

**PATRON SAINT OF A WORLD IN CRISIS: EARLY MODERN
REPRESENTATIONS OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN EUROPE AND ASIA**

by

Rachel Miller

BA, Kenyon College, 2005

MA, University of Pittsburgh, 2010

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2016

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
KENNETH P. DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Rachel Miller

It was defended on

March 28, 2016

and approved by

Christopher J. Nygren, Assistant Professor, History of Art and Architecture

Mrinalini Rajagopalan, Assistant Professor, History of Art and Architecture

Patrick Manning, Professor, History

Dissertation Advisor: Kirk Savage, Professor, History of Art and Architecture

Dissertation Advisor: Ann Sutherland Harris, Professor Emerita, History of Art and
Architecture

Copyright © by Rachel Miller

2016

**PATRON SAINT OF A WORLD IN CRISIS: EARLY MODERN
REPRESENTATIONS OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN EUROPE AND ASIA**

Rachel Miller, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2016

Recent historical studies have focused on the vital role that Catholic saints played after the Council of Trent, investigating how these holy figures were utilized to alleviate all manner of problems besetting the Post-Tridentine Church, emerging European nation states, and individual Catholics. My dissertation, however, approaches this issue from an art historical perspective, considering how images of St. Francis Xavier, the sixteenth-century Jesuit missionary, exercised considerable agency in an early modern world rife with global crisis. Specifically, I investigate Xaverian prints and paintings created in border zones of early modern Catholicism or in territories of the Iberian empires, particularly Antwerp, Goa, and Naples. In these places, the image of Francis Xavier was consciously utilized to ameliorate crisis situations resulting from the tensions characteristic of cross-cultural interaction, the Jesuits' evangelization efforts, colonialism, and religious schism. The fundamental contention of my dissertation is that early modern images of saints do not simply reflect the historical circumstances in which they were made. Instead, institutions such as the Society of Jesus, the Portuguese or Spanish empire, and the Catholic Church enlisted the image of Xavier to quell crises globally and propagate an image of the political and spiritual triumph of Latin Christendom.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	IX
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 EARLY MODERN SANCTITY AND CRISIS.....	7
1.2 CENTER AND PERIPHERY.....	11
1.3 IMAGINED COMMUNITIES	23
1.4 THE IMAGE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER AS PROPAGANDA	29
1.5 JESUIT ACCULTURATION	34
1.6 ST. FRANCIS XAVIER’S LIFE AND CULT: EARLY SOURCES	40
1.7 STATE OF RESEARCH	53
2.0 FREEDOM AT THE EDGE: XAVERIAN IMAGES IN ROME AND LISBON BEFORE 1622.....	61
2.1 AN OCEAN OF SUPERSTITION AND A CRISIS OF CANONIZATION	66
2.2 THE IMAGE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN ROME BEFORE 1622 ...	71
2.3 ANDRÉ REINOSO’S XAVERIAN CYCLE IN LISBON.....	91
2.4 CONCLUSION: THE IMPORTANCE OF MIRACLES IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD.....	99

3.0	A FALLEN HINDU IDOL IN ANTWERP: RUBEN'S <i>MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER</i> AND THE THEME OF IDOL SMASHING.....	103
3.1	ICONOCLASM, REVOLT, AND SPANISH RULE IN ANTWERP..	107
3.2	JESUITS AND THE URBAN FABRIC OF ANTWERP: THE HISTORY OF THE JESUIT CHURCH IN ANTWERP	109
3.3	PETER PAUL RUBENS'S INVOLVEMENT.....	117
3.4	THE THEME OF ICONOCLASM IN THE CEILING PAINTINGS..	123
3.5	RUBENS'S SOURCES FOR THE ALTARPIECE.....	136
3.6	THE FALLEN GOD, IDOLATRY, AND ICONOCLASM	143
4.0	THE TOMB OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN GOA: FROM DEFENDER OF <i>GOA DOURADA</i> TO UNIVERSAL SAINT	160
4.1	ST. FRANCIS XAVIER: HIS LIFE IN GOA, HIS DEATH, AND THE RHETORIC OF <i>GOA DOURADA</i>	162
4.2	HISTORY OF THE SILVER SARCOPHAGUS	173
4.3	XAVIER'S SILVER SARCOPHAGUS AS A SACRED ATLAS OF PORTUGUESE ASIA.....	179
4.4	THE CHAPEL OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN THE BOM JESUS AND THE CRISIS OF XAVIER'S (IN)CORRUPT CORPSE	198
4.5	THE CREATION AND DELIVERY OF THE MEDICI COMPONENT OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S TOMB	203
4.6	A MEDICI MONUMENT IN PORTUGUESE INDIA	213
4.7	UNIVERSALIZING ST. FRANCIS XAVIER: THE NEGATION OF <i>GOA DOURADA</i> RHETORIC IN THE TOMB	222

4.8	CONCLUSION: THE <i>BEL COMPOSTO</i> RECONSIDERED.....	240
5.0	THE VISUAL LANGUAGE OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AND THE DECORATION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN NAPLES.....	245
5.1	THE JESUIT MISSION TO NAPLES	248
5.2	DEVOTION TO ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN NAPLES	254
5.3	THE BUILDING OF THE COLLEGE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER ..	258
5.4	LUCA GIORDANO'S ALTARPIECE: A MODEL FOR FIRST AND SECOND CONVERSION	270
5.5	ST. FRANCIS XAVIER AS SPANISH SAINT OR APOSTLE TO THE "INDIES"	278
5.6	PAOLO DE MATTEIS'S FRESCOES.....	289
5.7	THE TRIBUNE VAULT: XAVIER AS A UNIVERSAL SAINT.....	291
5.8	THE NAVE VAULT: SLAVES, TRIUMPH, AND FEAR.....	306
6.0	EPILOGUE	319
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	321

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Scenes in Giacomo Lauro's Francis Xavier <i>Wundervita</i> Print	83
Table 2: Scenes in André Reinoso's São Roque Cycle in Lisbon	95
Table 3: Typological Pairs in Gallery Ceiling Paintings Proposed by Martin	105
Table 4: Mottos, Emblems, and Bronze Relief Subjects on the Medici Pedestal	208

PREFACE

Completing this project would have been impossible without the support I received from many people and institutions. I would like to thank Ann Sutherland Harris who has advised me since I began my graduate studies in 2008. I will always be grateful for her support and patience as I took on a topic with a far broader geographic scope than I initially intended when I applied to be her student. My appreciation also goes to Kirk Savage for his willingness to become a co-chair of my dissertation committee in the home stretch. His advice was invaluable throughout the most intense writing phase and he often gave me the encouragement I needed to think more broadly and make bolder claims about my ideas. I also thank Mrinalini Rajagopalan and Christopher Nygren for the many conversations that we have had about my work and the intellectual and even emotional support they so generously offered me. Additionally, I am grateful to Patrick Manning for introducing me to the methodologies of world history and for all of his advice throughout the dissertation writing process. Bruce Venarde, Karen Gerhart, and Barbara McCloskey were also instrumental in advancing my graduate career in uncountable ways. Lastly, I was given the encouragement to pursue a global topic for my dissertation by Kathleen Christian, who continued to support me, listen to my ideas, and give me excellent advice throughout the planning and writing phase of this project.

The generous financial support of the University of Pittsburgh, the Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences, and the Department of History of Art and Architecture made the writing of this dissertation possible. My fieldwork in Europe was funded by various grants from the university, including a Dissertation Development Grant, a Friends of Frick Fine Arts Travel Grant, and several Dean's Summer Travel Grants. The James and Susanne Wilkinson Research Prize for Outstanding Scholarship on Topics in Pre-Modern Art and the Italian Nationality Rooms Scholarship also provided me with funds to complete my research. A Francis Haskell Memorial Scholarship enabled me to take a necessary research trip to Goa, India in 2013, while the Kress Foundation generously paid for my language training at the Portuguese School at Middlebury College. The Fundação Oriente in Goa provided me with housing during my trip to India, for which I am also thankful.

I would also like to thank the numerous libraries, museums, and archives that allowed me to use their collections and access research materials. The staff of Frick Fine Arts Library and the Interlibrary Loan Department at the University of Pittsburgh regularly worked miracles for me throughout my research. I am also grateful to the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu in Rome, the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, the Historical Archives of Goa in Panjim, Special Collections of the Sheridan Libraries at Johns Hopkins University, the John J. Burns Library at Boston College, and the Houghton Library at Harvard University. Lastly, the Laures Rare Book Database and Virtual Library maintained by Sophia University in Tokyo was an indispensable digital resource that enabled me to consult an enormous amount of primary source material at my own convenience.

I feel an immense sense of gratitude towards my fellow graduate students in the Department of History of Architecture. Many of them listened to my ideas, read portions of my manuscript, gave me feedback, answered my questions about graduate school and life in general, provided friendship, and even housed me during my trips abroad. In this regard, I would especially like to thank Elizabeth Self, Heidi Cook, James Jewitt, Jungeun Lee, Brianne Cohen, Julia Finch, Nicole Scalissi, Sara Sumpter, Carolyn Wargula, Colleen O'Reilly, Madeline Eschenburg, and Jung Hui Kim. My trip to Goa would not have been nearly as wonderful as it was if I had not met José Ferreira and Luís Cabral de Oliveira and I thank them for introducing me to that beautiful part of the world.

Words cannot describe the gratitude I feel for Amy Cymbala, Alexandra Oliver, Jennifer Donnelly, and Saskia Beranek who supported me in a thousand ways, intellectually and emotionally. Their friendship means the world to me and I am so happy to have them in my life. I look forward to future adventures with these talented, smart, caring women. I also want to thank my parents, Jeff and Brenda Miller, who have always encouraged me to follow my dreams and for understanding when I was too busy to call, and my future parents-in-law, Peter and Karen Coveney, for cheering me on, attending my defense, and helping out with emergency proofreading in the days before I had to submit my final draft.

Lastly, I dedicate this dissertation to Benton Coveney, my future husband. From simple things like taking on a disproportionate share of the household chores while I was writing, to harder things like wiping away my tears when things got hard, Benton did so much to help me finish this project. I will never be able to express how lucky I am to have found a partner with seemingly infinite patience and the ability to make me laugh harder than I ever thought imaginable.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In 1651, a young boy in the village of Dasà, located in the province of Calabria in the Kingdom of Naples, fell deathly ill.¹ His mother felt that her son's illness could not be healed by any earthly means and thus entrusted the boy's life to St. Francis Xavier (1505-1552, canonized in 1622), having been inspired by the recent arrival of missionaries of the Society of Jesus in that region and the dedication of their mission to the Apostle of the Indies. That night, the saint appeared to the sick child and identified himself as the patron of the Jesuit missions. Additionally, Xavier told the boy that his mother should procure an image representing the saint in exchange for the child's return to health. The boy awoke in the morning with his health much improved and told his mother about his vision, without mentioning the requested image. The next night, Francis Xavier appeared to the mother, also telling her to seek out a representation of him. The following day, the mother went to the local Jesuits to carry out this charge, but the fathers had already distributed all of the works of art that they had brought with them.² She then went to the Marchesa d'Arena,

¹ These events were first described in Italian in Francesco Natoli, *Delle grazie e miracoli operati dall'apostolo dell'Indie S. Francesco Saverio in Podami, terra di Calabria* (Genoa: Benedetto Guasco, 1654). A seventeenth-century Spanish translation of this account is included in Mathias de Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias y Nuevas Gentes San Francisco Javier de la Compañía de Jesús* (Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez, 1665), 28-115.

² It was common for Jesuits to distribute art on missions in southern Italy, particularly when they were instructing children in the catechism. Elisa Novi Chavarria quotes a sixteenth-century instruction manual for Jesuits, which details how the missionaries distributed "blessed (unconsecrated) bread, garlands, medals, images... by these methods, the children would be awakened to Christian doctrine." "...grani benedetti, corone, medaglie, imagini... per svegliar con questi mezzi li figlioli all dottrina Cristiana." ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico*, 720/A/I/1/1, *Istruzione per quelli che vanno à missione nella Provincia*

whose lands included both Dasà and the village of Potame,³ and asked to be given a picture depicting St. Francis Xavier. The marchesa gave the woman a painting on canvas, representing Xavier in full-length, wearing a surplice and a stole and holding a stalk of lilies.⁴ The woman first put the painting in the church of Santa Tecla in Potame, but it was later transferred to Santa Maria della Grazia, the principal church of the village.

Over the course of a year and a half after the painting was installed in the church, this painted image of St. Francis Xavier worked over two hundred miracles. So many of these were related to disease or illness that Francesco Natoli, the priest who recorded these miracles in his book *Delle gratie e miracoli operati dall'apostolo dell'Indie S. Francesco Saverio in Podami* (1654), refers to Xavier as the village's "communal doctor."⁵ Natoli's account describes a wide variety of miracles, from the healing of a young man whose harquebus had exploded in his hand to the curing of an ox who had been gored by a bull,⁶ along with an abundance of the more usual recoveries from fevers, tumors, blindness, and other ailments. When invoking the name of St. Francis Xavier, the supplicant usually made a vow,

fatta nell'anno 1590, 18. Quoted in Elisa Novi Chavarría, "L'attività missionaria dei Gesuiti nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia tra XVI e XVIII secolo," in *Per la storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso and Carla Russo (Napoli: Guida editori, 1982), 167.

³ Potame was destroyed in an earthquake on October 12, 1791, but the land on which it once was situated is now in the Vibo Valentia province of Calabria. Mario Baratta, *I terremoti d'Italia: Saggio di storia, geografia e bibliografia* (Torino: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1901), 305.

⁴ According to seventeenth-century prints that purportedly reproduce the appearance of the painting, this composition was copied from a print by Raphael Sadeler (born 1560/1561, died 1628-1632) dated 1619. Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La imagen de San Francisco Javier en el arte europeo," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 124. For reproductions of several prints commemorating the events in Potame, see Ricardo Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono: Imágenes para el taumaturgo de ambos mundos," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 177-79.

⁵ For example, when describing the ninth miracle worked by the image, Natoli says that a notary named Gasparo Filardi "fatto ricorso al comun medico S. Francesco..." Natoli, *Delle gratie e miracoli*, 9.

⁶ See miracles #1 and #8 respectively. Natoli, *Delle gratie e miracoli*, 1-3, 8-9.

promising to light a candle for the saint at his altar where the image had been placed, to have a Mass said for him, or to carry out some other act of devotion, such as in the case of Adriana Costa. She vowed that if the saint would resurrect her son, who had been dead for a half an hour at the time of her vow, she would dress the boy as Xavier for a year.⁷

Potome is not the only place to have experienced such a windfall of miracles through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier in the seventeenth century. In Naples, a painting of the saint by Bernardo Azzolino (ca. 1560-1645) suddenly changed in appearance; the figure's face became pale and began to actually sweat, as described in the *Ragguaglio della miracolosa protezione di San Francesco Saverio verso la citta e il Regno di Napoli nel contagio* (1660).⁸ When the plague of 1656 began to ravage the city three years later, people remembered the changes that took place in the painting and considered it an omen of the disease that was to come.⁹ The Eletti of the city then officially invoked the name of Xavier, and reports immediately began to circulate that four hundred people had been cured, earning the missionary a place among the most beloved of Naples's patron saints and ensuring a continuous flow of Xaverian miracles throughout the decades to come.¹⁰ Xavier's thaumaturgical prowess also manifested itself in the Flemish city of Mechelen, after the

⁷ See miracle #7. Natoli, *Delle gratie e miracoli*, 7-8.

⁸ *Ragguaglio della miracolosa protezione di San Francesco Saverio verso la citta e il Regno di Napoli nel contagio*, (Naples: Pietro Palombo, 1743), 4-5.

⁹ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La imagen de San Francisco Javier," 135-36. James Clifton, "Mattia Preti's Frescoes for the City Gates of Naples," *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (1994): 491-92.

¹⁰ See James Clifton's work on Mattia Preti's frescoes for the city gates of Naples. Clifton, "Mattia Preti's Frescoes." James Clifton, "Art and Plague at Naples," in *Hope and Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague*, ed. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). James Clifton, "Jesuits, Theatines, and Mattia Preti's Frescoes for the city Gates of Naples," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano* (1986).

acquisition of a relic of Xavier's arm, as described by Grumsel's *Mechlinia illustrata luce miraculum S. Francisci Xaverii* (1666).¹¹

These three cases in Potame, Naples, and Mechelen, provide excellent examples of the active intercession of saints precipitated by physical objects such as works of art or relics. The agency of saints in the early modern world has been the subject of much scholarly attention in recent decades. For example, Simon Ditchfield, in his essay, "Thinking with the Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," proposed the question, "What broader cultural work did the cult of saints undertake...?" as being a particularly fruitful avenue of investigation when approaching the subject of early modern sanctity.¹² In this dissertation, I modify this inquiry, investigating what kinds of agency *images* of saints had, particularly in time of crisis, a common circumstance in the seventeenth-century world.

My work focuses on early modern visual representations of the sixteenth-century missionary and Jesuit, St. Francis Xavier. In the cases of Potame and Naples, cited above, we see a few local examples where images of Xavier helped to increase the saint's *fama sanctitatis*, which begets miracles, and thus more devotion to him, which further increases his fame and engenders the production of more images and so on.¹³ In other words, an image of a saint could work to reinforce the validity of devotion to a particular saint and of the entire Catholic cult of saints and its power to work miracles, a particularly important function in the context of Christian religious schism after the Protestant Reformation. These

¹¹ Gérard Grumsel, *Mechlinia illustrata luce miraculum S. Francisci Xaverii* (Mechelen: Linstsii, 1666).

¹² Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with the Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 555.

¹³ Helen Hills refers to this process as the "production of sanctity." Helen Hills, "How to Look like a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honor of Peter Burke*, ed. Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo, and Joan-Pau Rubiés (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 209.

miraculous images obviously bolstered the argument for the legitimacy of both Catholic image use and the cult of saints in the face of Protestant criticisms of such matters.

My dissertation is the first study to examine the global implications of the work accomplished by early modern representations of St. Francis Xavier. While I begin with images made in Rome and Lisbon, traditional bastions of Catholicism, my study then turns its focus to major Xaverian images in Antwerp, Goa, and Naples, places that were frontier zones of Catholicism, Jesuit missions, and territories of early modern Iberian empires. Since the efficacy of Xaverian representations increased exponentially in areas that were beset with tensions resulting from the stresses of cross-cultural interactions and religious difference, my research necessarily takes a global approach that focuses on border zones of Catholicism in the early modern period. In “Thinking with the Saints,” Ditchfield lists many different types of “cultural work” that early modern saints could accomplish. Two of Ditchfield’s suggestions struck me as being particularly pertinent to the visual representation of Xavier, the first Post-Tridentine saint to acquire a truly global cult. He cites “providing apostolic justification of Roman Catholic use of images in worship in the face of Protestant polemic” and “redescribing sacred space in contested and frontier zones of Roman Catholicism” as examples of the “dynamic nature and range of the cultural work performed by sanctity and the cult of saints.”¹⁴ I contend that both of these can be considered examples of the type of change that can be effected by images of a saint in general and of St. Francis Xavier, in particular. In addition, I would add to Ditchfield’s list, including propagating an

¹⁴ Other examples of the saints’ broader cultural work suggested by Ditchfield include: “rescuing family honor,” “refining the art of medical autopsy together with the related field of judicial proof,” encouraging the deployment of historical research in the justification of local, regional, and national cults in the face of rivalry and/or the regularisation of liturgy after the Council of Trent,” “providing the occasion and ritual language for the assertion of pastoral authority,” and “providing a cogent and convincing narrative and miracles for figures who never even enjoyed historical existence.” Ditchfield, “Thinking with the Saints,” 584.

official representation of Post-Tridentine sanctity, creating a newly global vision of the reach of the Catholic Church, protecting Jesuit interests in the face of criticism, and aiding Jesuit peacemaking efforts in cities that had seen conflict during the late sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

The first chapter of my dissertation examines Jesuit attempts to create a standard iconography of the miracles of St. Francis Xavier in Rome and Lisbon in the seventeenth century, discussing early prints of St. Francis Xavier published in Rome and paintings by André Reinoso. In these cities, Jesuits and the Church exploited the image of St. Francis Xavier to create an efficacious visual language that expressed ideas about the Church triumphant over the four corners of the globe, ignoring the tensions that plagued European colonies and Jesuit overseas missions. Subsequently, I focus on these problems, beginning in chapter two with Antwerp after the city was reclaimed for Spain and Catholicism. I use Peter Paul Rubens's *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* as an example of an altarpiece that worked to address Protestant criticisms of Catholic image use and support the city's reconversion to Catholicism. The third chapter demonstrates that Portuguese and Jesuit officials utilized Xavier's tomb to support the imperial ideology of *Goa Dourada*, while the Portuguese empire in Asia was crumbling. Lastly, I dedicate the final chapter to a discussion of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Xaverian paintings in Naples, in particular, examining a cycle of frescoes created by Paolo de' Matteis for the Jesuit church of San Francesco Saverio. I argue that the theme of these frescoes is the transformation of heterodoxy into orthodoxy through the miraculous powers of Jesuit saints. St. Francis Xavier is promoted as a universal saint who could alleviate all ills, reflecting Jesuit efforts to

channel Neapolitan devotion to unofficial local saints into centralized Vatican-sanctioned cults.

1.1 EARLY MODERN SANCTITY AND CRISIS

Beginning in 1954 with Eric Hobsbawm, a group of historians have described the seventeenth century as a period of crisis, in which war, famine, disastrous climate change, epidemics, economic problems, and socio-political unrest were pervasive.¹⁵ As Geoffrey Parker points out, there were more state breakdowns and popular revolts during the seventeenth century than in any other period in history.¹⁶ In addition, only the twentieth century would experience more wars than the seventeenth. This almost constant state of war, combined with famine and disease, caused the population of many areas of Europe to decrease drastically.¹⁷ The religious conflicts engendered by the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century continued and were violently manifested during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), while the Catholic Church went on the offensive in order to recover from

¹⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," *Past and Present* V, VI (1954). T.H. Aston, ed. *Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660* (New York: Basic Books, 1965). Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith, eds., *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1997). Geoffrey Parker, "Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 4 (2008). See also Volume 40 of the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, particularly the following articles: Theodore K. Rabb, "Introduction: The Persistence of the 'Crisis'," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 2 (2009). Peter Burke, "The Crisis in the Arts of the Seventeenth Century: A Crisis of Representation?," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 2 (2009).

¹⁶ Parker, "Crisis and Catastrophe," 1056.

¹⁷ Parker, "Crisis and Catastrophe," 1053-60. Geoffrey Parker has also pointed out that this was a worldwide crisis, the cause of which was a combination of global climate change, over-population, mass migrations, food shortages, and disastrous pandemics. Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith, "Introduction," in *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith (London: Routledge, 1997), 4.

losses experienced in the previous century.¹⁸ The two dominant colonial powers of the sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal, experienced declines in demographic vitality, production power, intercontinental commerce, and wealth;¹⁹ the Portuguese empire in Asia in particular suffered from massive losses of territory and trade routes to the Dutch, the Safavids, and the Mughals.²⁰ José Antonio Maravall demonstrates that seventeenth-century writers and intellectuals were aware that they lived in an especially fraught moment of history, attributed the causes of these crises to human action, and debated the merits of various solutions.²¹

Throughout this period of crisis, Catholic people and institutions across Europe and its overseas colonies turned to saints for relief.²² This in itself is not a change from earlier periods. As Philip Soergel points out, fundamental early modern ideas about miracles and sanctity did not differ much from the medieval period.²³ Instead, it was the context that changed, which affected the textual, visual, and material culture surrounding the cults of saints. Soergel examines the ways that texts describing pilgrimages, saints, and shrines transformed during the Bavarian Counter-Reformation, assuming the form of anti-Protestant propaganda and becoming embedded in the structures of the early modern state,

¹⁸ See Chapter 4 of R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁹ J.H. Elliot, "The Decline of Spain," in *Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660*, ed. Trevor Aston (New York: Basic Books, 1965).

²⁰ See Chapter 6 of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History* (New York: Longman, 1993).

²¹ See Chapter 1 of José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

²² Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 219-21.

²³ Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 3-4.

while still maintaining a centuries-old attitude towards saintly intercession and miracles.²⁴ I follow a similar approach in this dissertation, examining the myriad ways in which the visual and material culture surrounding the cult of St. Francis Xavier functioned in the context of seventeenth-century religious schism, the decline of Iberian power in Asia, the global spread of the Jesuit missionary enterprise, and the challenges faced by this order, as well as the Catholic Church's reclamation of European territory lost to Protestants in the previous century.

Although the fact that people sought aid from saints when encountering calamities and emergencies was not unique to the Post-Tridentine period, it is worth noting that the *type* of saints called upon differed from previous centuries. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia has pointed out that the main goals of the Post-Tridentine Church were control over popular religiosity and centralization of authority, impulses that had an effect on which saints the Church promoted. In accordance, the ecclesiastical hierarchy became suspicious of cults of local saints and initiated reforms that centralized the canonization process under the authority of Rome, requiring exhaustive investigations and confirmations of saintly acts.²⁵ In addition, various religious orders and confraternities refocused Catholic piety on more universal

²⁴ Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, 12.

²⁵ Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 130-31. Peter Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Counter-Reformation: Essential Readings*, ed. David Luebke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 131-33. Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 214-20. Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of the Saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity* ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). However, devotion to local saints persisted and towns and parishes attempted to vindicate their saints by revising local breviaries and investigating the hagiographies of these saints with a newly critical eye. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 10-12. Ruth Noyes has also pointed out that during the pontificate of Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605), orders like the Oratorians and Jesuits went against papal restrictions regulating the depiction of the so-called *beati moderni*, demonstrating that there was resistance to this centralizing impulse. Ruth S. Noyes, "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the *Beati moderni* in Rome ca. 1600," *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2011). Ruth S. Noyes, "A me toccano masticare pillole amare: Rubens, the Oratorians and the Crisis over the *Beati moderni* in Rome ca. 1600: Towards a Revised Geography of the Counter Reformation" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins, 2010).

objects of devotion, such as the Holy Sacrament and the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.²⁶ In the meantime, various empires, kingdoms, provinces, and cities began declaring new patron saints and/or vigorously promoting older patrons, inspiring devotion to these figures throughout their territory. The cults of newly canonized Post-Tridentine saints were particularly widespread, with St. Teresa of Avila named patron of Spain in 1627²⁷ and St. Francis Xavier declared Defender of the East in 1699 by King Pedro II of Portugal.²⁸ As certain saints became increasingly associated with large institutions, such as the Spanish or Portuguese empires or the intercontinental missionary enterprise of the Society of Jesus, they often became responsible for the preservation or defense of that institution in times of crisis, no matter the nature of the threat.²⁹ This was a significant change from attitudes towards saints in the centuries before the Council of Trent. William A. Christian explained that in the sixteenth century, Catholics tended to call on local saints, as well as generalists like the Virgin Mary for curing individual afflictions, while international specialists (like St. Roch) were imported for large collective epidemics and natural disasters.³⁰ However, as the seventeenth century progressed, generalized patron saints became numerous and practically ubiquitous, supplanting such specialist saints.³¹

²⁶ Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 57.

²⁷ Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

²⁸ *i.e.*, Defender of Portuguese Asia. Pamila Gupta, "The Relic State: St. Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004), 291.

²⁹ Rowe, *Saint and Nation*, 4.

³⁰ William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 21-22, 93-94.

³¹ Christian writes that the specialist saints constantly faced the danger of obsolescence if they were not able to constantly ameliorate the situations for which they were responsible. Non-specialist saints had more leeway in this regard. Christian, *Local Religion*, 21-22.

When deciding to declare a new patron saint, kings, governors, viceroys, and town councils openly acknowledged that crisis situations were foremost upon their minds and informed their choice of saint. In Spain, the seventeenth century saw a contentious conflict between those who supported St. Teresa of Avila's new role as patron saint of Spain and those who felt that this new declaration dishonored Santiago, Spain's traditional patron saint. Supporters of St. Theresa stressed that she had died only recently after having lived in her entire life in the Spanish kingdom and thus she was familiar with the problems of the day and would be a more efficacious patron than Santiago.³² The naming of St. Francis Xavier as patron of Navarre inspired a similar polemic in the 1640s and 1650s; supporters of Xavier tended to be Jesuits, former students of Jesuits, and government officials, while the residents of Pamplona and members of the city's cathedral council remained adamant supporters of St. Fermín, the traditional patron saint of Navarre.³³ In both cases, the "modern" saint was seen by some as being more suitable to address the various crises of the day with their patronage being very much supported by the secular state, while Catholic dioceses tended to defend the traditional patron.

1.2 CENTER AND PERIPHERY

In this dissertation, one of my major lines of inquiry involves investigating the importance of place in the making and viewing of Xaverian images. How do these various images

³² Rowe, *Saint and Nation*, 61-66.

³³ Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono," 192-97. See also Ricardo Fernández Gracia, *San Francisco Javier, Patrono de Navarra: Fiesta, religiosidad, e iconografía* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2006).

perform agency in the specific context in which they were created or displayed? In other words, what is an image of St. Francis Xavier doing in *this* place? For this reason, my research must necessarily engage with recent thinking about the geography of art.³⁴ One of the predominant theoretical considerations in this area has long been the center-periphery model. First developed in the 1930s, this was initially an economic theory used to describe how a metropolis dominates surrounding territory, but in the decades since, has been applied to a variety of disciplines. In art history, nascent considerations of center-periphery theory can be found in the discussions of provincialism that first manifest themselves in the writings of Giorgio Vasari, but continued to take place throughout the twentieth century.³⁵ In 1979, Carlo Ginzburg and Enrico Castelnuovo published an essay titled “Centro e periferia,” which was a robust consideration of center-periphery theory and its application to art history.³⁶ In this essay, they question many of the basic premises and assumptions apparent in previous art historians’ uses of this model. For example, they write that

If the centre is by definition the place of artistic creativity, and periphery merely means distance from the centre, then we need only conclude that “periphery” is synonymous with later artistic development, and the question is settled... We should instead try to consider the terms “centre” and “periphery” in their entirety: geographical, political, economic, religious – and artistic. We shall then

³⁴ Known as *Kunstgeographie* in German-language sources. For the most helpful introduction to this body of literature, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

³⁵ For provincialism in Vasari, see Carlo Ginzburg and Enrico Castelnuovo, “Centre and Periphery,” in *History of Italian Art*, ed. E. Bianchini and C. Dorey (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 54-60. In 1962, Kenneth Clark gave an important lecture that serves as an excellent example of twentieth-century discussions of provincialism. “In its simplest form provincialism is easily recognized and defined. The history of European art has been, to a large extent, the history of a series of centres, from each of which radiated a style. For a shorter or longer period that style dominated the art of the time, became in fact an international style, which was metropolitan at its centre and became more and more provincial as it reached the periphery. A style does not grow up simultaneously over a large area. It is the creation of a centre, a single energizing unit, which may be as small as fifteenth-century Florence, or as large as pre-war Paris, but has the confidence and coherency of a metropolis.” Kenneth Clark, “Provincialism,” in *English Association Lecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 3. Cited in Ginzburg and Castelnuovo, “Centre and Periphery,” 29-30.

³⁶ Carlo Ginzburg and Enrico Castelnuovo, “Centro e periferia,” in *Storia dell'arte italiana. Parte prima: Materiali e problemi*, ed. Giovanni Previtali (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1979). For an English translation, see Ginzburg and Castelnuovo, “Centre and Periphery.”

immediately realize the importance of identifying the link between artistic and extra-artistic phenomena...³⁷

In other words, Ginzburg and Castelfnuovo do not subscribe to the idea that artistic forms move from center to periphery just because the periphery is “backwards.” Instead, one must investigate the historical, political, or religious conditions that lead to the adoption of the center’s artistic paradigms in the periphery. Additionally, Ginzburg and Castelfnuovo note that the active “coherent resistance” of the periphery can be mistaken for a passive “late development,” and that this refusal to adopt the paradigms of the center should be investigated in terms of extra-artistic considerations.³⁸ One of the most fertile preconditions for peripheral innovation or resistance, as they point out, is a heterogeneous public, an idea that I explore below.³⁹

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann’s *Toward a Geography of Art* provides an excellent summary of the problems and complications of applying center-periphery theory to art historical discussions by focusing on the difficulty of identifying artistic metropolises in early modern Central Europe using conventional measures like population, the existence of printing presses and academies, and the number of artists moving to the city.⁴⁰ Using these criteria, the only non-Italian city that has been identified as an artistic metropolis before 1600 is Antwerp.⁴¹ However, once Kaufman uses different measures to identify artistic metropolises, such as the existence of a vibrant court culture or a city’s status as a major

³⁷ Ginzburg and Castelfnuovo, "Centre and Periphery," 30.

³⁸ Ginzburg and Castelfnuovo, "Centre and Periphery," 71.

³⁹ Ginzburg and Castelfnuovo, "Centre and Periphery," 75.

⁴⁰ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 158-83.

⁴¹ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 161.

node of communication, he can classify early modern Buda, Krakow, and Prague as such.⁴² My dissertation is not so concerned with establishing criteria for identifying artistic metropolises; I believe that there are a variety of benchmarks one could use to accomplish this task and that in order to be considered an artistic metropolis, a city does not have to exhaustively meet every standard.⁴³ My research examines five different cities (Rome, Lisbon, Antwerp, Naples, and Goa) and it is possible to view each of these as an artistic metropolis for differing reasons. In other words, I did not choose these cities because they make center-periphery pairs with one another in an artistic sense. Instead, I am more interested in comparing and contrasting Xaverian images in Rome and Lisbon with those in Antwerp, Naples, and Goa for reasons that have to do with these places' colonial and religious statuses.⁴⁴

Rome, as the seat of the papacy, is obviously the center of the Roman Catholic world at this time, while the Portuguese court was located in Lisbon. These locations were bastions of Catholicism and the religious environment in each was largely characterized by orthodoxy. Antwerp, Naples, and Goa, on the other hand, were territories or colonies of Portugal and Spain, as well as border zones of Catholicism. At first glance, it may seem strange to draw analogies between these three cities. However, the Jesuits, primary patrons

⁴² Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 169-78.

⁴³ Ginzburg and Castelnovo's criteria, loosely applied, seem to me sufficient benchmarks for the declaration of an artistic metropolis: the presence of a large number of artists, important patrons who have money to spend on art, and institutions that can train artists and distribute works of art. All of the cities in my study meet these criteria. Ginzburg and Castelnovo, "Centre and Periphery," 48-49.

⁴⁴ My thinking here is influenced by Ginzburg and Castelnovo, who stress that artistic metropolises are not necessarily political metropolises and vice versa. Ginzburg and Castelnovo, "Centre and Periphery," 35. An example of this is fourteenth-century Avignon. "Clearly, it would be absurd and nonsensical to consider Avignon, the fourteenth-century seat of the papal court, as being on the periphery. Yet we must clarify the meaning of our terms: while there is no doubt that the Provençal city immediately assumed a political, economic, and religious importance, from an artistic point of view, the city remained open to outside influences." Ginzburg and Castelnovo, "Centre and Periphery," 74.

of images of St. Francis Xavier, treated all three cities as missions, even if the main targets of their ministry were different (Protestants in Antwerp, other Catholics and Muslim slaves in Naples, and wayward Catholics and non-Christians in Goa). Luke Clossey has noted that while Jesuits did have slightly different strategies for dealing with each population, “these distinctions were never so great as to justify the historiographical walls that have calcified around them.”⁴⁵ This dissertation breaks down some of these historiographical boundaries by focusing on locations marked by religious heterodoxy in a broad sense. For example, Goa, as the capital of Portuguese India, was simultaneously the center of Portugal’s Asian colonies and also peripheral to Lisbon itself. Additionally, it was a frontier zone of Catholicism that served as a training center and starting point for missionaries going further afield to convert the inhabitants of places such as the Pearl Fishery Coast, the Spice Islands, and even Japan. Antwerp, a part of the Spanish Netherlands, was gradually being reclaimed for Catholicism after the religious schism of the sixteenth-century, a process in which the Jesuits and the Spanish crown played an important role. Jesuits also used Antwerp as a training ground and place of departure for missionaries who would go north into Protestant lands. Lastly, Naples, although located on the Italian peninsula, was also under Spanish rule and was treated as a mission by Jesuits, who instituted a project of religious and cultural reform meant to combat the superstitious practices of the lower classes and the

⁴⁵ Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 234. Clossey describes these historiographical borders thusly: “Students of missions as such look to the attempted conversions of non-Christians, usually outside of Europe, excepting some Jews, Muslims, and the Sami of the far north. Historians of the ‘Counter Reformation’ consider church efforts to win Protestants over to Rome. In turn, those tracing ‘Catholic Reform’ or ‘Catholic piety’ look at efforts to bolster the faith of Catholics. Historians tend not to work in more than one of these fields.” Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 239-40. For other studies that stress the unity before these various missionary targets, see John W. O’Malley, “Mission and the Early Jesuits,” *Ignatian Spirituality and Mission* 79 (1994). Dominique Deslandres, “Mission et altérité: Les missionnaires français et la définition de l’Autre au XVIIe siècle,” in *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, ed. James Pritchard (Cleveland: French Colonial Historical Society, 1993).

profligate lives led by Neapolitan aristocrats, while also working to convert the sizeable population of Muslim slaves present in the kingdom.⁴⁶ As I will demonstrate in the chapters to follow, this particular selection of cities will enable me to examine a wide range of cultural work that can be accomplished by images of St. Francis Xavier in moments of crisis in the context of colonialism, missionary activity, empire building and destruction, and religious schism.

In focusing on models based on the ideas of metropolises versus colonies and orthodoxy versus heterodoxy, my methods resemble those followed by other art historians, such as Charlene Villaseñor Black. She has demonstrated that patron saints had multilayered agency in early modern empires and were invoked for different purposes in metropolises and colonies.⁴⁷ Her book, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire*, deals with St. Joseph, who was made the patron of the conquest and conversion of New Spain in 1555 and, in 1679, was declared the patron of the kingdom of Spain, replacing Santiago. In Spain, theologians emphasized St. Joseph's power to work miracles in troubled familial situations and promoted the husband of the Virgin Mary as an ideal spouse, an image that was intended to confront a perceived "crisis of masculinity" in Spain in the seventeenth century.⁴⁸ In the Spanish American colonies, the figure of St. Joseph was held up as an example of the ideal paternal head of the nuclear family, intended

⁴⁶ See Jennifer D. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004).

⁴⁷ Charlene Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

⁴⁸ Discussions of the "crisis of masculinity" were engendered by a lack of men in Spain, many of whom had been killed in war or had immigrated to New Spain or other colonies of the Spanish empire. As a result, Spanish women were left responsible for managing familial affairs and gained increased power to conduct business, own property, and engage in legal affairs. Chroniclers of the time viewed this as a feminization of Spain and often blamed this phenomenon for many of the kingdom's problems. Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult* 79-80.

to Hispanicize native family structures, which were inclined to be larger and more loosely organized, often with a strong matriarchal component.⁴⁹ Black's approach is productive because she examines both colony and metropole in one study, finding that while there are similarities in the way St. Joseph is portrayed, informed by common religious texts and Inquisitorial guidelines, the various types of cultural work that images of St. Joseph can accomplish differed between metropole and colony in significant ways that reveal much about colonialism and crisis in the early modern Spanish empire.⁵⁰ I believe that the same can be said of St. Francis Xavier on a global scale. In addition, Black is largely interested in iconographic patterns and variations, instead of style, the predominant focus of other art historians who have thought about center-periphery theory, like Ginzburg, Castelnovo, and Kaufmann. In this dissertation, I also am more concerned with the diffusion of iconographic forms and compositions than with the movement of artistic styles between center and periphery.

Massimo Leone, in *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism*, posits that the reforms of the Post-Tridentine Church were “archetypally expressed and articulated through the particular media of [Post-Tridentine] saints, each endowed with particular characteristics.”⁵¹ He views texts and images representing St. Ignatius of Loyola as embodying “the concept of ‘second conversion’ as the new miracle of early modern Catholic spirituality,”⁵² while representations of St. Francis Xavier express the

⁴⁹ Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult* 81-83.

⁵⁰ Villaseñor Black, *Creating the Cult* 15.

⁵¹ Massimo Leone, *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 325.

⁵² Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 325.

Post-Tridentine idea of “conversion between sameness and otherness.”⁵³ I agree with Leone that textual and visual representations of St. Francis Xavier were the primary way in which the Catholic Church and the Jesuit order thematized global religious conversion as the elimination of worldwide religious difference. However, I will also argue that the exact function of these representations varied depending on their geographic context. In orthodox Catholic environments, the images of Xavier that decorated the altars of Jesuit churches were not working to convert the viewer to Catholicism; instead, they were expressing a desire for the worldwide conversion of all the pagans and heretics who lived within and beyond the frontier zones of Catholicism. They were celebrating the Church Triumphant of the Post-Tridentine period, in which the Church had reversed its position of decline after the Protestant Reformation and helped to inspire the men of Europe to become Jesuits and follow in St. Francis Xavier’s footsteps and become overseas missionaries.⁵⁴ In heterodox religious contexts, however, Xaverian images were intended to play an active role in the conversion of the audience, a body of viewers that was assumed to be religiously heterogeneous, with souls in need of saving. As will be discussed in later chapters, the exact function of images of St. Francis Xavier in these heterodox environments differed based on place, but in all of these instances, Xaverian representations performed vital cultural work. For example, in Goa, paintings and relief sculptures depicting Xavier’s posthumous

⁵³ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 321.

⁵⁴ The Jesuit’s promotion of St. Francis Xavier as an exemplary missionary was very successful in inspiring young Jesuits to ask to become overseas missionaries themselves. There are more than 15,000 *Indipetae*, or letters of application for overseas missions, preserved in the Jesuit Archive in Rome and more than two thousand of them specifically mention that they want to follow the example of St. Francis Xavier. See Georg Schurhammer, "Sulle orme del Saverio," in *Gesammelte Studien: Varia* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965). For more on the *Indipetae*, see Ines G. Županov, "Passage to India: Jesuit Spiritual Economy between Martyrdom and Profit in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012): 3-11.

miracles are far more common than in other places. Most of these miracles were worked by Xavier's incorrupt body. In Portuguese India, the lack of decomposition exhibited by Xavier's body had a particularly weighty valence, standing in for the ability of the Church to flourish in the tropics, an area of the world that Europeans characterized as prone to physical rot and moral decay. Works of art depicting his body were therefore particularly meaningful in this context.⁵⁵ In summary, iconographic forms and motifs used to depict St. Francis Xavier developed differently in heterodox versus orthodox environments, in response to the local circumstances of place.

Of course, these Xaverian forms did migrate, but not in the way that diffusion is normally treated in traditional applications of center-periphery theory. The movement of these motifs and modes of representation was not unidirectional. In other words, the idea that artistic forms are created in culturally influential centers, which then spread outwards in a ripple pattern towards areas that are less culturally influential is inadequate for the complexities of the subject at hand. An excellent example is the first documented representation of Xavier, supposedly commissioned in 1583 by Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), Visitor of Missions in the Indies from 1573. He sent a letter to Claudio Acquaviva, dated December 31, 1583, explaining that he had had a portrait made from Xavier's incorrupt body and was sending a copy to Rome.⁵⁶ This *vera effigie* was a representation that originated on the periphery vis-à-vis Rome, perhaps created by non-European artists trained

⁵⁵ For a thorough consideration of how Europeans, particularly Portuguese officials and Jesuit missionaries viewed "the tropics," see Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

⁵⁶ Schurhammer, "Das wahre Bild," 214.

in the Jesuit mission schools.⁵⁷ This first portrait of Xavier was then used as a source for a variety of prints, including many of the frontispieces of the earliest Xaverian biographies printed in Europe. Examples include Theodore Galle's 1596 frontispiece for the Roman edition of Orazio Torsellino's *De vita Francisci Xaverii* and Hieronymus Wierix's frontispiece for the 1596 Antwerp edition of the same biography. These illustrations then circulated all over the world through the networks established by Jesuit missionaries, thus moving back to the periphery and serving as sources for non-European works of art, such as the so-called Kobe Portrait of Francis Xavier, painted by an anonymous Japanese artist in the early seventeenth century, at least a decade before Xavier's official canonization.⁵⁸ Throughout this dissertation, I will present many examples of particular compositions or iconographic motifs passing fluidly from periphery to center and vice versa multiple times over throughout the course of the late sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.

For this reason, instead of visualizing Xaverian diffusion as a standard center-periphery diagram, it is more instructive to look at an engraving titled *Horoscopium Catholicum Societatis Iesu*, included in *Ars magna lucis et umbrae* (1646) a treatise on optics by the Jesuit polymath and mathematics professor Athanasius Kircher.⁵⁹ Here we see St.

⁵⁷ The locations of both the original in Goa and the copy sent to Rome are currently unknown; however, there are several early painted images of Francis Xavier in Rome that may be copies of these first images. See Pilar Andueza Unanua, "La vera effigies de San Francisco Javier: la creación de una imagen postridentina," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 101. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La imagen de San Francisco Javier," 122-23.

⁵⁸ Grace Vlam, "The Portrait of S. Francis Xavier in Kobe," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42, no. 1 (1979): 50-55.

⁵⁹ Athanasius Kircher, *Ars magna lucis et umbrae in decem libros digesta: Quibus admirandae lucis et umbrae in mundo, atque adeo universa natura, vires effectusq. uti nova, ita varia novorum reconditorumq. speciminum exhibitione, ad varios mortalium usus, panduntur* (Rome: Sumptibus Hermanni Scheus, 1646). See also Steven J. Harris, "Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley and et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 218-24. John W. O'Malley, "Saint Ignatius and the Cultural Mission of the Society of Jesus," in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, ed. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003), 15. Jonathan Wright, *God's Soldiers: Adventure, Politics, Intrigue, and Power, A History of the Jesuits* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 70.

Ignatius of Loyola kneeling in front of a seascape filled with ships destined for far-off places, eyes cast heavenwards and holding a copy of the Jesuit *Constitutions*. From Ignatius sprouts an enormous olive tree with “Roma” etched on its trunk; its myriad branches support clusters of leaves representing the nodes of the global Jesuit network, each labeled with the name of a Jesuit province, creating a Jesuit version of the Tree of Jesse.⁶⁰ Other leaves labeled with the names of individual missions sprout from each provincial cluster. The diffusion of Xaverian compositions and iconographic motifs can be loosely mapped onto this diagram; innovations in the saint’s representation can occur in any provincial cluster as responses to local circumstances, take root and flourish in the immediate surrounding area, but also make larger geographic leaps along the major branches, either towards or away

⁶⁰ Jesuits often utilized arboreal imagery in this way. Another example is a broadsheet titled *The Origins of the Jesuit House*, produced in Cologne around the year 1620. Here, the olive tree is surmounted by an image of the Madonna holding both the infant Christ and an IHS logo and grows from the body of Ignatius of Loyola, who reclines on the ground, a reinterpretation of the famous Tree of Jesse motif. The branches that sprout from the trunk are arranged geographically, without the nodal presentation of Kircher’s *Horoscopium Catholicum Societatis Iesu*. See Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 2-4. Jesuits also used fruit metaphors to celebrate their own saints. Pedro de Rebadeneira (1527-1611) wrote a biography of Ignatius of Loyola in 1572 and in this text, he had to grapple with Ignatius’s lack of miracles. He wrote, “Other miracles are not to be desired any longer, for so many of them can be seen in these things. Through them, God demonstrated that this was His work, and let the root of this generous plant be known from the copious and abundant fruits that were harvested from it.” In other words, the main miracle of the Jesuit founder was the number of souls he brought to God and the illustrious Jesuits that came after him. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 111. Visually, the idea of the Jesuit order bearing fruit is represented in prints like Michael Snyders’s *The Fruits of the Company of Jesus* (1620) and a painting by an anonymous Flemish artist in the cathedral of Pamplona made between 1625 and 1650. Ricardo Fernández Gracia, ed. *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen* (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 354. This arboreal imagery also influenced the visions of members and potential members of the Society. Baldassarre Loyola (1631-1667) was a Muslim prince, a son of the king of Fez who converted to Christianity in 1656. After his baptism, he pondered what he would do with his life as a Christian and received visions that persuaded him to join the Society of Jesus. According to his unpublished autobiography, Loyola once saw a mystical tree with an abundance of beautiful blossoms on some branches. He wrote, “God... helped me to understand the meaning of this image: the tree is the world, and the flowering branches are the religious orders spread in the world; some of them produce more fruits than the others, and the flowering top of the tree is the Society of Jesus.” This manuscript is in the archive of the Gregorian University Rome (APUG). See APUG 1060 I-II. The excerpt above is quoted and translated in Emanuele Colombo, “A Muslim Turned Jesuit: Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631-1667),” *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013): 489. Jesuit arboreal imagery can also be found in thesis prints created for students of the Seminario Romano. The emblem of the seminary was a cluster of seedlings growing from the soil of a walled garden, with the motto “POMIS SUA NOMINA SERVANT” (“They preserve their fame with their fruit”). Louise Rice explains how this refers to the “young boys entrusted to the care of the Sminary, who will grow there into lofty trees: they will preserve their fame – in other words, they will uphold their aristocratic lineage and titled rank – with their fruit, i.e. with their worthy accomplishments and noble deeds.” Louise Rice, “Pomis Sua Nomina Servant: The Emblematic Thesis Prints of the Roman Seminary” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007).

from the Roman trunk around which all provinces are oriented. This complicates the usual view of Catholicism being increasingly centralized after the Council of Trent.⁶¹

In the top portion of the print, a Habsburg double-headed eagle superimposed with a compass needle surmounts the trunk and a dove with an olive branch in its beak, the emblem of Pope Innocent X Pamphilj (r. 1644-1655), flies above the entire scene. These two symbols thus represent papacy and Habsburg empire, embodiments of sacred and secular Catholic power in the early modern world and global institutions that gave the Jesuits the means and authority to operate their missions, both in Europe and overseas. While all of the provinces on the print are oriented around the centralizing axis formed by the trunk, the eagle, and the dove, they are also not completely circumscribed by the influence of these authorities, as a more traditional center-periphery model would have it. At the same time, the diagram gives evidence that Jesuits viewed all of these various provincial nodes as part of a universal schema, united by worship of Christ's name and devotion to Jesuit saints such as Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier.⁶² The print itself can actually function as a sundial that tells the time simultaneously in all Jesuit provinces.⁶³ The user is meant to hang the print up on the wall and place a pin in each provincial node. There are different groupings of numbers in each of the semicircles that bear the names of the provinces and the pins would cast shadows onto the correct time for each province. Additionally, the arrangement of the branches was carefully designed so that the shadows cast by the pins

⁶¹ See Chapter 6 of Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*.

⁶² The print is framed by the phrase, "From East to West, praiseworthy is the name of our Lord" translated into thirty-four of the languages that Jesuits used on the missions, underlining the global nature of this evangelical initiative and the universality of Catholic truth.

⁶³ Michael John Gorman, "The Angel and the Compass: Athanasius Kircher's Magnetic Geography," in *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, ed. Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge 2004), 248-50.

would merge together to form the letters IHS, Christ's monogram and the symbol of the Society of Jesus.⁶⁴ As Michael John Gorman writes, one can imagine this IHS monogram as "[walking] over the world with the passage of time, like the synchronized, uniformly trained members of the Jesuit order."⁶⁵ It is also possible to view the movement of the IHS monogram as a visualization of the global circulation of Jesuit ideas and visual culture, a subject treated in detail by this dissertation in subsequent chapters.

1.3 IMAGINED COMMUNITIES

My choice of six cities that are rather far removed from one another is a reflection of the far-flung nature of the cult of St. Francis Xavier itself. Not only was Xavier declared the Defender of the East (in essence, the patron saint of Portuguese India) by King Pedro II of Portugal and patron of his birthplace, Navarre,⁶⁶ he was also considered to be the patron of sailors and maritime travel in general. In particular, all voyages between Manila and Mexico were thought to be under his special protection, despite never having traveled that route himself.⁶⁷ Additionally, Xavier's common appellation "the Apostle to the Indies," was often understood to mean both the East and West Indies,⁶⁸ and devotion to him spread in

⁶⁴ The IHS monogram has several possible origins. It could be considered a Latinized version of the letters iota, eta, and sigma, the first three letters of Jesus's name in Greek (IHΣΟΥΣ) or an acronym standing for the Latin phrase *Iesus Hominum Salvator*, or "Jesus, Savior of Man." Jesuits also give an alternative meaning to the acronym, *Jesum Habemus Socium* or "We have Jesus for our companion." Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, 3.

⁶⁵ Gorman, "The Angel and the Compass: Athanasius Kircher's Magnetic Geography," 250.

⁶⁶ See Fernández Gracia, *San Francisco Javier, Patrono de Navarra*.

⁶⁷ Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono," 166.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 5 of this study.

the Americas as well, as evidenced by his patronage of Guatemala City, Mexico City, and Bahía in Brazil. Much of this fervor was related to Francis Xavier's prodigious powers to abate the plague, a reputation that he gained in life during a visit to a small island off the coast of Sri Lanka:

[Xavier] went to the island of Mannar, desirous to visit the town of Patin and kiss the earth consecrated with the blood of so many martyrs, but God took him [there] to exercise his miraculous charity for the islanders. There had raged a plague in which as many as a hundred people died each day and at the arrival of the saint on the island of the martyrs, three thousand people came out to meet him, some of them Christians and some pagans, for the fame of his deeds had spread everywhere... Moved to compassion by the pleas, tears, and labor of the inhabitants of Mannar, he asked for three days to reach a remedy with God. He prayed fervently for them and the plague ceased. All who were touched by him were healed and no additional person fell ill. All were converted to our Holy Faith and baptized by the hand of the Apostle.⁶⁹

Posthumously, this miracle was replicated on a global scale, and Xavier was credited with lifting the plague in cities throughout Italy, Portuguese Asia, the southern Netherlands, and Mexico.⁷⁰ As the seventeenth century progressed, Xavier became known for his ability to intercede in the case of fire, earthquake, storms at sea, witchcraft and demon possession, famine, drought, and all manner of diseases and bodily afflictions. The number of kingdoms and cities that declared Xavier to be an official patron is difficult to count; Georg

⁶⁹ "Passò a la isla de Manar, deseoso de visitar el pueblo de Patin y besar la tierra consagrada con la sangre de tantos Martyres, mas Dios le llevaba para que ejercitasse su milagrosa caridad con los Isleños. Aviase encendido una grave pestilencia de que morian cada dia hasta cien personas; y al llegar el santo a la Villa de los Martyres, salieron a recibirle tres mil personas, parte Cristianos, y parte Gentiles; y como corria por todas partes la fama de sus prodigios... Movido a compasion con los ruegos, llantos y trabajos de los Manareses, pidiò tres dias de término para alcançar de Dios el remedio. En ellos hizo fervorosa oración, y luego cessò la peste; porque todos los que estavan tocados de elle sanaron y ninguno fue tocado en adelante... se convirtieron todos a nuestra Santa Fe y fueron bautizados de mano del Santo Apostol." Francisco García, *Vida y milagros de San Francisco Xavier de la Compañia de Jesús, Apóstol de las Indias* (Madrid: Marcos Alvarez de Arellano, 1672), 82-83. See also Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono," 180.

⁷⁰ "What can be said about the diseases that [Xavier] has averted in various cities in both the New and the Old World, purifying the air of the deaths that threatened the citizens who elected him patron in order to be under his protection in respect to the plague, and God does not punish them because he sees them under the patronage of Francis Xavier?" "Que dire delas pestes que ha apagado en diversas Ciudades en uno y outro mundo, purificando el ayre de las muertes que amenaçavan a sus Ciudadanos, los quales le eligieron por Patron, para que estando debaxo de su proteccion, los respetasse el contagion, y Dios no los castigasse viendolos patrocinados de San Francisco Xavier?" García, *Vida y milagros*, 427. See also Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono," 180.

Schurhammer, the prolific Xaverian scholar of the early twentieth century, attempted to create a comprehensive list in preparation for a book about Xavier's miracles that was never realized. This inventory catalogues dozens of cities, spread throughout the continents of the world.⁷¹ The worldwide spread of the Jesuit mission obviously contributed to this global cult, with Jesuit colleges encouraging the practice of saying the Novena of Grace, a prayer said for nine consecutive days (usually between March 4th and March 12th), beseeching St. Francis Xavier for his intercession.⁷² In addition, Jesuits founded confraternities dedicated to Xavier in a variety of locales, with some of the most active located in Mexico City, Puebla, and Veracruz in the Spanish colony of New Spain.⁷³

Thus, when we look at Catholicism in Italy and the Iberian empires in the early modern period, we can perceive a community of Xaverian devotees, united in their saying of the Novena of Grace, their devotion to Xavier's relics and images representing him, and their inclination to ask for his aid in times of crisis. Benedict Anderson's theorization of "imagined communities" is helpful to understand this phenomenon.⁷⁴ He demonstrated that

⁷¹ The list was collected in Schurhammer's *Gesammelte Studien*. I have rearranged the list chronologically. Bari (1622), Macao (1622), Manâr (1624), Pamplona (1624), Sarno (1629), Amalfi (1630), Avellino (1630), Boiano, Bologna (1630), Capaccio (1630), Messina (1630), Perugia (1630), Sant'Agata dei Goti (1630), Nice (1631), Reggio Calabria (1631), Vasai (1631), São Miguel, Azores (1633), Cavriana (1634), Forlì (1634), Goa (1640), Ancona (1648), Guatemala City (1648), Sanremo (1649), Potamo (1652), Manila (1653), Lucerne (1654), Benevento (1656), Bitonto (1656), Campochiaro (1656), Macerata (1656), Naples (1656), Nola (1656), Trani (1656), L'Aquila (1657), Parma (1657), Mondovì (1658), Ponta Delgada (1658), Mindelheim (1659), Mexico City (1660), Castellammare di Stabia (1661), Bastia (1665), Bruges (1666), Ragusa (1667), Torino (1667), Trieste (1667), Piacenza (1669), Cremona (1670), Ajaccio (1672), Taverna (1672), Recanati (1675), Alexandria (1676), Ascoli Piceno (1677), Kłodzko (1680), Genoa (1684), Bahia (1686), Savona (1687), Fermo (1689), Gaillac (1697), Sulmona (1699), Eichstätt (1704), El Hito (1722), Casacalenda (1728), Monte Peloso (1729). Schurhammer, "Nações, provincias, e dioceses," 627.

⁷² Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono," 160. This practice was begun in the 1630s after a Jesuit in Naples, Marcello Mastrilli, who will be mentioned again in this dissertation, in connection to the commissioning of the silver sarcophagus housing Xavier's remains in Goa, was cured by Francis Xavier and told by the saint that anyone that prayed to him for nine days, beginning on the anniversary of his canonization, would receive his aid. The current English text of the Novena can be found in Michael Harter, *Hearts on Fire: Praying with Jesuits* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1993), 168-70.

⁷³ Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono," 161-62.

⁷⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Revised ed. (London: Verso, 2006).

it is fruitful to distinguish communities “by the style in which they are imagined.”⁷⁵ While Anderson is primarily concerned with the idea of a nation as an imagined community, other scholars have found the concept useful for discussing the Catholic world in the early modern period. For example, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann links Anderson’s imagined communities with the cult of early modern saints, writing that such a community can be “expressed through the veneration of particular saints and their representation in the arts.”⁷⁶ Christopher Nygren, in his dissertation on icons painted by Titian, examines a similar phenomenon, albeit on a smaller scale.⁷⁷ He discusses Titian’s *Ecce Homo* paintings, a composition of which the artist made four copies to give to Emperor Charles V, Pope Paul III, Cardinal Granvelle, and Pietro Aretino. Nygren writes that Titian’s gifts created a “devotional network” or “a community of faith united by a common source of devotional inspiration.”⁷⁸ The Protestant Reformation shattered the confessional unity of Latin Christendom, while European colonialism and exploration, coupled with the global Catholic missionary enterprise, created physically disconnected enclaves of Catholics all over the world. These two developments created the conditions for the formation of such imagined communities, separated by large distances and religious schism, but brought together by mutual devotion to particular images, saints, or prayers. Here, I propose that the

⁷⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

⁷⁶ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 150-51.

⁷⁷ Christopher Nygren, "Vibrant Icons: Titian's Art and the Tradition of Christian Image-Making" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins, 2011), 266-85. I thank Christopher Nygren for pointing me towards this line of thinking.

⁷⁸ Nygren, "Vibrant Icons," 273, 76. Luke Clossey also discusses the idea of a global ritual community created through common rituals and the dispersal of relics. Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 223.

cult of St. Francis Xavier, with devotees spread over Europe, Asia, and Latin America, was another example of an early modern imagined community of the faithful.⁷⁹

As Nygren states, “the imagined community of viewership lay at the heart of the reproducible Christian cult image,”⁸⁰ and indeed, particular Xaverian compositions were reproduced extensively and circulated throughout all of the areas of the world in which the Jesuits were active. For example, Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) was commissioned to paint portraits of both St. Ignatius of Loyola (currently in the Norton Simon Museum) and St. Francis Xavier (destroyed in a fire in London in 1940) at around the time of the saint’s canonization. While opinion is divided regarding the paintings’ original location,⁸¹ Hans Vlieghe, citing several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources, believes that these paintings were the original altarpieces placed on these saints’ altars in the Gesù at the time of the 1622 canonization.⁸² Schelte Bolswert (ca. 1586-1659) created engravings after these portraits, which evidently circulated widely and were used as compositional sources for altarpieces in Jesuit churches all over the world. There are versions of this composition in the *retablo* of the main altar of the parish church in Javier, Navarre, the birthplace of St. Francis Xavier and in the church of San Francesco Saverio in Palermo. Schelte Bolswert also engraved a print that combined both the Ignatius and Xavier compositions into one

⁷⁹ Nygren, "Vibrant Icons," 284.

⁸⁰ Nygren, "Vibrant Icons," 284-85.

⁸¹ Leo Van Puyvelde believed that they were originally intended for the Jesuit church in Antwerp; however, Vlieghe writes that this conclusion is based on a misreading of the contracts for Rubens’s large altarpieces, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* and *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, completed for the same church. Leo Van Puyvelde, "Les Saint Ignace et Saint François Xavier de Rubens," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 53 (1959): 231. See Hans Vlieghe, *Saints II*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard (London: Phaidon, 1973), 69-70.

⁸² Vlieghe, *Saints II*, 69-72. "... e se bene il Rubens habbia per lo piu dipinto in Fiandra... ha lasciato pero in Italia, dopo haver studiato prima scuola varie buone operationi, come le due Tavoli, che sono nella Chiesa del Gesù di Roma l’una, che dimostra all destra dell’Altare maggiore S. Ginatio e l’altra all’incontro S. Francesco Saverio..." Francesco Scannelli, *Il microcosmo della pittura* (Cesena: Peril Neri 1657), 205.

single sheet. This print was copied by Pierre de Lattre in paint and displayed in Sant' Ignazio in Rome. Ulrich Loth used the Rubens Xaverian composition as a basis for a portion of a painting for St. Michael's in Munich,⁸³ to name an additional link in this devotional network engendered by image reproduction. The previously mentioned incident in Potame is yet another demonstration of such a network or community. The painting that the Marchesa d'Arena gave to the woman of Dasà no longer survives, but there are a few extant engravings that reproduce its appearance. The central portion of a print by Mathäus Küssel (1628 – ca. 1681) represents St. Francis Xavier in a way that corresponds to the description of the Marchesa d'Arena's painting included in a Spanish-language account of the events in Potame, written by Mathias de Peralta Calderón in 1665.⁸⁴ Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos has pointed out that this is an extremely common compositional type, the oldest iteration of which can be traced to a print by Rafael Sadeler (born 1560-1561, died 1628 or 1632).⁸⁵ In this case, we see the diffusion of particular Xaverian compositions through print in the early seventeenth century, one of which was used as a source for a devotional painting owned by the Marchesa d'Arena. This painting, after becoming a famous miracle-

⁸³ Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, 101.

⁸⁴ "... su Excelencia movida de tan raro successo, diò con mucho gusto para que se llevasse a Potamo una Imagé que tema, la qual es de pincel en un lienço de siete quartas en alto, y quarto de ancho, en que se representa San Francisco Xavier en pie con Sobrepelliz, y Estola, y un ramo de açcucenas en la mano." Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias*, 34.

⁸⁵ Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La imagen de San Francisco Javier," 84. Massimo Leone identifies one of the so-called Guasp series prints (late sixteenth century, according to Leone) made in Palma de Mallorca as a possible source for the Sadeler print. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 411-15. Georg Schurhammer, on the other hand, believes that the Sadeler print was the source for the Guasp series, a collection of prints which were pastiches of many earlier compositions. Schurhammer, "Las fuentes iconográficas," 599-600. I agree with Schurhammer. It seems unlikely that prints made in Mallorca in a rather unsophisticated style and with limited distribution could have served as the ultimate source for a large number of the most common Xaverian compositions, which would be repeated throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It seems more likely that the Guasp series used a large number of the most widely available Xaverian prints as a source than the other way around. The iconography of St. Francis Xavier holding a lily, representing his famous chastity, is an earlier type in the history of Xaverian iconography. The lily eventually became an attribute of St. Aloysius Gonzaga (1568-1591, beatified in 1605 and canonized in 1726) and disappeared from representations of St. Francis Xavier. Schurhammer, "Las fuentes iconográficas," 599.

working image, was then copied again in print with new inscriptions elucidating the composition's connection to the events in Potame, as is the case with a print by Theodor Matham (born 1605 or 1606 and died 1676). In other cases, such as that of the Küssel print cited above, additional vignettes illustrating the miracles at Potame were added to the basic image of Xavier holding a lily. Throughout this dissertation, we will see additional examples of the imagined community that was created through devotion to St. Francis Xavier and the ways that this community made and used images of the saint, particularly in times of crisis.

1.4 THE IMAGE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER AS PROPAGANDA

Above, when describing the possible cultural work that representations of St. Francis Xavier could undertake, many of my suggestions can be classified under the general category of “propaganda.” In this, my work is indebted to Evonne Levy’s *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (2004),⁸⁶ a study that reevaluates the utility of “propaganda” as an interpretive tool when applied to the Catholic Baroque art in general, and to the art patronized by the Jesuits in particular.⁸⁷ The word “propaganda” comes from the Latin *propagare*, meaning “to sow.” This was one of several agricultural metaphors used during the Counter-Reformation to describe the spreading of the Catholic faith or the cultivating of more pious Catholics.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

⁸⁷ Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 6.

⁸⁸ Another example is the use of the word “seminary,” originally meaning a “nursery.” Ignatius of Loyola may have been the first to use this term to mean a school for training priests, capitalizing on the metaphor between cultivation and education. Rice, “Pomis Sua Nomina Servant” 201.

Accordingly, when Pope Gregory XV founded a congregation to oversee all missionary activity in 1625, it was given the name the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith or the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. Levy, however, explores how our contemporary usage of the word “propaganda,” which is greatly influenced by the use of images as political tools during twentieth-century world conflicts such as World War II and the Cold War,⁸⁹ can be used to reveal something about how various institutions of the early modern era used the arts as tools of persuasion.⁹⁰ In Levy’s discussion of the nature of the propagandistic message, she stresses that “propaganda should be distinguished by its intended effect on the subject.” This methodology falls in line with my concentration on the cultural work that visual representations of saints can accomplish. In addition, Levy sets out a helpful definition of art as propaganda, explaining that propagandistic works of art “make ideology visible” by being both “motivated” and “pointed.”⁹¹ Levy advises asking the following questions when confronting a work of art with a propagandistic message: “Why is any *particular* message necessary? Why *this* message? Why this message *now*?”⁹² These are the questions that have guided my work, as will be demonstrated in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. For Levy, the propagandistic message is always a response to “real circumstances,” particularly to threats and crises situations. “Propaganda is often the mark of insecurity: when other ideologies compete for subjects (during democratic elections,

⁸⁹ The name of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* was actually changed in 1982 to the Congregation for the Evangelization of People (*Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione*) due to the negative connotations accrued by the term in the twentieth century.

⁹⁰ Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 42.

⁹¹ Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 117.

⁹² Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 117.

during the period of *Konfessionalisierung*, to bring us back to the current example); or when there are higher demands placed on being a subject (economic depression, wartime).”⁹³ Levy’s major examples to illustrate this assertion are the three major sites of the cult dedicated to St. Ignatius of Loyola carried out by Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709) in the late seventeenth century: the Ignatian corridor in the professed house of the Gesù (ca. 1682-1686), the apse and nave frescoes of the church of Sant’Ignazio (1685-1688 and 1691-1694, respectively), and the chapel of St. Ignatius in the left transept of the Gesù (1695-1699).⁹⁴ The propagandistic message of all of these decorative programs was a response to a particular crisis experienced by the Jesuits in the late seventeenth century – that of a lack of popular devotion to the cult of St. Ignatius of Loyola, which seemed to stem from the absence of miracles performed by this founder saint. Thus we see a concentrated campaign to create visual propaganda promoting Ignatius as a miracle-worker.⁹⁵ My research on Francis Xavier also involves exploring these moments of acute anxiety and crisis particularly in the frontier zones of Catholicism and the early modern Iberian empires.

In the third chapter of Levy’s book, she examines propaganda and authorship, noting that authors who have theorized propaganda repeatedly focus on the anonymous or institutional nature of the propagandist.⁹⁶ In the nineteenth century and the first three-

⁹³ Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 117-18.

⁹⁴ Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 132-83.

⁹⁵ Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 130-31, 50.

⁹⁶ Levy cites Jacques Ellul’s study of propaganda, in which he writes, “The presence of the organization creates one more phenomenon: the propagandist is always separated from the propagandee, he remains a stranger to him... He remains a manipulator, in the shadow of the machine... His words are no longer human words, but technically calculated words; they no longer express a feeling or a spontaneous idea, but reflect an organization even when they seem entirely spontaneous.” Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes*, trans. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965). Quoted in Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 72.

quarters of the twentieth century, debates raged about the so-called Jesuit Style or *Jesuitenstil*.⁹⁷ Usually conflated with the Baroque in general, this Jesuit Style was often characterized as “militant, manipulative, overwrought, and insincere.”⁹⁸ The perceived propagandistic nature of Jesuit art was especially criticized, with the visual culture of the Jesuits often denigrated as nothing more than a persuasive instrument of the Counter-Reformation.⁹⁹ As Levy points out, art historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries criticized Jesuits’ use of the visual as a means of persuasion, considering this to be antithetical to a Kantian notion of art as disinterested beauty.¹⁰⁰ Echoes of this thought can be found in foundational art historical surveys written as late as the 1970s and 1980s (with reprints of these texts perpetuating these ideas into the twenty-first century). Sydney Freedberg’s *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*, first published in 1971, explicitly describes the art patronized by Jesuits as “anti-art” for this reason, further writing, “...the Jesuits were among the chief agents in establishing the Counter-Reformation religious culture, and thus the state of mind which in general promoted Counter-Maniera art.”¹⁰¹ Instrumental to this dismissal of Jesuit art as nothing more than propaganda was the idea that the individuality of the artist was subsumed by the Jesuit corporate institution.¹⁰² Levy refers to this as the

⁹⁷ See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “Le style jésuite n'existe pas: Jesuit Corporate Culture and the Visual Arts,” in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe, eds., *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1972).

