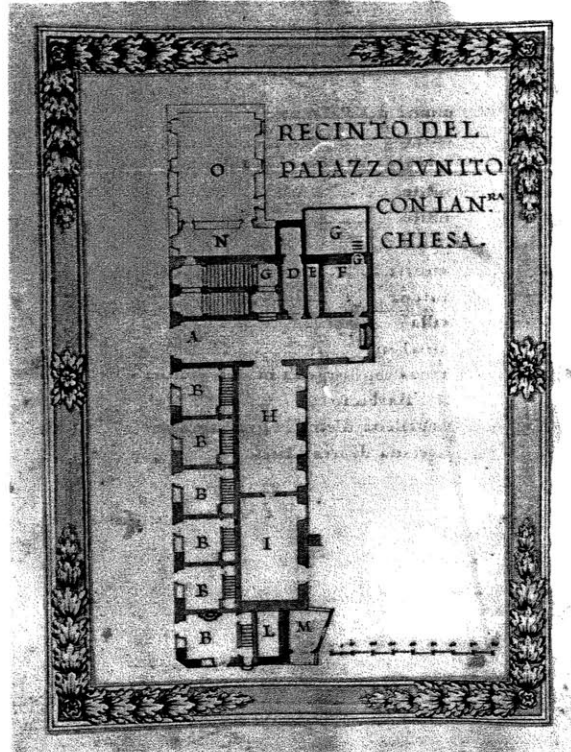
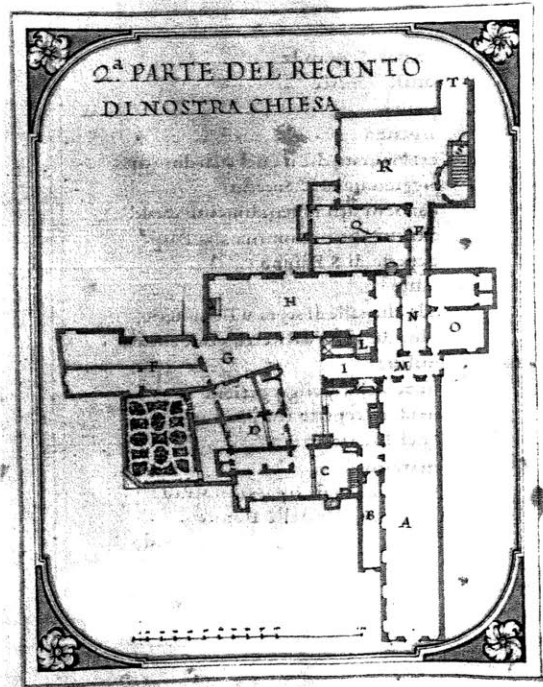
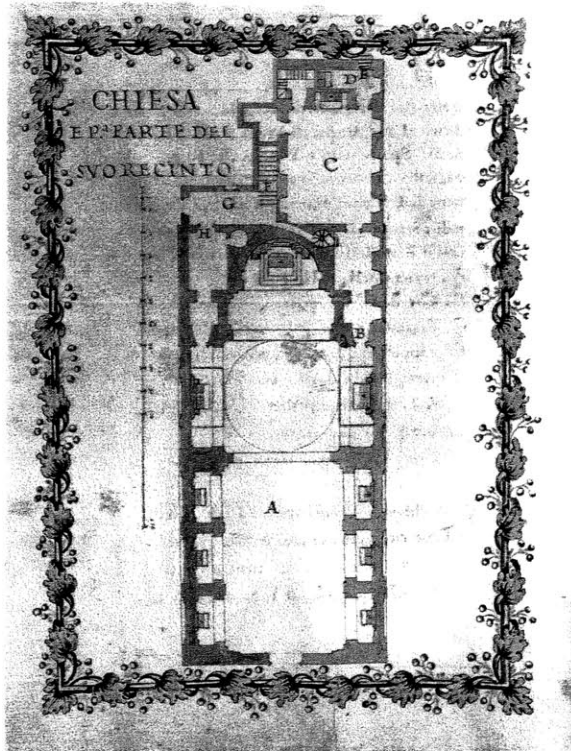


Vasi del. inc.
Collegio Ecclesiastico à Ponte Sisto
 1. Pianco del Ponte Sisto, 2. Chiesa o Cappella di S. Francesco, 3. Fontana della di ponte Sisto, 4. Collegio suddetto, 5. Parte dell'Ospizio dei Pellicani.

Fig. 26. Via dei Pettinari in the 17th century. G. Vasi *Delle Magnificenze di Roma*, 1759, IX, pl. 42.



Fig. 27. G.B. Falda map, 1667, detail showing the area around Via de' Pettinari. Top right: the Tiber Island and the Ghetto.



Figs. 28, 29, 30. Anonymous. Survey plan of the Trinità complex in the Libro di Case of 1680. ASR, Trinità, b. 460.

