Introduction

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It was no secret that Rome was an international hub in the early modern period, a city boasting a richly varied population from across the Catholic world and also well beyond it. Its religious and cultural diversity was often a source of acclaim. Even proud Catholic apologists, who saw Rome's glory as proof of the triumph of Catholicism after the Reformation, still considered the city's many 'foreign' populations a strength. In a magisterial, extravagant survey, the Catholic abbot Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza devoted one entire treatise to a discussion of the many 'nations' present in the city. Volume II of his *Eusevologio Romano* lists nearly thirty groups whose primary affiliations lay outside Rome, from Scots to Abyssinians to Florentines. Naturally, many of these groups were not Roman Catholic. Piazza, who was also arch-priest of the Roman church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, knew this well. One of his dedicatory letters in the volume even adds more explicitly foreign 'nations' to the list above: Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, Maronites, Ethiopians, Jews, and others. Yet Piazza's treatise was explicitly devotional and Catholic, subtitled "on the pious works of Rome." Published at the peak moment of Baroque Catholicism, in 1698, it celebrates "the broad theatre of Roman beneficence (ix)" that made up Rome's institutional and charitable life and demonstrated its Catholic piety.

The presence of so many people with such varied religious and geographic origins represented an explicit selling point, not a detraction, for Piazza – a sign of the range and influence of Catholic activity. To him, pointing out the virtues of these faiths and their contributions to the city's religious life seemed consistent with a celebration of Catholic devotion. Piazza's treatise praises the charitable acts of the *schiavoni* (from modern Slovenia/Croatia)*,* the pious behavior of the Armenians, the devotion of the first Abyssinians/Ethiopians. As Piazza's treatise and many similar self-congratulatory works reveal, the early modern Church in Rome, even at its most triumphant, was deeply engaged with other religions in ways that went beyond missions. In addition, they show us that the city of Rome, while presenting itself as a beacon of Catholic piety, owed deep debts to other confessions. In fact, the many religious affiliations represented in Rome well exceeded those celebrated by Piazza.

Religious Minorities in Early Modern approaches the presence and influence of religious minorities in early modern Rome from a fresher perspective, informed by contemporary trends in historical scholarship. It investigates some of the many links between Roman Catholic institutions and non-Catholics in Rome, both groups and individuals, revealing more of their lives and stories between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. In so doing, this volume will consider what Piazza could not fully acknowledge: the presence of Protestants or Muslims; the impact of many kinds of transient groups and individual travelers who passed through the city; the contributions of converts to Catholicism, who drew on the religion of their birth; the importance of intermediaries, fluent in more than one culture and religion. Ultimately, the evolution of early modern Roman Catholicism – inasmuch as it was based in or directed by individuals and institutions in Rome – was directly influenced by its interactions with other religious traditions.

For our purposes, this volume defines 'religious minority' not as an absolute concept but only with strict regard to the population of early modern Rome. It refers to any person or group not born into the Latin [Roman Rite] Church, i.e. Roman Catholicism. In this context, the term 'religious minority' casts a wide net. It includes members of many other branches of Christianity, including branches of Eastern-rite Churches in full communion with Rome, whose status nonetheless made them in some way religious outsiders in the Eternal City. It also includes converts to Catholicism. 'Religious minorities' is therefore a concept distinct from that of 'foreigners.' The term 'religious minorities' would not apply in Rome to Spanish or Venetian communities. Both would have been considered foreign nations, but Roman

Catholic ones. But it would, however, apply to a Protestant visitor from England, a Greek or Armenian Orthodox Christian, a Jewish person of ancient Roman origin, or even to someone like Alessandro Franceschi, the papal advisor and vicar general of the Dominican order who had converted from Judaism as a child.[1]

A study such as this one is perhaps more important for Rome than for any other early modern city: a site layered in metaphor, locus of Europe's historical memory, its closest link to its classical past, and at the same time, the heart of its religious heritage. Rome, as recent scholarship continuously reminds readers, was the Eternal City, a holy city, and the theatre of the world.[2] Rome's historic significance in the early modern landscape loomed much larger than its actual physical footprint. This volume prizes open the stereotype that early modern Rome was a homogenously Catholic city, to show a much more complex assembly of different religious affiliations and backgrounds.