⁹⁸ Bailey, “Le style jésuite n'existe pas,” 39.

⁹⁹ Bailey, “Le style jésuite n'existe pas,” 42-43.

¹⁰⁰ Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 48 and 65.

¹⁰¹ Sydney Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 660. By “Counter-Maniera art,” Freedberg means Post-Tridentine art of the late sixteenth century.

¹⁰² “As such, propaganda as a ‘work’ is inimical to a Kantian notion of art, dependent as the later is on the authorship of free individuals.” Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 73.

Jesuit-Ur Author theory, which “rests on the assumption that the Society of Jesus was the ‘author’ of all of its productions.... collapsing any distinction between the Society (which had its own internal rules), external patrons (who had their own taste), and artist.”¹⁰³ Levy rightly asks, “Who is the ‘author’ of a Jesuit building paid for by an external patron, guided by the Society’s advisors, and designed by a Jesuit or, for that matter, a non-Jesuit artist?”¹⁰⁴ In another article, titled “Che cos’è un autore/architetto gesuita?” Levi explores these ideas further.¹⁰⁵ Basing her argument on Michel Foucault’s lecture “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” (1969) and Roland Barthes’s essay “La mort de l’auteur” (1967), Levy demonstrates that it is impossible to discuss the intentions of the artist when analyzing such works of art due to the multitude of actors involved in Jesuit commissions.¹⁰⁶ Instead, it is more useful to follow the methodology of Barthes and consider these projects to be products not of a single author or even multiple authors, but a weaving together of multiple “centers of culture.”¹⁰⁷ Giovanni Sale engages with a similar approach in his discussion of the difficult collaboration between Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589) and the Jesuits in the building of the Gesù in Rome,¹⁰⁸ characterizing the project as fraught with tensions resulting

¹⁰³ Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 32-33.

¹⁰⁴ Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 33.

¹⁰⁵ Evonne Levy, "Che cos’è un autore/architetto gesuita?," in *Andrea Pozzo*, ed. Alberta Battisti (Milan: Luni, 1996).

¹⁰⁶ Levy focuses her argument on the creation of the chapel dedicated to Ignatius of Loyola in the Gesù. In this case, the actors involved included the commissioned artist, Andrea Pozzo, as well as Carlo Fontana, a consulting architect that the Jesuits asked to advise Pozzo, several other lay architects whom the Jesuits consulted, various Jesuit advisors, and prominent members of the Roman public who were asked for advice (such as Prince Agostino Chigi). The model for the project was also displayed to the public for a period of time and the comments of the general Roman populace were dutifully recorded for consideration by Jesuits.

¹⁰⁷ For example, Levy identifies at least two “centers of culture” that are at work in the development of the design of the St. Ignatius of Loyola chapel: the institutional memory of the Gesù and the desire to grow the cult of St. Ignatius of Loyola through the decoration of his chapel. Levy, "Che cos’è un autore/architetto gesuita?."

¹⁰⁸ Giovanni Sale, "The Design of the Gesù in Rome: A Difficult Collaboration," in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, ed. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003).

from competition between two “cultural universes;” the “humanist universe” of Cardinal Farnese and the “Counter Reformation universe” of Francis Borgia (1510-1572), the third Superior General of the Society of Jesus.

In the chapters that follow, I will often utilize this approach, demonstrating that while it is often impossible to place one specific artist at the center of interpretation when considering a work of art created in a Jesuit context, it is often fruitful to view a Jesuit work of art as the result of interwoven “centers of culture.” This is particularly helpful when considering works of art depicting St. Francis Xavier that were made in the border zones of Catholicism or in the territories of European colonial powers of the early modern period. These were complex environments where Catholic works of art were created by, paid for, and viewed by the heterogeneous constituents of the newly global Catholic Church.

1.5 JESUIT ACCULTURATION

And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; To them that are without law, as without law... that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. And this I do for the gospel's sake... (1 Corinthians 9:20-23)

One of the most surprising images of St. Francis Xavier can be found in the baptistery attached to the Capilla de Curahuara de Carangas in the town of Curahuara de Carangas,

Boliva.¹⁰⁹ Dating to 1722, St. Francis Xavier appears in his familiar role as a converter and baptizer of non-Europeans, dressed appropriately in his white surplice and stole with a crucifix in his left hand and a conch shell filled with holy water in his right. The surprising element, however, can be found on the left-hand side of the mural, where the anonymous Andean painter has included a crowd of regal Incans, wearing feather headdresses and checkered tunics. Elisa Vargas Lugo has described this type of image as “contravening history,”¹¹⁰ relocating Francis Xavier in time and space with the intention of “Americanizing” him.¹¹¹ In the Franz Mayer Museum in Mexico City, a painting by Juan Rodríguez Juárez (1675-1728) similarly depicts Xavier in the midst of baptizing a Mexica chief or king.¹¹² These images were intended to strengthen community ties between European Catholic priests, indigenous nobility, and commoners in the socially complex environment of the colonial Americas, helping to cement the loyalty of new converts by including representatives of their own on the walls and altars of Christian spaces of worship.¹¹³ The Andean fresco of St. Francis Xavier baptizing Incans and the Rodríguez Juárez painting of Xavier and the Mexica chief demonstrate that images of St. Francis

¹⁰⁹ *La iglesia de Curahuara de Carangas: la capilla sexta del altiplano*, (La Paz: Universidad Católica Boliviana San Pablo: Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, 2008).

¹¹⁰ “contraviniendo la historia” Elisa Vargas Lugo, “San Francisco Javier bautizando a un cacique mexica,” in *Catálogo: Obras maestras del arte colonial* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1990), 13.

¹¹¹ “americanizar” Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, “San Francisco Xavier en la pintura de la Nueva España,” in *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, ed. Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta, and Arnulfo Herrera (Madrid: Iberamericana, 2007), 222.

¹¹² Some scholars anachronistically identify this figure with Moctezuma. María Gabriela Torres Olleta, *Redes iconográficas: San Francisco Javier en la cultura visual del barroco* (Navarre: Universidad de Navarra, 2009), 232. According to Jaime Cuadriello, the figure in this painting is reminiscent of the costuming used by actors playing Moctezuma in Jesuit plays, particularly in the 1623 festivities celebrating the canonization of St. Francis Xavier in Puebla, Mexico. Jaime Cuadriello, “Xavier Indiano o los indios sin apóstol,” in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 222.

¹¹³ Cuadriello, “Xavier Indiano,” 220.

Xavier could be adapted to address the local concerns and interests of Catholic communities in Europe or on the overseas Catholic missions. In the same way, each of the case studies included in this dissertation will address how Xaverian images functioned in the context of local manifestations of global phenomena like colonialism, slavery, geopolitical conflict, and religious clashes.

The Pauline maxim of *Omnibus Omnia*, or “all things to all men” from 1 Corinthians, quoted above, resonated strongly within the Society of Jesus, informing Jesuits approaches to missionary work and education. Jesuit authors throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, beginning with Ignatius of Loyola himself, voiced variation upon variation of the maxim. In his writings, such as *the Spiritual Exercises*, the Jesuit *Constitutions*, and his letters, Ignatius of Loyola lays the groundwork for what John W. O’Malley calls “pastoral pragmatism,” or adaptation to local circumstances.¹¹⁴ Ignatius urges his followers to do anything they can to promote the “help of souls.” In his letters, Ignatius’s advice to Jesuit missionaries was almost invariably followed by the instruction to modify his recommendations “as will seem best according to places, persons, and circumstances.”¹¹⁵ Ignatius’s immediate followers continued to stress the importance of adaptation and flexibility in all matters. For example, J ronimo Nadal, in his commentary on the Jesuit Constitutions, explained that members of the Society disperse themselves throughout the world “so that help might be brought to souls wherever they are found, in whatever way....”¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ O’Malley, “St. Ignatius,” 6.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in O’Malley, “St. Ignatius,” 6.

¹¹⁶ Jer nimo Nadal, *Scholia in Constitutiones S.I.*, ed. Manuel Ruiz Jurado (Granada: Facultad de Teologia, 1976), 175. Translated and quoted in John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 301.

The Jesuits' educational enterprise further cemented this flexibility. The Collegio Romano, established by Ignatius of Loyola in 1551, educated most of the Italian members of the Society of Jesus. The curriculum was strongly influenced by Italian Renaissance humanism and partly based on the program of study at the University of Paris, another notable humanistic institution. After many of the graduates of the Collegio Romano became overseas missionaries, they began to promote a method known as *il modo soave* or "the gentle way".¹¹⁷ This method was much more open to acculturative experimentation, as opposed to the more colonialist Portuguese and Spanish approach.¹¹⁸

Examples of Jesuit flexibility on missions all over the world are numerous. For example, when Ignatius and his followers were seeking papal approval for the foundation of the Society of Jesus, their critics criticized the companions' desire to be free from requirements to chant the Liturgical Hours. The *Formula vivendi*, the document submitted to the pope by Ignatius, stated that

[The Jesuits] should use neither organs nor singing in their masses and other religious ceremonies. Although these laudably enhance the divine worship of other clerics and religious and have been found to arouse and move souls by bringing them into harmony with the hymns and rites, we have experienced them to be a considerable hindrance to us because of the nature of our vocation.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Ignatius's secretary, Gonçalves da Câmara, referred to this as the "Roman Way." Alexander Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742* (New York: Maryknoll, 1994), 38.

¹¹⁸ Of course, there were Portuguese, Spanish, and Flemish missionaries in Japan who strongly agreed *with il modo soave*. One notable example is Luis Frois, a Portuguese missionary active in Japan. One can easily catch a glimpse of his open attitude towards Japanese culture by reading his extremely detailed letters. In 1565, Frois described his audience with the Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiteru (1535-1565). He says, "I happened to have brought from Bungo a cope with a very old brocade hood and a worn camblet couterpane from which Father Vilela made a wide cossack with long sleeves; and so we vested, he with the cassock, the cope and other rich garments on top, together with his black biretta, and I in a kimono..." Translated and quoted in Michael Cooper, *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 109.

¹¹⁹ Translated and quoted in O'Malley, "St. Ignatius," 3.

However, in both Europe and on the overseas missions, the Jesuit aversion to music quickly changed when confronted with the circumstances of their ministry. In Gandía, Spain, in the 1550s, Jesuits recognized the pedagogical utility of setting the catechism to the tunes of catchy popular songs; soon adults and children alike were constantly heard singing the catechism throughout the town.¹²⁰ When Jesuits arrived in Brazil in 1549, they soon realized that indigenous Brazilians enjoyed all types of music and were fascinated by European instruments. Native Brazilians were persuaded to enroll children in Jesuit schools in the hope that they would be instructed in European singing techniques and taught to play the flute. These music lessons constituted a stark reversal of the initial Jesuit policy that discouraged singing and instrument playing.¹²¹

The visual arts were not immune to the Jesuits' adaptive efforts. Massimo Leone describes Jesuit artistic production as a "theological laboratory" in which artists and their Jesuit advisors experimented with various compositional arrangements and iconographic formulas, subtly altering details of costuming, gesture, and facial expression to advance certain ideological messages that addressed the social, historical, and cultural environment of the intended location of a work of art.¹²² The term "glocalization," used by sociologists like Roland Robertson to describe the ways in which global forces adapt in response to local circumstances, can be used to describe this strategy.¹²³ Robertson proposes that the concept

¹²⁰ O'Malley, "St. Ignatius," 7.

¹²¹ O'Malley, "St. Ignatius," 7.

¹²² Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 147-48.

¹²³ The concept of "glocalization" was first used as business jargon in the 1980s, but is rooted in the much older Japanese concept of *dochakuka* or "living on one's own land," meaning the techniques by which Japanese farmers adapted agricultural methods to suit local conditions. In a business sense, "glocalization" is currently used as a synonym for "global localization" or the process by which a large international company tailors services and goods to cater to a particular local

of glocalization is useful in combating a false dichotomy that pits the local against the global and refutes the idea that globalizing forces always override notions of locality.¹²⁴ One would be tempted to assume that the Jesuits, as a large international institution that was devoted to overcoming or reducing religious otherness on a global scale, would also be zealously dedicated to cultural homogenization on the missions. Instead, we see that Jesuits and the artists they employed took local circumstances into consideration and adapted their global strategies to suit them, engaging in an early modern version of glocalization.¹²⁵

Representations of St. Francis Xavier were especially subject to such adjustments and adaptations, due to the wide geographic dispersal of the Xaverian cult. Despite the fact that many painted or sculpted images of the saint were based on prints or hagiographical texts that Jesuits circulated throughout Europe and the overseas missions, they often exhibit surprising variations that can only be attributed to the Jesuits' desire to adapt to particular circumstances in the mission field and address local needs.

market. Roland Robertson, "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity," in *Global Modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson (London: Sage Publications, 1995).

¹²⁴ Robertson, "Glocalization," 26. "The global is not in and of itself counterposed to the local. Rather, what is often referred to as the local is essentially included within the global." Robertson, "Glocalization," 35.

¹²⁵ Robertson writes that although many people consider the processes of globalization and glocalization to belong to the later twentieth century, it is indeed possible to see evidence of "world forming" tendencies in many earlier periods. "One can undoubtedly trace back far into human history developments involving the expansion of chains of connectedness across wide expanses of the earth. In that sense, 'world formation' has been proceeding for many hundreds, indeed thousands, of years. At the same time, we can undoubtedly trace through human history periods in which the consciousness of the potential for world 'unity' was in one way or another particularly acute..." Robertson, "Glocalization," 35. Of course, the global and the local were not always in harmony on the Jesuit missions. Particularly in China, Japan, and India there existed tensions between global and local missionary strategies at various times. See Ines G. Županov, *Disputed Mission: Jesuits Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

1.6 ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S LIFE AND CULT: EARLY SOURCES

In his letters from Goa, Francis Xavier mentions working with “el niño Teixeira,” a Portuguese Jesuit novice named Manuel Teixeira (1536-1590) who labored beside Xavier in the mission field for approximately two months (from February to April 1552).¹²⁶ Teixeira went on to play a prominent role in the Society in India, acting as rector of the college of Cochin from 1569 to 1572 and vice-provincial of Goa from 1573 to 1574. He is also the first biographer of Francis Xavier, putting his pen to paper in 1575 to record his personal experiences with the missionary, as well as the memories of others in Goa who had had direct interactions with him.¹²⁷ This biography was the first in an avalanche of biographical and hagiographical writing concerning Francis Xavier, with an estimated two hundred additional Xaverian biographies written since.¹²⁸ Despite this glut of writing, the precise details of the life of Francis Xavier are sometimes hard to definitively state. Many of the biographers are hazy in regards to the exact chronology of Xavier's peregrinations, and sources often contradict each other.¹²⁹ Additionally, the early biographers' desire to present an image of Xavier as a saintly figure can also complicate the task of reconstructing the basic details of his life, as is often the case in hagiographic literature. As Pierre Deloos

¹²⁶ Xabier Añoveros Trias de Bes, "La vida de un santo contada a través de los siglos," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 59-60; Torres Olleta, *Redes iconográficas*, 26. Saint Francis Xavier and Félix Zubillaga, *Cartas y escritos de San Francisco Javier* (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1968), #119.

¹²⁷ Although well known in Jesuit circles and often used as a source by later biographers, a Spanish translation of Teixeira's manuscript was not published until 1912 (the original Portuguese is lost). Manuel Teixeira, *Vida del bienaventurado padre Francisco Javier* (Buenos Aires: Grupo de Editoriales Catolicas, 1945). Mariano Lecina, ed. *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia de sancto Francisco Xaverio*, vol. 43, Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu (Matriti: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1912), 815-918. The Castilian manuscript that these two print versions are based on is located in the Jesuit archive in Toledo.

¹²⁸ Añoveros Trias de Bes, "La vida de un santo," 58.

¹²⁹ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 325.

explains, when discussing the lives of saints, it is necessary to distinguish between the *real* saint and the *constructed* saint, the former consisting of the historically verifiable and objective biographical facts of their life, while the latter describes how the saint is “remodeled in the collective representation which is made of them.”¹³⁰ The following, therefore, is a brief summary of the major historical events of the life and travels of Francis Xavier, the real saint, verifiable through the letters of Francis Xavier himself and others who knew him during life, as set out by Massimo Leone, Félix Zubillaga, Georg Schurhammer, and Rita Haub.¹³¹

Xavier was born in 1506 to Juan de Jassu (?-1515), the privy counselor to John III (Jean d’Albret) of Navarre (1469-1516) and María de Sada, Xavier y Azpilcueta (ca. 1463-1510) in his maternal ancestral castle of Javier in the Kingdom of Navarre.¹³² Xavier commenced his studies at the University of Paris at the age of nineteen where he began preparing himself for a life of ecclesiastical honor, as befitted a son of one of the most ancient noble Basque families of Navarre. In Paris, Xavier intended to receive a doctorate and eventually, a well-endowed prebendery at the cathedral in Pamplona, plans that were interrupted by Xavier’s encounter with Ignatius of Loyola in 1533. This meeting triggered his conversion to a more pious life with Xavier vowing to follow Ignatius “in the poverty of the cross.”¹³³ On August 15, 1534, Ignatius and Xavier, along with five other companions,

¹³⁰ Pierre Delooz, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religion, Sociology, and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 195.

¹³¹ Rita Haub, "Francis Xavier: An Introductory Life," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002); Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 327-30; Francis Xavier and Zubillaga, *Cartas y escritos*. Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973-1982).

¹³² The Crown of Castile conquered this part of Navarre in 1512, when Xavier was six years old. For detailed information on Xavier’s family, see the first chapter of Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*.

¹³³ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 1:187.

took vows of poverty, charity, and pilgrimage in Montmartre. They had plans to go together to Jerusalem and met in Venice in 1537 for this purpose, but their progress eastward was halted due to the outbreak of the Third Ottoman-Venetian War (1537-1540). Instead, the companions rededicated themselves to preaching and charitable works in Italy, traveling to Rome where they met with Pope Paul III (r. 1534-1549) who confirmed the Society of Jesus in the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* in 1540. However, even before the Society was officially approved, King João III of Portugal (r. 1521-1557) had sent a letter to his ambassador in Rome, Pedro Mascarenhas (1470-1555), asking him to urge the Jesuit companions to come to Lisbon in order to become missionaries in Portuguese territory.¹³⁴ Ultimately, Ignatius of Loyola could only send two companions, Simão Rodrigues (1510-1579) and Nicolás Bobadilla (1511-1590), since almost all of the others had been sent to work in other locations. Bobadilla, however, was ill when Mascarenhas was ready to leave for Portugal and Francis Xavier took his place. On April 7, 1541, Xavier departed for India from Lisbon on board the *Santiago*, which also carried the newly appointed Portuguese viceroy of India, Martim Afonso de Sousa (r. 1542-1545). Simão Rodrigues stayed behind to minister to the Portuguese court. After wintering in Mozambique, Xavier arrived in Goa a year later, on May 6, 1542, where he stayed for four months before beginning his evangelizing on the Pearl Fishery Coast, a coastal area of southern India, stretching from Tuticorin (Thoothukudi) to Comorin (Kanyakumari). The Paravas, the inhabitants of the area, had converted to Christianity en masse eight years prior in exchange for Portuguese protection

¹³⁴ "...urge them to come to me; for surely if they intend to spread and increase the faith and to serve God through their preaching and the example of their lives, no where can they do this better or more completely satisfy their desires than in my conquered territories." Quoted and translated in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 1: 542.

against various neighboring Muslim antagonists, but before the arrival of Xavier, had never been instructed in Christian doctrine. This had been the major impetus behind the Portuguese king's desire to send Jesuits to India, and Xavier spent a year among them, teaching the catechism. In the spring of 1545, he departed for Portuguese Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, where he remained for almost a year before traveling to the Maluku Islands (also known as the Spice Islands) in February 1546. It was here that Xavier first heard of Japan when an exiled samurai named Yajiro came to him to unburden himself of the guilt he felt over killing a man.¹³⁵ Xavier was excited by what he learned of Japan from Yajiro and immediately decided to lead a mission there. On August 15, 1549, accompanied by Yajiro and his two Japanese companions, as well as by two Jesuits, Cosme de Torrès (1510-1570) and Juan Fernández (?-1567), Xavier arrived in Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma province on Kyushu, the southernmost of the three largest islands of Japan. He stayed in Japan for two years, traveling throughout Kyushu and attempting unsuccessfully to meet with the emperor in Miyako (Kyoto). By January 1552, Xavier had returned to India and was preparing for an attempt to secretly enter China with four Jesuit companions and a Chinese man who went by the Christian name Antonio. On the way to China, the expedition stopped on the island of Shangchuan, where Xavier's peregrinations came to an end. He died of a fever on December 3, 1552 and was initially buried on the beach of the

¹³⁵ Yajiro (also known as Anjirô) heard of Xavier when he sought refuge aboard the ship of a Portuguese merchant adventurer named Jorge Alvares who was docked in the Japanese port of Yamaguchi. Alvares recommended that since Yajiro had to leave Japan, he should sail with him to Malacca and speak with Xavier. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 21. Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 15.

island, but his incorrupt body was exhumed two months later and taken to Malacca, where it stayed for less than a year before being sent to Goa.¹³⁶

When news of Xavier's death reached Europe in 1555, authorities immediately expressed interest in beginning investigations into the missionary's miraculous deeds.¹³⁷ King João III of Portugal wrote to Pedro de Mascarenhas, the ambassador to the Holy See who had traveled with Xavier from Rome to Portugal and was newly appointed viceroy to India (r. 1554-1555), instructing him to begin documenting Xavier's miracles, a process that involved interviewing sixty-three witnesses in Malacca, Bassein, Cochin, and Goa.¹³⁸ Devotion to Xavier on the part of non-European rulers also contributed to this drive for sanctification with the Japanese daimyo of Bungo, Ôtomo Yoshishige (1530-1587), writing that he would like Xavier to be canonized so that "we can build churches and altars to him, set up images of him, celebrate his Mass, and pray daily for his intercession."¹³⁹ Throughout

¹³⁶ For more details about the burial of St. Francis Xavier, the translation of his relics, and their ceremonial reception in Goa, see Chapter 4.

¹³⁷ See letter from Juan de Polanco to Miguel Torres, written in Rome on November 21, 1555. "Quanto al cuerpo del bedicto P.^o Francisco, a todos nos parece gran trestimonio de su incorrupta vida que no se corrompa con la muerte. Y parece también que, por la Gloria y honor divino y de la edificación de la Yglesia, se haga inquisition en forma aucténtica, en legitima forma, de las cosas supernaturales que Dios N. Señor obró por él en vida y en muerte: y véasi si seria bien que Sua Alteza encomendasse al virei Don Pedro Masquareañas hiziese tal diligencia; y también podrian ynbiarsi los testimonies de scripto o palabra de otra personas, que no serán así en forma aucténtica examinandas, pore star ausentes o por otras causas." Josef Wicki and John Gomes, eds., *Documenta Indica*, 4 vols., vol. 70-73, Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu (Rome: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1948), III:308-109. Maria Cristina Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002): 260-63. Franco Mormando, "The Making of the Second Jesuit Saint: The Campaign for the Canonization of Francis Xavier, 1555-1622," in *Francis Xavier and the Jesuit Missions in the Far East: An Anniversary Exhibition of Early Printed Works from the Jesuitana Collection of the John H. Burns Library, Boston College*, ed. Franco Mormando and Jill G. Thomas (Boston: Jesuit Institute, 2006).

¹³⁸ See letter from King João III to Pedro de Mascarenhas, written in Lisbon on March 28, 1556. "A vida e trabalhos que o P.^o Mestre Francisco pasou, ffoy de tanto exemplo e edificação que aviria por grande service de Nosso Senhor maniffestar-se pera sua gloria e louvor. E pera que isto se posa ffazer com a authoridade que se require, vos encomendo muito que com a mor diligencia posivel façais tirar em todas as partes da India onde ouver pessoas dinas de ffee que o saibão, instrmentos autenticos de todas as coussas de edificação e obras sobrenaturais, que em vidade ditto Padre e depois della Nosso Senhor por elle obrou; e como ffor ffeyta ma enviareis por duas vias, aprovada com toda authoridade e muito vo-lo agradecerey." Wicki and Gomes, *Documenta Indica*, III: 470-71. Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult," 260.

¹³⁹ Georg Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965), III: 22. Quoted in Mormando, "The Making of the Second Jesuit Saint," 10. Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult," 260.

the later sixteenth century, the Jesuit Order in Rome actively campaigned for Xavier's canonization with the Fifth General Congregation of 1593 advising Claudio Acquaviva (Jesuit Superior General, 1581-1615) to petition the pope to begin canonization proceedings.¹⁴⁰ Pope Paul V (r. 1605-1621) instructed the witness statements gathered in 1555-1556 to be re-examined and ordered further testimony in Cebú (1608 and 1613), Rome (1610), Pamplona (1614-1615), Lisbon (1615-1616), Goa (1615-1616), Daman (1615), Cochin (1616), Travancore (1616), and Quilon (1616).¹⁴¹ This testimony has largely survived and is transcribed in Mariano Lecina's second volume of the *Monumenta Xaveriana* (1912).¹⁴²

During the early years of this canonization campaign, the first written and visual representations of Francis Xavier and his miracles became available in Europe. Manuel Teixeira's previously mentioned biography was completed in 1579, though not published. It was, however, used as a source for a description of Xavier's life by Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), Visitor of Missions in the Indies from 1573.¹⁴³ As the canonization campaign gathered steam, biographies appeared that were intended to support canonization efforts and inspire devotion to Xavier among literate Catholics, further disseminating his saintly notoriety throughout Latin Christendom. Orazio Torsellino, an Italian Jesuit, produced the

¹⁴⁰ Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti: 1588-1634* (Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 2001), 37-38. Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult," 261. John W. Padberg, Martin D. O'Keefe, and John L. McCarthy, eds., *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations: A Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 212. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 367-68.

¹⁴¹ Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult," 261.

¹⁴² Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 173-679.

¹⁴³ Reproduced in Mariano Lecina, ed. *Monumenta Xaveriana: Sancti Francisci Xaverii epistolas aliaque scripta complectens, quibus praemittitur ejus vita a P. Alexandro Valignano, S. J. ex India Romam missa*, vol. 16, *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu* (Matriti: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1899-1900), 2-199.

most important Xaverian biography of the late sixteenth century, originally in Latin (published simultaneously in Rome and Antwerp in 1596) and quickly translated into a variety of European vernaculars.¹⁴⁴ Massimo Leone has noticed an increased presence of miracles in Torsellino's text, particularly when compared to the letters of Francis Xavier, which had previously been the most widely circulated writings in Europe related to the missionary.¹⁴⁵ This text and its insistence on foregrounding the miraculous events of Francis Xavier's life had a large effect on the visual arts. For example, the frontispiece of the 1596 Antwerp edition, executed by the Flemish engraver and draughtsman Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619), echoes the author's concern with miracles, with four miraculous vignettes in the corners of the print.¹⁴⁶ Since Torsellino's account of Xavier's life and miracles was the earliest to have such a wide distribution in various vernacular translations, it had the largest impact on the visual arts out of all of the early Xaverian hagiographies, and is the earliest known source of several stories that would later play a prominent role in Xaverian iconography.¹⁴⁷ As I will discuss in the third chapter of this dissertation, Peter Paul Rubens relied heavily on Torsellino for the various miracles included in his *The Miracles of St. Francis*

¹⁴⁴ Castilian in 1600, French in 1608, Italian in 1612, English in 1632, Flemish in 1648. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 370. Torsellino largely used Manuel Teixeira's biography as the basis for his account. Añoveros Trias de Bes, "La vida de un santo," pg?

¹⁴⁵ Torsellino had actually written a previous version of his Xaverian biography in 1594, which he later repudiated. When the 1594 edition was written, Torsellino had no information about Xavier's activities in Japan or Indonesia. As soon as he acquired this information, he rewrote the book, which was the version published in 1596. For more information, see the introduction to the 1632 English translation of Torsellino. Orazio Torsellino, *The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier*, trans. T.F. (Paris: English College Press, 1632), pg?

¹⁴⁶ Specifically, Francis Xavier's prophetic dream of carrying an Indian and Xavier's escape from attackers on the island of Moro, as well as two more generic scenes depicting Xavier healing the sick and resurrecting the dead.

¹⁴⁷ Examples include the story of Xavier licking the sores of sufferers from venereal diseases in a hospital in Venice and the story of how Xavier resurrected a young boy who drowned in a well in Punicale (Punnaikayal) on the southern coast of India. Orazio Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier de la Compania de Jesus, primero Apostol del Japon y segundo de la India y de otras Provincias del Oriente*, trans. Pedro de Guzman (Pamplona: Carlos de Labayen, 1620), 15 and ? María Gabriela Torres Olleta, "De la hagiografía al arte: Fuentes de la iconografía de San Francisco Javier," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 76.

Xavier altarpiece (1617-1618) and Rubens's altarpiece, in turn, had a huge effect on images of Xavier's miracles throughout the seventeenth century.

While Torsellino states in his text that his goal in writing this biography was to provide an exemplary figure that literate Catholics could emulate,¹⁴⁸ the unstated purpose of such a hagiography created at the end of the sixteenth century is obviously to further the canonization campaign for Xavier. The fact that this first edition is in Latin makes it likely that the intended audience were members of the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy who had to power to advance or impede the canonization efforts.¹⁴⁹ Torsellino's text and others like it were extremely effective at propagating Francis Xavier's cult and advancing the cause for his canonization. As María Gabriela Torres Olleta points out, there was a direct connection between the content of early hagiographies like Torsellino's and the questions that were posed to witnesses during the canonization proceedings.¹⁵⁰ Not only were witnesses often asked questions about miracles and events as they were described in these accounts, their answers were also shaped by what they read in hagiographic texts. For example, in Pamplona, a witness named Miguel de Éguía testified that he could confirm the truth of "the stories that deal with life of the aforementioned Father Francis Xavier," a reference to unspecified hagiographic texts.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Torres Olleta, "De la hagiografía al arte," 76.

¹⁴⁹ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 368.

¹⁵⁰ José Luis Sánchez Lora comes to the same conclusion in regards to another early modern saint, St. John of the Cross, beatified in 1675 and canonized in 1726. José Luis Sánchez Lora, *El diseño de la santidad: La desfiguración de San Juan de la Cruz* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2004).

¹⁵¹ "Al segundo artículo dixo que se remite á lo que dicho tiene, y á las historias que tratan de la vida del dicho Padre Francisco Xauier, y assi es verdad..." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 657. Torres Olleta, "De la hagiografía al arte," 77-78.

The first Portuguese biography of Xavier was published in 1600, written by the Portuguese Jesuit João de Lucena (1549-1600).¹⁵² This text has a particularly patriotic bent with Lucena clearly casting Xavier as a Portuguese hero and explicitly tying the future saint's missionary triumphs to the patronage of the Portuguese crown.¹⁵³ Massimo Leone points out that Lucena's account of Xavier is full of the preoccupations shared by the Portuguese ecclesiastical elite of the time, in particular, an obsession with Jews and their unwillingness to convert. While Francis Xavier's own writings contain almost no mentions of encounters with Judaism, Lucena makes a point to say that the Jews were the most obstinate out of all the people Xavier encountered in Asia and stood in the way of his attempts to unify the world under the banner of Catholicism.¹⁵⁴ Like Torsellino, Lucena was also a Jesuit and thus we should also view his biography of Xavier as a glorification of the sanctity of the Jesuit order as a whole.

Lucena's account of Francis Xavier's life and miracles also had a particularly wide dissemination, being translated quickly into languages such as Latin, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, and French.¹⁵⁵ This text also served as a source for Xaverian iconography in the visual arts. Lucena spent most of his career in residence at the *casa professa* of the Jesuit church of São Roque in Lisbon, dying there in the year 1600. Only nineteen years later,

¹⁵² João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizeram na India os mais religiosos da Companhia de Iesu* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1600). Lucena's sources included letters written by Francis Xavier and other Jesuits who knew him, the testimonies taken during the canonization process, as well as the biographies written by Teixeira, Valignano, and Tursellino. Añoveros Trias de Bes, "La vida de un santo," pg?

¹⁵³ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 389.

¹⁵⁴ "But it is already time that we talk a little about the many things the servant of God did on that same island in order to bring to his faith and service those who were completely ignorant of it, such as Moors, Gentiles, and Jews. Out of all of them, the last (as it ordinarily was the case because of their perfidious stubbornness) were the ones with whom he achieved less." Quoted and translated in Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 392-93. The original Portuguese can be found in Lucena, *Historia da vida*, 21.

¹⁵⁵ Torres Olleta, "De la hagiografia al arte," 82.

Andre Reinoso executed the earliest large-scale painted cycle representing the life and miracles of Francis Xavier in the sacristy of São Roque to commemorate Xavier's beatification, relying heavily on Lucena's hagiography.¹⁵⁶ This cycle by Reinoso was extremely influential, particularly for later Portuguese images, as will be discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation.

Lucena's biography was followed by Sebastião Gonçalves's *Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Iesu*, a Portuguese manuscript completed in 1614, but not published until the twentieth century.¹⁵⁷ The first volume of this Portuguese text contains a very detailed biography of Xavier, along with a history of his cult in Goa, descriptions of posthumous miracles worked by his incorrupt corpse, and an account of devotion to Xavier by the Portuguese viceroys of India, the king of Portugal and other illustrious figures living in Germany, France, Italy, and Spain.¹⁵⁸ The goal of Gonçalves's biography is clearly to establish Francis Xavier's *fama sanctitatis*, a necessary requirement for canonization after the Council of Trent.¹⁵⁹ Gonçalves accomplishes this by highlighting the posthumous miracles and the incorruptibility of Xavier's corpse, sure signs of sanctity. This text also describes the growth of Xavier's cult in Asia, particularly in Goa, demonstrating that Xavier was acquiring a global following.

In the meantime, Jesuits were also dispersing relics of Francis Xavier on a global scale, instigating the formation of a worldwide cult of Xaverian relics. His lower right arm

¹⁵⁶ These paintings will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

¹⁵⁷ Sebastião Gonçalves, *Primeira parte da historia dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1957).

¹⁵⁸ Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 451.

¹⁵⁹ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 214-16.

was cut from his body and sent to Rome in 1614, while his upper arm was divided into three parts, which were sent to Malacca, Cochin, and Japan.¹⁶⁰ Small pieces of the arm eventually went to Mechelen and Cologne, while various other body parts were portioned out to Jesuit communities all over the world.¹⁶¹ The Jesuits' ceaseless promotion of the cult of Francis Xavier, involving the global dispersal of texts, images, and relics, eventually came to fruition with his official beatification in 1619 and his canonization in 1622, along with Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Ávila (1515-1582), Filippo Neri (1515-1595), Isidore the Laborer (ca. 1070-1130).

Biographies of Xavier continued to proliferate, most of which continued to describe his life in its entirety,¹⁶² while others became more specialized. The role of miracles in these texts continued to expand, the prodigious acts of Xavier's life multiplying and replicating themselves all over the globe. An excellent example is *El Apóstol de las Indias y Nuevas Gentes San Francisco Javier*,¹⁶³ first published in Mexico City in 1661 and written by Matías Peralta Calderón, the *nom de plume* of Diego Luis San Vitores (1627-1672), a Jesuit missionary active in the Philippines and Guam.¹⁶⁴ Among Jesuits, Francis Xavier was promoted as the missionary *par excellence* and many Jesuit missionaries expressed a desire to follow in

¹⁶⁰ The relic arrived in Japan after the banning of Christianity and thus the situation there was too perilous to keep the relic. It was sent back to Macao. Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 82. See also Schurhammer, "Die Xaveriusreliquien."

¹⁶¹ For example, one of his ears is in Lisbon, a portion of his toe in Navarre, a tooth in Porto and a piece of his breastbone in Tokyo. Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult," 263-64.

¹⁶² These include Giovanni Girolamo Spranis's biography, the first originally written in Italian and published in 1622, on the occasion of the canonization. Giovanni Girolamo Soprani, *Compendio della vita di S. Francesco Saverio della Compagnia de Gesù* (Roma: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1922). Others include: García, *Vida y milagros*. Dominique Bouhours, *La vie de Saint François Xavier de la Compagnie de Jésus, Apôtre des Indes et du Japon* (Paris: n.p., 1683). Daniello Bartoli, *De vita et gestis S. Franciscci Xaverii e Societate Iesu* (Leiden: [n.p], 1666). Cristóbal Berlanga, *El apóstol de las Indias y nuevas gentes, San Francisco Javier de la Compañía de Jesús: epitome de sus apostólicos hechos, virtudes, y milagros* (Valencia: n.p., 1698).

¹⁶³ Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias*.

¹⁶⁴ Another Spanish edition was published in 1665 in Pamplona.

Xavier's footsteps or displayed an intense devotion to him as the founder of the worldwide Jesuit mission.¹⁶⁵ Peralta Calderón was no different in this regard and his text attempts to collect Xavier's worldwide miracles in one location, focusing on the cities where Xavier had been declared patron saint. For this reason, Peralta Calderón's text has a remarkable geographic scope including accounts of miracles taking place in Italian cities such as Naples, Bologna, and the small villages of Calabria, as well as the Philippines, New Spain, and South America, giving a portrait of the global spread of Xavier's cult. Other texts created throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth continue to focus on the prodigious acts of Francis Xavier, but tend to be more limited geographically, usually focusing on just one city or village.¹⁶⁶ Thematically specialized accounts of Xaverian miracles also appear in the seventeenth century, such as Lorenzo Ortiz's *El príncipe del mar* (1670), which treats exclusively those events of Xavier's life that are related to the sea, including various adventures and miracles, reacting to and further publicizing Xavier's reputation as a protector of sailors, explorers, and others whose lives necessitated dangerous early modern sea travel.

Texts related to St. Francis Xavier were not divorced from the literary context of the seventeenth century, and the conventions of baroque poetry are clearly evident in many of the poems produced in the seventeenth century dedicated to Xavier. Examples include Matías Vivero's *Vida y milagros del glorioso beato Javerio* (1620), Francisco de Lancina's *Vida de San Francisco Xavier , Apóstol de las Indias* (1682), and José de Villarroel's *Vida de San*

¹⁶⁵ One of the most famous missionaries to emulate Xavier was Marcello Mastrilli (1603-1637), a figure who will be discussed in Chapter 4. See also Županov, "Passage to India."

¹⁶⁶ For examples, see the discussion above concerning Potame, Mechelen, and Naples.

Francisco Javier, (1686).¹⁶⁷ The language used in these poems is extremely elaborate and filled with rich imagery, complicated logistical turns, and extended metaphors, reflecting the literary style of *conceptismo*, prevalent in Spanish baroque writing. In these poems, the author is just as concerned with demonstrating his intellect, wit, and cultural refinement as he is with glorifying St. Francis Xavier. The use of humor and playful satiric inversion is also prevalent in poems like the anonymous *Satyra al Beato Francisco Xavier de la Compañía de Iesus* (1620), which, on the surface, seems to be castigating Xavier for his sins, but as the reader continues on, it is revealed that the sins being mentioned are actually metaphors for Xavier's virtues. For example, the author writes

As regards chastity/it is written in your Life/that in the New World you have/more than three hundred thousand children/that all those whom you converted there/call you Father/and they are not few/but it is written that they are infinite.

Another example deals with Xavier's vow of poverty:

I am amazed, Father Xavier/that you would boast about your poverty/for I don't know any richer man than you. What greater riches, indeed/you can have, my father/than converting so many souls/to the faith of Jesus Christ?¹⁶⁸

As Leone states, this poem is remarkable because it demonstrates that as early as 1620, two years before Xavier's canonization, the conventions of Xaverian literature "already belonged to a solid hagiographic tradition... it did not even require a 'serious' discourse to be propagated."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ For extensive quotes from these poems, see Carlos Mata Induráin, "Tres vidas en verso de San Francisco Javier: Matías Vivero (1620), Francisco de Lancina (1682), y José de Villarreal (1736)," in *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendoça (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008). For English translations of sections of Vivero's poem, see Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 395-97.

¹⁶⁸ English translations by Massimo Leone. For extensive quotes from this poem, see Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 397-402.

¹⁶⁹ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 400.

Elaborate conceits are also prevalent in seventeenth century literary prose accounts of Xavier's life, such as Francisco de la Torre's *El Peregrino Atlante* (1670), in which figures from classical history, mythology, and the Bible are compared to Francis Xavier, who, according to the text, has accumulated the virtues of all of these figures, including Atlas, Neptune, Mercury, Perseus, Hercules, Alexander the Great, Samson, Job, and Joshua, to name only a few.¹⁷⁰ Many of these literary works combine various literary genres and images, like in Francisco Ramon Gonçalez's *Sacro Monte Parnasso* of 1687, a small book divided into themes, each illustrated with an emblematic image, panegyrics composed by various illustrious devotees of Xavier, and prose explanations of the poems.¹⁷¹

1.7 STATE OF RESEARCH

Twentieth-century research on Francis Xavier and his visual representation began with the prolific Jesuit scholar Georg Schurhammer, SJ (1882-1971).¹⁷² While working as a missionary in Bombay (Mumbai), Schurhammer fell ill and made a pilgrimage to St. Francis Xavier's tomb in Goa, where he promised the saint that if he were healed, he would dedicate his life to writing the definitive biography of Xavier.¹⁷³ More than sixty years later,

¹⁷⁰ Francisco de la Torre, *El peregrino Atlante S. Francisco Javier, apóstol del oriente. Epítome histórico y panegírico de su vida y prodigios* (Valencia: n.p., 1670).

¹⁷¹ Francisco Ramon Gonçalez, *Sacro monte Parnaso de las musas catolicas de los reynos de España: En elogio del prodigio de dos mundos ... S. Francisco Xavier...* (Valencia: Francisco Mestre, 1687).

¹⁷² Born in 1882 in Unterglöttertal in southwestern Germany, he entered the Jesuit novitiate in Tisis in 1903 and took his first vows in 1905. For more biographical information, see M. Joseph Costelloe, "In Memoriam: Georg Otto Schurhammer, SJ," in *Francis Xavier: His Life and Times* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973), xvii-xix.

¹⁷³ António da Silva Rego, "The Collected Writings of Georg Schurhammer," *The Catholic Historical Review* 54, no. 1 (1968). Costelloe, "In Memoriam," xviii.

Schurhammer fulfilled his vow with the publication of the last of four volumes of *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und seine Zeit* (1955-1973).¹⁷⁴ Based almost entirely on Schurhammer's decades of archival research and readings of primary source documents, this study is perhaps the most extensive and detailed biography of a Catholic saint ever written. Comprising almost four thousand pages in total, Schurhammer's monumental biography was eventually translated into other languages, such as English in 1980 and Spanish in 1992¹⁷⁵ and is a vital foundational source for any studies of Xavier's life or his representation in text and image. Schurhammer envisioned this biography as a "scientific life" of Francis Xavier, meaning a historical study that "had no particular philosophical overtones" and was "an objective account based on all the available sources."¹⁷⁶ However, any researcher using Schurhammer as a source must acknowledge that while he was certainly a rigorous historian and extraordinary polyglot,¹⁷⁷ he was writing this magnum opus from a place of faith and devotion to St. Francis Xavier in thanks for having been miraculously healed by the saint. This monumental biography, referred to as an "epic biography" by Joseph Costelloe, is, in this way, an extension of Xavier's cult.¹⁷⁸ Despite this, the text itself is not explicitly a hagiography; the miracles of Xavier play a surprisingly small role. Schurhammer instead focused on the movements and actions of Xavier that could be verified by letters,

¹⁷⁴ Georg Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, trans. Franz Xaver (Freiberg: Herder, 1955-1973).

¹⁷⁵ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*. Georg Schurhammer, *Francisco Javier: Su vida y su tiempo* trans. Francisco Zurbano (Bilbao: Mensajero, 1992).

¹⁷⁶ Costelloe, "In Memoriam," xxx.

¹⁷⁷ In the course of his scholarly career, Schurhammer wrote articles in German, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Latin. He could also read Japanese, Marathi, and Greek. Costelloe, "In Memoriam," xxii.

¹⁷⁸ Costelloe, "In Memoriam," xxx.

reports, testimonies and other writings contemporaneous to the saint's life or the earlier biographers like Torsellino and Lucena, which were written before Xavier's canonization and the full flowering of his cult.

When published, Schurhamer's *Franz Xaver* was praised for the comprehensive historical information in the biography, not only concerning Xavier himself, but also almost every place he visited and person he met during his early life in Europe and his ministry in Asia.¹⁷⁹ There were, however, some critics of Schurhammer's work who felt that the level of detail was excessive, so much so that the protagonist of the work, Xavier himself, was often overshadowed by long descriptive and contextualizing passages concerning a huge variety of subjects related to Portuguese activities in India or the history and geography of various cities in Asia.¹⁸⁰ It is also valid to call into question some of Schurhammer's interpretations of Asian religions, as well his strong bias against Protestantism and lack of sympathy for Portuguese Jews, victims of the Inquisition.¹⁸¹ Other critics pointed out that Schurhammer's romantic views of Basque people and history shaped his discussion of particular issues, such

¹⁷⁹ Joseph Costelloe provides an extensive bibliography of fifty-nine reviews that appeared after the publication of just the first volume of Schurhammer's biography. Costelloe, "In Memoriam," xxv. Costelloe translates a quote from Robert Rouquette's 1958 review in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*. "I know few great scientific works of our day that can be compared with it in its truly exhaustive documentation, all at first hand, in the microscopic precision of its details, its critical sense, its intellectual honesty. This enormous mass of documents and information does not crush the work; it has been carried through with elegance and clarity of mind. In its totality, it forms an indispensable collection – bibliographical, interpretative, biographical, chronological, and geographical..." Robert Rouquette, "Review," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 45 (1956).

¹⁸⁰ Costelloe cites James Brodrick's review: "Father Schurhammer, with all his splendid qualities, seems to have been seduced by the encyclopaedic drift, the passion for completeness, of so much fine German learning. Poor St. Francis tends to be drowned in a deluge of facts, valuable in themselves but not really relevant to his heroic story. No saint, no man however great, and Francis was very great, could stand up to such an overwhelming cloudburst of facts and footnotes as we are given here... It is not easy to glimpse St. Francis in the round in the book because he is built up piecemeal, a bit here and a bit there. We long for a sight of the wood but cannot get it because we are so hopelessly entangled in the trees." James Brodrick, "Encyclopaedic Biography," *Month* 15 (1956): 111. Quoted in Costelloe, "In Memoriam," xxv.

¹⁸¹ Schurhammer responded to these critics by saying that he was describing the viewpoint of Xavier and his contemporaries in regards to Protestantism and Judaism. Georg Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos sobre Navarra, Javier, y Loyola," *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País* 16 (1960): 298.

as the Jesuit historian's insistence on identifying Basque as Xavier's "mother tongue" and recasting Xavier's elder brothers as Navarrese freedom fighters, anachronistically romanticizing their motivations in fighting against the Spanish in a way that is more in line with post-Enlightenment notions of liberty and patriotism.¹⁸²

Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und seine Zeit was not the only scholarly work by Schurhammer to treat Francis Xavier in detail. In collaboration with Josef Wicki, SJ, Schurhammer also published a two-volume edition of the extant letters written by Xavier (1944-1945).¹⁸³ Additionally, between 1962 and 1965, the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, in conjunction with the Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos in Lisbon, published four volumes of Schurhammer's collected articles and archival indices, titled the *Gesammelte Studien*.¹⁸⁴ The studies in these volumes cover a wide variety of topics, from the first Japanese embassy to Europe to the life of Antonio Criminale (1520-1549), the first Jesuit martyr. In these four volumes there are dozens of articles related to St. Francis Xavier, documenting a monumental effort on Schurhammer's part to research any and all aspects of Xavier's life and cult. In many of these essays, Schurhammer casts a critical eye towards the historical validity of Francis Xavier's miracles and the number of baptisms he supposedly carried out.¹⁸⁵ For example, Schurhammer examines a miracle that appears in

¹⁸² See also Georg Schurhammer, "Die Muttersprache des hl. Franz Xaver," in *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964). Añoveros Trias de Bes, "La vida de un santo," 72. Costelloe, "In Memoriam," xxvi.

¹⁸³ Georg Schurhammer and Josef Wicki, eds., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, 2 vols., Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1944-1945).

¹⁸⁴ Georg Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien*, 4 vols. (Rome and Lisbon: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu and Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962-1965).

¹⁸⁵ See the following essays: Georg Schurhammer, "Xaveriuslegenden und Wunder kritisch untersucht" in *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, ed. László Szilas (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964). Schurhammer, "Die Königstaufen." Schurhammer, "Die Taufen."

the canonization bull, in which Xavier travels to China on the *Santa Cruz*, a ship carrying five hundred people. For fourteen days there was no wind and the ship's supply of drinking water ran out, so Francis Xavier filled the ship's caskets with seawater and made the sign of the cross over them. The salt water promptly transformed into freshwater, resulting in many conversions.¹⁸⁶ Schurhammer investigated the records of the *Santa Cruz*, explaining that this particular voyage, stalled for two weeks due to a lack of wind, took place during a run between Macau and Japan in 1564, twelve years after Xavier's death. Thus Francis Xavier could not have performed this miracle.¹⁸⁷ Despite the rigor of Schurhammer's historical methods, when reading these investigations it is important to note that this Jesuit scholar did indeed have a religious agenda that was rooted in his devotion to St. Francis Xavier; by debunking the false miracles, Schurhammer thereby imbued the miracles that passed historical muster with increased legitimacy. Schurhammer's *Gesammelte Studien*, unlike his biography of Xavier, is also an important source for studying the cult that developed after the saint's death. His meticulous archival research uncovered many invaluable historical records concerning Xavier's biographies and hagiographies, the canonization process, the circulation of Xaverian relics, and the development of an iconography to depict the life and miracles of St. Francis Xavier visually.¹⁸⁸ Even more helpful, however, is the collection of

¹⁸⁶ From Peralta Calderón's Spanish translation of the papal bull: "Nauegando el siervo de Dios a la China en una grande Nao, en que iban quinientas personas, auian cesado de tal suerte los vientos, que estuuo catorze dias la Nao sin mouerse de un lugar; y como entre las demas dificultades huuiesse grande falta de agua, y muchos yá pereciessen de sed, el Santo varon auia mandado llenar las vasijas de la Nao con el aguar del mar, y hecha oracion coninstancia a Dios, auia hecho sobre el agua la señal de la Cruz, y de repente aquelia agua salada se auia buelto dulce, y saludable; con el qual milagro, muchos Infieles que iban en la Nao auian creido en Dios. Y tambien bebiendo de aquel agua que auia sobrado abundantemente, muchos por muchas Prouincias de las Indias auian sanado de varias enfermedades, que les afligian." Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias*, 12-13. The original Latin of the bull can be found in Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 711-12.

¹⁸⁷ Schurhammer, "Xaveriuslegenden und Wunder," 254-60.

¹⁸⁸ For examples, see Schurhammer, "Die Xaveriusreliquien." Schurhammer, "Duas impressões portuguesas." Schurhammer, "Der Kölner Rosenkranz." Schurhammer, "Die Kruzifixe." Schurhammer, "Die Lissabonner

more than 3000 photographs of works of art depicting St. Francis Xavier that was amassed by Schurhammer throughout the course of his scholarly career. This collection is now in the Fondo Schurhammer in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) in Rome and was invaluable to me when I began assembling a corpus of images of St. Francis Xavier in preparation for this dissertation.¹⁸⁹ Not an art historian by training, Schurhammer's approach to Xaverian images roughly parallels the way he treats texts that describe Xavier's life and miracles. He was particularly occupied with unearthing documents that helped to contextualize and authenticate printed images of St. Francis Xavier, while also plumbing archives to find dates, authors, and textual sources for the iconography of particular images. Due to the breadth and depth of Schurhammer's engagement with any and all aspects of the life and cult of St. Francis Xavier, any study that deals with this saint must critically use Schurhammer's work as a foundation for new research.

In the years since Schurhammer's investigations, paintings and prints representing St. Francis Xavier have been studied unevenly and separately. Art works by more famous artists have gotten more attention; for example, paintings by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Giovanni Battista Gaulli (known as Baciccio, 1639-1709), Luca Giordano (1634-1705), Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, 1591-1666), Carlo Maratti (1625-1713), Paolo de Matteis (1662-1728), Bartolomé Estebán Murillo (1618-1682), Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), Mattia Preti (1613-1699), and Guido Reni (1575-1642) have

Heiligsprechungsprozesse." Schurhammer, "Festas en Lisboa." Schurhammer, "Festas em Goa." Schurhammer, "Xaveriusverehrung." Schurhammer, "Der Silberschrein."; Schurhammer, "Las fuentes iconográficas."

¹⁸⁹ For more information on this archive, see Ricardo Fernández Gracia, *El fondo iconográfico del P. Schurhammer: La memoria de Javier en imágenes* (Pamplona: Cátedra de Patrimonio y Arte Navarro, 2006).

been treated in catalogues and monographic studies of these respective artists.¹⁹⁰ However, only rarely have these works of art been included in studies that treat images of St. Francis Xavier as a unified corpus and none of these scholarly contributions have framed the issue in the same way that I have, emphasizing the broader cultural work that images of St. Francis Xavier can do in the context of seventeenth-century crisis. Out of all the images that I use as major examples, Peter Paul Rubens's *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (ca. 1617) has the most robust bibliography; scholars such as Frans Baudouin, Hans Vlieghe, John Rupert Martin, and most recently, Willibald Sauerländer, have discussed matters of iconography and dating, while Anna Knaap has made interesting suggestions about thematic connections between Rubens's altarpiece and the ceiling paintings of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp.¹⁹¹ My research on this painting, however, focuses intensely on the theme of iconoclasm present in the altarpiece and ceiling paintings, connecting it to the peacekeeping and reconversion efforts of the Jesuits in the wake of the tumultuous history of Antwerp in the previous century.

The years leading up to and following the five-hundredth-year anniversary of Francis Xavier's birth in 2006 saw a flowering of scholarship related to the life of this saint, as well as his textual and visual representation. This literature is almost all in Spanish and many of these researchers are associated with the University of Navarre in Pamplona, having either worked or trained there, including Ignacio Arellano, Ricardo Fernández García, and María

¹⁹⁰ The relevant literature for each of these artists and paintings will be discussed where appropriate in the chapters that follow.

¹⁹¹ See Chapter 3, as well as Frans Baudouin, "Altars and Altarpieces before 1620," in *Rubens before 1620*, ed. J.R. Martin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972). Frans Baudouin, *Rubens en zijn eeuw* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1972). Vlieghe, *Saints II*. John Rupert Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (London: Phaidon, 1968). Willibald Sauerländer, *The Catholic Rubens: Saints and Martyrs*, trans. David Dollenmayer (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014). Anna Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence: Rubens and the Jesuit Christ in Antwerp" (PhD diss., New York University, 2007).

Gabriela Torres Olleta. Out of this major scholarly effort, several major book-length studies of images of St. Francis Xavier have emerged. The first is an exhibition catalogue for *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen* held at Xavier Castle (Navarre) in 2006.¹⁹² The second is Maria Gabriela Torres Olleta's *Redes iconográficas: San Francisco Javier en la cultura visual del barrocco* (2009).¹⁹³ Both of these serve as an introduction to the major images and hagiographic texts that represent the life of St. Francis Xavier, as well as the most common iconographic patterns found in images of this saint. My project is, of course, indebted to Torres Olleta and the scholars who contributed essays to *San Francisco Javier en las artes* for their comprehensive compilations of iconographic sources for particular images and their identifications of print sources for various Xaverian motifs and compositions; however, my framing of the issue in terms of agency and crisis is a completely original interpretation of these images.

¹⁹² Fernández Gracia, *San Francisco Javier en las artes*.

¹⁹³ Torres Olleta, *Redes iconográficas*.

2.0 FREEDOM AT THE EDGE: XAVERIAN IMAGES IN ROME AND LISBON BEFORE 1622

In writing about the Counter-Reformation, many scholars have stressed that the Catholic reforms proposed during the Council of Trent and the century after were aimed at centralizing authority in the Roman Curia and subjecting the increasingly far-flung reaches of the Church to standardized policies and Roman oversight. R. Po-Chia Hsia has written that the early modern papacy “centralized administration and suppressed local autonomy,” investing an unprecedented amount of authority in the “papal monarchy.”¹⁹⁴ Peter Burke has noted that after Trent, the “balance of power shifted towards the center,”¹⁹⁵ while Simon Ditchfield has also written that the “assertion of papal *magisterium*,” that is, the authority of the pope to define Catholic doctrine, was “central to the Tridentine reaffirmation of the divinely-ordered nature of the Holy Roman Church.”¹⁹⁶ An example of this centralization of authority is the establishment of the office of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fidei*, intended to supervise the Church’s global missionary enterprise and curtail the power of

¹⁹⁴ R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 103.

¹⁹⁵ Peter Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Counter-Reformation: Essential Readings*, ed. David Luebke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 130.

¹⁹⁶ Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of the Saints," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity* ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 201.

bishops appointed by Iberian kings in their colonial territories.¹⁹⁷ Most relevant to this study, however, is the papal reform of the cult of saints and the Roman Breviary,¹⁹⁸ as well as the standardization and bureaucratization of the beatification and canonization process.

While it is certainly true that the act of making a saint had officially become a “papal monopoly” by the time of the pontificate of Urban VIII (pontificate 1623-1644),¹⁹⁹ the reality is far more complicated. Historians and art historians are beginning to study the complicated interplay between the center and periphery of saint making, as well as the tension that existed between the local and the universal. In his book, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy*, Simon Ditchfield writes that it is less accurate to see Tridentine reform in terms of “center versus periphery, than as an attempt by Rome to particularize the universal... and to universalize the particular.”²⁰⁰ Ruth Noyes, in her dissertation on Oratorian images of St. Philip Neri (1515-1595), elaborates on this idea, writing that reform of the beatification and canonization process in the early seventeenth century

...should not be seen as exclusively enforcing top-down reforms along an unqualified Rome (Curia)/center to local/periphery axis. Rather, these papal-appointed bodies performed what should be described as a both-ways mediating function between the universal and local; they facilitated, though often imperfectly, exchanges of call and response in the developing language of sanctity amongst various religious prerogatives.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ The *Propaganda Fidei* established the position of “vicar apostolic,” a missionary bishop who was directly supervised by the papacy, but did not actually have a diocese. James Hitchcock, *History of the Catholic Church: From the Apostolic Age to the Third Millennium* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012), 514.

¹⁹⁸ Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹⁹⁹ Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," 133.

²⁰⁰ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 10.

²⁰¹ Ruth S. Noyes, "A me toccano masticare pillole amare: Rubens, the Oratorians and the Crisis over the Beati moderni in Rome ca. 1600: Towards a Revised Geography of the Counter Reformation" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins, 2010), 34.

Noyes's work focuses on the role of images in the process of making saints, but resists the conclusion that "pictures served the Counter-Reformation's central demands to control authoritatively the meaning of religious images and the cult of the saint," noting that images of holy figures who were not yet saints could "have carried a distinctly subversive charge."²⁰²

In this chapter, I take up the subject of representations of Francis Xavier in Rome and Lisbon in the decades before his canonization. These images date to after Sixtus V established the Congregation of Rites (1588), a committee of cardinals that was tasked with authenticating rites celebrating saints and overseeing the causes of candidates for sainthood,²⁰³ but before Urban VIII's 1634 *Coelestis Hierusalem cives*, a bull that introduced new restrictions on the canonization and beatification process and represented the culmination of the Holy See's monopolization of all matters related to making saints.²⁰⁴ During these years, Rome's regulations and expectations regarding would-be and future saints were constantly in flux; in many ways, it was unclear how far the supporters of holy figures could go to encourage devotion and foster nascent cults. In fact, promoters of would-be saints were caught in a dilemma. To achieve sainthood, a holy figure had to have devotees who prayed to the saint, resulting in miracles, as well as an established *fama*

²⁰² Noyes, "A me toccano masticare pillole amare," 18-19. Noyes complicates the traditional view of Post-Tridentine Catholic art, citing Klaus Krüger's assertion that Catholic images support "the central demands of the Counter-Reformation Church, namely the need to establish authoritative control..." and that art at this time was "in perfect harmony with contemporary ecclesiastical prescriptions, especially those contained in the Council of Trent's 1563 decree on images." Klaus Krüger, "Authenticity and Fiction: On the Pictorial Construction of Inner Presence in Early Modern Italy," in *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 48.

²⁰³ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 17. Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," 131-32.

²⁰⁴ This bull gathered together all of the various decrees regarding canonization and beatification made by Urban VIII up to that point. It was republished in 1642 with a few additional decrees with the title *Decreta servanda in canonizatione et beatificatione sanctorum*. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 216. Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 214-15.

sanctitatis, or reputation for holiness. However, the ability of holy figures to gain such a nascent cult was increasingly curtailed by the Holy See. My investigations of these early images of Francis Xavier in Rome and Lisbon deal directly with this problem. How could images be used to spread the *fama sanctitatis* of a candidate for sainthood at a time when it was increasingly frowned upon to endow non-saints with saintly attributes? How could Xavier's prodigious miracle working powers be publicized to the Roman public in an environment where the rules regarding textual and visual representations of miracles that had not yet been officially declared authentic by the Congregation of Rites were unclear and easily changeable?

As we will see, the far-flung nature of Xavier's cult was an advantage in this matter; while papal authorities in Rome strictly oversaw new developments in Xavier's visual representation in the papal city, other cities in the world had more freedom to foster the elaboration of a precocious Xavierian cult. The new Christian converts of India especially had more latitude to celebrate Xavier before he was beatified or canonized. For example, during his life, Xavier had been active in Kottar, a Tamil city in southern India, where he built a small church. That church was informally dedicated to Xavier in 1603 and his devotees put up an image of him and lit lamps in his honor.²⁰⁵ As a result, many miracles took place at this site, several of which were mentioned in the 1623 canonization bull issued by Urban VIII.²⁰⁶ These actions, which took for granted Xavier's sanctity, would have been

²⁰⁵ Georg Schurhammer, "Die Heiligsprechung Franz Xavers," in *Gesammelte Studien: Varia* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965), 468.

²⁰⁶ In Kottar, Francis Xavier appeared to a blind man in a dream. The future saint informed this man that if he went to Xavier's church in Kottar he would regain his vision. After praying in front of the image of Xavier in the church, he was healed. "In eadem urbe caeco cuidam sanctus per quietem apparuerat, eumque monuerat, ut ad ecclesiam eius visitandam, oculorum lumen ibi recepturus, pergere non differt. Paruerat fideliter homo; ac, dum per novem dies ante Francisci imaginem orabat, repente, discussa omni caecitatis caligine, sanatus erat et perfecte viderat." The oil from the lamps was

frowned upon if they had been attempted by Xavierian supporters in Rome.²⁰⁷ In the case of Francis Xavier, it seems as if the Church allowed the peripheries of the Catholic world to serve as laboratories where devotees could experiment with different means of fostering devotion to Xavier, which could include dedicating altars and churches to him or publically displaying Xaverian relics and images.²⁰⁸

As I will discuss below, the cause of this anxiety about saints can be found in Protestant critiques of Catholic saints dating back to the Reformation, leading to what Peter Burke famously called a “crisis of canonization” in the sixteenth-century Church.²⁰⁹ As various reforms to the cult of saints and the canonization process were debated, the Roman

often used to facilitate miracles; a leper rubbed himself with the oil and was healed, as did a woman named Francisca Rebelles, who had been suffering from bloody flux and a stomach tumor. “Quin etiam leprosus quidam in eodem loco magna fiducia ad sancti intercessionem confugerat; proprioque corpore, oleo lampadis, quae ad eius imaginem ardebat, peruncto, dum prostrates orabat, repente a lepra mundatus atque omnino sanus effectus errat. Eamdem virtutem expert erat Francisca Rebelles, quae a multo tempore sanguinis fluxum ac ventris tumorem cum ingenti dolore patiebatur. Lampadis enim, ante eius imaginem pendentis identidem se oleo ungens, statim adeo perfecte convaluerat, ut nullas amplius eorum morborum sensisset reliquias.” The canonization bull also describes how sometimes the lamps would be filled with water, which would miraculously transform into oil. “Frequenter enim acciderat, ut lampades ad eamdem servi Dei imaginem appensae, aqua tantum benedicta infusa, haud secus ac si oleo plenae essent, arderent lucerentque: stupentibus etiam infidelibus, quos ad tantae rei miraculum conspiciendum, non sine magno fidei nostrae increment christiani invitabant.” Mariano Lecina, ed. *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia de sancto Francisco Xaverio*, vol. 43, Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu (Matriti: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1912), 717. Spanish translation in Mathias de Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias y Nuevas Gentes San Francisco Javier de la Compañía de Jesús* (Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez, 1665), 19-20.

²⁰⁷ Ruth Noyes provides many interesting examples of precocious cults in Rome that ran afoul of ecclesiastical authorities. In 1602, the Oratorians moved the relics of their founder, Philip Neri to a new chapel near the high altar of the Chiesa Nuova in Rome. Pope Clement VIII (1595-1605) felt that this was transgressing the line between acceptable and unacceptable celebrations of candidates for sainthood and ordered Philip Neri’s canonization cause to be halted. Ultimately, this scandal led to the creation of the Congregation of the Beati in 1604, which was tasked with overseeing the beatification process (which was rapidly being redefined at this moment) and regulating the worship of *beati*. Noyes, “A me toccano masticare pillole amare,” 41.

²⁰⁸ Noyes has also noted a similar phenomenon with the publication of hagiographies. The earliest biography of Ignatius of Loyola was written by Pedro Ribadeynera and Jerome Nadal (1507-1580) mentioned that it was difficult to get this text published in Italian cities like Florence and Venice, noting that some authors of hagiographies of candidates for sainthood “apparently sought increasingly to publish their works not just outside of Rome, but outside of Italy altogether, in an attempt to avoid preemptively curial censure.” Noyes, “A me toccano masticare pillole amare,” 20-21. However, I have not found the same reluctance to publish hagiographies of Francis Xavier in Rome and other European centers. Perhaps textual descriptions of Xavier’s miracles were viewed as less dangerous since they had mostly taken place so far away from Europe.

²⁰⁹ Burke, “How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint,” 131.

Church did not create any new saints between 1523 and 1588, a period of sixty-five years.²¹⁰ Once canonizations began again, candidates had to meet increasingly stringent criteria for behavior and miraculous acts, while also conforming to the values of the Counter-Reformation Church. In this chapter, I will examine how Jesuits crafted an image of St. Francis Xavier in Rome that was in keeping with these values, leading to the development of a distinct Italian Xaverian iconography. This way of depicting Francis Xavier will then be contrasted with efforts in Lisbon to create a Portuguese iconography for the future saint that had the freedom to be far more innovative.

2.1 AN OCEAN OF SUPERSTITION AND A CRISIS OF CANONIZATION

Erasmus's *The Praise of Folly* (1511) sets the stage for later Protestant critiques of the Catholic cult of saints. He casts scorn upon "the folk who have arrived at the foolish but gratifying belief that if they gaze on a picture of Polyphemus-Christopher they will not die that day, or that whoever salutes in certain prescribed words an image of Barbara will come through battle unharmed."²¹¹ He continues, "Things like that are so foolish, you know, that I am almost ashamed of them myself; yet they stand approved not only by the common people, but even by teachers of religion."²¹² He describes how people ask saints to help them win

²¹⁰ The last saints to be canonized before this pause were St. Bruno (1514), St. Francis de Paul (1519), and Sts. Benno and Antonino of Florence (1523). The first after canonizations resumed was St. Diego de Alcalá (1588). Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," 131-32. See also L.J. Andrew Villalon, "San Diego de Alcalá and the Politics of Saint-Making in Counter-Reformation Europe," *Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (1997).

²¹¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, trans. Hoyt Hopewell Hudson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 56.

²¹² Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, 57.

duels, survive battles, escape the gallows, and be healed of fevers, but no one ever asks the saints to heal them of folly.²¹³ For Erasmus, the cult of saints is “an ocean of superstition.”²¹⁴

Later Protestant reformers echoed many of these sentiments. The Lutheran Johannes Brenz preached his *Sermon on the Saints* in 1523 in Schwäbisch Hall, proclaiming that while there were figures worthy of veneration in the Holy Scripture,

...such good models are altered by perverse, selfish, foolish, and indeed godless people who no longer praise the faith of the saints, but the saints themselves. They hold them up as gods in whom we should place our faith, as helpers, as intercessors... In short, the veneration of the saints today is idolatry.²¹⁵

In another section of the same sermon, Brenz expounds on the pagan roots of the Catholic cult of saints and casts doubt on the efficacy and authenticity of the prodigious acts of many saints. Other anti-saint polemics were even more scathing; one anonymous pamphlet consisted of an imagined dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, in which the Christian describes the practice of venerating saints. The Jew comments in response that it is “as if the only God were not powerful enough.”²¹⁶

Carlos Eire, in his *War Against Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*, has described Protestant critiques of the material and visual culture surrounding saints’ cults, in particular the use of images of saints and the veneration of their relics.²¹⁷ Arguments against the veneration of visual representations of saints were intimately bound up with

²¹³ Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, 57.

²¹⁴ Erasmus especially criticizes priests and the ecclesiastical hierarchy for exploiting the people’s devotion to saints: “Our priests allow them, without regret, and even foster them, being aware of how much money is wont to accrue from this source.” Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, 58.

²¹⁵ Quoted and translated in Carol Piper Heming, *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517-1531* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2003), x.

²¹⁶ Heming, *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints*, 36-37.

²¹⁷ Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13.

objections to the use of images and idolatry in general.²¹⁸ The amount of money spent on images of saints was also a point of contention, while the relics veneration was increasingly viewed critically, especially since “the relic-mania of the late Middle Ages was also intricately connected with indulgences.”²¹⁹ During the Council of Trent (1545-1563), these critiques could not be ignored and Church authorities admitted that abuses had existed, acknowledging the need for reform.

Initial changes focused on revising the Roman Breviary, in particular by increasing the number of ferial (non-feast) days in the liturgical calendar.²²⁰ The Church then set its sights on reforming the process by which new saints were made. After the “crisis of canonization” in which no new saints were named for sixty-five years, the period from 1588 to 1665 saw fourteen canonizations and twenty-seven beatifications.²²¹ As Ditchfield writes, “This revival in saint-making was accompanied by an unprecedented attempt at the regulation of cults,” undertaken immediately after the conclusion of the Council of Trent.²²² It is not within the scope of this dissertation to describe in detail all of the reforms that took place,²²³ but it is important to note some of the new standards regarding the celebration of

²¹⁸ Eire writes, “... the cult of images was principally an extension of the cult of the saints, and from its earliest days served as a physical reminder alongside the relic...” Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 18.