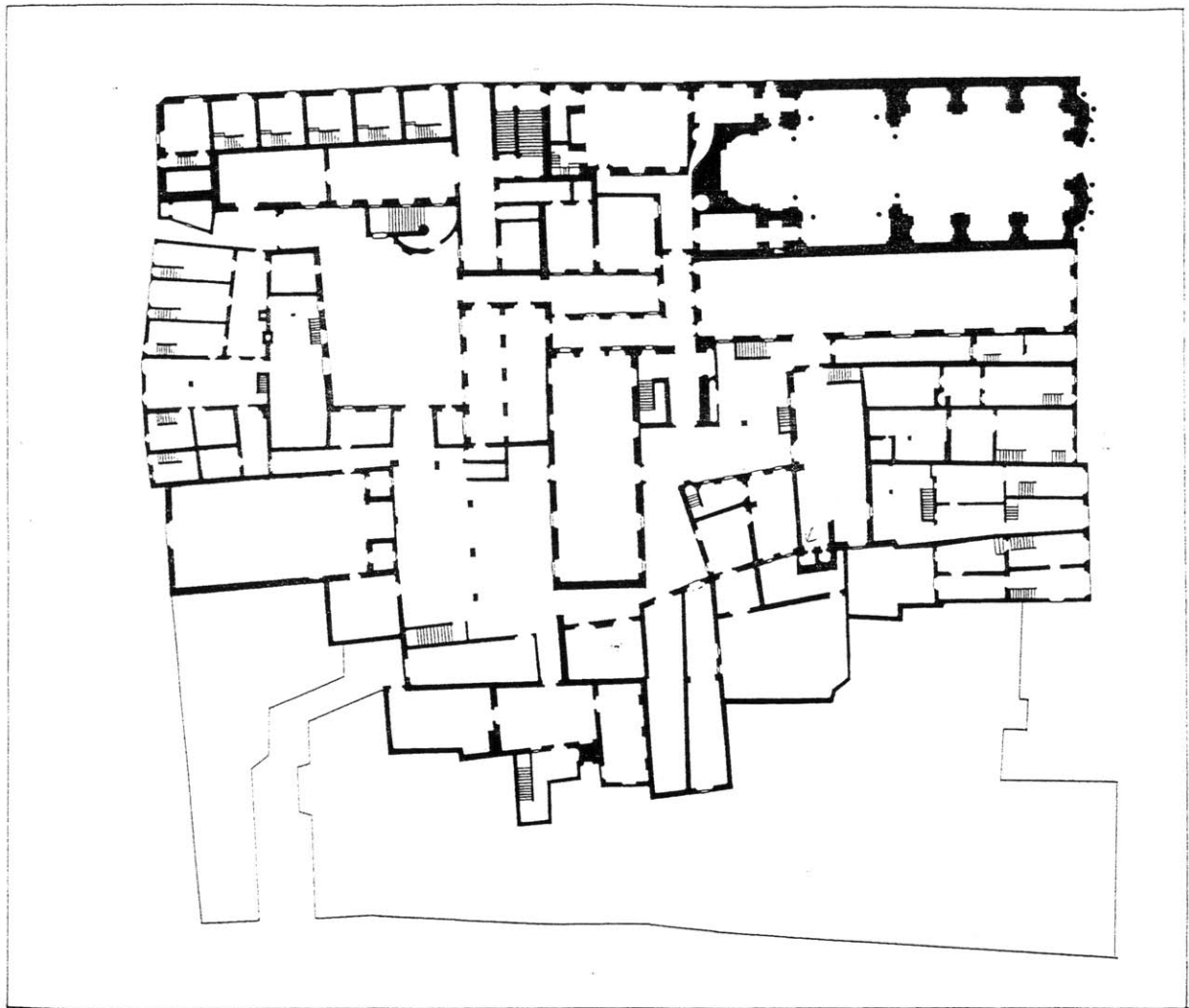


Fig. 31. Trinità complex in 1680.
(Redrawing based on plans in
Libro di Case of 1680).

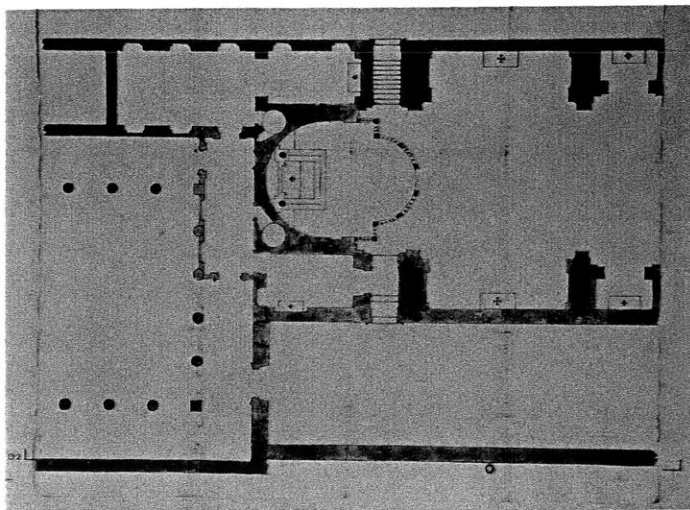


Fig. 32. G.M. Mola (?). Project
plan for the altar of the Trinità,
c. 1646. (ASR, Trinità, b. 387).



Fig. 33. Piazza della Trinità. G. Vasi, *Delle Magnificenze di Roma*, 1759, IX, pl. 40.



Fig. 34. F. de Sanctis, facade of S. Trinità in Arenula, begun 1723. On the left, the Old Rectoria.

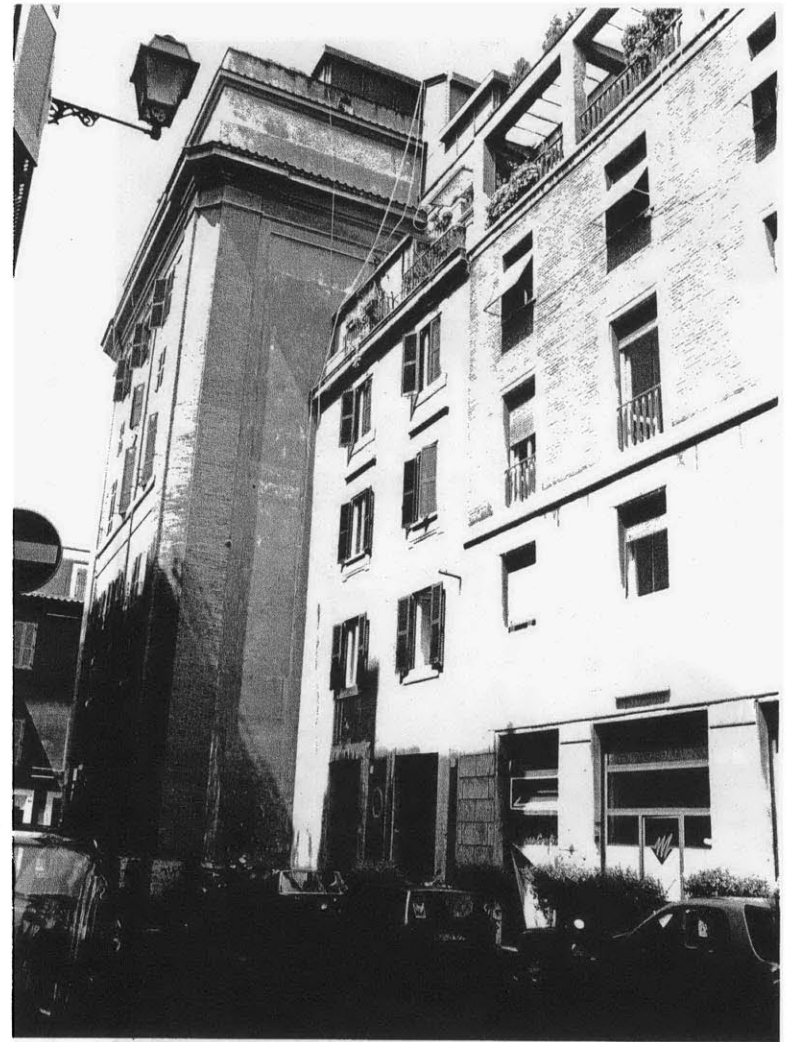


Fig. 35.
Mendicanti and Trinità facades on Via de' Pettinari.
Fig. 36.
North-west wing of the Trinità on Via delle Zoccolette.