Early modern Rome saw the rise of a newly powerful papacy, a boom in population, a resulting transformation of the urban and architectural landscape, and above all, a new, larger stage.[3] The transformation of Rome between the fifteenth and early eighteenth centuries only gave the city new and perhaps even greater significance. In the centuries after the Papacy returned from Avignon in 1420, the city underwent a spectacular renovation, “religious, demographic, economic, artistic, and intellectual,” in the words of one recent survey.[4] Simultaneously the powerful capital of the Papal States – a broad central belt across the Italian peninsula – and the sacred seat of the Roman Catholic Church worldwide, Rome always calibrated political and spiritual priorities against each other. Politically, the Papal States helped to maintain a precarious balance of power within the Italian peninsula, opposing or allying with Florence, Venice, Milan, and Spanish-controlled Naples. At the same time, it also sought to expand its own territory by conquering smaller polities, and increasingly recast its papacy as an ever more grandiose form of absolute monarchy. Internationally, Rome's cultural weight and political importance made it arguably the most intense diplomatic capital in Europe, especially for Catholic rulers. Rome also faced aggressive interest from the already powerful Spanish and increasingly powerful French monarchies and became a proxy battlefield for rivalries between them. These combined dynamics pushed the city ever further into theatre status. Its magnificent rebuilt streets and piazzas became a stage where individual interactions took on the weight of ritual and spectatorship.

In the wake of the Protestant Reformation, the Holy City had even more to prove. The success of Protestant denominations in northern Europe cost the Roman Church its comfortable confessional hegemony, triggering instead a sense of crisis and destabilization. In response, over the long Counter-Reformation period, Roman institutions took on projects of aggressive Catholicization, focused both on reinforcement and evangelization. The Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition, founded in 1542 to combat Lutheran beliefs, and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide), established eighty years later to prepare overseas missionaries, are two notable examples. The success of these institutions and others, such as Jesuit missions, led Catholics to reconceptualize their Church in a triumphant light. After the Protestant Reformation, the Roman church consciously sought to remake itself on a global scale, seeking to Catholicize the known world, from Germany to Canada to India to Japan. In addition, the growth and might of the Ottoman empire in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to greater fears of a "Turkish threat," and the capture, enslavement, and conversion of Christians.

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[1] On Franceschi, see Peter A. Mazur, *Conversion to Catholicism in Early Modern Italy*, (New York: 2016), 66–69.

[2] Katherine Aron-Beller, ‘Ghettoization: The Papal Enclosure and Its Jews’, in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, ed. Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden: 2019), 232–46.

[3] Simon Ditchfield, ‘Reading Rome as a Sacred Landscape, c.1586-1635’, in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, UK: 2005), 167–92; Pamela M. Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni* (Aldershot: 2008); Barbara Wisch, ‘Celebrating the Holy Year of 1575’, in *‘All the World's a Stage' - Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, ed. Susan Scott Munshower and Barbara Wisch, Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University v. 6 (University Park, Pa.: 1990), 82–118; Laurie Nussdorfer, ‘The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome’, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1999): 161–86.

[4] Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield, *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692* (Leiden: 2019), 1.

The city of Rome felt the consequences of this ambition. For Catholicism to triumph as a world religion, the city itself needed to shine as a fittingly global capital, a *caput mundi* in a greater sense. An increasingly assertive papacy embarked on a campaign to purify and convert the eternal city, claiming that it could become a universal model of piety, and seeking to celebrate religious homogeneity, or at least the primacy of Roman Catholicism, among its inhabitants.[5] The era's theatrical urban renovations took on an increasingly religious dimension. The city featured ever more and grander churches and colleges, and implemented strict measures to segregate Jews and prostitutes, two populations which suggested impiety.

Yet a global capital necessarily admits a diverse and complex population. As the Eternal City's status as a place of myth and legend grew, as its missionary activities increasingly recast it in global terms, and as it became a hub of conversionary activity and a point of reference for all Christians, Rome attracted more and more migrants and visitors of all religions, from throughout the known world.[6] This volume considers Rome not as the stereotypical paragon of Catholic purity, but as a space of many faiths and cultures, because it was. And while propaganda machines celebrated the city for its Catholic holiness, this volume seeks to demonstrate how the new Catholicism of the early modern period was also shaped and changed by contact with individuals and groups from other faiths.