²¹⁹ Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 15.

²²⁰ By the sixteenth century, the number of feast days celebrated in the Roman calendar had grown so large that Catholics rarely heard the scriptural readings that were supposed to be read on non-feast days. Instead, they were read hagiographic texts for the saints whose feasts were being celebrated. Ditchfield, “Tridentine Worship,” 201-02. The problem had gotten so out of control that by 1558, the city of Venice only had six non-feast days every year. Ditchfield details the new rules regarding feast days and ferial days that were aimed at reducing excessive celebration of saints’ feasts. Ditchfield, “Tridentine Worship,” 202. See also Chapter 2 of Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*.

²²¹ For information on these saints and *beati*, see Burke, “How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint.”

²²² Ditchfield, “Tridentine Worship,” 206.

²²³ An excellent summary can be found in Ditchfield, “Tridentine Worship,” 207-10. See also Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 214-20.

holy figures who were not yet canonized, as this will come to bear on how St. Francis Xavier was first depicted in Rome.

In current Roman Catholic saint-making practice, beatification is a necessary intermediary step towards canonization. In other words, a saint must first become a *beatus* before being declared a *sanctus*. When a candidate for sainthood is beatified, permission to celebrate the cult of the newly made *beatus* is given to a limited area, normally within a particular diocese or religious order. This is an intermediate state that persists until canonization, when permission to venerate the saint is granted universally for all Catholics. However, this practice did not even begin to become standardized until the early seventeenth century, when anxieties about how to authorize the veneration of recently deceased holy figures known as the *beati moderni* (including Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, Teresa of Ávila) led to Clement VIII's creation of the Congregation of the Beati.²²⁴ Ditchfield explains,

This temporary committee was brought into being precisely to deal with the problem of how to cope with pressure on the part of various interest groups – from religious orders to royal houses – to canonize those recently deceased who enjoyed degrees of saintly reputation that led to their effectively enjoying public cult without papal dispensation.²²⁵

However, many were still concerned with how a figure could acquire increased *fama sanctitatis* without angering Church officials who were scrutinizing precocious cults with heightened sensitivity. Antonio Gallonio (1556-1605), an Oratorian priest and hagiographer who worked as an assistant to Cardinal Cesare Baronio (1538-1607), wrote a treatise in

²²⁴ Even though the difference between *beatus* and *sanctus* was slowly becoming clearer throughout the first decades of the seventeenth century, a “clear distinction between the two terms... dates only from 27 September 1659 when the Sacred Congregation of Rites clearly set out the limits within which the cult of a *beatus* could operate.” Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 217-18.

²²⁵ Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 209.

1596, titled *De his quae prestari possunt non canonizatis*, or *How one should present those who are not yet canonized*.²²⁶ In this text, he presents the most frequent questions and concerns that promoters of holy figures had in regards to venerating these would-be saints. For example, what kind of a tomb was appropriate? Can painted images and lit lamps be placed at the tomb? Can devotees who had been healed by the holy figure place *ex-votos* or written descriptions of miracles at their tomb?²²⁷ In regards to images, Gallonio argues that they only be used privately and that the holy figure's tomb can only be decorated with lamps. Printed descriptions of miracles, however, were permissible and masses could be said to commemorate the anniversary of the candidate's death only.²²⁸ Despite the clarity of Gallonio's treatise, these proposals did not become official Church policy and in practice, there was very little consistency in the early seventeenth-century, at the same time that Francis Xavier's cause for canonization progressed. Religious orders and other supporters of candidates for sainthood regularly overstepped the tacit bounds of proper celebration and veneration of the not-yet canonized, for which they were censured, and the pope could (and did) allow inconsistent exceptions to any rules that did exist. In the pages that follow, we will see how the Jesuits negotiated this complex environment while advancing their campaign to make Francis Xavier a saint.

²²⁶ Antonio Gallonio, "De his quae prestari possunt non canonizatis," (Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome, 1596), ms. H. 14, ff. 272r-307r. Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 210-11. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 49-51.

²²⁷ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 50.

²²⁸ Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 210.

2.2 THE IMAGE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN ROME BEFORE 1622

On December 31, 1583, Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), the Visitor of Missions in the Indies, wrote to Claudio Acquaviva, the superior general of the Jesuit order from 1581 to 1615, and explained that he had commissioned an artist to paint a portrait of the deceased Apostle to the Indies, Francis Xavier. The Jesuit missionary and future saint had died in 1552 and his body had arrived in Goa in 1554; thirty years later, his corpse was still so perfectly preserved that Valignano's artist was able to use it as a model for a lifelike portrait, which depicted Xavier wearing a black cassock, with his eyes cast heavenward. Valignano also described how he had asked those who knew Xavier in life, including Manuel Teixeira, a Jesuit priest who had worked with Xavier as a teenager, to validate the faithfulness of the representation, thus demonstrating his preoccupation with establishing an accurate image that could inform the development of a Xaverian iconography. Valignano had ordered copies of this image to be made and was sending one to Rome along with the letter.²²⁹ Neither the original portrait made in Goa, nor the copy sent to Rome survive; however, this initial depiction informed the way that Francis Xavier was depicted from that point onwards, at least in terms of the saint's appearance. Early copies of the painting sent to Rome, now preserved in the Collegio Romano and the *casa professa* in Rome show Xavier clad in a black cassock and cape; he casts his eyes towards rays of light that emitted from the upper left sides of the paintings. This generally conforms to depictions of his appearance written by his biographers. Teixeira, who knew Xavier in life, wrote

²²⁹ This letter is summarized in Schurhammer, "Das wahre Bild," 214. See also Pilar Andueza Unanua, "La vera effigies de San Francisco Javier: la creación de una imagen postridentina," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 101. Fernando García Gutiérrez, "Iconografía de San Francisco Javier en Oriente," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002): 282-83.

Father Francis was taller than he was short. His face was well proportioned, white and rosy, happy and full of grace. His eyes were between brown and black, his forehead was large, his hair and beard black. He wore a poor, clean, and loose robe, without cape or any other covering because that was how poor priests of India dressed. When he walked, he lifted his robe a little with both hands. He almost always had his eyes set on heaven...²³⁰

Xavier is never shown in visual representations dressed in the manner of Indian priests;²³¹ however, Teixeira's description of the missionary lifting his robe with both hands would become quite common. In the half-length Collegio Romano copy, Xavier is lifting up his robe with both hands to walk more easily, a habit that Teixeira describes above. In the bust-length copy now preserved in the *casa professa* in Rome,²³² Xavier is actually opening his cassock, a visual elaboration on Xavier's tendency to lift his robe while walking.²³³ According to those who knew him, Xavier was accustomed to doing this in order to cool the

²³⁰ "Era el P. Mtro. Francisco de statura antes grande que pequeña, el rostro bien proporcionado, blanco y colorado, alegre y de muy buena gracia; los ojos negros, la frente larga, el cabello y barba negra; traya el uestido pobre y limpio y la ropa suelta, sin manteo ni otro algún vestido; porque este era el modo de uestir de los sacerdotes pobres de la India; y quando andaua la leuantaua un poco con entrambas manos. Iua casi siempre con los ojos puestos en el cielo..." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 843. See also García Gutiérrez, "Iconografía de San Francisco Javier," 281-82. Andueza Unanua, "La vera effigies," 100.

²³¹ Teixeira devotes much space to describing how Xavier desired to dress like an India priest. "El vestido del P. Francisco y de sus compañeros era pobre y roto; mas viendo él que los sacerdotes de la India vestían de otra manera que los de Portugal, cuyo hábito él traya entonces, pidió al mayor domo del hospital que de lymosna le mandasse hazer vna vestidura conforme al vso de los sacerdotes pobres de aquella tierra, porque la Compañía no tiene hábito determinado, si no es el que traen los sacerdotes pobres y recogidos de aquella prouincia donde residen." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 843. Andueza Unanua cites a 1613 drawing by Godinho de Heredia, a Malay-Portuguese author and explorer educated by the Jesuits, in which Xavier wears a loose tunic that lacks sleeves, belt, and cape over his cassock, an outfit that conforms more closely to Teixeira's description. Andueza Unanua, "La vera effigies," 100.

²³² Alfonso Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos believes it is possible that the painting in the Casa Professa may be the copy that was sent to Rome by Valignano from Goa. Previously, it was thought to be an inferior copy of the copy, but Ceballos believes it was just poorly repainted, as has been proven with x-ray analysis. Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La imagen de San Francisco Javier en el arte europeo," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 122.

²³³ "Viste sotana negra que levanta ligeramente con ambas manos para mostrar el pecho. Este gesto... se repitió estereotipadamente en muchas pinturas posteriores, aunque interpretándolo no como un movimiento mecánico hecho para poder cominar mayor, sino como manifestación del amor divino que consumía sus entrañas y le producía continuas consolaciones espirituales que no podía reprimier..." Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La imagen de San Francisco Javier," 122-23.

burning of his heart that resulted from his great love of God.²³⁴ Often, when he thought no one was observing him, Xavier was witnessed to exclaim, “Satis est, Domine, satis est!” or “It is enough, O Lord, it is enough,” meaning that God had been too generous in regards to the consolations given to him.²³⁵ The Jesuit missionary himself wrote of this in his letters,²³⁶ using Ignatian language to describe a feeling of being on fire with the love of God.²³⁷ A final note-worthy feature of these paintings is that both show Xavier with a thin halo, an element that would be contentious in later images of the future saint.

In 1540, Francis Xavier bid farewell to his Jesuit companions in Rome, including Ignatius of Loyola, never to meet with them again in person. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when the drive to canonize Xavier was intensifying, there would not have been many people left alive in Rome who would have known Xavier during his life. Therefore, it was in the periphery of the Catholic world, where Catholics who had been converted by Xavier as children still had vivid memories of his appearance, behavior, and miraculous acts, that knowledge about Xavier had to be collected and verified. This

²³⁴ Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973-1982), 207.

²³⁵ “Aqui em nosso quintal aconteceu hum irmão espreitalo, e vindo elle [Francis Xavier] passeando uinha tão que, tornando en si e parecendo-lhe que [no] poderia ser sentido, disse, aleuantando os olhos ao ceo, e pondo as mãos nos peitos: SEnhor, no mais, no mais. Contarãome os homens, que viuião com elle na mesma casa, que não dormindo mais que 3 ou 4 oras cada noute, dizia comunmente em sonhos: o bom Jesu, o meu Senhor e Criado, e outras palauras desta maneira. Aqui em casa hiase a vigiar toda a noute em oração em hum corinho, donde se ve o Sentissimo Sacramento; e se algum sono tomaua ahi era no chão.” Letter from António de Quadros to Tiago Mirón, written in Goa and dated December 8, 1555. Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 950. Maria Cristina Osswald, “The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier,” *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002): 268.

²³⁶ Saint Francis Xavier, *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), pg? See also María Gabriela Torres Olleta, “De la hagiografía al arte: Fuentes de la iconografía de San Francisco Javier,” in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 94.

²³⁷ From Ignatius’s “Rules for the Same Effect with Greater Discernment of Spirits,” in his *Spiritual Exercises*: “It belongs to God our Lord to give consolation to the soul without preceding cause, for it is the property of the Creator to enter, go about and cause movements in the soul, bringing it all into love of His Divine Majesty. I say without cause: without any previous sense or knowledge of any object through which such consolation would come, through one’s acts of understanding and will.” Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. Elder Mullan (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007), 177.

information would inform the first textual and visual representations of Xavier as he was constructed by the imagined community of devotees that was coalescing into his global cult.²³⁸

The portrait made in Goa by order of Alessandro Valignano was therefore the first known Xaverian image; it was copied and sent to Rome where it was used as a basis for many early prints depicting Xavier. These prints went on to form the foundation of a Xaverian iconography that was elaborated upon throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth. In most of these images, however, the general appearance of Xavier is consistent with the original Goan image: straight black hair with bangs, cut long enough on the sides to touch or cover his ears, a short beard and moustache, light complexion, and dark eyes lifted to heaven.²³⁹

Just as the precedent for Xavier's visual appearance was established outside of Rome, so were many of the earliest printed images of St. Francis Xavier. Although many of these were included in books printed in Rome or distributed through some means in the papal city, all of these images were designed by artists from Antwerp. The first to be printed in Rome was a portrait by Theodor Galle (baptized 1571-1633), included in Orazio Torsellino's *De Vita Francisci Xaverii* and the same author's translation of Francis Xavier's letters, both of which were published in Rome by Luigi Zannetti at the early date of 1596,

²³⁸ See the first chapter of this dissertation for more on how Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities can be applied to the cults of early modern saints like Xavier's. For constructed saints versus real saints, see Pierre Deloof, "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church," in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religion, Sociology, and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 195.

²³⁹ The most common inconsistencies have to do with Xavier's hair. He is often shown with a tonsure, although sometimes the artist omits this. Occasionally artists would chose to make his hair curlier than these early images suggest was accurate and in other instances, his hair is a light or medium brown instead of black.

twenty-six years before Xavier's canonization.²⁴⁰ Galle was in Rome in 1596, along with his brother Cornelis;²⁴¹ it was at this time that he must have received the commission for this portrait engraving of Francis Xavier and had access to the original Valignano painting sent to Rome or the various copies made after it. Galle's print takes the painting in the Collegio Romano as a point of departure, the basic details of which are replicated - eyes cast towards heaven, rays of light coming from an upper corner, dark hair and beard, with his hands pulling up his cassock. Galle has, however, strengthened the connection to Xavier's biography by actually including the phrase, "Satis est, Domine, satis est" in the upper portion of the frame, while the Latin inscription below describes the consolations experienced by Xavier. The most notable aspect of Galle's print, however, is a lack of saintly attributes; Xavier has no halo, unlike in the painted copies, and the inscription contains no honorific (either a "B." or an "S." for *beatus* or *sanctus* respectively) in front of his name.²⁴² The lesson seems to be that images from the periphery could take greater liberties with saintly attributes, but in Rome, oversight was much more stringent and supporters were likely to self-censor images to keep from displeasing ecclesiastical authority and potentially disrupting the canonization cause.

²⁴⁰ Orazio Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii. Qui primus e Societate Iesu in Indiam & Iaponiam evangelium invexit.* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596). Saint Francis Xavier, *Francisci Xaverii Epistolarum libri quattuor. Ab Horatio Tursellino e Societate Iesu in Latinum conversi ex Hispano ...* trans. Orazio Torsellino (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596). I have consulted two digital versions of Torsellino's *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, one in the Laures Rare Book Database Project and Virtual Library hosted by Sophia University and another via Google Books, digitized by the Bavarian State Library. The copy at Sophia University was missing the portrait of St. Francis Xavier. Other scholars have confirmed that the portrait was originally printed with Torsellino's text. Grace Vlam, "The Portrait of S. Francis Xavier in Kobe," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42, no. 1 (1979): 53. Andueza Unanua, "La vera effigies," 109.

²⁴¹ Christine van Mulders, "Theodor Galle," in *Grove Art Online*.

²⁴² Vlam reproduces a version of this print where someone added a handwritten "S." after printing. Vlam, "The Portrait of S. Francis Xavier," 54.

Thus far, none of these images have contained any representations of the numerous miraculous acts performed by Xavier. In the years after his death, Francis Xavier's reputation as a miracle worker grew slowly at first, and later, exponentially. The missionary's letters, however, do not contain any mentions of miracles, a silence that his later biographers attributed to Xavier's modesty and humility.²⁴³ According to Torsellino, there were instances in which the Jesuit missionary attempted to persuade witnesses to his prodigious acts that nothing miraculous had happened or begged them to not spread word of his remarkable deeds. For example, in Punicale (Punaikayal), Xavier resurrected a young man to great acclaim. Torsellino writes, "This act Xauerius, out of his true humility, suppressed as much as possibly he could, by dissembling the matter, but all in vaine."²⁴⁴ The same thing happened again shortly afterwards, when Xavier resurrected a young boy who had fallen into a well and drowned.²⁴⁵ Torsellino describes how Xavier once again tried to keep the news of this resurrection from spreading:

...the Christians who stood about were all astonished, and cryed out for ioy. But Xauerius earnestly intreated them by al meanes possible to make no words therof, & so secretly retyred himself from thence. The people could not ouercome themselues as he requested, to keep silent so miraculous an euent; and besides that, Xauerius his dissembling the matter, made his sanctity the more to appeare.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Massimo Leone, *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 383.

²⁴⁴ Orazio Torsellino, *The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier*, trans. T.F. (Paris: English College Press, 1632), 133. "Id Xauerius humilitati suae indulgens, quantum potuit, dissimulando suppressit, sed frustra." Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 73.

²⁴⁵ This miracle is famously depicted by Peter Paul Rubens in his *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* altarpiece and thus is discussed in the next chapter.

²⁴⁶ Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 134. "Enimuero circumstantes Christiani obstupescere, & miraculum claminatre. At Xauerius enixe eos obtestatus vt rem omni ope tacerent, repente inde proripuit se. Caeterum illi, vt rem tam admirabilem silentio supprimerent, nequaquam sibi imperare potuerunt. Et Xauerij dissimulation illustriorem insuper erus sanctimoniam fecit." Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 73.

Despite his best efforts, Xavier steadily acquired saintly renown in Asia and rumors of his miracles began trickling back to Europe while he was still active on the missions.²⁴⁷ For example, in a letter to the Jesuits of Portugal, Gaspar Barze wrote on December 13, 1548 that Xavier had been delayed returning to Goa from Cape Comorin:

Suddenly the rumor was spread that Master Francis had died... His friends were deeply grieved at this news and said among themselves, 'Though it should cost us 30,000 *cruzados*, we will see that he is canonized.' Then they began recounting his miracles, the very great miracles, which he had worked while living in their country.²⁴⁸

Although Xavier's sanctity was widely acknowledged by those who had known him during his Asian ministry, others were more reluctant to proclaim Francis Xavier's *fama sanctitatis* too conspicuously, for fear of harming a future canonization campaign. Balthasar Diaz, a Jesuit in Goa, epitomizes this opinion, writing cautiously:

As regards the death of our Father Francis, there are many people in this city who have lived with him in different places and have seen him do and say among the pagans such things as were evidently supernatural and equal to those which we read in the lives of the saints. Persons of great integrity have come to ask me why we do not begin a formal investigation and gathering testimony of all these things, with a view to having him canonized. However, because I felt that this should be undertaken by someone duly authorized, and also for personal reasons, I did not wish to begin the inquiry on my own authority.²⁴⁹

We can see that Diaz is concerned that the correct person begin the canonization proceedings and in fact, shortly thereafter, King João III issued an order to collect witness testimony attesting to Xavier's miraculous powers of intercession both during life and posthumously.

²⁴⁷ See John A. Hardon, "The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 127 (1952).

²⁴⁸ Translated and quoted in Hardon, "The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier," 251-52. Original letter is published in *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, (Florence: Ex Typographia a SS. Conceptione, 1887), 54.

²⁴⁹ Translated and quoted in Hardon, "The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier," 253-54. Original letter is published in *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, 182.

This reluctance to celebrate miracles before they have been authorized in an official canonization process may be the reason why artists and engravers in Rome avoided illustrations of miracles in the first published Xaverian hagiographies. As previously mentioned, the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable veneration of candidates for sainthood were unclear. Gallonio, in the treatise described above, writes that it was acceptable to describe a would-be saint's miracles in printed texts, even if those miracles were still being investigated. However, his attitude towards images of would-be saints is less approving, writing that visual representations were only appropriate in a private setting. The correctness of printed images is not explicitly stated, but one would assume that these did not count as "private." In fact, as will be described below, it was not until 1600 that Pope Clement VIII gave Jesuits limited permission to depict the miracles of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, implying that before this date miraculous depictions would have been frowned upon.

Outside of Rome, editions of Torsellino's biography did not avoid depictions of Xavier's miraculous acts. For example, the 1596 Antwerp edition of Torsellino's hagiography includes an image of Francis Xavier by one of the members of the famous Wierix family. Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619) has placed a portrait of Xavier inside of a circular frame; the future saint has his eyes cast towards heaven in his usual expression, but his hands are crossed on his chest. Despite this difference in gesture, the general appearance of Xavier, as well as the light coming in from the upper left suggests that Wierix was also following the models that had originated with Valignano's portrait made in Goa. The inclusion of the phrase "Satis est, Domine, satis est," again indicates that Xavier is in the midst of receiving consolations from God. What marks Wierix's print as different from all

the other Xavierian images we have seen thus far is the addition of four vignettes in the corners of the print, each depicting a different miracle. The scene on the upper left depicts Xavier's dream of carrying an Indian on his shoulders, an account that was included in Torsellino's text²⁵⁰ and derives from a biography of Ignatius of Loyola written by Pedro Ribadeneira (1527-1611, Latin edition published in 1572, Spanish in 1583). Before learning that he would be a missionary in the Indies, Xavier told Diego Laynez (1512-1565) en route to Venice, "Jesus, how tired I am! Do you know that I dreamt of carrying an Indian on my shoulders who was so heavy that I was unable to carry him?"²⁵¹ In Xaverian hagiography, this is interpreted as a foreshadowing of the heavy labors that were to come once Xavier arrived in Portuguese India. The vignette in the upper right depicts Xavier on the island of Moro,²⁵² escaping from hostile enemies throwing rocks by floating across a deep,

²⁵⁰ "Recensebant etiam visum quoddam, quod Iacobus Laines olim sibi a Francisco contubernali suo indicatum enuntiarat alijs. Visus sibimet saepe Xauerius per quietem humeris Indus aliquandiu vectare adeo grauem, vt ipso pondere fatigatus excitaretur e somno. Quod quidem rei future indicum potius, quàm sopitae mentis ludibrium Suisse deinde ostendit euentus. Franciscus igitur hasce spes et cogitations secum in Indiam portans, tam longinqua profectio in posterum diem parata, documentum fuit, quam parum ad humanas res sit affectus, qui totus aptus ex Deo pendeat." Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 25-26. Spanish translation: Orazio Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier de la Compania de Jesus, primero Apostol del Japon y segundo de la India y de otras Provincias del Oriente*, trans. Pedro de Guzman (Pamplona: Carlos de Labayen, 1620), 23-24. English translation: Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 43-44. Manuel Teixeira also describes this dream: "Contaba dél el P. Mtro. Laynez, que fué después el Segundo general de la Compañia, que mucho antes desto, peregrinando por Italia los dos, acaecía muchas bezes que el P. Xabier, despertando de noche como despauorido del sueño, despertaba también al P. Laynez, y le dezía: O! qué cansado estoy, bálame Dios; ¿sabéis, hermano Mtro. Laynez, quése me antojaua durmiendo? Soñaba que traya acuestas vn indio ó negro de Hetyopía buen rato; mas era tan pessado, que con su peso no me deixaba alçar la cabeça; y assí, aun agora, despierto como estoy, me syento tan cansado y mollido, como si hubiesse luchado con él." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 831-32.

²⁵¹ Translation from Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 36. "Jesús, qué molido estoy! Sabéis que soñava que llevaba a cuestras un indio y que pesava tanto que no le podía llevar?" Pedro de Ribadeneyra et al., *Monumenta Ignatiana. Series quarta. Scripta de S. Ignatio. Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1943-1965), II, 381-82. Of course, due to the ambiguity of the term "Indian" during the sixteenth century in Europe, it's impossible to know whether Xavier envisioned himself carrying an African, an inhabitant of the New World, or a native of the Indian subcontinent. Later biographers, such as João de Lucena, added more detail, specifying that the person Xavier dreamt of was "a black Indian, like those of Ethiopia." Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 37. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I:337-41.

²⁵² One of the Moluku (Spice) Islands

dangerously swift river on a piece of wood.²⁵³ The enemies themselves are not depicted; instead, we see Xavier lying on the wood, looking heavenwards. The bottom left and right images respectively show Xavier curing the sick and resurrecting the dead, miracles that are quite common in Torsellino's text and in all subsequent Xaverian hagiographies.²⁵⁴

When comparing Galle's Xaverian print with Wierix's, both of which were created in the same year to illustrate the same text, the lack of miracles in Galle's version is indeed striking and surprising. The Wierix print made in Antwerp is more innovative than the Galle print made in Rome, adding, for the first time in the history of Xaverian visual representations, an overt narrative element and an emphasis on the miraculous, the continuing appeal of which cannot be underestimated in the Post-Tridentine Catholic world.²⁵⁵ These prints demonstrate yet another instance in which innovation in Xaverian iconography took place outside of Rome. In the next chapter of this dissertation, I point out Antwerp's status as a confessional border zone and territory of an Iberian empire where Jesuits worked to reduce religious difference and bring the city back into the Catholic fold. Despite this, it is undeniable that at this time, Antwerp remained an artistic center, particularly in the medium of prints, and was increasingly becoming the most important city

²⁵³ This episode is recounted in Dominique Bouhours's biography of 1683. "Les plus rebelles à l'Esprit de Dieu furent les Javares, gens farouches & inhumains, qui n'habitent que des caverns, & ne vivent que dans les forests. Non contents de ne pas suivre les instructions de Xavier, ils luy dresserent diverses embusches; & un jour qu'il leur expliquoit la morale de l'Evangile sur le bord d'une riviere, irritez du zele avec lequel il condamnoit leurs moeurs corrompuës, ils se miront à luy jeter des pierres pour le tuër. Les Barbares estoient d'un costé, & le fleuve de l'autre, large et profound; de forte qu'il estoit comme impossible à Xavier de se dérober aux corps de ses ennemis: mais rien n'est impossible à un homme que le Ciel protégé. Il y avoit sur le rivage une grosse poutre: le Saint la pousse sans peine dans l'eau, & s'estant mis dessus, il es porté en un instant à l'autre bord, où les pierres ne pourvoient il'atteindre." Dominique Bouhours, *La vie de Saint François Xavier de la Compagnie de Jésus, Apôtre des Indes et du Japon* (Paris: n.p., 1683), 314-15.

²⁵⁴ For an example of each, see Book 4, Chapter 3 of Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*.

²⁵⁵ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 129. There does exist a version of Wierix's print that does not include the miracles. This was a single-sheet print with slightly different inscriptions that was published sometime before 1619 with printing privileges granted by Joachim de Buschere, secretary to the Council of Brabant. Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix: Conservées au Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque royale* (Bruxelles: Bibliothèque royale, 1978), #181a.

in Europe for the printing of Catholic books. As Stijn Van Russem has noted, “Antwerp lost its leading role as a center of Humanist printing to Amsterdam after 1585, but the Antwerp printers and booksellers managed to prolong their international status until 1648 by embracing the new spirit of the triumphant restoration of the Catholic Church...”²⁵⁶ Accordingly, Jesuits increasingly relied upon the printing houses of Antwerp like the Officina Plantiniana to produce lavish books with an abundance of engraved images, such as Jerónimo Nadal’s *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (1593)²⁵⁷ and the *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (1640), a magnificent emblem book celebrating the centenary of the Jesuit Order.²⁵⁸ The Society of Jesus also preferred particular engravers in the city of Antwerp, relying on the Wierix family for a large portion of the printed images they commissioned.²⁵⁹ The Wierixes were productive printmakers and it is estimated that throughout their careers,

²⁵⁶ Stijn Van Rossem, "The Verdussens and the International Trade in Catholic Books (Antwerp, Seventeenth Century)," in *Books in the Catholic World During the Early Modern Period*, ed. Natalia Maillard Alvarez (Leiden Brill, 2014), 2. Van Rossem has reiterated that the printing of Catholic books was an important part of the Catholic Church’s plan to halt and reverse the advances of Protestantism of the sixteenth century. “This struggle for the salvation of the soul was impossible without an impressive communication offensive in which printed books played a central role. This included the highly controlled production of new canons of liturgical texts, the promotion of a vast array of devotional works for the masses and the instruction of these dogmas through schoolbooks and catechisms.” See also Jeffrey Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. S.J. John W. O’Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

²⁵⁷ Fernando García Gutiérrez, "Los grabadores flamencos de los siglos XVI y XVII y la Compañía de Jesús," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 73, no. 145 (2004). Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Las imágenes de la *Historia Evangélica* del Jerónimo Nadal en el marco del Jesuitismo y la Contrarreforma," in *Imágenes de la Historia Evangélica*, ed. Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos (Barcelona: Ediciones Albir, 1975). Thomas Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976).

²⁵⁸ Lydia Salviucci Insolera, *L’imago primi saeculi (1640) e il significato dell’immagine allegorica nella Compagnia di Gesù: Genesi e fortuna del libro* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2004). John W. O’Malley, ed. *Art, Controversy, and the Jesuits: The Imago Primi Saeculi* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph’s University Press, 2015).

²⁵⁹ In many ways, the collaboration between the Jesuits and the Wierix family was unexpected. As of 1585, Anton Wierix and perhaps other members of the family were Lutheran, although they may have converted to Catholicism at a later point. The Wierixes were, however, notorious for their bad behavior. Hieronymus spent several months in jail after killing a woman in a tavern and their patron, Christopher Plantin (ca. 1520-1589) complained about how difficult they were to work with, writing to the Jesuit priest Fernando Jiménez that “They go to spend their florins in the taverns and brothels of the city, and pawn their tools, so that whoever needs them has to go and unpawn them and then keep them in their home the entire time necessary to recover their money...” The original letter in French is published in Max Rooses, "De Plaatsnijders Der Evangelicae Historiae Imagines," *Oud Holland* 6, no. 1 (1888): 286. See also Andueza Unanua, "La vera effigies," 104. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Las imágenes de la *Historia Evangélica*," 10-11.

they produced 2,333 unique prints in total, approximately ten percent of which were for the Society of Jesus.²⁶⁰ “The work of the Wierixes thus became a hallmark of Jesuit identity”²⁶¹ and many of the Wierix prints were iconographically or compositionally innovative. For example, Anton Wierix II (1555/1559-1604) produced perhaps the earliest print with St. Francis Xavier in a landscape background and in full-length (dating to before Wierix’s death in 1604). In both the image and the inscription beneath, Wierix references the great consolations that Xavier received from God, causing the missionary to open his robe to cool his burning heart. Other elements from the earlier painted portraits, such as the rays of light descending from heaven, are present, but Wierix brazenly gives Xavier a halo and has cherubs descending from heaven to bestow a crown of roses and a martyr’s palm upon him, effectively depicting him as a *beatus* or a saint years before either of these statuses were official. Again, a narrative element is added, with a secondary scene in the background showing not a miracle, but Xavier preaching to a group of figures that is generically marked as foreign through their unconventional hats.²⁶² The Wierixes were also early pioneers of mystical imagery in which Francis Xavier, Ignatius of Loyola, and other Jesuits adore Christ Crucified, the Christ child, or the Sacred Heart. All of these Wierix prints demonstrate an enthusiasm to try out different pictorial forms to depict candidates for sainthood like Xavier, revealing a willingness to experiment that was unable to flourish in Rome itself.

²⁶⁰ Paul Begheyn, "The Collection of Copperplates by Members of the Wierix Family in the Jesuit Church 'Der Krijtberg' in Amsterdam," *Quaerendo* 31, no. 3 (2001): 196. García Gutiérrez, "Los grabadores flamencos," 103.

²⁶¹ Begheyn, "The Collection of Copperplates," 196.

²⁶² Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix*, #1147, pg. 207. Alfonso Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos identifies this crowd as being inhabitants of the Fishery Coast in India, but there is no real evidence to support this, either in the image or the inscription. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La imagen de San Francisco Javier," 127.

This overabundance of caution in Rome was not unwarranted, as demonstrated by the papal reaction to a group of prints published around the year 1600. Several years after Wierix and Galle's prints were used in editions of Torsellino's hagiography, Giacomo Lauro (active ca. 1583 – ca. 1645) published two engravings in Rome in 1600 of the *wundervita* or “miraculous life” type, in which central images of Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola kneeling and praying are surrounded by thirteen additional vignettes.²⁶³ The subjects of the scenes chosen by Lauro for the Xavier print lean heavily on the miraculous, as can be seen from the following table:

Table 1: Scenes in Giacomo Lauro's Francis Xavier *Wundervita* Print

Ignatius of Loyola Sends Francis Xavier on a Mission to India
Francis Xavier Heals the Sick and Dying
Francis Xavier Resurrects Four Deceased People
Francis Xavier Exorcises Demons and Converts Infidels to Christianity
Francis Xavier is Beaten by Demons during his Nightly Prayers
Francis Xavier Calms Storms at Sea
Francis Xavier Heals the Blind and Deaf
Francis Xavier is Present in Two Ships at Once (The Miracle of Bilocation)
Francis Xavier Heals Lepers
Francis Xavier Heals the Mute
Francis Xavier Levitates During Mass
The Miracle of Francis Xavier's Incorrupt Body
Many People are Healed by Touching the Relics of Francis Xavier

At the same time, these miracles are rather generic and many just deal with general categories of miracles – resurrections, cures, exorcisms, etc. The exception is the miracle of bilocation, a wondrous event that took place while Xavier was en route to China and is described by Torsellino. During a storm at sea, the cockboat of Xavier's ship became

²⁶³ This is a very rare print, with the only known surviving example conserved by the Discalced Carmelites in Pamplona. Ricardo Fernández Gracia, *Estampa, Contrarreforma y Carmelo Teresiano: la colección de grabados de las Carmelitas Descalzas de Pamplona y Leonor de la Misericordia (Ayanz y Beaumont)* (Pamplona: Caja de Ahorros y Monte Piedad de Navarra, 2004), 105-08. Ricardo Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono: Imágenes para el taumaturgo de ambos mundos," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 155-56.

detached with several crewmembers aboard. The crew and passengers of the ship gave their companions up for lost, but Xavier predicted that in three days' time, the cockboat would be reunited with the ship. This indeed came to pass and when the men on the cockboat re-embarked the ship, they exclaimed that "they should first help forth Xauerius who was still in the boat." The crew on the ship replied that Xavier had been present in the ship the entire time and had never been in the boat. The men who had been lost at sea in the cockboat, however, all confirmed that Xavier had been with them during the entire three days. "Then they began to vnderstand, that Francis, whilst he prayed for their delivery appeared also vnto them... by whose prayers it was manifest they had byn saued from shipwracke."²⁶⁴ Except for this one, all the other miracles are types, showing the sorts of prodigies that Xavier was capable of performing.

The vignettes themselves are remarkably generic; there are no details of architecture or landscape that could aid the viewer in locating the scenes in a particular setting; the interior events take place in rooms with completely bare walls and no furniture, while the exterior scenes feature landscapes with no trees, plants, or architectural features. The figures, except for Xavier in his distinctive Jesuit dress, are all semi-nude or wear simple clothing. In other contexts, this non-specificity of place has been singled out by Gauvin Bailey as a distinctive feature of Jesuit art of the late sixteenth century. He connects this visual tactic with an Ignatian meditative strategy known as "composition of place," featured in Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*. While being led through the exercises, the participant is encouraged to conjure a mental image of the places where Biblical events took place, using

²⁶⁴ Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 382. Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 192-95. This miracle was later included in the canonization bull. Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 712. Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias*, 13.

all of the senses.²⁶⁵ Bailey has noted that the frescoes by Niccolò Circignani depicting gruesome details of the deaths of early Christian martyrs in the church of Santo Stefano Rotondo are excellent for the practice of “composition of place;” “Their generic quality, with basic classical landscape and little symbolism or allegory, allows viewers to fill in the gaps using their own imaginations and the near emotionlessness of the figures...invites them to impose their own feelings on the scene.”²⁶⁶ The lack of detail in Lauro’s small scenes in his Xaverian *wundervita* print aids the viewer in seeing these miracles as general types, but also assists in the “composition of place,” allowing the viewer to imagine themselves in the scene, being healed by Francis Xavier, and thus more likely to call on this would-be saint to intercede for them in the future, begetting even more Xaverian miracles.

A pair of similar images was made in Rome at roughly the same time that also featured Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier surrounded by vignettes of miracles, in this case, twenty-eight each by the artists Francesco Villamena (ca. 1566-1624) and Camillo Cungi (active during the first half of the seventeenth century) respectively.²⁶⁷ Compared with Giacomo Lauro’s *wundervita*, the scenes are much more elaborate and feature a mixture of generic and specific miracles (the third scene, “Francis Xavier Heals the Sick and Dying and Exorcises Demons” being an example of the former, and the twentieth scene, “Francis Xavier Resurrecting a Girl in Kagoshima,”²⁶⁸ being the latter). Many of the Latin

²⁶⁵ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting under the Jesuits and its Legacy throughout Catholic Europe," in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, ed. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003), 125.

²⁶⁶ Bailey, "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting," 135-36.

²⁶⁷ The print can be dated to the year 1600 based upon an inscription in the lower left corner that says, “Anno Iubilaei 1600.”

²⁶⁸ See Book 4, Chapter 3 of Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*. Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 296-99.

inscriptions actually mention the places where these miraculous events took place, listing not just Kagoshima, but also Cape Comorin, Miyako, and Punicalc,²⁶⁹ indicating a much greater awareness of the hagiographies and other information regarding the life and miracles of Francis Xavier available in Europe.²⁷⁰

The truly remarkable elements of Lauro and Cungi's prints are the ways in which they transgress the boundaries of acceptable representations of candidates for sainthood. For the first time in the history of Roman Xaverian representations, there is an abundance of miracles displayed to the viewer. Additionally, in both Lauro and Cungi's prints, Xavier has a halo and most defiantly, inscriptions that identify him as "BEATVS FRANCISCVS XAVERIVS," despite the fact that he was not beatified for almost another twenty years.²⁷¹

In 1601, Pope Clement VIII responded to this misbehavior by issuing an *avviso* stating,

Our Lord having realized that the Jesuit fathers were having images of father Ignatius, their founder, printed with his miracles around him, ordered the *viceregente* to have all the impressions and plates seized, for these miracles are not accepted as authentic and have not been approved. In this business, the Jesuits have followed the example of the fathers of the Chiesa Nuova; but the cases are not the same, for the canonization proceedings for Filippo Neri have been started and the pope has taken a personal interest.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ Cungi has used the same compositions and Latin inscriptions as another Xaverian *wundervita* print by Johan Bußemacher and printed in Cologne. However, the Bußemacher print only has fifteen scenes; Cungi therefore added thirteen more. Bernadette Schöller, "Eine wiederentdeckte Wundervita des Hl. Franz Xaver," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 52 (1993). Juan Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos atribuidos a San Francisco Javier en unos grabados del siglo XVII," *Príncipe de Viana* 55, no. 203 (1994): 471-72, 75. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 404-05.

²⁷⁰ At this point in time, the early hagiographies like Torsellino's would have been the most easily accessible source of information available to artists about the life and miracles of St. Francis Xavier. As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, King João III of Portugal had ordered some witnesses testimony to be collected in 1555-1556 to begin a cause for canonization, but the majority of testimony used to authenticate Xavier's miracles was not gathered until 1608-1616.

²⁷¹ The Bußemacher print that Cungi used as a source for many of his images and inscriptions actually goes a step further and identifies Xavier as "S. FRANCISCVS XAVERIUVS." The pendant to Cungi's print, executed by Francesco Villamena also labels Ignatius of Loyola as "BEATVS IGNATIVS," yet he was not beatified until 1609.

²⁷² Translated and quoted in Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy* (London: British Museum, 2001), 130-31. The original Italian is printed in J.A.F. Orbaan, "Virtuosi al Pantheon," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 37 (1914/1915): 171. "Havendo Nostro Signore presentito, che li padre del Jesu facevano stampar imagini et figure del padre Ignatio lo fondatore con miracoli intorno, diede ordine l'altro hieri a monsignore viceregente, che facesse levar, come fece, tutte le sudette figure, imagini et stampe, perchè in somma quelli miracoli non si hanno per autentiche ne sono approbati; havevano proceduto in questi con

Here, the Jesuits are equated with the Oratorians, who had also been censured when they moved the relics of Philip Neri to a more prominent location in the Chiesa Nuova.²⁷³ The Jesuits, however, were viewed as having committed an even greater sin, since Neri's cause was more advanced than that of Xavier or Ignatius. It is also evident how capricious the standards were for acceptable veneration; because the pope had taken a personal interest in the Neri's case, the Oratorians' offense was viewed as less grave.²⁷⁴ We can also discern from this *avviso* that the visual representation of miracles that were not yet authorized was cause for approbation from the Holy See, perhaps explaining why the earliest Xaverian prints were so reluctant to include depictions of miraculous acts.

On June 6, 1601, Claudio Acquaviva, the superior general of the Jesuit order from 1581 to 1615, wrote to Bernardo Confalonieri, the Jesuit provincial minister for Rome, to say that the pope had made a concession to the Jesuits: "Although His Holiness wishes that the images that have already been printed with the miracles of our good father Ignatius may be sold publicly anywhere, as has been done in Rome with his agreement, no more are to be printed without his command."²⁷⁵ One can assume that although Francis Xavier is not

l'esempio de padre della Chiesa Nuova, che così fanno stampar il padre Filippo, ma non è il medesimo caso, perchè fanno del padre Filippo processo et il Papa istesso in un particolare si è esaminato." It is curious that the inscription on the lower right side of the Cungi print reads, "Camillus Cungi sculpsit / Romae Superiorum permissu," meaning that Cungi had a license to print this image from the Sacro Palazzo. Eckhard Leuschner asks, "Did the Sacro Palazzo officially allow the impression of an image that was, to say the least, unwelcome to the Pope and his circle?" Leuschner provides several theories as to how this could have happened. Eckhard Leuschner, "The Papal Printing Privilege," *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (1998).

²⁷³ Noyes, "A me toccano masticare pillole amare," 41.

²⁷⁴ This *avviso* implies that Clement VIII was not inclined to punish the Oratorians, but in actuality, the opposite was the case. Neri's canonization cause was paused.

²⁷⁵ Quoted and translated in Bury, *The Print in Italy*, 130-31. The original Italian is transcribed in Ursula König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600* (Berlin: Mann, 1982), 189. "Nondimemo vuole S. B.ne che l'imagini già impresse con i miracoli del N.B.P. Ignatio si possano vendere pubblicamente per tutto come s'è fatto in Roma di suo consenso, più non se n'imprimano senza suo ordine."

explicitly mentioned, these guidelines would have applied to his representations as well. Clement VIII eventually relented even further and allowed Ignatius and Xavier to be portrayed with haloes before they were beatified,²⁷⁶ but continued to be troubled with both the Oratorians and the Jesuits celebrating their candidates too early. On November 25, 1602, at a meeting that was intended to discuss the causes of the *beati moderni* like Xavier, Ignatius, and Philip Neri, Clement VII complained about the Jesuits' and Oratorians' preoccupation with setting up altars and images to their would-be saints, saying that if they "were canonized, there could almost be no more done... Certainly we would like that all were *beati* and that all were known as such on account of their works. But the desire to demonstrate this without our authority, this is what troubles us."²⁷⁷

In the years between the controversy over Cungi and Lauro's *wundervita* prints and the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola in 1609 and Francis Xavier in 1619, Jesuits in the city of Rome made great efforts to avoid displeasing the Holy See in regards to these causes for canonization.²⁷⁸ Claudio Acquaviva was known to personally remove lamps from the tomb of St. Ignatius of Loyola in the Gesù in Rome and argued for minimal celebrations of the anniversary of Ignatius's death, which would later become his feast day.²⁷⁹ Another

²⁷⁶ Schurhammer, "Die Heiligsprechung," 467-68. Vlam, "The Portrait of S. Francis Xavier," 57.

²⁷⁷ Clare Copeland, "Spanish Saints in Counter-Reformation Italy," in *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, ed. Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden, *Transculturalisms, 1400-1700* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 106. The original Italian account is published in Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti: 1588-1634* (Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 2001), 57. "... se fosse canonizzato non potrebbe quasi haver più... Noi, certo vorremmo... che tutti fossero beati et che per le loro opera fossero conosciuti per tali. Ma il volerlo dimostrare senza l'autorità ànostra, questo è quello che ci preme."

²⁷⁸ However, it remained true that in other cities, greater liberties could still be taken. An excellent example of this is a print by Michael Snyders, made in Antwerp in 1616, where both Francis Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola are given the initial S. before their names, despite the fact that it would take another six years for them to be canonized (and Xavier was still three years away from being beatified). Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos," 473. König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, 217.

²⁷⁹ Noyes, "A me toccano masticare pillole amare," 35. Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti: 1588-1634*, 55.

technique utilized by the Jesuits was to set up altars to established saints who shared the same names with the Jesuit would-be saints. For example, in the original decorative program of the Gesù, one chapel was dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi, which was likely a placeholder for Francis Xavier until the Holy See confirmed his sanctity.²⁸⁰ In terms of prints, Jesuits became even more conservative in regards to depicting their candidates for sainthood. I am aware of no other prints that collect the miracles of either Ignatius or Xavier until 1609, when Ignatius was beatified and the *Vita beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu fundatoris* was printed, containing seventy-nine engravings of the life and miracles of Ignatius. The artists who designed the compositions were all Flemish, including Peter Paul Rubens, in one of his earliest projects for the Jesuits, and the plates were engraved by the Galle workshop in Antwerp. However, the entire project was put together and published in Rome.²⁸¹ No print series of comparable magnitude was initiated for Francis Xavier at this time and indeed such a venture would have been inappropriate as the Jesuits missionary's cause was not nearly as advanced as Ignatius's and he would not be beatified until 1619.

As I have demonstrated, the rules related to representations of would-be saints in the years before Francis Xavier's beatification were in flux and were often subject to the personal whims of the pope. This situation would remain as such until the regulations of cults issued during the papacy of Urban VIII. On March 13, 1625, Urban published a decree

²⁸⁰ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 18.

²⁸¹ Heinrich Pfeiffer, "The Iconography of the Society of Jesus," in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, ed. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003), 208-09. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 75-93. Michael Jaffe, "Rubens before 1620 with Particular Reference to Aspects of his Commissions for the Company of Jesus," in *Rubens dall'Italia all'Europa: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Padova*, ed. Caterina Limentani Viridis and Francescao Bottacin (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1992). Julius Held, "Rubens and the *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae* of 1609," in *Rubens before 1620*, ed. J.R. Martin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

that regulated the veneration of would-be saints to an unprecedented degree. Devotees were prohibited from placing lamps or votive images before painted or sculpted images of uncanonized holy figures. Additionally, it became forbidden to print descriptions of miracles unless the miracle-worker was an official candidate for sainthood. With this decree, Urban VIII even made the possession of such descriptions forbidden.²⁸² The effect of this, as Ditchfield writes, was

...the formalization of a preparatory trial for all future candidates for canonization at which it was necessary to prove that they enjoyed no public cult. In view of the simultaneous requirement to demonstrate a candidate's *fama sanctitatis*, this decree, *super non cultu*, meant that campaigners had to strike a particularly difficult and fine balance.²⁸³

Sts. Francis Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola both had been canonized before these changes were instituted and thus the promoters of their cults in Rome were often unaware of the acceptable standards by which they could promote these holy figures due to a lack of clarity. In many of the examples I cite, from the Wierix portrait in the Antwerp edition of Torsellino's hagiography to the church in Kottar dedicated to Xavier in 1603, it is evident that the freedom to innovate in these regards and overstep the idiosyncratic boundaries established by any individual pontiff existed in the peripheries of the Catholic world. In many ways, this seems counter intuitive. One would imagine that potential abuses of images

²⁸² Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 213. The decree is published in Luca Castellino, *Elucidarium theologicum de certitudine gloriae sanctorum canonizatorum. Sacrorum Scripturarum, Pontificum, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, celeberrimorumque Doctorum, monumentis locupletatum. In quo ad gloriam, beatificationem, canonizationem, venerationem, atque miracula sanctorum spectantia, clara methodo explicantur.* (Rome: Guilelmi Facciotti, 1628), 120-23.

²⁸³ Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 214. Other decrees published by Urban VIII ruled that 1) If a holy person was celebrated as a saint prematurely, the canonization process could be aborted. 2) Any published texts or images describing the holy figure's life or miracles needed to be pre-approved by Rome. 3) Books about holy figures had to carry a disclaimer stating that the pope had not yet rendered judgment on the sanctity of the figure. 4) Holy figures could not become candidates for sainthood until a span of fifty years had passed since their death. 5) The Congregation of Rites would only hold three meetings each year and would only discuss four candidates for sainthood per meeting, limiting the pool of candidates to twelve per year. Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 216. These regulations were collected into one bull and published as *Coelestis Hierusalem cives* in 1634.

and cults of saints would be scrutinized to a much higher degree in the places of the world where the population was religiously heterogeneous (such as in Antwerp, where Protestants could witness and then critique such practices as being pagan or in India, where the cult of saints could be misconstrued by non-Christians as a polytheistic or superstitious phenomenon). However, it was in Rome, where ecclesiastical authority was increasingly monopolized by the pontiff himself, especially in regards to saint-making, that the veneration of would-be saints and their images caused artists and their patrons to be more conservative than in other places in the Catholic world.

2.3 ANDRÉ REINOSO'S XAVERIAN CYCLE IN LISBON

On the walls of the sacristy in the Jesuit church of São Roque in Lisbon are twenty paintings depicting the life of Francis Xavier, created by the artist André Reinoso (active 1610-1641). The church was commissioned several decades earlier by King João III (r. 1521-1557), the same king who patronized Francis Xavier's mission to Asia.²⁸⁴ Construction of the building, however, did not begin until the reign of João's grandson, King Sebastião (r. 1557-1578). Sebastião presumably died while on crusade in Morocco, during the Battle of Ksar El Kebir (1578). He was last seen leading a charge into the enemy, but his body was never recovered. As Sebastião had no heir, his great uncle, Henrique, an elderly cardinal, ascended the throne, ruling for less than two years. At the time of Dom Henrique's death, the closest dynastic claimant to the Portuguese throne was King Philip II of Spain. In 1581, Philip was

²⁸⁴ George Kubler, *Portuguese Plain Architecture: Between Spices and Diamonds, 1521-1706* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1972).

elected by the Cortes of Tomar and began to rule as King Philip I of Portugal, on the condition that Portugal and its overseas territories would be administered separately from Spanish territory. This was a dynastic union, meaning that the Portuguese crown would be passed down through Philip's descendants, but would not actually merge with Spain.

Throughout all of these succession issues, construction on São Roque was halted, only to begin again in 1582, once Philip began his rule of Portugal and could resume the Portuguese crown's patronage of this project.²⁸⁵ The church itself is an example of the Portuguese plain style, a simple, classically derived architectural idiom that represented a sharp break with the Manueline style of the early 16th century.²⁸⁶ The sacristy was built and decorated in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, during the reign of Philip II (Philip III of Spain, r. 1598-1621). The plans for the sacristy were presumably carried out under the direction of Baltazar Alvares (active 1570-1624), a Spanish architect who was responsible for Philip's architectural commissions in Portugal.²⁸⁷

According to António Franco's chronicle describing the activities of Jesuits in Lisbon, the sacristy was decorated with two cycles of paintings in April 1619. One cycle represented Ignatius of Loyola, who had been beatified ten years before, while the other represented Francis Xavier, who would not be beatified for another six months (October 25):

In the same House in the month of April, an Assembly of the Province was held, under the presidency of Father Antonius Mascarenio. Father Antonius Castelbrancus, the procurator, was sent to Rome. The sacred dressing room of

²⁸⁵ Kubler, *Portuguese Plain Architecture*.

²⁸⁶ Roberto Marta, *L'architettura manuelina: Protagonista dell'imperio Portoghese* (Rome: Kappa, 1998). Paulo Pereira, *Jerónimos Abbey of Santa Maria* (London: Scala, 2001).

²⁸⁷ Vitor Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier pelo pintor André Reinoso* (Lisbon: Quetzal, 1993), 23.

the church, otherwise known as the sacristy, was decorated with chests of ebony, which were embellished with other expensive woods and inlaid with ivory,²⁸⁸ and also with paintings and panels illustrating the deeds of Fathers Ignatius and Francis Xavier.²⁸⁹

The artist responsible for the Ignatian cycle is unknown,²⁹⁰ but Félix da Costa Meesen, the author of an unpublished painting treatise and collection of biographies of Portuguese artists titled *Antiguidade de Arte da Pintura* (1696), attributes the Xaverian paintings to André Reinoso, one of the most productive and celebrated artists in Lisbon in the early decades of the seventeenth century:

André Reinoso, the painter, was somewhat a naturalist, not following the manner of his master, Simão Roiz, but imitating the Italian [manner] with more success. He painted admirable pictures of eternal vivacity, even though he did not always have at hand the best choice of natural subjects in some works. Excellent ones are in the church of San Roque, being scenes of the life of St. Francis Xavier painted upon the vestment chests in the Sacristy on the right.²⁹¹

²⁸⁸ For more information about the sumptuous chests of drawers made of inlaid wood in the São Roque sacristy, see Robert C. Smith, "Samuel Tibau and Portuguese Ivory Inlaid Furniture of the Seventeenth Century," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 21 (1971): 155-56.

²⁸⁹ Many thanks to J. Holland for the Latin translation. "Mense Aprili in eadem Domo habitus est Provinciae Conventus, Praeside P. Antonio Mascarenio. Missus Roman Procurator P. Antonius Cstelbrancus. Sacrum temple apodyterium, seu vestiarium exornatum arcis ex ebano, aliisque lignis pretiosis ebore distinctis, picturis & tabulis facta Beatorum Patrum Ignatii & Francisci Xaverii referentibus." Antonio Franco, *Synopsis annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania ab annis 1540 usque ad annum 1725* ([n.p]: Augustae Vindelicorum et Graecii, 1726), 226. Vitor Serrão, "Quadros de Vida de S. Francisco Xavier," *Oceanos* 12 (1992): 57. Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier*, 25.

²⁹⁰ The Ignatian cycle was most likely sold in the later seventeenth century, according to a notation in an account book in the archive of São Roque. Currently, there is another Ignatian cycle in the uppermost register of the sacristy; these are fourteen paintings by Domingos da Cunha (1598-1644) that were originally intended for the Colégio-Noviciado of Cotovia. After the college was damaged beyond repair in the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, these paintings were moved to São Roque. Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier*, 26.

²⁹¹ Félix da Costa Meesen's manuscript is published in facsimile and translated in Félix da Costa, *Antiquity of the Art of Painting*, ed. George Kubler, trans. George Kubler (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 108, ? "André Reinoso Pintor, foi muy naturalista, não seguindo a maneira de seu mestre Simão Roiz, fes cousas admiraveis, de eterna viveza, se bem não teve tambem a melhor eschola do natural em algumas suas obras; das excellentes, em a Igreja de Sam Roque, a vida de sam Francisco Xavier sobre os caixões da sacristia da parte direita, e na capella do minimo perdido, nascimento e Reyes, e hum grande numero mais." Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier*, 24. Serrão, "Quadros de Vida," 57.

André Reinoso was born in Lisbon around 1590, to a family of *cristãos-novos* (New Christians) that had been periodically persecuted by the Inquisition.²⁹² His family's "impure blood" may explain why Reinoso, despite being the most accomplished Portuguese painter of his generation, was never invited to be an official court painter at the courts of either Philip II or Philip III (r. 1621-1640).²⁹³ Because he did not have access to such a lucrative post, Reinoso had to accept many more commissions to support his family than other artists of comparable fame and accordingly, has a large body of surviving works. According to Vitor Serrão, the Portuguese art historian who has written the most extensive study of the sacristy paintings, stylistic evidence and comparisons to other examples from Reinoso's *oeuvre* lend credence to both Félix da Costa Meesen's assertion that Reinoso is the author of the São Roque Xaverian cycle and António Franco's 1619 dating.²⁹⁴

The early date of Reinoso's São Roque paintings cannot be emphasized enough; this is the first large-scale multi-painting cycle devoted to Xavier to be created anywhere in the world.²⁹⁵ Although the paintings were finished at least six months before his beatification, they depict Xavier as a miracle-working saint; many of the images show the Jesuit missionary with a halo and the number of miracles depicted is significant, as the following table demonstrates:

²⁹² For literature on *cristãos-novos*, see François Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007). André Reinoso's uncle, Miguel Reinoso, particularly suffered under the Inquisition, having been imprisoned and forced to participate in autos-da-fé. Serrão, "Quadros de Vida," 58. Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier*, 31-32. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 458. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La imagen de San Francisco Javier," 128-29.

²⁹³ In Spain, these kings reigned as Philip III (r. 1598-1621) and Philip IV (r. 1621-1665), respectively.

²⁹⁴ Serrão has also noted the presence of a second hand or collaborator in a small number of the paintings. Serrão, "Quadros de Vida," 57.

²⁹⁵ Peter Paul Rubens's *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* altarpiece in Antwerp, to be discussed in the next chapter, does predate Reinoso's cycle (1617-1618). It depicts multiple miracles, but in one painting, unlike in the São Roque sacristy.

Table 2: Scenes in André Reinoso's São Roque Cycle in Lisbon

Pope Paul III Receiving Francis Xavier and his Companions
Francis Xavier Assisting the Dying in a Hospital in Venice
King João III Bidding Farewell to Francis Xavier as He Leaves for India
Francis Xavier Preaching in Goa
Francis Xavier Curing a Sick Man in Goa
Francis Xavier Erecting a Cross in India
Francis Xavier Resurrecting a Man in Ceylon
Francis Xavier Levitating While Celebrating Mass in Goa
The Miracle of Fresh Water
Francis Xavier Tempted by Demons
Francis Xavier Blessing Portuguese Soldiers as They Depart for Battle
Francis Xavier Stopping a Storm at Sea on the Voyage to the Moluccas
The Miracle of the Crab
Francis Xavier Miraculously Stopping the Invasion of the Badagas
Francis Xavier's Trials on the Voyage to Miyako in Japan
Francis Xavier Preaching at the Court of the Daimyo of Yamaguchi
Francis Xavier Healing the Sick in Japan
The Miracle of Bilocation
The Death of Francis Xavier
The Arrival of Francis Xavier's Body in Goa

As previously discussed, there were nothing comparable to this cycle created in Rome before Xavier's canonization. Printed frontispieces in Xaverian hagiographies avoided miraculous content, while the pope castigated Jesuits over the few prints that did include representations of his miracles. Additionally, there is no evidence to suggest that any painted images of Xavier were made in Rome before his canonization.²⁹⁶ Reinoso's paintings are yet another example of an artist outside of Rome having the freedom to experiment with representing Francis Xavier as a miracle-worker whose status as a saint was a given.

²⁹⁶ It is unknown when the copies of Valignano's portrait in the *casa professa* and the Collegio Romano were made.

Why were André Reinoso's paintings able to be so bold in this regard? First, it is unclear to what extent the Roman Curia would have been able to police the representation of a would-be saint outside of the Papal States, particularly in Portugal. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese kings had a remarkable degree of independence from Rome in matters of the Church. Under the terms of an agreement known as the *padroado*, the king of Portugal enjoyed "almost unlimited ecclesiastical power" to appoint clergy and bishops, found churches, organize missions, and oversee the Inquisition in territory overseas and in areas of Portugal that had been conquered from Muslims during the *reconquista*.²⁹⁷ In exchange for these privileges, the Crown was financially responsible for the propagation of the faith through missionary enterprises and for the maintenance of dioceses overseas. Therefore, the bishops of many Portuguese dioceses were likely to have been appointed by the king, not the pope, and in the Post-Tridentine world, it was the bishops who were charged with ensuring that images were used appropriately in their own dioceses:

[This] holy council decrees that no one is permitted to erect or cause to be erected in any place or church, howsoever exempt, any unusual image unless it has been approved by the bishop; also that no new miracles be accepted and no relics recognized unless they have been investigated and approved by the same bishop, who, as soon as he has obtained knowledge of such matters, shall after consulting theologians and other pious men, act thereupon as he shall judge consonant with truth and piety.²⁹⁸

In his role as bishop of Rome, the pope was responsible for regulating images and the depiction of miracles within Rome; outside of the papal city, however, it seems as if this

²⁹⁷ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: the Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 111-13. See also José Pedro Paiva, "Spain and Portugal," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

²⁹⁸ Translated in Henry Joseph Schroeder, ed. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1950), 217. Michael P. Carroll, *Veiled Threats: The Logic of Popular Catholicism in Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 61.

authority was invested in each diocese's respective bishop, at least until Urban VIII issued his 1625 decree placing all regulation of would-be saints' cults under papal jurisdiction. However, in 1619, when Reinoso's paintings in São Roque were unveiled, the approval of such images seems to have still been the bishop's prerogative. The archbishop of Lisbon at the time was Miguel de Castro (1536-1625), appointed during the reign of Philip I, whom Castro had supported in the succession crisis.²⁹⁹ Since no controversy has been recorded surrounding Reinoso's paintings and additionally, there is some evidence to suggest that Castro may have been a supporter of Francis Xavier,³⁰⁰ it can be presumed that the archbishop found nothing objectionable about Reinoso's paintings.

Additionally, it is true that Xavier's cult in Portugal had long had royal support. Francis Xavier had, of course, been sent to India under the patronage of King João III, who became the most powerful promoter of Xavier's cult immediately after the missionary's death. In 1556, only four years after Xavier's death, the king had already sent a letter to his viceroy in India, instructing him to begin collecting testimony to prove the missionary's miracles. Even after the union of the Iberian crowns, support for Xavier did not seem to wane in royal circles. After all, Francis Xavier was born in Spain and his candidacy for sainthood, along with Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Ávila, and Isidore the Farmer, was

²⁹⁹ During the reign of Dom Henrique, Castro was appointed the bishop of Viseu in 1579. He was the archbishop of Lisbon from 1586 to 1625 and even served as the viceroy of Portugal on behalf of Philip II in 1615.

³⁰⁰ In 1620, Diogo Môteiro dedicated his Portuguese translation of Tomás de Villacastín's biography of Francis Xavier to Miguel de Castro, suggesting that Castro may have felt particular devotion to Francis Xavier. Thus far, I have been unable to access a digital or physical copy of this text to ascertain if the dedication sheds any light on this matter. Tomás de Villacastín, *Compendio da vida, virtudes, e milagres do Beato Padre Francisco Xavier, religioso da Companhia de Jesu Apostolo da Índia Oriental. Traduzida de Castelhana em Portugues, por Diogo Môteiro, natural desta cidade de Lisboa. Ao Illustrissimo S. D. Miguel de Castro, Arcebispo Metropolitano desta cidade de Lisboa*, trans. Diogo Môteiro (Lisbon: António Alvares, 1620).

viewed as a political and spiritual victory for Spain.³⁰¹ With the support of both king and archbishop and Xavier's beatification very near on the horizon, André Reinoso was at liberty to depict him as a prodigious saint, a freedom that artists in Rome seem to have lacked.

The question of who would have seen Reinoso's sacristy paintings is an especially interesting one. Prior to the period of Catholic Reform, sacristies were restricted spaces, intended to store precious liturgical implements and vestments. However, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, sacristies in the Portuguese world took on a new symbolic status and function, beginning to act as an *igreja à parte* or a "church apart," to borrow a phrase from Vitor Serrão.³⁰² These new sacristies would have been accessible to the faithful and often contained their own consecrated altars. At this time, we also see an increase in the number of images contained within Portuguese sacristies, particularly in cycles of paintings that told a coherent narrative story like the life of a saint or the Passion of Christ.³⁰³ Several scholars have independently reached the conclusion that at this time, in both Portugal and its territories, the formerly private sacristy became a semi-public Sacristy-Pinacotheca, a mixed-use space where ritual, cultural, and pedagogical acts could take place.³⁰⁴ According to Serrão, Jesuits were at the forefront of this change; this flexible space enabled members of the Order to carry out their various educational, cultural, and

³⁰¹ Thomas Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 180-86. Copeland, "Spanish Saints," 103. Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," 141. Villalon, "San Diego de Alcalá."

³⁰² Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier*, 21.

³⁰³ Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier*, 21.

³⁰⁴ Luís de Moura Sobral, "A Sacristia como Pinacoteca na época barroca: O ciclo pictural de Bento Coelho no Convento de São Pedro de Alcântara Lisboa," *Barroco* 15 (1990-1992). Cleide Santos Costa Biancardi, *Formas e funções nas Sacristias no Brasil-Colônia* (São Paulo: University of São Paulo 1988).

evangelical directives. For example, the painting cycles inside of the sacristy could function as a teaching tool, a *Biblia pauperum* for the illiterate.³⁰⁵ The sacristy at São Roque was perhaps the first such Sacristy-Pinacotheca in Portugal and thus served as a model for countless others, such as the one in the Jesuit collegiate church of Espírito Santo in Évora.³⁰⁶ The transitional nature of São Roque's sacristy is another factor that may have worked in the favor of these representations of Xaverian miracles. As a semi-public space used for teaching the catechism and the lives of the saints, Jesuits could be assured that Reinoso's paintings would spread awareness of the life and miracles of Xavier and aid the canonization cause. But as a semi-private space, there was less danger of Jesuits being accused of preemptively celebrating the miracles of a person who was not yet beatified.

2.4 CONCLUSION: THE IMPORTANCE OF MIRACLES IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

Miracles are obviously a fundamental part of Catholic spirituality and have a scriptural basis. The Acts of the Apostles is replete with miraculous interventions on the part of Christ's followers, acts that would serve as models for miracles worked by post-Biblical saints. Many of the apostles, particularly Peter and Paul, performed miraculous healings, exorcisms and resurrections, in imitation of Christ himself. Throughout the late antique and medieval periods, Catholics lived with the belief that saints could act as intercessors between

³⁰⁵ Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier*, 23.

³⁰⁶ Serrão, *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier*, 21.

them and heaven, bringing about miraculous resolutions to life's problems, both large and small.³⁰⁷ Miracles continued to be a pervasive part of Catholic religiosity throughout the early modern period, despite Protestant critiques of the cult of saints and post-Biblical miraculous acts.³⁰⁸ In a Post-Tridentine Church where saints' cults and canonization procedures were increasingly regularized and subjected to the control of Rome, miracles assumed an increased importance in the process of saint making. The investigation and confirmation of holy figures' miraculous acts became the main prerogative of canonization investigators.³⁰⁹ Authors writing in the years immediately following the Council of Trent expressed the idea that the number of miracles had begun to radically increase, demonstrating that Protestant critiques of the Catholic miracle had done nothing to decrease believers' desires for prodigious intervention. For example, Paolo Regio, in his collection of hagiographies of the seven patron saints of Naples, wrote, "...these saints of ours intercede now more than ever in heaven before the Protector of the World on behalf of their fellow countrymen. This we can see from the infinite effects carried out for us through their merits, that we, unversed in divine affairs, call miracles."³¹⁰

When reading the canonization testimony and the hagiographies describing St. Francis Xavier's prodigious acts, one is directly confronted with overwhelming abundance of miracles, bringing to mind Francisco García's exclamation that "there is no arithmetic

³⁰⁷ Giulio Sodano, "Miracoli e ordini religiosi nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 105 (1987): 293.

³⁰⁸ William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 103.

³⁰⁹ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 129.

³¹⁰ Quoted and translated in Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 131. "Sono io certo, che questi nostri Santi intercedono, hora piu, che main el Trono celeste innanzi al Protettor del Mondo per li suoi cittadini, delche tanti infeniti effetti casata à noi felicemente per li loro meriti vedemo, che noi delle cose divine inesperti chiamamo miracoli." Paolo Regio, *Vite dei sette santi protettori di Napoli* (Aquila: Giuseppe Cacchij, 1573), preface.

that can count” Xavier’s miracles.³¹¹ Mathias de Peralta Calderón also marveled at the multitude of Xavier’s miracles and the role played by images of the saint, as well as his primary and secondary relics, in the perpetuation of Xaverian miracles after his death:

Who can stop admiring the way and the greatness of the wonders of St. Francis Xavier! He heals all diseases and ailments with his clothing and with his rosaries and with the water that has touched his medals, with the pulpit from which he preached, with slivers from his corpse’s coffin, with the fragrance of his incorrupt body and finally with his shadow and with the many stupendous images, which are also shadows of him and substitutes for his relics.³¹²

Massimo Leone has posed a vital question in regards to these miracles: “Why, in a period in which European hagiography was being reformed into a ‘rational discourse’ did these prodigies reappear in representations of missionary work in America and Asia?”³¹³ His answer is that unlike images of Ignatius of Loyola, representations of St. Francis Xavier were not intended to offer a model for Catholics to convert to a more pious way of life. The theme of Xaverian representations is not the “psychological dynamics” or “inner mechanisms” that lead to a conversion like that experienced by St. Ignatius of Loyola. For Leone, Xaverian representations do not show us the inner psychological process behind conversion; instead, the conversion of non-Christians is largely represented as a response to external stimuli.³¹⁴ The reason for this difference, according to Leone, is that images of St. Francis Xavier were not made for the purpose of converting non-Christians, but instead

³¹¹ “no ay Arimético que los pueda contar” Francisco García, *Vida y milagros de San Francisco Xavier de la Compañía de Jesús, Apóstol de las Indias* (Madrid: Marcos Alvarez de Arellano, 1672), 421. Fernández Gracia, “San Francisco Javier patrono,” 158-59.

³¹² “Quien pues acabará de admirar el modo, y grandeza de los prodigios de San Francisco Xavier! Sanar de todas enfermedades, y males con sus vestiduras, con sus rosarios, con el agua que avia tocado a sus medallas, con el puppito en que avia predicado, con las astillas de la caja de su cuerpo, con la fragrancia de su incorrupto cadaver, y finalmente con su sombra, y tantos, y tan estupendos con sus Imagenes, sombras tambien, y substitutos de sus reliquias.” Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias*, 332.

³¹³ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 346.

³¹⁴ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 348-49.

functioned to inspire Christian men to become missionaries. While elements of this analysis may indeed be valid, I believe that Leone's conclusions downplay the importance of miracles in the early modern Catholic world. It is true that historiographers were becoming more historically rigorous in their methods and were increasingly invested in the idea of saints as virtuous heroes;³¹⁵ however, Ditchfield provides a counter argument:

Much has been made of this innovation, to the extent of regarding its advent as evidence for the modernization of sanctity: from a magical conception of the exercise of miracle-working powers to a more purely ethical one.... However, for all its significance, the fact remains that from the point of view of the overwhelming majority of consumers of sanctity... the efficacy of a saint was measured above all by his or her capacity to deliver miraculous cures. Moreover, for the first century or so after Trent, at the height of confessional polemic over the cult of saints, the miracle played an important role as an authenticating sign of Roman Catholicism as the one and only *vera ecclesia*.³¹⁶

This chapter has shown that while the miracle remained central to the Catholic cult of saints throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the extreme importance of these prodigious acts led to heightened scrutiny of visual representations of miracles in the context of the nascent cults of the *beati moderni*. Depictions of St. Francis Xavier's miracles, in the years before his canonization and beatification, also reveal a new dimension to the center/periphery model of artistic influence, highlighting how artists on the edges had more leeway to create new devotional forms that would later have a profound effect on the art of the center.