Fig. 37. Interior of the Trinità complex. View towards east. On the left, in the background, the Old Refectory, rebuilt in 1958.

Fig. 38. Surviving ground floor of the Old Refectory.



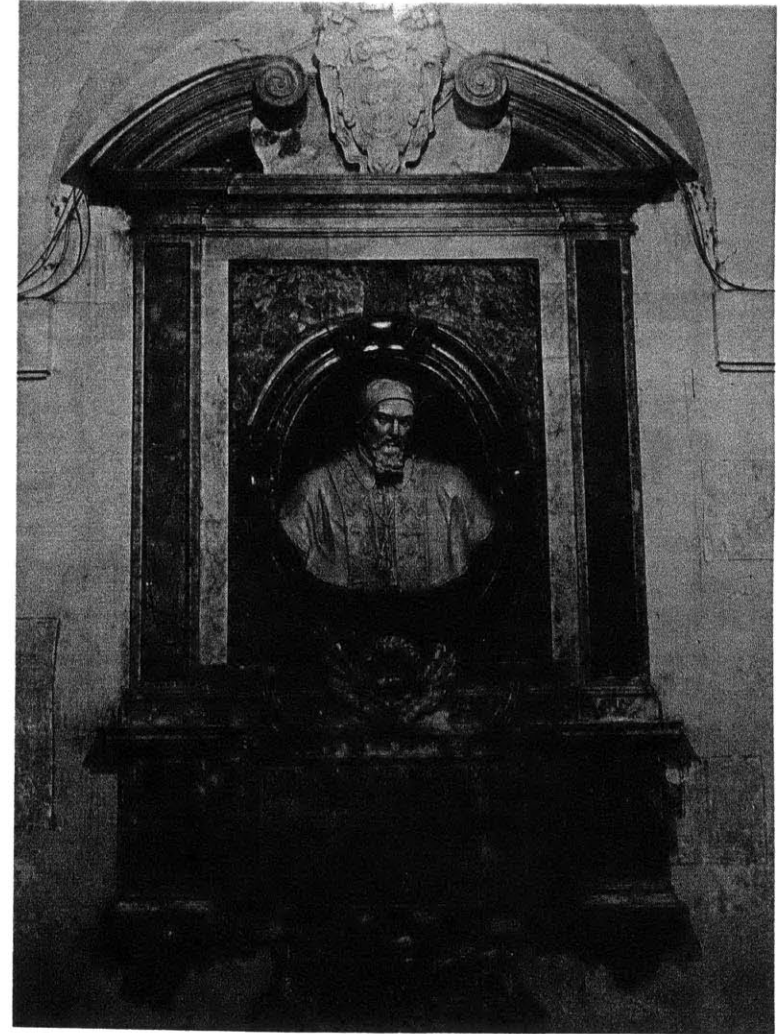


Fig. 39. Old Refectory, door leading to the *lavatori*.

Fig. 40. Old Refectory, bust of Urban VIII.