By shining a light on the many religious denominations present in Rome, we are also seeking to address recent calls for new approaches to early modern Catholicism and to locate exchanges between faiths within particular urban spaces in Rome. A vast edifice of nineteenth and early twentieth-century scholarship was built on institutional records of the Church's many congregations.[7] This often-prescriptive scholarship tended to portray a monolithic, uniform, and largely successful Church and city. In response, current scholarship emphasizes the marginal and peripheral, the domestic, and the transitory: shifting identities, fluid boundaries, reception, appropriation and adaptation. Some of the most fruitful results of this new approach have examined interactions between Catholics and non-Catholics in distant missionary contexts.[8] Others, including some works in this volume, return to traditional institutional and prescriptive records but repurpose them fruitfully from new angles. This body of scholarship as a whole, including the essays in this volume, has convincingly suggested that confessional boundaries were never stark or solid, and that human interactions could erase or redraw them every day.

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[5] Lance Gabriel Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy* (Toronto: 2005); Emily Michelson, "Conversionary Preaching and the Jews in Early Modern Rome", *Past & Present* 235 (2017): 68–104.

[6] For Rome as the mythologized cultural heart of Italy, see John Pemble, *The Rome We Have Lost*,. (Oxford: 2017); For Rome as the capital of a world religion, see Simon Ditchfield, 'Decentering the Catholic Reformation: Papacy and Peoples in the Early Modern World', *Archiv Fur Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010): 186–208.

[7] Ludwig Von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr, (London: 1930); Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent* (St Louis: 1957); Paul V. Murphy, 'Jesuit Rome and Italy', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester, (Cambridge: 2008), 71–87.

[8] For example, Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque : Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550-1750*, N (Cambridge, UK: 2001); R. Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1600* (Oxford: 2010); Tara Alberts, *Conflict & Conversion:*

If other religions shaped early modern Catholicism at its most diffuse, they also left their marks at its center. The essays in this collection therefore examine the contributions and activities of religious minority groups and individuals present in the city at the heart of the early modern Catholic world. It attempts to fulfill the growing need, especially in anglophone scholarship, to examine at a basic level the following questions: how did the influential curates we have studied for so long come into contact with religions other than their own? How did Rome's unsung religious diversity affect the workings of its curia, its cardinalate, its confraternities and its churches? More broadly, it considers whether the history of early modern Catholicism can be written not only as a global religion but also as an inter-religious enterprise even at its core. In so doing, it also builds on a wave of recent work recognizing and examining the diversity of early modern Rome. Taken together, these highlight the wide range of institutions that served the needs of visitors and foreigners, revealing ever more clearly the extent to which Rome was an international and varied city at every level.

While interactions and influence (however broadly defined) flowed in many directions, we must point out that the territory was never even. Unquestionably, inter-religious interactions in Rome always took place in a key of inequality, and within an explicitly conversionary and often hostile context, as Catholic institutions sought to impose religious conformity and marginalize difference. Much of the counterintuitive interaction that we seek to portray took place in subtle or covert ways. The scholars in this volume have at times had to read against the grain in order to detect it. But it is precisely because of these inequalities that their work is important.

An enormous body of scholarship has examined individual identity groups in Rome. We note in particular the work of Irene Fosi on Protestants, Giovanni Pizzorusso on converts and missions within the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Bernard Heyberger on eastern rite Christians and western culture, Matteo Binasco on Scots and Irish in Rome, troops of scholars on Roman Jews, Kate Lowe on ambassadors and diplomacy.[9] Much recent scholarship has focused on the idea of Rome's 'nationes,' groups of non-Romans centered (to some extent) around institutions such as national churches colleges, or missionary organizations. Rome stood out for these institutions, from the multiple Spanish churches and France's San Luigi to the Hungarian and English colleges and the Ospizio dei Convertendi which sought to convert Protestant sojourners. As a result, the past few years have seen the growth of comparative studies in search of a unifying theme. Some recent examples from the past 2 years alone, from an Interdisciplinary working group, Roma Communis Patria, at the Biblioteca Hertziana, to a group from Roma Tre seeking to identify the range of sources for studying foreigners, to a project at the Hungarian academy examining smaller national churches in Rome.[10] These

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Catholicism in Southeast Asia, 1500-1700 (Oxford: 2014); Karin Vélez, *The Miraculous Flying House of Loreto: Spreading Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Princeton: 2019).

[9] Irene Fosi, *Convertire lo straniero: forestieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna* (Rome: 2011); Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'Lo "Stato temporale" della Congregazione de Propaganda Fide nel Seicento', in *Ad ultimos usque terrarum terminos in fide propaganda: Roma fra promozione e difesa della fede in età moderna*, ed. Massimiliano Ghilardi et al., (Viterbo: 2014), 51–66; Bernard Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique: Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVIIIe sicles*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome ; fasc. 284 (Rome:1994); Matteo Binasco, ed. *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World, 1622--1908* (Cham, Switzerland: 2019); Kate Lowe, '"Representing" Africa: Ambassadors and Princes from Christian Africa to Renaissance Italy and Portugal, 1402-1608', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 17 (2007): 101–28.