³¹⁵ Romeo De Maio, "L'ideale eroico nei processi di canonizzazione della Controriforma " in *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento* (Naples: Guida, 1992). Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 212-13.

³¹⁶ Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship," 213.

3.0 A FALLEN HINDU IDOL IN ANTWERP: RUBEN'S *MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER* AND THE THEME OF IDOL SMASHING

In 1640, Jesuits in Antwerp published an emblem book titled *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* to commemorate the centenary of the Society of Jesus.³¹⁷ The sixth book of this ambitious tome deals with the history of the Jesuits in the Belgian province, paying particular attention to the role Jesuits played in re-Catholicizing the Southern Netherlands after these provinces returned to Spanish control in the wake of Duke Alessandro Farnese's campaign to halt the Dutch rebellion (1545-1592). In the *Imago primi saeculi*, the labors of Hercules are used as a metaphor for the work of the Jesuits.³¹⁸ The myriad activities of the Society are classified as twelve heroic tasks encompassing activities like teaching the

³¹⁷ Johannes Bolland, Godefridus Henschenius, and Jean de Tollenaer, *Imago Primi Saecvli Societatis Iesv: A Provincia Flandro-Belgica Eivsdem Societatis Repraesentata* (Antwerp Moretus 1640). John W. O'Malley, ed. *Art, Controversy, and the Jesuits: The Imago Primi Saeculi* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2015). Lydia Salviucci Insolera, *L'Imago primi saeculi (1640) e il significato dell'immagine allegorica nella Compagnia di Gesù: Genesi e fortuna del libro* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2004).

³¹⁸ "Quid profecerit non dico; sed quae adhibuerit remedia, quam operam impenderit, mearum patrium est breuiter indicare: in quo, ne sim infinitus, faciam quod Poëtae, qui ex innumerabilibus Herculis laboribus, in communem humani generis vtilitatem exantlatis, praecipuos celebrant duodecim, ceteris hominum coniecturae relictis: totidem ego labores nostros, sive functiones, quibus Belgio prosumus, non celebrabo, ac ne intendis: quos qui propius adierit, intelliget nihil à nobis praetermissum, quo restaurari res Catholica, et animarum salus sive publicè sive priuatum procurari potuisse videatur." Bolland, Henschenius, and Tollenaer, *Imago Primi Saecvli*, 769. See Jeffrey Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. S.J. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 114.

catechism, creating lay sodalities, ministering to prisoners, and writing books.³¹⁹ While none of these labors are explicitly about the creation of art works, many of them involve the manipulation of material and visual culture or the built environment to a greater or lesser extent.³²⁰ In this chapter, I will focus on Peter Paul Rubens's interior decoration for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, demonstrating how the images at this site played a role in the Jesuit project of re-Catholicizing Antwerp, highlighting in particular one of the church's altarpieces, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, and several of Rubens's ceiling paintings that share the same thematic concerns as the large *Miracles* painting. This is yet another example of an early painting depicting Francis Xavier, commissioned before his beatification. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the artists patronized by Jesuits in Antwerp were eager to experiment with the image of St. Francis Xavier. Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) was no different in this regard. In his monumental altarpiece, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, he created a novel composition that surpassed all previous Xaverian representations in its complexity. Additionally, Rubens and his Jesuits advisors cleverly took advantage of the painting's foreign setting to comment on one of the most pressing matters in the recent history of Antwerp – the correct use of images in Catholic worship.

John Rupert Martin, in his seminal study of the ceiling paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, argued that Peter Paul Rubens and his Jesuit advisors arranged the iconographic program of the gallery and aisle paintings according to traditional typological parallels, an organization that pairs events from the New Testament with Old Testament

³¹⁹ Bolland, Henschenius, and Tollenaer, *Imago Primi Saeculi*, 769, 73, 79, 95.

³²⁰ See Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art."

prefigurations. This can be seen in the following table listing the typological pairs among only the gallery paintings:³²¹

Table 3: Typological Pairs in Gallery Ceiling Paintings Proposed by Martin

	North Gallery		South Gallery
Pair #1	Michael Casting Satan out of Heaven & The Adoration of the Shepherds	Pair #5	The Raising of the Cross & The Sacrifice of Isaac
Pair #2	Solomon and the Queen of Sheba & The Adoration of the Magi	Pair #6	The Resurrection & The Triumph of Joseph
Pair #3	David Slaying Goliath & The Temptation of Christ	Pair #7	The Ascension of Christ & Elijah's Ascension to Heaven
Pair #4	Abraham and Melchizedek & The Last Supper	Pair #8	Esther before Athasuerus & The Assumption of the Virgin
Ambiguous	Moses in Prayer	Ambiguous	The Coronation of the Virgin

Anna Knaap, in her dissertation on the ceiling paintings, has challenged some aspects of Martin's analysis.³²² Instead, Knaap proposes that there were multiple ways to read the ceiling and that the paintings were organized in flexible typological groupings that encouraged the viewer to make the connections that they themselves found most

³²¹ Table compiled from John Rupert Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (London: Phaidon, 1968), 195-210.

³²² Anna Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence: Rubens and the Jesuit Christ in Antwerp" (PhD diss., New York University, 2007), 167-68.

meaningful.³²³ For example, the problematic *Moses in Prayer*, which, according to Martin's reconstruction of the program, seems to have no obvious New Testament counterpart, actually connects thematically with *The Raising of the Cross*, *David Slaying Goliath*, or *Michael Casting Satan out of Heaven*.³²⁴ Knaap believes that these pairings are not mutually exclusive and do not contradict any of the other various groupings that can be found in the ceiling. Precedents for this kind of multidirectional typological reading can be found in Jesuit exegetical writings by authors such as Cornelius á Lapide (1567-1637) and Louis Richeôme (1544-1625).³²⁵ In Knaap's dissertation, she focuses on explaining the typological relationships between the *Moses in Prayer* and other paintings in the ceiling, as well as on the connections that can be made among the paintings of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers and female saints in the ceilings of the aisles. In this paper, I will follow Knaap's model in proposing that there are alternative typological groupings present in the church that Martin did not consider; however, I will focus my attention on a group that Knaap only discusses briefly. She points out that the painting of St. John Chrysostom, the westernmost in the north aisle, shows the destruction of a statue, a theme that is echoed in the background of one of the paintings on the main altar, the *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, also by Peter Paul Rubens (1617-1618, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).³²⁶ However, she does not note

³²³ Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence," 160-61.

³²⁴ A detailed discussion of Knaap's argument in making these connections is outside the scope of the present study. See Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence," 246-84.

³²⁵ Knaap explains that Lapide viewed typology "not as a strict system of established correspondences, but as a dynamic mode of thought that involved the act of matching and connecting persons, objects, and details across different time periods." Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence," 160.

³²⁶ See also Anna Knaap, "Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric in Peter Paul Rubens's Program for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. S.J. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 172-74.

that another painting, *The Martyrdom of St. Eugenia* in the south aisle, also deals with the same thematic material. I am aware of no other Jesuit church where the themes of iconoclasm and idol smashing are so prominent. When considering the history of Antwerp during the fifty years before Rubens's commission, it becomes clear that this iconography had special significance for the intended audience. In the course of this chapter, I will demonstrate that the events of the late sixteenth century, including the iconoclasm of 1566 and the tyrannical governorship of the Duke of Alba (Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, 1507-1582),³²⁷ still resonated and led Rubens and his Jesuit advisors to enlist the image of St. Francis Xavier in re-Catholicizing the population of Antwerp and aiding a city still recovering from wounds inflicted by revolt, oppression, mutiny, and war.

3.1 ICONOCLASM, REVOLT, AND SPANISH RULE IN ANTWERP

Before tracing the history of the Jesuit presence in Antwerp and beginning a discussion of the theme of iconoclasm in the paintings of the Jesuit church, it is helpful to briefly revisit the events of the late sixteenth century in the city. Charles V (1500-1558), the future Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, inherited the Netherlands when he was only six years old. In the first decades of Spanish rule, the Netherlands flourished economically and Antwerp became one of the most important trade centers in Europe. At the same time, there

³²⁷ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008); David Freedberg, "Painting and the Counter Reformation in the Age of Rubens" in *The Age of Rubens*, ed. Peter Sutton (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993).

was political unrest. Members of the urban bourgeois class protested Spain's burdensome taxation and trade policies and the landed aristocracy chafed at reductions of their ancient privileges and authority.³²⁸ Protestantism had taken root in Antwerp through large-scale German and Northern European immigration in the middle of the century; by the 1560s, Calvinists comprised a large portion of the population.³²⁹ Concerns related to the idolatrous nature of the Catholic use of images had been central to the Protestant Reformation and these anxieties manifested themselves dramatically in Antwerp in the iconoclasm of 1566.³³⁰ On August 18 of that year, rioters, inspired by news of iconoclasm in the Westkwartier of Flanders and by Calvinist hedge preachers, targeted the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, destroying a statue of the Virgin Mary and dozens of altars over the course of several days. Although the riots eventually halted in the presence of Margaret of Parma's (1522-1586) troops, King Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) sent the Duke of Alba the following summer to punish the iconoclasts and rule the Netherlands as governor with merciless authority. On November 4, 1576, Spanish troops mutinied due to lack of payment from the Crown and wrecked havoc on Antwerp over the course of three days, leading the Netherlandish provinces to unite against Spain. From 1578, Calvinists were in control of Antwerp, until Duke Alessandro Farnese recaptured it in 1585. Subsequent Spanish governors reasserted their control in the name of the king and set about aiding the Roman Church in reestablishing itself in the city. The Society of Jesus, which had been present in Antwerp before the revolt began, reentered in triumph immediately after the completion of Farnese's siege and played an instrumental

³²⁸ Koenraad Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm: Experiments in Decorum* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2012), 12.

³²⁹ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 141.

³³⁰ David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609* (New York: Garland, 1988), 10-16.

role in the process of bringing the population back into the arms of the Catholic Church and Spanish king.³³¹

3.2 JESUITS AND THE URBAN FABRIC OF ANTWERP: THE HISTORY OF THE JESUIT CHURCH IN ANTWERP

The first Jesuit buildings in Antwerp date to the 1570s, before Antwerp's temporary period of Calvinist rule. The Jesuits had acquired the Huis van Aken from Gaspar Schets in 1574 for 34,000 florins, funds that were partially supplied to the Jesuits from the Spanish crown.³³² They converted the house into a college and in the ample garden, the Jesuits built a small church with a single nave flanked by a tower, visible on a map of Antwerp designed by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg in 1592.³³³ When the Jesuits returned to the city in 1585 after their brief expulsion, they moved their college to the Hof van Liere in the Prinsstraat (now a part of the University of Antwerp) and decided to convert the Huis van Aken into a professed house and a larger church, which would eventually be dedicated to

³³¹ Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art." Barbara Haeger, "The Façade of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp: Representing the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant," in *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008), 98.

³³² Gaspar Schets was the treasurer-general to the Spanish king and the factor of the Antwerp exchange, a position he received from Philip II. Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas Brian Deutscher, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 221. Piet Lombaerde, "The Façade and the Towers of the Jesuit Church in the Urban Landscape of Antwerp during the Seventeenth Century," in *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008), 79.

³³³ Lombaerde, "The Façade and the Towers " 79.

St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Virgin Mary.³³⁴ Between 1613 and 1615, François Aguilón (1567-1617), the rector of the Antwerp College, sent four plans to Ferdinand Alber, the Society's *conciliaris aedificatorum* in Rome.³³⁵ After getting approval, construction began in 1615 and progressed until the death of Aguilón in 1617, at which time the Jesuit lay architect Peter Huysens (1577-1637) was put in charge of the project.³³⁶ Donations used to build this magnificent church were largely supplied by the city government, the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, prominent Catholic families in Antwerp, and Philip IV of Spain.³³⁷

Ultimately, the Jesuits of Antwerp had to acquire twenty-two houses and fill in a canal to make room for both the church and the *casa professa*, as well as for the creation of a public square in front of the church.³³⁸ The Antwerp Jesuits' Annual Letter of 1621 casts

³³⁴ Bishop Jan Malderus consecrated the church on September 12, 1621. At the time of the dedication, Ignatius of Loyola would not be canonized for another eight months (May 22, 1622). The Jesuit church in Antwerp is therefore the first to be dedicated to the founder of the Jesuit order. J. Snaet, "A Case Study: Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova* and the Jesuit Churches of Antwerp and Brussels," in *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, ed. Piet Lombaerde, *Architectura Moderna* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), 162. Haeger, "The Façade of the Jesuit Church," 97.

³³⁵ August Ziggelaar, "Peter Paul Rubens and François de Aguilón," in *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008), 38. Bert Daelemans, "Pieter Huysens S.J. (1577-1637): An Underestimated Architect and Engineer," in *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008), 42.

³³⁶ For Huysens's life and work, see Daelemans, "Pieter Huysens." Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 263-64.

³³⁷ Jesuits received a total of 34,000 guilders in three installments from the Antwerp city government for the church, on top of their annual stipend of 1700 guilders. The Archdukes donated 12,000 guilders in 1619 and Philip IV of Spain contributed 10,000 guilders in 1622. Despite these generous gifts, the Jesuits went into debt over the building project, eventually owing more than half a million guilders. This caused a scandal within the Jesuit hierarchy and the superior general dismissed both Jacobus Tirinus, the *praepositus* of the Antwerp College, and the architect Peter Huysens. Snaet, "A Case Study," 170.

³³⁸ Lombaerde, "The Façade and the Towers " 80. Lombaerde additionally notes that this project involved the destruction of three city streets – the Snekpestraat, the Spuistraat, and the Wijngaardstraat. The effect of this was to create one large city block. Many such blocks existed before Calvinist rule in Antwerp, but during the Protestant period, many blocks, especially those belonging previously to monasteries, were newly divided. Once the city was recaptured by the Spanish, religious orders such as the Jesuits contributed to the recreation of large blocks devoted to religious complexes.

these alterations of the urban fabric as a struggle against the very elements themselves, with the Jesuit planners having to fight against

...uncooperative soil and a hostile sea, when at first there was no available space unless built up with merchant homes in very close proximity with one another, a street and a canal, which cut through the whole lot and had a double foundation... But dismissing Neptune's objections, parts of the foundations were cast into the center of the [canal]... The old streets were sealed off and replaced with new ones that offered a more beautiful view. Because of their favorable location they were easily accessible, and they changed the place to such an extent that no other square in the city is more harmonious than this one. Having overcome these difficulties, the most noble of temples was erected at the center of this very noble city.³³⁹

Other writers stressed this central location as well. "It is situated in the middle of the city, so that all of the people can access it frequently and conveniently," wrote Jean Puget de la Serre in his *Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui c'est passé à la Etrée de la Reyne Mère...* (1632).³⁴⁰ This ease of access to the site was facilitated by its location at the meeting point of two important city avenues – the St.-Kathelijnevest (an extension of the Lange Gasthuisstraat) and the Huidevetterstraat (an extension of the Lange Nieuwstraat), occupying a central position in the city of Antwerp.

The façade of the Jesuit Church faces that of Antwerp's Stadhuis and is directly connected to the Grote Markt via one street that runs parallel to the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal. The Annual Letter of 1621 demonstrates that this placement was purposeful and draws a connection between the relief sculpture of the Virgin and Child

³³⁹ Quoted and translated in Lombaerde, "The Façade and the Towers " 81. The Annual Letter can be found in the Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu (AHSI) Fl. B. Hist., 50, II (Anno 1621), fol. 490-492. A transcription of the original Latin can be found in Snaet, "A Case Study," 179-80.

³⁴⁰ "Son assiette est au milieu de la Ville, pour en rendre l'abord et plus frequent et plus commode à tout le peuple." Jean Puget de La Serre, *Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui c'est passé à l'entrée de la Reyne Mere du Roy treschestien dans les villes des Pays Bas* (Antwerp: L'imprimerie Plantinienne de Balthasar Moretus, 1632), 57. Lombaerde, "The Façade and the Towers " 82.

Enthroned on the pediment of the church façade and a standing sculpture of the Virgin and Child in the uppermost niche of the central bay of the Stadhuis façade:

On either side, curtains are raised by... angels... In between the hallowed Queen of the Heavens in full majesty and conspicuously wearing a golden diadem. She is seated and embraces the Child Jesus in her lap. Her eyes are pointed at her alter-ego – if I may say so -, she is greeting her image at the highest top of the Town Hall, installed in 1587 through the efforts and zeal of father Franciscus Costerus, of blessed memory, then Provincial of the Belgian Province. The distance between both statues, across the tops of the buildings in between, amounts to a few hundred yards.³⁴¹

As Jeffrey Muller writes, the axis between these two façades became a “corridor of charged sacred space,” part of a larger pattern of Jesuit interventions in the urban fabric of Antwerp that were intended to sanctify the public space of the city.³⁴² While the Stadhuis was Antwerp’s political center, the Jesuits placed their new complex so as to make a stake a claim for the spiritual center of the city. The older Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal, despite having a more commanding presence in the cityscape, is shunted off to the side of the axis created by the façades of the Stadhuis and the Jesuit church.

The connection made between the two Marian statues in the Annual Letter is laden with meaning. The image of the Virgin and Child on the façade of the Stadhuis of Antwerp was installed in 1587. However, when the Stadhuis was completed in 1566, the original sculptural program did not include this Marian image; instead, there was a statue of Silvius Brabo, the Roman general who supposedly slayed Druon Antigoon, a legendary giant

³⁴¹ Translated and quoted in Lombaerde, "The Façade and the Towers " 83. "Denique totum fastigij tympanum implet conopaeum limbis inauratis, ex utraque parte angelico ministerio deductis cortinis, in cuius medio plena maiestatis aureoque diademate insignis sedet ausustissima caelorum Regina, puerum IESUM complexa sinu, oculos conijciens in alteram se, ut ita dicam, in summon cacumine curiae Senatorum olim anno 1587 opera, et studio piae memoria Reverendi Patris Fracisci Costeri tuc Belgicae Provinciae Praepositi Provincialis collocatam, quam supra interiectarum adium fastigia aliquot centenum cubitorum intervallo salutat." Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu (AHSI) Fl. B. Hist., 50, II (Anno 1621), fol. 490-492. Transcribed in Snaet, "A Case Study," 180.

³⁴² Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art," 129. Haeger, "The Façade of the Jesuit Church," 100.

known for charging travelers a toll to cross the Scheldt and cutting off their hands if they refused to pay. Brabo had long been a patriotic symbol of Antwerp, “associated with civic constitutional and provincial rights,”³⁴³ and was considered by many to have been the first Duke of Brabant. The statue decorating the Stadhuis gained additional importance during the years of the Dutch Revolt, serving “as a beacon of local rights and pride... his figure had survived the assault on the building during the 1576 Spanish Fury, to become an enduring testament to the civic independence of Antwerp after the town hall’s restoration in 1581.”³⁴⁴ In Frans Hogenberg’s print depicting the Spanish Fury, the figure of Brabo stands resolute in the façade of the Stadhuis as Spanish soldiers brutally murder the citizens of Antwerp below, symbolizing the resiliency of the city and its residents. In another print by Antonie van Leest, Spanish soldiers rip out the heart of an allegory of Belgica and the Stadhuis is engulfed in flames, while the statue of Brabo still stands.

In 1587, Franciscus Costerus, the head of the Jesuit province of the Southern Netherlands, worked with the Jesuit Marian sodality to organize a campaign to replace the sculpture of Brabo at the Stadhuis with an image of the Madonna and Child,³⁴⁵ which functions as a “militant Virgin of the Counter Reformation.”³⁴⁶ The Virgin’s post-Revolt ascendancy in Antwerp began with Alessandro Farnese’s invocation of her in thanks for the successful conclusion of his siege; her statue on the Stadhuis therefore “was a public

³⁴³ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 251.

³⁴⁴ For example, it was directly beneath his statue that Anjou had sworn publicly to uphold Brabant’s privileges as its new duke. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 326.

³⁴⁵ “Praeter has in Collegiorum templis, alias quoque in plateis locisque publicis poni curavit Societas; quarum facile princeps quae Antuerpiensem Curiam servat. Huius locandae auctor Senatui fuit ille ipse, de quo iam memini, Costerus.” Bolland, Henschenius, and Tollenaer, *Imago Primi Saeculi*, 778.

³⁴⁶ Bidget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 248.

affirmation of a new era... when Catholic revitalization accompanied civic restoration... redolent of Spanish authority.”³⁴⁷ Jeffrey Muller similarly calls the change in statues “a forceful statement of Roman Catholic religious and political restitution after the years of Protestant control,”³⁴⁸ while Barbara Haeger has noted that the statue of the Virgin, “the personification of the Church... celebrated Antwerp’s return to the fold and subordinated secular to sacred authority...”³⁴⁹ Encapsulating these sentiments is an event that took place during the celebration of the Marian statue’s installation described in the *Imago primi saeculi*. As Jesuits and Antwerp’s Catholics were in the midst of the triumphal procession,

...a great downpour from every quarter of the sky threatened with absolute certainty to ruin the entire proceedings, while the heretics exulted with joy and boasted that this idolatry of the Jesuits was being condemned by the very voice of heaven. But the Virgin, giving proof that she is the Queen of Heaven, drove away the storm-clouds in a moment, and, against our expectations, calmed the sky; she forced shut the lips of those slanderers, and presented us with the unmistakable favour of the divine godhead.³⁵⁰

This anecdote presents a conflict between the Jesuits, representatives of Catholicism in Antwerp, and Protestants, who viewed the installation of the statue as idolatry. The Virgin Mary, however, proved that she was on the Jesuits’ side.

³⁴⁷ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 326-27.

³⁴⁸ Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art," 129.

³⁴⁹ Haeger, "The Façade of the Jesuit Church," 99. Haeger also notes that the Virgin and Child statue actually “marked a return to the past.” The old town hall in Antwerp, predating the classicizing Stadhuis built in the 1560s, was also decorating with an image of the Virgin Mary. Since the newer Town Hall, built during the years leading up to the Dutch Revolt, and the figure of Brabo both became synonymous with religiously motivated struggles against Spanish rule in Antwerp, the Jesuits’ Marian statue represented a return to the pre-Protestant, pre-rebellion Catholic past of the city. See also Guido Marnef, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550-1577* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1996).

³⁵⁰ Many thanks to J. Holland for this English translation. “Mirabile tum illud accidisse constat: ingens totocaelo pluuiâ vniuersum apparatus foedatura haud dubiè minabatur, exultantibus gaudio haereticis, & Iesuitarum idololatriam damnari vel ipsâ caeli voce iactantibus. At Virgo Reginam caeli se probans, pulsus momento nubibus aërem inspiratò serenauit, compressitque ora maledicorum, nobisque indubitatum diuini Numinis fauorem adstruxit.” Bolland, Henschenius, and Tollenaer, *Imago Primi Saeculi*, 778.

Not only did the Jesuit Church in Antwerp occupy a prominent position in the city, but its classicized Italian appearance also made the structure stand out. At this time, there were few Italianate structures in Antwerp; the other such building in the city would have been the Stadhuis.³⁵¹ In his *Palazzi di Genova* (1622), Peter Paul Rubens himself noted that in the early seventeenth century, classical buildings, based upon the principles of the ancients, were beginning to be preferred to the older Gothic style and interestingly, he attributes the propagation of this new classical mode in the Netherlands to the Jesuits:

We note that in these regions the architectural style called barbaric or Gothic is gradually succumbing to age and being eliminated. A few brilliant minds have introduced what may be called the true symmetry, in conformity to the rules of the ancient Greeks and Romans, thus lending glory and splendor to the fatherland. This is also made evident in the well-known temples with their frescoes built in Brussels and Antwerp by the honorable fathers of the Society of Jesus. Rightly, they were the first to adopt the innovations in accordance with the dignity of their divinely inspired offices.³⁵²

As Barbara Haeger points out, Rubens seems to be associating “the classical style with the renewal of the Catholic faith in his country.”³⁵³ From the extant documentation, it is apparent that the Jesuits of Antwerp wanted it to be widely known that their new church was based upon classical principles. The Annual Letter of 1621 dwells at length on the church’s classicism, recounting the upward progression of the classical orders of the façade,

³⁵¹ Konrad Ottenheim, "Peter Paul Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova* and its Influence on Architecture in the Netherlands," in *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, ed. Piet Lombaerde, *Architectura Moderna* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), 84.

³⁵² Peter Paul Rubens, "Al benigno lettore," in *Palazzi di Genova* (Antwerp: Jan Van Meurs, 1622). “Vediamo que in questa parti, si v  poco   poco inuecchiando & abolendo la maniera d’Architettura, che si chiama Barbara,   Gothica; & che alcuni bellissimo ingengi introducono la vera simmetria di quella, conforme le regole de gli antichi, Graeci e Romani, con grandissimo splendore & ornament della Patria; come appare nelli Tempij famosi di fresco dalla venerabil Societ  di IESV, nelle citt  di Bruselles & Anversa. Li quali se per la dignit  del Vfficio diuino meritamente doucano essere i primi   cangiarse in meglio....” Facsimile of the original Italian and an English translation published in Piet Lombaerde, "The Significance of the Two Volumes of Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova* for Architectural Theory," in *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, ed. Piet Lombaerde, *Architectura Moderna* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), 78-79.

³⁵³ Haeger, "The Fa ade of the Jesuit Church," 98.

from Doric to Corinthian, and describing in detail the various decorative details.³⁵⁴ A letter from 1617 states that marble columns such as those used on the façade of the Jesuit church in Antwerp had never before been seen in the Belgian province.³⁵⁵ The various marbles used on the interior and exterior of the church were sent from Italy, along with colored spoliated marble from ancient monuments to be used as wall revetment.³⁵⁶ This sumptuous colorful marble decoration had more in common with contemporaneous Roman churches than it did with the churches of the Netherlands, giving the overall appearance of the church a decidedly Italian character.³⁵⁷ Joris Snaet and Frans Baudouin have also noted that the Jesuit Church in Antwerp is closely modeled upon Early Christian Roman basilicas, like that of S. Agnese fuori le Mura.³⁵⁸ The church's coffered barrel vault, apse with a semi-dome, and the columnar nave are all elements that recall such ancient churches. Jesuits explicitly called the Antwerp church a "basilica" when describing its multitude of columns in the Annual Letter of 1621.³⁵⁹ At roughly the same time, the Archdukes Albert and Isabella were also patronizing buildings in classical Italianate styles,³⁶⁰ demonstrating that

³⁵⁴ Reprinted in the original Latin in Snaet, "A Case Study," 179-82.

³⁵⁵ "Templi aedificatio superioribus annis capta magna omnium gratulatione foeliciter soc anno excrevit, spectarunt non sine admiratione cives ordinem marmorearum columnarum, opera ante sine diem Belgis non viso..." Algemeen Rijksarchief, Archives de la compagnie de Jésus, Brussels, Letters of P. Provincial, 991-992, fol. 292. Quoted in Snaet, "A Case Study," note 26. For more information about the various marbles used in the church, see Léon E. Lock, "Rubens and the Sculpture and Marble Decoration," in *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008).

³⁵⁶ Snaet, "A Case Study," 170.

³⁵⁷ Lock, "Rubens and the Sculpture," 156.

³⁵⁸ Snaet, "A Case Study," 171. Frans Baudouin, "Peter Paul Rubens and the Notion "Painter-Architect"," in *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, ed. Piet Lombaerde, *Architectura Moderna* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), 17.

³⁵⁹ "Basilica si quae alia toto terrarum orbe tanto colono digna." Snaet, "A Case Study," 171 and 79.

³⁶⁰ Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art," 131.

for Rubens, the Jesuits, and the sovereigns of the Habsburg Netherlands, the project of transforming the urban landscape of the Southern Netherlands into a classical idiom was closely aligned with bringing these provinces back into the Spanish Catholic fold.³⁶¹

As has been demonstrated, it is clear that the Jesuits carefully chose the location for their Antwerp church, as well as its materials and general appearance, to maximize the propagandistic statements they intended to make. Barbara Haeger has analyzed one such statement by focusing on the decoration and the sculptural program of the church's façade. She demonstrates that the façade makes a pointed message to both Protestants and Catholics in Antwerp, representing "the mediating function of the Church, to show that the redeeming benefits of Christ's sacrifice and his victory over sin and death are available solely through the Holy Roman Church."³⁶² In this chapter, I will focus on another such message, one that makes a case for the Catholic use of images as proper and not idolatrous, while praising Jesuit saints as powerful intercessors and Jesuit priests as peacemakers.

3.3 PETER PAUL RUBENS'S INVOLVEMENT

Peter Paul Rubens played a large role in the building of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, as well as in the planning and execution of the interior decorations; however, the exact nature

³⁶¹ Visually, the connection between the Jesuit Church of Antwerp and the Spanish rulers of the Southern Netherlands is reinforced by the addition of Philip IV of Spain and Isabella Clara Eugenia's escutcheons. Haeger, "The Façade of the Jesuit Church," 100-01.

³⁶² "In other words, the façade demonstrates that it is only by entering the Church Militant, by becoming a faithful member of the Catholic community, that one can enter the Church Triumphant, that is the Kingdom of Heaven. This making visible of the mediating function of the Church articulates not only a key tenet of Catholic belief, but the essence of Ignatius's theory of the cosmos of the middle, according to which the middle is the Church and in the middle is Christ the Mediator who breaks down the wall between above and below, between heaven and earth." Haeger, "The Façade of the Jesuit Church," 97.

of his contributions has been the subject of much debate.³⁶³ While it is generally accepted that he designed the high altar (executed by Hans van Mildert, 1588-1638),³⁶⁴ there have been a variety of opinions about the extent to which Rubens was involved in designing the façade³⁶⁵ and the eastern bell tower.³⁶⁶ Aspects of the Houtappel family chapel have also been attributed to Rubens.³⁶⁷ Frans Baudouin has helpfully noted that it is more accurate to view the construction and decoration of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp as a “dialogic process,” during which Rubens, Peter Huysens, and other members of the Jesuit community worked together, discussing “propositions and counter-propositions... leading finally to an accepted solution.”³⁶⁸ Despite all of these questions about Ruben’s architectural and sculptural contributions to the church, it is, of course, undeniable that Rubens was responsible for large portions of the painted decorations.

While Rubens is often given credit for the design of the high altar, he was also responsible for two of the four altarpieces that were displayed there – *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* and *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*. As Jean-Baptiste Descamps described in the eighteenth century, the other two altarpieces were a crucifixion scene by Gerard Seghers (1591-1651) and an *Assumption of the Virgin* by Cornelis Schut (1597-1655), both of

³⁶³ Baudouin, "Peter Paul Rubens," 15-18.

³⁶⁴ Snaet, "A Case Study," 163-65.

³⁶⁵ There are several drawings by Rubens’s hand for elements of the façade, such as the central cartouche containing the Jesuit monogram, being carried by *putti*. Barbara Haeger believes that the entire sculptural and decorative program of the façade may have been Rubens’s work. Haeger, "The Façade of the Jesuit Church," 113, 20-24. See also Julius Held, *Rubens: Selected Drawings* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 1: 165.

³⁶⁶ See footnote 6 and 7 in Baudouin, "Peter Paul Rubens," 16-17. Frans Baudouin, "De toren van de Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk te Antwerpen," *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen* 44 (1983).

³⁶⁷ Baudouin, "Peter Paul Rubens," 17.

³⁶⁸ Baudouin, "Peter Paul Rubens," 33. Recent scholarship on Jesuit building projects has shown that this dialogic process is the norm, rather than the exception in a Jesuit context. See the introduction of this dissertation and Evonne Levy, "Che cos'è un autore/architetto gesuita?," in *Andrea Pozzo*, ed. Alberta Battisti (Milan: Luni, 1996).

which are now lost.³⁶⁹ All four of these large altarpieces were shown alternatively according to the liturgical calendar and switched through the means of a complex pulley system;³⁷⁰ Descamps complained that it was ridiculous that interested travelers were unable to appreciate all four of the paintings at one time.³⁷¹

Art historians have solidly established that Rubens's altarpieces were painted ca. 1617-1618. In an entry in an account book for the Professed House in Antwerp dated April 13, 1617 and now preserved in the Rubenshuis, it is recorded that the Jesuits owed Peter Paul Rubens the sum of three thousand guilders.³⁷² While the reason for the payment was not recorded in this document, on March 29, 1620, Rubens signed a contract with the superior of the professed house, Jacobus Tirinus, specifying the conditions under which Rubens was to design thirty-nine paintings for the ceilings of the aisles and galleries.³⁷³ This contract also stated that Rubens was still owed three thousand guilders "for two large paintings of Our Holy Fathers Ignatius and Xavier, already executed by the said Sr. Rubens

³⁶⁹ "Au maître-Autel sont placés alternativement quatre grands Tableaux, deux de Rubens, un de Guerard Seghers, & l'autre de Cornille Schut. Le premier de Rubens représente Sant Ignace élevé sur des gradins, posant sa main gauche sur l'Autel, & de sa droite il chasse le demon du corps d'un possédé; dans le bas sont les maladies qui demandent à Dieu leur guérison: c'est une des plus belles compositions de ce Maître... L'autre Tableau du même Maître représente Saint Xavier qui ressuscite un mort... Le Tableau de Guerard Seghers, représente Notre-Seigneur élevé sur la Croix... Le dernier représente l'Assomption de la Vierge, sujet bien composé, d'une belle façon de faire, d'une bonne couleur & d'un effet piquant, peint par Cornille Schut..." Jean-Baptiste Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant* (Rouen: chez Desaint... 1769), 185-86. Graham Smith, "Rubens' Altargemälde des hl. Ignatius von Loyola und des hl. Franz Xaver für die Jesuitenkircher in Antwerpen," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 29 (1969): 39.

³⁷⁰ Knaap, "Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric " 175.

³⁷¹ "...mais il est bien ridicule de ne pas les exposer ensemble à la vue du Voyageur curieux..." Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque*, 186-87.

³⁷² This document was discovered by Frans Baudouin. Frans Baudouin, *Rubens en zijn eeuw* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1972), 109-18. Hans Vlieghe, *Saints II*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard (London: Phaidon, 1973), 28-29. It is transcribed in Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* 220. "Schulden bevonden tot laste van de nieu. Kerk opheden den 13 April A° 1617. Aende ondergenoemde personen – Petro Paulo Rubens 3000.-"

³⁷³ The original copy of the contract has not survived. A copy was made by J. F. van Assche in 1773, while the original was still in the archive of the Jesuits in Antwerp. Assche's copy is also lost, but was transcribed by François Mols. This transcription is held in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* 213.

for the choir of the aforesaid church.”³⁷⁴ Presumably, this is the same debt that was owed to Rubens in 1617. When one takes into account that engravings of the two altarpieces had already been made in the beginning of 1619, it seems likely that the paintings were therefore carried out sometime in 1617 or 1618.³⁷⁵

When discussing both this painting and its companion, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, it is important to remember that both of them were completed and installed in the church before either of the two Jesuits was canonized. Francis Xavier had not yet even been beatified. Therefore, these paintings should be viewed not as illustrations of a standardized list of the saints’ miracles, but as important promotional tools in the saints’ canonization campaigns.³⁷⁶ Peter Paul Rubens was instrumental in establishing the earliest iconographic patterns in pictorial representations of both Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, mining newly published hagiographies for miracles and events to create an emergent visual tradition and influential compositional types for these soon-to-be saints. For example, in earlier prints, artists would include depict Ignatius of Loyola or Francis Xavier in a large central image surrounded by smaller frames, each containing a self-contained individual prodigious act. These images are often called a *wundervita* and were common around 1600 (examples include prints by Giacomo Lauro and another by Camillo Cungi).³⁷⁷ Rubens was, however,

³⁷⁴ “Rubbens gehouden wesen toe te schicken de somme van seven duysend guldens, Item op den selven dag nog andere drij duijsend guldens voor de twee groote Schilderijen van onse Heylige Vaders Ignatio ende Xaverio, alreede door den selven Sr Rubbensopgemaect voor de hoochsale van de voors.” Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* 214, 18. Martin also reproduces the list of subjects for the paintings that was appended to the contract, presumably authored by Tirinus. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* 216-17, 18-19.

³⁷⁵ Vlieghe, *Saints II*, 27.

³⁷⁶ Christine M. Boeckl, "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' The Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 4 (1996): 982.

³⁷⁷ Bernadette Schöller, "Eine wiederentdeckte Wundervita des Hl. Franz Xaver," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 52 (1993). Ricardo Fernández Gracia, *Estampa, Contrarreforma y Carmelo Teresiano : la colección de grabados de las Carmelitas Descalzas de Pamplona y Leonor de la Misericordia (Ayanz y Beaumont)* (Pamplona: Caja de Ahorros y Monte Piedad de

the first artist to combine multiple miracles into a single scene. The overall effect of Rubens's innovation is the viewer is confronted with a scene of mass miracles where members of the crowds in front of Ignatius and Francis are affected simultaneously by a sudden multitude of prodigies. This approach to the miracles of St. Francis Xavier was followed by later artists such as Peter Sion, in a painting that was originally intended for the Jesuit College of the Anunciada in Pamplona (1650-1700).³⁷⁸ Sion has changed almost all of the details of the crowd, adding a man with a topknot on an elephant, the baptism of an African king in an American feather skirt and turban. He has, however, retained the general format of Rubens's altarpiece with Xavier elevated above the crowd on the right and accompanied by another Jesuit, with a classical pagan temple in the background and the spontaneous destruction of an idol at center left. Various printmakers also utilized Rubens's composition, particularly in images representing the variety of miracles that took place in the city of Mechelen in the 1660s, after a relic of Xavier's arm had arrived in that city.³⁷⁹

As for the ceiling paintings of the Jesuit church in Antwerp, the above-mentioned 1620 contract states that Rubens was obligated to finish the paintings in approximately a year and was to design models for all thirty-nine of the images. The large versions for the church were to be painted by members of Rubens's workshop, with Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) mentioned specifically. Rubens was also required to retouch the paintings with

Navarra, 2004), 105-08. Massimo Leone, *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 404-06.

³⁷⁸ Now in the Palacio de Navarra in Pamplona. Ricardo Fernández Gracia, ed. *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen* (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), #72.

³⁷⁹ Gérard Grumsel, *Mechlinia illustrata luce miraculum S. Francisci Xaverii* (Mechelen: Linstsii, 1666). Ricardo Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono: Imágenes para el taumaturgo de ambos mundos," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 173-74.

his own hand, if necessary.³⁸⁰ As previously mentioned, the eighteen ceiling pictures in the upper galleries were alternating scenes from the Old and New Testament, while the eighteen paintings in the lower aisles were images of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers interspersed with paintings of early Christian female saints. There were three additional paintings at the entrance depicting St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Albert of Louvain, and St. Clara of Assisi, patron saints of the archdukes Albert of Austria and Isabella Clara Eugenia, Habsburg rulers of the Southern Netherlands. These paintings were all destroyed in a fire in 1718; the compositions are known to us through Rubens's surviving preliminary grisaille oil sketches (*bozzetti*) and his more finished colored oil sketches (*modelli*). These sketches are scattered throughout many collections and museums. Several artists and printmakers also made copies of Rubens's ceiling paintings in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Jacob de Wit (1695-1754) was the first artist to do so, making drawings from the paintings in 1711-1712, when he was only seventeen years old.³⁸¹ He used these as a basis for several other sets of drawings and watercolors throughout his life.³⁸² De Wit also had plans to create a set of etchings based upon his drawings, but only completed eleven of the subjects in upper galleries. Before his death, he collaborated with the artist Jan Punt (1711-1779) to create a set of engravings, completed after De Wit's death in 1754.³⁸³ Another artist, Christian Benjamin Müller (1690-1758) was also interested in Rubens's ceiling paintings and managed

³⁸⁰ For these tasks, Rubens would be paid seven thousand guilders in addition to what was already owed to him for the two altarpieces. See Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* 217-18.

³⁸¹ Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* 46-47.

³⁸² There is a set of thirty-six drawings in the British Museum in red chalk by De Wit, as well as a set of thirty-six watercolors in the Prentenkabinet in the Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp. A third set, consisting of thirty-five watercolors is in a private collection in London.

³⁸³ Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* 48-50.

to copy them only six months before the 1718 fire. These thirty-seven drawings are also preserved in the Printenkabinet of the Plantin-Moretus Museum and were later engraved by Johann Justin Preissler (1698-1771), published in 1735. Martin considers Müller's drawings to be more accurate than any of the various iterations by De Wit.³⁸⁴ There are also several seventeenth-century painted views of the interior of the church that can provide a vague idea of how the paintings were arranged, including one by Sebastian Vrancx and Pieter Neeffs the elder, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Examining all of these various materials can give us a relatively accurate idea of the appearances of Rubens's original thirty-nine ceiling paintings.

3.4 THE THEME OF ICONOCLASM IN THE CEILING PAINTINGS

The theme of image destruction in the Jesuit Church of Antwerp appears in three paintings – *St. John Chrysostom*, *The Martyrdom of St. Eugenia*, and the background scene in *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* – and is unprecedented in any other Jesuit Church. The polemic over image use in Christian worship and idolatry was central to the chaotic history of Antwerp in the early modern period; these paintings clearly played an active role in these debates and served as a rebuttal to Protestant criticisms of the Catholic use of images. These recent events also informed the way that Rubens and his Jesuit advisors addressed the theme of image destruction in the iconographic program of the church in Antwerp.³⁸⁵ It is evident

³⁸⁴ Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* 52.

³⁸⁵ Martin proposes Jacobus Tirinus and Heribert Rosweyde as being the Jesuits in Antwerp most likely involved with the planning of the iconographic program. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* 210-12.

that certain adjustments were made in the depiction of these iconoclastic events in order to transmit a precise message to the viewer and also to avoid certain unsavory associations with recent historical events that the Jesuits would clearly want to avoid in their quest to be seen as peacekeepers responsible for returning the city of Antwerp to the Roman Catholic fold. These adjustments are particularly apparent in instances where Rubens (presumably with the approval of or on the advice of his Jesuit advisors) has loosely interpreted or deviated from textual sources or broken with art historical precedent in the depiction of an event from a saint's life. In the sections that follow, I will detail these instances, beginning with the representations of iconoclasm in the ceiling paintings and ending with the scene of idol smashing in the background of Rubens's *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*.

In the case of the painting of St. John Chrysostom, one of the four Greek Doctors of the Church,³⁸⁶ Rubens has departed from the Greek and Latin tradition of patristic portraits, showing John Chrysostom not as an orator or scholar, but instead as actively ordering a crowd to take down a statue.³⁸⁷ If there are no obvious visual precedents for this kind of image of St. John Chrysostom, what texts might Rubens and his Jesuit advisors have turned to? Heribert Roseweyde and Pedro de Ribadeneira's *Generale Legende Heylighen*, published in Antwerp in 1617, is a very likely candidate. Both Roseweyde (1569-629) and Ribadeneira (1527-1611) were Jesuits and it is certain that Rubens knew this text, having designed a

³⁸⁶ There is no surviving *bozzetto* or *modello* by Rubens for this composition. Martin considers Müller's drawing (Prentenkabinet, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp) to be authoritative. There is also a Preissler engraving after this drawing. De Wit created a red chalk drawing (British Museum) and a watercolor (Prentenkabinet, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp) after the Rubens composition. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings*, 147-50.

³⁸⁷ Knaap argues that all of Rubens's depictions of the Church Fathers follow this pattern. Instead of embodying the virtues of a contemplative life, the saints are clearly meant to be seen as actively and militantly opposing heresy. Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence," 318.

frontispiece for the 1619 edition.³⁸⁸ Additionally, Roseweyde is one of the Jesuits cited by Martin as being likely to have had a hand in designing the iconographic program of the paintings in the Jesuit Church.³⁸⁹ The life of St. John Chrysostom, with his involvement in struggles between Catholics and heretics, would have felt especially relevant to Jesuit priests and their followers in Antwerp who lived with memories of religious conflict and hopes to reconvert the Netherlands from Protestantism. For example, Roseweyde and Ribadeneira describe how John Chrysostom encouraged the emperor to banish all heretics unless they convert:

For [the Emperior]³⁹⁰ confiscated their Goods, and thrust them out of Constantinople, though not long after they entered again, and to spite St. Chrysostom and the Catholicks, sung certain Hymns of their own making. And the Saint to suppress and confound them, commanded the Catholicks to sing other Hymns, which he had composed against the Hereticks.³⁹¹ And they as turbulent and factious People raised Tumults, which broke out at length into open Sedition, so that Catholics and Hereticks came to Blows...³⁹²

Relevant to Rubens's image, the text does portray St. John Chrysostom as a destroyer of pagan temples. For example,

[John Chrysostom] caused also a Temple on Mount Cassius to be demolished, where Sacrifices were daily offered to Devils and reduced the People to the Knowledge and Service of the true God.³⁹³

³⁸⁸ Rubens also designed the frontispiece for Rosweyde's *'t Vadersboek* of 1617, a Dutch translation of *Vitae Patrum*, a collection of texts dealing with the Desert fathers of the Church, which will be discussed below.

³⁸⁹ Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings*, 210-12.

³⁹⁰ Byzantine Emperor Arcadius (377-378-408 CE)

³⁹¹ By "Hereticks", the text is referring to followers of the Arian heresy.

³⁹² I have consulted an English translation of this text by William Petre from 1730. Heribert Rosweyde and Pedro de Riadeneyra, *The Lives of Saints: With Other Feasts of the Year, According to the Roman Calendar*, trans. William Petre, vol. 1 (London: B.S., 1730), 144.

³⁹³ Rosweyde and Riadeneyra, *The Lives of Saints*, 1, 142.

However, none of these instances involve the destruction of images and in fact, the only mention of John Chrysostom's interactions with statues is described as follows:

Wherefore as some would have made a solemn Pomp or Shew in a Court of St. Sophia, before a Statue of Eudoxia the Empress,³⁹⁴ which was at the very Door of the Church, [St. John Chrysostom] forbade them to keep any such Solemnity here, because the Noise would distract the Priests, that were singing and praying in the Church, and hinder the divine Service.³⁹⁵

As Knaap and Martin point out, the text does not say that John Chrysostom ordered the crowd to take down the statue, only not to conduct any ceremonies in the empress's honor in front of it. Additionally, there is nothing in the text to indicate that the statue was destroyed.³⁹⁶ Knaap situates this scene in the context of the image debates of the sixteenth century in the Netherlands, writing that after the iconoclasm of 1566, Catholics responded to allegations of idolatry from Protestants by admitting that it was possible to incorporate images into one's worship in an incorrect manner. One of the aims of the Council of Trent was to do away with such abuses and bishops were thus charged with the task of regulating the cult of images in their own dioceses. Therefore, John Chrysostom, in his bishop's miter, "is presented as a model bishop who took seriously his task of monitoring the proper use of images in the churches in his diocese. As such he formed a model for contemporary bishops who were expected to purge the church of idolatrous actions."³⁹⁷

Unfortunately, Knaap's analysis leaves the following question unanswered - why did Rubens and his Jesuit advisors deviate from Roseweyde and Ribadeneira's text in such a

³⁹⁴ Byzantine empress Aelia Eudoxia (died in 404 CE), empress consort of Arcadius.

³⁹⁵ Rosweyde and Riadeneyra, *The Lives of Saints*, 1, 147.

³⁹⁶ Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence," 312-13. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings*, 203-04.

³⁹⁷ Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence," 314.

significant way?³⁹⁸ Why did they show the statue being destroyed by iconoclasts? I propose that Rubens and his Jesuit advisors made these choices when designing the iconographic program for the Jesuit church in Antwerp in order to show the multi-faceted nature of idolatry. As opposed to the painting of St. Eugenia, which showcases a Greco-Roman statue in a religious context, the kind of image most commonly thought of as being idolatrous,³⁹⁹ Rubens's image of St. John Chrysostom shows a statue of a mortal ruler in a public space, not a religious image inside of a church. Additionally, the nature of the ceremony described in the text by Roseweyde and Ribadeneira is unclear. Although called a "solemnity" in the English translation cited here, it does not seem as if the crowd is worshipping the statue as a god. Additionally, the text would suggest that Chrysostom's disapproval with the crowd's behavior is directed towards the raucous ceremony taking place in the court of the church, not the image itself. Upon considering these facts, one might be tempted to say that the text and Rubens's painting of St. John Chrysostom have little to do with idolatry. On the contrary, if we examine John Calvin's concept of idolatry, it becomes apparent that Rubens's painting deals with a specific type of idolatry that would have strong resonances with the residents of Antwerp at this time.

According to Carlos Eire, "Idolatry is interpreted by Calvin as a diminution of God's honor."⁴⁰⁰ The problem with idolatry is that "man transfers the honor due to God to

³⁹⁸ It is assumed that this is meant to be a scene of St. John Chrysostom ordering the removal of the statue of Empress Eudoxia and not some other incident because it has been described as such since the earliest descriptions of the ceilings. The *Beschryvinge van de Schilderyen*, attributed to Van Caukercken is the authority that most art historians cite. Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence," 311. Max Rooses, "De Zolderstukken der Voormalige Jezuieten-Kerk," *Rubens Buletijn* 16 (1888): 289-99.

³⁹⁹ Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image Making in Medieval Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 101.

⁴⁰⁰ Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 201.

material objects... starting with the honoring of heavenly bodies and earthly idols, and progressing... to the heaping of honors on mortals, culminating in the invention of a pantheon of divinities.”⁴⁰¹ The crowd, in Roseweyde and Ribadeneira’s text, is causing a “diminution of God’s honor” by holding their ceremony in front of the church, ignoring the house of God to pay homage to a mortal empress, and even worse, noisily disrupting the priests who are properly honoring God with their prayers. Thus, they are engaging in idolatry, even though they may not be explicitly worshiping the statue as a god. This situation, in which a ruler erects a statue to themselves, expecting it to inspire the people to shower them with accolades and devotion, is not exactly the form of idolatry that concerned the Council of Trent, but is still classified as such. That John Chrysostom was the perfect saint to caution against excessive glorification of mortals with statues is demonstrated by a quote from his *Homily on Statues*. He writes that the root of idolatry is when people “after having had success in wars, and set up trophies, and built cities, and done various other benefits of this kind to the people of those times” come to be honored by the people so much that eventually they begin to be considered gods and temples and statues are raised in dedication to them.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰¹ Eire, *War Against the Idols*, 209.

⁴⁰² John Chrysostom, "Homily on the Statues," in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1889). According to Chrysostom, this is the way in which the Greco-Roman pantheon was created. He believes that all of the Greco-Roman gods were once people who accomplished great deeds and eventually came to be worshipped as gods by the people. Chrysostom describes the emperor Constantine as a model ruler who did not set great store in images of himself and did not view statues as being extensions of his person. “It is related of the blessed Constantine, that on one occasion, when a statue of himself had been pelted with stones, and many were instigating him to proceed against the perpetrators of the outrage; saying, that they had disfigured his whole face by battering it with stones, he stroked his face with his hand, and smiling gently, said, ‘I am quite unable to perceive any wound inflicted upon my face. The head appears sound, and the face also quite sound.’ Thus these persons, overwhelmed with shame, desisted from their unrighteous counsel.”

This form of idolatry, however, does remind one of the criticisms that had been targeted at the Duke of Alba. As previously mentioned, the Dutch rebels considered the duke a tyrant; however, he was also condemned as an idolater.⁴⁰³ In May 1571, he oversaw the installation of a bronze statue by Jacques Jonghelinck, depicting himself in triumph over a two-headed six-limbed monster that represented the iconoclasts, rebels, and Calvinists whom Alba had declared his enemies.⁴⁰⁴ Disliked by royalists and patriots alike, this statue caused Alba to be compared to Nebuchadnezzar, who had ordered the Jews to worship a golden idol that he had set up on the plain of Dura.⁴⁰⁵ The statue was condemned even in royal circles, with critics of the Duke of Alba denouncing him as a usurper of royal authority, his statue serving as the ultimate proof of this misconduct.⁴⁰⁶ A pamphlet from 1573, written by William of Orange and composed as a letter to Philip II, stated that by erecting the statue, the Duke of Alba had glorified himself to the detriment of both the Spanish king and God.⁴⁰⁷ In other words, Alba's detractors, Dutch and Spanish alike, viewed the statue as a means by which Alba had attempted to diminish and usurp the honor

⁴⁰³ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 169.

⁴⁰⁴ Luc Smolderen, *Jacques Jonghelinck: Sculpteur, médailleur et graveur de sceaux (1530-1606)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1996). Jochen Becker, "Hochmut kommt vor dem Fall: Zum Standbild Albas in der Zitadelle von Antwerpen, 1571-1574," *Simiolus* 5, no. 1/2 (1971). Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 202.

⁴⁰⁵ Daniel 3:1-30. William of Orange famously made this comparison in a letter to Philip II dated 1573. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 207. For a satirical print criticizing the statue of the Duke of Alba, see James Tanis and Daniel Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College Library, 1993), 86-89.

⁴⁰⁶ The symbolism of the statue is based upon Hercules killing the hydra. Artistically, it is modeled on Leone Leoni's sculpture of Charles V in triumph in the Prado. The bronze for the statue came from canons that had been seized by the Duke of Alba at the battle of Jemmingen. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 201. The two-headed six-armed hydra underneath the Duke of Alba holds the following objects: a broken hammer (symbolizing the churches destroyed by the iconoclasts), an ax (a symbol of iconoclasm), a club (rebellion), a torch (the churches that had been set on fire by iconoclasts), a purse (the request offered by Antwerp's Calvinists in 1566 to buy religious freedom with three million guilders), and a petition (petitions submitted to Margaret of Parma for religious freedom). For additional analysis of the iconographic content of the statue, see Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 201-03.

⁴⁰⁷ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 203.

that was due to the king, just as the ceremony involving the statue of Empress Eudoxia had brought about a diminution of the honor that should have been given to God. In the text written by Roseweyde and Ribadeneira describing the life of St. John Chrysostom, the Empress Eudoxia is the ever-present villain and is portrayed as a tyrant who, among her many misdeeds, unjustly punishes the saint with banishment from Constantinople. She, like the Duke of Alba, continuously exercises royal prerogatives that rightfully belong to the emperor. Thus, a very complex chain of associations is being presented to the viewer of the ceiling paintings of the Jesuit Church. Stated as simply as possible, the ceremony involving the statue of Eudoxia in front of Hagia Sophia resulted in a diminution of the honor due to God, just as the actions of the empress/Duke of Alba usurp the honors and privileges of the Byzantine emperor/king of Spain.

Rubens's choice to paint the statue being brought down by a crowd cements these connections. This is a purposeful deviation from Roseweyde and Ribadeneira's account of the life of St. John Chrysostom. It is possible that Rubens made this change in order to help the viewer associate the scene with an apocryphal story of the destruction of the Duke of Alba's statue that was well known in Jesuit circles. The Duke's successor, Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga (1528-1576) was immediately concerned with the question of what to do with the effigy upon his assumption of the role of governor of the Netherlands in 1573. In 1574, the statue was secretly taken down on the request of Requesens and stored away in a remote area of the citadel.

Jacques-Auguste de Thou, historian and future president of the Parlement de Paris, wrote in his *Histoire Universelle* (1604) that

In the time that I was in Antwerp, I saw [the statue of the Duke of Alba] in the corner of the citadel, abandoned and lying on the ground and I confess that I was

also struck by the beauty of this wonderful work and the foolish pride of the man who had it made.⁴⁰⁸

The statue was eventually quietly melted down sometime at end of 1576 or beginning of 1577.⁴⁰⁹ However, by 1586, a fictitious story of the sculpture's demise began to appear in histories of the Dutch Revolt in the Southern Netherlands. Richard Dinoth, in his *De bello civili belgico*, published an alternative ending to the statue's history, describing how it was destroyed by an angry mob of Antwerp's citizens.⁴¹⁰ This story began to be repeated with increased frequency, culminating in the 1632 history of the revolt written by the Jesuit historian Famianus Strada in his *De bello belgico*.⁴¹¹ Strada is the first historian to describe the fictional mob's actions in great detail. He writes that the citizens found the statue in a remote corner of the citadel and set upon it with axes. With each hit, it seemed as if the statue were experiencing pain. After it had been destroyed, members of the mob took pieces of the pedestal and hung them in their houses as trophies.⁴¹² Published only twelve years after the completion of the ceiling of the Jesuit church in Antwerp, Strada's *De bello belgico* demonstrates that memories of the Duke of Alba's statue remained strong for decades after

⁴⁰⁸ "Dans le tems que j'etois a Anvers, je le vis dans un coin de la citadelle, abandonnée et couché à terre et j'avouë que je fus également frappé de la beauté admirable de cet ouvrage et de l'orgueil insensé de celui qui l'avoit fait faire." Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, vol. 5 (London 1734), 673. Quoted in Smolderen, *Jacques Jonghelinck*, 141. See also Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civil Patriots*, 208.

⁴⁰⁹ Smolderen thinks that the most likely time was in the months immediately following the signing of the Pacification of Ghent, which called for the destruction of all monuments, trophies, and inscriptions dedicated to the Duke of Alba. Smolderen, *Jacques Jonghelinck*, 142.

⁴¹⁰ Quoted in Smolderen, *Jacques Jonghelinck*, 142-43.

⁴¹¹ Smolderen, *Jacques Jonghelinck*, 143.

⁴¹² "Mais on ne vit jamais une joye si désordonnée qu'autour de cette statuë d'airain, qui représentoit le Duc d'Albe comme triumpnant. Elle avoit été mise en un endroit réculé dans la Citadelle, & aussi-tôt qu'on l'eût rencontrée, on l'attaqua en furie, on la descendit dans la Cour, on en approcha le fer à la main, on la frappe avec des haches, & comme si chaque coup lui eût fait quelque douleur, & qu'il en eût tiré du sang, on recevoit de la satisfaction de ce carnage imaginaire. Il y en eût qui apportèrent en lleurs maisons des pierres de la base de cette statuë, & qui les pendirent comme des dépouilles d'un Ennemi défait, & comme pour laisser `à la postérité des témoignages de cette espèce de vengeance." Famianus Strada, *Histoire de la guerre des Pays-Bas*, trans. Pierre du Ryer, 2 vols., vol. II (Brussels: Chez Simon t'Serstevens, 1727). Smolderen, *Jacques Jonghelinck*, 143.

its removal and that the fictitious story of an angry mob destroying the statue continued to circulate in Jesuit circles long after its first appearance in Dinot's history of 1586. Rubens's choice to depict the crowd of Constantinople destroying the statue of the Empress Eudoxia in this way thus secures the connections in the very complex chain of associations that is being presented in the Jesuit ceiling painting.

The Martyrdom of St. Eugenia shows a more straightforward and familiar conception of idolatry and works well as a complement to the image of St. John Chrysostom to demonstrate that idolatry can take several different outward forms.⁴¹³ In the painting, St. Eugenia kneels in front of her executioner with her hands behind her back.⁴¹⁴ The executioner grabs her by the hair and has raised his ax above her head. To the right, a classical temple is seen in the act of being miraculously destroyed. The column shaft has broken in half, while the roof, with its simple classical cornice, is in the process of crashing down. The capital of the column has just broken from the cornice and is beginning its fall to the ground. In addition, there is a classicized statue of a male god that is in the midst of destruction. The torso has broken off from the lower half of the body (which is not visible) while the figure's right arm and left hand have also been detached.

⁴¹³ Neither the grisaille *bozzetto* nor the colored oil sketch by Rubens have survived for this composition. Müller's drawing is also lost, but there are two drawings by Preissler after Müller, done in preparation for Preissler's engravings. One of these red-chalk drawings is in the Prentenkabinet, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, while the other is in the Jesuit College in Krakow. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings*, 170-74.

⁴¹⁴ The inclusion of St. Eugenia, a rather rare saint, may have to do with the name of the Habsburg archduchess, Isabella Clara Eugenia. Despite the fact that "Eugenia" was Isabella's third Christian name, St. Eugenia was not actually one of her patron saints. The "Eugenia" in Isabella's name actually refers to St. Eugene of Toledo, whose relics had been a part of Isabella's mother's dowry. Still, the similarity of names may account for the inclusion of this rarely depicted saint. Luc Duerloo, "Archducal Piety and Habsburg Power," in *Albert and Isabella, 1598-1621*, ed. Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas (Tuurhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1998), 278.

The Golden Legend describes the life of St. Eugenia along with the legend of her slaves, Saints Protus and Hyacinthus.⁴¹⁵ She became a Christian and through various pious acts, which are described in great detail, Eugenia was able to convert her entire family to Christianity. The text does not mention how she came to the emperors' attention,⁴¹⁶ but it does narrate how she was tied to a stone and cast into the Tiber on their orders. The stone broke, which allowed Eugenia to escape. She was then thrown into a furnace, but the fire was miraculously put out. She was locked up in a prison cell, but survived without food for ten days. "On the day of the Lord's birth, therefore, a headsman was sent and cut off her head."⁴¹⁷ In the *Golden Legend*, St. Eugenia is not responsible for destroying any pagan idols or temples.

Instead, another text published by Heribert Rosweyde may provide the source for Rubens's depiction. In the *Vitae Patrum* (or *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, Antwerp, 1615),⁴¹⁸ the life of St. Eugenia has been greatly expanded, including a very detailed account of her martyrdom.⁴¹⁹ Her slaves, Protus and Hyacinth, had converted Basilla, a member of the Roman emperor Gallienus's family, in secret. After their deception was discovered, the prefect of the city of Rome, Nicetius, arrested Protus and Hyacinth and forced them to go to

⁴¹⁵ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University, 2012), 551-53.

⁴¹⁶ Eugenia was martyred during the joint reign of Emperor Valerian and his son Emperor Gallienus (253-260). Gallienus went on to reign until 268 after his father's death.

⁴¹⁷ Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 553. Her slaves, Protus and Hyacinthus, were taken to a temple and ordered to sacrifice to the gods. When they refused, the idol crumbled. It seems that in subsequent textual versions of this story, like in Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum*, separate idol destructions were accomplished by both Eugenia and her slaves. Rosweyde based his story of Eugenia on a text by an anonymous Latin author, who he suggests may be Rufinus of Aquileia (340/345-410). It is possible, therefore, that Rosweyde's source was much older than Voragine's *Golden Legend*.

⁴¹⁸ This was a collection of Greek and Latin texts describing the lives of the Desert Fathers of the Church. Rosweyde compiled the texts and translated them all into Latin. This edition was published in Antwerp in 1615. A Dutch version, *Vadersboek*, was published in Antwerp in 1617 with a frontispiece designed by Peter Paul Rubens.

⁴¹⁹ Heribert Rosweyde, ed. *Vitae patrum*, vol. X (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1628), 340-50.

the temple of Jove and pray, where the statue of the goddess fell down and broke into a thousand pieces.⁴²⁰ Eugenia was also arrested for her part in the plot to convert Basilla.

Nicetius found all this quite baffling, and to save the Emperor from having to listen to all that if she were called before him, he ordered Eugenia to be taken to the temple of Diana, where a soldier threatened her with a spear.... As she was praying an earthquake occurred, and the foundations of the temple shook and the idol was overthrown. Nothing remained standing except the altar in front of the temple doors where Eugenia was standing.⁴²¹

The moment of the earthquake does not actually coincide with Eugenia's martyrdom. She endures quite a few more bodily torments before she is eventually killed by sword.⁴²² Rubens's painting, which is called *The Martyrdom of St. Eugenia* by Martin, should therefore more accurately be called *St. Eugenia and the Fall of the Idol in the Temple of Diana*.⁴²³ There are, of course, a few deviations from the text in Rubens's painting. The soldier threatens Eugenia with an ax, not a spear, and instead of a statue of Diana, Rubens painted a representation of a male god. The substitution of a male figure for a female one

⁴²⁰ "Tenti statim Protus & Hyacinthus, trahuntur ad templum: sed orationem illis facientibus, simulacrum Iouis ad quod ducebantur sacrificare, cecidit ad pedes eorum; & ita comminutum est, vt vbi fuerit, non pareret. Non virtuti diuinae, sed magicae arti hoc imputans, iubet eos decollari Nicetius vrbis praefectus." Rosweyde, *Vitae patrum*, X: 348. "Protus and Hyacinth were arrested and dragged to the temple but when they were led before the image of Jove and told to sacrifice to it, it fell down at their feet and broke into a thousand pieces, so that it was no longer in a condition to have sacrifices made to it. Nicetius, the city prefect, deemed that this was because of their magic powers, not because of the power of God, and ordered that they should be beheaded." English translation is by Benedict Baker (<http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk>).

⁴²¹ English translation is by Benedict Baker (<http://www.vitae-patrum.org.uk>). "Audiens haec Nicetius, obstupuit: & ne ad Imperatorem perueniret, quod eam libenter audiret, iussit eam ad templum duci Dianae: & ita speculator imminens, dixit ei: Redime vitam tuam, patrimonium tuum Eugenia, & sacrificia deae Dianae.... Et dum oraret fit terraemotus in eodem loco: & ita temple ipsius fundamenta merse sunt cum ipso idolo, vt nihil aliud remanserit, nisi sola era, quae fuit ante ianuam temple, ad quam stabat beata Eugenia." Rosweyde, *Vitae patrum*, 348.

⁴²² In retaliation for the falling of the idol, the Emperor ordered Eugenia to be thrown in the Tiber with her body weighted down with stones. The weights came untied miraculously and Eugenia floated to the surface. She was then thrown into a furnace that heated the Severian baths, but the fire went out. Eventually a gladiator was sent to Eugenia's prison cell where he killed her with a sword. Rosweyde, *Vitae patrum*, 348.

⁴²³ Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings*, 170. In the provisional list of subjects attached to the contract made between the Jesuits and Rubens, it is unclear if the scene with St. Eugenia is listed. Martin believes it is listed as #34, which says, "Clara Eugenia." Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings*, 170, 217. However, it is unclear if this is meant to be an entry for both St. Clair and St. Eugenia (who are both depicted in separate paintings in the ceiling), as there is no Catholic saint named "St. Clara Eugenia." It is also possible that this was meant to refer to the sovereign of the Southern Netherlands, Isabella Clara Eugenia. It is especially puzzling because the author of the list has not listed "Clara Eugenia" as a saint, while the preceding two entries both use this honorific: "#32. Sancta Catharina; #33. Sancta Elisabetha; #34 Clara Eugenia."

demonstrates that Rubens was aware of the pictorial tradition of depicting fallen idols as classical, nude male sculptures.

For example, the fall of the idols during the flight into Egypt became one of the standard narratives of Christ's infancy.⁴²⁴ These scenes are often found in medieval manuscripts or as details in church sculptural programs and have their textual source in the apocryphal gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. The figures in these scenes are almost always freestanding, nude, classical sculptures of the male body.⁴²⁵ Joachim Patinir (1480-1524) continued this tradition in Flemish painting of the sixteenth century, including a small detail of a falling idol in the upper left in one of his versions of the *Flight into Egypt*, now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp (1516-1517).⁴²⁶ A broken, nude, male idol can also be seen in Tommaso Laureti's ceiling in the Sala di Constantino (1518), in which a crucifix, symbolizing the truth faith, stands in triumph over a fallen idol, representing heresy. Scenes with saints either destroying idols themselves or through the power of God, as in Rubens's scene with St. Eugenia, are more unusual. In an example by Josse Lieferinxe (Philadelphia Museum of Art, c. 1497), St. Sebastian uses a staff to bring

⁴²⁴ This story interpreted by Michael Camille as a symbol of "the destruction of the old gods in their plurality by the new in His singularity." Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 1.

⁴²⁵ "[The Holy Family] came to the region of Hermopolis and entered a city called Sotinen. And since there was in it no one they knew whom they could ask for hospitality, they entered a temple which was called the 'Capitol of Egypt'. In this temple stood 365 idols to which on appointed days divine honor was paid in idolatrous rites. But it came to pass that when the blessed Mary entered the temple with the child, all the idols fell to the ground so that all lay on their faces." Quoted in Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, pg?

⁴²⁶ Another common Biblical scene that featured the destruction of idols is the story of the miracle of the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple of Dagon. In summary, a group of Philistines capture the ark and bring it to the temple of their god, Dagon, where the power of the ark and of the Hebrew God eventually destroy the idol, who is found fallen on the ground with its head and hands severed from its torso (1 Samuel 5:2-7). Nicolas Poussin famously depicted this scene along with a plague that was sent to the Philistines in his *Plague at Ashdod* in the Louvre, (1630). Poussin also depicts the idol as nude, classically proportioned, and male. See Christine M. Boeckl, "A New Reading of Nicolas Poussin's *The Miracle of the Ark in the Temple of Dagon*," *Artibus et Historiae* 24 (1991). Sheila Barker, "Poussin, Plague, and Early Modern Medicine," *Art Bulletin* 86, no. 4 (2004).

down idols that are mounted on the wall of a sick man's house in exchange for healing him. Again, the four figures shown are all male in classical contrapposto positions; three of the four are nude.

Such scenes of the destruction of pagan idols serve the purpose of differentiating Catholic image use from idolatrous image worship. They visually establish that Catholics were aware of the danger of idolatrous practices and were just as committed to smashing such idols as Protestants. However, in the case of Rubens's *St. Eugenia* and the other examples mentioned above, these instances of idol destruction all took place in the Biblical past or the time of the early Church. In his *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, Rubens has relocated idolatrous practices in time and space. No longer is pagan idolatry a thing of the past; instead, it is a practice that must be combatted in the contemporary world, in the places where the Roman Catholic Church was actively converting new believers in its quest to become a universal global religion. At the same time, we will see that Rubens utilizes a stereotypical Indian idol that has little in common with actual Hindu iconography and uses this imagined exoticism of the East to comment on contemporary religious schism in the Netherlands.

3.5 RUBENS'S SOURCES FOR THE ALTARPIECE

As previously mentioned, Rubens's *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, shows not one particular event in the life of the saint, but instead presents an amalgamation of various miracles that Francis Xavier performed in the course of his ministry in Asia. The setting of

this scene is ambiguous. Rubens's companion piece, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, is widely acknowledged to be set in Rome; the grand architecture that extends off to the left of the painting greatly resembles the transepts of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.⁴²⁷ Stephanie Schrader has identified the setting of the Francis Xavier altarpiece as Goa.⁴²⁸ While it would be fitting to portray Ignatius in Rome, where he worked to shore up the authority of the new Jesuit order in the Church, and Francis Xavier in Goa, "the Rome of the East," where he had labored to establish Roman Catholic authority in Asia, I disagree with Schrader's identification for several reasons. The backdrop of the Ignatian altarpiece is an obvious resemblance to St. Peter's; the architecture in the background of the Xaverian painting, however, has no such specificity and does not look like any structure in Goa. Furthermore, none of the miracles depicted in the altarpiece took place in Goa; according to Orazio Torsellino's *De vita Francisci Xaverii* (1596), the text that Rubens most certainly used as source material, these prodigious acts of St. Francis Xavier took place in various locations throughout Asia where the Jesuit missionary had been active.