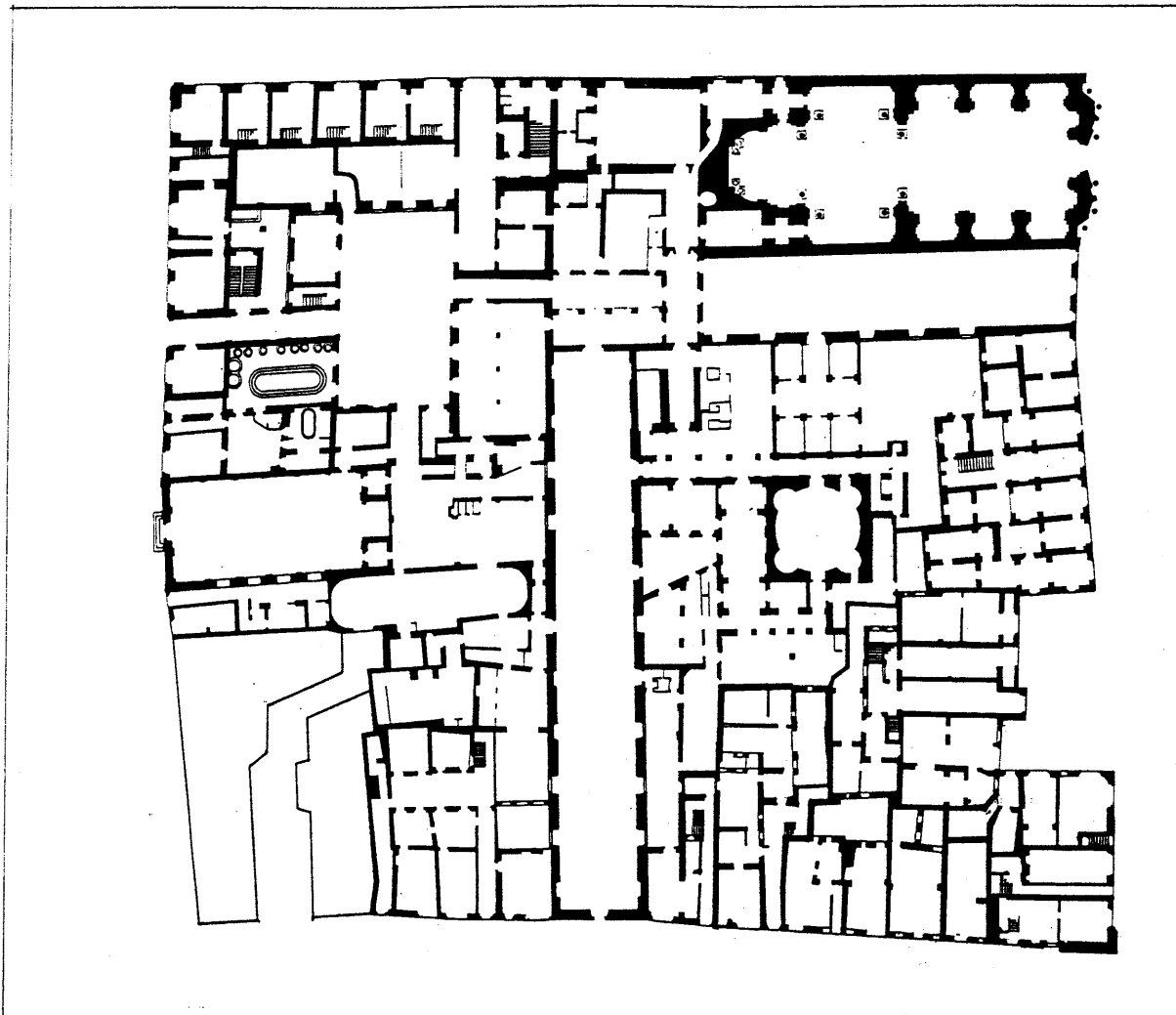


Fig. 41. Complex of S. Trinità in 1938, before demolition (Valeriani, *San Paolino alla Regola*, p. 106).

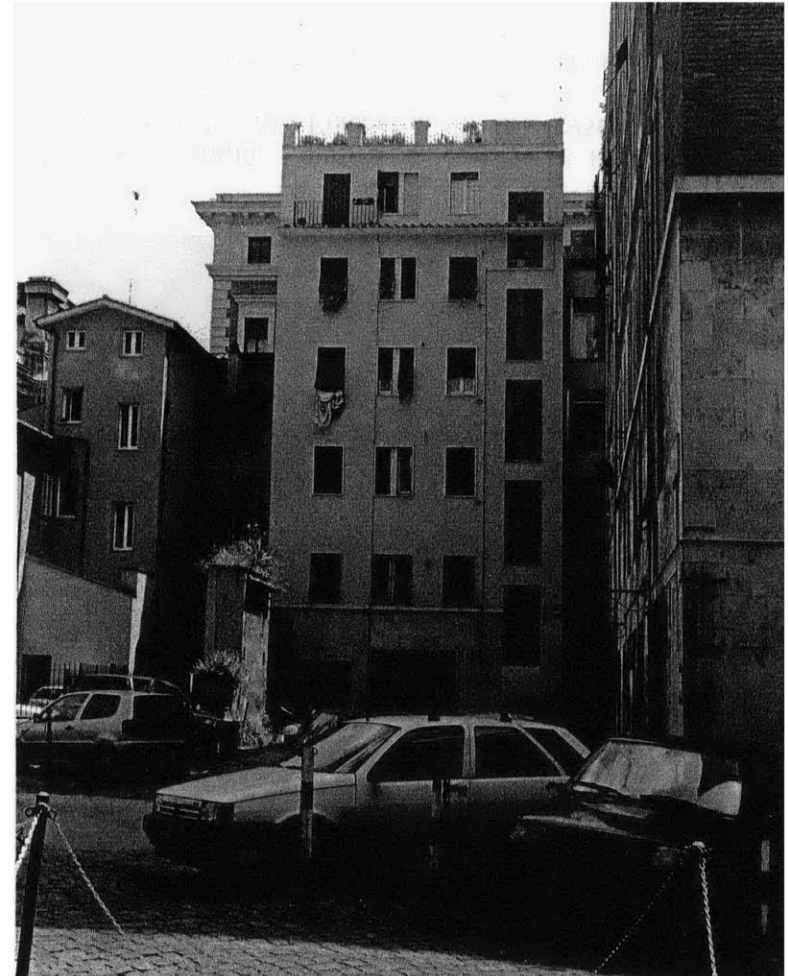


Fig. 42, 43. Surviving stump of the New Refectory. Facade on Via del Conservatorio, and view from interior of the complex.



Fig. 44. Trinità, south-west corner of the complex. Wing built by M. Piacentini in the 1950s.

Fig. 45. Via dei Pettinari, view from Ponte Sisto.

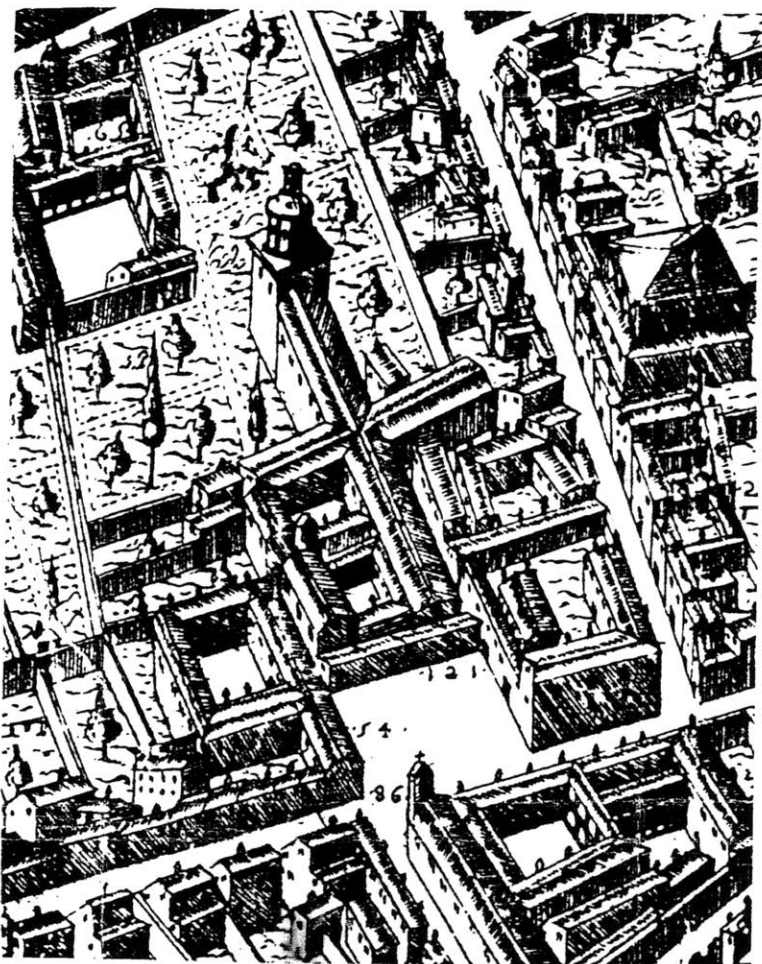


Fig. 46. Bonsignori map, 1584, detail showing hospital of S. Maria Nuova in Florence.