[10] Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, Alexander Koller, and Tobias Daniels, *Identità e rappresentazione: le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450-1650* (Rome: 2016); Sara Cabibbo and Alessandro Serra, *Venire a*

projects have established not only the importance but also the ambivalence or incompleteness of any concept of national groups in early modern Rome. These were never simple and internally homogenous units, but were always marked by multiple affiliations, porous boundaries, dissimulation, and composite identities, or as Irene Fosi has termed it, a *unitas multiplex.*[11]

Scholars at the forefront of this necessary work have also acknowledged its limits. Many members of foreign groups did not affiliate with their representative institutions even when they had them. And many were not foreign, such as many of Rome's Jews, or not served by bespoke institutions, such as its Muslim slaves or its Japanese ambassadors. Focusing on religious minorities – whose time in Rome ranged from weeks to centuries – allows us to tell a broader story, and to consider how the city and its institutions were changed by all of them. For this reason, we include converts to Catholicism under this rubric. Born into a religion that counted in Rome as a minority, converts brought with them knowledge of their original religion, and used it to make their way within their new one. A recent compendium on early modern Rome has emphasized how the city, playing host to so many varied subcultures, can only be understood polyphonically, through many separate voices.[12] The authors of the essays in this volume have sought to reconstruct such voices, from the well-known to the least known, through innovative and painstaking research.

This volume, and the project that gave rise to it, builds on all these ideas and brings them to a wider audience, but also differs from them in notable ways. It posits, first, that "Religious Minority" was not always a fixed category; its application could shift even within one lifetime. It pertains here, for example, to converted Jews who became consummate insiders in the Catholic elite, and to Catholics who were still considered Jews nearly a century after their ancestors converted. In short, again, the term 'religious minorities' is defined for the context of the population of early modern Rome, and not by universal standards. Second, it considers the term "Influence" in the broadest possible light. Any discussion of how religious minorities might have influenced Catholic reform needs to encompass both specific effects on the thought and behavior of persons or groups, and also long-term gradual trends. In addition, it needs to distinguish between the documentable contributions of individuals from outside the Roman church, and the images, perceptions, and stereotypes about religious minorities which could, in turn, also have a different kind of influence.

Thirdly, we consider Rome as a site for contact among minority groups, in which Rome does not serve so much as a *caput* anything but as a useful location where other (non-Catholic) religious denominations could interact. Fourthly, the volume emphasizes the enduring importance, in all denominations and across them, of individual ties, social skills, and agendas, especially where textual collaboration took place. Finally, we place our work in the broader context of the trends towards clericalization and confessionalization in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and seek to acknowledge the changing fate of religious minorities in that context. For example, the founding of national colleges, which often housed foreigners both catholic and non-Catholic, had to negotiate missionary strategies as standards changed, while still meeting the needs of everyone in their *natione.* We hope that the investigations presented here will only lead to further insights and new questions.

Roma, Restare a Roma: Forestieri e stranieri fra quattrocento e settecento (Rome: 2017); Antal Molnár, Giovanni Pizzorusso, and Matteo Sanfilippo, eds., *Chiese e Nationes a Roma: Dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani: Secoli XV-XVIII* (Rome: 2017).

[11] Irene Fosi, 'Roma Patria Comune? Foreigners in Early Modern Rome', in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, ed. Jill Burke and Michael Bury (Aldershot: 2008), 27–44; 'A proposito di Nationes a Roma in età moderna: provenienza, appartenenza culturale, integrazione sociale', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 97 (2017): 383–93.

[12] Jones, Wisch, and Ditchfield, *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*.

The volume is arranged in rough order by the length of time any minority group or individual spent in Rome. It opens with Mayu Fujikawa's discussion of the reception of emissaries sent to Rome by non-Catholic rulers. Arriving from as far afield as Japan, Siam and Russia, these visitors participated in highly ritualized ceremonies which are documented in personal diaries, newsletters and printed booklets. Taking an innovative approach to visual depictions of entry parades and formal audiences, Fujikawa reveals how the papacy differentiated between ambassadors representing Catholic and non-Catholic rulers. What mattered in these encounters was not whether the rulers in question were European, but rather their social ranking and religious affiliation – or, in some cases, the perceived possibility of their conversion. As Fujikawa shows, representations of these encounters played the further function of underscoring the Pope's temporal and spiritual authority and affirming the importance of mission.

