

Beauty, Devotion and Spirituality

Studies in Religion and the Arts

Editorial Board

James Najarian (*Boston College*)
Eric Ziolkowski (*Lafayette College*)

VOLUME 21

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/sart

Beauty, Devotion and Spirituality

*The Art and Culture of the Oratorians of
Saint Philip Neri*

Edited by

Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Santa Maria in Vallicella Church and Philippine Oratory, Rome (photograph by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos).

This research project has been funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and developed within the ARTIS - Institute of Art History, School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon.



Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri: Art and Culture (Conference) (2021 : Lisbon, Portugal), author. | Santos, Joaquim Rodrigues dos, 1975- editor.

Title: Beauty, devotion and spirituality : the art and culture of the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri / edited by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2024] | Series: Studies in religion and the arts, 1877-3192 ; volume 21 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2024008565 (print) | LCCN 2024008566 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004695474 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004697188 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Oratorian art--Congresses. | Oratorian architecture--Congresses.

Classification: LCC N7865 .c66 2021 (print) | LCC N7865 (ebook) | DDC 271/.79--dc23/eng/20240418

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024008565>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024008566>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1877-3192

ISBN 978-90-04-69547-4 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-69718-8 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004697188

Copyright 2024 by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos. Published by Koninklijke Brill BV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

Koninklijke Brill BV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill BV via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Foreword VII
List of Figures IX
Notes on Contributors XX

Introduction - Between Project and Ecstasy: the Architecture and Images of the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri 1
Daniele Ferrara

- 1 The Oratorians and the “Book of Nature”: Tommaso Bozio as a Reader of Giovan Battista Della Porta 9
Gennaro Cassiani
- 2 Roman Devotion to Saint Philip Neri: How the Oratory Promoted Sanctity through Prints and Celebrations 21
Valentina Emiliani
- 3 Nero Del Nero, Disciple and Patron of Saint Philip Neri 44
Valentina Catalucci
- 4 Federico Barocci, Lucca, and the Oratorians: the Commission of the *Noli me Tangere* (1601–1609) 61
Luca Baroni
- 5 Cesena and the Oratorians: Pier Mattia Angeloni, Carlo Fontana, and the Presumed Legacy of Francesco Borromini 87
Iacopo Benincampi
- 6 Authenticating the Memory and Cult of Saint Philip Neri at the Naples Oratory 107
Glenys Adams
- 7 The Oratorian Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo in Pistoia: a Manifesto of Seventeenth-Century Architecture in Tuscany 130
Costantino Ceccanti
- 8 “Highly Meritorious for Their Culture and Teaching in the Sciences and the Arts”: the Artistic Culture of the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri in Lisbon 151
Sofia Braga

- 9 André Soares and the Architecture of the Congregados Convent in Braga (1755–1768) 178
Eduardo Pires de Oliveira
- 10 Between Villages and Walls: Legacy of the Oratorian Missionaries in Pernambuco (Brazil) 201
Ana Lucia Nascimento, Ana Ligia Lira, and Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos
- 11 Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri in Goa: a Paradigm of Goan-Ness 223
Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos
- 12 Typological Models of Goan Oratorian Churches in Sri Lanka: a Unique Oratorian Architectural Typology 251
Sagara Jayasinghe
- 13 Oratorian Architecture in Spain during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries 273
José Antonio Díaz-Gómez
- 14 True Portraits of Saint Philip Neri and Their Circulation in New Spain 297
Erika B. González León
- 15 Continuity and Discontinuity through the Artistic Legacy of the Jesuits and Oratorians 319
Luis Javier Cuesta Hernández and Berenice Pardo Hernández
- 16 John Henry Newman on Church Architecture: Preservation of Type and Power of Assimilation 335
Uwe Michael Lang
- Index of Names 349

Foreword

After some years living in a religious congregation and carrying out pious works in Rome, Saint Philip Neri (1515–1595), usually identified as the *Third Apostle of Rome*, saw the *Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri* formally recognised by a papal bull in 1575. The members of the congregation – usually known as Oratorians – were secular priests living together under a religious rule without having taken religious vows. From early on, the Oratorians were in close connection with parishes, serving as clergy and getting involved in apostolate, assistance and education, as well as in the production of art. Later on, numerous Oratorian congregations were established across Europe, as well as in America and Asia. These congregations functioned autonomously, but maintained close connections with one another, forming a kind of confederation; unlike religious orders, they were not subordinate to a central authority.

The Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome, was granted as the headquarters of the first Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri; it was completely renovated soon after, and consecrated in 1577. This church is an artistic masterpiece, containing works of some of the most renowned artists and architects from the 16th century onwards. Whilst it is believed that Oratorians never developed their own brand of “artistic style” – unlike other religious institutions – the fact remains that they sponsored a vast number of works of art from well-known artists, often of great significance, forming a corpus that is yet to be studied in due depth.

In fact, while major Oratorian churches, such as the ones in Rome, Turin, Genoa, Lodi and Vicenza are well-studied, documented and widely-recognised, other Oratorian churches are still insufficiently known outside the local region – especially the Oratorian buildings outside Italy, but also some Italian ones. The same is true with other forms of art belonging to the Oratorians or their patrons, namely paintings, sculptures and decorative arts. And even main artists working for Oratorians were also studied in depth, such as Francesco Borromini, Filippo Juvarra, Pietro Antonio Corradi, Guido Reni, Domenico Zorzi, Carlo Maratta and Pietro da Cortona, among others, while other artists are still understudied.

We cannot say the Oratorian art is unknown or unstudied... While the life and history of Saint Philip Neri, his congregation and his most prominent Oratorian followers are undoubtedly well-known due to numerous publications (which do not need to be mentioned here), the art produced under Oratorian patronage is still poorly known, with the exception of a couple of general books mainly on major Oratorian art pieces.

Outside this kind of “jet-set” Oratorian artistic production, how can we understand the art and culture of the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri? How can we develop a general perspective of the Oratorian art in less-known Oratorian buildings in Italy, or especially in other countries where Oratorians had an important presence, such as Spain, Portugal or the United Kingdom? Or even in the overseas territories of European colonial powers, as New Spain, Brazil or Portuguese India, where the Oratorian activity was, at some crucial times, fundamental for the Catholic establishment?

The truth is that the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri, as well as their artistic production, were many times neglected in favour of other bigger religious orders, with more power, wealth and a more effective propaganda apparatus, such as Jesuits, Franciscans, Benedictines, etc. Despite being known as an influential Catholic institution – in some cases with its members even seen as opponents of the Jesuits, counterbalancing thus their power and, after their expulsion from some countries, inclusively substituting them – its establishment in territories outside Italy was not impressive enough to grasp the interest of modern art historians (beyond the masterpieces and celebrated artists).

Fortunately, in the last decade, several researchers have launched investigations into the art and culture associated with the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri, bringing new insights which were absent from previous critical interpretations. These new insights focused on churches, paintings, sculptures, jewellery, music, treatises and even other forms of spirituality, culture and action underestimated until then. New artists who worked with the Oratorians became known, as well as their artworks. Connections between Oratorian congregations and between Oratorians and local communities were analysed, as well as their political relevance. But despite all these advances in bringing to light the Oratorian art and culture in the last decade, a broader overview on this theme was still missing.

This is where this book of essays comes in, with its effort to close this knowledge gap, and intending to discuss the art and culture produced or associated to the Oratorians of Saint Philip Neri, especially focusing on issues still little known by most people, including many experts. This book is intended to be a key work in the studies on Oratorian art, in which the authors will focus on this very important artistic production, commonly forgotten when compared with other religious productions of art.

Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos

Figures

- 2.1 Luca Ciamberlano, "People visiting St. Philip Neri", in *Vita S. Philippi Neri iconibus expressa* or *Vita di S. Filippo Neri fiorentino*, Rome 17th century (O14) (source: image courtesy of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana) 24
- 2.2 Francesco Villamena (attr.), "Portrait of St. Philip Neri", in Gabriele Paleotti, *De Bono Senectutis*, Rome 1595 (source: image courtesy of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana) 31
- 2.3 Mattheus Greuter, *The Beatus Philip Neri entrust his brothers to the Virgin*, Rome 1606 (source: image courtesy of the Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio) 36
- 2.4 Giacomo Lauro, "The Beatus Philip Neri" in A. Gallonio, *Vita Beati P. Philippi Neri*, Rome 1600 (source: image courtesy of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana) 37
- 2.5 Funeral mask of Saint Philip Neri, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, n. inv. 1135 (source: image courtesy of the Galleria Doria Pamphilj - Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj s.r.l.) 38
- 2.6 Portrait of Saint Philip Neri, oil painting on canvas. Galleria Doria Pamphilj, fc 605 (source: image courtesy of the Galleria Doria Pamphilj - Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj s.r.l.) 39
- 3.1 Chapel of Saint Philip Neri, Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (source: Valentina Catalucci's personal collection) 47
- 3.2 Del Nero coat of arms before the union with the emblem of the family of Saint Philip Neri, stone inlay work. Chapel of Saint Philip Neri, Santa Maria in Vallicella Church, Rome. Photography by Valentina Catalucci 50
- 3.3 Del Nero coat of arms after the union with the emblem of the family of Saint Philip Neri, stone inlay work. Chapel of Saint Philip Neri, Santa Maria in Vallicella Church, Rome. Photography by Valentina Catalucci 50
- 3.4 Giacomo Lauro, *Saint Philip Neri in prayer and stories from his life with a dedication by Nero Del Nero*, engraving, 1606 (source: image courtesy of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana) 53
- 3.5 Cristoforo Roncalli (attributed), *Saint Philip Neri celebrating Mass*, oil painting on canvas. Chapel of the Palazzo Del Nero Torrigiani, Florence (photography by Valentina Catalucci) 55
- 4.1 Federico Barocci (after), *Noli me tangere*, oil painting on canvas 1.34 × 0.92m, seventeenth century. Private collection (photography by Luca Baroni) 63
- 4.2 Federico Barocci, *Visitation*, oil painting on canvas 3.00 × 1.96m, 1586. Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (photography by Luca Baroni) 66
- 4.3 Federico Barocci, *Presentation of the Virgin*, oil painting on canvas 3.00 × 1.88m. Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (photography by Luca Baroni) 67