Fig. 47. Plan of S. Maria della Scala in Siena. (Foster, *Per il disegno dell'Ospedale*, p. 13).



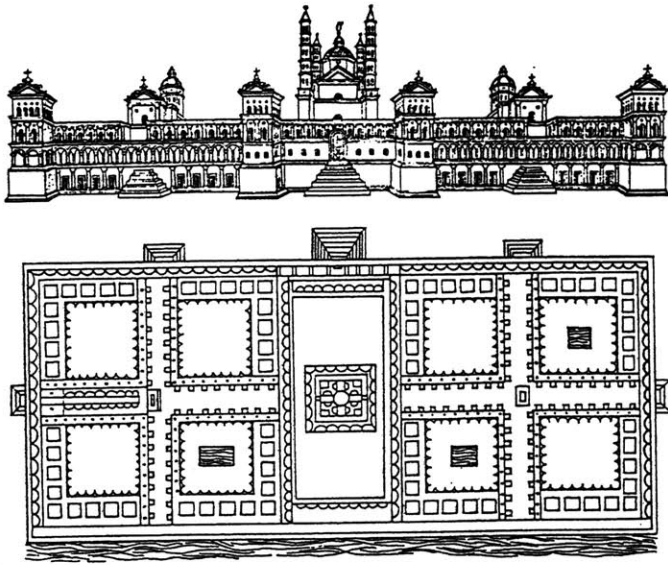
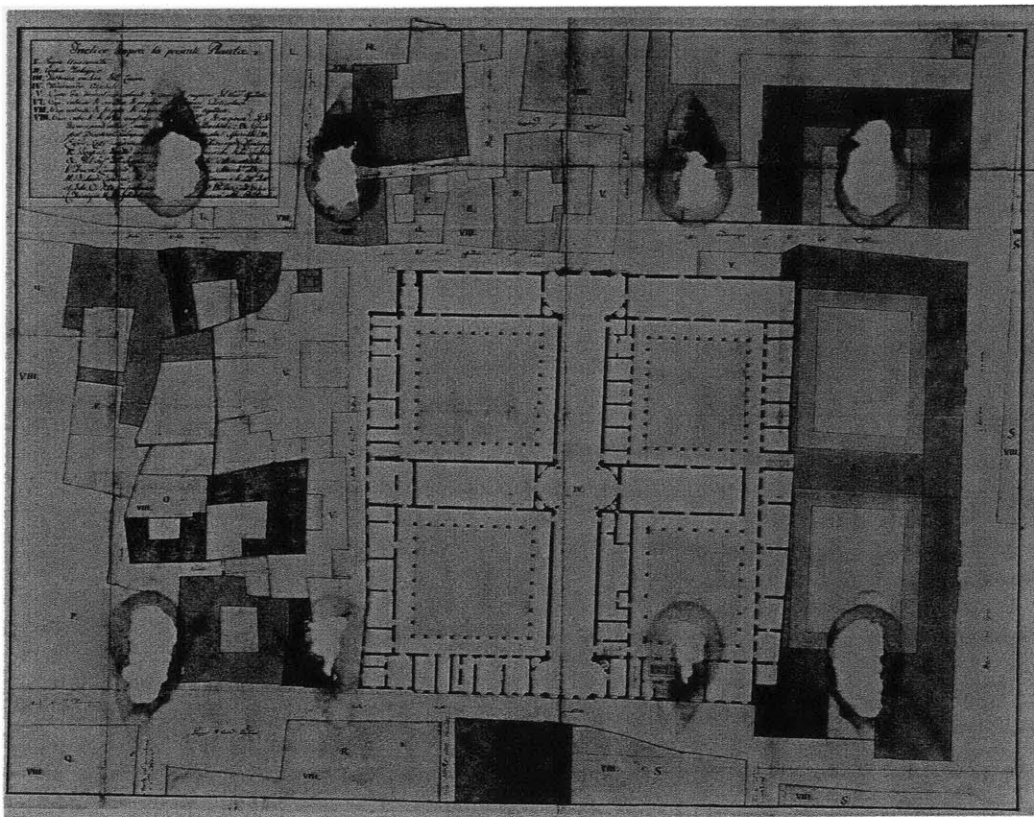


Fig. 48. Filarete, Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, c. 1456.

Fig. 49. The hospital of S. Matteo in Pavia, 18th century (Baini, *Artisti lombardi*, p. 78).



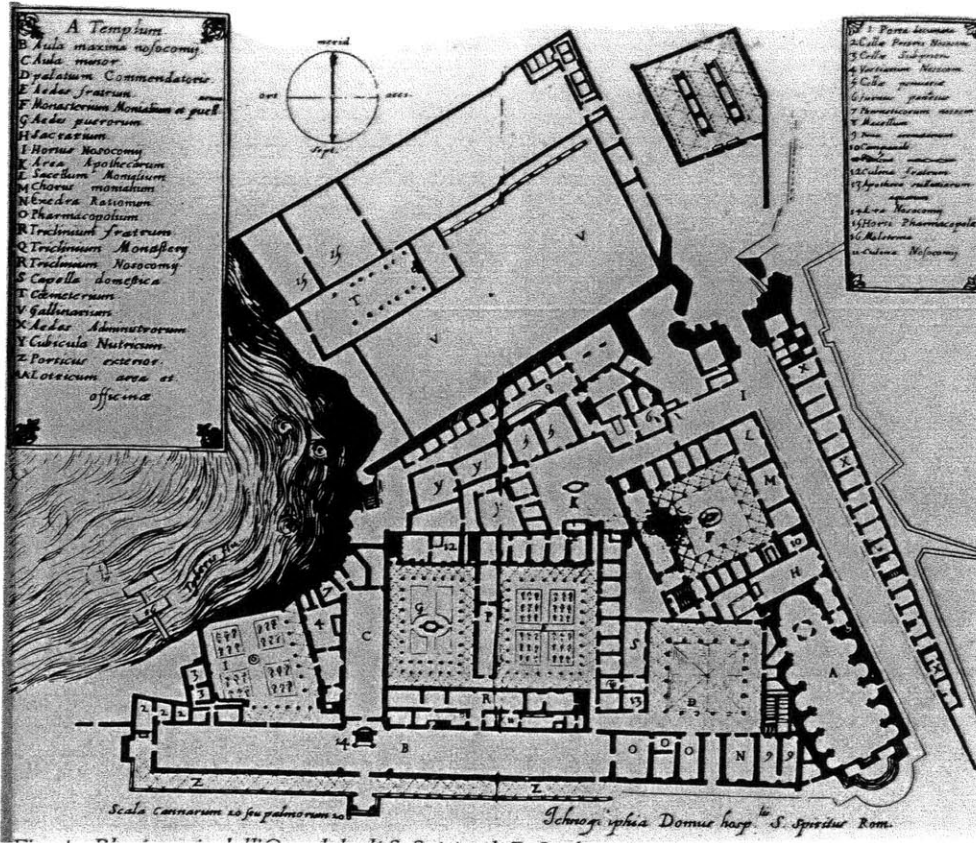


Fig. 50.
P. Saulnier,
1649, plan of
the hospital
of S. Spirito.