Robert Clines' essay addresses the motivations and attitudes of Eastern Rite Christians who travelled to Rome in order to seek papal assistance in jurisdictional disputes within their communities. Employing sources that have traditionally been used to explore Catholic visions of ecumenism, he offers two case studies in this area. The first explores the efforts of the Syriac Orthodox Ignatius Na'matallah to convince Gregory XIII of the legitimacy of his nephew's claim to the Patriarchate of Antioch; the second examines the decision of Elijah VIII, one of two claimants to the Patriarchate of the Assyrian Church of the East, to send legates to Rome in 1606 and 1611. Demonstrating that these Christians were willing to distance themselves from Rome if their requests were not granted, Clines argues for a vision of the early modern Christian ecumene that moves away from Roman universality to reflect the nuanced and various perspectives of the Eastern Churches.

Matthew Coneys brings us closer to home by examining the experiences of non-Catholic Europeans who were hosted in the pilgrims' hospice of Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, administered by the Archconfraternity of the same name. Reflecting on the detailed descriptions of Jubilee activities in the Archconfraternity's Holy Year diaries, his essay challenges the institutional narrative that presented hospitality as an effective conversion strategy. Coneys shows that efforts to identify and control pilgrims were often thwarted by the sheer volume of visitors and their mutable or easily concealed religious identities. His essay reframes the hospice as a space at the heart of early modern Rome that was characterised by fluidity and exchange between Catholics and religious minorities.

Irene Fosi's essay charts the history of the Venerable English College following its rededication in 1579 as a centre for training priests to be sent to Protestant England. Fosi brings to light the College's Pilgrim Books, manuscript volumes containing detailed records of the Englishmen who arrived at the College over more than two centuries. Such individuals most often sought accommodation and alms, but they could also be motivated by other factors, such as edification or conversion – or, as was sometimes suspected, espionage. Offering a glimpse into the lives of these transient visitors and the College's permanent community, Fosi demonstrates that despite the College's collaboration with the Roman authorities – the Holy Office and, from the late 17th century, the Ospizio dei Convertendi – its mission to offer hospitality to its countrymen often trumped conversionary concerns.

The next two essays focus on Ethiopian Christians who made Rome their temporary or permanent home in the early modern period. Sam Kennerley offers a valuable overview of the Ethiopian presence in Rome between the 15th and 17th centuries. Having set out the fragmentary evidence for the early presence of Ethiopian pilgrims and diplomats, Kennerley draws on more expansive records to demonstrate how Santo Stefano dei Mori became a focal point for the Ethiopian community and paved the way for scholarly collaboration between Ethiopians and Catholics, including the Ethiopic-language printing activities of Tasfa Sion. Following the Council of Trent, attempts to catholicize the Ethiopian community in Rome ran parallel with the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia, with the latter's failure bringing about a final burst of scholarship and culture. Kennerley concludes his essay with a valuable presentation of possibilities for future research on Rome's Ethiopian community.

Olivia Adankpo-Labadie hones in on a more specific aspect of the devotional and cultural life of Santo Stefano. Her essay focuses in particular on Ewosṭātean monks from the Ethiopian Highlands who travelled to the Eternal City in the 16th century. As Adankpo-Labadie reveals, textual devotion was central to the Ewosṭātean tradition: these visitors brought with them, donated and copied many manuscripts that now survive in the Vatican Library. Approaching the annotations that appear in these books as a form of archive, she identifies a "micro-corpus" that illuminates the life of the monk Yāʿeqob, also known as Takla Māryām, who resided at Santo Stefano in the 1550s. These records indicate that sympathy towards Catholic modes of piety did not prevent the continuance of profoundly Ethiopian traditions, and moreover offer an insight into the experiences of individuals less well known than their established scholarly counterparts.

James Nelson Novoa considers a very different Christian group: New Christians, or *conversos*, the descendants of Iberian Jews who had converted under duress in the late 15th century. In Spain and Portugal this category was intimately wrapped up with suspicions of adherence to the Jewish faith, but Novoa shows that Rome was a unique setting where *conversos* were largely seen as distinct from Jewish converts and could build new lives – provided they did not appear to be too closely involved or aligned with the Jewish community. Moreover, many were able to represent their broader community at the papal court, achieving pardons and suspensions to the activities of the Holy Office in their home countries. In doing so, they cemented the position of the New Christians as a cultural and political group, one of the many different *nationes* present in early modern Rome.