- 4.4 Philippe Casanova, *The extasis of Saint Philip Neri*, oil painting on canvas 3.00 × 2.00m, 2015. Collection of the Oratorio di Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (photography by Mauro Coen) 68
- 4.5 Pietro Paolo Scorsini, *Philip Neri receives Giovanni Leonardi in the Church of San Girolamo della Carità in Rome* (detail), fresco painting, 1710/20. Santa Maria Corteorlandini, Lucca (photography by Luca Baroni) 72
- 4.6 Church of Santa Maria Cortorlandini, Lucca (photography by Luca Baroni) 74
- 4.7 Plan with the altars of Santa Maria Corteorlandini at c. 1650 (adapted from: Filieri, *La pittura a Lucca*, 77) 78
- 1 [main altar] Luca Giordano, *Assumption of the Virgin*
 - 2 [altar of the Madonna of the Snow; prev. altar of St. Bartholomew; also attested as altar of St. Mary the Magdalene] a) Guido Reni, *The Virgin with St. Mary the Magdalen and St. Lucy*, 1623; b) Francesco Vanni, *St. Richard*, c. 1602–1605; c) Francesco Vanni, *St. Bartholomew*, c. 1602–1605
 - 3 [altar of the Nativity of the Virgin] Francesco Vanni, *Nativity of the Virgin*, 1602
 - 4 [altar of St. Philip Neri] Tuscan school, *Vision of St. Philip Neri*, 1618
 - 5 [altar of St. Charles] Antiveduto Gramatica, *Madonna with St. Charles Borromeo and the Blessed Giovanni Buonvisi*, 1613/14
 - 6 [altar of St. John] Pietro Paolini, *Nativity of St. John*, 1636
 - 7 [altar of the Crucifix] a) Guido Reni, *Crucifix with St. Catherine and St. Giulia*, 1623; b) *Gaspere Mannucci*, St. Lawrence; c) *Gaspere Mannucci*, St. Concordius
- 4.8 Bellori, *Le vite de' Pittori*, 1672. In red, the description of the *Noli me tangere*; in blue, the Chiesa Nuova *Visitation* 82
- 4.9 Luca Ciamberlano (after Federico Barocci), *Noli me tangere*, etching 389 × 270mm, 1609 (source: image courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery) 83
- 4.10 Photomontage of Barocci's *Noli me tangere* (image 1) along the nave of Santa Maria Corteorlandini, Lucca (photomontage by Luca Baroni) 85
- 5.1 Mauro Guidi, *Pianta del Piano Terreno, e Spaccato del soppresso convento di S. Filippo*, ink drawing on paper, 1798, Cesena (source: Atlanti di Mauro Guidi, 54, f. 40, Malatestiana, Cesena, Italy) 92
- 5.2 Pier Mattia Angeloni, *San Severo façade project*, ink drawing on paper, nineteenth century (copy), Cesena (source: Andreini, *Cesena Sacra*, 372) 94
- 5.3 Francesco Zarletti, *Esterno della chiesa di San Filippo*, watercolour drawing on paper, nineteenth century, Cesena (source: Zarletti [Ms. 1v/24], f. 504r) 95
- 5.4 Pier Mattia Angeloni, external view of the Convent of San Severo, Cesena (photography by Iacopo Benincampi) 100
- 5.5 Pier Mattia Angeloni, internal view of the Convent of San Severo, Cesena (photography by Iacopo Benincampi) 101

- 5.6 Anonymous, internal view of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Suasia, Civitella di Romagna. Carlo Fontana (designer), altarpiece previously in Saint Matthias's Chapel, Church of San Severo, Cesena (source: Violi, *Chiese, Ville*, 97) 105
- 6.1 Marble *Pietà*, Chapel of Saint Philip Neri at the Girolamini church, Naples. Central Institute for Cataloguing and Documentation, No. E110125 (source: photography courtesy of the Central Institute for Cataloguing and Documentation) 108
- 6.2 Girolamini church facade and cloister, Girolamini complex, Naples (photography by Glenys Adams) 111
- 6.3 Ruffo family chapel with altarpiece painting by Cristoforo Roncalli, Girolamini church, Naples. Alinari Archives, ACA-F-033755-0000 (source: photography courtesy by Alinari Archives) 115
- 6.4 Francesco Raspantino (after a drawing by Domenichino), *Study of Saint Philip Neri in Glory*. The Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle, RCIN 901328: JPH 1253 (source: image courtesy of The Royal Collection Trust) 117
- 6.5 Pietro da Cortona, *Death of Saint Alexius*, oil painting on canvas, 1638. Chapel of Saint Alexius of Rome, Girolamini church, Naples. Photography by Luciano Pedicini, Archivio dell'Arte, D30449 (source: image courtesy of the Archivio dell'Arte) 119
- 6.6 Sacristy, Girolamini church, Naples. Alinari Archives, ACA-F-033758-0000 (source: photography courtesy by Alinari Archives) 120
- 6.7 Guido Reni, *Meeting of Christ with Saint John the Baptist*, oil painting on canvas 2.00 × 1.50m, c.1622. Quadreria dei Girolamini, Naples. Archivio dell'Arte, D30449 (source: image courtesy by the Archivio dell'Arte); Gilles Rousselet (after Guido Reni), *The Meeting of the young Christ and John the Baptist in a wooded landscape*, engraving 40.4 × 28.3cm (source: image courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum) 123
- 6.8 Antonio Allegri da Correggio, *Saint Anthony the Abbot*, oil painting on wooden panel 48 × 38cm, c.1515. Capodimonte Museum, Naples (source: image courtesy of the Capodimonte Museum); Jusepe Ribera, *Saint Peter*, oil painting on canvas 78 × 65cm, Quadreria dei Girolamini, Naples. Archivio dell'Arte, HR9831 (source: image courtesy of the Archivio dell'Arte) 124
- 6.9 Luca Ciamberlano, *The Meeting of Saint Philip Neri and Saint Charles Borromeo*, 1612, etching (source: image courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum); (b) Luca Giordano, *The Meeting of Saint Philip Neri and Saint Charles Borromeo*, Chapel of Philip Neri and Charles Borromeo, Girolamini Church, Naples. Archivio dell'Arte, CC0077 (source: image courtesy by the Archivio dell'Arte) 125
- 6.10 Chapel of Philip Neri, Girolamini church, Naples. Alinari Archives, ACA-F-033755-0000 (source: image courtesy of the Alinari Archives) 127
- 6.11 Francesco Solimena, *Filippo Neri swooning in the catacombs*, oil painting on canvas 63.5 × 76.2cm, 1726–1733, Chapel of Saint Philip Neri, Girolamini

- church, Naples, (source: image courtesy of the Miami University Art Museum) 129
- 7.1 Giovanni Lafri, interior of the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo, Pistoia (photography by Costantino Ceccanti) 131
- 7.2 From left to right: exterior view of the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal at San Miniato al Monte, Florence; constructive hypothesis of the exterior of the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo in Pistoia, after Giovanni Lafri's intervention; view of the rear of the Church of San Pietro in Vincio, near Pistoia (photography and drawing by Costantino Ceccanti) 133
- 7.3 From left to right: Bernardo Buontalenti, coat of arms of the city of Prato in the balustrade of Santa Maria delle Carceri, Prato; Giovanni Lafri, coat of arms of the Rospigliosi family in Santi Prospero e Filippo, Pistoia (photography by Costantino Ceccanti) 140
- 7.4 From left to right and top to bottom: diagram comparing the rear portion of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome, the counter façade of the Church of San Domenico in Pistoia, and the filter between the hall and transept of Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo in Pistoia (source: drawings by Costantino Ceccanti); below, the presbytery of the Venetian Church of Il Redentore in an early 20th century image (source: Marcel Reymond, *Bramante et l'Architecture italienne au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Renouard Henri Laurens, 1914) 143
- 7.5 From left to right: Andrea Palladio, plan of the Church of Il Redentore, Venice (source: Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi, *Le fabbriche e i disegni di Andrea Palladio raccolti e illustrati da Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi*, 4 vols. IV, table 1); planimetric diagram of the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo, Pistoia (source: drawing by Costantino Ceccanti) 144
- 7.6 The small dome of the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo, Pistoia: the opening in the centre, at the bottom, is lozenge-shaped, in explicit homage to the Rospigliosi family (photography by Costantino Ceccanti) 145
- 7.7 The Rospigliosi family coat of arms above the left portal of the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo in Pistoia (photography by Costantino Ceccanti) 145
- 7.8 From left to right: Rospigliosi coat of arms in the sacristy of the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo, Pistoia; view of the sacristy of the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo, Pistoia (photography by Costantino Ceccanti) 147
- 7.9 The Rospigliosi-Pappagalli altar at the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo, Pistoia: at its feet, probably, Taddeo di Girolamo Rospigliosi is buried (photography by Costantino Ceccanti) 148
- 7.10 From left to right: the extrados of the cupola, with a wooden lantern, inside the *tiburium* at the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo, Pistoia; view of the dome of the Church of Santi Prospero e Filippo, Pistoia, built in 1622 (photography by Costantino Ceccanti) 149

- 7.11 The Rospigliosi coat of arms, on the palace in Via del Duca in Pistoia: the epigraph refers to the right of majorat for the successors of Girolamo di Taddeo Rospigliosi (photography by Costantino Ceccanti) 150
- 8.1 Church of Espírito Santo da Pedreira, detail of the [*Prospect of Lisbon*], pen and washed ink drawing on paper 0.75 × 2.45m, c.1530. Leiden University Libraries, COLLBN J29-15-7831-110/30a-q (source: image courtesy of the Leiden University Libraries) 155
- 8.2 “Papeis de Inspeção à edificação nos terrenos da R. do Almada”, ink drawing on paper. Torre do Tombo National Archive, *Congregação do Oratório de Lisboa*, roll 4. PT/TT/CORL/M04 (source: image courtesy of the Torre do Tombo National Archive) 157
- 8.3 José Joaquim Ludovice, elevation of the Convent of Espírito Santo da Pedreira. *Prospectos do Convento e Igreja do Espírito S.to na calçada do Carmo, topo da rua direita das portas de S.ta Caterina, e Rua nova de Almada, da travessa de S.ta Justa, te a travessa de S. Nicolao*, ink drawing on paper 535 × 835mm, (source: Soromenho and Silva, “O Convento do Espírito Santo,” 255) 160
- 8.4 Luís Gonzaga Pereira, main entrance of the Convent of Espírito Santo da Pedreira. *Descrição dos Monumentos Sacros de Lisboa, ou Collecção de todos os Conventos, Mosteiros, e Parrochiães no Recinto da Cidade de Lisboa*, ink drawing on paper, 1840. Portuguese National Library, Reserved Section, COD. 215 (source: image courtesy of the Portuguese National Library) 161
- 8.5 *Fr. Pedro Álvares of the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri*, oil painting on canvas 38×28cm. Portuguese National Library, Iconography Section, Portuguese National Library, Gallery of Oratorian priests, Inv. 14481 (source: image courtesy of the Portuguese National Library) 164
- 8.6 Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, *The Adoration of the Infant Jesus by Saint Anthony, Saint Philip Neri, Saint Charles Borromeo and Saint Augustine*, oil painting on canvas, c.1790–91. Saint Joan Museum of Aveiro, Reserve Section, Inv. MA 104 A (source: image courtesy of the Saint Joan Museum of Aveiro) 167
- 8.7 Frederick William, House of Necessidades, detail of the *Palácio das Necessidades e a Ribeira de Alcântara*, watercolour drawing on paper, 1829. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lisbon (source: image courtesy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) 170
- 8.8 Antonio Pietro de Pietri, *The Virgin with the Child and Saints*, oil painting on canvas 289 × 196,5cm, 1705–16. National Museum of Ancient Art, Inv. 1590 Pint. (source: image courtesy of the Directorate-General for Cultural Heritage / Archive of Photograpjy Documentation - photography by Carlos Monteiro) 172
- 8.9 Inácio de Oliveira Bernardes, *Crucifixion*, oil painting on canvas, c.1750. Church of Our Lady of Necessities, Lisbon (photography by Sofia Braga) 174