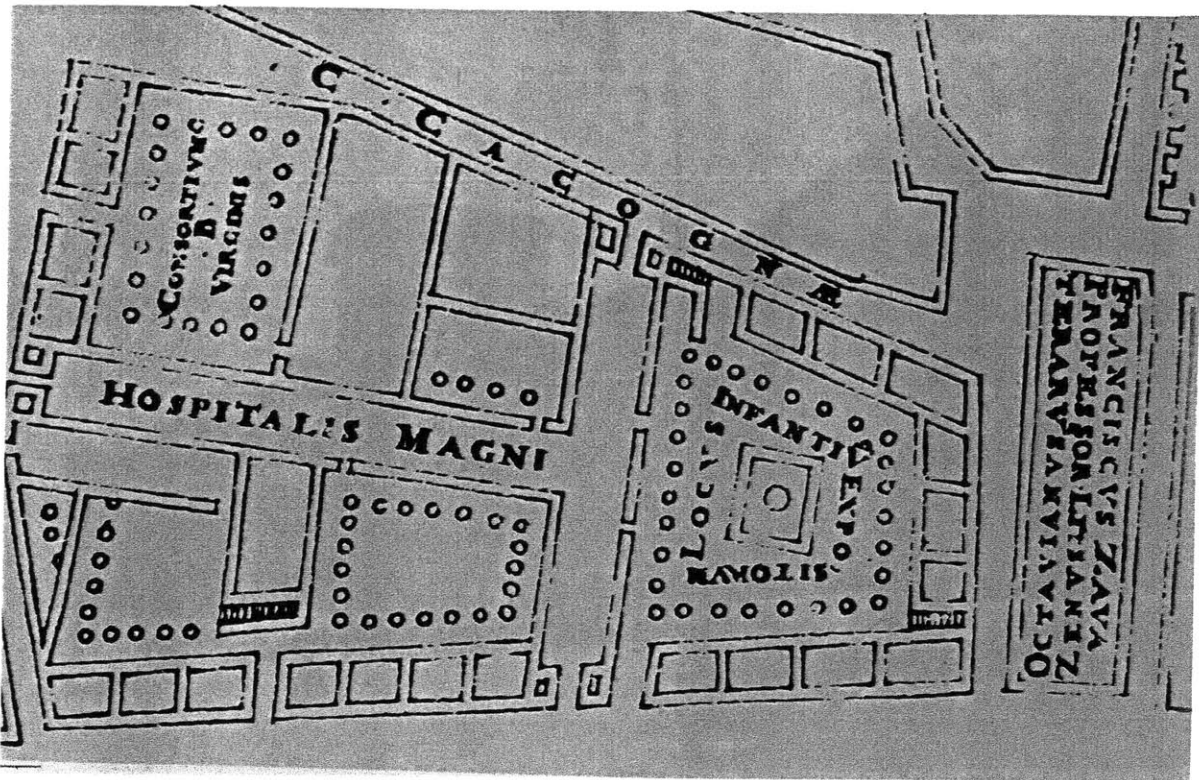


Fig. 51.
A. Campi map,
1583, detail
showing
hospital of
S. Maria
della Pietà
in Cremona.



Fig. 54. Hospital of S. Spirito. G. Vasi, *Delle Magnificenze di Roma*, 1759, IX, pl. 28.

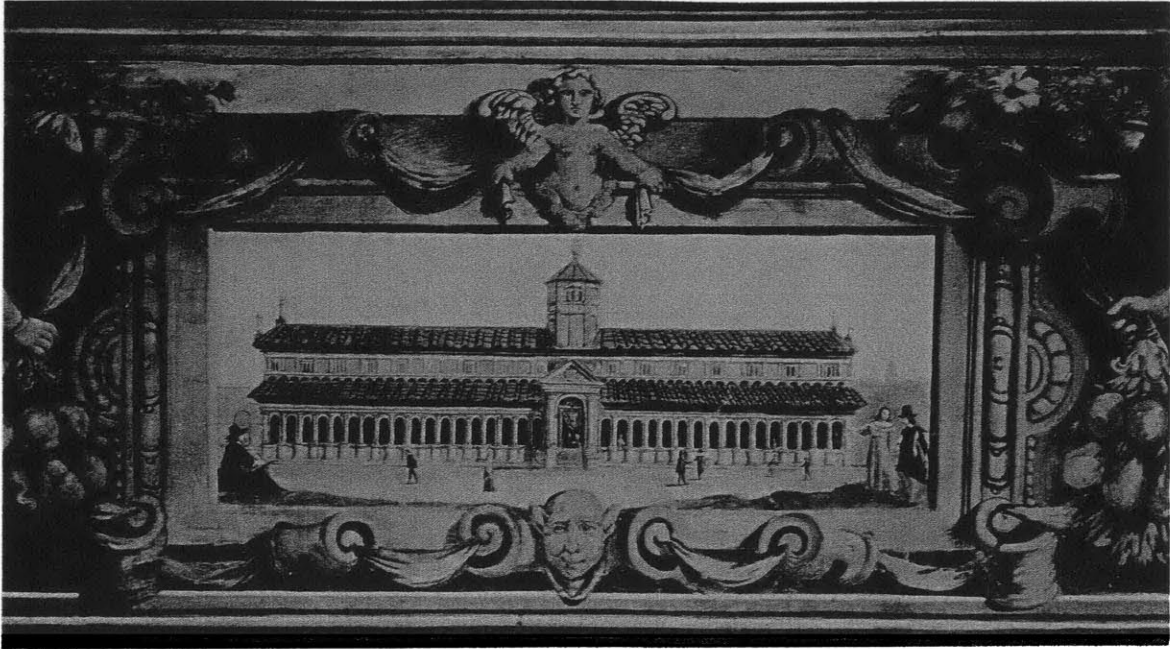


Fig. 55. Hospital of S. Spirito. The *Corsia Sistina* in the 1540s (fresco in the Palazzo del Commendatore of the hospital). (Pevsner, *A History of Building Types*, p. 139).