Rubens completed this altarpiece dedicated to St. Francis Xavier before he was canonized in 1622; thus he could not rely upon the official miracles established by the canonization bull,⁴²⁹ nor was there much of an existing iconographic tradition upon which he could build. Instead, Rubens's knowledge of Xaverian miracles must be traced to texts

⁴²⁷ Smith, "Rubens' Altargemälde," 45. Vlieghe, *Saints II*, 73.

⁴²⁸ Stephanie Schrader, "Implicit Understanding: Rubens and the Representation of the Jesuit Missions in Asia," in *Looking East: Rubens's Encounter with Asia*, ed. Stephanie Schrader (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013), 39, 56, 60. She initially describes the painting as "Francis Xavier proselytizing in Goa," and later, writes that "It appears Jesuits in Antwerp wanted Rubens to make a more specific reference to Goa by depicting a variety of exotic types they thought could actually be found there," referencing the cosmopolitan nature of the Portuguese colony and its status as a major port of trade in Asia.

⁴²⁹ Issued on August 6, 1623. Transcribed in Mariano Lecina, ed. *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia de sancto Francisco Xaverio*, vol. 43, Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu (Matri: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1912), 702-24.

written and circulated before Xavier's canonization, including early hagiographies and testimony gathered during the canonization trials. Graham Smith was the first art historian to note that Rubens had used Orazio Torsellino's biography as a source and was able to match up many of the miraculous events taking place in the crowd beneath Xavier's feet with specific places and events described in Torsellino's Xaverian biography.⁴³⁰ Christine Boeckl has also noted that Rubens' close relationship with the Jesuits of Antwerp would have made him privy to information collected during Francis Xavier's canonization process and he may have based some scenes on that testimony.⁴³¹

Smith identified the woman holding a drowned infant on the left side of Rubens's *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* altarpiece as a mother whose child was resurrected by Xavier after falling in a well somewhere in the vicinity of Cape Comorin (Kanyakumari). This miracle was one of the earliest of Xavier's to be widely disseminated and was widely described in witness testimony taken during the canonization investigations in Goa (1556-1557) and in Cochin (1616), which Torsellino incorporated into his Xaverian hagiography.⁴³² Because so many witnesses attested to the miracle, it was included in the 1622 canonization bull.⁴³³

⁴³⁰ Smith, "Rubens' Altargemälde," 51-55. Other authors have disagreed about the specificity of Rubens's scenes, noting that while some can be easily identified with episodes from Torsellino's text, others are less clear. Vlieghe, for example, believes that in certain details, Rubens was generalizing, using scenes like the destruction of the idol to show "how pagan religion is overcome by the True Faith, symbolized in the upper right hand part of the picture." Vlieghe, *Saints II*, 27.

⁴³¹ Boeckl, "Plague Imagery," 982-83.

⁴³² Orazio Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii. Qui primus e Societate Iesu in Indiam & Iaponiam evangelium invexit*. (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596), 73. Orazio Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier de la Compania de Jesus, primero Apostol del Japon y segundo de la India y de otras Provincias del Oriente*, trans. Pedro de Guzman (Pamplona: Carlos de Labayen, 1620), 63. See also Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973-1982), 2:344-46.

⁴³³ "Y successiuamente en Combutere, Lugar en la Costa de la Pesqueria, otro muchacho, que auia caído en un poço, y se auia ahogado, y le sacauan a enterrar con grande llanto de su madre, y parientes; saliendo al encuentro Francisco de vna Iglesia allí vezina, compadecido de ellos, hincandose de rodillas, y fijando los ojos en el Cielo, y haziendo oraciõ a Dios por la vida del muchacho, tomándole de la mano, en nombre de Iesu Christo, le auia mandado se leuantasse, y al instante

To the right of this woman, we see a nude man reclining on a slab covered in straw. Boeckl has identified him as a plague victim healed by Xavier.⁴³⁴ Unlike the above example of the woman in Cape Comorin, this man is not a specific person, but instead, serves to represent St. Francis Xavier's power to abate plague more generally.⁴³⁵ At the time that Rubens was working on this painting, Xavier's reputation as a plague saint was in a nascent state; his most famous anti-plague acts in Bologna (1630) and Naples (1656) had not yet taken place. Boeckl has noted that this could be an instance in which Rubens received information about Xavier's canonization process from the Jesuits in Antwerp since one of the witnesses in Cochin (1616) testified that Xavier had stopped a plague in Japan.⁴³⁶ An alternative, or perhaps additional, source not considered by Boeckl is João de Lucena's hagiography, which was first published in Portuguese in 1600 and had already been translated into Italian by 1613.⁴³⁷ Lucena describes how a plague in Malacca was lifted was soon as the Xavier's incorrupt body arrived there, before being taken to its final resting place

el muchacho se auia leuantado viuo..." Translated into Spanish in Mathias de Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias y Nuevas Gentes San Francisco Javier de la Compañia de Jesús* (Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez, 1665), 11-12. The original Latin of the canonization bull can be found in Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 702-24.

⁴³⁴ This man does not have any visible buboes, swollen lymph nodes that were a symptom of the plague; Boeckl believes that this was due to Post-Tridentine ideas of decorum. However, she argues that the woman next to the nude man is the key to his identification. She is checking his armpit for a bubo, a motif that other artists used to signify a healed plague victim. Boeckl, "Plague Imagery," 986. A study for this figure is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Vlieghe, *Saints II*, 32-33.

⁴³⁵ Boeckl also believes this person is an allegory, his "illness being a manifestation of the man's former heretical views." Boeckl, "Plague Imagery," 979.

⁴³⁶ "...per id tempus, quo Pater Xaverius commoratus fuit in Japponia, contagiosa crassabatur lues, ita ut pestilens ille morbus multitudinem magnam illius populi corripuerit; sed, cum dictus P. Xaverius precaretur Deum pro salute illius populi, deprecatione peracta, contagiosus ille morbus statim cessavit, et pestis fuit prorsus extincta. Quo beneficio accepto, et viso tali miraculo, Xaverii intercessione ac precibus perpetrato, gentiles illius civitatis conversi sunt ad Christum, et multi a P. Xaverio baptizati sunt..." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 465. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 4: 295. Boeckl, "Plague Imagery," 985.

⁴³⁷ João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizeram na India os mais religiosos da Companhia de Iesu* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1600). João de Lucena, *Vita del B.P. Francesco Xavier della Compagnia de Giesu*, trans. Lodovico Mansoni (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1613).

in Goa.⁴³⁸ Though a posthumous miracle, Lucena's account was one of the first published testaments to Xavier's thaumaturgical prowess in the case of plague.

The group of figures in the right foreground consists of two figures healed by Xavier – a blind man and a lame man.⁴³⁹ Boeckl rightly notes that seven witnesses in the Cochin canonization investigation mentioned that Xavier had healed a blind merchant in Japan. The witness who gave the most detailed account of this event was Dominicus Caldeira, a man from the Maluku Islands whose father was Portuguese and mother was from the islands.⁴⁴⁰ Caldeira described how he had seen Xavier cure a blind Japanese merchant one Sunday after a sermon; afterwards, the merchant, his wife, his three sons, and three hundred other Japanese all converted to Christianity because of this miracle.⁴⁴¹ No one has yet identified the lame man in red who stands in front of the blind man, holding his arms out as if he has newly gained the ability to walk and is unsure of his balance; I propose that he is a beggar encountered by Xavier in Cape Comorin (Kanyakumari).⁴⁴² This beggar had painful sores on his legs and Xavier was known to wash and clean these wounds. One day, out of a desire to mortify himself, Xavier drank the dirty water he had used to clean the beggar's

⁴³⁸ "Atrás dissemos da peste , que auia em Malaca quando se d'ella partio o padre Mestre Francisco pera Sancham; na mesma ardia quando seu corpo tornou. Mos os Santos podem mais mortos, que vivos; em chegando as reliquias á ingratitude cessou o mal, senam que d'aquella hora por diante nem morreo nenhum dos que ja estamos feridos, nem mais se ferio algum dos sãos." Lucena, *Historia da vida*, 905.

⁴³⁹ A study for the blind man is preserved in the Albertina, Vienna. Vlieghe, *Saints II*, 32.

⁴⁴⁰ "Dominicus Caldeira, natus in Molucis, oriundus ab oppido Torre de Moncorvo, filius ex patre lusitano, Didaco Gonzales de Azevedo, et matre moluca,..." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 449.

⁴⁴¹ Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 449-50. For a summary, see Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 4: 295. In 1623, this miracle was mentioned in the canonization bull. "Insuper dum in Japonia insula Franciscus Christi fidem praedicaret, accesserat ad eum Mercator quidam, a multis annis caecus, petens, ut sibi a Deo, ut videret, impetraret; Franciscus, recitato super eum evangelio, signum cruces oculis eius impresserat; qui eodem temporis momento lucem amissam recuperaverat." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 711.

⁴⁴² Graham Smith identified him as a crippled man, but was not able to pinpoint the exact source to which Rubens was referring. Smith, "Rubens' Altargemälde," 48.

ulcers and the man was then healed. This miracle was attested to in the Fishery Coast process of 1616; an Indian Paravar named Gaspar de Miranda claimed to be an eyewitness along with his companion Agostinho de Pina.⁴⁴³ Pina was already deceased and thus could not be interviewed, but another Paravar, Joannes de Mesquita (João de Mesquita), testified that he had heard Pina describe this same miracle.⁴⁴⁴ There were five other people who related that they had heard about this event through hearsay. Because there were so many testimonies supporting the validity of this prodigious act, it was later included in the canonization bull of 1623.⁴⁴⁵ If Rubens were aware of this story, it lends additional evidence to Boeckl's thesis that the artist received information about the canonization process from his Jesuit patrons in Antwerp and used this information as a basis for the miraculous events in his *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* altarpiece.

The armored man in the middle of the composition has been identified by Graham Smith as a Portuguese soldier whom Francis Xavier converted from a sinful life.⁴⁴⁶ Xavier had befriended this soldier, learned that he had not gone to confession in eighteen years,

⁴⁴³ "Et vidit semel ipse testis, cum esset simul cum Augustino, supradictor, de Pina, quod dictus P. Franciscus Xaverius lavavit pustulas multas plagosi mendici, quibus magnopere vexabatur, et dictus Pater postea hausit aquam relictam ex ulceribus dicti pauperis, ut se mortificaret; et postea, in genua provolutus, innixe precatus est Deum pro salute recuperanda dicti pauperis plagosi, et statim ille ulcerosus vir fuit liberatus a tot illis plagis." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 538. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 344.

⁴⁴⁴ "Et in particulari ipse testis audivit a quodam Augustino de Pina, incola huius oppidi Manapar, viro nobili, qui discessit e vita octogenarius, et servivit dicto patri Xaverio, et fuit comes illius, quod dictus Augustinus de Pina vidit saepe suis propriis oculis dictum P. Franciscum Xaverium abstergere et lavare sordes multas ac pustulas ulcerosi mendici, quibus pauper ille valde affligebatur. Et dictus Pater animi mortificandi causa ulcerosam illam aquam mendici bibit. Et postea, in oratione positus, divinam opem imploravit; qua deprecatione peracta, repente pauper ille ulcerosus redditus fuit sanus et a plagis liberatus. Et de hoc miraculo fuit et est publica vox et fama in tota hac ora Piscariae, et praecipue in promontorio Comorini, ubi hoc factum contigit..." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 536-37. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 344.

⁴⁴⁵ "Eodem postea loco mendicus quidam beato viro occurrerat ulceribus plenus; cuius plagas Franciscus magno charitatis affectu lavans, atque aquam, qua eas laverat, ebibens, ac deinde Deum Patrem misericordiarum, ut illius pauperis misereretur, orans, e vestigio ab omni plaga atque ulcere, Dei munere, pauper ipse omnino liber surrexerat." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 710.

⁴⁴⁶ Smith, "Rubens' Altargemälde," 53, note 35.

and persuaded him to confess all of the sins he had committed since childhood. When it came time for Xavier to tell the soldier what his penance would be, the missionary told him to say one “Our Father” and one “Hail Mary” and that Xavier himself would take care of the rest of the punishment. Later, the soldier found Xavier in a clearing flagellating himself, mortifying his own body for the sins of the other man. The Portuguese man tried to get Xavier to stop, but he would not relent. This act inspired great dedication on the part of the Portuguese soldier, not only to Francis Xavier, but to leading a life free of sin.⁴⁴⁷ The two figures dressed in foreign clothing to the right of this soldier have been identified as Hindu priests who had debated with Xavier and had been persuaded by the missionary’s explanation of Christian beliefs.⁴⁴⁸ While Rubens included only two men in the altarpiece, Torsellino writes that this debate took place in a Hindu temple (called a “pagod” in the English translation) and involved two hundred “Brachmans” who were persuaded of the truth of Christian belief based upon Xavier’s sermon; however, only two of them were actually baptized.⁴⁴⁹ The last significant vignette in Rubens’s painting is the nude man with the topknot lying on a tomb slab on the left side of the picture at roughly the same height as Francis Xavier himself. Xavier was known for performing many resurrections, both during his life and posthumously.⁴⁵⁰ There are so many resurrections mentioned by Torsellino and in the canonization processes that it would be impossible to mention them all here; the canonization bull, which postdates Rubens’s paintings, describes the three resurrections for

⁴⁴⁷ Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 134-36. Orazio Torsellino, *The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier*, trans. T.F. (Paris: English College Press, 1632), 258-61.

⁴⁴⁸ Smith, "Rubens' Altargemälde," 53. Studies for these figures are preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Vlieghe, *Saints II*, 30-31.

⁴⁴⁹ Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 76-79. Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 142-45.

⁴⁵⁰ Two examples can be found in Francis Xavier’s canonization bull. Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 710, 11.

which Xavier was most famous. One of these took place in Cape Comorin where many of the locals refused to listen to Xavier's sermons about Christian doctrine. To prove that the Roman Church was the one true faith, Xavier asked to be taken to the tomb of a recently deceased man where he performed a resurrection, causing hundreds of witnesses to be baptized.⁴⁵¹ This miracle, which is described in the canonization process testimony, is perhaps the one intended by Rubens, as he has included a tomb slab in the altarpiece.

As demonstrated by this description, Rubens was clearly aware of a wide variety of early Xaverian sources, both published and unpublished, that circulated among the general public and on a more restricted level, among the Jesuits of Antwerp. However, as we will see in the next section, Rubens did not always follow these sources to the letter; he did, perhaps with the advice of his Jesuits advisors, make significant changes to underscore the larger argument that the iconographic program of the church was making about iconoclasm and idolatry, while taking into account recent events in the history of Antwerp.

3.6 THE FALLEN GOD, IDOLATRY, AND ICONOCLASM

The detail with which I am most concerned in this regard is in the background of Rubens's *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* altarpiece. Here we see an image of a presumably Hindu god falling and breaking. The figure's torso has just broken in two and his arm has separated at

⁴⁵¹ "Successive apud Comorinum promontorium, cum in quadam ecclesia servus Dei infidelibus concionaretur, ac propter duritiam cordis eorum nihil proficeret, facta oration, iussit sepulcrum, in quo pridie defunctus tumulatus fuerat, aperiri; ac populo significans, ad comprobendam christianae fidei veritatem, mortuum illum Dei voluntate rursus victurum, linteo, quo cadaver involutum erat, rescisso, ac rursus precibus ad Deum fuis, mortuo, ut viveret imperaverat; qui statim, stupentibus omnibus, surrexerat vivus; quo tam insigni miraculo commoti qui aderant, tum alii multi, crediderant in Deum." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 710.

the elbow. The fingers of his left hand have already broken off and fallen away. The pose of the god seems particularly active, so much so that if he were not so clearly painted to resemble stone, it would be difficult to identify him as a statue. The figure has several monstrous attributes, including two sets of horns that fit just under his gold crown, a second horned face nestled between his legs, and long feet that resemble claws. These features are echoed by a second sculpture, this one a bust (which perhaps depicts the same god) in a niche on the side of the temple. The bust is similarly bearded and horned and exhibits a rather worried expression on his face, as if he suspects that he will be the next idol to fall.

Throughout Torsellino's text, there are several instances of Xavier destroying idols. For example in Cape Comorin, Xavier has much success in instructing the Paravar children in the Christian faith, so much so that they are happy to inform Xavier of their parents' lapses into idolatry:

For if at any tyme they tould him of any such thing, he would presently take the children by the hand, & go with them to the house, where that heinous offence was committed, and as though an alarum had gone byn giuen to battaile, he would set vpon the place where the Idols were, and together with the children rush vpon them, breake them into pieces, spit and tread vpon them, & lastly vtterly destroy them, making in this manner the worship of the Deuill, a laughing-stock to children.⁴⁵²

According to Graham Smith, this event is based on an episode that takes place in the eleventh chapter of the second book of Torsellino's biography and takes place in the kingdom of Travancore, a small Hindu feudality in the southernmost part of India.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 130. "Si quando tale aliquid illorum indicio enunciatum esset, properè contracta puerorum manu contendebat ad eam domum, quae tantum admiserat nefas: extemplo, velut signo dato, inuadebat lararium. Tum pueri, facto impetu, pro se quisque Deorum simulacra comminuere, consputare, conculcare pedibus, omnibus contemeliis onerare; Diaboli cultum in ludibrium vertente Xaverio." Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 71.

⁴⁵³ Smith, "Rubens' Altargemälde," 54.

Tursellinus explains that Francis Xavier had much success in converting the natives of this land.

When all were baptized, *Xaverius* caused the Temple of the Gods to be presently throwne downe, and their Idols to be broken in pieces. One could not have beheld a more gratefull or pleasant spectacle, then to see them now trample those Idols under their feete, which a little before they had with so great reverence adored.⁴⁵⁴

In this text, Francis Xavier compels the new converts to destroy the images of the gods that they used to worship and indeed, this is the version of the story that is depicted in other images of St. Francis Xavier, such as in the background of the painting by Luca Giordano, now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (1685).⁴⁵⁵ We can also find this version of the story in Jan Erasmus Quellinus's *St. Francis Xavier Preaches to Indians who Destroy their Idols* in the Sint-Pieter-en-Paulkerk (formerly dedicated to St. Francis Xavier) in Mechelen (before 1683) and several prints, such as one include in Phlipp Kilian's series dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, titled *Vita S. Francisci Xaverii Soc. Iesus Thesibus Philosophicis Illustrata* (printed in Vienna in 1690).⁴⁵⁶

However, in Rubens's version, we see an allegory of the Catholic Faith with a chalice and orb, surrounded by angels holding the cross who send beams of light towards the idol, destroying it. St. Francis Xavier stands below with one hand gesturing upwards

⁴⁵⁴ Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 155-56. "Ad vltimum baptizatis omnibus, Xauerius fana disturbari, Deorum simulacra confringi protinus imperabat. Non aliud gratis illi iucundiusue spectaculum erat, quam cernere idola modo ab eis suppliciter culta, eorundem proculcari pedibus. Nec sanè inultus tantam iniuriam tulisset Diabolus, nisi Francisco quantum animi fuerat ad contumeliam, tantum ad periculum fuisset." Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 84.

⁴⁵⁵ Discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

⁴⁵⁶ This series was also copied by Melchior Haffner. María Gabriela Torres Olleta, *Vita thesibus et Vita iconibus: dos certámenes sobre San Francisco Javier* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005).

towards the heavenly vision.⁴⁵⁷ Smith has noted that Rubens's *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* greatly resembles an ancient Roman *adlocutio* scene, such as in the Marcus Aurelius panels of the attic story of the Arch of Constantine. For Smith, this is a fusion of classical and Christian elements that sheds light on the militant methods of the Society of Jesus, creating an image of Francis Xavier as a soldier of Christ who has gone out in the world to battle the forces of idolatry.⁴⁵⁸ I would add, however, that Xavier's elevated position in the liminal space between the crowd gathered at his feet and the heavenly vision above reinforces his role as an intercessor. Here, he is shown as a conduit that can channel prayers to heaven, effecting real change on earth in the form of miraculous healings and resurrections. However, as demonstrated by the vignette with the idol, Xavier also has the ability to channel the destructive power of the Christian God and to wield that force against the enemies of the true faith. Additionally, the message of this iconoclastic vignette is similar to Tommaso Laureti's fresco of *The Triumph of the Cross over the Pagan Idol*, discussed above. In both cases, the cross triumphs over the idol and replaces it. In the case of Laureti's painting, the crucifix literally stands in the place where the idol once was, while in Rubens's *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, devotion to the cross (and Christ) has replaced devotion to idols in the hearts of the recently converted that populate the bottom portion of the canvas.⁴⁵⁹

In the preface of Michael Camille's *The Gothic Idol*, he writes that "Idolatry has been invariably regarded as something practiced by someone else - by those 'philistines' who lack

⁴⁵⁷ A drapery study for the figure of St. Francis Xavier is preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Vlieghe, *Saints II*, 31-32.

⁴⁵⁸ Smith, "Rubens' Altargemälde," 42-44.

⁴⁵⁹ Michael Camille analyzes images of the fall of idols during the flight into Egypt in a similar way. He writes that this scene "thus exemplified Christ's first triumph on earth, because he not only destroyed but also literally took the place of images worshiped in this fashion." Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 1.

knowledge of the ‘truth’...” Thus the concept of idolatry is intimately bound up with ideas about "the Other."⁴⁶⁰ It is therefore extremely fitting that Rubens turned to illustrations of travel literature, the leading disseminator of discourses of “the Other” to European audiences of this time period, in order to find models for his Hindu idol. From the middle of the thirteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century, the ways that Europeans wrote about and visually depicted Hindu gods remained relatively unchanged. These stereotypes were initially created in the Middle Ages by writers such as Marco Polo (1254-1324), Odoric of Pordenone (ca. 1286-1331), and John Mandeville (the pseudonym of an unknown Frenchman or Fleming).⁴⁶¹ These authors all described the Hindu idols they claimed to have seen in a way that was exceedingly inaccurate. As Rudolf Wittkower writes, these idols were made up of the “stock features of the occidental mentality,”⁴⁶² with characteristics taken from the iconography of the Christian devil and demons or from creatures of Greco-Roman mythology, such as satyrs.⁴⁶³ This alignment between the devil and Hindu idols was considered appropriate by European Christians of the late middle ages, since idolatry was naturally regarded as a creation of Satan.⁴⁶⁴ A perfect example of the conflation of Christian devil imagery and Greco-Roman mythology can be seen in a miniature from a compendium of travel literature made in the early fifteenth century and now in the Bibliothèque

⁴⁶⁰ Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, xxv.

⁴⁶¹ Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 1-2.

⁴⁶² Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159.

⁴⁶³ Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 6-10.

⁴⁶⁴ Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 9.

Nationale de France.⁴⁶⁵ The gods on the altar have goat heads and horns, but are classically proportioned male nudes from the neck down; they all hold shields and one carries a spear, much like the Roman god Mars Ultor.⁴⁶⁶

The most important early textual description in Europe of a Hindu god comes from Ludovico di Varthema's (c. 1470-1517) *Itinerario*, published in 1510. Varthema was from Bologna and traveled in India from 1503 to 1508. He claimed that the King of Calicut was aware of the Christian God, but had made a choice to worship the devil, or Deumo, as Varthema referred to him.⁴⁶⁷ He described a statue of Deumo as being made of metal and adorned with a three-tiered crown resembling a papal tiara.⁴⁶⁸

It also has four horns and four teeth with a very large mouth, nose, and most terrible eyes. The hands are made like those of a flesh-hook and the feet like those of a cock; so that he is a fearful object to behold.⁴⁶⁹

Like most authors of this time, Varthema provides a description of a Hindu god that is far more indebted to European visual traditions than Indian ones. The German version of Varthema's *Itinerario* was accompanied by woodcut prints in 1515 by Jorg Breu (ca. 1475 -

⁴⁶⁵ BNF MS Fr. 2810.

⁴⁶⁶ Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 103.

⁴⁶⁷ "El Re de Calicut è Gentile, et adora el diauolo... Loro confessano ch'è un Dio che ha creato el cielo, et la terra, et tutto el mondo; et dicono, che se lui uolesse iudicare uoi, et mi, el terzo, el quarto, che non haueria piacere alunco de essere Signore. Ma che lui ha mandato questo spirit suo, zoè el diauolo, in questo mondo a far iusticia; et a chi fa bene li fa bene, et a chi fa male li fa male. El qual loro lo chiamano el Duemo, et Dio chiamano Tamerani." Ludovico di Varthema, *Itinerario di Ludovico Varthema*, ed. Alberto Bacchi della Lega (Bologna Gaetano Romagnoli 1885), 128.

⁴⁶⁸ Mitter believes that the addition of the papal crown is related to Dante's inclusion of popes in hell and thus a connection between hellish imagery and devils with papal attire. Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, pg? "In mezzo de questa capella sta un diauolo facto de metallo a sedere in unda sedia pur de metallo. El dicto diauolo si tiene una corona, facta a modo del Regno Papale, con tre corone..." Varthema, *Itinerario di Ludovico Varthema*, 128.

⁴⁶⁹ English translation from Ludovico di Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Verthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1863). Also quoted in Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 17. "Et tiene anchora quattro corna e quattro denti, con una grandissima boccha, naso et occhi terribilissimi; le mani sono facte ad modo de un rarpino, li piedi ad modo de un gallo, per modo che a uederlo è una cosa molto spaurosa." Varthema, *Itinerario di Ludovico Varthema*, 128-29.

1537), who followed the textual report very closely, providing an illustration that features a devil with a three-tiered papal crown, four horns (two sprouting from the forehead and two from the temples), hairy arms with clawed hands, feathered legs with chicken feet, and a grimacing visage. As Mitter explains, Varthema's description and the illustration by Breu borrow heavily from apocalyptic imagery, greatly resembling the dragon of the book of Revelations. This is fitting as the dragon is thought to represent the pagan lands of the East.⁴⁷⁰

The next important disseminator of stereotypes about Indian gods was Jan Huygen van Linschoten,⁴⁷¹ who traveled in India between the years 1583 and 1588. His *Itinerario* was published in 1596 with engravings by Joannes and Baptista à Doetechum that were based on Linschoten's own sketches made in India. He describes an idol

...so mishapen and deformed, that more monstrous was never seene, for it had many hornes, and long teeth that hung out of his mouth down to the knees and beneath his Navel and belly, it had an other such like face, with many hornes and tuskes... Uppon the head thereof stooede a [triple crown] Myter, not much unlike the Popes triple crown, so that in effect it seemd [to be like the monsters described] in the 'Apocalips'.⁴⁷²

Unlike Ludovico di Varthema, Linschoten now makes the connection to the dragon of the Apocalypse explicit. The illustration of this text shows this idol exactly, placed in a niche in a temple cut into a rock wall with idolaters in front, praying to both the god and a sacred cow. This model for the Hindu idol became extremely popular with both the text and image

⁴⁷⁰ Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 18.

⁴⁷¹ Ernst van den Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Image and Text in the Itinerario and the Icones of Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

⁴⁷² Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *The Voyage of J.H van Linschoten*, trans. A.C Burnell, vol. I (London: Hakluyt Society, 1885), 300. Quoted in Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, 21. For the original Dutch, see Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerarium, Ofte Schip-vaert naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* (Amsterdam: Ghedruckt voor Everhardt Cloppenburch, 1644), 65.

repeated in other sources. The textual description is repeated very closely in the account of a Jesuit writer, Pierre du Jarric in his *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales* of 1608.⁴⁷³

Between the years 1599 and 1601, the brothers Johan Theodor and Johan Israel de Bry were at work compiling and illustrating the *Historiae Indiae Orientalis*, a large collection of texts related to the East Indies, as a companion to their compendium of texts describing the West Indies, which they had been working on since 1590.⁴⁷⁴ Volumes two through four of the *Historiae* contained Linschoten's *Itinerario*. The De Bry brothers copied most of the original illustrations of Linschoten's text exactly and added a few of their own, such as a second image of the same Hindu idol seen from the side and back.⁴⁷⁵ The De Bry brothers' images are extremely important for a discussion of Rubens's Hindu idol in *The Miracles of St Francis Xavier* since we know that Ruben purchased a copy of *Historiae Indiae Orientalis* in 1614 from his friend Baltahsar Moretus, a printer in Antwerp.⁴⁷⁶

It is clear that Rubens was interested in achieving some level of accuracy when depicting non-European figures in the Francis Xavier altarpiece. When comparing the initial

⁴⁷³ Pierre du Jarric, *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales*, vol. 1 (Bordeaux: n.p., 1608), 44. "Ils l'adorent aussi en sa propre figure, c'est à dire de la façon qu'on a accoustumé le peindre parmy nous; & autant laid, hideux, & difforme, qu'on le peut imaginer. Car ils le figurent avec deux visages, l'un à la teste, & l'autre au dessous du ventre, portant ses cornes en tous deux, des griffes aux pieds, & aus mains, ayant la barbe faite de mesme, que celle d'un bouc puant & vilain. Mais afin qu'il tienne bien sa morgue, & qu'il paroisse quelque chose de grand, ils luy couvrent le chef d'une grande tiare, ou mitre à trois couronnes; & le representent assis sur une belle chaire: mais la couleur & la senteur monstrent assez quel il est." Note that Pierre du Jarric, a Catholic Jesuit, omits any references to the pope.

⁴⁷⁴ Ernst van den Boogaart, "Heathendom and Civilty in the *Historia India Orientalis*: The Adaptation by Johan Theodor and Johan Israel de Bry of the Edifying Series of Plates from Linschoten's *Itinerario*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 53 (2002). Gereon Sievernich and Carlos Fortea, *Asia y África De Teodoro de Bry* (Madrid: Ediciones Siruela, 1999).

⁴⁷⁵ Boogaart explains that the De Bry brothers wanted to highlight the barbarism and savagery of Indian religions. Many of the images that were added by De Bry show very violent events that would have horrified European Christians of the time. In the case of this image of the Hindu idol, we see devotees of the god sacrificing themselves by throwing themselves under the cart that carries the idol or cutting off pieces of their own flesh to offer to the god. van den Boogaart, "Heathendom and Civilty," 84-85.

⁴⁷⁶ Hans Gerhard Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1942), 216.

small oil sketch that is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna with the final large version, one can see that Rubens made significant changes to increase the accuracy of his depictions of foreign figures. In the center of the sketch, there is a figure in a turban wearing a Turkish costume. This figure is a standard image that is used repeatedly by Rubens in paintings like his two different versions of the *Adoration of the Magi* in Antwerp, (1624), the *Adoration of the Magi* now in Lyon (1617-1618), and *The Head of Cyrus Brought to Queen Tomyris* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1622-1624). This generically eastern figure ultimately derives from a fifteenth-century Italian drawing of a Turk in the Louvre that has been attributed both Gentile Bellini and Costanzo da Ferrara.⁴⁷⁷ Both of these artists are known to have traveled to Istanbul where they would have had countless chances to accurately observe and record local costumes. In the final version of the Francis Xavier altarpiece, however, Rubens changed this figure, basing it on a drawing Rubens had made of a man wearing a Korean costume.⁴⁷⁸ The items of clothing worn by the man in the drawing have been identified as the fashionable early Joseon period clothing of a Confucian scholar.⁴⁷⁹ He wears a *banggeon*, a transparent horsehair cap, as well as a short-sleeved coat

⁴⁷⁷ Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 261. This drawing was also used as a source by Pintoricchio in the Piccolomini Library in a scene of Pope Pius II arriving in Ancona, which may have been Rubens's model, rather than the original drawing.

⁴⁷⁸ The drawing is preserved in the J. Paul Getty Museum. There are many theories about the identity of this Korean man. One of the leading ideas is that he is a Korean convert who accompanied Jesuit missionaries on a trip back to Europe. Ann-Marie Logan and Liam M. Brockey believe that it is likely that this Korean man may have traveled with Nicholas Trigault, S.J., a Jesuit missionary in China who returned to Europe in 1614 to raise funds for the mission. Rubens drew a portrait of Trigault wearing Chinese clothing in January 1617. This drawing is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Anne-Marie Logan and Liam Brockey, "Nicolas Trigault, SJ: A Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens," *Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 38 (2003): 159. Schrader, "Implicit Understanding," 52. There are several other theories, outline by Stephanie Schrader, including the possibility that he was an anonymous Korean man who is documented as having worked for the Dutch East India Company or that he was a Korean slave who had been purchased in Japan by the Florentine merchant and slave trader, Francesco Carletti. The slave, identified as Antonio Corea in Carletti's account, was later freed and supposedly lived in Rome at the time Rubens was there. Schrader, "Many Identities," 9-17.

⁴⁷⁹ Schrader, "Many Identities," 4.

called a *dapho*, over an inner long-sleeved coat called a *cheollik*.⁴⁸⁰ In all likelihood, Rubens made the oil sketch for *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, then somehow encountered this man or these items of clothing.⁴⁸¹ Rubens then decided to substitute the Turkish figure in the oil sketch for the man in a Korean costume in the final version, demonstrating his concern to avoid stock figures and include more novel representations of Asian figures.⁴⁸²

Yet, when it came to representing the idol, Rubens made a choice to continue to utilize stereotypes and perpetuate the trope of a Hindu god as a monstrous devil, despite the fact that throughout the late sixteenth century, there had been a huge increase in travel and trade between Europe and India and that by the beginning of the seventeenth century, information about India was becoming increasingly accurate and more widely available. Some authors and illustrators continued to follow the same old models that had been developed in the Middle Ages and early sixteenth century, while others began to circulate more accurate information. With more frequency, writers were beginning to describe Hindu idols in ways that correlated more closely with actual examples of Hindu sculpture of the

⁴⁸⁰ Kim Young-Jae, "Looking at the Clothing of Rubens's *Man in Korean Costume*," in *Looking East: Rubens's Encounter with Asia*, ed. Stephanie Scrader (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013).

⁴⁸¹ It is Kim Yung-Jae's opinion that Rubens never actually encountered such a Korean man and instead has created an "imaginative interpretation of Korean costume." She doesn't explain, however, how Rubens was able to create such an accurate rendering of Korean dress (even if is not a perfectly accurate representation). It seems as if Kim believes that Rubens had access to the Korean clothing only, although she does not explicitly say this. Young-Jae, "Looking at the Clothing," 37.

⁴⁸² Rubens did make some changes to the Korean clothing in the final version of the altarpiece. Instead of wearing a long-sleeved inner coat with a short-sleeved outer cloak on top, only a long-sleeved outer cloak is visible. In addition, Rubens has chosen yellow for this coat, a color that he knew was reserved for the emperor in China, as per his caption on the Nicholas Trigault drawing (Rubens may not have recognized the difference between Korea and China as this distinction was not well known in Europe at this time). This suggests that Rubens may have intended this figure to be read as a king. Schrader, "Implicit Understanding," 44. The other examples of foreign clothing used by Rubens are harder to identify. The other "Brachman" who accompanies the man in the Korean costume and wears a light purple cloak wrapped around himself and a red brimmed hat may have been inspired by another illustration from Linschoten's text, an image of four typically Chinese costumes copied by the De Bry brothers in their *Historiae Indiae Orientalis*. Schrader, "Implicit Understanding," 60.

time, describing the multi-headed and multi-limbed nature of these gods. In 1615, Lorenzo Pignoria (1571-1631) added a second part to Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini delli dei de gl'antichi*, a mythological treatise that served as a guide to the pantheon of Greek and Roman gods for artists. Pignoria's contribution described the gods of Mexico, India and Japan. In the section on Indian gods, Pignoria includes an illustration of a figure that can be clearly identified as Ganesh, the elephant-headed Hindu god.

I believe that the reason Rubens decided to perpetuate a stereotypical image of a Hindu god, instead of searching for a novel and perhaps more accurate representation like Pignoria's, is that it was more important that the audience be able to identify the figure as an idol in order to understand the meaning of the painting and to be able to make connections between the altarpiece and the other paintings of idol destruction in the church's iconographic program. This was most easily done by continuing to replicate the stereotype popularized by Linschoten and the De Bry brothers. In the case of the Korean priest, it really is not important for the audience to be able to recognize the origin of the figure, whether Indian, Turkish or Korean. It is enough for the viewer to know that he is foreign and exotic and is receptive to the evangelical message that Francis Xavier is bringing to the four corners of the world.

However, Rubens does deviate in some ways from the Linschoten/De Bry model. In all of these cases, I believe that Rubens was trying to avoid imagery that had become sensitive in the late sixteenth century through anti-Catholic, anti-royalist print propaganda that circulated in the Netherlands. The best example of this is the headgear worn by the Hindu idol in Rubens's painting. In the textual descriptions cited above, the similarity between the crown worn by the idol and the papal tiara is made very clear. Rubens's idol

wears a crown of similar shape; however, the pattern on the crown has changed. Instead of the distinctive zig-zag pattern that is evident in the woodcut of Deumo in Varthema's *Itinerario* or in the De Bry brothers' illustration of the idol in Narsinga, Ruben's idol's crown has become smoother, but scaled like a fish. The papal crown had become an important focal point of criticism in anti-Catholic prints created throughout the Eighty Years' Wars. For example, in the print known as *The Throne of the Duke of Alba*, engraved in 1569,⁴⁸³ the Cardinal de Granvelle, the chief counselor to Margaret of Parma who was particularly hated by the Dutch, is seen standing to the left of the Duke of Alba, holding a bellows to the duke's ear. A devil stands behind the cardinal, crowning the duke and putting a papal tiara on the cardinal's head. Another print, one of a series of four, titled *Alva's Mission to the Netherlands and the Effects of his Tyranny*,⁴⁸⁴ shows the duke engaging in fornicating with the Whore of Babylon who wears the papal crown. *The Emblematic Print of the Iconoclasm*⁴⁸⁵ is perhaps the most useful to compare to Rubens's painting of the *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* since it too deals with the theme of idolatry. In the center of the print, iconoclasts are destroying religious images and liturgical objects, while to the left, Catholics worship a seven-headed idol, resembling the Dragon of the Apocalypse, ridden by the pope wearing his tiara.

Clearly, these prints, which must have been pervasively present during the years of the Dutch Revolt, are using the papal crown as a symbol of all of the abuses that Protestants accused the Church of engaging in, including idol worship. It seems obvious that Rubens

⁴⁸³ This print was very popular and there are quite a few versions of it. See Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 50-53.

⁴⁸⁴ Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 64-67.

⁴⁸⁵ Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 38-39.

and the Jesuits would not want to replicate such anti-Catholic rhetoric in the main altarpiece of a church that would serve at the heart of efforts to win back Protestants to the Catholic faith. It also seems that Rubens downplayed many of the monstrous qualities that were typically ascribed to Hindu idols. The second face that should be present on the lower torso of the figure is deemphasized, partially hidden behind the idol's knee. The feet are slightly elongated in an animal-like fashion, similar to the Linschoten/De Bry image, but it does not seem like Rubens's idol has clawed feet. Rubens has also broken off the fingers of the left hand (except the thumb), making it impossible to tell if the hands were clawed. Lastly, the horns conform to the god's crown so closely that it is difficult to discern if they are actually horns or horn-like adornments on the crown. It is almost as if the horns, long feet, and conical crown are present in order to refer to the standard depiction of Hindu idols so that the figure is clearly identifiable as such, but the monstrous quality of each feature has been deemphasized in order to distance the representation from the extremely monstrous idols with multiple heads, various animal parts, and papal tiaras that Catholics are shown worshipping in Protestant propaganda.

Lastly, Rubens significantly departed from the text on which the image is based. As previously mentioned, Tursellinus's text describes a crowd of recently converted Christians destroying idols on the orders of St. Francis Xavier. Instead, Rubens shows an allegory of the Catholic Faith destroying the idol from the heavens. Although it was perfectly acceptable to show a crowd of people destroying a statue of a prideful tyrannical ruler in the aisle painting of St. John Chrysostom, perhaps the memories of violence and chaos were still too raw to allow Rubens to paint an image of iconoclasts destroying a religious image on the main altar of a church, even if the destruction was aimed at a non-Christian idol.

In conclusion, the three depictions of idolatry in the Jesuit Church in Antwerp - *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Eugenia* - combine to create a depiction of the various forms that idolatry can take in different temporal and geographic settings, as had been elucidated by Jesuit writers such as José de Acosta (1539-1600)⁴⁸⁶ and Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656).⁴⁸⁷ Both of these Jesuits missionaries, active in Latin America and India respectively,⁴⁸⁸ described the origins of idolatrous practices in terms similar to those used by St. John Chrysostom, cited above. In his *Nitya Jivana Callāpam (Dialogue on Eternal Life)*, the first Christian theological text written in Tamil, De Nobili writes that idolatrous practices have many origins. For example, a king may erect images of himself and compel his people to worship him as a god or sorrow may lead parents to set up images of deceased children, which eventually come to be revered as deities.⁴⁸⁹ In all of these cases, the passage of time leads people to forget that their gods were originally mere mortals. Jesuit missionaries, by large, thought of the development of idolatry as a rational progression from a natural minor mistake to a major error involving “intellectual confusion and moral depravity.”⁴⁹⁰ Rubens’s images of idolatry in the Jesuit church at Antwerp visualize this progression, beginning with the statue to Empress Eudoxia in the painting of

⁴⁸⁶ Claudio M. Burgaleta, *José de Acosta, S.J., 1540-1600: His Life and Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

⁴⁸⁷ Francis X. Clooney, "Roberto de Nobili's *Dialogue on Eternal Life* and an Early Jesuit Evaluation of Religion in South India," in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2000).

⁴⁸⁸ Acosta was active in Panama, Peru, and Mexico in the 1570s and 1580s, while de Nobili spent forty years in south India, beginning in 1605.

⁴⁸⁹ For a summary of De Nobili's *Dialogue*, see Clooney, "Roberto de Nobili's Dialogue," 406-08. De Nobili provides Indian examples of all of the various types of idolatry that he discusses. For example, he cites Hiranyakaśipu as a wicked king who used his power to force his subjects to worship him. The poet Vyāsa serves as de Nobili's example of a virtuous person who was revered for his talent by the people and was eventually worshipped as a god.

⁴⁹⁰ Clooney, "Roberto de Nobili's Dialogue," 408.

St. John Chrysostom and advancing to the image of the Greco-Roman god in Rubens's image of the martyrdom of St. Eugenia. Finally, we see the relocation of paganism and idolatry in time and space, with this series of images culminating in a supposedly contemporary depiction of an Indian god complete with horns, multiple faces, and a golden crown in *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* on the altar.

When the Jesuits reentered the city of Antwerp in 1585, after the city was conquered by Alessandro Farnese, they immediately took a central role in the reconversion of the city to Catholicism.⁴⁹¹ The visual arts were one of the main tools that the Order utilized in the attempt to bring Antwerp's Protestants back into the Catholic fold.⁴⁹² The Jesuit Church in Antwerp and its image program was therefore central to these efforts. Anna Knaap has described the intended audience of the images of the church and demonstrated that the Jesuits and Rubens assumed that the art works inside the church would be seen not only by residents of Antwerp from many different levels of society, but also by visiting Protestants from the Dutch Republic who participated in doctrinal debates organized by Jesuit priests.⁴⁹³ The image program of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp was therefore an excellent venue for displaying visual rebuttals to Protestant criticisms of Catholic doctrine and practice. The large number of saints displayed serve as a defense of the Catholic cult of saints and a testament to the saints' efficacy as intercessors between the worshipper and God. Additionally, the prominent display of the 16th-century miracles of St. Ignatius of

⁴⁹¹ Anna Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence: Peter Paul Rubens's Ceiling Cycle for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004): 117-19.

⁴⁹² Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art."

⁴⁹³ Knaap, "Seeing in Sequence," 24-25. Cynthia Lawrence, "Confronting Heresy in Post-Tridentine Antwerp: Coercion and Reconciliation as Opposing Strategies in Rubens' *Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2006).

Loyola and St. Francis Xavier countered Protestant claims that miracles ceased to occur after the Apostolic Age.

Lastly, the proliferation of images both inside and outside the church constitute a strong defense of the Catholic position on sacred images. Rubens's scene of iconoclasm makes a direct response to Theodore de Bry's *Historiae Indiae Orientalis*. De Bry was born in Spanish-ruled Liège and in later life, lived in religious exile in Frankfurt among a community of staunchly anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish Calvinists.⁴⁹⁴ Michèle Duchet has used the phrase "machine de guerre" to describe de Bry's volumes related to the Americas and the East Indies,⁴⁹⁵ while Daniel Defert has referred to his America compendium as "the Protestant codex of the New World."⁴⁹⁶ Throughout his illustrations, Theodore de Bry encourages the viewer to draw connections between the idolatrous practices of the inhabitants of the Americas or East Indies with Catholic idolatry. One example shows indigenous Virginians dancing after a feast, cavorting among wooden posts carved with human faces. The text written by de Bry describes the posts as resembling Catholic nuns with their heads covered in veils. As Michael Gaudio writes, "in a curious reversal of roles... Old World idolaters become New World idols."⁴⁹⁷ Rubens similarly appropriates and transforms the meaning of one of de Bry's Indian idols, the god of Narsinga. The iconoclastic destruction of the god in *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* demonstrates that Catholics were fully opposed to the incorrect use of images and approved of the destruction

⁴⁹⁴ Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 103.

⁴⁹⁵ Michèle Duchet, "Le texte grave de Theodore de Bry," in *L'Amérique de Théodore de Bry: Une collection de voyages protestante du XVIIe siècle*, ed. Michèle Duchet (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987), 10.

⁴⁹⁶ Daniel Defert, "Collections et nations au XVIIe siècle," in *L'Amérique de Théodore de Bry: Une collection de voyages protestante du XVIIe siècle*, ed. Michèle Duchet (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987), 47.

⁴⁹⁷ Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, 105.

of those that were idolatrous on the overseas missions. The Hindu idol in Rubens's painting is the epitome of an incorrect image, monstrous and devilish, and is intended to provide a contrast to Rubens's altarpiece itself, which functions as a correct image within its Counter-Reformation context, intended to instruct, delight, and move the viewer to greater devotion.

Upon first glance, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* by Rubens seems to be about the flow of information describing foreign people, lands, and religions in the context of nascent globalism and a widening European worldview in an age of steadily increasing knowledge about the world outside of Europe. However, I have demonstrated in this chapter that the Francis Xavier altarpiece is far more concerned with local matters and reacts strongly to the contentious history of images and idolatry in sixteenth-century Antwerp. Here, Rubens has successfully employed the global in the service of the local. All of this was done in the name of pastoral pragmatism for the purpose of converting as many souls as possible *ad majorem dei gloriam*, for the greater glory of God.

4.0 THE TOMB OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN GOA: FROM DEFENDER OF *GOA DOURADA* TO UNIVERSAL SAINT

“Quite rightly, soon the very noble and always loyal city of Goa demonstrated great devotion to the blessed Father Francis, for whose respect and reverence, God saved the city during times of war... Because, as St. John Chrysostom said, the saints are columns, rocks, towers, lamps, and bulls, because like very strong columns they sustain the Church Militant in the manner of towers and fortified bastions and like living rocks in the middle of the ocean they resist the fury of the waves that break against them and remain in their tranquility... St. Ambrose said that cities could be happy and blissful if they acquire the relics of some saint martyr for their defense. Thereby the capital of the Portuguese empire in the east can rightly glorify the body of the Blessed Father.”⁴⁹⁸

In the sixteenth-century Portuguese mindset, Goa, the capital of Portuguese India, was replete with churches with glittering interiors and sacristies full of gold and silver liturgical implements and vestments, wealthy merchants and *fidalgos* dripping in jewels, and a bustling port where an abundance of luxury objects were traded. This was *Goa Dourada*, or Golden Goa, an image of prosperity, luxury, and Catholic pomp that lasted long after the waning of Portuguese influence in the Indian Ocean and the city’s economic and demographic decline

⁴⁹⁸ “Com muita rezão logo a muito nobre e sempre leal cidade de Goa mostrou devação ao B.P. Francisco, por cujo respeito e reverencia Deos a guardou no tempo da guerra... Porque como diz São João Chrisostom, os Sanctos são colunas fortissimas sustentão a Igreja militante, à maneira de torres e baluartes a fortificação, e como rochas vivas no meyo do mar rezistem à furia das ondas que nellas quebrão, ficando conservando sua tranquillidade... Sancto Ambrozio diz que se alegrão as cidades e se tem por ditosas se podem alcançar as reliquias de algum sancto martir pera sua defensão. Pello que a cabeça do imperio lusitano das partes orientaes com rezão gloriar de ter corpo do B.P. Francisco...”Sebastião Gonçalves, *Primeira parte da historia dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1957), I, 448-49. Gonçalves’s manuscript dates to 1614, but was not published until 1957.

in the seventeenth century.⁴⁹⁹ This chapter will demonstrate the active role that the Jesuits and the state of Portuguese India played in the manipulation of the image of St. Francis Xavier for the purpose of propping up the rhetoric of *Goa Dourada*. Here, I present a case study of the silver sarcophagus of St. Francis Xavier in the Basilica of Bom Jesus in Goa, India, examining the emergence of a visual language in Portuguese India surrounding the Jesuit-supported cult of St. Francis Xavier that glorifies the geographic reach, military might, and sanctity of the Portuguese Empire, precisely at the moment that the empire begins to crumble. I will then discuss the addition of a polychromatic pedestal for the tomb, commissioned in the 1670s by the grand duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici (r. 1670-1723). This portion of the tomb was made in Florence by Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652-1725), an artist who had never gone to Goa and had limited information about the intended site of the marble pedestal. The four bronze relief panels placed on the pedestal by Foggini, as well as the materials and techniques that were used to fashion this Medici addition to the tomb, dilute the rhetorical impact of the silver sarcophagus that housed Xavier's body and sever the tomb monument from its Portuguese-Asian geographical specificity. In other words, the Medici addition to the tomb does not participate in the rhetoric of *Goa Dourada* and instead reorients the cult of St. Francis Xavier in Goa towards the Italian peninsula, making a statement about Tuscan global ambitions and Xavier as a Vatican-approved Counter-Reformation saint who perpetuates the sacrifice of Christ into a new age where the Roman Catholic Church was swiftly becoming a world religion.

⁴⁹⁹ "The gold of *Goa Dourada* refers not only to the sixteenth-seventeenth century glitter of the churches and the commercial prosperity of the city of Goa, but also to its being European – 'the Rome of the East' possessing a distinctly Portuguese flavor. *God Dourada* is thus an outward-looking, seaward image, symbolising the thalassocratic and the 'extended reconquista' nature of the *Estado da Índia* with distinct Eurocentric and Christocentric dimensions." Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far: Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912* (Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 67.

4.1 ST. FRANCIS XAVIER: HIS LIFE IN GOA, HIS DEATH, AND THE RHETORIC OF *GOA DOURADA*

Less than six years after the Portuguese discovery of a sea route to India, King Manuel I of Portugal (r. 1495-1521) officially established the Estado da Índia by naming Francisco de Almeida the first viceroy of all Portuguese possessions in the Indian Ocean (1505-1509). When Afonso de Albuquerque was appointed the governor and captain-general of Portuguese India (1509-1515), he viewed the acquisition of permanent land holdings in India as a necessity. Despite opposition to this strategy from some quarters in Lisbon, Albuquerque set about this plan, seizing Goa in 1510 from the Bijapur Sultanate and quickly transferring the capital of Portuguese India from Cochin to this newly acquired port city. The conquest of Goa marked the beginning of a series of Portuguese territorial acquisitions, including the siege of Malacca in 1511 and Hormuz in 1515. Albuquerque oversaw the development of Goa into a proper capital, inaugurating its municipal government and establishing institutions such as hospitals and schools. In 1534, the Diocese of Goa was created, its territory stretching from the Cape of Good Hope to Ming Dynasty China.⁵⁰⁰

It was at roughly this moment that Francis Xavier arrived in Goa as papal nuncio and the first Jesuit missionary to be sent abroad. He used Goa as his base of operations during the ten years of his Asian ministry, periodically returning there to prepare for

⁵⁰⁰ Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973-1982), 144.

arduous voyages to lands that were barely known to Europeans.⁵⁰¹ From the beginning, Xavier's mission was strongly associated with the Portuguese monarchy and viceregal administration in Goa. The impetus for Xavier's journey to Asia was a request from João III, king of Portugal (r. 1521-1557), and accordingly, Xavier departed for Lisbon from Rome in the company of Pedro de Mascarenhas (1470-1555), the Portuguese ambassador to the Holy See and later viceroy of Portuguese India from 1554 to 1555.⁵⁰² When Xavier left for India, he sailed on the same fleet as the new Portuguese governor, Martim Afonso de Sousa (ca. 1500-1564), who was headed to Goa to replace Estêvão da Gama (ca. 1505-1576).⁵⁰³ In life, Xavier was clearly very well connected to the Portuguese monarchy and the viceroyalty of India; in death, these ties only intensified and became fixed to the Estado da Índia and to the rhetoric of *Goa Dourada*.

After Francis Xavier succumbed to fever in 1552 on Shangchuan, his body was buried in the ground, near the place of his death. Alessandro Valignano (1539-1607), an Italian Jesuit who was appointed the Visitor to the East Indies by the superior general of the order, includes an extremely detailed description of Xavier's burial in his biography of the

⁵⁰¹ For precise chronology of Xavier's various voyages, see Georg Schurhammer, "Cronologia xaveriana," in *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, ed. László Szilas (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964).

⁵⁰² Georg Schurhammer excerpts this request extensively: "I have just recently been informed in a letter from Master Diogo de Gouvea that certain learned clerics of exemplary life have left Paris. These men have taken a vow of poverty in the service of God and live only upon the alms of the faithful, and they preach and produce great fruit wherever they go. ...it is their intention to convert the heathen; and they say that if it pleases our Holy Father, to whom they have surrendered themselves, and without whose command they are unwilling to do anything, they would go to India... I therefore earnestly urge you, upon the receipt of this letter, to make an effort to find out what kind of men they are and where they are staying and to learn what you can about their lives, morals, education, and plans. ...urge them to come to me; for surely if they intend to spread and increase the faith and to serve God through their preaching and the example of their lives; nowhere can they do this better or more completely satisfy their desires than in my conquered territories." Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 1: 582.

⁵⁰³ Martim Afonso de Sousa's tenure as viceroy lasted from 1542 to 1545, while Estêvão da Gama's was from 1540 to 1542.

future saint.⁵⁰⁴ Valignano writes that Antonio de Santa Fe, Xavier's Chinese servant and interpreter, took charge of the missionary's burial by acquiring planks to make a box in which to put the body, "as is the custom of the Chinese... and as is done in Italy and other parts of Europe."⁵⁰⁵ Antonio placed the body in the coffin, dressed in a surplice. He also filled the box with lime, "so that his flesh would be consumed more quickly."⁵⁰⁶ According to Sebastião Gonçalves, a Portuguese Jesuit biographer of the saint whose manuscript was completed in 1614, none of the Portuguese settlers on the island of Shangchuan would attend the funeral due to the frigid weather. For this reason, the burial of the future patron saint of the entire Catholic missionary enterprise was witnessed only by Antonio and two "mulattos." Gonçalves added that they buried Xavier on a hill at the foot of a cross that had been erected by the local Portuguese and placed a pile of stones at the head of the grave so that the burial place could be recognized if another Jesuit passed by.⁵⁰⁷

Approximately three months later, in February of 1553, the ship of a wealthy Portuguese merchant, Diogo Pereira, stopped in Shangchuan. Antonio de Santa Fe informed Pereira, who had been a friend of Francis Xavier, of the missionary's death.

⁵⁰⁴ Mariano Lecina, ed. *Monumenta Xaveriana: Sancti Francisci Xaverii epistolae aliaque scripta complectens, quibus praemittitur ejus vita a P. Alexandro Valignano, S. J. ex India Romam missa*, vol. 16, *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu* (Matriti: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1899-1900), 2-199.

⁵⁰⁵ "Muerto el P. M.^{to} Francisco como está dicho, Antonio de Sancta Fee, china, que yua con él y lo amava tanto, fué al navio á dar las nuevas á los portuguesses de su muerte, y á buscar también si hallasse allí algunas tablas para hazerle una caxa, en que meter el cuerpo, por ser costumbre de los chinas enterrar los defunctos en sus caxas metidos, como se haze en Italia y en otras partes de Europa." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Sancti Francisci Xaverii epistolae*, 194. See also José Pereira, *Churches of Goa* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 64.

⁵⁰⁶ "... y hecha una caxa, metieron dentro el cuerpo, vestido con su sobrepeliz encima, inchiendo la caxa de cal viva para que se consumiese el cuerpo más presto." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Sancti Francisci Xaverii epistolae*, 194.

⁵⁰⁷ "E forão ellas tão falas de acompanhamento, que escreve Antoio china que somente elle com dous mulatos se achou nellas, e todos três levarão o sancto corpo metido na caixa a outra banda da ilha da nao e quando o enterrarão se achou a cazo hum português, porque era o frio tão grande, que nnao deixava sair os homens fora das choupanas. Sepultarão-no num outeiro ao pee de huma cruz que os portuguezes aly tinham pera sua devação arvorada, pondo-lhe muitas pedras à cabeceria pera que se em algum tempo por aly passase algum Padre da Companhia soubesse o lugar de sua sepultura." Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I: 419-20.

Pereira decided to have the body exhumed and take it with him to Malacca. Upon its disinterment, it was discovered that Francis Xavier's body was free of any sign of decomposition. Valignano reported that the corpse emitted a fragrant smell that was considered by all present to be a sign of Francis Xavier's sanctity.⁵⁰⁸ The body was returned to the coffin and was again packed with lime before being loaded onto Pereira's ship bound for Malacca. The ship arrived there on March 22, 1553 and Xavier's body was received ceremoniously. The body was again inspected for signs of its incorruptibility⁵⁰⁹ and began to work its first posthumous miracles. According to Gonçalves, a man who was "sick in the chest" was healed after touching the corpse⁵¹⁰ and a plague that had afflicted the city abated.⁵¹¹

However, the peregrinations of Francis Xavier's corpse were not yet completed. Less than a year later, the body was again moved. According to João de Lucena, the author of the first biography of Xavier in Portuguese (1600), a group of Jesuits, including Juan de Beira and Melchior Nunes, secretly opened Xavier's grave in Malacca in order to observe the miracle of the body's incorrupt state.⁵¹² After confirming that the body continued to lack any sign of decomposition, Beira and his brothers noted that Xavier's remains had sustained

⁵⁰⁸ "...abriendo la caja hallaron el cuerpo tan fresco y entero, que parecía que entonces acabava de morir; y no solamente no tenía mal olor, mas echava de sí un olor muy suave, que á todos los confortava, con lo qual quedaron todos muy alegres y consolados, tomando esto por testimonio muy claro de su sanctidad." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Sancti Francisci Xaverii epistolae*, 194.

⁵⁰⁹ The vicar of Malacca examined the body, praising the miracle of its "wholeness and freshness." Pamila Gupta, "The Relic State: St. Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004), 91.

⁵¹⁰ "E se afirma que hum homem doente dos peitos, em tocando a caixa se achou em continente sam..." Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I:421.

⁵¹¹ "... e os ares, que da peste passado ainda andavão corruptos, se apurarão de maneira, que daly por diante ouve notavel mudança e melhoria." Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I:421.

⁵¹² João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizeram na India os mais religiosos da Companhia de Iesu* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1600), 399-405. This information is also repeated by Francisco de Sousa in his *Oriente Conquistado*, published in 1710. Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado* (Porto: Lello e Irmão Editores, 1978), 601.

some damage as a result of maltreatment and neglect. His grave had been too short to accommodate his body, causing Xavier's neck to become bent and a stone to penetrate his left side. There also was noticeable damage to his nose, due to the lack of a coffin.⁵¹³ The Jesuits therefore decided to transfer the body to Goa where there was a stronger Jesuit presence and the body could be cared for in a more suitable manner.⁵¹⁴ Xavier's body arrived in Goa in December 1553 where it was received with appropriate ceremony and placed in the Jesuit church of the College of St. Paul.⁵¹⁵ After the Basilica of Bom Jesus was completed in 1605, the body was placed in the adjacent *casa professa*.

The body's translation to the *casa professa* coincided with a time that is often viewed as the height of Goa's prosperity.⁵¹⁶ The population of the city had reached about 200,000 and the urban fabric dazzled viewers with its abundance of sumptuous churches, palaces, gardens, and markets. Goa's full calendar of religious festivities and processions also contributed to its image as an extraordinarily wealthy and devoutly Catholic city. Traveler's accounts from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century regularly espoused this celebratory view of the city, using language that many scholars now have recognized as a particular type of rhetoric known as *Goa Dourada*, or Golden Goa. Historians have recently discussed the constructed nature of this representation, pointing out all the ways in which it

⁵¹³ Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, 601. Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, I, 422-25.

⁵¹⁴ Gupta, "The Relic State," 96-98.

⁵¹⁵ Fernão Mendes Pinto, an eyewitness to the reception of Francis Xavier's corpse in Goa, describes this event in Fernão Mendes Pinto, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, ed. Rebecca D. Catz, trans. Rebecca D. Catz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 501-02.

⁵¹⁶ Vitor Serrão, "O túmulo de D. Jerónimo Mascarenhas no Bom Jesus de Goa e a tônica do sincretismo artístico na Índia Portuguesa ao tempo dos Filipes," in *Goa, passado e presente*, ed. Artur Teodoro de Matos and João Manuel Teles e Cunha (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa, 2012), 63.

did not correspond precisely with the reality of Goa.⁵¹⁷ Nevertheless, beginning in the early decades of Portuguese economic and colonial activity in India, *Goa Dourada* remained a potent image and justification for colonialism.⁵¹⁸ The first glimpses of this rhetoric can be found in the Portuguese poetry of the sixteenth century,⁵¹⁹ where, for example, Luís de Camões (ca. 1524-1580), in his *Os Lusíadas* (published in 1572), wrote about the Portuguese arrival in India:

And now land was close at hand, the land so many others longed to reach... You have arrived: the land of wealth abounding lies before you. You are a very small part of mankind, you Lusitanians, a very small part even of God's fold; and yet neither peril nor self-seeking, nor lukewarmness in devotion to Mother Church deters you from the conquest of the lands of the infidel.⁵²⁰

These lines by Camões contain many of the essentials that would later become standard elements of the image of *Goa Dourada*. The wealth of India of course plays a prominent role in this construction, as does the idea that Portugal, a small kingdom perched on the edge of the European continent, approached exploration of the seas as an extended *reconquista*, sailing out into the unknown to vanquish non-Christians and create a thalassocratic empire blessed by God.⁵²¹ As this discourse developed throughout the centuries, an integral piece was the notion that Goa was just a small piece of Europe relocated to Asia. As Caroline

⁵¹⁷ Vitor Serrão notes that pockets of poverty and marginality did exist and that the city was also plagued with extraordinary violence, perpetuated by both the people of Goa and its institutions, like the Inquisition. Additionally, the threat of invasion from neighboring Indian powers was omnipresent throughout this time period. Serrão, "O túmulo de D. Jerónimo Mascarenhas," 64-65. Pamela Gupta has noted that not all early modern travelers were caught up in the rhetoric of *Goa Dourada*; visitors to Goa from Protestant countries sometimes "saw through the façade of 'Golden Goa'" Gupta, "The Relic State," 180. Caroline Ifeka, "The Image of Goa," in *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1985).

⁵¹⁸ Gupta, "The Relic State," 178.

⁵¹⁹ Ifeka, "The Image of Goa," 181.

⁵²⁰ Canto VII. Luís de Camões, *The Lusíads*, trans. William C. Atkinson (London: Penguin Books, 1952), 161.

⁵²¹ Pratima Kamat describes *Goa Dourada* as follows: "... an outward-looking, seaward image, symbolizing the thalassocratic and the extended *Reconquista* nature of the *Estado da Índia* with distinct Eurocentric and Christocentric dimensions." Kamat, *Farar Far*, 67.

Ifeka states that “*Goa Dourada* is a remarkably resilient ideology transplanted onto Indian soil by a southern European civilization struggling for long against the Moors and an interventionist Castille...” Pamila Gupta further elaborates, writing,

For the Portuguese, Goa became the chosen ‘other’ place – in contradistinction to their homeland – where power, prosperity, and piety reigned perpetually. Thus it must be underscored that a discourse of *Goa Dourada* initially grew out of a particular set of Portuguese historical successes, but also instabilities, anxieties, and contradictions...⁵²²

Ifeka has pointed out that the discourse of *Goa Dourada* has deeply impacted Indo-Portuguese historiography and created a contemporary vision of Goa that is inflected through this centuries-old rhetoric. Recently, historians have complicated the idea that Goa was and remains “the transplantation of the West onto Eastern lands, the expression of Portugal in India,” as António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970), the twentieth-century dictator of Portugal, supposedly stated.⁵²³ Ifeka, in particular, has emphasized that scholars should distance themselves from this idea and explore what she terms *Goa Indica*, a view that “emphasizes the Indian contribution to Goan identity.”⁵²⁴ However, in this chapter, I am less concerned with *Goa Dourada*’s effect on modern Goan historiography and I instead focus on the development of this discourse in the early modern period. In particular, I will elaborate upon the efforts made by the *Estado da Índia* and the Jesuits in employing the material and visual culture of St. Francis Xavier’s cult to maintain this golden image of Goa in the face of conflict and crisis.

⁵²² Gupta, “The Relic State,” 177.

⁵²³ Quoted in Kamat, *Farar Far*, 67.

⁵²⁴ Ifeka, “The Image of Goa,” 191.

As travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrate, an extremely important component of *Goa Dourada* was the materiality of the city. Visitors to Goa gazed upon the glitter of the altars, sculptures, and liturgical objects displayed in the city's churches and found themselves enveloped by a golden aura of wealth and prosperity. The same could be said for the elaborate religious festivities and processions that regularly took place. It has previously been noted that the cult of St. Francis Xavier contributed to the creation and maintenance of the discourse of *Goa Dourada* through religious festivals and processions and the spectacle of his incorrupt body. In this chapter, however, I will demonstrate that the material trappings of devotion to Xavier in Goa, particularly the decoration of the chapel dedicated to him in the Bom Jesus and his tomb, functioned similarly.

Inés Županov, in her book *Missionary Tropics*,⁵²⁵ and Pamila Gupta, in her dissertation, "The Relic State: St. Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India"⁵²⁶ both examine the ways in which state officials sought to maintain Goa's role as the center of Catholic Asia in the face of dwindling economic and political power, particularly by promoting the worship of the relics of St. Francis Xavier. As Gupta points out, the condition of the body of the saint was often metaphorically linked to the status of the territory of the Estado.⁵²⁷ For example, when Francisco de Souza, the Jesuit rector of the

⁵²⁵ Inés G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 76-85.

⁵²⁶ In particular see the second chapter of Gupta, "The Relic State."

⁵²⁷ Gupta's dissertation covers six public exhibitions of Xavier's body, pointing out the ways in which concerns about the body of the saint mirrored the state of the Portuguese empire in India. For example, in 1554 when the body first arrived in Goa, it was considered incorrupt, mirroring the discourse surrounding the colonial state at that time, in which Portuguese India was thought of as being in the midst of a golden age. However, by 1624, the saint had had various body parts, particularly his right arm, cut off and sent to various locations in the world, just as Portuguese India had begun to lose major parts of its territory to its enemies. By 1782, most observers worried over the "desiccated" state of Xavier's body,

Church of Bom Jesus in the early eighteenth century, wrote his *Oriente Conquistada* (1710), he lamented that pieces of Xavier's body had been cut off and sent away as relics, equating the various mutilations suffered by the saint's body with a second martyrdom that "his virginal body experienced after death."⁵²⁸ These amputations were seen as analogous to the losses of territory experienced by the Estado da Índia throughout the seventeenth century. Celebrations of the body of St. Francis Xavier, particularly the February 1624 canonization festivities,⁵²⁹ were also meant to belie Goa's noticeable decline, covering the entire city in a façade of gold and glamour. Gupta points out that the participation of state officials in the canonization ceremonies was equal to, or perhaps even surpassed, the participation of representatives of the Church and the Society of Jesus.

The most detailed extant descriptions of the canonization festivities were written by Sebastião Barreto, a Portuguese Jesuit,⁵³⁰ and Pietro della Valle (1586-1652), an Italian traveler in India who even participated in the festivities by processing through the streets of Goa dressed as an ancient Roman soldier.⁵³¹ Barreto describes ephemeral decorations

while the state was suffering from myriad internal problems, in essence drying up from the inside. Gupta, "The Relic State," 26.

⁵²⁸ Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, 605. Translated and quoted in Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 80.

⁵²⁹ Francis Xavier was, of course, canonized in 1622; however, the news of did not reach Goa until sometime in 1623. The authorities in the city decided to postpone the city's celebrations of the canonization until 1624 to give them time to prepare a more elaborate event. Gupta, "The Relic State," 150-52. P. Rayanna, *St. Francis Xavier and His Shrine* (Old Goa, India: Rekha Printers, 1989), 238.

⁵³⁰ Barreto's account was included in the annual Jesuit report sent to Rome in 1624. It is reproduced in its entirety in the original Portuguese in Georg Schurhammer, "Festas em Goa no ano 1624," in *Gesammelte Studien: Varia* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965). Pamela Gupta provides an English translation. Gupta, "The Relic State," 188-90.

⁵³¹ Della Valle's account can be found in a letter that he sent to Rome, dated November 4, 1624. This letter was published posthumously, along with a collection of seventeen others and can be found in the third volume of Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle il pellegrino con minuto raguaglio di tutte le cose notabili osseruate in essi, descritti da lui medesimo in 54. lettere familiari, da diuersi luoghi della intrapresa peregrinatione, mandate in Napoli all'erudito ... suo amico Mario Schipano. Diuisi in tre parti, cioè, la Turchia; la Persia, e l'India* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1663), 3:306-33. An English translation of the relevant section can be found in Pietro della Valle, *The Pilgrim: The Travels of Pietro della Valle*, trans. George Bull (London: Hutchinson, 1989), 290-92.

covered in gold and procession participants who were wrapped in silk decorated with gold and jewels.⁵³² Pietro della Valle's descriptions are full of similarly sumptuous images and he is particularly effusive about a theatrical performance of Xavier's life:

This tragedy was a formidable extravaganza, staged and recited by more than three hundred people, all lavishly dressed, with many jewels, many items of music, and most elegant dances, as well as various contrivances of chariots, ships, galleys, pageants, heavens, hells, mountains and clouds.⁵³³

The culmination of these festivities took place on February 18 with a procession of St. Francis Xavier's body through the streets of Goa. Barreto wrote that Jesuits carried Xavier's sarcophagus, which was made of seven *aroubas* of silver and decorated with precious stones and representations of the saint's life and miracles, on their shoulders.⁵³⁴ In addition, they carried a banner that had been given to them by the city with the figure of the saint in gold, "recognized as the patron of Goa."⁵³⁵ Clearly, city and religious officials covered Goa in gold, silver, and other precious materials during the celebration of St. Francis Xavier's

⁵³² "Hião nellas muitos emblemas, emprezas significaçõins, tençoins, e trassas, obra riqua, a major parte de oleos dourados com muito moro e prata e outros custos dignos de tal obra... Acompanhavan-as tropas de cavalarias de varias naçoins e todos a compitencias galantes, os quaes se compunhão do melhor do Seminario de Santa Fee e da flor dos estudantes de Goa; e sendo todos da mesma idade e talha, os pais e as mãis não perdoando a pedraria, oro, sedas, e gastos tomarão a sua conta a cauza e tenção dos filhos." Schurhammer, "Festas em Goa," 494.