- 8.10 Carlos Antonio Leoni, *Fr. Domingos Pereira*, oil painting on canvas 1,50x1,21cm, c.1755–58. Torre do Tombo National Archive, PT/TT/QRD/000189, Paintings n° 189 (source: image courtesy of the Torre do Tombo National Archive) 176
- 9.1 P. Ricardo da Rocha, depiction of the Convent of Congregados in Braga under construction, watercolour drawing on paper, c.1750 (source: image courtesy of the Arquivo Distrital de Braga) 179
- 9.2 Unknown author, ground floor window in the eastern corner of the Convent of Congregados, Braga (photography by Adelino Pinheiro da Silva) 181
- 9.3 André Soares, eastern corner of the Convent of Congregados, Braga (photography by Adelino Pinheiro da Silva) 184
- 9.4 André Soares, cornice in the eastern corner of the Convent of Congregados, Braga (photography by Adelino Pinheiro da Silva) 185
- 9.5 André Soares, entrance of the Convent of Congregados, Braga (photography by Adelino Pinheiro da Silva) 186
- 9.6 André Soares, façade of the church of the Convent of Congregados, Braga (photography by Adelino Pinheiro da Silva) 189
- 9.7 André Soares, high choir of the church of the Conventos of Congregados, Braga (photography by Adelino Pinheiro da Silva) 194
- 9.8 Plan and sections of the Monks' Chapel, Convent of Congregados, Braga (image courtesy of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Oporto) 196
- 9.9 André Soares, dome of the Monks' Chapel, Convent of Congregados, Braga (photography by Adelino Pinheiro da Silva) 197
- 9.10 Comparison of other famous domes from Guarino Guarini, Filippo Juvarra, Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Francesco Borromini, with André Soares's dome of the Monks' Chapel (photomontage by Eduardo Pires de Oliveira) 199
- 10.1 Map of north-eastern Brazil showing the Oratorian oratories and missions (drawing by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos) 206
- 1 *Oratorian convents: (1) Convent of the Mother of God, Recife; (2) Convent of Saint Amaro, Olinda*
 - 2 *Oratorian missions: (3) Our Lady of the Stair (Aradum), Escada; (4) Our Lady of the Mountains (Ararobá), Cimbres; (5) Our Lady of Presentation, Limoeiro; (6) Our Lady of Assumption (Arataqui), Alhandra; (7) Saint Joseph, Brejo da Madre de Deus*
 - 3 *Possible Oratorian missions: (8) Arraial do Bom Jesus; (9) Carnijós; (10) Caucaia; (11) Aquirás; (12) Parangaba*
- 10.2 José da Silva Pinto, *Mapa topografico em que se mostram as terras que forão os Reverendos Cõgregados...*, watercoloured nanquin drawing 27 × 56 cm, 1813. National Library of Brazil, cart515170 (source: image courtesy of the National Library of Brazil) 209
- 10.3 Aerial view of Cimbres, Pernambuco, former Oratorian mission of Ararobá (source: courtesy image of the Updrone) 210

- 10.4 Domingos Alves Branco Moniz Barreto, *Villa de Abrantes da Comarca do Norte*, watercoloured nanquin drawing 45 × 34.1 cm, c.1794. Former Jesuit mission of Espírito Santo, Bahia. Overseas Historical Archive, AHU_CARTM_005, D. 1043 (source: image courtesy of the Overseas Historical Archive) 211
- 10.5 Church of Our Lady of the Mountains, Cimbres, Pernambuco (photography by Ana Lígia Lira) 212
- 10.6 Church of Our Lady of Assumption, Alhandra, Paraíba (photography by Egberto Araújo) 214
- 10.7 From left to right: Our Lady of the Mountains, Cimbres, and Saint Joseph, Brejo da Madre de Deus (photography by Ana Lígia Lira) 215
- 10.8 Façade of the Church of the Mother of God, Recife (photography by Rodrigo Ibson) 219
- 10.9 Interior of the Church of the Mother of God, Recife (photography by Alexsandra Siqueira) 220
- 10.10 Plan and 3D model reconstituting the former Convent of the Mother of God (prior to the remodelling for the Customs House), Recife, Pernambuco (image courtesy of Tereza Simis) 221
- 11.1 Unknown artist, *Saint Philip Neri flanked by Fr. Bartolomeu de Quental and Fr. Joseph Vaz*, tempera mural painting. Patriarchal Seminary of Rachol, Goa (photography by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos) 232
- 11.2 Holy Cross of Miracles. Chapel of the Holy Cross, See Cathedral of Goa (photography by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos) 234
- 11.3 From left to right, elements originally in the Church of the Holy Cross of Miracles: lateral retable of Our Lady of the Mount, Church of Saint Alex, Calangute (photography by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos); hexagonal retable throne and pulpit, Church of Our Lady of Succour, Socorro (photography by Fleur D'Souza) 236
- 11.4 António Lopes Mendes, *Church of the Holy Cross of Miracles*, coloured pencil drawing on paper, c.1863. National Library of Portugal, Iconografia [Paisagens, edificios, retratos e costumes da Índia portuguesa], DA-12-V, fl. 35 (source: image courtesy of the National Library of Portugal) 237
- 11.5 Souza & Paul, Church of the Holy Cross of Miracles, c.1890. National Academy of Fine Arts, "Álbum da Índia", cota CC-5-20, PT-ANBA-AF-63_m0005 (source: photography courtesy of the National Academy of Fine Arts) 238
- 11.6 Saldanha & Cia., Church and Convent of the Holy Cross of Miracles, c.1930. Historical Archives of Macao, postais fotográficos do Estado da Índia Portuguesa (Goa, Damão e Diu), MO-AH-ICON-MTL-IN-227 (source: photography courtesy of the Historical Archives of Macao) 238
- 11.7 From left to right, façade of the Church of the Holy Cross of Miracles, Emile Marini, 1956. Overseas Historical Archive, PT/AHU/AGU/MAR/348 (source: photography courtesy of the Overseas Historical Archive); Percival de

- Noronha, c.1980. Overseas Historical Archive, PT-AHU-PN-HG_m0049 (source: photography courtesy of the Overseas Historical Archive); Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos, 2015 (photography by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos) 239
- 11.8 Plan of the Church and Convent of the Holy Cross of Miracles, 2013 (source: image courtesy of Túlio de Souza and Ketak Nachinolkar) 244
- 11.9 Interior of the Church of the Holy Cross of Miracles, 2015 (photography by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos) 245
- 11.10 From left to right: Church of the Holy Cross of Miracles in Goa. Photomontage over a photograph by Souza & Paul, c.1890 (source: photography courtesy by Lynn Barreto Miranda) and a contemporary photograph, 2015 (photography by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos) 247
- 11.11 From left to right, elevations: Basilica of Bom Jesus in Goa and Church of Our Lady of Grace in Goa (drawings by António Nunes Pereira); Church of the Holy Cross of Miracles in Goa (drawing by Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos); Church of Saint Anne in Talaulim. Fundação Mário Soares, DTC - Documentos Mário e Alice Chicó, pasta 07127.000.165 (source: image courtesy of the Fundação Mário Soares) 248
- 11.12 José Maria Gonsalves, *View of the City of Goa*, watercolour drawing on paper 66 × 42.5 cm, c.1820. Overseas Historical Archive, iconografia manuscrita, PT/AHU/ICONM (source: image courtesy of the Overseas Historical Archive) 250
- 12.1 Map of Sri Lanka showing the Oratorian public churches built in the Kandyan kingdom until 1746 (drawing by Sagara Jayasinghe)
 1. Puthukudiyiruppu, 2. Alambil, 3. Vanni, 4. Cottiar, 5. Puttalam, 6. Maripo, 7. Kuruvikkulam, 8. Galgama, 9. Vahakotte, 10. Wellawala, 11. Bolawatta, 12. Narangoda, 13. Kandy, 14. Sitawaka, 15. Batticaloa, 16. Sorikalmunai, 17. Velaque, 18. Manacanna, 19. Ottepettym and 20. Anddarapaenne. *The locations of churches nos. 17 to 20 are not identified.* 257
- 12.2 Interior view of the Church of Our Lady of Victory in Pesalai, Mannar (Source: photography courtesy of Ronald Lewcock) 262
- 12.3 Exploded axonometric view of the Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage in Amithakali (drawing by Sagara Jayasinghe) 264
- 12.4 Exterior view of the Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage in Amithakali (Source: photography courtesy of the Parish of Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage, in Amithakali) 265
- 12.5 Exploded axonometric view of the Church of Saint Andrew in Thottaveli (drawing by Sagara Jayasinghe) 266
- 12.6 Exterior view of the Church of Saint Andrew in Thottaveli (photography by Sagara Jayasinghe) 267
- 12.7 Exploded axonometric view of the Church of Saint Bartholomew in Olraithoduvai (drawing by Sagara Jayasinghe) 268