Fig. 56. The church of S. Spirito in Sassia. In the background, the *Corsia Sistina*.



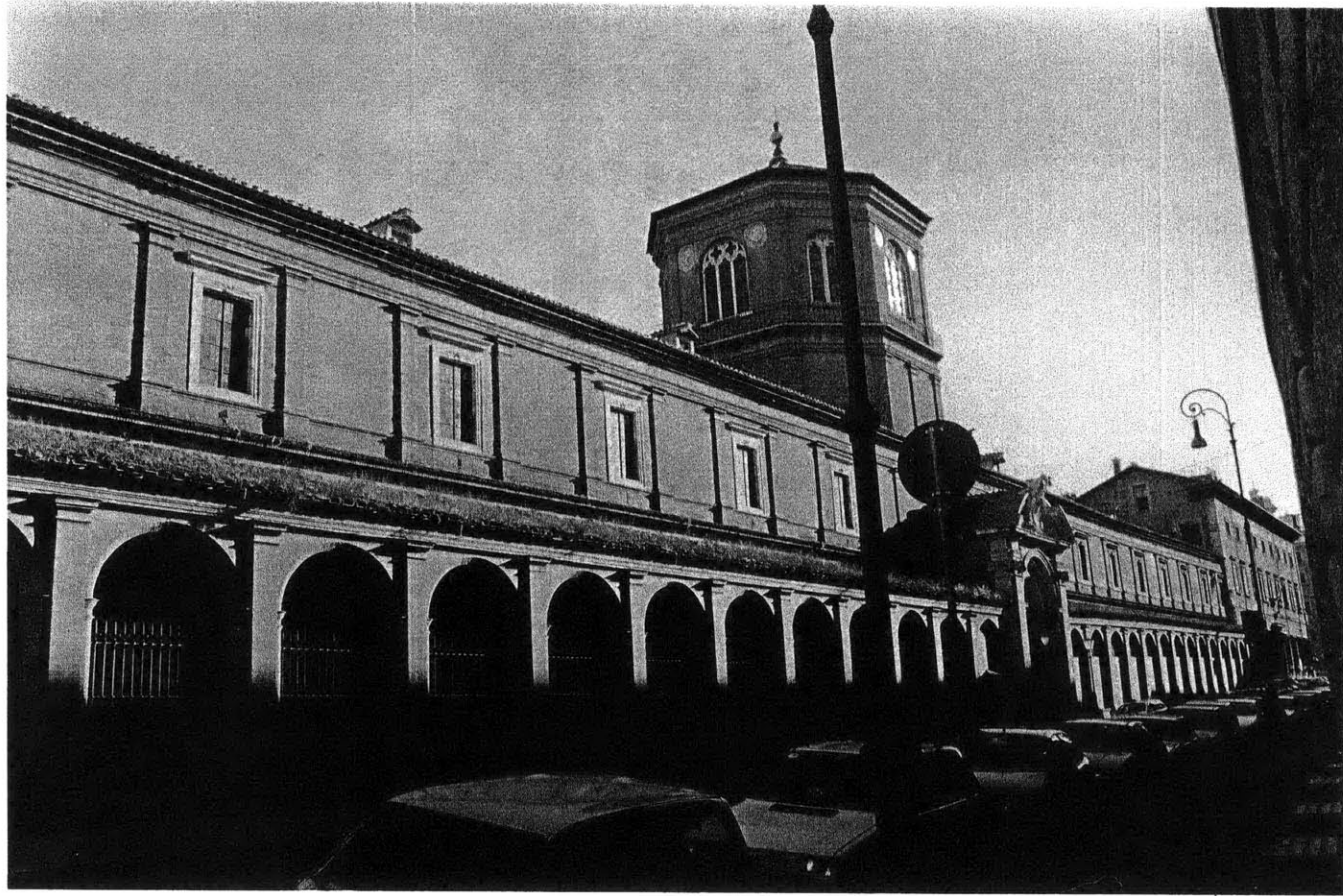


Fig. 57. The *Corsia Sistina* on Borgo S. Spirito.



Fig. 58. Hospital of S. Salvatore al Laterano. G. Mola, the New Ward, 1640s.

Fig. 59. S. Salvatore al Laterano, G.B. Mola, New Ward, facade on Via Amba Aradam, 1640s. The facade in the background is the Women's ward.