⁵³³ The English translation is from della Valle, *The Pilgrim*, 290-92. "Della qual Tragedia che fù una machina nonmen strauagante, che grandissima, doue entrauano à recitar vestite più di trecento persone, tutte molto riccamente, con molte gioie, con molte musiche, e balli galantissimi con varie machine di carri, nauì, galee, tornei, cieli, inferni, monti, e nuuole..." Della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle*, 307.

⁵³⁴ "Tomada da retaguarda caminhava a tumba do Santo. Levava[-se] em ombros de Religiosos do xarafico patriarcha São Francisco. Pezava sete arouba[s] a prata. Levava muita pedraria fina emcastrada. Passou a obra de seis mil pardaos com figures, milagres, e passos da vida do Santo." Schurhammer, "Festas em Goa," 495.

⁵³⁵ "O estandarte que deo a cidade hia a figura do Santo de oro, reconhecido por padroeiro de Goa..." Schurhammer, "Festas em Goa," 495. Pietro della Valle also mentions the tomb and the banner, but with less detail, writing, "At the rear of the procession walked many priests wearing capes and bearing the body of St. Francis Xavier, enclosed in a rich and splendid silver coffin, under a canopy also of silver, utterly lovely, with the saint's own effigy behind. Next in the procession was borne a large standard with the images of the saints, also carried by some of the fathers." Della Valle, *The Pilgrim*, 290-92. "In fine della processione poi si portaua da molti Padri, con piuiali il corpo di San Francesco Sciauiet, rinchiuso in vna bella, e ricca cassa d'argento, con baldachino sopra pur d'argento, frabricatoli molto galante, e l'effigie del Santo dietro. Nella processione poi si portaua un grande stendardo con l'effigie de' Santi, portato pur da Padri..." Della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle*, 308.

canonization, impressing visitors with a vision of Goa as a glittering golden Catholic city, celebrating its materiality.⁵³⁶

Both of these writers point out the central role played by the viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama (1565-1632) in the canonization celebration.⁵³⁷ Although Jesuits and other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Goa were certainly present and important to the proceedings, both Barreto and Della Valle describe the celebrations as if they were practically a state ritual. Barreto mentions the presence of the viceroy and other court officials at several different moments; at the time of the final procession, the Portuguese Jesuit writes,

One hopes that His Excellency [the viceroy] enjoys all the pomp and pageantry, he will retire in front of the Sé Cathedral with the Bishop Governor and many gentlemen to see the vessel of the Church, floats of glory and other inventions of sorts, that the viceroy ordered it to stop so as to give each the advantage to see it from his point of view.⁵³⁸

The participation of the viceroy was so important that on one day of planned festivities (February 13), Pietro della Valle relates that the viceroy was “indisposed” and thus the entire day’s events were canceled, unable to go on without the participation of the head of the Estado da Índia.⁵³⁹ The unique quality of such a hybrid state-religious festival was acknowledged by Barreto, who additionally wrote that “this ceremony... was very different than what occurs in other parts of the world where [Xavier] is feasted, celebrated, and

⁵³⁶ Gupta, "The Relic State," 194.

⁵³⁷ Francisco da Gama served as viceroy twice. His first tenure lasted from 1597 until 1600, while the second was from 1622 to 1628.

⁵³⁸ The English translation is from Gupta, "The Relic State," 190. “E pera que Sua Exelencia gozasse de toda esta pompa, se foi aposentar nas cazas dos Emquisidores de fronte da See com o Bispo-governador e muitos fidalgos ver a Nao de Igreja, carros da gloria e outras muitas invençoins da sorte, que principe mandava parar tudo e de mã vontade as dexava cada qual dellas apartar-se de sua vista.” Schurhammer, "Festas em Goa," 495.

⁵³⁹ “Alli 13. Febraro. Per stare il Vicerè indisposto, si soprasedè nella festa, e non si fece cosa alcuna.” Della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle*, 307.

adored.”⁵⁴⁰ These accounts demonstrate that as early as his canonization, the cult of Francis Xavier was intimately bound up with the imperial Portuguese government and the image of Goa as prosperous and Catholic. As I will demonstrate below, the silver sarcophagus of Xavier continued to participate in this rhetoric, even as Goa went into decline.

4.2 HISTORY OF THE SILVER SARCOPHAGUS

The first recorded remarks on a sarcophagus housing the corpse of St. Francis Xavier in Goa can be found in accounts like Barreto’s and Della Valle’s, mentioned above, as well as in a printed pamphlet that describes the celebration of Xavier’s canonization in Goa in 1624, titled *Traça da pompa triumphal com que os padres da Companhia de Iesu celebrão em Goa...*⁵⁴¹ The author describes the silver sarcophagus as being of extraordinary workmanship, decorated with a large number of precious stones and weighing six *arrobas*.⁵⁴² After the canonization festivities, the body was relocated from the *casa professa* to the left transept arm of the Bom Jesus.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴⁰ “... esta pompa... bem diferente do que se deo em outras partes do mundo, em que elle he tam festeiado, celebrado e adorado.” Schurhammer, “Festas em Goa,” 495.

⁵⁴¹ This document is preserved in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesus (Goa 33. Fols. 134-139v) and has been republished by Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, “A edição rara dos prelos jesuíticos de Goa, de 1624,” in *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendoça (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008). See also Schurhammer, “Festas em Goa,” plates XXVII-XLI.

⁵⁴² “Vay o corpo de S. Francisco Xauier padrueiro desta Cidade, e Apostolo do Oriente polla santa Fee Apostolica, numa caixa, ou mausoleo de prata que tem seis arrobas de prata com muita pedraria, e estremado feitio, que como se hade uer ao claro sera superfluo querella de screver, e debuxar, sendo assy que a perfeiçam da obra he tam sobreleuada que nunca o debuxo por palavras se podera, nam somente igoalar, mas nem ainda em parte retratar o que os olhos nesta perfeita pessa ueraõ, e assy a ells se remae o conceito, e ualia do seu primor ficando com isto, fazendo logo resgate do tempo que pera dar noticia de outras couzas he necessario.” Matos, “A edição rara,” 84.

⁵⁴³ Carlos de Azevedo, *Arte cristã na India portuguesa* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1959), 142.

In 1634, Marcello Mastrilli (1603-1637), a Jesuit in Naples, had a vision of St. Francis Xavier while he was recovering from a life-threatening head injury sustained while constructing ephemeral decorations erected in the Jesuit college in Naples for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.⁵⁴⁴ Mastrilli was healed and vowed to follow Xavier's footsteps to India and, eventually, to Japan.⁵⁴⁵ Mastrilli arrived in Goa at the end of 1635, where he spent each night kneeling at Francis Xavier's tomb. He had brought with him a richly decorated chasuble from Elizabeth of France, queen of Spain (1602-1644), to replace the simple robe in which Xavier had been buried. Because of his great devotion to the saint, Jesuits in Goa granted Mastrilli the honor of undressing Xavier's body and keeping a piece of the old robe, soaked in Xavier's blood. Mastrilli was also given a small box containing some pieces of Xavier's intestines, which continued to work miracles throughout Mastrilli's later travels.⁵⁴⁶ Feeling that Xavier's silver coffin was not grand enough, Mastrilli swore to oversee the creation of a new silver casket, twice as large. Mastrilli solicited alms from the local Portuguese community in Goa, eventually collecting eleven thousand *xerafins*.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁴ Mastrilli dictated an autobiography to another Jesuit during his time in Goa. It was originally published by the Jesuit seminary at Rachol in 1636. Marcello Mastrilli, *Relacam de HVM prodigioso milagre: que o glorioso S. Francisco Xauier, Apostolo do Oriete, obrou na cidade de Napeles no anno de 1634* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional 1989). Multiple biographies in various European languages were published after Mastrilli's death: Leonardo Cinami, *Vita e Morte del Padre Marcello Francisco Mastrilli della Compagnia di Giesù* (Viterbo: [n.p], 1645). Diego Ramirez, *Relación de un prodigioso milagro que San Francisco Javier, Apóstolo de la India, ha hecho en la ciudad de Nápoles este año de 1643* (Pamplona: Pliegos volandero del GRISO, 2003). Ignacio Stafford, *Historia de la celestial vocation: Misiones apostolicas y gloriosa muerte del Padre Marcello Francisco Mastrilli* (Lisbon: [n.p], 1939). Mastrilli's story is also included in Daniello Bartoli's *Istoria della Compagnia de Gesù*, published between 1650 and 1673. Daniello Bartoli, *Dell'Istoria della compagnia de Gesù: Il Giappone, seconda parte, Dell'Asia, libro quinto* (Viterbo: Giacinto Marietti, 1825). See Ines G. Županov, "Passage to India: Jesuit Spiritual Economy between Martyrdom and Profit in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012).

⁵⁴⁵ Cinami, *Vita e Morte*, 43-51. Mastrilli would be martyred in Japan in 1637.

⁵⁴⁶ Bartoli, *Dell'Istoria della compagnia de Gesù*, 141-45. Schurhammer, "Die Xaveriusreliquien," 349.

⁵⁴⁷ The largest single gift consisted of three thousand *xerafins* and was received from Captain Antonio Telles da Silva, a Portuguese captain with whom Mastrilli had sailed to India. Mastrilli convinced Silva to donate the money while the captain was extremely ill. As soon as Silva promised to contribute to the funds for the tomb, he was miraculously healed. Bartoli, *Dell'Istoria della compagnia de Gesù*, 142. Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "A arte da prata nas casa jesuítas de Goa," in *A Companhia de Jesus e a missão no Oriente*, ed. Nuno da Silva Gonçalves (Lisbon: Brotéria 2000), 369. Županov highlights Mastrilli's prodigious fundraising powers, both in Europe and during his mission in Asia. Županov, "Passage to India."

Presumably, the first sarcophagus had been melted down in order to contribute to the silver used in the second.⁵⁴⁸ After making these plans, Mastrilli left for Japan on April 9, 1636, where he was martyred on October 17, 1637.⁵⁴⁹ The new silver sarcophagus was completed on December 2, 1637, the feast day of St. Francis Xavier, after twenty months of uninterrupted work.

Encrusted with semiprecious stones, the silver casket has space for thirty-two removable silver panels, each depicting either an event from the life of St. Francis Xavier or one of his posthumous miracles, including the healing of Mastrilli in Naples. The reliefs are adapted from a booklet of prints engraved by Valérien Regnard (active in Rome ca. 1620 - ca. 1650) and published in Rome with the title *Sancti Francisci Xaverii Indiarum Apostoli Societatis Iesu quaedam miracula a Valeriano Regnartio delineata et sculpta* (ca. 1622).⁵⁵⁰ According to the frontispiece of the publication, these prints reproduce the appearances of paintings that were displayed on the façade of the Gesù during the canonization festivities of 1622 in Rome.⁵⁵¹ In some instances, the silver reliefs on the sarcophagus of St. Francis Xavier are directly copied from the Regnard prints and in other cases, they are loose interpretations of the engravings. There are several silver plates that have no precedent in the Regnard cycle. The silver plates themselves can be opened and closed to expose the

⁵⁴⁸ Schurhammer, "Der Silberschrein," 561.

⁵⁴⁹ Cinami, *Vita e Morte*, 155-56.

⁵⁵⁰ Valérien Regnard, *S. Francisci Xaverii Ind: apli Societ: Iesv: quaedā miracula* (Rome: n.p., 1622). Massimo Leone, *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 445-49. Only a few copies of these prints have survived. Georg Schurhammer purchased a set from a bookseller in Barcelona in the early twentieth century, but I am unaware of the current location of this copy. Iturriaga Elorza, in his comprehensive iconographic study of the Regnard prints, consulted a copy in the Biblioteca del Santuario de Loyola, Azpeitia (Guipúzcoa, Spain). Juan Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos atribuidos a San Francisco Javier en unos grabados del siglo XVII," *Príncipe de Viana* 55, no. 203 (1994). I have consulted the copy in the John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

⁵⁵¹ "Ex picturis expositis in templo domus professae romanae societatis Iesu"

body of the saint for public viewings, as described by Francisco de Souza, the Jesuit Rector of the Church of Bom Jesus in the early eighteenth century:

The glass panes of the reliquary⁵⁵² that contains [the relics of St. Francis Xavier] are covered on either side and in front, with silver plates, all furnished with their silver fastenings, which are connected with a single lock, which both shuts and opens them all, by means of a single key, deposited in the [casa professa].⁵⁵³

The panels can also be easily rearranged into different configurations, making it difficult to definitively state the order of the scenes in the iconographic program.⁵⁵⁴

The question of the sarcophagus's authorship has not been resolved. Both José Pereira and Ines Županov attribute its design to Marcello Mastrilli.⁵⁵⁵ Županov bases this assertion on a compelling analysis of the two silver plaques that contain scenes of Xavier's sister and Mastrilli having visions of St. Francis Xavier, connecting this iconographic content to Mastrilli's own biography. She also points out that Mastrilli had extensive experience in Naples creating ephemeral festival decorations and therefore, would have been capable of designing the sarcophagus himself.⁵⁵⁶ While it is likely that Mastrilli was responsible for the iconographic program and for providing Regnard's prints to the silversmiths to use as models, I believe the contributions of the Goan metalworkers to the

⁵⁵² The body was placed in a glass coffin inside the silver sarcophagus in 1707 or 1708 by acting provincial Manuel de Saraiva. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 448. Gupta, "The Relic State," 314.

⁵⁵³ Letter from Francisco de Sousa to Michelangelo Tamburini, the Superior General of the Jesuits, dated January 26, 1708. Translated in Jean Castets, *The Miracle of the Body of St. Francis Xavier* (Trichinopoly: Indian Catholic Truth Society, 1925), 18-19. The original letter is published in Mariano Lecina, ed. *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia de sancto Francisco Xaverio*, vol. 43, Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu (Matriti: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1912), 778. During my visit to the tomb in March 2013, the upper register of silver plates were removed and the body of St. Francis Xavier was visible through the glass panes. A photograph published by Georg Schurhammer in 1964 shows the entire sarcophagus with all of the silver relief panels in place.

⁵⁵⁴ María Gabriela Torres Olleta, *Redes iconográficas: San Francisco Javier en la cultura visual del barroco* (Navarre: Universidad de Navarra, 2009), 260-63.

⁵⁵⁵ Pereira, *Churches of Goa*, 65. Županov, "Passage to India," 25-30.

⁵⁵⁶ Županov, "Passage to India," 30.

sarcophagus should not be minimized, as Mastrilli left Goa in April 1636 and work proceeded on the tomb without him being present for an additional twenty months. In addition, the ornamentation of the coffin is very much in keeping with general trends in Goan silverwork. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the silversmiths who interpreted Mastrilli's design and were responsible for the execution of the sarcophagus, as none of the guild records from Goa have survived.⁵⁵⁷ However, the Portuguese in India recognized the exceptional quality of Goan silverwork from the time of the 1510 conquest of Goa onwards and Portuguese kings were known to have invited Goan artists to work at court.⁵⁵⁸ For example, the life of Rauluchatim, a master Goan metalworker who spent three years employed by the king in Lisbon, is relatively well known. From the documents describing Rauluchatim's career that have survived in Portugal, we can learn that organized goldsmith and silversmith guilds existed in Goa and had excellent relations with the Portuguese community, creating favorable circumstances for the sustained vitality of this medium for the duration of Portuguese colonialism in India.⁵⁵⁹

The highly ornate openwork decoration of Francis Xavier's silver sarcophagus is, in fact, reminiscent of the magnificent filigree silver boxes exported from Goa, often for the purpose holding relics of saints, including those of St. Francis Xavier. One such box, now held in the Museu de São Roque in Lisbon, was perhaps intended to house a piece of

⁵⁵⁷ *Mughal Silver Magnificence (XVI-XIXth C.)*, (Brussels: Antalga, 1987), 34.

⁵⁵⁸ Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "Arte da Ourivesaria na Índia Portuguesa " in *A Herança de Rauluchantim*, ed. Nuno Vassallo e Silva (Lisbon: Museu de São Roque, 1996).

⁵⁵⁹ Pedro Dias, *Arte indo-portuguesa: Capítulos da História* (Coimbra: Almedina 2004), 53-54. Silva, "A Herança de Rauluchantim," 14.

Xavier's ear that was sent to Lisbon.⁵⁶⁰ Like Xavier's tomb, the main panels of this reliquary were also removable, which allowed the relic inside to be viewed through panes of glass, suggesting that the reliquary was meant to be seen as a miniature version of the silver sarcophagus in Goa. It is rendered in the signature style of Goan silverwork; the silver sheets are completely pierced and the filigree takes the form of non-representational trellises, arabesques, and other curvilinear flourishes surrounding central images of animals – lions, deer, birds, and two-headed eagles. The detail in Xavier's sarcophagus is not as finely rendered as in the reliquary and there are no animal motifs, but the floral and vegetal decoration is entirely in keeping with this style of Goan silverwork. Other examples of silverwork resembling the Xaverian sarcophagus can be found in the treasury of the Cathedral in Porto, including several missal stands and covers made in Goa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The two pictured here both exhibit floral silver openwork, backed with a red velvet-like material, the exact technique utilized in the tomb of St. Francis Xavier.

Despite our lack of knowledge about these metalworkers, it is possible, however, to speculate on their religion. There are several extant documents, beginning in the 1540s, which demonstrate the unease felt by Portuguese authorities at the idea of non-Christian artists making Catholic devotional images for either public or private use.⁵⁶¹ There is documented evidence that the gold- and silversmiths of Goa were converting to Christianity at this time, whether out of genuine belief or pragmatism. For example, in 1559, the

⁵⁶⁰ Maria Cristina Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002): 264.

⁵⁶¹ Pedro Dias reproduces a letter from Manuel Vaz to King João III, dated November 1545, in which Vaz writes that non-Christian artists should not be allowed to paint Catholic images and those that do so should be whipped and have their property seized. Dias, *Arte indo-portuguesa*, 42-43.

Portuguese missionary Luís Froís (1532-1597) described the 1558 baptism of the chief metalworker in Goa, who took the Christian name Sebastião de Bragança, in honor of his godfather, the Viceroy Constantino de Bragança, whose tenure lasted from 1558 to 1561. The artist was baptized in the church of the College of St. Paul and a large celebration was held in the metalworkers' district of the city. Froís recorded that the streets were swept clean and covered in banners and flowers for the occasion.⁵⁶² In 1567, the twenty-eighth decree of the provincial synod of Goa forbade non-Christian artisans, including silversmiths, from creating any works of Christian art. At the time of the creation of St. Francis Xavier's silver sarcophagus, approximately seventy years after both this decree and the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa, it is likely that the artists who created this masterpiece in silver were indeed Christian Goans.⁵⁶³

4.3 XAVIER'S SILVER SARCOPHAGUS AS A SACRED ATLAS OF PORTUGUESE ASIA

By the 1630s, when Xavier's silver sarcophagus was completed, the Portuguese Estado da Índia was witnessing its first moments of crisis, brought about by territorial over-expansion and a lack of human and material resources to sustain the rapidly expanding colonial presence of the Portuguese.⁵⁶⁴ In the 1570s, the colonial state of Portuguese India saw the

⁵⁶² António Silva Rego, ed. *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português*, 2nd ed., vol. VII (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1994), 338. Silva, "A arte da prata," 369-70.

⁵⁶³ Schurhammer, "Der Silberschrein," 562.

⁵⁶⁴ Gupta, "The Relic State," 57.

rise of Mughal power on the Indian subcontinent with the annexation of Gujarat in 1572, giving the Mughals access to a port and an entryway into Indian Ocean trade.⁵⁶⁵ The 1580s brought new challenges to Portugal as its crown was integrated into the kingdom of Spain with King Philip II assuming the Portuguese throne in 1581.⁵⁶⁶ The first definitive territorial blow to the Estado da Índia landed in 1605 when the Dutch, a rising maritime power in the Indian Ocean, seized Ambon, one of the Maluku Islands. As the seventeenth-century progressed, one disaster after another befell the Portuguese. Hormuz fell to an Anglo-Persian alliance in 1622; Hughli, an important Portuguese settlement in Bengal, was lost to the Mughals in 1632. Soon after, the Kandy ruler of Sri Lanka signed an alliance with the Dutch (1637) to the detriment of Portuguese influence on the island. In the second half of the 1630s, the Dutch initiated an annual blockade of the port of Goa, greatly affecting revenues. Further damaging their previously extensive intra-Asian trade routes, the Portuguese were officially expelled from Japan in 1639 after several decades of losing influence with the Tokugawa shogun in preference for the Dutch.

The city of Goa itself witnessed a series of dramatic setbacks throughout the seventeenth century, including a Portuguese population shortage and dwindling resources, both of which were magnified by a series of health and sanitation crises. The population of the city was devastated by plague in 1625 and again in 1640. The colonial treasury was slowly emptying due to losses in revenues to the Dutch. In addition, the canonization festivities celebrating the sanctification of Francis Xavier in 1624 were a huge drain on the

⁵⁶⁵ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History* (New York: Longman, 1993), 146.

⁵⁶⁶ Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia*, 116.

city's financial resources. Worsened by attacks from the neighboring Marathas, the situation in Goa was becoming dire.⁵⁶⁷

Just as the cult of St. Francis Xavier played a prominent role in the creation of *Goa Dourada* discourse, Gupta and Županov have demonstrated that the saint and his incorrupt body played an important role in the maintenance of this rhetoric after the decline of Goa and the state of Portuguese India began in the 1630s. For example, state and Church officials in Portuguese Asia would send relics of the saint to territories that were in danger of being lost to enemies in order to invoke Xavier's help in preserving these areas for the Portuguese and for the Catholic Church. Francis Xavier's upper right arm was divided into three pieces and sent to Cochin, Malacca, and Japan in 1619. The situation in Japan was extremely volatile at the time, only five years having passed since Tokugawa Ieyasu had banned Catholic missionaries and the practice of Christianity in his domain. The Japanese situation did not improve with the arrival of the relic, which only remained in Japan for a very short time before it had to be sent back to Macao, for fear of losing the relic entirely. The other two relics fared no better; both Malacca and Cochin were eventually lost to the Dutch, along with the relics themselves.⁵⁶⁸ While Gupta and Županov focus on the state's utilization of the body of St. Francis Xavier to maintain the charade of Goa as a golden city and the center of the most powerful European state in Asia, I will extend their arguments to the decorative program of the sarcophagus itself, demonstrating that the images included there represent an effort to portray Goa as the capital of a new Catholic kingdom. St. Francis Xavier's travels and miracles within Portuguese colonial territory are shown as

⁵⁶⁷ Gupta, "The Relic State," 181-85.

⁵⁶⁸ Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 82.

sanctifying the landscape, making a case for Goa's continued glory in the face of Portugal's political and economic decline in the Indian Ocean. As Županov writes, "Making a Portuguese saint out of a Spanish missionary was obviously not without problems. Francis Xavier, therefore, had to be fashioned in a way which revealed and served best the progressive manifestation of Portuguese 'glorious' destiny in Asia."⁵⁶⁹ At the time of their creation (1636-1637), the silver panels on the sarcophagus of the tomb of St. Francis Xavier contributed to this effort by documenting the saint's works and miracles, creating a visual manifestation of Xavier's miraculous peregrinations and a distinct record of the Christianization of Portuguese Asia carried out under the direct patronage of the king of Portugal.

The plates show scenes of Francis Xavier's life and miracles, beginning with a prophetic vision experienced by his sister that foretold her brother's importance to the Church and ending with a depiction of Xavier's posthumous healing of Marcello Mastrilli's in Naples, the event that led to the creation of this silver sarcophagus.⁵⁷⁰ As the plates follow Xavier's travels, they depict scenes that took place throughout the areas of Asia in which the

⁵⁶⁹ Ines G. Županov, "The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia: A Hagiographical View of Colonial Culture," *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies* 3 (1995): 137.

⁵⁷⁰ Because the plates can be removed from the sarcophagus and replaced in any combination, it is impossible to place them in a definitive order. Georg Schurhammer, however, has listed the subjects of the plates chronologically in respect to the biography of St. Francis Xavier. (1) The Vision of St. Francis Xavier's Sister (2) Xavier Being Healed on the Road from Paris to Venice (3) Xavier Kissing the Sores of a Patient with Venereal Disease in Venice (4) Xavier's Vision of the Cross in Rome (5) Xavier Dreams of Carrying an Indian on his Shoulders (6) Xavier's Vision of St. Jerome in Vicenza (7) Xavier's Journey from Rome to Lisbon (8) Xavier Heals Simão Rodrigues in Lisbon (9) The Miracle of Kombutute (10) Resurrection of Three Youths in Punicale (Punnaikayal) (11) Xavier Miraculously Assisting Jéronimo de Mendoza, a Portuguese Merchant (12) Xavier Repels the Attack of the Badagas (13) Xavier's Baptisms in the Kingdom of Travancore (14) Xavier and the Sinner in Kannur (Cannanore) (15) The Miracle of the Languages (16) Xavier Miraculously Heals Two Youths in Malacca (17) Xavier Baptizes Three Kings in Makassar (18) The Miracle of the Crab in the Moluccas (19) Xavier's Vision of the Portuguese Defeat of the Acehnese Fleet in Malacca (20) Xavier Levitates While Saying Mass in Goa (21) Xavier Ministers to a Priest in Malacca (22) Xavier Resurrects a Girl in Kagoshima (23) Xavier Heals a Lame Man in Japan (24) Xavier's Journey from Sakai to Kyoto (25) Xavier Heals a Blind Girl in Bungo (26) The Miracle of Bilocation on the Way to China (27) Miracle of the Freshwater on the Route from Macao to Japan (28) Death of Francis Xavier (29) Antonio Rodrigues is Healed by Touching Xavier's Body in Goa (30) The Miracle of the Lamp in Kottar (31) Xavier Posthumously Heals Tomé Cruz in Kottar (32) Xavier Posthumously Heals Marcello Mastrilli in Naples. Schurhammer, "Der Silberschrein," 563-68.

Portuguese were active, either as a colonial or economic power. In the following analysis, I will focus on the following themes presented by the relief sculptures on the tomb, all of which are related in some way to the rhetoric of *Goa Dourada*: the strong connection between Francis Xavier's mission and the patronage of the Portuguese state, Francis Xavier's ability to miraculously protect the imperial and economic interests of the crown in India, the Christianization and sanctification of the territory of Portuguese India through the missionary activity and miraculous acts of Francis Xavier, and the incorrupt body of Francis Xavier as a metaphor for the purity of the Estado da Índia.

The idea that Francis Xavier's evangelization of Asia took place under the protection of the Portuguese crown is featured in one of the first panels. The seventh panel, according to Schurhammer's order, depicts St. Francis Xavier's journey from Rome to Lisbon after he had been chosen on behalf of King João III of Portugal to replace Nicolás Bobadilla (1511-1590) on the mission to India, since Bobadilla was too ill to make the journey.⁵⁷¹ Xavier traveled to Portugal in the company of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas (1470-1555), the king's ambassador to the papal court. In the silver plaque representing the journey, we see Francis Xavier save three of the ambassador's servants from mortal peril through his own intervention and also through the power of prayer. The upper section of the panel contains a depiction of mountains filled with various animals and birds. Among these craggy peaks, Xavier can be seen pulling a man out of a chasm filled with snow and dangerous rocks. In the lower portion of the relief, Xavier kneels before a river, hands clasped in prayer while another man's horse has fallen down on top of him and a third has fallen into the water with

⁵⁷¹ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 1: 553.

his horse. These three vignettes roughly correspond to three episodes that are related Orazio Torsellino's 1596 biography, *De Vita Francisci Xaverii*.

The uppermost scene depicts an incident in which the ambassador's secretary came close to perishing in the Mont Cenis pass. As the group was crossing the Alps, the secretary fell from his horse into a large bank of snow among some slippery craggy rocks. The man was in danger of falling even further down the rocks into a dangerous river, but Francis Xavier quickly dismounted from his horse and pulled the secretary to safety.⁵⁷² The second miracle depicted in the silver panel shows an accident that involved the ambassador's quartermaster. Torsellino writes that the incident began when the ambassador reprimanded his servant for not adequately preparing lodging for the group, to which the quartermaster responded with harsh words. The man rode ahead the next day to check on the inn where they would stay that night and Xavier caught up with him just as the quartermaster's horse slipped and fell on top of him. Xavier rescued the man and took the opportunity to tell the quartermaster that he should repent for the anger he exhibited towards the ambassador the

⁵⁷² "Caminando otra vez por los Alpes encontrauan con grandes montones de nieue, que los ventisqueros auian allegado alli, y con asperas rocas y peñascos, por dono se via camino ni rastro de el, y por do yuan las caualgaduras con grandissimo peligro de los que yuan en ellas. Cayo aqui el Secretario del Embaxador en un gran mōton de nieue, y hundiose todo en el. Era esto en un deslizadero de una roca, o peña: por lo baxo yua un peligrosos rio: nadie se atreuia a sacarle de este peligro, e temiendose, que en lugar de sacarle, los lleuaria el tras si. Y assi llonos los animos de miedo, no hazian sino mirarse unos a otros. Estandose ellos parados, llegò el Santo Padre Xauier, el qual oluidado de su vida y cuydando de la agena, baxò de la caulgadura, y tirando del Secretario con mucha fuerça, le sacò de la nieue, y de aquel manifiesto peligro con ygal peligro suyo." Orazio Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier de la Compania de Jesus, primero Apostol del Japon y segundo de la India y de otras Provincias del Oriente*, trans. Pedro de Guzman (Pamplona: Carlos de Labayen, 1620), 27. For the Latin original, see Orazio Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii. Qui primus e Societate Iesu in Indiam & Iaponiam evangelium inuexit*. (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596), 29. For an English translation, see Orazio Torsellino, *The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier*, trans. T.F. (Paris: English College Press, 1632), 50-51. Torsellino seems to have based this story on a brief account included in Manuel Teixeira's manuscript biography of Xavier, which was related to the Portuguese Jesuit by the secretary himself. "...y principalmente de la charidad, la qual experiment bien el mismo secretario, según me lo contaba, porque cayendo una bez de la cabalgadura encima de un montón de nieue, que estaba en una ladera muy agra, el P. Francisco fué el primero que en este peligro le fauoresció, y desde entonces le quedó el secretario muy aficionado y deuoto, como él mismo aun agora lo mostraba quando esto nos contaba." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 823-33. For more information, see Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 573-74.

previous day.⁵⁷³ The silver panel created in Goa does not represent Xavier in the act of saving the quartermaster; instead we see the man half crushed under his horse, waving his arms. The large depiction of Xavier in the act of prayer makes it appear as if the Jesuit is praying to God to save the ambassador's servant rather than physically saving him. The lower right corner contains the third incident that occurred during the voyage to Lisbon, showing the accident that befell Pedro Mascarenhas's groom after the group had left Parma in April 1540.⁵⁷⁴ They were crossing the Taro River, which was swollen with runoff from melted snow in the Apennines. Despite the danger, the groom unsuccessfully attempted to cross the river on his horse; he was carried off by the rushing water and the members of the party feared that he would be killed. They all prayed that he would be saved by God and indeed, the groom was able to reach the bank of the river.⁵⁷⁵ Xavier himself wrote about this incident in his own letters; however, he credits the ambassador's prayers for successfully

⁵⁷³ The earliest source describing this episode can be found in a letter written by a Portuguese Jesuit named Francisco de Monclaro (1531-1595). In his account, this incident involved not the ambassador's quartermaster, but the secretary. The other participant in the argument was an innkeeper, instead of the ambassador himself. Torsellino seems to have turned this into two separate incidents, one involving the secretary and the other, the quartermaster. Monclaro's original letter is dated September 3, 1567 and was once held in the archives of the Jesuits in Évora, but disappeared during the Society's suppression. It was copied by José Leite in his *Supplemento aos Annaes*, written in the mid-eighteenth century. This letter is summarized in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 1: 573. Torsellino's Latin account can be found in Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 28. For Spanish and English translations, see Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, 26. Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 48-49.

⁵⁷⁴ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 1: 567-68.

⁵⁷⁵ "Quando el Santo Padre Francisco no podia socorrer con su persona a alguno de los que yuan con el, viendose en algun peligro, les ayudaua con oraciones. Atreuiose un criado de los mas priuados del Embaxador a passar el vado de vn rio a cauallo, disuadiendoselo los de mas, viose en extreme peligro: porque le lleuaua y ala corriete de manera, que ni podia rodear el cauallo, ni hazer mas que dexarse yr a la muerte, a do le lleuaua la furia del agua. Todos estauan atonitos mirãdo el peligro, del qual le libró el S. Padre Francisco con se fê y santidad. Porque diziendo a los de mas, que hiziessen oracion al Señor, la hizo el con grande feruor, y no sin fruto: porque saliêdo de repente el criado de los mas profundo del rio, adonde el agua yua mas mansa, hizo el cauallo pie en el arena, y dandole Dios nuestro Señor animo, y los circustantes voces, diziendo adonde auia de yr, passò de la otra parte del rio, librandose de la muerte, por la oraciõ del S. Padre Francisco, como el y todos confessauan despues." Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, 26-27. See also Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 29. Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 49-50.

interceding with God on behalf of the groom.⁵⁷⁶ In Torsellino's text and on the sarcophagus in Goa, the story has been reconfigured so that Xavier is seen as the sole mediator with God.

Xavier's interactions with Mascarenhas's servants on this voyage reminds the viewer that Xavier's travel was initiated and sponsored by the Portuguese king. Images of St. Francis Xavier created in Portugal or in Portuguese territory tend to emphasize the institutional connections between Xavier and the crown, with many pictorial cycles, such as André Reinoso's cycle in the Jesuit church of São Roque in Lisbon, containing images of King João III bidding farewell to Xavier,⁵⁷⁷ emphasizing the king's role as sponsor and protector of the missions. The scene of Xavier miraculously saving the lives of the Portuguese ambassador's servants fulfills a similar function in the series of reliefs on the saint's tomb. It is worth noting that this scene on the Goan sarcophagus has no precedent in the Regnard cycle; it is clear that these representations of Xavier saving the ambassador's servants on the road to Lisbon were iconographic additions made in Goa to demonstrate that Xavier's journeys were undertaken under the auspices of the Portuguese crown and that this saint had a special power to protect the servants of the king. A viceroy of Portuguese India could look at this scene on the tomb and see that Xavier would similarly act as an intercessor on his behalf, as he did with the ambassador's servants.

⁵⁷⁶ "As we were passing through Italy, our Lord deigned to manifest himself miraculously to one of [the ambassador's] servants, who had gone to Rome to become a friar. While he and his horse were crossing, against the advice of all of us, a swollen river, the strong current carried him off a greater distance than it is from the inn where we left you to San Luigi's. But God our Lord was pleased to hear the devout prayers of his servant the ambassador. He and all his men insistently and efficaciously entreated our Lord with tears to rescue him, as he did in a more miraculous than human manner..." Letter from Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola and Nicolás Bobadilla in Rome, sent from Lisbon and dated July 23, 1540. Saint Francis Xavier, *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), 16-17. The original Spanish text of Xavier's letter can be found in Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Sancti Francisci Xaverii epistolas*, 212.

⁵⁷⁷ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 462.

Francis Xavier is also shown as the protector of Portuguese military and economic interests throughout the cycle of silver panels. For example, one plaque shows a dream that Xavier had in 1537, while staying at the Spanish hospice in Rome with his Jesuit companion, Simão Rodrigues. One night, Rodrigues was woken by Xavier yelling “More, more!” He tried to ask Xavier what he had dreamed about, but Xavier refused to say. A few years later, on the eve of Xavier’s departure from Lisbon, he confided to Rodrigues the content of his dream in Rome. According to João Lucena, Xavier said,

Do you remember, brother, that night in the hospital in Rome, when I woke you up with cries, saying "More, more, more"? How many times you have asked me to tell you its meaning and I always responded that you should take no notice of it. Now I know what I saw there, in a dream or awake (God only knows), namely, the hardest labor, exertions, and sufferings of hunger, thirst, cold, trials, shipwrecks, betrayals, persecutions, and perils, all of which are offered to me for divine service and love. And the same Lord granted me at that time the grace of not being satisfied and of asking for more and much more with those words you heard.⁵⁷⁸

Artists often represent this scene by showing Xavier carrying a cross or surrounded by a vision of crosses and other instruments of the Passion of Christ, using a Christological metaphor to suggest the future trials and tribulations of Xavier. Examples of this include a painting by Paolo de Matteis, originally for the Colegio Imperial in Madrid and now in the Cathedral of Córdoba (1692). However, in the silver plaque in Goa these difficult labors are symbolically represented with a sword, a bow, arrows, a lance, a gun, and a mace, underlining Xavier’s involvement in the battles the Portuguese fought in Asia to expand and maintain their territory, as well as his status as militaristic protector of the Estado da Índia, a role that would be made ever more explicit as the seventeenth century progressed, as will

⁵⁷⁸ Lucena, *Historia da vida*, 40-41. Translated in Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 39. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 339.

be described below. The Regnard series of prints does include an image of Xavier holding a cross, so the designers of the Goan sarcophagus did not add this scene without precedent; however, they certainly modified it to fit the context of Portuguese India.⁵⁷⁹

Francis Xavier is also seen spiritually assisting Portuguese soldiers in their campaigns against various enemies, the most prominent example being Xavier's role in lifting the siege of Malacca in 1547, an event described in several Xaverian hagiographies, most notably by Torsellino and by the Jesuit historian, Sebastião Gonçalves in his 1614 manuscript.⁵⁸⁰ A fleet from the Muslim Acehese Sultanate, based in the northern part of the island of Sumatra, attacked the Portuguese city of Malacca. The city was able to hold off the invasion, but after the Acehese fleet retreated, Xavier encouraged the Portuguese soldiers to pursue the enemy's ships and destroy them. Unfortunately, the Portuguese fleet was small and in bad repair, as the Acehese had set fire to the ships in the harbor of Malacca before their retreat. Xavier was put in charge of the Portuguese navy's preparations⁵⁸¹ and convinced all of the captains of the ships to finance the necessary repairs with their own funds, to be repaid at a later date. On the day that the Portuguese ships were set to depart, Xavier preached a sermon to them, encouraging them "to spill their blood for the faith of Christ our Lord, for the reputation of the Portuguese name, for the defense of the fortress,

⁵⁷⁹ Additionally, it is unclear if the Regnard scene is meant to represent Xavier's dream of the hardships he would face, or similar type of Xaverian iconography in which the future saint was given great consolation from God, at which Xavier would humbly exclaim "Satis est, Domine, satis est!" or "Enough, Lord, enough!" indicating that the joy he felt from praying was too much for him to bear. Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos," 484.

⁵⁸⁰ Torsellino's account can be found in Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, 111-13. Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 239-44. For Schurhammer's account, based on an aggregation of primary sources, see Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 3: 225-41.

⁵⁸¹ "Alegre el Governador con ver el alegría y animo del tantos soldados y Capitanes, que se ofrecian à yr, diò todas sus vezes y autoridad al S. Padre Francisco, con plena facultad y poder, para dar en todo el ordeno que se pareciesse. El S. Padre Francisco con no menor animo , y esfuerço, que industria y prudencia, començò à aprestar su armada, aunque era negocio à juyzio de todos, bien arduo y dificultoso, por auer tan mal aparejo de Guerra y nauios." Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, 106. For an English translation, see Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 227.

and for the freedom of commerce," according to Gonçalves's manuscript.⁵⁸² Interestingly, the Spanish translation of Torsellino's autobiography says that Xavier's encouragement of the soldiers "armed them with spiritual weapons."⁵⁸³ Unexpectedly, the flagship of the fleet sank just as the navy was preparing for departure, which demoralized the Portuguese, worrying them that God was not on their side. Francis Xavier, however, assured them that this was not the case, and foretold that two ships would suddenly arrive in Malacca to replace the one that was lost. The future saint's prophecy was fulfilled and the Portuguese ships left in search of the Acehnese fleet.

However, the ships' departure left the city of Malacca defenseless. After a short period of time, the inhabitants of the city began to worry about the ships and question Xavier's judgment. While giving a sermon in the church of Nossa Senhora do Outeiro in Malacca, Xavier had a vision. He stopped speaking and looked disoriented for a moment, finally lowering his head onto the pulpit. In a few moments, Xavier raised his head and said "They won, brothers, they won Jesus Christ for us. At this very moment, the soldiers of his most holy name are about to finish off the fleet of the Acehnese Muslims, their and our enemies, with many dead while among ours there are only four."⁵⁸⁴ A few days later, a messenger arrived in Malacca affirming that Xavier's vision was accurate.

In the silver relief on his sarcophagus in Goa, Xavier is shown at the pulpit, surrounded by a crowd in the church of Nossa Senhora do Outeiro. To the right is a

⁵⁸² Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, 250. Translated in Županov, "The Prophetic and the Miraculous," 142. See also Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, 130. Torsellino does not give such detailed information about the speech, writing only that Xavier heard the soldiers' confession, administered the Eucharist to them, and named them the Army of Christ. Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, 107. Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 228-29.

⁵⁸³ "...armado con espirituales armas..." Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, 107.

⁵⁸⁴ Gonçalves, *Primeira parte*, 260. Translated in Županov, "The Prophetic and the Miraculous," 143.

window through which Xavier's prophetic vision of the victory of the Portuguese ships can be glimpsed.⁵⁸⁵ Again, like all of the reliefs on the tomb that demonstrate Francis Xavier's contribution to the state of Portuguese India, this image is extremely rare in the iconography of St. Francis Xavier and has no precedent in the Regnard series. In this story and image, Xavier embodies the role of patron saint of the Portuguese military, literally and spiritually assisting in the project of colonialism and empire building, acting as the protector of the Portuguese and embodying the role of crusader against Islam.

Francis Xavier is also shown protecting Portuguese economic interests in Asia, particularly in the scene where he miraculously assists Jéronimo de Mendoza, a Portuguese merchant. According to a deposition given by Diogo Madeira during the canonization trials, Mendoza had lost all of his cargo in a shipwreck and was financially ruined. He went to Xavier to ask him for help and the missionary pulled out his empty purse. After praying, Xavier's purse was miraculously filled with gold, which he gave to Mendoza.⁵⁸⁶ This scene is rarely found in Xaverian cycles and has no precedent in the Regnard print series, again suggesting that it was added to make a localized point. Francis Xavier, despite his famous refusal of material possessions,⁵⁸⁷ was willing to assist this merchant, a representative of

⁵⁸⁵ The vision very much resembles a framed painting representing the Portuguese fleet. As Leone points out, the silver reliefs on the tomb tend to depict miraculous visions as if there were painted images. This is most easily seen in the images of Xavier's sister's prophetic vision about her brother's future as a pillar of the church. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 449.

⁵⁸⁶ "E disse elle, testemunha, que hum homem lhe dissera em Choramandel, que hum homem, saindo do mar pedido, fôra ter com o P. Mtre. Francisco e lhe pedira huma esmola; e em lh'a pedindo, o Padre metera a mão em huma algibeira e a tornara tirar uazia; e logo o Padre pusera os olhos no céu, e dissera ao homem que se não desconsolase, que o senhor Deos era muito misericordioso; e que, dizendo esta palauras, tornara a meter a mão, e tirara huma mão cheia de fanões, e os dera ao ditto homm." Testimony of Diogo Madeira, taken in Goa and reproduced in Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 215. For further interpretation of this event, see Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 60-61.

⁵⁸⁷ For example, when Francis Xavier arrived in India, he only brought clothes with him that were far too heavy and warm. Dom Luís de Ataíde, the administrator of the hospital of the Holy Spirit in Goa, gave Xavier a silk robe, but Xavier refused to wear it, convincing Dom Luis to find him a sleeveless robe made of light cotton without a belt or a cape instead. After this robe got old and worn out, a friend of Xavier's, Francisco de Paiva, gave him a new one, but again, Xavier refused to accept it. One day, while Xavier was bathing, his friends swapped the old robe for the new one without the

Portuguese commerce in Asia, with an issue related to material wealth. Francis Xavier's mission, of course, had always been tied to the Portuguese merchant community in India; he traveled on merchants' ships, preached to their communities and heard the confessions of merchants and their families. Županov points out that Xavier's ministry in Asia among the Portuguese merchant community was just as important, if not more so, than his conversions of the indigenous inhabitants of these areas. Portuguese settlers in India were encouraged to marry locally (for this reason, they were called *casados*) and thus were always in danger of "going native" or "slipping into paganism."⁵⁸⁸ Xavier's spiritual and, in the case of Jerónimo de Mendoza, material care of the Portuguese community in Asia helped ease these individuals' transitions to life on a new continent, as they created communities and ultimately contributed to the building of a viable colonial state and foothold for Catholicism in Asia.

St. Francis Xavier's silver sarcophagus also documents the saint's travels throughout the Asian landscape and provides a record of his sanctification of that land, functioning as a sacred atlas of Xaverian prodigious acts in Asia. Nine of the scenes on the coffin take place in Europe; eight of them depict events that took place before Xavier left for Asia and one shows the posthumous miracle of the healing of Marcello Mastrilli in Naples. The southern coast of India, both Travancore and the Coromandel Coast, is the setting for nine other scenes, two of which are posthumous. Four scenes are set in Malacca, one in Makassar, one in the Molucca Islands and six in Japan or the Japan Sea. *The Death of St. Francis Xavier*

missionary's knowledge. Xavier put on this new robe without even noticing the change. Later that evening, an acquaintance at dinner complimented Xavier on his new robe, which caused the missionary to realize what his friends had done. He immediately demanded the return of his old tattered robe. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, II, 204-08.

⁵⁸⁸ Županov, "The Prophetic and the Miraculous," 150.

takes place on Shangchuan Island, off the coast of China. Surprisingly, Goa itself is the backdrop for only two reliefs: a scene in which St. Francis Xavier levitates while celebrating Mass in the church of the College of St. Paul and another in which Xavier's incorrupt corpse heals a blind man named Antonio Rodrigues. These representations not only show us the extent of Portuguese colonial and economic power in Asia, but also the spread of Christianity in these lands, an effort that was patronized directly by the Portuguese crown.

Several of the tomb reliefs make the argument that Francis Xavier's Christianization of Asia was providential, expressly planned by God. An excellent example of this is Xavier's dream of carrying an Indian man on his shoulders. This was a dream that Francis Xavier had had frequently before he learned that he would become a missionary in foreign lands. According to Pedro Ribadeneira, Xavier told Diego Laynez en route to Venice, "How exhausted I am! Do you know what I dreamt? I dreamt that I was carrying an Indian on my back and he was so heavy that I was almost crushed."⁵⁸⁹ In Xaverian hagiography, this is interpreted as a foreshadowing of the heavy labors that were to come once Xavier arrived in Portuguese India. The silver relief depicting Xavier carrying the Indian on his shoulders has no precedent in the Regnard series. This scene was added specifically for the series of images on the Goan sarcophagus, in order to showcase Xavier's willingness to exhaust all of his bodily energy to bring about the Christianization of Asia, as God had preordained.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁹ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 337-41. Pedro de Ribadeneira et al., *Monumenta Ignatiana. Series quarta. Scripta de S. Ignatio. Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1943-1965), II, 381-82. Of course, due to the ambiguity of the term "Indian" during the sixteenth century in Europe, it's impossible to know whether Xavier envisioned himself carrying an African, an inhabitant of the New World, or a native of the Indian subcontinent. Later biographers, such as João de Lucena, added more detail, specifying that the person Xavier dreamed of was "a black Indian, like those of Ethiopia." Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 37.

⁵⁹⁰ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 453.

One of the most perplexing scenes is the seventeenth, according to Georg Schurhammer's chronological order.⁵⁹¹ This relief does have a precedent in the Regnard series; however, Regnard created a hybrid scene that combined these royal baptisms with Xavier's levitating, a miracle that took place at several different points in the saint's ministry.⁵⁹² Schurhammer titles the sarcophagus image *Xavier Baptizes Three Kings of Makassar*, but it is difficult to identify precisely who these kings are and if they are indeed from Makassar, a city on the island of Sulawesi (now in Indonesia). In the testimony taken during Francis Xavier's canonization process and in various hagiographies, references to Xavier baptizing kings abound, but are confused and often problematically ahistorical.⁵⁹³ Some sources are vague about the identity of these kings. The canonization bull issued by Urban VIII, for example, says that Xavier was the first to preach the Gospel to many different kinds of people, including the Paravars, the Japanese, and the Malaccans, and that he baptized many of their kings and great princes.⁵⁹⁴ Other sources are more specific about which kings Xavier was responsible for baptizing, even if later historians have cast doubt upon the accuracy of these identifications. For example, in the canonization testimony gathered in Cochin in 1616, the third son of Dom Manuel, a sultan of the Maldives, credited

⁵⁹¹ Schurhammer, "Der Silberschrein," 565.

⁵⁹² The inscription on Regnard's print reads, "Reges tres et multa centena hominum millia baptizat qd agens saepius a terra elevates conspicitur" in Latin and "Batteza trè rè e molti centenara de migliara d'homini nel qual atta si uede piu volte inalzato da terra." Regnard, *S. Francisci Xaverii* not paginated. The Goa series also has a scene where Xavier is levitating while celebrating Mass in the church of the college of St. Paul in Goa, which has no precedent in the Regnard series.

⁵⁹³ Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos," 494-97; Schurhammer, "Die Konigstaufen."

⁵⁹⁴ "Nam praeter indos... ipse primus paravis, malaise, iais, acenis, mindanais, malacensibus et japonibus evangelium Christi annuntiaverat, nonnullique illarum nationum reges et magni principes, ingenti cum fidei nostrae emolumento, suavi Christi iugo colla subdiderant." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 709. Peralta Calderón provides a Spanish translation: "Porque fuera de los Indios... el mismo Xauier fue el primero que anunció el Santo Euangelio a los Parauas, Malaos, Iaos, Acenos, Mindanaos, Molucenses, y Iapones, de las qualies naciones muchos Reyes, y grandes Principes, con grande emolumento de nuestra Fè auian suetados sus cuellos al suaue yugo de Christo." Mathias de Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias y Nuevas Gentes San Francisco Javier de la Compañia de Jesús* (Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez, 1665), 9.

Xavier with his own father's conversion;⁵⁹⁵ however, modern historians have given the Jesuit Antonio Heredia credit for Manuel's Christian instruction and baptism in 1552.⁵⁹⁶ Another witness in the 1616 Cochin interviews, Joanna de Mello, testified that Francis Xavier had baptized the king of Makassar, along with the ruler's son and daughter.⁵⁹⁷ Juan Iturriaga Elorza has identified this ruler as either the king of Soepa on Sulawesi or the king of Siau Island, both of whom were actually converted by a knight of the Order of Santiago named Jorge de Alvarenga.⁵⁹⁸ Gaspar Correa, in his *Lendas da Índia*, originally written in the 1540s, stated that Xavier was responsible for baptizing the king of Kandy, in Sri Lanka.⁵⁹⁹ Again, this has been debunked; Schurhammer notes that this particular king was baptized in 1546 by an Italian Franciscan named Francesco de Montepadone in Kandy, while Xavier was 6000 kilometers away in the Moluccas.⁶⁰⁰

Despite modern historians' lack of success identifying which kings were baptized by Xavier, he was clearly very closely associated with royal baptisms in the early modern period. As mentioned, even the son of the king of Maldives incorrectly testified that Xavier

⁵⁹⁵ Before taking the Christian name Manuel, he was known as Sultan Hassan IX. Hassan's reign began in 1551, but he was deposed after his conversion to Catholicism. "Don Petrus infans, filius tertio-genitus regis don Emanuelis insularum Maldivae, coniugatus et incola civitatis Cocini.... Dixit se esse annorum 47.... Juxta XI.um, dixit se audivisse a rege don Emanuele, eius patre, qui baptizatus fuit a P. Francisco Xaverio, quod dictus P. Xaverius fuit vir sanctus et pro tali habitus ab hominibus; et quod venit in has partes Orientales missus a rege don Joanne nomine tertio, Lusitaniae rege." Testimony from Dom Pedro, prince of the Maldives, taken in Cochin, August 26, 1616. Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 510. Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos," 495.

⁵⁹⁶ Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos," 495.

⁵⁹⁷ Joanna de Mello, nata Malacae, mallaia natione, vidua, quae vitam sustentat eleemosynis collatis per proveditores sanctae Misericordiae... Dixit amplius, se audivisse ex publica voce et fama, quae de hoc fuit et est Malacae, P. Mtrum. Franciscum Xaverium ivies ad regnum Machazaris, et ibi baptizasse regem illius et ejus filium et filiam, cuius regis filiam ipsa testia alloquuta est moltoties, et egit familiariter cum illa, quae vocabatur donna Leonora..." Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 451-52. Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos," 496.

⁵⁹⁸ Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos," 496.

⁵⁹⁹ Quoted in Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos," 495-96.

⁶⁰⁰ Georg Schurhammer, *Xaveriana*, vol. 22, Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu (Rome: Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, 1964), 250-51.

baptized his father, possibly due to a faulty memory or a desire to align his father's reputation as a Christian with the most important European missionary to have been active in the Indian Ocean. The baptism of kings became a standard element in Xaverian iconography and a common subject for paintings and prints, examples of which include a painting by Paolo de Matteis (originally for the Colegio Imperial in Madrid) and Luca Giordano's altarpiece for the church of San Francesco Saverio in Naples (to be discussed in the next chapter). For the Jesuits, royal baptisms were the most sought after, and of course, it would be in their interest to align Xavier's reputation with such high status conversions.⁶⁰¹

In the context of colonial Portuguese India, however, this scene takes on added meaning. These unspecified kings could be any non-Christian king who had accepted Christ. In the case of the tomb in Goa, Xavier is shown baptizing not one, but three kings, who are transformed into new magi, the three kings who came to Bethlehem to adore Christ after his birth. By the seventeenth century, the tradition of identifying the three magi as coming from three different parts of the world (Europe, Asia, and Africa) had been well established for several centuries.⁶⁰² We can similarly read the Goan relief as representing three kings who have journeyed from the far corners of the earth to be baptized by Xavier, initiating a new age in which Roman Catholicism has been spread all over the world.⁶⁰³

Alternatively, the Luso-Asian setting of all the other reliefs on the sarcophagus might

⁶⁰¹ Jesuits pursued royal baptisms and conversions as a conscious strategy, thinking that if a sovereign took up Christianity, then their subjects would soon follow. This strategy was enshrined in the Society's *Constitutions*. See Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 30. This approach was often criticized by other orders, such as the Franciscans, who preferred to focus their ministry on the poor. Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 132-33.

⁶⁰² See Chapter 2 of Paul Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).

⁶⁰³ Other artists who represent Xavier with kings or other elite figures emphasize this point more strongly by including stereotypical items of clothing or headgear that allows the figure's place of origin to be identified more clearly. This will be discussed in more detail below.

influence the viewer to view these kings as coming from the lands surrounding the Indian Ocean, the part of the world where Portugal's colonial and economic interests were most intensely focused. Thus the scene of Xavier baptizing kings becomes a representation of three formerly pagan rulers becoming vassals to the Kingdom of God, placing their crowns on the ground, and submitting themselves to the authority of the Christian God, who was represented on earth by the Portuguese king. The lands ruled by these kings have thus become sanctified through the ministry of St. Francis Xavier.

The reliefs on the sarcophagus that deal with St. Francis Xavier's incorrupt body also contribute to this image of Portuguese Asia as sanctified through the presence of the Jesuit saint. Ines Županov has examined European discourse surrounding the idea of the tropics, noting that Jesuit accounts align these parts of the world with "the fertility of nature and of imagination, combined with the opposite effect of excessively rapid (over)growth, aging, decline, and finally rot."⁶⁰⁴ The incorruptibility of St. Francis Xavier's body thus assumed a very potent significance in this context. Pamila Gupta notes that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Xavier's pristine corpse was intimately tied to the state of Portuguese India as both bodies "exhibited qualities of strength and endurance."⁶⁰⁵ However, once one considers the discourse of the tropics mentioned above, it becomes clear that Xavier's body, which did not decay despite the tropical setting of his resting place, reflected the ability of the Portuguese empire and the Catholic Church to remain incorrupt, pure, and holy in an area of the world that Europeans characterized as prone to physical rot and moral decay. Francis Xavier's incorrupt corpse was physical proof of the sanctity that was brought to the

⁶⁰⁴ Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, 8.

⁶⁰⁵ Gupta, "The Relic State," 26.

Indies through his mission, the Jesuit order, the Roman Church, and the Portuguese empire. The sarcophagus of St. Francis Xavier, as previously mentioned, allows viewers to gaze upon his body through panes of glass when the upper register of silver plaques are removed, but additionally, provides the viewer with a representation of that same incorrupt body in a scene that depicts the healing of Antonio Rodrigues, a clerk in an orphanage who had been blind for seven years. This man went to the college of St. Paul, where Xavier's body was on display at the end of the sixteenth century, and placed the saint's hand over his own eyes. Rodrigues was promptly healed, regaining his sight.⁶⁰⁶

As demonstrated above, when the sarcophagus was unveiled in 1637, the panels could have been read as an atlas, documenting the territory of Portuguese India and the sanctification of that land through the miracles and deeds of St. Francis Xavier. The silver panels were created at a time when the Portuguese empire was just beginning to lose territory in Asia. Hormuz, Hughli, and Sri Lanka had already been lost and the Dutch had begun their annual blockage of Goa's port, while the position of Portuguese merchants in Japan was becoming increasingly precarious. Thus, the plaques were made at a time of crisis, when it was extremely important for Portuguese officials to promote the image of a continued *Goa Dourada*, using the glittering silver shrine of Francis Xavier with its scenes of sanctified landscape and military power to obfuscate the reality of the situation. At the end of the seventeenth century, however, the Jesuits of Goa received a new addition to the tomb

⁶⁰⁶ This story is told in Francisco de la Torre's *El peregrino Atlante S. Francisco Javier*, printed in Valencia in 1670. "Prodigio fue también digno de memoria el que obró en Antonio Rodríguez, que se condujo lleno de esperanza a ver la santa reliquia sin poderla mirar, porque eran candados de su cita espesa sombras de maligno humor. Llegó devoto al arca del santo, adoró su diestra y aplicó a los enfermos ojos los incorruptos dedos, que fueron rayos de sol, desvaneciendo la noche de aquella ceguedad, y restituyéndole enteramente al enfermo la luz. Oh singular grandeza la de nuestro apóstol! Obró con los dedos en unos ciegos ojos Francisco muerto lo propio que Cristo vivo." Francisco de la Torre, *El peregrino Atlante S. Francisco Javier, apóstol del oriente. Epítome histórico y panegírico de su vida y prodigios* (Valencia: n.p., 1670), 251.

of St. Francis Xavier, a gift from the Medici grand duke of Tuscany, which fundamentally altered visual message of the tomb.

4.4 THE CHAPEL OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN THE BOM JESUS AND THE CRISIS OF XAVIER'S (IN)CORRUPT CORPSE

Before discussing the Medici contribution to St. Francis Xavier's tomb, it is vital to make a note on the chapel where the tomb was located. The body of St. Francis Xavier, conserved in Mastrilli's magnificent silver sarcophagus, remained in the left transept arm of the Bom Jesus until 1659. By this year, the sacristy and both of the chapels in the transepts of the church had been renovated and redecorated. The dedication of the left transept chapel was changed to Francis Borgia, who had been beatified in 1624, while the much larger chapel in the right transept was dedicated to Xavier and the tomb of the saint was moved accordingly. The Historical Archives of Goa in Panjim contains a document describing the redecoration of the chapel and the translation of Xavier's tomb to its new location.⁶⁰⁷ It states that the walls of the new chapel of St. Francis Xavier were decorated with gilded woodcarvings and that painted images were added to the entrance arch. Paintings of the life of the St. Francis Xavier had to be transferred from their previous location in the left transept chapel, while the vault of the right chapel was newly decorated with the Stations of the Cross.⁶⁰⁸ The body

⁶⁰⁷ Historical Archives of Goa, Codex 2118, *Inventário da Sacristia da Casa Professa do Bom Jesus*, 1675-1699. Fols. 130v-131v. Francisco de Sousa also describes the transfer of Xavier's tomb from the left to right transept; however, he dates this event to 1655. Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, 605.

⁶⁰⁸ A capella de São Francisco Xavier, con seus dourados, e perfeiçoadas como estas pinturas do arco, grandes e seu douramento, e a reformação das duas capellas de fora; assy a de São Francisco Xavier como de São Francisco de Borgia, em que se mudarão as pinturas da vida do Santo, e huma para a outra." *Inventário da Sacristia*, Fols. 130v-131v.

of Francis Xavier remains in this chapel to the present day. The chapel currently contains twenty-seven paintings depicting the life and miracles of St. Francis Xavier, which may be the same as those mentioned in this document, thus providing a rationale for dating them to before 1659.⁶⁰⁹

The chapel contains representations of many of the standard scenes of Xavier's life, including some that are repetitions of those included in the silver reliefs on the sarcophagus - the miracle of the well, Francis Xavier's dream of carrying an Indian on his shoulders, and the death of Xavier on the island of Shangchuan, to name a few. However, several of the paintings are not nearly as commonly found in the iconography of St. Francis Xavier and were added specifically because they deal with miracles involving his incorrupt corpse, suitable subjects for a chapel housing the actual remains of this saint and serving as the focal point of the cult of Xavier's relics. Examples of these subjects include *The Journey of St. Francis Xavier's Incorrupt Corpse to Malacca* and *The Translation of St. Francis Xavier's Incorrupt Corpse to Goa*. The chapel also contains an image of *The Curing of Antonio Rodrigues*, a repetition of the scene on the silver sarcophagus in which Xavier's corpse heals a blind man. One of the paintings even lacks any narrative content and is just an image of the incorrupt body of St. Francis Xavier being venerated by a young Jesuit. In this image, the incorrupt quality of the body *is* the miracle. Visiting the chapel, the viewer is surrounded by images

⁶⁰⁹ María Gabriela Torres Olleta describes these paintings; however, she does not provide any possible dates for the images. Torres Olleta, *Redes iconográficas*, 264-67. Unfortunately, the paintings in the chapel are in extremely poor condition with much over painting that dates to the later twentieth century. It is therefore impossible to date these with any precision based upon stylistic analysis. Georg Schurhammer took photographs of these paintings in 1950, before they were heavily restored. These photographs are accessible in the Fondo Schurhammer, ARSI, Rome. The vault paintings mentioned in the document have clearly been repainted since the time of the inventory. The current paintings depict additional events from the life of Xavier, instead of the Stations of the Cross and stylistically, do not match the other paintings on the walls. Dalila Rodrigues writes that the five larger rectangular paintings hanging on the rear wall of the chapel were imported from Italy, but she does not provide stylistic rationale or documentary evidence to support this conclusion. Dalila Rodrigues, "A pintura na antiga Índia Portuguesa," *Vasco da Gama e a Índia* 3 (1999): 386.

not only of the life and miracles of St. Francis Xavier, but also of his incorrupt body and the prodigies worked by the saint's relics.

The abundance of imagery related to the body of Xavier is a reaction to a particular crisis experienced by the Jesuits that began in the decades after the canonization of St. Francis Xavier. His corpse was not supposed to rot; he was an incorruptible, singled out by God for his purity, piety, and dedication to spreading the Gospel to the four corners of the world. However, as the seventeenth century progressed, it became increasingly clear that Xavier's corpse was doing the impossible - it was decomposing. When King João III of Portugal initiated the first investigations of the miracles of Xavier in the sixteenth century, one of the major goals of this inquiry was to confirm and record the incorruptibility of the corpse of the would-be saint. Doctors Cosmos Saiva and Ambrósio Ribeiro both made reports confirming Xavier's lack of decomposition with Saiva concluding that

...the limbs and other parts of the body were entire and clothed in their flesh in such a way that, according to the laws of medicine, they could not possibly have been so preserved by any natural or artificial means, seeing that Father Francis had been dead for a year and a half and buried for a year.⁶¹⁰

Ribeiro certified that "in all these parts the flesh was entire, covered with its natural skin and humidity without any corruption."⁶¹¹ However, after Xavier's canonization, writings about the saint's body shift slightly in focus. Pamila Gupta has noted that chroniclers of the canonization festivities, particularly Sebastião Barreto and Pietro della Valle, dedicated more ink to the celebratory decorations and the first silver coffin in which Xavier's body had

⁶¹⁰ Translated in Rayanna, *St. Francis Xavier*, 151.

⁶¹¹ Translated in Rayanna, *St. Francis Xavier*, 232. See also João Manuel Pacheco de Figueiredo, "São Francisco Xavier: Tentativa de um estudo médico-histórico," *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Classe de Ciências* 20 (1977).

been placed. She concludes that just as the city of Goa itself was “dressed up” to distract festival attendees from its creeping decline, “the spectacle of the canonization purposely turned the focus away from the saint’s material body towards his accouterments.”⁶¹² While this is an intriguing conclusion, I would argue that at this time, the discourse surrounding Francis Xavier’s body still involved rapturous descriptions of his incorruptibility⁶¹³ and thus there was no urgent impetus to distract the public from the condition of his body. However, as the seventeenth century continued, panic over the progressively worsening condition of the saint’s body began to preoccupy Jesuit writings.

As concern about the dessication of Xavier’s corpse grew, Jesuits began to restrict public access to the relics and deny requests to view the body even in private. In 1681, the Jesuit Provincial, Fernão de Queiros, wrote to Giovanni Paolo Oliva, the Superior General of the Jesuits (1664-1681), requesting that he issue an order forbidding the opening of the sarcophagus.⁶¹⁴ In 1686, the body was moved to a stronger coffin (placed inside of the silver sarcophagus) and the acting Provincial, Gaspar Afonso, reported on the condition of the body, saying that “the limbs are found dried up, the flesh hardened and moth-eaten like, the face darkened and deformed.”⁶¹⁵ At the same time, Afonso forbade Jesuits to speak of this increasing desiccation to non-Jesuits under pain of excommunication from the order.⁶¹⁶ These worries continued into the eighteenth century. Francisco de Souza, the rector of the

⁶¹² Gupta, "The Relic State," 156.

⁶¹³ For example, when Marcello Mastrilli, the Jesuit who oversaw plans to create a grander silver sarcophagus, was granted permission to see Xavier’s body in 1636, he reported on its “sweet odor” and “tender flesh.” Gupta, "The Relic State," 268.

⁶¹⁴ Gupta, "The Relic State," 308.

⁶¹⁵ Gupta, "The Relic State," 309.

⁶¹⁶ Expressed in a letter to Charles de Noyelle, Jesuit Superior General, dated January 20, 1686. Francisco Rodrigues, *São Francisco Xavier: Duas exposições de seu corpo em 1744 e 1751* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1926), 180-81. Gupta, "The Relic State," 309.

Bom Jesus, very clearly describes the anxieties felt by the Jesuits and the measures they took to restrict access to the saint's body in a letter to the superior general of the Jesuits order, Michelangelo Tamburini, dated January 26, 1708:

We have complied with the orders of your Most Reverend Paternity and hidden away the relics of St. Francis Xavier from the sight of the faithful. Those relics are now shut up, by means of two keys, one of which I have sent to Bassein and the other to Rachol. The glass panes of the reliquary that contains them are covered on either side and in front, with silver plates, all furnished with their silver fastenings, which are connected with a single lock, which both shuts and opens them all, by means of a single key, deposited in the [*casa professa*]. Now then, prostrate at the feet of your most Reverend Paternity, I beseech you most eagerly, to have this key thrown down into the bottom of the sea, in order that henceforth no one may be admitted to see the relics of St. Francis Xavier, even through the glass panes. For Viceroy and Archbishops desire to see them, not from far but from near, and to satisfy them, the relics are deposited in the chambers adjoining the mausoleum... It was not, however, possible to exclude in that way, the suit of the present Viceroy, any more than other persons of the highest nobility. In consequence those that were thus admitted to see the body together with the Viceroy, manifested their astonishment at seeing the change that has, within the last few years, come over the feet and face of the Saint. But from this results a still graver danger. For if a Viceroy or an Archbishop, ill disposed towards the Society, resorts to smashing with his hands the panes that protect the sacred body and wishes to handle it, he will find only the bones of St. Francis Xavier, with the legs deteriorated, the cranium separated from the vertebrae of the neck and discovered that the feet are no longer joined to the legs. And after such a discovery, from which may God save us, what will he not blather abroad against the Society? He will doubtless say that we have, for years, exhibited as an incorrupt body, what was properly but covered bones....⁶¹⁷

In 1659, when the sarcophagus of St. Francis Xavier was moved into the newly decorated chapel in right transept of the Bom Jesus, Jesuit anxieties about the state of his body were reaching a critical point. The existence of the magnificent silver sarcophagus meant that Jesuit could begin to divert the focus of Xaverian devotees from the body itself to the material trappings housing it. The creation of a series of paintings for the walls of the

⁶¹⁷ Letter from Francisco de Sousa to Michelangelo Tamburini, the Superior General of the Jesuits, dated January 26, 1708. Translated in Castets, *The Miracle of the Body*, 18-19. The original letter is published in Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 778.

chapel, in which the miracles related to Xavier's incorrupt body are depicted, continued this process of substituting visual representations of Xavier for his body as the object of devotees' gaze. The Medici pedestal represents the culmination of this effort.

4.5 THE CREATION AND DELIVERY OF THE MEDICI COMPONENT OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S TOMB

In the 1670s, Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany (r. 1670-1723), commissioned a large altar-like pedestal for St. Francis Xavier's silver casket in Goa, made of polychromatic marbles with ornamentation in *pietre dure* (semiprecious stones) and four bronze relief panels, which depict four events from the life of the saint. He was inspired to do so after a visit from Francesco Sarmiento, the procurator general of the Jesuits in Goa, who gave the duke a gift of a cushion upon which the head of Francis Xavier had rested in death. According to Francisco de Souza, during Sarmiento's visit, Cosimo "expressed gratitude for the gift and promised to have a splendid tomb crafted from Italian precious stone inlay - a work worthy of such a magnificent and powerful prince and of such a miraculous and glorious saint."⁶¹⁸ Work on the monument did not begin until 1689; Lankheit attributes this delay to correspondence of a technical and practical nature that possibly took place between either Cosimo or Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652-1725), the

⁶¹⁸ "Passou por Florença o Padre Francisco Sarmiento Producrado Gèral desta Provincia, e offertou ao Graõ Duque de Toscana hum cuxim, que servio de almofada muytos annos à cabeça do Santo depois de morto. Agradeceo Sua Alteza o presente, e prometteo mandar fabricar hum magestoso sepulchro de pedras rias de Italia com embutidos, obra digna de tam mangifico, e poderoso Principe, e de tam milagrosos e abalizado Santo." Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, 587-88.

artist charged with designing the tomb, and the Jesuits in Goa.⁶¹⁹ However, no evidence of such correspondence is extant. In fact, it is not at all clear how much information Cosimo and his court artist had regarding the silver sarcophagus and the intended location for the tomb. Cosimo acknowledges that he is aware of the silver sarcophagus in a letter to G.M. Martelli, a father of the Theatine order in Goa, writing that he was sending “a pedestal of marbles and metals that I had made by my artisans to decorate the ark where the sacred remains of the glorious Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, are preserved.”⁶²⁰ Additionally, it seems as if Foggini either did not consider or was unaware of the realities of the space of the chapel where the tomb would be installed. The bottom register of the tomb pedestal swells outwards at the sides like an urn, an effect that is completely cut off by the entrance to the tomb. Secondly, Foggini put bronze panels on each side of the monument, even though only the relief on the south side is visible through the entrance to the chapel. The other three sides must be viewed through doorways in the corridors that connect the right transept of the church to the adjacent *casa professa*, which prompts the question of access to the secondary faces of the tomb.