- 12.8 Interior view of the Church of Saint Bartholomew in Olaitthoduvai (photography by Sagara Jayasinghe) 269
- 12.9 Exploded axonometric view of the Church of Our Lady of Assumption in Parappankandaal (drawing by Sagara Jayasinghe) 270
- 12.10 Interior view of the Church of Our Lady of Assumption in Parappankandaal (photography by Sagara Jayasinghe) 271
- 13.1 Oratorian Foundations in Spain from the eighteen century to the present (drawing by José Antonio Díaz) 277
- 13.2 Tomás Vicente Tosca, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Valencia, 1727–1736 (photography by José Antonio Díaz) 280
- 13.3 Antonio de la Iglesia and Diego Hernando, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Valladolid, 1675–1710 (photography by José Antonio Díaz) 283
- 13.4 Juan de Dios de la Rada, *Oratory of Saint Philip Neri of Madrid*, coloured engraving, 1862–1875 (source: private collection of José Antonio Díaz) 284
- 13.5 Pere Bertrán, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Barcelona, 1721–1752 (photography by José Antonio Díaz) 286
- 13.6 Manuel Prados, *The Oratory of Saint Philip Neri of Granada*, oil painting on canvas, 2019 (source: private collection of José Antonio Díaz) 287
- 13.7 Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Cordoba, 1697–1720 (photography by José Antonio Díaz) 289
- 13.8 Blas Díaz, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Cadiz, 1685–1719 (photography by José Antonio Díaz) 291
- 13.9 José de Bada, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Malaga, 1755–1796 (photography by José Antonio Díaz) 293
- 13.10 Unknown author, alcove of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Baza, c.1703 (photography by José Antonio Díaz) 295
- 14.1 Matthäeus Greuter, *Theatrum in ecclesia S. Petri in Vaticano*, engraving, 1622. Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio, Rome, CIS, XXXVI, 4 (source: image courtesy of the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica - Ministero per i Beni le Attività Culturali) 299
- 14.2 Jacopus Lauren, *Beatus Philippus Nerivus, florentinus, Congregationis Orant Fund*, engraving, 1600 (source: Gallonio, *Vita di San Filippo Neri*, XXI) 300
- 14.3 Hieronymus Wierix, *Beatus Philippus Neri*, engraving, 1606; Matthias Greuter, *Beatus Philippus Neri*, engraving, 1606 (image courtesy of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana) 302
- 14.4 Guido Reni, *Saint Philip Neri in ecstasy*, oil painting on canvas, 1615. Church of Santa Maria en Vallicella, Rome (source: <http://www.laboratorioroma.it>) 303
- 14.5 Unknown author, *Saint Philip Neri in front of the Virgin Mary*, oil painting on canvas, eighteenth century. Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, San Miguel de Allende (photography by Erika B. González León) 304

- 14.6 *Post mortem* face mask of Philip Neri, wax, 1595. Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (source: <http://www.laboratorioroma.it>) 306
- 14.7 Cristóforo Roncalli, *Saint Philip Neri*, oil painting on canvas, c.1622. Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome (source: *Annales Oratorii*, 2015, Fasciculus 13) 307
- 14.8 Author: S.B.J. *Vera effigies S. Philippi Berii ex ea, quam olim ipso vivente C. Baronius. exprimi curavit et in proesens canarie colitu*, engraving, seventeenth century. Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, San Miguel de Allende (photography by Erika B. González León) 308
- 14.9 *Beatus Philippus Nerus*, engraving, 1595 (source: Noyes, "Aut numquid post annos mille," 252); *R. Pater Philippus Nerus*, engraving, 1595 (source: Gabriele Paleotti, *De bono Senectus*, 2) 310
- 14.10 Unknown artist, *Gabriel Paleoto*, oil painting on canvas, c.1778. Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Mexico City (photography by Erika B. González León) 311
- 14.11 *Saint Philip Neri*, engraving, 1622 (source: Antonio Gallonio, Gallonio, *Vita di San Filippo Neri*, 1) 313
- 14.12 José de Alzibar, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Philip Neri under the protection of Our Lady of Sorrows*, oil on canvas, 1787. Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Mexico City (photography by Erika B. González León) 314
- 14.13 Gerónimo Antonio Gil (attrib.), *True portrait of Saint Philip Neri*, engraving, 1782. College of San Francisco de Sales, San Miguel el Grande (photography by Erika B. González León) 315
- 15.1 José de Alzibar, *Patronage of Saint Joseph over the Mexican Oratory*, oil painting on canvas 3.90 × 4.80m, c.1767 (source: image courtesy of the Pinacoteca de La Profesa, Mexico City) 320
- 15.2 José de Ibarra, *Patronage of Saint Joseph (Coronation of Saint Joseph)*, oil painting on canvas 1.00 × 3.07m, 1735 (source: image courtesy of the National Museum of the Viceroyalty of New Spain) 321
- 15.3 Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, page of the *Tractatus III de Sanctissimo Deigentitricis Sponso Josepho*, ink manuscript on paper, 1746 (source: image courtesy of the National Library of Mexico) 323
- 15.4 José María Genovese, *El sagrado corazon del santissimo patriarcha Sr. San Joseph, venerado por todos los dias de la semana, con la consideracion de sus excelencias, y diversidad de afectuosos coloquios muy ilustre Congregación de Señor San Joseph*, engraving of a print book, 1751 (source: image courtesy of the National Library of Mexico) 325
- 15.5 Miguel Antonio Martínez de Pocasangre, *Via Crucis of the Brotherhood of the Holy School of Christ of San Miguel El Grande*, tempera mural painting, mid-eighteenth century. Sanctuary of Jesús Nazareno, Atotonilco El Grande (photography by Luis Javier Cuesta Hernández) 327

- 15.6 Cristobal de Villalpando, *Our Lady of the Stairs*, oil painting on canvas, c.1680–90 (source: image courtesy of the Pinacoteca de La Profesa, Mexico City) 328
- 15.7 Gregorius Fernan, *Imagen milagrossisima de Ntra. S. de la Escalera, colocada en el convento de Mercenarios Descalzos de la Villa de Rota*, engraving, 1683 (source: private collection of Luis Javier Cuesta Hernández) 329
- 15.8 José de Alzibar, *Patronage of Saint Joseph over the viceroy and his authorities*, oil painting on canvas, 1774 (source: image courtesy of the Pinacoteca de La Profesa, Mexico City) 331
- 15.9 José de Alzibar, *The Ministry of Saint Joseph*, oil painting on canvas 2.47 × 2.23m, c.1771 (source: image courtesy of the National Museum of Art) 332
- 15.10 Francisco Antonio Vallejo, *Glorification of the Immaculate Conception*, oil painting on canvas 8.65 × 5.40m, 1774 (source: image courtesy of the National Museum of Art) 333
- 16.1 Henry Jones Underwood, perspective drawing of Littlemore church in 1835–36, engraving, the editorial addition (not in my original draft) “mid-nineteenth century” seems redundant here (source: Henry Jones Underwood, *Elevations, sections and details of the Church of St Mary the Virgin at Littlemore, Oxfordshire* (Oxford: Published for the Architectural Society by John Henry Parker, 1845), Plate 1) 338
- 16.2 John Buckler, interior of Littlemore church, sepia sketch, 1839 (source: image courtesy of Dr Philip Salmon) 339
- 16.3 Augustus Welby Pugin, Blessed Sacrament Chapel of Saint Giles’ Church, Cheadle (Staffordshire), 1841–46 (photography by Lawrence Lew, OP) 341
- 16.4 Augustus Welby Pugin, Chancel of Saint Giles’ Church, Cheadle (Staffordshire), 1841–46 (photography by Lawrence Lew, OP) 343
- 16.5 John Hungerford Pollen, porch of the University Church, Saint Stephen’s Green with the hipped roof of the church in the background, Dublin, 1855–56 (source: photography courtesy of the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, Ireland) 345
- 16.6 John Hungerford Pollen, interior of the University Church, Saint Stephen’s Green, Dublin, 1855–56 (source: photography courtesy of the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, Ireland) 346

Notes on Contributors

Glenys L. Adams

is an independent scholar affiliated with the Department of Art History at the University of Melbourne. She has presented various aspects of her thesis in Australia and internationally and is currently working on publishing her doctoral thesis, “Space, Memory, Narrative: the Oratorians and the Memorialization of San Filippo Neri in Rome, Florence and Naples”.

Luca Baroni

is a PhD student at the Scuola Normale Superiore. He is interested in the history of collecting and the relationship between drawing, painting and engraving, which he has studied in the cases of Raphael, Simone Cantarini, Renato Guttuso and the German engravers of the sixteenth century, among others. Since 2017, he has been entrusted with maintaining the Andrea Emiliani Archive on Federico Barocci, the artist on which he is drafting a catalogue raisonné.

Iacopo Benincampi

studied architecture at the University of Rome “La Sapienza”, where he completed his PhD in the Department of History in 2017. In 2018, he was a postdoc at the University of Parma, and in 2019, he was a visiting professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio. He has written books and scientific papers and attends international conferences.

Sofia Braga

is an integrated researcher at the Institute of Art History, NOVA University of Lisbon. She completed her bachelor’s and master’s degrees in history of art at the University of Lisbon. For her PhD thesis in history of art (the University of Lisbon), she studied the work of Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, one of the main Portuguese artists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Her research focuses on Portuguese mural paintings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and Portuguese academies in the eighteenth century. She has published numerous articles in scientific journals and presented many papers at scientific events.

Gennaro Cassiani

is a graduate of the University of Rome “La Sapienza” and earned a PhD from the Catholic University of Sacred Heart in Milan (1998). In 2012 and 2018, he obtained the Italian “Abilitazione Scientifica Nazionale” as associate professor of early modern history. Cassiani was an associate researcher at the Istituto

Luigi Sturzo in Rome (1992–2002) and a professor and postdoctoral fellow at the University of Molise (2000–2008). He is a member of the Italian Society for Early Modern History (SISEM, 2007-present), researcher of the *Enciclopedia Treccani* (“Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani”) and guest professor at the Catholic University of Sacred Heart (Milan).

Valentina Catalucci

graduated from the University of Pisa in 2004 with a thesis on the history of Renaissance art. In 2007, she obtained a postgraduate degree in medieval and modern history of art from the same institution. In 2011, she earned her doctoral degree with a thesis on history of collecting at the Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane in Florence. She is currently working as a curator of Renaissance and Baroque paintings at the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Palazzo Ducale, in Urbino.

Costantino Ceccanti

graduated from the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Florence with the thesis *Giambologna Architetto* and completed a PhD in architecture at the same institution with the dissertation *Baccio da Montelupo Architetto*. He has collaborated in the organisation of several exhibitions, has published numerous articles and has participated in national and international conferences. He taught at the campus set up in Florence by Tongji University of Shanghai in collaboration with the University of Florence and, since March 2018, he has been an official architect at the Musei del Bargello, Florence.

Luis Javier Cuesta Hernández

has been Dean of the Humanities and Communication Division at Universidad Iberoamericana since 2017. Prior to this, from 2012 to 2017, he was Principal of the Department of Art History at the same institution, and he has been a professor at several institutions within Latin America and Spain. He has a PhD in art history from the University of Salamanca (1993). He has authored several books, chapters and articles in scientific magazines, and has participated in specialised congresses at conferences. He regularly gives lectures at universities in Mexico and abroad.

José Antonio Díaz Gómez

is a professor at the Department of History of Art of the University of Granada and a researcher of the HUM-362 Group “Art and culture in modern and contemporary Andalusia” at the University of Granada. He has a PhD in history and arts from the University of Granada (2018). His research focuses on the history, culture and heritage of the Spanish congregations of the Oratorians

and of the Adorno Fathers, also known as *caracciolini*. His research has been presented in numerous publications in academic journals.