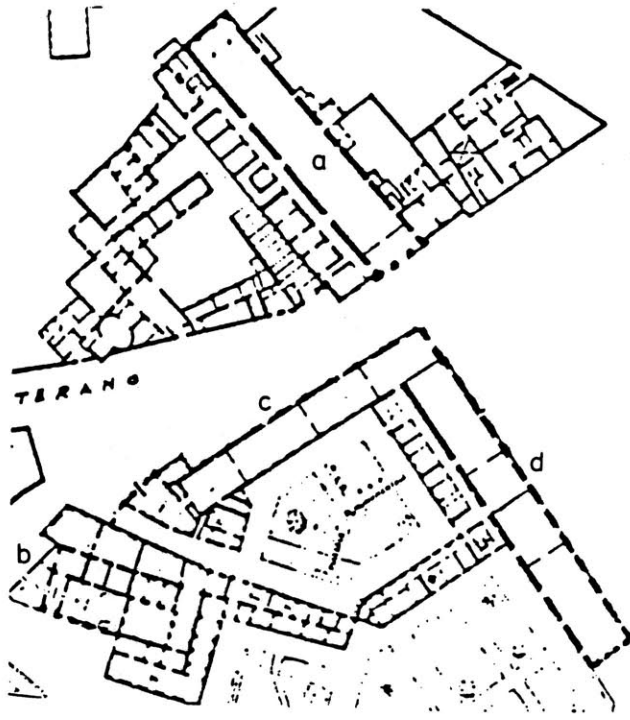
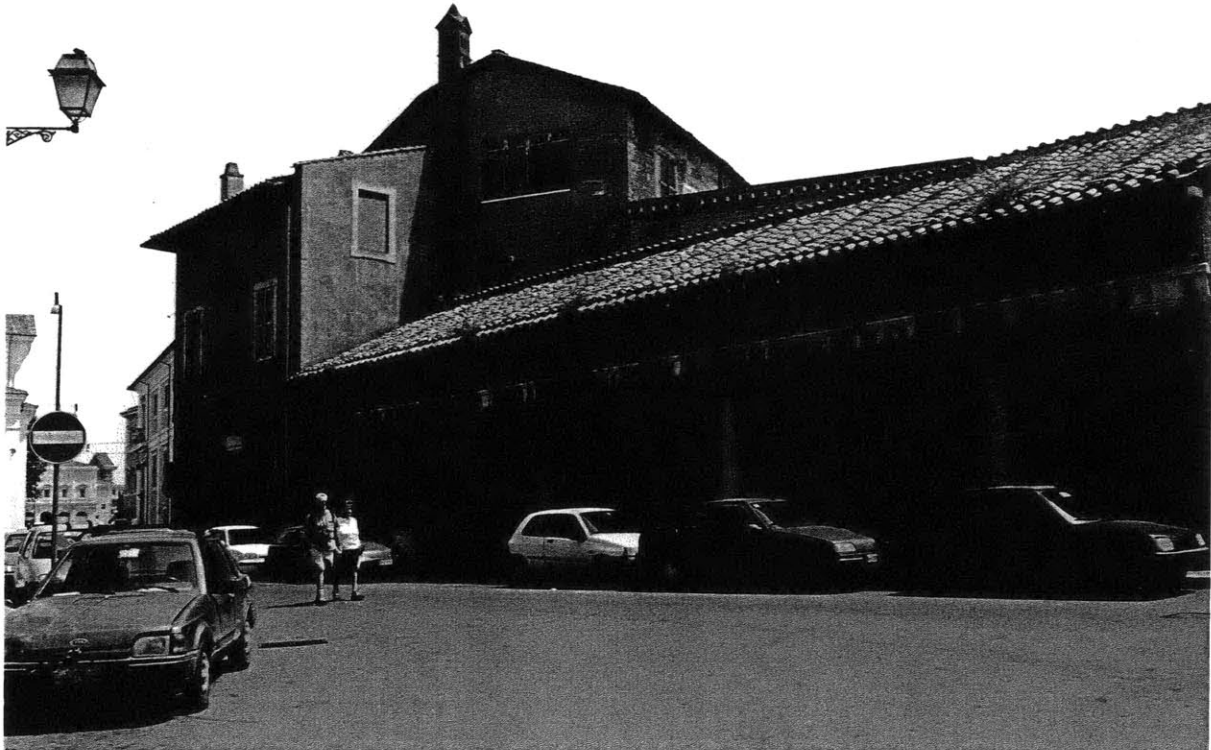


Fig. 60. S. Salvatore, survey plan.
(Curcio, "L'Ospedale," I, p. 35).

- a. Women's Ward
- b. Medieval portico
- c. Old Ward
- d. New Ward

Fig. 61. S. Salvatore al Laterano, medieval portico on Via S. Giovanni.



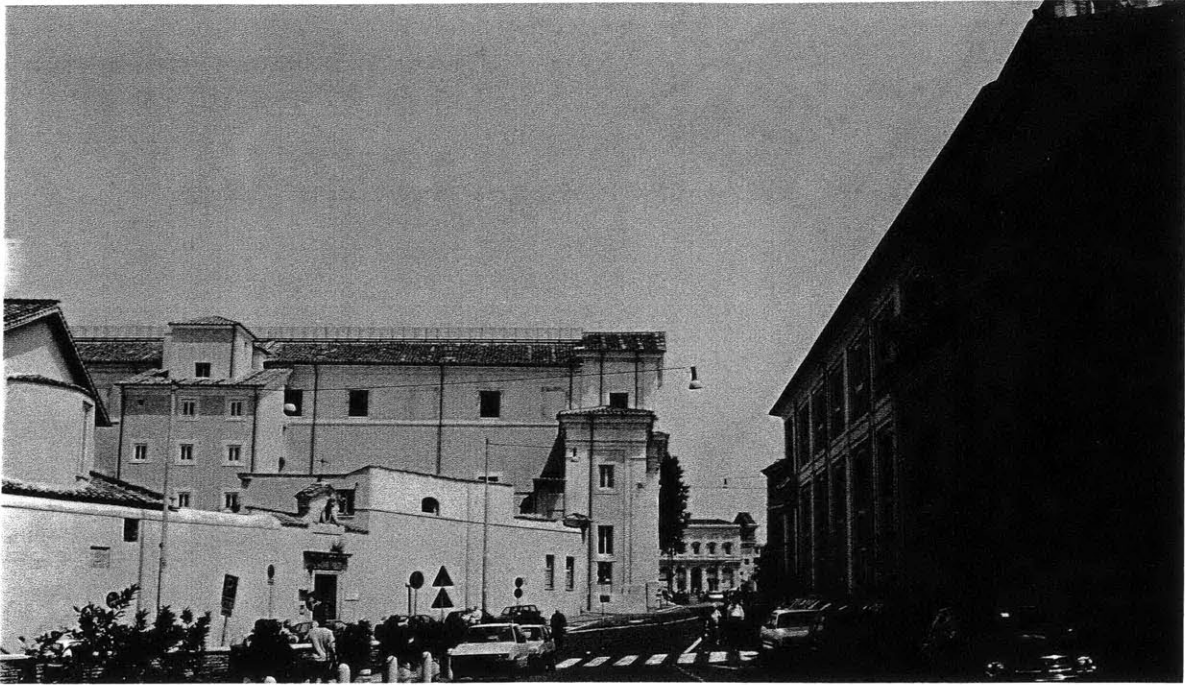


Fig. 62. Via S. Giovanni, view towards the Lateran. On the right, the Old Ward of S. Salvatore; on the left, the medieval complex with, in the background, the long ward of the women.
Fig. 63. Old Ward and fourteenth century portal to the medieval complex.





Fig. 64. Hospital of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili (Marcucci, *Francesco da Volterra*).

Fig. 65. S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, facade on Via del Corso.





Fig. 66, 67. S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, Via Ripetta. Church like facade of the north wing and S. Maria in Porta Paradisi.