Work on the tomb pedestal was carried out between the years 1689 and 1695, with an interruption in the early 1690s, due, presumably, to financial difficulties.⁶²¹ Beginning in

⁶¹⁹ Klaus Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1962), 103.

⁶²⁰ “...uno imbasamento di Marmi e di Metalli, ch’io feci travagliare da questi miei Artefici in ornamento dell’Arca ove si conserva il Sacro Deposito del glorioso Apostolo dell’Indie S. Francesco Xaverio.” Dated October 31, 1697. ASF Mediceo 5071. Reproduced in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 305.

⁶²¹ Evidence for this includes a letter written by Foggini, dated January 26, 1691/92. He writes, “Ritrovandomi senza denari e con molta spesa per il lavoro de’ bassirilievi di bronzo...” ASF, Mediceo 1535. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 304. It is assumed that work was resumed by 1693, based on a letter regarding payment for the marble *putti* on the tomb, written by G.P. Baldi to A. Bassetti: “Mi domanda il Sig. e Foggini se i marmi per fare i putti che vanno a S. Francesco Saverio li deve pagare lo Scrittoio, che inporteranno circa a 40 scudi. Li ò risposto di avisarne a V.S.III.ma per sentire l’ordini.” Dated March 4, 1689/90. ASF, Mediceo 1536. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 304.

1690, there are extant letters in the Medici Granducal Archive written by Foggini to complain of the lack of funds given to him by the duke.⁶²² The work was completed in 1695, the same year that Cosimo received a letter from Thyrsus González de Santalla, the superior general of the Jesuit order, stating his admiration for a drawing that he was sent of the tomb.⁶²³ The monument was then displayed to the public in the Cappella dei Principi in the church of San Lorenzo in Florence for a period of two years before it was disassembled, packed in crates, and sent off first to Lisbon, and then to Goa. Foggini's ingenuity in devising the pedestal to be easily disassembled and reassembled is singled out for praise by Francesco Saverio Baldinucci (1663-1738), the author of *Vite di artisti dei secoli XVII-XVIII*:

The quality, however, in my belief, is singular in its richness and nobility and demonstrates most clearly the genius of the art of the architect, being made of pieces connected with screws and bolts made of iron, that not only hold together the pieces, but make it appear to be made of a single piece. Through genius and intervention all of these connections are completely hidden and, in the case of transport, can be dismantled with ease.⁶²⁴

⁶²² "A tempo non mi poteva più giun[g]ere l'ordine per li scudi dugento che già ho riscossi ad effetto di proseguire il lavoro dell'Indie, e benchè non abbia mancato anco in questa invernata di fare quello che potevo per condurnelo avanti, con tutto ciò non era possibile il poetere proseguire, stante le spese che vanno sempre crescendo avanti si giunga all perfezione di tali lavoro." ASF, Mediceo 1533. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 304. Another letter dated January 26, 1691/1692 expresses a similar sentiment. "Ritrovandomi senza Denari e con molta spesa per il lavoro de' Bassirilievi di Bronzo, et avendo prima che partisse S.A.S per Pisa dettogli questo mio bisogno, egli benignamente rispose che me ne avrebbe fatti dare, ma non avendo sino a questa hora visto cosa alcuna, e crescendo sempre più la scarsezza per la grave spesa che giornalmente occorre intorno a dette opere." ASF, Mediceo 1535. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 304.

⁶²³ The drawing no longer exists, although the letter of thanks has survived. The Superior General wrote, "Me è capito sotto gli occhi il nobile e ricco disegno del sepolchro, che la liberalità veramente regia di V.A.S fa fabricare all'Apostolo delle Indie San Francesco Saverio, glorificato dalla divozione ammirabile di V.A.S. Io ne ho in estremo goduto, essendomi paruta una delle cose e più eccellenti e magnifiche, che mi sieno caduto sotto la vista." Dated September 30, 1695. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Cod. Roma 39, f. 215v. Published in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 304.

⁶²⁴ Baldinucci's life of Foggini can be found in Francesco Saverio Baldinucci, *Vite di artisti dei secoli XVII-XVIII* (Rome: De Luca, 1975), 373-90. Excerpted in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 234-35. Francesco Saverio Baldinucci (1663-1738) was the son of the more famous artistic biographer, Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1697). After Filippo's death, his notes were passed on to his son and Francesco Saverio oversaw the posthumous publication of the final volumes of his father's *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* (1681-1728). Francesco Saverio also wrote biographies of artists, but these were not published in his lifetime. The manuscripts are in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence (MS Pal. 565 contains the life of Foggini). Presumably, Francesco Saverio incorporated his father's notes into his own research.

Cosimo III charged two young artists, Placido Ramponi and Simone Fanciullacci, with the task of transporting the monument and then reassembling it in Goa. Ramponi was additionally tasked with keeping a diary of all that he saw and experienced throughout the voyage.⁶²⁵ They arrived in Goa on September 15, 1698 and Ramponi wrote that he worked on the installation of the tomb from October 14 to November 8, with the help of local craftsmen, who spoke Portuguese.⁶²⁶ While Ramponi's commentary on the installation of the tomb is remarkably brief, Lankheit uncovered a document in the Jesuit Archive in Rome, which demonstrates that the installation in Goa was contentious. António de Azevedo, the superior of the Jesuits of the Bom Jesus in Goa, wrote a letter to Thyrsus González de Santalla in Rome, dated December 14, 1698, about one month after the installation was completed.⁶²⁷ The letter reports that a long discussion had taken place between Azevedo, the archbishop, the current viceroy (António Luís Gonçalves da Câmara Coutinho, r. 1697-1701), the previous viceroy (Pedro António de Meneses Noronha de Albuquerque, r. 1692-1697), and the young Italian artists about where exactly the pedestal should be installed. Most of the participants in this debate believed that the right transept chapel was not an ideal location, a reasonable position since, as I have detailed above, the shape of the pedestal implies that it was meant to be a free-standing structure, and it was far too large to fit properly in the chapel for which it was intended. A plan to install the pedestal and sarcophagus in the high altar was developed; however, to implement this course of

⁶²⁵ Published in Carla Sodini, *I Medici e le Indie Orientali: Il diario di viaggio di Placido Ramponi emissario in India per conto di Cosimo III* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1996), 79-119.

⁶²⁶ "Il dì 14 ottobre diedi principio a erigere il deposito di San Francesco Saverio e andavo ogni mattina a Gesuiti cioè all chiesa del Buon Gesù di Goa, e assistendo ora a quell maestro/muratore or a quell'altro benché Canenarini cioè naturali dell aterra, gli parlavo portoghese, che intendevano bene." Sodini, *I Medici e le Indie Orientali*, 88-89. Interestingly, there is no mention of Simone Fanciullacci or his role in installing the tomb in Ramponi's diary.

⁶²⁷ The letter is now in the Jesuit Archive (ARSI) in Rome (Cod. Goa 35, F. 415) and is published in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, document #477.

action, an enlargement of the choir would be necessary, which would have involved tearing down a portion of the nave. This would have been an expensive undertaking, costing an estimated 12,000 *xerafims*. In addition, they would not be able to transfer Xavier's body to the high altar without permission from the superior general of the Jesuit Order. For these reasons, Azevedo decided to have the pedestal installed in the original chapel for the time being, and they could continue discussing whether or not the tomb should be relocated in the future, which it never was.

With the installation of the Medici pedestal, the tomb of St. Francis Xavier assumed the form in which it can be seen today. Made of polychromatic marbles and *pietre dure* with four large bronze relief sculptures depicting moments from Xavier's life, Foggini's contribution to the tomb is divided into three registers, the bottom-most consisting of pink and yellow marble decorated with cherub heads, scroll volutes, garlands, and shields carved with emblems, all in white marble. The second register is separated from the lower by bands of veined yellow marble and displays the four bronze panels mounted in gray marble. Flanking the bronze panels are mosaics in *pietre dure* representing lilies, the emblem of Florence. The upper-most register consists of a pink marble balustrade, decorated with two *putti* on each side, each pair holding a bronze banner surmounting cartouches composed in bronze and calcite alabaster.⁶²⁸ The alabaster "eyes" are also carved with emblems. The subjects of the bronzes, as well as the various emblems and mottos featured on the pedestal, are listed in the following table and will be analyzed in turn later in this chapter.

⁶²⁸ For an excellent description of the materials used in the tomb, see Annamaria Giusti, "Ritorno in India: di nuovo l'Opificio e il mausoleo di San Francesco Saverio a Goa," *OPD. Restauro* 11 (1999).

Table 4: Mottos, Emblems, and Bronze Relief Subjects on the Medici Pedestal

	Front	Right Side	Rear	Left Side
Banner motto	MOX INIMICA FVGAT	VT VITAM HABEANT	NIHIL HORVM VEREOR	MAIOR IN OCCASV
Emblem on Alabaster “Eye” ⁶²⁹	Rising sun	Sun in its zenith	Lion in a storm	Setting sun
Subject of Bronze Relief	<i>St. Francis Xavier Preaching</i>	<i>St. Francis Xavier Baptizing</i>	<i>St. Francis Xavier Escaping from the Badagas</i>	<i>The Death of St. Francis Xavier</i>
Emblem on Marble Shield	Sun with a human face and two layers of rays	Book with crosses falling from the sky	Flaming heart	Flashes of lightning destroying a tower crowned with a crescent

The lowest register of the tomb has inspired some questions about its authorship. The decoration of this level consists of cherub heads, floral motifs, scrolls, and shields with carved emblems mounted on pink and yellow marble; however, none of these elements are mentioned in the documents related to the tomb that were found by Lankheit in Roman or Florentine archives,⁶³⁰ nor are they included in a drawing created by Ramponi himself. Lankheit also believes that the elements of the lowest register are not as skillfully done as the other parts of the pedestal and that the emblems carved on the shield do not fit the coherent iconographic program of the mottos, bronzes, and alabaster eyes above. For Lankheit, all of these considerations lead to the conclusion that the lower level was not executed under the supervision of Foggini in Florence. He notes that António de Azevedo’s

⁶²⁹ Over the years, these alabaster carvings have sustained much damage and have become very difficult to read. I have used followed Lankheit’s descriptions of the emblems here. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 106. For images of these alabaster eyes before and after restoration, see Giusti, "Ritorno in India."

⁶³⁰ Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 108.

1698 letter mentions that Ramponi and Fanciullacci consulted two experts from India (“duos alios peritos ex India”).⁶³¹ Were these Goan artists trained to carve marble or did they come from some other area in India, such as the Mughal Empire or Gujarat? Lankheit leaves open the possibility that the decoration of the lower level may have been completed by such artists after the departure of Ramponi and Fanciullacci; however, he also concludes that the inclusion of a lower level (although not necessarily the marble decoration on it), must have been planned from the beginning stages of the project in Florence since the materials and shape are consistent with the rest of the tomb and without this extra height, the bronze reliefs would be too far below eye level and would be hidden behind any altar table that may have been placed in front of the tomb.⁶³²

The height of this pedestal was very useful to the Jesuits as they were faced with the crises of the decomposition of Francis Xavier’s body. At the time of the pedestal’s delivery, less than ten years before Francisco de Souza wrote his letter to the Jesuit superior general requesting that the keys to the sarcophagus be thrown into the sea, the desiccation of Xavier’s body was undeniable. The surviving historical record does not contain any detailed description of how the silver sarcophagus was displayed prior to the installation of the Medici pedestal,⁶³³ but it cannot be denied that the addition is remarkably tall

⁶³¹ Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, document #477.

⁶³² Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 108.

⁶³³ Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri, an Italian traveller in India visited the Bom Jesus in 1695, when he wrote that the silver sarcophagus was displayed on a “stone base” as the Jesuits waited for the Medici pedestal to arrive. “...e a sinistra una Cappella, dove riposa il preziosissimo corpo di San Francesco. Egli era posto in una cassa di cristallo, dentro un’altra d’argento, posta sopra una base di pietra. Si aspettava pero da Firenze una famosa tomba di porfido, che faceva fare il Gran Duca.” Careri mistakes the location of the chapel dedicated to Xavier, saying that it was on the left, instead of the right; he also is unaware of the materials that the Medici pedestal was made of, writing that it was a “tomb of porphyry.” Giovanni Francesco Gemelli-Careri, *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri* (Naples: Giuseppe Roselli, 1708), 183-84. Azevedo, *Arte cristã na India portuguesa*, 138.

(approximately four meters or about thirteen feet),⁶³⁴ much more so than an altar would be. Effectively, the Medici pedestal serves to elevate the body, removing it from human experience and placing it in a more liminal realm, between heaven and earth, where the saint can serve as an effective intercessor. This in itself is not unusual; saints' bodies and tombs in Europe are often displayed in such a way, a good example being the silver tomb of St. Elizabeth of Portugal in the monastery of Santa Clara-a-Nova in Coimbra. However, there is an added weight in the case of St. Francis Xavier's relics, due to this anxiety about his decomposition. The height of the Medici pedestal serves to make the body more difficult to see, even if the silver plates are removed, and certainly, would make difficult anyone's attempt to "[smash] with his hands the panes that protect the sacred body and... handle it," as De Souza wrote. The magnificence of the tomb and the sumptuousness of its materials also facilitate the Jesuits' desire to refocus attention away from Xavier's decomposing body; De Souza's impassioned plea to lock away the corpse forever would only be possible post-1698, when the magnificent polychromatic pedestal donated by Cosimo III de' Medici could, in combination with the richly decorated silver shrine and the paintings in the chapel, attract the devotion of pilgrims in its own right.

As the seventeenth century progressed, the Portuguese Estado da Índia continued to diminish in size, political importance, and wealth. Colonial officials increasingly called on St. Francis Xavier to protect the weakening state. The most important example of the Portuguese Estado calling upon the intervention of St. Francis Xavier and ceremoniously invoking the power of his relics occurred in November 1683, when Goa was invaded by an army from the neighboring Maratha Dynasty. Sambhaji (1657-1689), the warrior king of the

⁶³⁴ Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 106.

Marathas, threatened the city of Goa with twenty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, compared to only a few hundred Portuguese defenders. On the eve of the final attack, the viceroy, Francisco de Távora (r. 1681-1686), dressed as a penitent and went to the Basilica of Bom Jesus where he flagellated himself in front of the tomb while praying for Francis Xavier to come to the aid of the city. Távora had the Jesuit fathers open the sarcophagus so that he could place his staff on the saint's body, entrusting the fate of Goa to Xavier. The saint answered the viceroy's prayers by sending a Mughal army led by Muhammad Akbar (1657-1706), son of the emperor Aurangzib (1618-1707), to aid the Portuguese. At the sight of the Mughals, Sambhaji retreated and Goa was saved. After this event, it became the custom for each new viceroy to arrive in India with a staff that he had been given by the king of Portugal. After the viceroy's investiture ceremony, he would proceed to the Bom Jesus to find another staff that had been placed by the previous viceroy in the right hand of a silver statue of St. Francis Xavier in front of the tomb.⁶³⁵ The new viceroy would then take up this baton, replacing it with the one received from the king of Portugal.⁶³⁶ Thus St. Francis Xavier was not only called upon to protect the territory of Portuguese India, but was also involved in the governance of the state, with the viceroy placing himself under Xavier's authority. In 1699, King João V declared Xavier to be the "Defender of the East" thanks to his intercession in the Maratha attack of 1683,⁶³⁷ making the saint the patron saint of Portuguese territory in Asia, responsible for the defense of all

⁶³⁵ This statue is visible in a photograph published by Klaus Lankeit in 1974. The statue has since been moved to the sacristy of the Bom Jesus. Another photograph, now in the British Museum and taken in the 1880s, suggests that at one point, a wooden polychromatic statue of St. Francis Xavier, now placed to the left of the entranceway of the church, has also served this function.

⁶³⁶ Castets, *The Miracle of the Body*, 15-16.

⁶³⁷ Maria Cristina Osswald, "Aspectos de devoción e iconografía del túmulo de San Francisco Javier en Goa," in *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendonça (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008), 225.

remaining Lusitanian territory. Despite these interventions and the fact that Portugal had regained its independence from the Spanish crown with King João IV declaring himself the lawful king of Portugal in 1640,⁶³⁸ the Estado da Índia continued to slowly and steadily lose territory. The Portuguese lost control of Malacca in 1641, Colombo in 1656, Jaffna and Tuticorin in 1658, and Cochin, Kollan, and Connanore in the early 1660s. At the same time, the island of Bombay was ceded to England during the marriage negotiations between the Portuguese princess Catarina de Bragança and King Charles II.⁶³⁹ By the late seventeenth century, Portuguese India was a fraction of its previous size. When the Medici pedestal was installed in 1698, St. Francis Xavier's role as military protector of the Estado was more vital than ever; however, this addition does not perpetuate the discourse of *Goa Dourada* as overtly as the previously created silver sarcophagus. As we will see, the pedestal is a vehicle for Medici imperial ambitions and advances an image of St. Francis Xavier as a universal saint of the Roman Catholic Church, rather than a protector of the specific imperial, militaristic, and economic interests of the Portuguese crown.

⁶³⁸ King Sebastião I (r. 1557-1578) died in the battle of Alcácer Quibir without any heirs, causing a succession crisis that was resolved in 1580 by a dynastic union that united the monarchy of Spain and Portugal under Philip II of Spain (who ruled Portugal as Philip I). The Portuguese and Spanish colonial administrations were kept separate throughout the union of the Iberian crowns and in 1640, Portuguese nobles rebelled against Philip IV of Spain (Philip III of Portugal) and declared João, the duke of Bragança, to be King João IV of Portugal.

⁶³⁹ For an in-depth analysis of all of these losses, see "Empire in Retreat, 1610-1664," the sixth chapter of Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia*, 144-79.

4.6 A MEDICI MONUMENT IN PORTUGUESE INDIA

When discussing the polychromatic pedestal as a site of representation for Medici imperial aspirations, it is important to pay attention to the materiality of the tomb and to understand that the decision to use polychromatic marbles and mosaics in *pietre dure* is particularly noteworthy in a Medici context. The following section will address how this choice demonstrates a Tuscan tendency to use intercontinental trade in semiprecious stones and the gifting of works of art featuring mosaics with these expensive, rare materials as a way to represent the duchy's imperial ambitions and to maintain a small foothold in Eurasian trade in the face of its inability to participate in large-scale Indian Ocean commerce or colonialism.

By the late seventeenth century, mosaics in *pietre dure* had long been closely connected not only with the artistic output of Florence, but also specifically with the artistic patronage of the Medici dukes and grand dukes.⁶⁴⁰ In 1588, Ferdinando I de' Medici (r. 1587-1609) became the first European sovereign to found a state workshop. The Galleria dei Lavori would eventually become a model for similar royal workshops in other European states, for example those of Louis XIV, and became renowned for artistic supremacy in the realm of *pietre dure* carving and mosaic work. Even before the official establishment of these workshops, other Medici dukes had actively encouraged this art form, particularly Francesco I (r. 1574-1587), who was intimately involved with the workshops on a daily basis and oversaw the development of *commesso* work, a particularly naturalistic *pietre dure*

⁶⁴⁰ Annamaria Giusti, *Pietre Dure: The Art of Semiprecious Stonework* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), 47.

inlay technique that is distinctive to Florence. By the seventeenth century, tabletops, cabinets, and other works of art decorated with *pietre dure* inlay had become a common diplomatic gift between the Medici and other European heads of state, demonstrating the pride felt by the dukes for the sophistication of this distinctively Florentine medium.⁶⁴¹ Many works of art featuring *pietre dure* decoration from the later decades of the seventeenth century were designed by Giovanni Battista Foggini, the artist responsible for Francis Xavier's tomb and also the superintendent of the ducal workshops from 1687 to 1725. Inlay mosaics produced during Foggini's tenure were often rendered more three-dimensionally than previous examples, owing to the significant influence of sculptors such as Foggini and Massimiliano Soldani Benzi in the Galleria dei Lavori.⁶⁴² A comparison between the lily mosaic from the tomb in Goa with a similar example from the Sacrestia degli Argenti in Santissima Annunziata in Florence clearly shows this tendency.

Cosimo and Foggini's choice to feature *pietre dure* decoration on the tomb is particularly fitting, since trade in semiprecious stones was the dominant avenue through which Tuscany participated in Indian Ocean commerce. Additionally, *pietre dure* mosaic was the primary medium used by the Medici dukes to represent Florentine mastery of the arts in the context of intercontinental diplomacy and artistic exchange.⁶⁴³ Throughout the seventeenth century, the Florentine dukes and the artists of their workshops were preoccupied with the creation of the Cappella dei Principi in the Basilica of San Lorenzo, which, as Giorgio Vasari writes, was initially conceived of in the days of Cosimo I (r. 1537-

⁶⁴¹ Giusti, *Pietre Dure*, 88.

⁶⁴² Giusti, *Pietre Dure*, 95.

⁶⁴³ Annamaria Giusti, "Pietre dure tra occidente e oriente," in *Lo specchio del principe: Mecantissimi paralleli: Medici e Moghul* (Rome: Associazione Italia-India di Roma, 1991).

1569).⁶⁴⁴ According to Vasari, Cosimo intended to build, “a third sacristy... beside San Lorenzo, large and similar to that which Michelangelo built in the past, but all of variegated marbles and mosaics....”⁶⁴⁵

Construction on the chapel did not begin until 1604 under Ferdinando I; however, during the previous duke’s reign, it had been realized that Tuscany did not hold adequate reserves of the semiprecious stones necessary to implement such a project. Francesco I began sending merchants and adventurers to the east in order to acquire the requisite stones. One of the first such traders was Filippo Sassetti, who lived in India from 1585 to 1588.⁶⁴⁶ After Ferdinando I succeeded his elder brother, the search for *pietre dure* continued. Ferdinando passed laws forbidding the export of semiprecious stones from Tuscany and sent traders throughout the world looking to acquire more.⁶⁴⁷ Initially, most of the stones were acquired through middlemen returning from the east who were able to charge high prices. In 1608, Ferdinando decided to bypass these traders by sending four young Florentines to India.⁶⁴⁸ Throughout the extant correspondence relating to this expedition, Ferdinando and his Spanish ambassador, Sallustio Tarugi, often write that the purpose of

⁶⁴⁴ André Chastel, "The Chapel of the Princes," *FMR* 22 (1986): 103.

⁶⁴⁵ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston DuC. Devere, vol. X (New York: AMS Press, 1976), 220.

⁶⁴⁶ Sodini, *I Medici e le Indie Orientali*, 27-28. In a letter to Francesco, dated February 11, 1585, he writes that he is sending various stones back to Italy from Cambay, now Khambhat (“certi coppi di pietre di diverse sorti che vengono di Combaia”). Filippo Sassetti, *Lettere da vari paesi, 1570-1588* (Milan: Longanesi & Co., 1970), 449. Quoted in Luigi Zangheri, "I rapporti tra la Firenze dei Medici e l'India nella prima metà del XVII secolo: ragguagli documentari e ipotesi," *Atti del XXV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte V* (1985): 65. In a letter dated exactly a year later, he again sends a consignment of stones, specifically mentioning jasper and agate. This shipment consisted of “diversi diaspri ch'io avevo domandato di Combaia, done avevo anco domandato pezze d'agate e dell'altre pietre de I coppi che io mandai l'anno passato.” Dated February 10, 1586. Sassetti, *Lettere da vari paesi*, 527. Quoted in Zangheri, "I rapporti," 65.

⁶⁴⁷ Zangheri, "I rapporti," 65.

⁶⁴⁸ Zangheri, "I rapporti," 66.

acquiring so many semiprecious stones was to decorate the Cappella dei Principi.⁶⁴⁹ Unfortunately for the Medici, Philip III of Spain (r. 1598-1621), who ruled Portugal as Philip II, refused to allow the duke to send his own merchants to India and Ferdinando instead turned to the English, who agreed to transport the duke's stones from India and call at the port of Livorno.⁶⁵⁰

This collaboration with the English began in 1618 and from that point on, the Medici had easier, albeit indirect, access to trade with the east.⁶⁵¹ Unfortunately, documentation regarding exactly what kind of objects, materials, and people were sent from Florence to India and vice versa is missing.⁶⁵² However, some scholars have speculated that Ferdinando II de' Medici (r. 1621-1670) sent Austin de Bordeaux, a French artist under his employ, to the Mughal court with gifts of furniture decorated with *pietre dure*. The grand duke hoped that this artistic exchange with the court of the Mughal emperor, Jahangir (r. 1605-1628), would aid him in his quest to acquire more rare stones for the Medici workshops.⁶⁵³ This artist's presence at the Mughal court perhaps resulted in a series of inlay panels installed

⁶⁴⁹ See a letter from Ferdinando I de' Medici to Sallustio Tarugi, dated August 30, 1608. "Noi attendiamo tuttavia a far tirare innanzi la fabbrica della nostra Cappella, et sempre più ci cresce il pensiero ch'ella habbia à riuscire cosa straordinaria et singular: onde doppo haver mandato in diverse parti del mondo à cercar pietre desideriamo hora, di mandar per il medesimo conto anche nell'Indie Orientali..." ASF, Mediceo, fol. 5050, c. 716. Quoted in Zangheri, "I rapporti," 66.

⁶⁵⁰ Zangheri, "I rapporti," 68. Another scheme attempted by Ferdinando involved the Flemish agent of commerce, Giovanni Vander Neesen. Vander Neesen and a Florentine merchant, Francesco Carletti, planned to build a ship named the *Livorna* in the shipyard in Amsterdam. Although this plan never came to fruition, the documents describing the scheme clearly state that one of the purposes of the voyage to India that would be undertaken by the *Livorna* was to acquire precious stones in the Cambay region to decorate the Cappella dei Principi. Sodini, *I Medici e le Indie Orientali*, 31-32.

⁶⁵¹ Zangheri, "I rapporti," 68.

⁶⁵² Zangheri, "I rapporti," 68.

⁶⁵³ Whether or not Austin de Bordeaux actually went to India has been rather controversial among scholars. The French artist's presence in India was first put forward by G.F. Young, *The Medici*, vol. II (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1911), 691. Although Zangheri is somewhat skeptical, leading scholars such as Annamaria Giusti and Ebba Koch feel that he was indeed sent to the Moghul Court and worked there in some capacity. Giusti, "Pietre dure," 44. Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi* (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1988), 27.

behind the throne of the Public Audience Hall in the Red Fort in Delhi that demonstrate significant Florentine influence. Ebba Koch writes that it is almost impossible to discern whether these panels were Italian imports or Mughal copies of Italian works due to their deterioration.⁶⁵⁴ While it is possible that Austin de Bordeaux had a hand in either designing the panels or teaching Indian artists this Florentine *pietre dure* technique, it is also likely that they were copies of sets of panels produced in the Grand Ducal workshops that were intended to be installed in cabinets. Several examples of these sets, most often decorated with birds and flowers, like the panels installed behind the throne at the Red Fort in Delhi, still exist and show significant stylistic similarities with the Delhi panels.⁶⁵⁵

Further demonstrating the way that *pietre dure* production was intimately connected to Florentine identity in the European mentality, French travelers in India in the seventeenth century began making comparisons between the Medici Cappella dei Principi in San Lorenzo and Mughal monuments, such as the Red Fort, described above, and even the Taj Mahal. In 1676, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier described the Public Audience Hall at the Red Fort, writing, “When Shah Jahan commenced the building of this hall, he intended that it should be enriched throughout by wonderful works in mosaic, like those in the Chapel of the Grand Duke in Italy...”.⁶⁵⁶ Yet another Frenchman, François Bernier, when writing about the Taj Mahal, wrote, ““Everywhere are seen jasper...and jade, as well as other

⁶⁵⁴ Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, 20.

⁶⁵⁵ Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, 18. Documentary evidence proves that *pietre dure* inlay panels like those described here did indeed reach India from Florence. A French traveler, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier writes the following: “Present made to Nawáb Zafar Khán, uncle of the Great Mogul. Firstly, a table, with nineteen pieces to make a cabinet, the whole of precious stones of diverse colors representing all kinds of flowers and birds. The work had been done at Florence, and had cost 2150 *livres*.” Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, vol. I (London: Macmillan & Co., 1889), 140.

⁶⁵⁶ Tavernier, *Travels in India*, I, 88-89.

stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the Grand Duke's chapel at Florence..."⁶⁵⁷ Clearly, when encountering a monument with significant amounts of *pietre dure* mosaic, European travelers immediately thought of the Cappella dei Principi, and by extension, the Medici dukes.

The relevance of all of this for discussing Francis Xavier's tomb becomes clear when we examine the multiplicity of connections between the Cappella dei Principi and the Francis Xavier tomb project. Similar materials, such as polychromatic marbles, *pietre dure*, and bronze, were used in both commissions and, like the Cappella dei Principi, the semiprecious stones used in Francis Xavier's tomb came from all over the world, including red marble from France, granite from Elba, Italian marbles such as white Carrara marble, dark bluish gray *bardiglio*, and yellow marble from Siena, green quartz from the Arno River, *brocatello* from Spain, chalcedony from India, yellow jasper from Egypt, and calcite alabaster from Egypt or Western Asia.⁶⁵⁸ Furthermore, the tomb of St. Francis Xavier was actually displayed to the public in the Cappella dei Principi for two years after it was completed by Foggini and before it was shipped to India. While on display, the tomb made quite an impact and was, in fact, mentioned thirty years later in Montesquieu's diary recording his trip to Italy in 1728 and 1729,⁶⁵⁹ demonstrating that thirty years after its shipment to India, people in Florence were still remembering and talking about the tomb of St. Francis Xavier.

⁶⁵⁷ François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-1668*, trans. Irving Brock (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1891), 298.

⁶⁵⁸ For an excellent description of the materials used in the tomb see Giusti, "Ritorno in India," 280. Calcite alabaster can be found in Egypt or other locations in Western Asia; however, during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, this stone was often taken from Roman ruins and other antiquities, instead of being sourced directly from outside of Europe. Giusti, "Ritorno in India," 280.

⁶⁵⁹ Giusti, "Ritorno in India," 281. "*Devotion du feu vieux Grand-Duc. Il envoya à Goa des prêtres, des ouvriers, avec les pierres de rapport, dont on fait de si beaux ouvrages à Florence, pour aller faire un tombeau à saint François-Xavier.*" Montesquieu, *Voyages de Montesquieu* (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilou, 1894), 30.

Scholars have written about the Cappella dei Principi as a site of representation for Medici kingly ambition, citing several attempts on the part of the grand dukes to acquire the title of “king”, including a plan hatched by Pope Pius IV and Cosimo I in 1560 to marry the latter’s heir to the princess Maria of Portugal.⁶⁶⁰ As a preliminary step to this union, Cosimo would have been made the king of Tuscany.⁶⁶¹ Although Philip II of Spain vetoed the plan,⁶⁶² the Cappella dei Principi demonstrates that Medici royal aspirations were not quashed. When describing Cosimo’s plan to build the chapel, Vasari writes, “I have already made a model after [Cosimo’s] taste and according to the order received from him by me, which when carried into execution will cause it to be a novel, most magnificent, and truly *regal* Mausoleum.”⁶⁶³ When work on the Cappella finally began in 1604, the Medici had other royal tombs in mind, such as the Valois Chapel proposed by Catherine de’ Medici intended to be a chapel-mausoleum for Henry II.⁶⁶⁴ Like the Cappella dei Principi, the Valois Chapel was designed as a six-sided structure with tombs on each wall. Even more influential was the Panteón de los Reyes in the Escorial, an octagonal room with tombs on six sides and decorated with various marbles, jasper, and porphyry.⁶⁶⁵ The Medici emulation of royal tombs in the Cappella dei Principi clearly points to the Medici desire to be seen on the same level as the kings of France and Spain.

⁶⁶⁰ Chastel, "The Chapel of the Princes," 100.

⁶⁶¹ Luciano Berti, *Il Principe del studiolo: Francesco I de' Medici e la fine del Rinascimento fiorentino* (Florence: Editrice Edam, 1967), 272.

⁶⁶² Holy Roman Emperor Charles V bestowed the title of duke on Alessandro de’ Medici in 1531; however, this implied that the Medici were vassals of Spain. Chastel, "The Chapel of the Princes," 64.

⁶⁶³ Emphasis mine. Vasari, *Lives*, X, 103 and 08.

⁶⁶⁴ Chastel, "The Chapel of the Princes," 108.

⁶⁶⁵ Chastel, "The Chapel of the Princes," 109. The date of the creation of the Pantón is unknown.

The tomb of St. Francis Xavier in Goa is an extension of this aspiration; however, instead of displaying the Medici's wish to be seen as kings, it shows their imperial aspirations. The tomb, which uses a visual vocabulary similar to that of the Cappella dei Principi, differs in that it was intended for an overseas location. Although the Medici had continuously been thwarted by more powerful European nations in their attempts to acquire economic footholds and even overseas colonies throughout the seventeenth century,⁶⁶⁶ the tomb, as well as the previously discussed artistic exchange with the Mughal court, reveals an interest in leaving a mark on the Indian subcontinent by establishing a definitive artistic and cultural presence there. The tomb, destined for placement in a church in Portuguese India, demonstrates the ability of the Medici dukes to commission extravagant works of art composed of various stones from all over the world, projecting an image of wealth and control of international trade routes. It is also important to note that Cosimo's devotion to St. Francis Xavier emulates that of the Portuguese and Spanish royalty. As I have previously shown, the cult of Xavier was particularly vibrant in Portugal and its colonial holdings; the same can be said of Spain. Members of the royal houses of Spain and Portugal had long been patrons of the cult of Xavier, with Portuguese and Spanish queens sending embroidered vestments to clothe the body of the saint and the Portuguese king providing funds for processions honoring Xavier in Goa.⁶⁶⁷ However, Cosimo's gift of the marble pedestal far outstrips any of these gifts in terms of cost and magnificence. The surviving correspondence makes it abundantly clear that Cosimo viewed the pedestal's reception in Europe to be just as important, if not more so, than in India. The artwork was specially

⁶⁶⁶ Sodini, *I Medici e le Indie Orientali*, 34-39.

⁶⁶⁷ Osswald, "Aspectos de devoción e iconografía," 225-26.

designed to be taken apart and put back together as easily as possible so that it could be displayed in Florence and possibly in other European cities. For example, Cosimo wrote to Giovanni Francesco Ginori, a Florentine banker in Lisbon, to inform him that Ramponi and Fanciullacci were on their way to Portugal with the tomb pedestal and asked the banker to look out for the youths' needs and extend them credit on behalf of the grand duke. He included a postscript stating, "If by chance, His Majesty the King or the Her Majesty the Queen would demonstrate the desire to see the work, I would have you ensure that the youths uncrate and reassemble it at Their Majesties' convenience."⁶⁶⁸ This instruction clearly communicates Cosimo's desire to have this pedestal be seen by other European heads of state, underlining the idea that commissioning works of art was a vital medium through which the Tuscan state could assert its imperial ambitions to other European states.

Ultimately, Cosimo III did not derive any kind of tangible benefit from his donation of St. Francis Xavier's tomb, beyond a relic from the body of the saint, sent by the Goan Jesuits as thanks. The Medici did not receive any colonial holdings from the Portuguese nor were they able to negotiate any direct trade agreements with the Mughal Empire as a result of this project or any of their other artistic projects in India. However, it did allow the Medici to participate on the international stage in a way that drew attention to their remaining strength – the still preeminent production of art in the grand ducal workshops. In the absence of a large military or navy and with diminished economic resources, the transportation of art was the most practical way for Florence to make a lasting mark on the East Indies.

⁶⁶⁸ "P.S. Se a sorte la Maestà del Re o della Regina mostrassero gusto di vedere il lavoro del Deposito, V.S. lo faccia pure tutto scassare, e rimettere in piede dai giovani, affinché loro Maestà ne sian servite come conviene." Letter dated October 31, 1697 and sent by Cosimo III de' Medici from the Villa Ambrogiana. The letter is now preserved in the private collection of Ugo Procacci, but is published in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 304.

4.7 UNIVERSALIZING ST. FRANCIS XAVIER: THE NEGATION OF GOA

DOURADA RHETORIC IN THE TOMB

When Thyrus González de Santalla, the superior general of the Jesuits from 1687 to 1705, received a drawing of the Medici tomb pedestal, he composed a letter to Cosimo III, praising the duke in extremely effusive language:

I have cast my eyes on the noble and rich design of the tomb that the truly regal liberality of Your Most Serene Highness had made for the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, glorified by the admirable devotion of Your Most Serene Highness. I've enjoyed it to the extreme, seeming to be one of the most excellent and magnificent things that I have ever seen.⁶⁶⁹

The letter continues, extoling Cosimo for his piety and generosity. Documented responses from Goa, however, were not quite as laudatory. In his letter to the superior general mentioned above, António de Azevedo wrote, “Only a prince could give such a gift,” before swiftly moving on to discuss the debate over the ultimate location of the tomb.⁶⁷⁰ Placido Ramponi’s travelogue gives us an even more ambiguous indication of how the local community reacted to the Medici pedestal. He briefly describes the reception of the tomb, writing that the local *fidalgos*, merchants, officials, and soldiers expressed extreme admiration at the unveiling and that the Jesuits received the gift with “apparente gusto.”⁶⁷¹ This phrase could be understood in two different ways; either the Jesuits expressed “obvious enthusiasm” or “ostensible enthusiasm” over the pedestal. If the latter, we must ask why

⁶⁶⁹ “Me è capito sotto gli occhi il nobile e ricco disegno del sepolchro, che la liberalità veramente regia di V.A.S. fa fabricare all’Apostolo delle Indie San Francesco Saverio, glorificato dalla divozione ammirabile di V.A.S. Io ne ho in estremo goduto, essendomi paruta una delle cose e più eccellenti e magnifiche, che mi sieno caduto sotto la vista.” The letter is dated December 30, 1695 and is now held in the Jesuit Archive (ARSI) in Rome (Cod. *Roma* 39, F. 215v). It is republished in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, document #471.

⁶⁷⁰ “Tale donum a tanto solum principe offerri poterat.” Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, document #477.

⁶⁷¹ Sodini, *I Medici e le Indie Orientali*, 89.

Jesuit reception was less than ebullient. Was it because the Medici pedestal seemed so very Florentine with its *pietre dure* and lily emblems? The very materials out of which the two components were made (*pietre dure* and marble versus silver) signaled their differing origins. Additionally, it cannot be denied that the Medici contribution to St. Francis Xavier's tomb transmitted a very different message to the viewer than the older silver sarcophagus. It was an imported work of art, made on another continent, by artists who seemed to know very little about the site for which it was intended. There are no extant letters exchanged between Goa and Florence that describe the space of the chapel or the appearance of Xavier's silver sarcophagus. Prints, such as the one by Philipp Killian and contained in an illustrated biography titled *Vita S. Francisci Xaverii Soc. Iesu Thesibus Illustrata...* (Vienna, 1690), described the appearance of the tomb, but they were not accurate and did not contain details of any of the silver plaques.⁶⁷² Even if Foggini had known about the silver coffin, he and Cosimo III created a pedestal that does not comment on the status of the *Estado da Índia* and has little connection to the geography of Portuguese Asia. Most importantly, as we will see, it does not participate in the discourse of *Goa dourada*.

Upon inspecting Foggini's bronze panels, the banner mottos in Latin, and the other symbols included on the tomb, it is clear that there is a coherent narrative being told. Unlike the silver sarcophagus, with its removable panels that can be rearranged in ways that do not follow each other chronologically, the Medici pedestal tells a story in four parts that should be viewed by circumambulating the tomb in a counter-clockwise fashion. Again, this demonstrates how little Foggini and the other artists of the Medici workshop knew about

⁶⁷² See María Gabriela Torres Olleta, *Vita thesibus et Vita iconibus: dos certámenes sobre San Francisco Javier* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005). This print series was widely copied, including a version by Melchior Haffner.

the space for which the tomb was intended, as it is impossible to view each side as an uninterrupted sequence, as envisioned. Beginning with the front face, Foggini has depicted the beginning of the story, signified by the rising sun in the alabaster eye. The bronze banner on this side reads “MOX INIMICA FVGAT” or “He immediately drives away evil.”⁶⁷³ Below, Foggini has installed a bronze relief with the subject *St. Francis Xavier Preaching*. The Jesuit saint stands off-center, wearing his surplice and stole, both of which are full of motion, his arms spread wide and holding a crucifix in his left hand. He is surrounded by many figures in various poses, reclining, kneeling, standing, and turning. Almost all of the people have turned their heads towards Xavier, giving him their rapt attention, while many of their gestures demonstrate the figures’ agitation (arms flung wide), but also their reception of the Gospel message (one hand resting on the figures’ breasts, as if their hearts are enflamed with a love of God). Most notably, a majority of the figures in the foreground are nude or seminude, a rarity in Xaverian iconography. Lankheit has noted that the reclining figures more closely resemble classical river gods than the early modern inhabitants of the Indies and the scene in general is similar to a Bacchanal such as the one by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi (1656-1740) in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein (1695/1697).⁶⁷⁴ Soldani Benzi was a fellow sculptor in the Grand Ducal workshops with Foggini and the two of them often collaborated on projects, such as the Cappella Feroni in SS. Annunziata, in Florence (1691-1693). Both of these skilled sculptors operated in a Florentine tradition of “painting as sculpture” that began with Giambologna and resulted in the grand late Baroque

⁶⁷³ None of the sources that discuss Foggini’s pedestal have attempted to translate the Latin inscriptions or to identify if these phrases are references to scripture or well-known emblems. Additionally, Lankheit mis-transcribed the Latin phrase on the front of the time, writing that it was “NOX INIMICA FVGAT.” During my visit to the tomb in 2013, I confirmed that “MOX INIMICA FVGAT” is the correct transcription. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 106.

⁶⁷⁴ Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 106.

compositions of Foggini and Soldani Benzi.⁶⁷⁵ Foggini's bronze Xaverian panel is more classicizing than scenes of Xavier preaching usually are and thus, universal; one could contrast this tendency with the attention to locally and temporally specific details of paintings such as Andre Reinoso's *St. Francis Xavier Preaching in Goa* and *St. Francis Xavier Resurrecting a High-Caste Indian* in the church of São Roque, Lisbon (1619). This universalizing inclination certainly diverges with the vision of Xavier as the protector and sanctifier of the specifically Portuguese-Asian landscape that was proposed by the makers of the Goan sarcophagus.

While the nude or seminude classicizing figures introduce an element of timelessness, the figures in the background on the right side of Foggini's *St. Francis Xavier Preaching* announce his geographic universality as well. The rightmost figure in the composition wears a turban, carries a curved sword, and leans forward to hear the words of Xavier, propping himself up on a staff. To the left of this figure are three men, nude from the waist up and wearing unmistakable feather headdresses. These feathers are clearly meant to designate the men as Amerindians. Beginning with the earliest images that emerged from American-European cross-cultural encounter, feather headdresses and skirts became the major identifying attributes of an indigenous inhabitant of the New World. Examples of this abound, the earliest possibly being a German broadsheet from around 1505, in which Amerigo Vespucci's fanciful descriptions of the peoples of the New World were faithfully translated into semi-nude cannibals whose bodies were ornamented with jewels.⁶⁷⁶ The

⁶⁷⁵ M. Chiarini and F.J. Cummings, eds., *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670-1743* (Florence: Centro Di, 1974), nos. 64-97.

⁶⁷⁶ Jean Michel Massing, "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach," in *Studies in Imagery, Vol. II: The World Discovered* (London: Pindar Press, 2007), 98-99.

artist, however, added feather headdress, perhaps based on actual examples that had been brought back to Europe,⁶⁷⁷ and feather skirts that are more similar to the skirts made of leather strips worn by Roman soldiers (*pteruges*), than any garment known to be worn by the peoples encountered by Europeans in the New World.⁶⁷⁸ As representations of the inhabitants of the Americas, Asia, and Africa became stereotypically codified into relatively standardized allegories of the four continents, the inclusion of feathers became the signifier *par excellence* for Amerindians.⁶⁷⁹ Clearly, there is no doubt about the identity of the three feather-bedecked men in Foggini's *St. Francis Xavier Preaching*, but the question remains – why are they there?

While some art historians have viewed the inclusion of Amerindians in scenes of St. Francis Xavier preaching as a mistake on the part of artists who misunderstood the location of Xavier's ministry and swapped one of the Indies for the other,⁶⁸⁰ it is clear that this is a

⁶⁷⁷ Jay A. Levenson, Diogo Ramada Curto, and Jack Turner, eds., *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Washington DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery/Smithsonian Institution, 2007), 196.

⁶⁷⁸ Massing, "Early European Images of America," 98. Tupinamba Amerindians, indigenous to Brazil, did wear feather cloaks and headdress, several examples of which were brought to Europe in the initial years after first contact and were collected in *wunderkammern*. Jay A. Levenson, ed. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press/National Gallery of Art, 1991), no. 408. European perceptions of the people they encountered in the New World were often heavily colored by expectations based on classical texts. Anthony Grafton, April Shelford, and Nancy G. Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

⁶⁷⁹ See Chapter 4 of Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975). The first example of a fully developed Allegory of the Four Continents decorative program may be the personifications surrounding the world map in the Sala Mappamondo in the Villa Farnese (Caprarola), painted by Giovanni de' Vecchi in the 1570s.

⁶⁸⁰ For example, Gauvin Bailey writes of Francesco Curradi's *St. Francis Xavier Preaching* in the church of San Giovannino degli Scolopi in Florence: "This delightful painting, full of exotic figures, makes the common mistake of having the 'Apostle to the Indies' preaching to the wrong kind of India (i.e. Native American – Saint Francis Xavier never set foot in the Americas)." Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting under the Jesuits and its Legacy throughout Catholic Europe," in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, ed. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003), 168. In an article about the construction and decoration of San Giovannino degli Scolopi, Bailey similarly writes, "... Curradi's canvas shows Xavier with arms raised and cross held aloft before an exotic crowd made up not only of Asian figures wearing luxurious fabrics, but also – in a standard misunderstanding of the word 'Indian' – American Indians with feathered headdresses (Francis Xavier never traveled to the Americas). While ascribing this to a mistake, Bailey then contradictorily writes, "The scene is set against a crowd representing all of humanity: men and women, rich and poor, European and non-European." Gauvin Alexander Bailey,

deliberate iconographic choice on the part of Foggini. Not only has he included an inhabitant of the New World, but also a turbaned figure to represent Asia, and to the left of these figures, a tall strapping young man with high cheekbones, full lips, and close-cropped curly hair, all physiological features utilized by early modern artists to describe African figures. Albrecht Dürer's famous drawing of an unknown black man in the Albertina and Friedrich Hagenauer's *Bust of a Young Black Man*, carved from maple, are useful examples.⁶⁸¹ Instead of being mistakes, we should consider these figures, along with any of the classicized Europeans in the composition, to be allegories of the four continents, brought under the dominion of the Catholic Church through the ministry of early modern missionaries like Xavier.

Foggini's allegories, however, are not the same as those set forth by Cesare Ripa in his *Iconologia*. Ripa's allegorical figures, which served as the basic model for continental allegories for centuries,⁶⁸² are all women holding various accouterments and accompanied by animals. For example, Ripa's *Africa* holds a scorpion, while wearing an elephant hat. She holds a cornucopia, a reference to the perceived fertility of Africa, and is accompanied by a snake and a lion. The Ripa woodcut does not attempt to portray a woman with African physiognomy. Ripa's American allegory wears the obligatory feather headdress, but has bare breasts (perhaps as a reference to Amazons), a bow and arrow, and a salamander-like

"The Florentine Reformers and the Original Painting Cycle of the Church of S. Giovannino" in *Spirit, Style, Story: Essays Honoring John W. Padberg*, ed. John W. Padberg and Thomas M. Lucas (Chicago: Jesuit Way/Loyola Press, 2002), 157.

⁶⁸¹ For many other examples, see David Bindman, Jr. Henry Louis Gates, and Karen C. C. Dalton, eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010-). Joaneath Spicer, ed. *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012).

⁶⁸² Benjamin Schmidt, "Collecting Global Icons: The Case of the Exotic Parasol," in *Collecting across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Atlantic World*, ed. Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). Honour, *The New Golden Land*, 131-56. Rachel Doggett, ed. *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1992).

alligator. A disembodied head, shot through with an arrow, is underneath her foot. Except for the feather headdress, Foggini's allegories have little in common with Ripa's and instead, seem to be an extension of the tradition of depicting the three magi as coming from three different parts of the world as representatives of the non-Christian world to be converted.⁶⁸³ As this convention developed, the geographical origins of the kings were depicted in several relatively standard ways. For the most part, beginning with German and Netherlandish paintings in the 15th century and continuing with the work of Rubens in the seventeenth century, one of the magi was given African physiological features, dark skin, brightly colored clothing that is often fantastically exotic, and jewelry, such as earrings.⁶⁸⁴ The other two kings were depicted with light skin and regal robes, with one being older than the other. An alternative tradition is much more effective at advancing the idea that these kings are representatives of three different parts of the world. From Andrea Mantegna at the turn of the sixteenth century to Juan Battista Maíno in the seventeenth century, some artists used a regal older white man to symbolize Europe, a man with light skin in a turban to denote Asia, and a man with African physiological features and rich bright clothing to signify Africa. Foggini does the same, but adds America to the picture, including the

⁶⁸³ This is a tradition that is first seen in 4th-century texts. By the 9th century, this was very clearly articulated by authors like Pseudo-Bede-2: "The mystery of the three Magi is also, that they signify the three parts of the world, Asia, Africa, Europe, or else the human race, which takes its seed from the three sons of Noah." Paul Kaplan believes that the black magus was invented sometime between 1340 and 1375 and that he became firmly embedded in Adoration iconography throughout the fifteenth century. See Chapter 2 of Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus*

⁶⁸⁴ Rubens's black magus often has dark skin and wears a turban, all details derived from Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen's lost portrait of Mulay Ahmed, the king of Tunis, which Rubens owned and copied (now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The clothing of his black magus comes from a famous drawing in the Louvre, attributed to either Gentile Bellini or Costanzo da Ferrara and depicting an Ottoman Turk. Pinturicchio used this same figure in the Sala dei Santi of the Borgia Apartments, in the fresco depicting the *Disputation of St. Catherine*. Rubens adapted this figure for the portrait of Nicolaas de Respaigne (1616-1618, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Kassel) and continued to use this basic costume and stance as a stock figure throughout his compositions that called for generic exotic figure. Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 261.

ubiquitous feathers to make those figures' geographic origins clearly legible to the European viewer, transforming the three magi into allegories of the four continents.

Such allegories are, of course, very common among Jesuit art in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,⁶⁸⁵ but scholars have paid the most attention to monumental Jesuit ceilings with allegories that more closely follow Ripa, like Andrea Pozzo's illusionistic nave vault in Sant'Ignazio in Rome⁶⁸⁶ and printed illustrations in Jesuit books that became global bestsellers (for example, Cornelis Bloemart's frontispiece to Danielo Bartoli's *Della Vita e dell'Istituto di S. Ignatio*, 1659, and Claude Mellon's *Allegory of the Company of Jesus*, 1619-1624).⁶⁸⁷ Fewer have acknowledged the presence of allegories of the four continents in specifically Xaverian imagery, even though Xavier's status as the preeminent Jesuit agent of Catholic propagation in the early modern period could easily lead one to conclude that such allegories were a natural addition to his iconography. Indeed, allegories of the four parts of the world appear throughout the history of Xaverian representation, created in many places in Europe (particularly in Spain and Italy) and in the Americas.⁶⁸⁸ Not all artists were as successful as Foggini in creating such easily identifiable continental allegories and in general, attempts to do so can be divided into four categories: (1) those with clear consistent attributes of all four continents – figures with European dress and/or physiological features (Europe), figures with turbans (Asia), figures with feathers (America), and figures with African physiological features (Africa), (2) those with clear consistent attributes, but only

⁶⁸⁵ Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 78.

⁶⁸⁶ Vittorio De Feo and Vittorio Martinelli, eds., *Andrea Pozzo* (Milan: Electa, 1996), 66-93. For Pozzo in general, see Alberta Battisti, ed. *Andrea Pozzo* (Milan: Luni, 1996). Pozzo's allegories are much closer to Ripa's than Foggini's.

⁶⁸⁷ Philippe Lécivain, "Jesuit Cultures and Missions in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, ed. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003), 248-49.

⁶⁸⁸ I am unaware of any such images created in Asia, however.

the figures of the Indies are included (i.e., there is no European allegory), (3) those where fanciful headgear and other generically exotic clothing has crept in and/or the clear types described above are mixed and matched (e.g. African figures wearing feathers), (4) those where there is no attempt to portray the allegories of the four continents, but the artist has randomly included figures with feather headdresses to add an eroticizing element to the image.⁶⁸⁹

As an illustration of the differences between two of these types, we can compare Foggini's *St. Francis Xavier Preaching* with a painting of the same subject by Godfried Maes, commissioned for the chapel of the Castillo de Javier, St. Francis Xavier's birthplace in 1692.⁶⁹⁰ While Foggini's allegories are easily identifiable, Maes's figures do not follow the standardized models of either Ripa or the three magi. On the left side, he includes a figure with a topknot, a feathered headband, and a bow, mixing features that were used to signify Asian and American figures. In the background of the center of the composition, we see a figure with a fantastical four-pointed headdress or crown, as well as some women clothed *all'antica*. On the right, a black man carries a quiver full of feathered arrows, an attribute usually given to Americans, while the circular building in the far background is decorated

⁶⁸⁹ Keating and Markey discuss this overall tendency to use feathers to represent all of the "Indies," noting that "The conflation of things from the Indies and from other parts of the world in images and text occurred for several reasons. First... a long tradition of conceiving of the Indies as a fantastical place of hybrids flourished into the sixteenth century; secondly 'Indian' had a political connotation and could refer to all goods coming from lands under Iberian control, whether in Asia or the New World. Thirdly, poor communication between indigenous people and Europeans meant that information about objects was not always transferred." Jessica Keating and Lia Markey, "'Indian' Objects in Medici and Austrian-Habsburg Inventories: A Case-Study of the Sixteenth-Century Term," *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 2 (2011): 287-88. For other discussion of the "Tupinambization" of other non-European people in the European imagination, see William C. Sturtevant, "La Tupinambisation des Indiens d'Amérique du Nord," in *Les figures d'Indien*, ed. G. Thérien (Montreal Service des Publications de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, 1988). William C. Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of Native America," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. F. Chiapelli (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

⁶⁹⁰ Torres Olleta, *Redes iconográficas*, 216-21. Ricardo Fernández Gracia, "Religioso camarín y aula de milagros: La santa capilla del castillo de Javier entre los siglos XVII y XIX," in *Sol, apóstol, peregrino: San Francisco Javier en su centenario*, ed. Ignacio Arellano (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2005), 295-307. Ricardo Fernández Gracia, *San Francisco Javier, Patrono de Navarra: Fiesta, religiosidad, e iconografía* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2006), 281-93.

with sculpted busts of figures with grotesque visages (perhaps loosely based on Rubens's Hindu idol, discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation). Maes's figures seem generically exotic, while Foggini was able to clearly articulate each figure as an allegory of a particular continent.

The *St. Francis Xavier Preaching* on the Medici pedestal in Goa successfully portrays St. Francis Xavier as a temporally and geographically universal saint working to unite the four continents of the world in Christianity and bring about the ultimate triumph of the Catholic Church. This was a Xaverian iconographic type that became increasingly common in the seventeenth century in Europe, but was non-existent in Portuguese India. For example, Francesco Curradi's *St. Francis Xavier Preaching*, which decorates the last chapel on the right of San Giovannino in Florence (now San Giovannino degli Scolopi),⁶⁹¹ has a group of four figures, who take up most of the right half of the canvas and very coherently represent the four continents – there is a young European man wearing red hose, an embroidered doublet, cape, and hat adorned with ostrich feather. Next to him is a young African man, identifiable by his dark skin. He speaks to an Amerindian figure with a bare chest, feather skirt, and feather headdress. The final figure in this grouping wears a gorgeous Ottoman costume with a tulip pattern, complete with turban. The rest of the crowd consists of figures with more generalized exotic and fantastic attributes, but the four described here are clearly a coherent

⁶⁹¹ Ferdinando del Migliore's guide to Florence (1684) contains a description of the painting: "4. Il S. Francesco Xauerio, che predica a gl'Indiani, e Nazzioni Barbare, lo dipinse il Cauialier Francesco Curradi." Ferdinando Leopoldo del Migliore, *Firenze, città nobilissima illustrata* (Florence: Forni, 1684), 193. Richa reiterates these details: "Alla quarta Cappella segue un S. Saverio in atto di predicare agl'Indiani fattura del Cav. Curradi, il quale per le varie invenzioni di abiti bizzarri all'uso di que' Paesi, e per la moltitudine delle turbe nel quadro si ben disposte..." Giuseppe Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine divise ne'suoi quartieri*, vol. 5 (Florence: Viviani, 1757), 145-46. Quoted in Bailey, "The Florentine Reformers," note 112.

grouping of representatives of the four continents.⁶⁹² Curradi's painting, completed in 1622 to celebrate Xavier's canonization, was certainly available for Foggini to see. The idea that Foggini may have used Curradi's altarpiece as an iconographic model has never before been suggested by art historians. In fact, the chapel where Curradi's altarpiece was displayed was also the site of Cosimo III's patronage. The grand duke provided polychromatic marble revetment for the shallow side chapel and also paid for a small *pietre dure* tabernacle, paintings for the lateral walls by Anton Domenico Bamberini (1666-1741), and a fresco of *St. Francis Xavier in Glory* for the vault of the chapel by Pietro Dandini (1646-1712) flanked by stucco angels by Girolamo Ticciati (1671-1744). This chapel in San Giovannino and the Medici pedestal are obviously in dialogue with one another; they both feature images of the universal St. Francis Xavier preaching to allegories of the four continents, as well as polychromatic marbles and inlay in *pietre dure*. Again, we see that Cosimo III's Goan pedestal, Florentine in form and European in subject matter, does not share the same concerns as the older silver sarcophagus.

Foggini's iconographic program continues on the right side of the Foggini pedestal with the emblem of the alabaster eye now carved with a sun in its zenith. On this side, the bronze panel represents *St. Francis Xavier Baptizing*, and appropriately, the Latin motto on the bronze banner is "VT VITAM HABEANT" or "... So that they may have life..." a quotation from John 10:10.⁶⁹³ Xavier is shown in the act of winning souls for God, the

⁶⁹² Richa writes that on the basis of this painting, Curradi was acknowledged as a "universal painter," as opposed to just a painter of "devout saints," a phrase used by his critics to disparage him. "diedesi a conoscere per Pittore universale, e non solamente di Santi devote, come alcuni lo criticavano." Richa, *Notizie istoriche*, 5, 146. Quoted in Bailey, "The Florentine Reformers," note 112.

⁶⁹³ "The thief comes not, but to steal, and to kill, and to destroy: I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." John 10:10.

culminating act of a successful mission and the reason why Jesuits were traveling thousands upon thousands of miles.⁶⁹⁴ The *St. Francis Xavier Baptizing* panel repeats the same allegory of the four continents, with three Amerindians on the left side (all wearing feather skirts and one still wearing his feather headdress), an African figure with his back to the viewer and face in a reverse three-quarter view, and a figure with a turban behind the African man's right shoulder. Foggini adds yet another foreign figure to this scene of baptism and includes a bare-chested man almost prostrate on the ground, his hands and head by Xavier's feet. This man has a noticeable topknot, a common way of depicting Japanese figures in the seventeenth century (for example, see *The Japanese Ambassadors are Received in Rome by Pope Gregory XIII and the Cardinals with Great Joy* from Cornelius Hazart's *Ecclesiastical History of the Whole World*, 1667). Thus Foggini is creating an allegory of five parts of the world, differentiating between East Asia and Western Asia. As mentioned previously, the engraved shield below is not easily interpreted in the context of the other iconographic elements on this side of the tomb. It represents a book with crosses falling from the sky, perhaps a reference to Xavier goal to spread the Gospel all over the world and to the hardships that he faced while doing so.

The backside of the Medici pedestal represents the theme of persecution. The alabaster eye shows us a lion in a storm, while the attendant motto is "NIHIL HORVM VEREOR" or "...none of these things move me..." referencing Acts 20:24, a verse spoken by Paul as he considers the hardships that will face him as he goes to Jerusalem."⁶⁹⁵ The

⁶⁹⁴ See Chapter 6 of Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*.

⁶⁹⁵ "And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there: Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me. But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry, which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." Acts 20:22-24.

shield emblem is a flaming heart, which again does not exactly match the rest of the elements, but is a reference to Xavier's great love of God, often symbolized in his hagiographies as an enflamed heart. Many sources record that the Jesuit missionary, when he thought no one was observing him, would open cassock to try to cool his heart, crying "Satis est, Domine, satis est!" ("It is enough, Lord, it is enough"). These episodes were recorded in Goa in 1555 by António Quadros⁶⁹⁶ and are mentioned in the canonization bull.⁶⁹⁷ The bronze panel represents a moment when Xavier was attacked by a group of people called the Javares who harbored animosity towards the missionary:

...one day, while at the side of a river, he was explaining the rules of the gospel-morality to them, they were so excited by the zeal with which he condemned their dissolute manners, that they cast stones at him with intent to murder him. On one side were the barbarians, and on the other the river which was broad and deep; so that it seemed impossible for Xavier to escape, if any thing were impossible to one whom heaven protects. Lying on the bank was a large beam of wood, which he gently pushed into the water; and placing himself on it, was instantly transported to the other side, where the stones could not reach him.⁶⁹⁸

The general message of this portion of the tomb is that Xavier persisted through all hardships out of his great desire to save souls and his love for God.

⁶⁹⁶ "Aqui em nosso quintal aconteçeo hum irmão espreitalo, e vindo elle passeando uinha tão emleuado que, tornando em si e parecendo-lhe que [no] poderia ser sentido, disse, aleuantando os olhos ao çeo, e pondo as mãos nos peitos: Senhor, no mais, no mais." Letter dated December 6, 1555 from António Quadros in Goa to another Jesuit, Tiago Mirón. Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 950.

⁶⁹⁷ "Sed et per eandem charitatem, quae per Spiritum Sanctum diffusa erat in corde ipsius, adeo ad Deum accedebat, tantoque spiritus fervor in oratione perseverabat, ut huiusmodi cibo intentus, quo interiorem hominem reficiebat, noctes integras transigeret; nec, cum in navi esset, atque in aperto vitae discrimine in summis tempestatibus versaretur, desisteret, aut quidquam animo commoveretur; fieretque aliquando talis super eum excessus, ut, oculis in coelum defixis, divina vi a terra elevaretur, vultu adeo inflammatus, ut angelicam prorsus charitatem repraesentaret, nec divini amoris perferre valens incendium, saepius exclamaret: *Satis est, Domine, satis est.*" Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 707-08.

⁶⁹⁸ Dominique Bouhours, *The Life of St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus, Apostle of India* (Philadelphia: E. Cumiskey, 1841), 153. The original French can be found in Dominique Bouhours, *La vie de Saint François Xavier de la Compagnie de Jésus, Apôtre des Indes et du Japon* (Paris: n.p., 1683), 314-15.

The left side of the tomb completes the story, signified by the setting sun in the alabaster eye. The Latin motto reads “MAIOR IN OCCASV” or “Greater when setting.” This is not a reference to scripture, but is included in Filippo Picinelli’s emblem book *Mondo simbolico formato d’imprese scelte, spiegate, e illustrate* (1678). In the section dedicated to emblems related to the sun, Picinelli explains the meaning of “MAIOR IN OCCASV:”

The solar body that is located at its height in the sky does not appear to be large to our eyes; it proves to be much larger when setting...MAIOR IN OCCASV. Device appropriate to a figure who is ascribed more heroic deeds when close to death, such as Samson, who killed more enemies close to his death than during the course of his life.⁶⁹⁹

In the margin, the motto is glossed “Valor in death.”⁷⁰⁰ Appropriately, Foggini’s bronze panel depicts *The Death of St. Francis Xavier*. Here, we see St. Francis Xavier dying in a straw hut on the island of Shangchuan, surrounded by two angels and two other figures, reflecting the fact that Xavier death and burial was attended by only a few. On the right, a crowd of angels and heavenly figures bears witness to the saint’s death. Again, there is an affinity between this Foggini composition and another of the same subject created by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, a relief that was likely commissioned by Cosimo III as well.⁷⁰¹ How does the motto MAIOR IN OCCASV apply to this scene? If Xavier’s heroic deeds were his baptisms, one would expect to see mass conversions take place on the occasion of his death for the emblem to apply. Instead, the combination of the bronze panel and motto

⁶⁹⁹ Il corpo solare, che posto nell’altezza del cielo, riesce à gli occhi nostril di nō molta grandezza, assai maggiore ne si dimostra, quand’è giunto all’ocaso... MAIOR IN OCCASV. Impresa opportuna à personaggio, che più che mai cō opera eroiche si sia segnalato nel tēpo della morte qual fù Sansone, che maggior number de i nemini vccise su’l punto della sua morte, di quanti si hauesse estinti nel corio della vita.” Filippo Picinelli, *Mondo simbolico formato d’imprese scelte, spiegate ed illustrate... studiosi diporti dell’abate D. Filippo Picinelli* (Venice Nicolò Pezzana, 1678), 16-17.

⁷⁰⁰ Picinelli, *Mondo simbolico*, 16.

⁷⁰¹ Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, 102.

makes it clear that Xavier's death is his greatest triumph, in a way, comparing him to Christ. The early modern mentality regarding saints and martyrs goes far to explain this comparison. Alexandra Herz notes in the post-Tridentine period, martyrs were thought of as imitators of Christ. She writes, "the ancient idea that martyrs repeat, complete and renew Christ's Passion and His work of salvation gained new currency in Counter-Reformation Rome."⁷⁰² W.H.C. Frend explains that early martyrs believed that they could help liberate mankind from suffering and sin through their deaths, just as Christ did.⁷⁰³ Echoing Frend's analysis, J.E. Sherman writes,

...the effects of the martyr's death are similar to, and participate in the effects of Christ's death. Hence the martyr shares in Christ's victory over the devil. As Christ has delivered us from the devil's power, so does the martyr by his sufferings make war on the devil. By his death he overcomes Satan and wins for the Church and all Christians peace from temptation.⁷⁰⁴

Although Frend and Sherman are writing about the philosophy of martyrdom among Early Christians, Jesuit artistic programs, included the martyr cycles of the late sixteenth century in churches like San Vitale and Santo Stefano Rotondo, both in Rome,⁷⁰⁵ clearly demonstrate that these ideas about martyrdom remained current more than a thousand years later.

One especially salient image is the first fresco of the martyrdom cycle of Santo Stefano Rotondo, which depicts the *Crucifixion and All Saints*. The fresco is very badly

⁷⁰² Alexandra Herz, "Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-Cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context," *Storia dell'arte* 62 (1988): 54.

⁷⁰³ W.H.C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967), 17.

⁷⁰⁴ J.E. Sherman, *The Nature of Martyrdom: A Dogmatic and Moral Analysis According to the Teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Paterson, NJ: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1942), 46.

⁷⁰⁵ See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

damaged; however, it has been preserved in an engraving that was included in a set of prints entitled *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, produced in 1583 by Giovanni Battista Cavallieri. Here Christ is presented as the glorious king of the martyrs with the words “*Rex gloriose martyrum*” surmounting a scene of his crucifixion. The cross is labeled “*tu vincis in martyrum*” and is surrounded by a large number of saints. Noreen writes that, “The particular saints gathered at the foot of the cross in this image symbolize the continuation of Christ’s sacrifice through their own acts of martyrdom.”⁷⁰⁶ Reinforcing this interpretation of Jesuit thought, Jerome Nadal (1507-1580), one of the first members of the Society of Jesus, summarized the Jesuit views on martyrdom, as well as its relevance to the Order’s missionary efforts, as follows:

From this we gather that the foundation of our Society is Jesus Christ crucified, so that just as he redeemed the human race with the Cross and daily endures the greatest afflictions and crosses in his mystical body, which is the Church, so also one who belongs to our Society can propose to himself nothing else, following Christ through the greatest persecutions”⁷⁰⁷

From Nadal’s words, we can clearly see that Jesuits were encouraged to emulate Christ by welcoming martyrdom, as a way to continue to bring salvation to mankind. St. Francis Xavier was not martyred by the enemies of Christianity, but he did sacrifice his life in the process of carrying out his vocation, converting souls to Christianity.⁷⁰⁸ The idea that his

⁷⁰⁶ Kirstin Noreen, "Ecclesiae militantis triumphus: Jesuit Iconography and the Counter-Reformation," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 3 (1998): 699.

⁷⁰⁷ Quoted in Noreen, "Ecclesiae militantis triumphus," 701.

⁷⁰⁸ Jesuits venerate Xavier’s death in the same way that they would a martyr’s and the missionary saint became a model for dying a good death, as Girolamo Bardi’s 1663 text makes clear. Girolamo Bardi, *Il Pellegrino moribondo ovvero divozione da praticarsi per ottenere una santa morte con l'intercessione di S. Francisco Saverio Apostolo dell'India* (Rome 1663). Several works of art depict Xavier as the patron saint of a good death. Examples include a print by Francesco Maria Francia depicting *St. Francis Xavier as the Patron of a Good Death (To Whom the Devotion of the Ten Fridays is Made)*, printed in Bologna and dating to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. There is also a painting by an anonymous Mexican artist, now in the Museo de Tepotzotlán, which shows the death of St. Francis Xavier alongside the death of St. Joseph, who was also considered an effective intercessor to achieve a peaceful death. Ricardo Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono: Imágenes para el taumaturgo de ambos mundos," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 169-70.

death was a Christ-like triumph is reinforced by the shield emblem at the bottom of this side of the Goan tomb. The image consists of flashes of lightning destroying a tower that is crowned with a crescent, signifying Islam and thus heresy. In the same way that Christ's sacrifice and triumph over death was often depicted as the physical destruction of the architecture of Hell (in the form of smashing doors or gates), Xavier's death is depicted as a victory over heresy, using an architectural metaphor.