Valentina Emiliani

is a PhD candidate in history at the Università Roma Tre, with a project on Giovanni Battista Pamphilj as nuncio in Naples and Madrid. She has a double MA in European history from King's College London and the Università Roma Tre. She is a student at the Vatican School of Palaeography, Diplomats and Archives Administration. Since 2017, she has collaborated with the Floridi Doria Pamphilj Trust on exhibitions, participating in research projects and articles in catalogues. Her research interests are early modern Rome and the Roman Court, élites and festivals.

Daniele Ferrara

completed a bachelor's degree in literature (historical-artistic specialisation) at the University of Rome "La Sapienza" (1987) and a specialisation in history of medieval and modern art at the same university (1992). Since August 1988, he has collaborated with the Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma e del Lazio on cataloguing activities and participated in the research "Giardini Roma-Venezia" on behalf of the Department of Architectural Heritage and Urban Planning of the University of Reggio Calabria.

Erika B. González León

has a PhD in art history from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; her research lines are religious images and antique books, especially those of the Congregation of the Oratory during the viceroyalty of the Novo-Hispanic period in the Bajío area and Mexico City. Her postgraduate thesis focused on the congregation in the city of San Miguel de Allende, Guanajuato. She is currently working as a postdoctoral researcher at the Investigations Bibliographical Institute, conducting research on the visual and written culture of the Oratorian community through their publications.

Sagara Jayasinghe

is a PhD candidate at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon. He is a practising architect and a design researcher with a major focus on cultural heritage, colonialism, missionary movements and ecclesiastical architecture in Sri Lanka. He is also a faculty member of the Department of Integrated Design, University of Moratuwa, and a fellow of the Sri Lanka Institute of Architects. His practice and research have assisted in preserving numerous facets of colonial heritage, especially by documenting and undertaking systematic architectural drawings of churches and other liturgical art works in Sri Lanka.

Uwe Michael Lang

a native of Nuremberg, is a priest of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri in London. He holds a doctorate in theology from the University of Oxford and teaches Church history at Mater Ecclesiae College, St Mary's University, Twickenham, London. He is visiting faculty at the Liturgical Institute in Mundelein, Illinois, and serves on the Council of the Henry Bradshaw Society and the Board of Directors of the Society for Catholic Liturgy. He has published widely in the field of liturgical studies, including questions of sacred art and architecture. He is the editor of *Antiphon: A Journal for Liturgical Renewal*.

Ana Lúcia do Nascimento Oliveira

is a professor in the postgraduate programme in history at the Federal Rural University of Pernambuco. She has a bachelor's degree, a master's and a PhD, all in history and all from the Federal University of Pernambuco; she has also completed a post doctorate in history at the University of Porto. Her research is on history and archaeology, with a focus on history, memory and heritage.

Eduardo Pires de Oliveira

is a researcher at the ARTIS - Institute of Art History, School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon. He holds a PhD in art history from the University of Porto, with a thesis focused on André Soares, and has written more than 250 studies on Braga, Minho, Brazil and Galicia. He is a member of the Portuguese Association of Art Historians, the Portuguese Association of Archaeologists and the National Academy of Fine Arts, from which he received the José de Figueiredo Prize in 1994. He was also a collaborator in the archaeological excavations of the Roman cities of Bracara Augusta and Conimbriga.

Berenice Pardo Hernández

is an independent curator and cultural manager with experience in project management, public diplomacy, public policy analysis, editorial coordination, national and international exhibitions, content creation, writing and publications. Her expertise includes documentary, iconographic and field research in Mexico, Spain and the Middle East. She completed her bachelor's degree in art history at the Universidad Iberoamericana, the master's degree in political philosophy at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, and her PhD at 17 Instituto de Estudios Críticos.

Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos

is a researcher and professor at the ARTIS - Institute of Art History, School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon. His research focuses on the history and preservation of Portuguese heritage worldwide. He has a PhD in architecture from the University of Alcalá, with a thesis on the rehabilitation of

medieval fortifications; a bachelor's degree and MArch in architecture from the University of Coimbra; and a specialisation in the conservation and restoration of monuments and historical sites from the Federal University of Bahia. He has participated in multiple research projects and has produced numerous articles, papers and other scientific activities.

Ana Lúcia Lira da Silva

earned her bachelor's degree in Social Communication, with a major in Public Relations, from the School of Public Affairs of Pernambuco; a specialisation in Diplomacy and International Business from the Faculty Damas da Instrução Cristã (Pernambuco); and a master's in history from the Federal Rural University of Pernambuco. Her research focuses on culture, heritage and memory.

Oratorian Architecture in Spain during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

José Antonio Díaz-Gómez

1 Introduction

This chapter aims to clarify the two architectural models that determined the evolution of Oratorian churches in peninsular Spain during the early modern age. The first key aspect to address is the purpose of the Oratorian churches, which was not merely the common liturgical or devotional usage. From its inception, the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri resolved to fight against pagan diversions, especially by countering popular dramas with Christian ones,¹ directly inspired by the very successful practice of its founder, Saint Philip Neri (1515–1545), who used to indoctrinate poor children and unlettered people with the help of Christian drama.²

This practice resulted in a new musical genre, the sacred opera or sacred oratory, representing numerous glorious compositions in history, and paradoxically in the Protestant world, by Handel and Bach.³ The sacred oratory began in the mid-sixteenth century around the circle of Saint Philip Neri. This influential Roman parish priest was determined to reform the habits of Roman clerics and laypeople. Nevertheless, the Papacy saw in his charisma a very useful political and, of course, ecclesial instrument to counter the strong Catholic monarchs' power in Europe.⁴

The main problem for the Pope was likely the excessive influence of Spain on religious matters. It must be remembered that Emperor Charles V (1500–1558)

1 Manuel Conciencia, *Vida admirable de el Glorioso Thaumaturgo de Roma, perfectísimo modelo del Estado Eclesiástico, y Sagrado Fundador de la Congregación del Oratorio, San Felipe Neri* (Madrid: Imprenta de Antonio Sanz Conciencia, 1760), 1: 172–164.

2 Howard E. Smither, *A history of the oratorio* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 23–75.

3 Arnaldo Morelli, “La circolazione dell’oratorio italiano nel Seicento,” *Studi musicali* 26 (1997): 105–186.

4 Esther Jiménez, “Contrarios a la hegemonía hispana: Felipe Neri y el intento de reforma espiritual de la Compañía de Jesús (1533–1573),” in *Los jesuitas: Religión, política y educación (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, eds. José Martínez, Henar Pizarro and Esther Jiménez (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, 2012), 1: 353–355.

was the first to break the fortress of the Papacy during the Sack of Rome in 1527. As punishment for the Pope's alliance with the League of Cognac, the imperial troops plundered the city of Rome and imprisoned the Pope for nine months.⁵ Moreover, if one considers that just ten years earlier, Martin Luther (1483–1546) had begun the Reformation with the support of the German princes, it becomes clear that the Papal authority was in the doldrums. Consequently, the European monarchs started to consider establishing their own national churches led by the Crown⁶ and, finally, one of the most painful *coups de grâce* was the English Reformation by Henry VIII (1491–1547) in 1534.⁷

Within this difficult context, the Papacy needed to whitewash its authority and, of course, the image of its secular clergy. The solution was to imitate the prestigious structures of the regular clergy to create new religious orders integrated by priests following a common rule. Their new dedication was to an intense evangelisation of people of all strata. The first meetings for this purpose took place in private episcopal oratories, and with the birth of the Theatine congregation by Saint Cajetan of Thiene (1480–1547) in 1524, the Oratorian movement was initiated.⁸

After the Theatines, many new regular orders and congregations of clerics emerged in different Italian regions, such as the Barnabites (1530), Jesuits (1540), Somascan Fathers (1568), Leonardines (1574), Camillians (1578), Adorno Fathers (1588), Piarists (1617), and many more.⁹ The Oratorians emerged in 1551 as the Brotherhood of the Small Oratory founded by Saint Philip Neri to indoctrinate the children in the Roman Church of San Girolamo della Carità. Finally, owing to the popularity of this charismatic priest, they were officially established in 1575 as the Congregation of the Oratory (of Saint Philip Neri, from 1622 onwards) in the Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, due to the Papacy's interest in creating a new kind of congregation directly dependent on Rome, without the structure of provincial and general superiors of religious orders.¹⁰ The foundation of an Oratorian house would, therefore, be a stronghold of

5 Antonio Di Pierro, *Il Sacco di Roma* (Rome: Mondadori, 2003), 6–9; Massimo Miglio, Vincenzo De Caprio, Daniel Arasse and Alberto Asor Rosa, *Il Sacco di Roma del 1527 e l'immaginario collettivo* (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1986): 11–35.

6 Jiménez, "Contrarios a la hegemonía," 353–355.

7 Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice - Un corpo e due anime: La monarchia papale nella prima età moderna* (Rome: Il Mulino, 1982), 15–79.

8 Marcella Campanelli, *I Teatini* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1987), 3–10.

9 José Antonio Díaz-Gómez, "Fundaciones de las congregaciones del Oratorio de San Felipe Neri y de Clérigos Regulares Menores en las jurisdicciones diocesanas de Granada y Guadix: Historia y patrimonio" (PhD diss., University of Granada, 2018), 1: 67–75.

10 Conciencia, *Vida admirable*, 1: 176–178.

absolute loyalty to the Papacy, despite monarchical powers over religious matters, and the Pope could apply his right (*Potestas indirecta*) to intervene in political matters using religious influence.¹¹

2 Particularities of the Spanish Sociohistorical Context

During the sixteenth century, the Hispanic Church was at a very propitious moment. An Italian order promoted by Spanish priests, the Jesuits, rapidly became the most influential religious institution in both the West and the East. Furthermore, the main Catholic reform processes were initiated by Spanish Carmelites and Franciscans,¹² another factor that contributed to the loss of authority and influence of the Papacy in the largest empire in the world at the time. Therefore, the new Italian orders, especially the known priestly congregations, were promoted by the Papacy as a means of consolidating the independence of the Roman Church.¹³

In that sense, the Oratorians initially faced radical opposition from the monarchical institutions in Spain. When they tried to erect new headquarters, the Royal Councils of Castile and Aragon opposed them. Ultimately, the Crown denied them a licence on the grounds that the Spanish cities already had more than enough convents and orders, the Oratorian presence was unnecessary, and, to make matters worse, Saint Philip Neri was an unknown personality to the Spanish people.¹⁴ Only Italian residents of Spain knew of the Oratorian founder and tried to spread his charisma through brotherhoods of clerics and faithful, such as the Brotherhood of the Oratory in Valencia or the popular School of Christ that was present in many cities.¹⁵

Finally, drama saved the Oratorians. Despite fierce political opposition, the first Oratorian community was formed in Valencia in 1645.¹⁶ Previously, in

11 Beatriz Cárceles, "El recurso de fuerza en los conflictos entre Felipe II y el Papado: La *plenitudo quaedam iuris*", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 13, serie IV, (2000): 19–36.