Cesare Santus presents a remarkable documentary source that sheds new light on the presence of Greek and Armenian Christians in Rome during the 17th and 18th centuries. The Roman Inquisition's need to control the orthodoxy of foreign visitors led them to standardise and record their professions of faith in a series of volumes, which are now preserved in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith. These records contain significant information about the lives of Christians from the Ottoman Empire and further afield who visited Rome in search of education, sanctions of their Catholic faith and financial or material assistance. Santus demonstrates that while many sought to make a permanent home in the city, this possibility was largely open only to those able to exploit personal relationships within the Curia, or whose linguistic abilities made them an asset to the Roman Church.

The following pair of essays deals with changing attitudes towards slavery in early modern Rome. Serena Di Nepi addresses the complicated relationship between conversion and emancipation, exploring the centuries-old tradition whereby baptized slaves who presented themselves before the authorities at the Capitoline Hill were granted both Roman citizenship and freedom. Discussing how Paul III and Pius V sought with varying degrees of success to bring this custom under papal jurisdiction, Di Nepi reveals how the Roman case – which fundamentally privileged the saving of souls over the practical need for a slave workforce – was exceptional both in the broader context of Mediterranean slavery and within the Church's own broader policy.

Justine Walden considers the place of Muslim slaves in Rome between 1550 and the end of the 19th century. Bringing together archival sources with evidence from early modern print, her essay explores the visibility of Muslim slaves in Rome, their presence at the port of Civitavecchia, and attitudes towards them as both converts and a source of labour. As Walden demonstrates, Muslim slaves were a constant presence in the city but remained unintegrated into Christian society and with strictly limited mobility. While the religious framework remained potent, towards the end of the early modern period slaves increasingly came to be viewed in relation to labour and utility. Her essay concludes with the powerful call that historians “must seek to reach beyond single frameworks of analysis and [engage with] a wide range of sources so as to better understand and reconstruct the experiences of subaltern populations”. Such an approach is at the heart of this volume’s efforts to better understand the place, experience and lives of religious minorities in early modern Rome.

The volume concludes with two essays that take two radically different approaches to attempts to convert Rome’s Jewish population. Piet van Boxel approaches this question through the lens of the history of Hebrew books, revealing how Papal policies concerning publication and censorship reflected the Church’s shifting relationship with the Jewish minority in Rome and the rest of the peninsula. Beginning with Leo X’s remarkably open attitude towards the publication of Hebrew texts, his essay charts this changing landscape over the course of the 16th century: from the efforts of the Soncino press to appease ecclesiastical customers, to the establishment and enforcement of the *Index expurgatorius* in the 1540s. As van Boxel shows, the evolution of the Index was increasingly aimed not at expurgation, but rather at making Christian readers aware of aspects of Jewish theology and equipping them with the tools to convert Jews through preaching and debate.

Emily Michelson’s closing contribution focuses specifically on the conversionary sermons that Rome’s Jewish population was forced to attend on a weekly basis from the 1580s onwards. Drawing both on Catholic sources and written Jewish responses to sermons, she explores the various ways in which Jews resisted the sermons. These ranged from acts of passive resistance, such as feigned sleep, to attempts to change legislation, petitionary objections and even ritualistic refutations delivered during sermons. Considering the extent to which these methods achieved their intended aims, Michelson demonstrates that they also exerted a significant influence on the Roman Church’s conversionary strategy and contributed to the gradual process of Catholic confessionalisation.

The authors in this book bring a wide variety of perspectives to their work, and represent a range of career stages, intellectual traditions, and geographical regions. The editors are grateful to a similarly fitting international and diverse set of people and institutions for their support of this book. This collection represents the culmination of a multi-year early career leadership project, *Imaginary Jews and Religious Minorities in Early Modern Rome,* funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. We would like to thank the School of History at the University of St Andrews and the British School of Rome (especially Thomas-Leo True) for hosting two AHRC-funded workshops devoted to this topic. For help with Latin, thank Peter Maxwell-Stuart and Timothy Owens at St Andrews. For various kinds of advice and support throughout the length of this project, the authors would like to thank Andrea Cop, Simon Ditchfield, Justine Firnhaber-Baker, Kate Ferris, Irene Fosi, John-Paul Ghobrial, Simon MacLean, Barbara Wisch, and the volume’s two erudite and supportive anonymous reviewers, in addition to Christopher Bellitto, Ivo Romein, and Arjan van Dijk at Brill.