12 José Martínez, "El movimiento descalzo en los siglos XVI y XVII," *Libros de la Corte* 3 (2015): 102–105 (special issue).

13 Jiménez, "Contrarios a la hegemonía," 349–351; José Martínez, "El movimiento descalzo en las órdenes religiosas," in *La monarquía de Felipe III*, ed. José Martínez (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre - Instituto de Cultura, 2008), 79–108.

14 Estela Callado, "Origen, progreso y primeras tribulaciones del Oratorio de San Felipe Neri en España: El caso valenciano," *Libros de la Corte* 3 (2015): 52–54.

15 Fermín Labarga, *La Santa Escuela de Cristo* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2013), 58–65.

16 Callado, "Origen, progreso," 52–54.

1622, Pope Gregory XV (1554–1623) had accepted the canonisation of four new Spanish saints in exchange for the canonisation of an Italian priest with them. In this way, the reforming personalities of Saint Teresa of Avila, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, Saint Francis Xavier, and Saint Isidore of Seville (a popular figure of devotion in rural areas) were raised to the altars in the same ceremony as Saint Philip Neri; it was the greatest canonisation celebration in the Catholic world and in history.¹⁷ This event spread awareness of Saint Philip Neri and his Oratorians in Spain, people started to pray to him, and his congregation could launch the initiative to establish new foundations in this kingdom.¹⁸

The Oratorians were able to found new houses in Spain owing to the solid support for their new devotions and Christian drama. For instance, their new devotion to the Virgin of Sorrows in particular helped them gain popularity. From the last third of the seventeenth century and, as we will discuss in the next pages, owing to the Oratory of Granada, the Spanish Oratorians promoted devotion to the Seven Sorrows of Mary. The prayer of this devotion was new, and Pope Clement X (1590–1676) gave his licence for its public practice in the Kingdom of Spain in 1671, following the model created by the Oratorians and the Archbishop of Granada, Diego Escolano y Ledesma (1609–1672).¹⁹ From this moment on, Spanish cities started to see brotherhoods and artistic images of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows; the Oratorians were their promoters and the first temples in the world consecrated to this Marian dedication were Spanish churches of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri.²⁰

The sacred oratory was a different mechanism. Spanish popular theatre was a bastion of unpopular opinions against the monarchy, and Oratorian spirituality had arrived in Spain with a plan to eradicate popular theatre and replace it with new Oratorian houses.²¹ That was the only way the Oratorians could demonstrate the utility of the new congregation to the monarchy in a land saturated with different religious orders. The opinion of the Crown, however, was different from that of the people, who understood theatre as an escape from the harsh conditions of their daily reality. Thus, if devotion to the Sorrows of Mary made the Oratorians popular, their fight against theatre made them

17 Esther Jiménez, “La canonización de Ignacio de Loyola (1622): Lucha de intereses entre Roma, Madrid y París,” *Chronica Nova* 42 (2016): 79–102.

18 Juan Marciano, *Memorias históricas de la Congregación del Oratorio* (Madrid: Imprenta de Nicolás de Castro, 1854) 5: 8.

19 José Antonio Díaz-Gómez, “La Virgen de los Dolores (1671) de José de Mora: Estudio y nuevos datos en torno a la dolorosa servita de Granada,” *Arte y Patrimonio* 3 (2018): 55–76.

20 Díaz-Gómez, “Fundaciones de las congregaciones,” 1: 627.

21 Estela Callado, “El Oratorio de San Felipe Neri y la controversia sobre las comedias en la Valencia del siglo XVII,” *Hispania Sacra* 127 (2011): 139–145.



FIGURE 13.1 Oratorian foundations in Spain from the eighteenth century to the present
DRAWING BY JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ

simultaneously unpopular,²² and the strategies of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri in Spain, accordingly, had to be based on the very complicated aim of pleasing the monarchy and the people to survive.

3 Putting Faith in the Model of Vignola during the Seventeenth Century

As stated above, 1645 was the year when the prestigious priest Luis Crespí de Borja (1607–1663) founded the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri in the city of Valencia. This Spanish city was the main peninsular port to Italy, with a solid community of Italian nobles and clerics.²³ These Italian residents imported the devotion to Saint Philip Neri to Spain after his canonisation in 1622 and

22 Callado, “Origen, progreso,” 70.

23 David Igual, *Valencia e Italia en el siglo xv: Rutas, mercados y hombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterráneo occidental* (Valencia: Universitat, 1996), 79–110; Manuel Rivero, “Italia en la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XVI–XVIII),” *Studia Historica, Historia Moderna* 26 (2004): 19–41.

built the first Spanish altar dedicated to this saint in the Church of San Andrés. Shortly after, in 1633, Luis Crespí travelled to Rome and visited the sites of Saint Philip Neri. The Oratorians of the former Santa María in the Vallicella community noted the opportunity to found the first Spanish Oratory in Valencia using the influences of this priest, and they requested from him the first Spanish translation of the biography of Saint Philip Neri.²⁴

Two years later, Luis Crespí returned to Valencia and joined the other two priests, Felipe Pesantes (1584–1660) and Miguel Cervelló, to found the first Spanish Oratory. The success of this first house in Spain rested on two essential pillars. The first was the comparatively less difficult acceptance of the Council of Aragon and the Archbishop of Valencia, owing to the Oratorians' fight against popular dramas. Initially, the Oratorians of Valencia purchased the theatre site to transform it into a new church and convent in 1644 and set up a non-authorized community with other priests; predictably, they obtained the endorsement of the authorities, but they simultaneously suffered attacks – verbal, printed, and even physical – from dramatists and members of the public.²⁵ This situation would be repeated during the foundation of the congregation in cities such as Villena, Ezcaray, and Seville;²⁶ it was only with time, the success of the new devotions, and threats of excommunication that peace was restored.

Nevertheless, the Valencia community needed to raise its second pillar, to develop new Oratorian practices. In this sense, they also needed composers to write sacred operas in the Spanish language and a spacious place to stage these new compositions. Numerous Oratorians of this first foundation became prestigious musicians due to this particular genre, such as Antonio Teodoro Ortells (1647–1706), Pedro Martínez de Orgambide, and Pere Rabassa (1683–1767). The notable success of their compositions demanded a high-capacity venue for the performances. Finally, the new residence and church were the result of the union of different popular houses whose courtyard was the site of the earlier theatre.²⁷

The liturgy and the Christian drama had to take place in the same building: a new large church. The architectural model for this was clear; success in their venture would require them to emulate the idea of the founder of the former house. The model was the Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, also called

24 Callado, "Origen, progreso," 52–54; Marciano, *Memorias históricas*, 5: 12.

25 Callado, "Origen, progreso," 70.

26 Díaz-Gómez, "Fundaciones de las congregaciones," 1: 97–202.

27 Raúl Angulo and Antoni Pons, *Pedro Rabassá (1683–1767): La gloria de los santos (1715)* (Madrid: Ars Hispana, 2017), 1–9.

Chiesa Nuova (New Church). However, which model inspired the reform led by Saint Philip Neri? The only valid model for counter-reformation practices was the ground plan that Giacomo Vignola (1507–1573) had sketched for the nearby Jesuit Church of the Gesù in 1568.²⁸

The Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella was an old Roman temple erected in the thirteenth century and dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. When Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585) sanctioned the Congregation of the Oratory in 1575, he bestowed the old, dilapidated church on Saint Philip Neri and his followers so that they would rebuild it.²⁹ Matteo di Città di Castello (c.1530–c.1597) was the architect in charge of building the new church inspired by the Church of Il Gesù but bigger. Later modifications were made by architects such as Martino Longhi (1602–1660) and Giacomo della Porta (c.1540–1602), who ended the work in 1617.³⁰ In fact, while the Gesù has six lateral chapels, Santa Maria in Vallicella has ten, which are also deeper, thanks to the extension by Della Porta. Each of these chapels is dedicated to a different mystery of the life of the Virgin Mary and is decorated with polychromatic marble and paintings, following the design of artists Domenico Fontana (1543–1607) and Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1611).³¹

The main façade was planned by Fausto Rughesi from 1594 to 1614, following Vignola again:³² two levels, each one divided into five bays, with the central bay, of course, being wider than the laterals. A stairway comes before the architectural ensemble, and four central Corinthian columns and eight pilasters are supported on it. The two levels are separated by a stepped entablature that is only interrupted in its centre by an arched pediment containing reliefs with the Madonna and the angels over the central door. The decoration of the second level consists of smaller pilasters surrounding a central window and lateral niches with sculptures of Oratorian saints, each with its own triangular or circular pediment. Finally, a great triangular pediment covers the entire ensemble with a narrow volute on each side.

During that period, throughout most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the design of Vignola was the only valid model for the Oratorians' needs in the Catholic world. In the case of Valencia, the new foundation was

28 Giovanni Sale, "Committente e fruitori d'opera nella Roma del Cinquecento: Il progetto del Gesù di Roma," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 3 (2001): 247–260.

29 Antonio Cistellini, "Oratoriani," in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, eds. Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca (Rome: Paoline, 1977), 6: 765–775.

30 Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma: Dal secolo IV al XIX* (Rome: Edizioni del Pasquino, 1982), 244.

31 Conciencia, *Vida admirable*, 1: 278.

32 Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, 244.



FIGURE 13.2 Tomás Vicente Tosca, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Valencia, 1727–1736
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ

supported by the patronage of King Philip IV (1605–1665) in 1657, one year after the ratification of the new Oratorian house by Pope Alexander VII (1599–1667), as a reward for defending the monarchy against the gossip of the dramatists.³³ At that moment, they opened a small chapel in the Church of San Juan del Hospital, while they collected the money that they needed to start the work in the theatre: 18,000 *ducados*.³⁴ In 1685, the Oratorians of Valencia could begin the desired work and requested local architect and Oratorian priest Tomás Vicente Tosca (1651–1723) to design the new large church, following the model of Vignola, which is also present in Santa Maria in Vallicella, as stated before, but in this case, with only six lateral chapels (three on each side) and without galleries.

Following the Roman model, the decoration was designed by the same architect, with pilasters of the Corinthian order and polychromatic marble. The paintings depicting Oratorian history by Jerónimo Espinosa (1600–1667), José Vergara (1726–1799), and Vicente López (1772–1850) are later and neoclassical.³⁵ Most of the current altarpieces come from the Parish of Saint Thomas, which moved to this church when the Oratorians were defrocked in 1836, along with the rest of the religious orders in Spain.³⁶ The façade was inspired by the Valicella Church, with Spanish baroque touches, especially in the entrance, which includes a broken pediment. Another remarkable aspect is the small and stark bell tower, whose decoration is focused on the roof, as is usual in the Levante region. The whole construction was completed in 1736, following the design of the same architect.³⁷

The same plan had been used before, for the second Spanish foundation, in the city of Valladolid. It was established in 1646 by a group of local priests, following an unbidden initiative to take care of the poor and old priests of the city at Esgueva Hospital. The congregation was increasing, and Bishop Gregorio de Pedrosa (1571–1646) decided to lay down the Oratorian rules. One decade later,

33 Richard A. Young, *La figura del rey y la institución real en la comedia lopesca* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa, 1979), 24–90; Jesús Cañas, “El rey y la monarquía en las comedias de Francisco Bances Candamo,” *Archivum* 61–62 (2011–12): 80–86.

34 Juan Miguel Blay, *El Oratorio de San Felipe Neri de Valencia (1645–1837)* (Valencia: Universidad Cardenal Herrera CEU, 2021), 79–98; Marciano, *Memorias históricas*, 5: 169–177.

35 Joaquín Bérchez, ed., *Monumentos de la Comunidad Valenciana: Catálogo de Monumentos y Conjuntos declarados e incoados* (Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, 1995), 10: 246–253.

36 Blay, *El Oratorio de San Felipe*, 137–142.

37 Bérchez, *Monumentos de la Comunidad*, 10: 246–253.

they decided to search for a new, larger place for the community and bought a house of the Marquis of Orani on Teresa Gil Street.³⁸

The construction of the new church lasted from 1675 to 1683, clearly inspired by the Oratory of Valencia. It was a quick construction directed by architect Antonio de la Iglesia, with the later addition of a classical brick façade in 1706 by Diego Hernando, based on the austerity of the surrounding buildings from the Spanish Renaissance;³⁹ in fact, the design maintains symmetry and includes a squared bell tower on each side of the façade. The current baroque altarpieces of all the chapels are originals, from the first half of the eighteenth century, and designed by joiner Francisco Villota, with sculptures by Juan and Pedro de Ávila.⁴⁰ The same model would be followed by architect Bartolomé Oroño in 1694 for the new Oratory of Alcalá de Henares.

So far, the first two foundations, which occurred in large and important cities of the kingdom, have been analysed. There were also smaller foundations in the countryside, with less support and more poverty, which usually occupied pre-existing hermitages, such as the communities of Villena (1651), Cifuentes (1671), Molina de Aragón (1680), Ezcaray (1685), Carcabuey (1692), and Medina de Pomar (1696). Furthermore, not all urban Oratorian houses were as thriving as Valencia or Valladolid. The Oratorians took refuge in pre-existing churches or palaces in many cities, including Soria (1658), Zaragoza (1695), Murcia (1706), and Baeza (1714).⁴¹

Returning to the most solid foundations, the largest oratory in all of Spain was, of course, the one in the Royal Court in the city of Madrid. The model was Santa Maria in Vallicella once again, after the official ratification in 1660.⁴² Sadly, we only know about the outward appearance of this church owing to an eighteenth-century engraving, because the building was pulled down in 1771.⁴³ It was located in Angel Square, and the main element of its design was

38 Jesús Urrea, "El Oratorio de San Felipe Neri de Valladolid," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de la Purísima Concepción* 33 (1998): 14–17.

39 Juan Carlos Anuncio, *Guía de arquitectura de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Consorcio IV Centenario de la Ciudad, 1996), 26; Juan José Martín and Jesús Urrea, *Monumentos religiosos de la ciudad de Valladolid I* (Valladolid: Diputación Provincial, 1985), 290.

40 Urrea, "El Oratorio de San Felipe," 14–17.

41 Díaz-Gómez, "Fundaciones de las congregaciones," 1: 97–202.

42 Marciano, *Memorias históricas*, 5: 20–23.

43 Delfín Rodríguez, "Pérez, Joseph: Proyecto de convento para la Congregación de San Felipe Neri en Madrid (1758)," in *Dibujos de Arquitectura y Ornamentación del siglo XVIII de la Biblioteca Nacional de España*, ed. Isabel Clara García-Toraño (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2009), 13.



FIGURE 13.3 Antonio de la Iglesia and Diego Hernando, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Valladolid, 1675–1710

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ



FIGURE 13.4 Juan de Dios de la Rada, *Oratory of Saint Philip Neri of Madrid*, coloured engraving, 1862–1875

SOURCE: PRIVATE COLLECTION OF JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ

undeniably the enormous dome, with a drum and a lantern. A mixed-linear profile prevailed on the main façade and entrance, with a very dynamic result.

We do not know anything about its architect, but the design was probably the work of the Jesuit Francisco Bautista (1594–1679) and his circle, if we compare the innovative elements of other designs, such as the Church of San Ildefonso in Toledo or the Church of the Jesuit Novitiate in Madrid, especially in this latter example regarding the aforementioned mixed-linear profile of the façade.⁴⁴ The permission of King Philip IV made it possible to start the work in February 1660. Due to the bad foundations, the bell tower was never built. Finally, after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, King Charles III (1716–1788) ordered the Oratorians to move to the old Jesuit convent in Mayor Street, and the Oratorian church and residence were pulled down to expand Angel Square.⁴⁵

Most of these first initiatives were taken by the priests of the Oratory of Valencia, who went to those other cities to establish new Oratorian houses,

44 Antonio Bonet, *Iglesias madrileñas del siglo XVII* (Madrid: CSIC, 1984), 31–33; Elías Tormo, *Las iglesias del antiguo Madrid* (Madrid: Instituto de España, 1977), 58–109.

45 Pedro de Répide, *Las calles de Madrid* (Madrid: Afrodísio Aguado, 1981), 155.

following the model of Valencia as closely as possible. This was also true of the Oratories of Cadiz in 1672 and Barcelona in 1673. We will consider the foundation of Cadiz in the next section. For now, Barcelona constitutes the last oratory inspired by Valencia. It was initiated by the person who would be the first superior of the community, Fr. Oleguer de Montserrat (1626–1694).⁴⁶

Despite the obstruction of Bishop Alonso de Sotomayor, he founded the new community in 1673, as stated before, and completed the work on the new church and convent in 1677.⁴⁷ The result was a quick building project that lasted barely four years – solid but very simple. The interior follows the same old plan as the previous oratories, with a large central nave and galleries over lateral chapels. From 1721 to 1752, the remaining parts were completed by architects Pere Bertrán and Salvador Ausich and sculptors Pere Costa and Carles Grau, who added and decorated a crossing nave, a central dome, and the exterior stone façade without any decoration, except at the entrance where we find a frame with two circular pediments and a central niche.⁴⁸ Lastly, another large circular pediment completes the top of the façade.

Nevertheless, in the city of Granada in 1671, a new Oratorian community as prosperous and active as in Valencia was born. The Oratory of Granada was founded owing to the desire of Archbishop Diego Escolano (1609–1672) to introduce a new Marian devotion in Spain: Our Lady of Seven Sorrows. One year earlier, the Archbishop of Granada had received the Papal licence to create and popularise this devotion in the Kingdom of Spain with the help of the first devotee, Queen Mariana of Austria (1634–1696). This devotion was materialised in the same year by one of the most important sculptors of the kingdom, José de Mora (1642–1724), responsible for historic achievements in Spanish baroque sculpture, following the Renaissance model of Our Lady of Solitude of Madrid, created by Gaspar Becerra (1520–1570) in 1565.⁴⁹

Unlike Valencia, Granada did not replace a theatre, making it impossible to justify its utility in this way. From then on, the new mission of the Oratorian communities promoted from Granada was to extend the devotion and miracles of the Virgin of Sorrows. All these new oratories, such as those in Seville, Cordoba, Baeza, Baza, Malaga, or, indirectly, Cadiz, were dedicated to this

46 Rafael Cerro, “El canceller Oleguer de Monserrat, fundador de Oratori de Barcelona i bisbe d’Urgell (1617–1694),” *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 72 (1999): 148–149.

47 Agustí Mas, “Origen de la congregación del Oratorio en Barcelona,” *Vida Oratoriana* 20–21 (1950): 130.

48 Josep de Calassanç Laplana, *L’Oratori de Sant Felip Neri de Barcelona i el seu patrimoni artístic i monumental* (Montserrat: Publicacions de l’Abadia, 1979), 152–265.

49 Díaz, “La Virgen de los Dolores,” 55–76.



FIGURE 13.5 Pere Bertrán, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Barcelona, 1721–1752
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ

Marian name and cult;⁵⁰ in fact, the Oratory of Granada was the first church in the Catholic world to have that dedication.

Once all obstacles were overcome, the construction of the new church in Granada lasted from 1695 to 1725. It was planned by the enigmatic architect and astrologer Melchor de Aguirre (c.1640–1697), who again copied Vignola's model but with more baroque vegetal decoration and symbolic elements, such as the "cosmic rose" from an astral chart drawn on the main façade.⁵¹ New elements were also based on the new baroque churches of Madrid and Toledo designed by Jesuit architects, such as Pedro Sánchez or Francisco Bautista, with very dynamic structures.⁵² The first level evinced clear inspiration from the façades of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), such as the Church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale in Rome, where a convex entrance of grey marble preceded a straight wall.⁵³ The second level was decorated with the exceptional

50 Díaz-Gómez, "Fundaciones de las congregaciones," 1: 97–202.

51 Díaz-Gómez, "Fundaciones de las congregaciones," 1: 555–592.

52 Ignacio Luis Henares, "La Catedral: Estética y proyección urbana," in *El libro de la Catedral de Granada*, ed. Lazaro Gila (Granada: Cabildo Metropolitano de la Catedral, 2005), 1: 269.

53 Díaz-Gómez, "Fundaciones de las congregaciones," 1: 142–185.



FIGURE 13.6 Manuel Prados, *The Oratory of Saint Philip Neri of Granada*, oil painting on canvas, 2019

SOURCE: PRIVATE COLLECTION OF JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ

motif of the cosmic rose. Two lateral brick towers completed the design of the top of the façade.

However, a surprise was located inside the Oratorian church of Granada that would become common in the oratories promoted from Granada. A large alcove was incorporated for the image of Our Lady of Sorrows – a small private chapel housing the image of the Virgin Mary. It was located on the rear of the wall of the high altar, over the structure of the sacristy, and was connected to the church through a large arch in the middle of the main altarpiece. Unfortunately, most of this building was pulled down after the Oratorians were defrocked in 1835.⁵⁴ Worse than this decline was the end of the Oratory of Seville, founded by priests from Granada in 1698 and totally demolished 140 years later. Currently, we only know that the work on the church lasted from 1709 to 1711 without a known architect.⁵⁵

We end the seventeenth-century projects with a mention of the unfinished Oratory of Cordoba. The community established itself in the city in 1696, promoted by the Oratorians of Granada, copying the plan of their Oratory of provenance, following the advice of the future Cardinal Luis Antonio Belluga y Moncada (1662–1743).⁵⁶ In fact, for the construction of the new church, he commissioned a pupil of Melchor de Aguirre, born in Lucena (Cordoba), architect Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo (1669–1725). The work began one year later using the site of the Palace of the Ochoa family, purchased by Belluga. The interior maintained the same structure as the Oratory of Granada but was completely painted in bright white. Sadly, in 1705, Belluga was appointed Bishop of Murcia, and he decided to start spending his money in his new city. Hurtado Izquierdo decided to abandon the work at the time, and things progressed slowly until 1720, and the exterior remained incomplete, as did the alcove for the image of Our Lady of Sorrows.⁵⁷

4 Dynamic Proposals of the Eighteenth Century

Nevertheless, something started to change in the communities that began to build their churches in the first half of the eighteenth century. In Spain,

54 Díaz-Gómez, “Fundaciones de las congregaciones,” 1: 186–201.

55 Manuel Martín and José Roda, *El Oratorio de San Felipe Neri de Sevilla* (Córdoba: Caja Sur, 2004), 457–574.

56 Juan Bautista Vilar, *El Cardenal Belluga: Su obra inédita e impresa* (Madrid: Fundación Ignacio Larramendi, 2001), 84–98.

57 Juan Aranda, *La Congregación del Oratorio de San Felipe Neri de Córdoba: Estudio histórico y artístico de un edificio singular* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2014), 21–83.



FIGURE 13.7 Francisco Hurtado Izquierdo, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Cordoba, 1697–1720
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ

these decades coincided with the last Baroque period in the arts. That was the moment when the new Oratories decided to move away from the usual plan for their churches. Of course, they continued to require a participative model providing as much visibility as possible from every corner of the church. The final solution was paradoxical – that is, to eliminate the corners of the plans and adopt an elliptical (or oval) plan for the new churches.

Of course, the elliptical plan was not new at this very late Baroque moment. The need to expand the ancient central plans had been a concern for the Renaissance architects as well. Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536), Sebastiano Serlio (1475–c.1554), and Giacomo Vignola (1507–1573) designed elliptical plans to solve this problem in sixteenth-century Papal Rome,⁵⁸ but they were mostly theoretical contributions based on the public architecture of classical antiquity, whose paradigm was intended to be more than the Pantheon of Rome. Clear examples are the designs of Serlio published in the fifth of *The Five Books*

58 Sylvie Duvernoy, “Baroque Oval Churches: Innovative Geometrical Patterns in Early Modern Sacred Architecture,” *Nexus Netw Journal* 17 (2015): 425–456.

of *Architecture* (1551) and the proposals of Peruzzi for the Hospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili in Rome in 1592.⁵⁹

The oldest elliptical space of this period was perhaps the small chapel sketched for the Theatines by Peruzzi in the Roman Church of Santa Trinità dei Monti, in about 1547.⁶⁰ In 1552, Vignola included an elliptical vault covering the regular plan of the Church of Sant'Andrea in Via Flaminia as well as in Rome. Two decades later, Vignola designed the first whole church with an oval plan, Sant'Anna dei Palafrenieri, which, after all, affirms the traditional liturgical message, with a longitudinal conception from the door to the main altar that coincides with the major axis.⁶¹

The Jesuits chose the elliptical plan as an alternative to the Gesù model, and of course, the Jesuits were the promoters of the first whole elliptical church in Spain. It was in Seville in 1616 that they began to build this first example of the new church for San Hermenegildo College, after the successful experience in the Chapter Hall of the Sevillian Cathedral in 1572. The design of the cathedral room is attributed to Francisco del Castillo (1528–1586), who trained with Vignola in Rome, and Andrés de Vandelvira (1509–1575).⁶² After them, the main promoters of this way of building in these regions were the Jesuits and, finally, the Oratorians, following the Jesuits. In fact, the author of the plan for San Hermenegildo College was Pedro Sánchez, a Jesuit who followed Vignola and his disciples and had an idea for a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary.⁶³ In 1616, Federico Zuccaro published a treatise in which he related the oval form to the feminine and the circle and square to the masculine.⁶⁴

One might consider that the transition from the Gesù model to the oval model in Oratorian architecture was the case of the Oratory of Our Lady of Sorrows in Cadiz, founded by Oratorian priests from Valencia in 1672. Initially, when construction began in 1685, the intention was to copy the Oratory of Granada. The original project was approved by the architects of the city cathedral, Vicente Acero (c.1675/80–1739) and Gaspar Cayón, who planned a church of lush ornaments but following the first Vignola model. However, a few years

59 Alfonso Rodríguez de Ceballos, "La planta elíptica de El Escorial al Clasicismo español," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 2 (1990): 151–172.

60 Duvernoy, "Baroque Oval Churches," 425–456.

61 Javier Cuevas, "La evolución de las iglesias de planta ovalada: Hipótesis para la planta de San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane," *Boletín de Arte* 28 (2007): 105–126.

62 José Gestoso, *Sevilla monumental y artística* (Seville: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros, 1890), 2: 386.

63 Rodríguez, "La planta elíptica," 151–172.

64 Wolfgang Lotz, "Die ovalen Kirchenraume des Cinquecento," *Romisches Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 7 (1955): 87–88.



FIGURE 13.8 Blas Díaz, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Cadiz, 1685–1719
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ

later, the Oratorians changed their minds and searched for a new architect, Blas Díaz, who then designed the elliptical church at the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁶⁵

The consecration took place in 1719, and the Oratorian chronicles show that the model was the Roman Church of San Giacomo in Augusta, built at the end of *Cinquecento* by Francesco Capriani da Volterra (1535–1594) and Carlo Maderno (1556–1629).⁶⁶ The Jesuits had previously used the same model to build the referenced Church of San Hermenegildo in Seville: a big oval surrounded by narrow baroque chapels and unadorned galleries, and with a deep main altar. Because of its form, it was chosen in 1812 as the location to establish the first liberal Parliament of Spain.⁶⁷

In this way, the Oratory of Cadiz became the inspiration for the last Oratorian foundation in the city of Malaga in 1739. This new Oratory of Our Lady of Sorrows was promoted by an Oratorian priest of Granada, Cristóbal de Rojas, in the house of the Buenavista Count. Due to economic problems, the construction of the church did not start until 1757. It was based on a two-year-old design by the architect of the Cathedral of Malaga, José de Bada (1691–1755), who died in that same year.⁶⁸ Consequently, a new architect from Malaga, José Martín de Aldehuela (1729–1802), became responsible for the project. In previous years, he had worked on the Oratory of Cuenca. This oratory, founded in 1738, follows the Gesù model, but the side chapels are covered with baroque elliptical vaults decorated with paintings.⁶⁹

Now, in the case of Malaga, Aldehuela had a good opportunity to cover a whole church with a big elliptical vault, following the model of Cadiz. Certainly, it could be seen as a smaller copy of the Oratory of Cadiz, with the addition of a deeper main chapel, with a shorter central-plan second nave, as the Italian and German followers of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) designed in the first half of the eighteenth century in the new baroque churches in Central Europe, whose proposals José de Bada would have accessed from engravings. For example, we can find these more developed and innovative oval ground plans in the works of Gabriele Montani, Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt (1668–1745), or Franz Martinelli (1651–1708) in the Peterskirche of Vienna, from 1701

65 Ricardo Moreno, *La Iglesia de San Felipe Neri* (Cádiz: Caja de Ahorros, 1989), 14–71.

66 Ricardo Molina, *La Iglesia de San Felipe Neri* (Cadiz: Caja de Ahorros, 1978), 24.

67 José Belda and Rafael M. de Labra, *Las Cortes de Cádiz en el Oratorio de San Felipe* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1912), 22–24.

68 Encarnación Isla, *José de Bada y Navajas: Arquitecto andaluz (1691–1755)* (Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1977), 5–13.

69 Rosario Camacho, *José Martín de Aldehuela (1724–1802): Del ornato rococó a la arquitectura hidráulica* (Málaga: Fundación Málaga, 2014), 57–71.



FIGURE 13.9 José de Bada, Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Malaga, 1755–1796
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ

to 1733; or in the same city in the Karlskirche by Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723), from 1716 to 1737; or in the designs of Johann Balthasar Neumann (1687–1753) for the Basilica of the Fourteen Holy Helpers of Bad Staffelstein; or the case of the Pilgrimage Church of Wies by brothers Johann Baptist Zimmermann (1680–1758) and Dominikus Zimmermann (1685–1766).⁷⁰

5 Epilogue

The construction of the Oratory of Malaga was completed quite late, in 1785, when the Royal Academy of San Fernando was already imposing the neoclassical style and discouraging the last baroque practices,⁷¹ because of which this oratory stands as one of the most brilliant buildings of the last moments of the Spanish Baroque. Of course, during the eighteenth century, the Oratorians continued to build new oratories according to the model of the previous centuries, as was the case of the communities of the referenced foundations of Cuenca, Palma de Mallorca (1712), and Vic (1723).⁷² Another peculiar Oratorian church was that of Baza, in the north of the province of Granada. This small and poor foundation was promoted by Fr. Felipe Fermín in 1673, but it was only at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Oratorians could leave the chapel of the Hospital of Santísima Trinidad and build their own church and house.⁷³

Most of the Oratory of Baza complex was a quick, awkward, and ill-planned building designed by an unknown local architect. The façade is rough and out of proportion, with unbalanced baroque elements. The interior is poor and dark. However, there is an exceptional element – namely, the brilliant design of the private chapel for the image of Our Lady of Sorrows on the rear of the high altar. It is a rectangular room covered with an elliptical vault. The walls are coated with a very dynamic wooden baroque decoration, as in the vault surface, where this decoration becomes more brilliant and overloaded. The design was probably made by the same architect responsible for the Oratory of Malaga, José de Bada, who handed down similar designs for the chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Church of Santa Cruz la Real in the city of Granada,

70 Robert Logan Mittenbuehler, *Aesthetic currents in German baroque architecture* (New York: Syracuse University, 1980), 62–124.

71 Rosario Camacho, “A propósito de Ventura Rodríguez y la Iglesia de San Felipe Neri de Málaga,” *Atrio* 10–11 (2005): 106–107.

72 Díaz-Gómez, “Fundaciones de las congregaciones,” 1: 186–201.

73 Luis Magaña, *Baza histórica* (Baza: Asociación Cultural, 1978), 2: 539–546.



FIGURE 13.10 Unknown author, alcove of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, Baza, c.1703
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOSÉ ANTONIO DÍAZ-GÓMEZ

inspired by the Nasrid arts of the Alhambra Palace.⁷⁴ In fact, in both alcoves, the vaults are covered with plastered vegetal forms and numerous spheres of bronze and mercury that recreate an ideal and supernatural constellation whose central and biggest star is the image of the Virgin Mary.

74 José Antonio Díaz-Gómez, *Baza y el Oratorio de San Felipe Neri en el sueño por la independencia: Poderes, sociedad y patrimonio en el Altiplano granadino* (Cordoba: Tambriz, 2021), 113–166.