The four scenes depicted by Foggini on the tomb faces show Xavier preaching, baptizing, being persecuted, and dying. This selection casts Xavier as a new apostle,⁷⁰⁹ a fitting designation since he was often compared to St. Thomas. After Christ's resurrection, the Apostles were filled with the Holy Spirit and given the power to speak the languages of the world; they dispersed and, according to tradition, St. Thomas went to India where he died as a martyr in Mylapore, now a district of the city of Chennai.⁷¹⁰ His supposed tomb is still located here and was a pilgrimage destination for European Catholics throughout the Middle Ages. In 1545, Xavier himself went on a pilgrimage to visit the tomb of the apostle.⁷¹¹ According to Pedro de Ribadeneira, Francis Xavier spent every night for three months in the shrine of Thomas's tomb, praying and supplicating God with tears, asking for

⁷⁰⁹ Jesuits in general liked to think of themselves as new apostles; for example, Alonso de Sandoval, a Jesuit active in South America, like to refer to the Society as a "religion of apostles." For Sandoval, the creation of the Jesuit order signified "the renewal of apostolic life within the Church." D.A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 171-72.

⁷¹⁰ St. Jerome wrote that St. Thomas went to India, as do many other ancient writers. The apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* confirm this, stating definitively that Thomas went to western India. However, this text also says that Thomas preached in Mazday, a city that has been interpreted as Mylapore. Leonard Fernando and G. Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith* (New Delhi: Viking, 2004), 59-60. Recently, however, doubt has been cast on whether or not St. Thomas ever went to Mylapore, with Pope Benedict XVI making the controversial remark that Thomas only went to western India, not southern India. G. Ananthakrishnan, "Thomas's Visit Under Doubt," *Times of India*, December 26 2006. See also Ishwar Sharan, *The Myth of St. Thomas and the Mylapore Shiva Temple*, 2nd rev. ed. (New Delhi: Voice of India, 1995).

⁷¹¹ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 557-92.

a small fraction of the evangelizing spirit of St. Thomas, whom Xavier desired to imitate.⁷¹² In the morning, Xavier took Thomas as his protector and vowed to “renew the old seed that had already been sown.”⁷¹³ In the early modern period, the idea that St. Thomas also went to the New World began to develop.⁷¹⁴ Authors such as Bartolomé de las Casas (ca. 1484-1566) and Antonio de la Calancha (1584-1684) advanced the idea that Thomas had gone to the Americas at some point in his ministry and converted some of the inhabitants to Christianity. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya wrote that the inhabitants of Paraguay converted so willingly that they must have had some memory of the Christian God, a remnant of the faith brought to them by St. Thomas, who was the “apostle of the most humble people in the whole world, the blacks and the Indians.”⁷¹⁵ St. Francis Xavier was increasingly thought of as a new St. Thomas, the Apostle to the Indies, seemingly both East and West, or as Mathias de Peralta Calderón titled his 1665 book, “The Apostle to the Indies and the New Peoples.”⁷¹⁶ The Medici pedestal sent by Cosimo III de’ Medici to Goa advances this very image of Xavier, a new apostle sent to save the souls of the new people encountered by

⁷¹² “De Zeilan fue en peregrinacion à Malipur, donde està el sepulcro del Glorioso Apostol Santo Tomè, y en este viage estuvo siete dias sin comer bocado, sustentandose de los regalos, y consolaciones divinas, que el Señor por medio de su sagrado Apostol le concediò en todo el camino, y despues que llegó à Malipur, donde estuvo tres ò quarto meses en casa de Vicario, gastando los dias en ganar las Almas de sus proximos, y las noches casi todas en la Iglesia en oracion, suplicando al Señor con lagrimas, y encendidos deseos, que pues le avia llevado à las Indias para alumbrar aqualla Gentilidad tan ciega, y tan estendida por tantas, y tan distantes, y barbaras Provincias, que le diesse alguna partecilla del espiritu que avia dado à su Santissimo Apostol Tomè (à quien èl proponia imitar) para recoger el fruto que el Santo Apostol avia sembrado, y al mismo Santo Apostol se encomendaba con grande afecto, tomandole por Guia, y Maestro, por Abogado, y Protector. Pedro de Ribadeneira, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, and Francisco García, *R.P. Pedro de Ribadeneira... Flos Sanctorum: Sexta parte: En que se contienen las vidas de los Santos, que pertenecen a los meses de Noviembre, y Diciembre* (Madrid: Don Gabriel del Barrio, 1716), 377. Jaime Cuadriello, “Xavier Indiano o los indios sin apóstol,” in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 203.

⁷¹³ Cuadriello, “Xavier Indiano,” 203.

⁷¹⁴ Brading, *The First America*, 172-74.

⁷¹⁵ “...Apostol de la gente mas abatida del vniuerso mundo, para negros, y Indios.” Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual hecha por los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus en las provincias Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay, y Tape* (Madrid 1639), 32. Quoted and translated in Brading, *The First America*, 174.

⁷¹⁶ Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias*.

Europeans in the early modern period, a message that is very different from that featured on the earlier silver sarcophagus.

4.8 CONCLUSION: THE *BEL COMPOSTO* RECONSIDERED

Carlo Mauro Bonacina, a Jesuit brother, wrote an account of the events that took place during the redecoration of the Chapel of St. Ignatius of Loyola in the Gesù in Rome (1695-1699, a project that was designed by Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), but overseen by Bonacina himself.⁷¹⁷ Here, he recorded the reaction that Cosimo III de' Medici had upon viewing the completed chapel.⁷¹⁸

A similar assembly of such varied things, so well executed, and so symmetrically composed is not easily found elsewhere. But it requires time to consider it well, part by part, as the mind is not able to follow the eye.⁷¹⁹

According to Bonacina, Cosimo continued in this vein, saying that one views such assemblies on two levels. The first level is an impression of the work in its entirety, while the second is an examination of each part individually. Evonne Levy has interpreted this passage to mean that Cosimo responded to the chapel as if it were a *bel composto*, or at least,

⁷¹⁷ Carlo Mauro Bonacina, "Ristretto dell'avvenuto nella fabrica della Cappella del nostro santo padre Ignatio nella Chiesa della Casa Professa della Compagnia di GIESÙ di Roma,"(Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), [n.d]), Rom. 140, 3r-41v. A transcription of this source can be found in Evonne Levy, "A Canonical Work of an Uncanonical Era: Re-Reading the Chapel of St. Ignatius (1695-1699) in the Gesù of Rome" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1993), 2: 494-525.

⁷¹⁸ Cosimo had gone on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1700, where he acquired another Xaverian relic – a piece of the saint's bowels. Harld Acton, *The Last Medici* (London: John Calmann and Cooper Ltd, 1980), 224.

⁷¹⁹ Translated in Evonne Levy, "Locating the *bel composto*: Copies and Imitations in the Late Baroque," in *Struggle for Synthesis: A obra de arte total nos séculos XVII e XVIII* (Lisbon: Instituto português do património arquitectónico, 1999), 78. "... un'adunata simile di cose si varie, per arte si ben condotte; per simmetria si ben disposte, non esser facile, che si vegga altrove. Richiedersi però tempo a ben considerarla per parti, non potendo la mente seguirar l'occhio." Bonacina, "Ristretto," 33r-v.

yearned to view the chapel as “a whole... greater than the sum of [its] parts.”⁷²⁰ The *bel composto* or “the beautiful whole” was a phrase famously invoked by Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1697) to describe the unity of the arts and the singularity of artistic vision achieved by Bernini in works such as the Cornaro Chapel: “It is the general opinion that Bernini was the first to attempt to unify architecture with sculpture and painting in such a way as to make of them all a beautiful whole....”⁷²¹ While seventeenth-century sources confine the use of the phrase *bel composto* to the work of Bernini, German art historians of the early twentieth century thought of the *bel composto* or the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a generally comparable concept, as one of the main characteristics of the Baroque.⁷²² In more recent years, however, art historians have been reevaluating the *bel composto*/*Gesamtkunstwerk* with scholars such as Bernd Euler-Rolle, Dieter Borchmeyer, and Eric Garberson arguing that this concept was largely an invention of the 1910s and 1920s and had no universally agreed upon meaning that could be validly applied to works of art from the seventeenth century.⁷²³ Despite this critical reconsideration, it is undeniable that some artists and patrons of the seventeenth century were thinking about how to create or view multimedia works of art with many parts that fit into a unified coherent iconographic or ideological schema. Although Cosimo III de’ Medici’s comments about Pozzo’s St. Ignatius of Loyola Chapel were recorded years after

⁷²⁰ Levy, "Locating the *bel composto*," 78.

⁷²¹ “È concetto molto universale che’egli sia stato il primo, che abbia tentato di unire l’Architettura colla Scultura e Pittura in tal modo, che di tutte si facesse un *bel composto*...” Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita del cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino scultore, architetto, e pittore* (Florence: Vincenzo Vangelisti, 1682), 67. Quoted and translated in Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*, 2 vols. (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1980), 1: 6. Levy, "Locating the *bel composto*," 74.

⁷²² Werner Weisbach, *Die Kunst des Barock in Italien, Frankreich, Deutschland, und Spanien* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1924), 9-19. Eric Garberson, "Historiography of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*," in *Struggle for Synthesis: A obra de arte total nos séculos XVII e XVIII* (Lisbon: Instituto português do património arquitectónico, 1999), 65.

⁷²³ Garberson, "Historiography." Bernd Euler-Rolle, "Das barocke *Gesamtkunstwerk* in Österreich - idealer Begriffe und historische Prozesse," *Kunsthistoriker Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Kunsthistoriker Verbandes* 2, no. 55-61 (1985). Dieter Borchmeyer, "Gesamtkunstwerk," in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*(Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter, 1994-2007).

the creation of the Medici pedestal dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, it is possible that when this Goan project was begun, the grand duke intended to create a *bel composto*, or a beautiful synthesis, of various marbles, stones, and bronze relief sculptures that proclaimed a unified message about Florentine imperial ambitions and the universality of St. Francis Xavier.

However, the final state of the tomb, as it now appears in the Bom Jesus in Goa, falls far short of being a *bel composto*. Visually, the two tomb components and the chapel decorations are very different; both the silver sarcophagus and the *talha dourada* (gilded wood) decoration of the chapel lend the work a decided Indo-Portuguese character, while the polychromatic marbles and *pietre dure* of the Medici tomb are unmistakably Florentine. Additionally, the silver sarcophagus and the marble pedestal contribute to different discourses. Both are sites of representation for empires, but one is concerned with propping up the rhetoric of the crumbling *Goa Dourada*, while the other makes a case for unrealized Tuscan imperial aspirations. In terms of both content and form, these works of art do not create a unified whole. Perhaps the practicalities of creating a work of art that was intended for display in a location halfway around the world were just too complicated and the slow pace of communication and travel in this age of nascent globalization were too much of an impediment to the creation of a true *bel composto*. It is also likely that there was not a sufficient “unity of culture” shared by all the agents who were involved in the conception of the various components of the tomb;⁷²⁴ one can identify several “centers of culture” that were woven together during the creation of the tomb of St. Francis Xavier in Goa – the Portuguese Estado da Índia, the Medici grand duchy, the international cult of Xaverian

⁷²⁴ Garberson cites a phrase used by Hans Tietze: “weitgehende Einheitlichkeit der geistigen Kultur” or “unity of spiritual culture.” Garberson, “Historiography,” 64. See Hans Tietze, “Andrea Pozzo und die Fürsten von Liechtenstein,” *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 13/14 (1914-1915).

relics, and the Jesuit order.⁷²⁵ Each of these cultural centers was in the midst of dealing with various crises at the time of its involvement with the tomb project and utilized the image of St. Francis Xavier as an ideological tool to uphold ideals of imperial authority or sanctity in the face of profound social, spiritual, and economic emergency. At times, these centers had similar goals and some semblance of “cultural unity” was achieved; at other times, these centers were using their contributions to Xavier’s tomb to advance discourses that had very little to do with one another. This is most apparent with the pedestal sent by the Medici grand duke to Goa. The pedestal is out of place in terms of both form and content in the space for which it was intended. I would argue that in fact, the pedestal fits perfectly in the Cappella dei Principi, the place where it was displayed for two years before being sent to Goa. Made out of similar materials, the pedestal could have been placed in the center of the octagonal room, where viewers could walk around it and see all four sides without interruption. Thematically, it complements the message of the chapel, which presents Medici royal ambitions. If Cosimo’s objective was to create a *bel composto*, the project was far more successful when the pedestal was temporarily installed in the Cappella dei Principi than when it reached its final destination. The Cappella dei Principi and the Medici pedestal have an “experiential unity,”⁷²⁶ with form and content both contributing to a uniform image of Cosimo as a global prince, with extensive trade networks under his control and the patron of a vast missionary enterprise that would lead to the conversion of the entire world and bring about a new age of the Apostolic Church, in the vein of the Portuguese and Spanish

⁷²⁵ Evonne Levy, basing her argument on the writings of Michel Foucault and Roland Barthes, proposes studying complicated Jesuits projects like the Chapel of St. Ignatius of Loyola in the Gesù not as the product of a single author or even multiple authors, but a negotiation between various “centers of culture.” Evonne Levy, “Che cos’è un autore/architetto gesuita?,” in *Andrea Pozzo*, ed. Alberta Battisti (Milan: Luni, 1996). See Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

⁷²⁶ Levy, “Locating the *bel composto*,” 78.

kings. When Ramponi and Fanciullacci reassembled the pedestal in Goa and placed the silver sarcophagus on top, the two pieces were unable to enter into dialogue with one another and remained separate monuments to the Estado da Índia and Medici grand duchy, respectively.

5.0 THE VISUAL LANGUAGE OF RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AND THE DECORATION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN NAPLES

On December 3, 1621, the anniversary of Francis Xavier's death, Ottavio d'Aragona, the admiral of the Kingdom of Naples's royal navy, captured an Ottoman ship in the Aegean Sea. In the process, he took sixty Turks as prisoners and recovered 110 Christians who had been enslaved by the Ottomans.⁷²⁷ When D'Aragona returned to Naples, the Spanish viceroy, Antonio Zapata y Cisneros (1620-1622), asked the admiral to process publicly with the Turks and Christians to the church of the Jesuits' *casa professa*.⁷²⁸ The Christians took the chains from which they had been freed to the altar of the future saint Francis Xavier, who was credited with the victory.⁷²⁹ The chains functioned as an *ex-voto*, left at Xavier's altar to venerate him as the intercessor responsible for their newly won liberty. The

⁷²⁷ "Ottavio di Aragona General delle Regio Galee tornato era dall'Arcipelago colla preda di un grosso legno Turchesco: in esso essendo stati presi vivi 60 Turchi, e ricuperati 110 Cristiani schiavi..." Francesco Schinosi and Saverio Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù appartenente al Regno di Napoli*, 4 vols. (Naples: Mutio and Mazzola, 1706-1757), 4: 199.

⁷²⁸ This church is now known commonly as the Gesù Nuovo, although this nickname does not seem to have been in use in the seventeenth century.

⁷²⁹ "... piacque al Vicerè, che questi venissero in ordinanza divota all predetta Chiesa, e portassero le lo catene all'Altare di S. Francesco Saverio, affinche con tale ossequio pubblicamente lo riconoscessero per Intercessore della libertà ricuperata: imperciocche la naval vittoria avvenuta era nel di anniversario del predetto Santo, e comunemente stimavasi, che per l'assistenza di lui, ottenuta si fosse, non ostante la disuguaglianza delle forze, che l'Armata infedele superior rendeva all fedele. Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 199-200.

viceroy himself was present and provided new clothing for these former slaves.⁷³⁰ The Turks were also brought into the Gesù Nuovo as “trophies of the reported victory,” but surprisingly, “were conveyed into the divine light and declared themselves ready to receive holy baptism.”⁷³¹ This is not the first instance in which St. Francis Xavier was closely associated with the baptism of Muslim slaves in Naples; for example, the central event of the third day of Xavier’s Neapolitan canonization festivities was the baptism of twenty-two slaves, presumably Muslims captured in naval skirmishes with the Ottoman Empire.⁷³²

The conversion of Muslim slaves was a special preoccupation of the Jesuit mission to the Kingdom of Naples. The presence of a sizable number of Muslims contributed to Jesuits regarding Naples as another “Indies,” where the members of the Society of Jesus could institute a new iteration of their mission to eliminate religious difference on a global scale. These Muslims were not only non-Christians, but also representatives of the most visible enemy to Christendom, the Ottoman Empire. For both Jesuits and the Spanish monarchy, the successful conversion of Muslim Ottomans was proof of the idea of universal salvation and represented progress in a millenarian project to create a state of worldwide religious

⁷³⁰ “La Processione si fece coll’accompagnamento di tutta la Milizia marinaresca intervenuta all pugna: il Popolo si affollò a vederla, e l’istesso Vicerè l’accolse nel Tempio, e quivi con segni di umile e grata riconoscenza salutato venne dalla sciera de’ liberati, da lui stesso fatti prima provvedere uniformemente di vesti.” Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 200.

⁷³¹ “Ma di allegrezza maggiore fu la conversion di buona parte de’ Maomettani, I quali condotti ancor essi in Chiesa per trofeo della riportata vittoria, scorti furono dalla luce divina, e se dichiararono pronti a ricevere il sacrosanto Battesimo.” Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 200. The Turks’ baptism, however, did not grant them liberty. While it was forbidden in early modern Europe to enslave a fellow Christian, owners were not required to free slaves who converted to Christianity after their enslavement. Emanuele Colombo, “‘Infidels’ at Home: Jesuits and Muslim Slaves in Seventeenth-Century Naples and Spain,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014): 197.

⁷³² “...nel terzo 22 Schiavi ricevertero solennemente il Battesimo...” Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 234.

homogeneity that would prefigure the second coming of Christ.⁷³³ In this chapter I will largely focus on the decoration of the Church of San Francesco Saverio (now the Church of San Ferdinando) in Naples, carried out by Luca Giordano (1634-1705) and his student, Paolo de Matteis (1662-1728). Here, I argue that the theme of these frescoes is the transformation of heterodoxy into orthodoxy through the miraculous powers of Jesuit saints. Furthermore, St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit missionary *par excellence*, is promoted as a universal saint who could alleviate all ills, reflecting Jesuit efforts to divert Neapolitan devotion from a number of alternative patron saints of Naples. In these decorations, Xavier and other Jesuit saints are also depicted as vanquishers of heresy, symbolized not by the usual generic allegory, but by a rare representation of Muhammad. I argue that this speaks to the Jesuits' urgent need to convert the thousands of Muslim slaves present in Naples, for fear that these religious Others would continue to sow discord in the Kingdom. The nave fresco in particular exploits the anxieties of the viewer, warning them that only the orthodox and the pious can call upon the officially appointed miracle-workers of the Catholic Church to use their intercessory powers to keep further calamities at bay. At the same time, this decorative program argues for a triumphal view of the state of Latin Christendom at the end of the seventeenth century, conflating religious victory with the 1683 victory of the Holy League over the Ottoman Empire at the Battle of Vienna.

⁷³³ Adriano Prosperi, "Otras Indias: Missionari della controriforma tra contadini e selvaggi" in *Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura: Convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze, 26-30 giugno 1980)* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1982), 212. Peter A. Mazur, "Combating 'Muslim Indecency': The Baptism of Muslim Slaves in Spanish Naples, 1563-1667," *Journal of Early Modern History* 13, no. 1 (2009): 28.

5.1 THE JESUIT MISSION TO NAPLES

In Naples, there are 300,000 souls and only 50,000 do any work. Those that do suffer terribly and waste away. The idle succumb to laziness, greed, lust, and usury. Many people keep others in servitude and poverty, contaminating them with their vices. Because of this, the city lacks public works whether in the field, the military, or in the arts, except those that are badly done and with great difficulty.⁷³⁴

With the signing of the Treaty of Lyon in 1504, King Louis XII of France (1462-1515) ceded the Kingdom of Naples to King Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452-1516), ushering in a period of Spanish rule for Naples that would last for more than two hundred years.⁷³⁵

Because of its territorial status, the Kingdom of Naples had an inherently fractured power structure; the viceroy, appointed by the king of Spain, was a foreigner, tasked with maintaining equilibrium between the Spanish crown, the Neapolitan feudal aristocracy, the *popolo* (an urban body comprised mostly of business owners and shopkeepers), and the plebeians.⁷³⁶ The interactions between these social groups, along with larger changes taking place in Europe and the world, caused tensions in Naples that would often manifest themselves in violence and unrest.⁷³⁷ As Jennifer Selwyn writes, “the sixteenth and

⁷³⁴ Originally written in Italian in 1602. “. . . in Napoli son da trecento mila anime, e non faticano cinquanta mila; e questi patiscono fatica assai e si struggono; e l’oziosi si perdono anche per l’ozio, avarizia, lascivia ed usura, e molta gente guastano tenendoli in servitù e povertà, o fاندoli partecipi di lor vizi, talché manca il servizio publico, e non si può il campo, la milizia, e l’arti fare, se non male e con stento.” Tommaso Campanella, “La Città del Sole,” in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Francesco De Sanctis (Torino: Einaudi, 1996), 17.

⁷³⁵ Spanish rule of Naples officially ended with the signing of the Treaty of Rastatt in 1714, thus ending the War of the Spanish Succession. At this time, Spain ceded all of its Italian territory to Austria. For an excellent introduction to the history of southern Italy, see Tommaso Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005).

⁷³⁶ Peter Burke, “The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello,” *Past and Present* 99 (1983): 8. Jennifer D. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 46-50. Giuseppe Galasso, “Society in Naples in the Seicento,” in *Painting in Naples, 1606-1705: From Caravaggio to Giordano*, ed. Clovis Whitfield and Jane Martineau (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1982), 28-30.

⁷³⁷ “People of varying conditions shared this urban environment, with difficulties posed by narrow spaces, scarce resources, social tensions, and rival powers. The daily life of Naples was thus marked by contradictions and enormous variety.”

seventeenth centuries witnessed several developments that affected Naples' fortunes in the early modern world, including a shifting economic order, the vagaries of Spanish imperial policy, and the demographic transformation of southern Italy as a whole."⁷³⁸ Accordingly, many of Naples's problems in the seventeenth century were connected to larger issues experienced throughout the Spanish Empire.⁷³⁹ By 1620, the supply of American silver that had sustained Spanish imperial power had begun to diminish, causing the crown to look for other means to fund its wars across Europe. As the seventeenth century progressed, much of this burden fell on Spanish possessions in Italy with the viceroys of Naples struggling to meet Madrid's need for men, resources, and money due to an economic recession that affected all of the Mezzogiorno.⁷⁴⁰ Various taxes imposed on the Neapolitan populace led to social unrest in the form of the Revolt of Masaniello in 1647, the second serious revolt in Neapolitan history in the space of about sixty years.⁷⁴¹ Matters did not improve much after the April 1648 suppression of the rebellion by King Philip IV's (r. 1621-1665) illegitimate son, John of Austria (1629-1679). Throughout the 1640s and 1650s, the same problems persisted: economic stagnation, banditry, piracy, and epidemics such as malaria. The Plague of 1656 wrecked havoc on Naples, devastating the population. The number of inhabitants in

Giovanni Muto, "Urban Structures and Population " in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 40.

⁷³⁸ Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 27.

⁷³⁹ Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 107-19.

⁷⁴⁰ Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 112.

⁷⁴¹ The earlier took place in 1585, after a severe famine and the lynching of Giovanni Vincenzo Starace, the people's representative in the Neapolitan ruling body, known as the Eletti. For sources on the 1647 revolt, see Rosario Villari, *The Revolt of Naples*, trans. James Newell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993). For an art historical perspective, see Wendy Wassyng Roworth, "The Evolution of History Painting: Masaniello's Revolt and Other Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Naples," *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (1993). For an alternative consideration of the ritualized nature of Masaniello's revolt that focuses on "the culture of the crowd, the hopes and fears, feelings and thoughts of the rebels," see Burke, "The Virgin of the Carmine."

the city had reached between 300,000 and 400,000 before the advent of this epidemic, making it one of the largest cities in Europe. After the plague abated, the population was reduced by more than half.⁷⁴²

Throughout this time period, authors of travel guides, histories, and descriptions of the Kingdom of Naples constructed an image of Naples as a “paradise inhabited by Devils,” a phrase used to describe the realm since the Middle Ages that contrasts the beauty of the environs with the base behavior of the Neapolitan populace.⁷⁴³ Naples was increasingly characterized in these texts as rampant with immorality, criminality, violence, instability, and wealth inequality. An illuminating example can be found in Camillo Porzio’s *Relazione del Regno di Napoli al Marchese di Mondesciar, Vicere di Napoli* (1579), in which the author argues that both the Neapolitan aristocracy and the lower classes were united in being “desirous of new things, little fearful of the judicial system, make much esteem of honor, love appearances more than substance, [and are] courageous, [and] homicidal.”⁷⁴⁴ Other authors focused on the religious environment of Naples, describing a contradictory atmosphere of religious laxity, characterized by lazy, corrupt, and ignorant priests who allowed their parishioners to live their lives with no Church oversight or religious

⁷⁴² Muto, "Urban Structures," 43. Giulio Sodano, "Governing the City," in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 109. See also James Clifton, "Art and Plague at Naples," in *Hope and Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague*, ed. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). James Clifton, "Mattia Preti's Frescoes for the City Gates of Naples," *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (1994).

⁷⁴³ For the most comprehensive study of these attitudes and texts, see Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*.

⁷⁴⁴ "... sono l'esser desiderosi di cose nuove, poco timorosi della giustizia, far molta stima dell'onore, ama più l'apparenza della sostanza, coraggiosi, micidiali..." Camillo Porzio, "Relazione del Regno di Napoli al Marchese di Mondesciar, Vicere di Napoli," in *La congiura dei baroni del Regno di Napoli contra il re Ferdinando Primo e gli altri scritti*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri (Naples Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1964), 339. Giuseppe Galasso, *L'Altra Europa: Per un'antropologia storica del Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Milan: Mondadori, 1982), 174. The English translation is from Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 22-23.

education,⁷⁴⁵ and overzealous ecstatic religious practices, many of which were unorthodox and had their roots in superstitious popular traditions.

In the late 1540s Jesuits first began working in Naples and encountered multiple issues, including a lack of educated priests, the incorrect administration of the Sacraments, the presence of large numbers of Muslim slaves, rampant prostitution, the practice of clerical concubinage, and the presence of superstitious religious practices in local popular strains of Catholicism. They also noted the violent atmosphere that pervaded the city, ranging from widespread banditry and common criminality to the Neapolitan aristocracy's obsessions with honor, vendettas, and dueling. At this time, Viceroy Pedro Álvarez de Toledo (r. 1532-1552) was working to strengthen Spanish rule in Naples and wrest power away from the Neapolitan barons.⁷⁴⁶ To these ends, Toledo supported institutions such as the Spanish Inquisition and the Society of Jesus, trusting that the efforts of the latter would lead to better-behaved inhabitants who were more loyal to the Spanish crown.⁷⁴⁷ Jesuit work in Naples began sporadically in these years;⁷⁴⁸ however, in 1549, Nicolás Bobadilla (1511-1590), one of the early companions of Ignatius, began making concrete plans to open an official residence in Naples, supported by many prominent Neapolitans, such as Girolamo

⁷⁴⁵ Many of the vices of the priests and monks of the Mezzogiorno were documented by Tomasso Orfini, the sixteenth-century papal visitor to southern Italy in 1566. The accounts of his visits are now housed in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and are described in Chapter 1 of Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*. Orfini finds members of the clergy exhibiting bad behavior such as gambling, excessive alcohol abuse, murder, and sexual immortality. For example, in Polignano, Orfini is told by a local man that the monks of Saint Vitus "[live] very bad lives... Most of them are concubinaries, and Brother Giovan Pietro and the others have syphilis, and it is said that Giovan Pietro has a son, whom I have seen living in his house in Polignano." Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 46.

⁷⁴⁶ See Chapter 4 of Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*.

⁷⁴⁷ Mark A. Lewis, "'Preachers of Sound Doctrine:' The Social Impact of the Jesuit College of Naples, 1552-1600" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1995), 3-4.

⁷⁴⁸ A useful summary of the history of Jesuits in Naples was written in the first half of the eighteenth century by Jesuits Francesco Schinosi and Saverio Santagata. For details regarding Ignatius of Loyola's time in Monte Cassino, see Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 1: 2.

Vignes, the son of a wealthy Spanish merchant, and Ettore Pignatelli, the duke of Monteleone and advisor to the viceroy.⁷⁴⁹ The arrival of a group of twelve Jesuits, mirroring the number of apostles, signaled the official start of the Jesuit mission to Naples.⁷⁵⁰ One of their first tasks was to organize a college that would educate the sons of the elite in Naples for free, an extremely popular initiative; within three months of the college's founding, there were three hundred students.⁷⁵¹ While the education of young men from the upper Neapolitan classes was the initial impetus for the establishment of a Jesuit presence in Naples, the mission quickly expanded in scope. Naples became the springboard for the so-called "popular missions" into the countryside of southern Italy,⁷⁵² as well as the site of an intense cultural mission, intended to reform the lives of southern Italians in many respects. For the Jesuits in Naples, "only civil life could produce true Christianization,"⁷⁵³ and thus many of these missionaries focused on reforming the behavior of both rural and urban inhabitants of the Kingdom of Naples. For example, in his history of the Jesuit order in Naples (1756-1757), Saverio Santagata wrote that after a popular Jesuit preacher, Francesco Romano, departed from Naples, all the vices that he had helped eliminate from residents of the Mercato quarter threatened to make a comeback, specifically mentioning an

⁷⁴⁹ See Chapter 4 of the first volume of Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*.

⁷⁵⁰ One of these Jesuits was Giovan Francesco Araldo (1522-1599) who is also the author of a chronicle recording the early history of the Jesuits in Naples. Giovanni Francesco Araldo, "Cronica della Compagnia di Gesù di Napoli," (Archivum Neapolitanum Sositatis Iesu (ANSI), 1595). See Chapter 2 of Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*. Araldo's manuscript is published in Giovan Francesco Araldo and Francesco Divenuto, *Napoli, l'Europa, e la Compagnia di Gesù nella 'Cronica' di Giovan Francesco Araldo* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche napoletane, 1998).

⁷⁵¹ Lewis, "'Preachers of Sound Doctrine,'" 35-36.

⁷⁵² Elisa Novi Chavarria, "L'attività missionaria dei Gesuiti nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia tra XVI e XVIII secolo," in *Per la storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso and Carla Russo (Napoli: Guida editori, 1982). Elisa Novi Chavarria, *Il governo delle anime: Azione pastorale, predicazione, e missioni nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001). David Gentilcore, "'Adapt Yourselves to the People's Capabilities': Missionary Strategies, Methods and Impact in the Kingdom of Naples, 1600-1800," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45, no. 2 (1994).

⁷⁵³ Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 130.

“inundation of hatreds and of tricks, cursing, concubinage, and other more horrible excesses.”⁷⁵⁴ The large population of Muslim slaves present in Naples was also a major concern, as will be discussed below.

When the first group of Jesuits arrived in Naples in 1552, they were greeted by Nicolás Bobadilla who had rented a house in Vico Giganti for them the year prior, officially signaling the start of the Jesuit mission to Naples.⁷⁵⁵ During the half century that followed, Jesuits expanded quickly from this humble start, building several large complexes of buildings that gave them a prominent position in the urban fabric of the city, including the Collegio Massimo and its accompanying church, now known as the Gesù Vecchio, along with a *casa professa* and attached church, the Gesù Nuovo.⁷⁵⁶ Their next project in Naples was a second college with an attached church dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, whose cult had steadily gathered followers in Naples in the years before his canonization.

⁷⁵⁴ English translation from Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 130. “...fecero una irruzione terribile, e contaminarono tutto quel Popolo colla più funesta depravazion del costume: alla inondazione degli odj, e de’ prestigi, delle bestemmie, de’ concubinati, e di altri eccessi peggiori.” Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 3:470.

⁷⁵⁵ See the letter written by Lorenzo Scorzini dated January 21, 1552. “Father Bobadilla awaited us, having obtained for us a well appointed house provided with all the necessities, many rooms, and these spacious and with good views, and a nice chapel and garden... Later many lords and gentlemen came to visit us with much charity and goodwill... The next morning we wanted to go visit the duke of Monteleone, but he would not hear of it; rather, he himself came to us, greeting us with such charity and love that I am unable to write of it...” Translated and quoted in Lewis, “Preachers of Sound Doctrine,” 32. “El P. Bobadilla nos esperaba teniendonos la casa muy aderezada y proveida de todo lo necessario, qual tiene muchas stancias, y es spaciosa y de Buena vista, con una capilla y un jardín... Luego nos visitaron todos esos señores y cavalleros con tanta charidad y be[ni]gnidad, que era para admirar. La mañana siguiente, queriendo nosotros yr à visitor ad duque de Montelión, no lo consintió; mas, viniendo él mismo á nosotros, nos saludó con una charidad y amor, que yo no lo podré scriber...” Spanish original published in *Bobadillae monumenta; Nicolai Alphonsi de Bobadilla, sacerdotis e Societate Jesu*, Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu (Madrid: Gabrielis Lopez del Horno, 1913-), 169-70.

⁷⁵⁶ There is no evidence to suggest that that nicknames “Gesù Vecchio” and “Gesù Nuovo” for the collegiate church and the church of the *casa professa* respectively were used before 1769. For the history of these building projects, see the following: Vincenzo Regina, *Le chiese di Napoli: Viaggio indimenticabile attraverso la storia artistica, architettonica, letteraria, civile, e spirituale della Napoli sacra* (Rome: Newton Compton editori, 1995), 166. Maria Ann Conelli, “The Gesù Nuovo in Naples: Politics, Property, and Religion” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1992), 10. Michele Errichetti, “L’architetto Giuseppe Valeriano (1542-1596) progettista del Collegio Napoletano del Gesù Vecchio,” *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 78 (1959): 327. Michele Errichetti, “La chiesa del Gesù Nuovo in Napoli: Note storiche” *Compania Sacra* 5 (1974). Michele Errichetti, “L’antico Collegio Massimo dei Gesuiti,” *Compania Sacra* 7 (1976). Maria Ann Conelli, “A Typical Patron of Extraordinary Means: Isabella Feltria della Rovere and the Society of Jesus,” *Renaissance Studies* 18, no. 3 (2004). Lewis, “Preachers of Sound Doctrine.”

5.2 DEVOTION TO ST. FRANCIS XAVIER IN NAPLES

On both the urban and rural missions, Jesuits supplemented their cultural and educational initiatives with other tactics meant to engender stricter adherence to the standards of orthodoxy and correct Christian comportment required by the Church in the years after the Council of Trent. They also introduced devotions that were promoted by the Counter-Reformation Church. David Gentilcore has described how Jesuits particularly encouraged devotion to the rosary, as well as other cults that gained prominence after the Council of Trent, like that of guardian angels and new Jesuit saints such as St Francis Xavier.⁷⁵⁷ From texts like Saverio Santagata's *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù* (1756-1757), it is apparent that devotion to St. Francis Xavier began in the Kingdom of Naples at least twenty years before the saint's canonization. For example, Antonio Cicala, a Jesuit priest active in Naples at the turn of the seventeenth century, went to Spain in 1602 to advance Jesuit interests at the royal court. When he returned to Naples, he brought news that he had acquired two concessions from the king through the intercession of Alfonso Pimentel, the count of Benevento, the first being permission to make "a plea... to the pope on behalf of all the kingdoms of His Catholic Majesty for the swift beatification of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier."⁷⁵⁸ Santagata's history also contains information about what must be the earliest images representing St. Francis Xavier to be displayed publically in a Jesuit church in Naples in 1606:

⁷⁵⁷ Gentilcore, "Adapt Yourself," 277.

⁷⁵⁸ "Due cose ottenne in pro della Compagnia per mezzo di Alfonso Pimentel Conte di Benevento favorite dal Re: la prima, che si porgesse supplic a sua Beatitudine a nome di tutt'i Regni della Maestà Cattolica per la presta Beatificazione d'Ignazio Lojola, e Francesco Saverio..." Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 3: 58.

In the [Gesù Nuovo], on the last day of July, the first memorial to our patriarch and founder was made. Cardinal Baronio had displayed, with his own hands, Ignatius of Loyola's portrait at his tomb in Rome before he was beatified and for this reason, the duke of Mattaloni obtained from the archbishop the right to give Ignatius the same honor in Naples. For that reason, a portrait of Ignatius was placed on one of the pilasters that support the dome of the [Gesù Nuovo] and on the other was placed a portrait of Xavier, not without much cooperation of the *popolo*.⁷⁵⁹

Prayers were said to the two illustrious Jesuits, neither of whom were yet beatified or canonized, and members of the crowd left wax or silver votive tablets at their images, hoping that these two “honored heroes” would intercede on their behalves.⁷⁶⁰ As early as 1614, Santagata records miracles performed by Xavier in the Kingdom of Naples; in Aquila, a group of charitable and pious noblewomen called on the future saint to alleviate bad weather and diseases that were disseminating the livestock in the area. “They began a Novena for St. Francis Xavier, who abated the plague, and the season became prosperous.”⁷⁶¹ Miracles attributed to Xavier continued to occur in southern Italy throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century.

Once Xavier was beatified in 1619, the official public celebration of his cult was able to begin in the city of Naples:

⁷⁵⁹ “Nella stessa Basilica nel dì ultimo di Luglio si fece la prima volta onorevol memoria de’ meriti del nostro Patriarca e fondatore: imperchiocche avendo giudicato il Cardinal Baronio, doversi esporre la sua Immagine presso al sup sepolcro in Roma, prima di esser beatificato, ed avendola egli stesso di propria mano esposta, si adoperò il Signor Duca di Mataloni, che l’estesso onore gli si accordasse in Napoli, e ne ottenne dall’Arcivescovo la facoltà: perloche fu assisso il di lui ritratto in uno de’ pilastri che sostengon la cupola, e a quello di rimpetto fu messo l’altro del Saverio, non senza gran concorso di Popolo... nè si ricusò da certi Prelati di celebrar Messa solenne in onore della SS. Trinità, e di fare alter dimostrazioni di applause, le quali parve, che gradite fossero al Cielo, giacche nè poche, nè ordinarie grazie si ottennero per la intercession de’ due onorati Eroi, e molte furono le tavolette votive alter in cera, ed alter in argento appese alle loro Immagini.” Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 231-32.

⁷⁶⁰ As detailed in the second chapter of this dissertation, much of this behavior in Naples would not have been acceptable in Rome, where the cults of candidates for sainthood were scrutinized to a much greater degree. Note that the duke of Mattaloni received permission from the archbishop, not the pope. After the reign of Urban VIII when the papacy had effectively monopolized all matters related to making saints, it is unlikely that an archbishop would have such authority.

⁷⁶¹ “In occasione d’intemperie grande di tempi, e di pestilente morbo attaccato agli armenti, non prima si adunarono, per cominciare una Novena a S. Francesco Saverio, che cessò la peste, e prospero divenne il coros della stagion.” Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 542.

Another one of our churches, that of the *casa professa*, was distinguished by Cardinal Decio Carafa who came to celebrate a solemn Mass in honor of St. Francis Xavier; the previous year on November 6, Pope Paul V beatified him and permitted him a public cult, particularly in the churches of the Company and in the regions of India, and in this year, all of the cities of the [Kingdom of Naples] where we have colleges. In Naples, since the piety and cooperation of the residents was more than can be said, it engendered the charity of the new *beatus* and a full course of miracles began, of which notice can be found in many printed books or manuscripts.⁷⁶²

Xavier's 1622 canonization saw even grander celebrations in Naples and other parts of the Kingdom. For eight days, Jesuits organized elaborate spectacles and processions of statues of the new saints, both Xavier and St. Ignatius of Loyola, through the principal streets of the city complete with triumphal carts, music, bonfires, and other ephemeral decorations, while various renowned prelates delivered oratorical panegyrics in honor of the new saint.⁷⁶³ It was on the third day of these festivities that Muslim slaves were baptized in honor of Xavier, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.⁷⁶⁴ Other cities in the Kingdom of Naples, particularly the ones in which Jesuits had established colleges, also celebrated the canonization and several of these locales elected Xavier and/or Ignatius as patron saints.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶² "Un'altra delle nostre Chiese, cioè della Casa Professa distinta fu dal Cardinal Decio Carafa venuto a celebraravi Messa solenne in onore di S. Francisco Saverio: l'anno scorso a 6 Novembre era stato dichiarato Beato dal Pontefice Paolo V, ed avendone permesso il pubblico culto particolarmente nelle Chiese della Compagnia, e nelle Regioni dell'India, toccarono a quest'anno gli onori fattigli in tutte le Città del Regno, ove avevamo Collegi. In Napoli la pieta, e il concorso de' Cittadini siccome fu maggiore di quanto dir se ne possa, così provocò la beneficenza del novella Beato, e si diè principio al corso di quella piena di Grazie Miracolose, che notate si trovano in molti libri o dati all stampe, or scritti a penna." Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 157-58.

⁷⁶³ "Ma poco appresso l'avviso della solenne Canonizzazione di S. Ignazio, e di S. Francesco Saverio tolse ogni rammarico della passata calamità. Altre Processioni si ordinarono allora, altri spettacoli: portate furono le statue de' nuovi Santi per le principali piazza di Napoli con pompa da non potersi descrivere, senza molta lunghezza di stile. Tutti gli ordini delle persone fecero a gara; perche solennissimi riuscissero gli apparati, le machine, le musiche, le fuochi di allegrezza, e i carri trionfo... Otto Prelati fecero le Orazioni Panegiriche negli otto giorni, che durò la Solenità..." Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 234.

⁷⁶⁴ "...nel terzo 22 Schiavi ricevertero solennemente il Battesimo..." Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 234.

⁷⁶⁵ "Molte Città del Regno, nelle quali o avevamo Collegi, o si trovavano nostril Sacerdoti per cagion di Missione, imitarono a proporzione la Capital: nè di ciò contente, alcune elessero i Santi per Protettori." Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 234-35.

A number of miracles reportedly took place during the eight days of celebrations that were held throughout the Kingdom; unfortunately, Santagata does not describe any of these prodigious acts in detail, saying only more than twenty sick or moribund persons were cured through the intervention of one saint or the other.⁷⁶⁶

Throughout the seventeenth century, devotion to St. Francis Xavier in Naples continued to increase. As evidence of this, Giulio Sodano notes that the annual letters written by Neapolitan Jesuits always contained an entire chapter devoted to miracles worked by Xavier in the Kingdom during that particular year. For example, in 1646, Jesuits noted that Giacomo Caracciolo (the marquis of Brienza), the duke of Casacalenda, and another Neapolitan nobleman named Francesco Spinelli (son of the marquis of Fuscaldo) were all miraculously aided by St. Francis Xavier.⁷⁶⁷ Beyond just disseminating information about Xavier's recent miracles, Jesuits also actively promoted his cult. For example, in 1640, the Society of Jesus celebrated the anniversary of the founding of the Congregation of the Veneration of the Blessed Sacrament with solemn processions, in which the standard of the order was carried through the streets of Naples along with a statue of St. Francis Xavier.⁷⁶⁸ This promotion of the cult of Xavier by the Jesuits led to the desire to found a college and church in his name, a project that began in the early decades of the seventeenth

⁷⁶⁶ "...gli infermi, e i moribundi risanati perfettamente chi all inovcazione dell'uno, e chi dell'altro Santo furono più di venti." Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 235.

⁷⁶⁷ The annual letters are housed in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesus in Rome (ARSI). For the 1646 letter, see *Prov. Neap., Historia*, vol. 74a, ff. 159-161. Giulio Sodano, "I patronati a Napoli nel XVII secolo: I casi di San Gaetano e San Francesco Saverio," in *Il santo patrono e la città: San Benedetto il Moro, culti, devozioni, strategie di età moderna*, ed. Giovanna Fiume, *Marsilio* (Venice Marsilio, 2000), 219.

⁷⁶⁸ ARSI *Prov. Neap. Historia*, vol. 74, f. 15v. Summarized in Sodano, "I patronati a Napoli " 219. Sodano also demonstrates that the Jesuits were eager to defend the cult of Xavier when the need arose. For example, the city of Barletta elected St. Francis Xavier as the patron of the city in 1622, but later, in the 1640s, the archbishop prohibited the celebration of Xavier's feast day. The Jesuits had recourse to the Sacra Congregazione dei Riti to protest this ban.

century and was completed when the plaster of Paolo de Matteis's frescoes dried in the 1690s.

5.3 THE BUILDING OF THE COLLEGE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

In the years leading up to the 1622 canonization of St. Francis Xavier, the Neapolitan Jesuits were in the midst of founding a second college. The Congregazione di Spagnoli, a confraternity that the Jesuits had founded for the Spanish of Naples some years before, decided to acquire a new house that was closer to the viceregal palace than their current location, near the Spedale di San Giacomo.⁷⁶⁹ Using various travel guides and histories of the Kingdom of Naples written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is possible to reconstruct the history of this college, which would eventually be dedicated to St. Francis Xavier.⁷⁷⁰ As Santagata writes, this college and church was founded for the benefit of the souls of members of the Congregation and of other Spaniards in Naples; thus connections between this Jesuit foundation and the Spanish nobility and viceroy remained particularly close with several prominent members of this population contributing to the

⁷⁶⁹ Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4:309.

⁷⁷⁰ More recent writings concerning this church include Regina, *Le chiese di Napoli*, 256-60. Livio Pestilli, *Paolo de Matteis: Neapolitan Painting and Cultural History in Baroque Europe* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 176-79. Gemma Cautela, Leonardo Di Mauro, and Renato Ruotolo, *Napoli sacra: Guida alle chiese della città* (Naples: Elio de Rosa, 1993-). Nineteenth-century accounts of the church are also useful. Benedetto Minichini, *La reale chiesa di S. Ferdinando di Napoli: Monumento nobile della via Toledo* (Naples: Tip. dell'Accademia reale delle scienze, 1887). Gennaro Aspreno Galante, *Guida sacra della città di Napoli* (Naples: Stamperia del Fibreno, 1872), 344. Carlo Celano's original 1692 guide to Naples can be found reprinted with 19th-century additions by Giovanni Battista Chiarini in Carlo Celano and Giovanni Battista Chiarini, *Notizie del bello dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli* (Naples: L. Chiurazzi, 1870), 489-93.

building project.⁷⁷¹ However, the Jesuits experienced a few seemingly insurmountable obstacles in the beginning stages of building. Suddenly, the viceroy, Cardinal Antonio Zapata y Cisneros opposed the plan, as well as Cardinal Decio Carafa (1556-1626), the archbishop of Naples, who had previously been a supporter of the Jesuits.⁷⁷² Furthermore, the Jesuits' plans were suddenly opposed by an unspecified group of Spaniards who had initially embraced the idea of building a Jesuit college near the viceroy's palace.⁷⁷³ Santagata attributes the reason for this opposition to the machinations of other religious orders who, for unknown reasons, set out to thwart Jesuit incursions into this particular part of the city and turned the Company's supporters against them. Prominent members of the Society in Naples, such as the provincial Carlo di Sangro, devoted themselves to regaining the support of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the Spaniards and by the year 1621, were successful.⁷⁷⁴

Finally, with the support of Spanish religious and political authority, the Jesuits were able to move into the house in question in November of 1622. A source dated as early as 1624 already describes the chapel attached to the house as being dedicated to the newly canonized St. Francis Xavier.⁷⁷⁵ The first rector of the college, Girolamo di Alessandro,

⁷⁷¹ "...da impiegarsi principalmente a profitto della Anime loro, e di quelle de' lor Nazionali." Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 310.

⁷⁷² See above, in which Cardinal Decio Carafa honored the Jesuits by celebrating a mass in honor of the newly beatified Francis Xavier in the Gesù Nuovo.

⁷⁷³ "Ma mentre a ciò si pensava, forsero all'improvviso opposizioni quanto inaspettate per una parte, altrettanto gagliarde e clamorose dall'altra. Per prima ostacol faceva il Vicerè Antonio Cardinale Zappata: si oppeneva per secondo l'Arcivescovo Cardinal Carafa: e per terzo renitenti e contrarj si dichiararono alcuni degli Spagnuoli medesimi, che pocaui propso to e abbracciato avevano il partito." Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 310.

⁷⁷⁴ Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 310-12.

⁷⁷⁵ "A S. Francesco Xauier compagno di S. Ignatio Loyola, & Apost. dell Oriente, i Padri del Giesù han dedicate questa chiesa, oue ne 20. Di Nouemb. Del 1622. celebrarono la I. messa, come di presente, e dall hora in poi han predicato, e predicano al popolo ne i giorni da loro determinati, e fanno gli altri esercitij spirituali come sogliono p salute dell'anime. Habitano in qsto luogo 12. Padri della cōpagnia del Giesù." Cesare D'Engenio Caracciolo, *Napoli sacra di D. Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo, gentilhuomo Napolit...* (Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1624), 544.

ardently hoped to enlarge it and acquire an accompanying church;⁷⁷⁶ however, due to a severe lack of funds, there was little hope that these ambitions would come to fruition. The Jesuits stationed at this new college had no revenue of their own and were reliant on the charity of other Jesuit institutions in Naples,⁷⁷⁷ as well as donations from prominent Spaniards.⁷⁷⁸ However, in 1624, they acquired a wealthy benefactress, a former vice-queen of Naples, Doña Catalina Zunica de la Cerda y Sandoval (? – 1648).⁷⁷⁹ In 1622, after the death of her husband, former viceroy Pedro Fernández de Castro y Andrade (r. 1610-1616), Doña Catalina joined a convent of Poor Clares in Madrid and being childless, began to give away her worldly possessions as pious acts of charity. In particular, she had thirty thousand *scudi* that had been given to her by the barons of Naples while she was vice-queen for her “slippers and lace trim,” which she desired to return to the city of Naples.⁷⁸⁰ It is likely that

⁷⁷⁶ Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 313.

⁷⁷⁷ “I Padri della Compagnia di Giueù hebbero questo luogo à 21 di Novembre del 1622 e per due anni continui vi sostennero grandissimi contradizioni, a tal segno, che loro bisognava mendicare il vitto dale alter Case della Compagnia.” Pompeo Sarnelli, *Guida de' forestieri: Curiosi di vedere, e d'intendere le cose più notabili della regal città di Napoli, e del suo amenissimo disretto* (Naples: G. Roselli, 1697), 301. “Fu preso questo luogo da' Padri della Compagnia di Giesù à 21 di Novebre del 1622 per zelo d'aiutare l'anime di questa parte tanto nobile della Città, & fù preso con molte cótradittioni à segno tale, che basta dire, che fusse opera d'Iddio. Non hebbe al principio fundatione, ne rédita di sorte alcuna, à segno, ch'i suppellettili de' Padri, che v'andarono ad habitare, furono accomodati da gli altri luoghi, che detta Religione hà in Napoli, i quali luoghi s;incaricarono di vantaggio ogn'uno d'essi, per ciaschedun giorno in giro somministrare à quei Padri il vitto...” Carlo de Lellis, *Parte seconda ovvero supplimento a Napoli sacra di Cesare d'Eugenio Caracciolo* (Naples: Roberto Mollo 1654), 231.

⁷⁷⁸ Santagata cites, among others, a gift of a few thousand *scudi* from Isabella Gironda, the mother of Father Antonio Marisilio, one of the Jesuits stationed at the new college. None of these gifts were large enough, however, to provide revenue for the college. Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 313.

⁷⁷⁹ She was the daughter of Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas (1553-1625), the duke of Lerma, and Catalina de la Cerda (1551-1603). She had first lived in Naples when her brother-in-law, Francisco Ruiz de Castro (r. 1601-1603) served as viceroy and had actually had a falling out with the Jesuits. When she returned to Naples in 1610 as vice-queen, she followed the example of other Spanish ladies in Naples and chose the Jesuit priest Vincenzo Maggio as confessor. Through his spiritual guidance, Dona Catalina converted to a more pious way of life and became a great supporter of the Jesuits. Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 314-16.

⁷⁸⁰ “L'Eccellentissima Signora D. Catherina dela Cerda e Sandoual, Contessa che fù di Lemos, & poi Monaca Scalza della prima Regola di Santa Chiara, donò à questo Collegio per sua dote, & fundatione trentamila *scudi* d'oro, à lei donate dal Baronaggio del Regno di Napoli mentre era iui Viceregina, per li suoi pianelli & gala, & da lei accettati con licenza prima di Filippo III, che sia in gloria, & poi di Filippo IIII che adesso Regna.” de Lellis, *Parte seconda* 231-32. “... trenta mila *scudi* d'oro, a lei donate dal Baronaggio del Regno di Napoli, mentre che era Viceregina, per le sue pianelle, e gale...” Sarnelli, *Guida de' forestieri*, 302.

this money was not just for slippers and lace trim, but more generally, for the maintenance of the vice-queen and her court.⁷⁸¹ Doña Catalina gave the money to the Jesuits to purchase additional property around their current residence and to build new buildings for the college and attached church. Carlo de Lellis and Pompeo Sarnelli, writing in 1654 and 1697 respectively, both commented that it was extremely appropriate for the ex-vice-queen to donate her so-called “slipper money” to build the first church in the world dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, since he was famous for having requested the same type of funds from the queen of Portugal, Catherine of Austria (1507-1578). Her “slipper money” came from a portion of the taxes collected from the converted Christian Paravars of the Pearl Fishery Coast of India⁷⁸² and Francis Xavier petitioned this money to found seminaries for the inhabitants of the area. He concluded his request by telling the queen that she would not find better slippers to carry her to heaven than the souls of the Christian children who would

⁷⁸¹ Schurhammer gives an illuminating example. Beginning in the thirteenth century, the queen of Portugal received the revenues of the city of Alenquer for the maintenance of her court, but this money was referred to as being for the queen's shoes (“chapins da rainha”). Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973-1982), II: 406.

⁷⁸² “E perche questa Casa fù la prima, che in tutto il mondo, fù presa sotto l’Inuocatione di San Francesco Xauerio, canonizzato à 12. Di Marzo del medesimo ann 1622. da Gregorio XV. Parvu, che la diuina prouidentia hauesse volute compensare à San Francsco Xauerio quello, che il medesimo Santo fece per Gloria d’Iddio nel suo primo arriuò nell’Indie, doue hauendo ritrouato nella Città di Goa, nel territorio di Stafede, doue si alleuauano Giouani di tutte le nationi dell’Oriente per fornirli di lettere & pieta Christiana, acciòche ritornando alle loro Patrie couertissero i loro Compatrioti, scarco di rendite, scrisse, & persuase all Regina di Portogallo, che si còtentasse, che alcune mighliaia di Bardias (è questa una moneta d’oro di quelle parti) che quei Popoli pagauano à Sua Altezza per li suoi pianelli, s’applicassero à beneficio di quell Seminario, significandole, che non haurebbe igliori pianelli da salir in Cielo, che quella pia munificenza, & Dio altresì dispose, che la prima Chiesa dedicate à San Francesco fusse fondata con il denaro donato dal Baronaggio di Napoli, per li pianelli di una Viceregina...” de Lellis, *Parte seconda* 232. Due to the similarity in language, it is likely that Sarnelli used de Lellis as a source. “... fece S. Francesco Xaverio nel suo primo arrive nell’Indie, dove havendo ritrovato nella Città di Goa, nel territorio di Stafede, un poverissimo Seminario di Giovani di tutte le nazioni dell’Oriente ehe si allevavano per dilatazion della Santa Fede nelle Patrie loro, scrisse, e persuase all Reina di Portogallo, che si contentasse, che alcune miglajja di bardais (moneta d’oro di quelle parti) che que’ popoli pagavano a Sua Altezza per le pannelle, s’applicassero a beneficio di quel Seminario, significandole, che non havrebbe migliori pannelle da salire al Cielo.” Sarnelli, *Guida de’ forestieri*, 302.

be educated in the schools.⁷⁸³ Just as Catherine of Austria donated her slipper money, collected from her subjects in India, to Francis Xavier's missionary efforts, Doña Catalina gave hers, similarly amassed from the barons of Naples, to erect a church in the memory of Xavier.⁷⁸⁴

The building of the church of San Francesco Saverio began in 1628. None of these histories or travel guides securely identifies the author of the plans for the church; modern architectural historians are also divided on the issue. Gemma Cautela, Leonardo Di Mauro, and Renata Ruotolo's *Napoli Sacra* guide to Neapolitan churches attributes the designs to

⁷⁸³ This letter from Francis Xavier to Queen Catherine of Austria is lost. Georg Schurhammer and Josef Wicki, eds., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, 2 vols., Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1944-1945), I: 177. However, it was described in Manuel Teixeira's 1579 manuscript biography of Francis Xavier. "Y porque este dinero antes desto se applicaua para los chapines de la reyna, escriuió el Padre á la misma reyna, que no podia S. A. tener mejores chapines, que la lleuassen presto al cielo, que los niños christianos, que en la Pesquería con esto se podrian sustentar, que S.A. tuuiesse por bien este trueque de chapines; y como ella era tan cathólica y religiosa, lo tuuo por bien, holgándose mucho dello." Mariano Lecina, ed. *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia de sancto Francisco Xaverio*, vol. 43, Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu (Matriti: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1912), II: 852-53. Torsellino also included a description of Xavier's request to the queen. Orazio Torsellino, *The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier*, trans. T.F. (Paris: English College Press, 1632), 140. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, II: 406.

⁷⁸⁴ Doña Catalina's donation, however, was not without its conditions. According to Domenico Antonio Parrino's *Teatro eroico e politico de' gouerni de' vicere del regno di Napoli* (1692), both Doña Catalina and her deceased husband were to be considered the official founders of the college and their heirs, the Dukes of Lemos, would be the patrons of the college in perpetuity. Thus, the arms of the House of Lemos were to be prominently displayed in the buildings. Doña Catalina also decreed that the college would be dedicated to both Sts. Francis Xavier and Francis Borgia, the fourth Duke of Gandía (1543-1546) and third superior general of the Jesuit order (1565-1572). Not only was Borgia beatified in the same year as Doña Catalina's donation (1624), but he was also her great-grandfather, making this a particularly appropriate dedication. "... fece dono a' PP. della Compagnia di Giesù per la fondazion del Collegio di S. Francesco Saverio con le condizioni seguenti: Che tanto ella, quant oil già morto Conte suo marito, dovessero perpetuamente chiamarsi fondatori di esso, e che 'l jus' patronato del medesimo Collegio dovess'esser perpetuo de' Signori della Casa, e Stato di Lemos, e de' possessori di quello, con obligazione di apporvi l'Armi, e l'insegne di questa Casa: Ch'i suffragj de' sagrifcj, che si farebbero celebrati in detta Chiesa, dovessero esser comuni all'anime de' medessimi simi coniugi: Che'l Collegio dovesse havere non solamente il titolo di S. Francesco Saverio, ma anche quello di S. Francesco Borgia Duca di Gandia Abavolo dell Contessa: Ch'i Padri dovessero celebrare in ogni anno gli anniversarj con messe per l'anime di tutti i morti della Casa e Stato di Lemos, e gli anniversarj particolari per l'anime di detti Coniugi nelle giornate della lor morte: Che dovessero i Padri andar ne' Regi Castelli, Galee, e nello Spedal di S. Giacomo della Nazione Spagnuola, per amministrarvi le confessioni, ed altri Sacramenti; e che'in questo Collegio dovessero tener le schole di lettere humane, e Teologia morale, per publica commodità, ed in particolare per l'educazione de' figliuoli degli Spagnuoli, ch'abitano in quella contrada dell Città, molto distante dal Collegio Maggiore di detti Padri." Domenico Antonio Parrino, *Teatro eroico, e politico de' gouerni de' vicere del regno di Napoli* (Naples: [n.p.], 1692), 78-79. See also Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 4: 319. Additionally, the Jesuits were tasked with celebrating Masses in the names of all of the deceased of the House of Lemos, with special Masses reserved for the anniversaries of the deaths of Doña Catalina and her husband. The Jesuits of the college of San Francesco Saverio were also obligated to go to the royal residences, the royal galleys, and the Spedale di San Giacomo degli Spagnoli to administer confessions and other sacraments. Lastly, the Jesuits were tasked with keeping a school that the sons of the Spanish could attend, particularly since the area around the viceroy's palace, where many Spanish aristocrats lived, was "very far from the Collegio Maggiore of the Jesuits." Parrino, *Teatro eroico*, 79.

Cosimo Fanzago (1591-1678), while Vincenzo Regina has named the Neapolitan architect Giovan Giacomo di Conforto (ca. 1569-1631) as the initial designer with Cosimo Fanzago taking over at a later date, presumably after Conforto's death in 1631.⁷⁸⁵ Additionally, Silvana Savarese has noted the possibility that Francesco Grimaldi (1560 – after 1626) may have been involved in some capacity.⁷⁸⁶ Construction continued until sometime in the 1650s when there seems to have been a delay. According to Parrino (1692), construction was halted due to “jealously from the Palazzo Reale,”⁷⁸⁷ which more recent authors have described as a vice-regal prohibition against building a dome too close to the Castel Nuovo.⁷⁸⁸ Celano, however, writes that around the year 1650, there had been some popular riots and the Count of Ognatte decided to knock down all of the houses that were adjacent to the wall of the garden of the Palazzo Reale. This caused the adjacent street to be enlarged and it was decided to pave it in black stone. This project supposedly interfered with the Jesuits' building plans and progress was stalled.⁷⁸⁹ In any case, both Parrino and Celano agree that in approximately 1660, the viceroy, Gaspar de Bracamonte, the Count of Peñaranda (r. 1659-1664) removed all the impediments that were keeping the Jesuits from

⁷⁸⁵ Cautela, Di Mauro, and Ruotolo, *Napoli sacra*, pg? Regina, *Le chiese di Napoli*, 258-60.

⁷⁸⁶ Silvana Savarese, *Francesco Grimaldi e l'architettura della Controriforma a Napoli* (Rome: Officina, 1986), 172.

⁷⁸⁷ “Così fù principiata la machine di quell Collegio, la quale quantunque fusse stato vietato di proseguirsi per la gelosia, che dava al Palagio reale...” Parrino, *Teatro eroico*, 79.

⁷⁸⁸ Cautela, Di Mauro, and Ruotolo, *Napoli sacra*, pg?

⁷⁸⁹ “...circa poi gl'anni 1650. quietati i tumulti popolari, il Conte d'Ognatte, come si disse, se buttar giù le case che stavano attaccate al muro del giardino del Regio palazzo, in modo che tanto era larga la strada, quanto si vede inselgiata di pietre nere, vedendo che le mura del Collegio erano ampie, e forti, impedi che la fabrica non fusse fassata più Avanti...” Carlo Celano, *Delle notizie del bello, dell' antico, e del curioso dell città di Napoli*, 10 vols. (Naples: Giacomo Raillard, 1692), 149.

realizing their plans to build the college and accompanying church of San Francesco Saverio and construction began again.⁷⁹⁰

At some point, work on the interior decorations had begun with particular attention paid to the commissioning of a painting for the high altar. Unfortunately, reconstructing the circumstances around this commission involves relying on problematic sources, such as Bernardo de' Dominici's *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti napoletani*, published in the 1740s. Art historians of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth century criticized De Dominici for a lack of accuracy with Benedetto Croce famously nicknaming him "Il Falsario" for this reason.⁷⁹¹ However, more recently, scholars have begun to reexamine the utility of using De Dominici as a source; Thomas Willette has pointed out that De Dominici's writings have significant literary merit,⁷⁹² while J. Nicholas Napoli has noted that art historically, these biographies are useful because they reveal early modern Neapolitan attitudes about aesthetics and the art making process that surpass in importance the biographical "facts," whether accurate or not, presented by De Dominici.⁷⁹³ When examining De Dominici's account of the altarpiece on the high altar of San Francesco Saverio in Naples, it is clear that the author is preoccupied with telling a fascinating story about the most noteworthy artistic personalities active in seventeenth-century Naples. Whether or not the exact details of the

⁷⁹⁰ "...circa l'anno poi 1660. D. Gasparre di Bragamonte, Conte di Pignoranda Vice Rè, e Signore di somma pieta fece togliere l'impedimento da Spagna, ed i Padri in brevissimo tempo fecero vedere finite la casa dall parte del Castello, e la Chiesa..." Celano, *Delle notizie*, 149-50. "...ad ogni modo tolto il divieto in tempo del Governo del Conte di Peñaranda..." Parrino, *Teatro eroico*, 2: 79.

⁷⁹¹ Benedetto Croce, "Sommaro critico della storia dell'arte nel napoletano I: Il Falsario," *Napoli nobilissima* 1 (1892).

⁷⁹² Thomas Willette, "Bernardo de' Dominici e le Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani: contributo alla riabilitazione di una fonte," in *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano dedicato a Ulisse Prota-Giurleo nel centenario della nascita* (Milan: L&T, 1986).

⁷⁹³ J. Nicholas Napoli, "The Visual Arts," in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 317-22.

following story are correct, it does allow the critical reader to discover broader issues, such as the strong guiding role played by the viceroy in Jesuit commissions and the public's extreme interest in high-profile artistic productions. Additionally, the language used by both De Dominici and Carlo Celano when describing the subject of the altarpiece in San Francesco Saverio demonstrates a lack of precision in describing the geographic location of Xavier's missions. While one might conclude that this vagueness is a result of Europeans' lack of knowledge about the wider world in the early modern period, I argue that instead, geographic specificity was unimportant for the creators, patrons, and audience of this altarpiece. In fact, being very precious about the geographical setting of St. Francis Xavier's mission would have undercut the actual message of the decorative program at San Francesco Saverio in Naples, which was to portray Francis Xavier as effectively ridding the world of religious heterodoxy wherever an "Indies" could be found.

According to De Dominici and other sources such as Carlo Celano (1692), the altarpiece on the high altar was changed a surprising number of times during the history of the church. Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) completed the first painting placed on the high altar. According to Celano, this painting depicted "St. Francis Xavier in the air with many Indians below in the act of humble supplication," using the phrase "molti Indiani" to describe the object of Xavier's mission.⁷⁹⁴ De Dominici, however, writes that the altarpiece represented the peoples of Japan listening to the preaching of St. Francis Xavier ("I Popoli

⁷⁹⁴ "Nell'altare maggiore...vi fu posto un quadro, nel quale vedevasi S. Francesco in aria con molti Indiani di sotto in atto di umiliati supplicanti, fatto da Salvator Rosa, nostro napolitano." Celano, *Delle notizie*, 5: 150. Nineteenth-century sources, such as Galante and Chiarini state that Rosa's painting depicted St. Francis Xavier in glory, seemingly taking this information from Celano. Galante, *Guida sacra*, 345. Celano and Chiarini, *Notizie del bello dell'antico*, 490.

del Giappone”).⁷⁹⁵ To the twenty-first century reader, this seems like a contradiction, since we view India and Japan as being distinctly different sovereign nations. However, for the early modern European, these terms were not mutually exclusive. Scholars such as Edward F. Tuttle have demonstrated that for early modern Europeans in general, “Indian” was generally synonymous with “non-European;”⁷⁹⁶ similarly, Donald Lach concludes that the word “Indian” functioned to generically mark people, places, and things as being different or Other.⁷⁹⁷ Japanese people, being non-European and distinctly Other, would have qualified as Indians in the early modern period.

Rosa’s painting did not stay on the high altar for long; Celano writes that it was not satisfactory (“non essendo riuscito à sodisfatione”) and that after the artist returned to Rome, it was replaced by another version by Cesare Fracanzano (ca. 1605-1651) depicting St. Francis Xavier in the act of baptizing many Indians (“molti Indiani”).⁷⁹⁸ It is unclear why Rosa’s painting was taken, but De Dominici explains that Cesare Fracanzano, whose brother Francesco (1612-1656) was married to Rosa’s sister Giovanna, disparaged the painting to the Jesuits.⁷⁹⁹ Both authors describe how Rosa heard about this betrayal and

⁷⁹⁵ “Così fece in quell tempo il quadro per l’Altar maggiore della Chiesa di S. Francesco Saverio, eretta press oil Palazzo Regale, rappresentando in esso i Popoli del Giappone, che ascoltano la predica del Santo...” Bernardo De Dominici, *Vite de’ pittori, scultori, ed architetti napoletani* (Naples: [n.p.], 1743), 3: 224..

⁷⁹⁶ E. F. Tuttle, “Borrowing versus Semantic Shift: New World Nomenclature in European Languages,” in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. F. Chiapelli (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 598. Jessica Keating and Lia Markey, “Indian’ Objects in Medici and Austrian-Habsburg Inventories: A Case-Study of the Sixteenth-Century Term,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 2 (2011): 287.

⁷⁹⁷ See Volume 1, Chapters 3 and 4 of Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1965).

⁷⁹⁸ “...mà non essendo riuscito à sodisfatione ne fecero fare un altro da Cesare Fracanzano, nel quale vedasi S. Francesco in atto di battezzare molti Indiani, e lo collocarono nel luogo del primo...” Celano, *Delle notizie*, 5: 150.

⁷⁹⁹ “...la qual’opera tomato in Roma Salvatore s’ingegnò di discreditare appresso i PP. Gesuiti con lingua maledica Cesare Fracanzano, e gli riuscì il disegno di farlo toglier da quell luogo, per riporvi un quadro ch’ei vi dipinse; ma non di quella bontà dell’altro situate al Giesù Vecchio, come abbiam detto nella sua Vita.” De Dominici, *Vite de’ pittori*, 3: 224. Parrino tells a slightly different story, in which the paintings by Rosa and Fracanzano were put on the altar together. Domenico

went to see a Neapolitan Jesuit priest named Salviati, who was in Rome to preach during Lent. When Salviati returned to Naples, he had Fracanzano's painting taken down and Rosa's restored to the high altar.⁸⁰⁰

Years later, in 1685, the Jesuits decided to enlarge the tribune of the church and thus had to replace the painting by Rosa, as it was not large enough for new high altar. It was moved to the corridor above the stairs and, according to De Dominici, was later sold to an unknown foreigner who took it to England.⁸⁰¹ The whereabouts of this painting, as well as Fracanzano's, are currently unknown. The Jesuits then selected Luca Giordano (1634-1705) to paint the new altarpiece for the church because he had been recommended by Gaspar Mendez de Haro, the seventh marquis of Carpio and viceroy of Naples from 1683 to 1687.⁸⁰² De Dominici describes the subject of the painting as St. Francis Xavier baptizing the people of Japan ("S. Francesco Saverio che battezza I popoli del Giappone"), but as we will see, the figures depicted by Giordano do not have any specifically Japanese details of

Antonio Parrino, *Nuova guida de' forastieri per osservare e godere a curiosità più vaghe... della fedelissima gran Napoli* (Naples Giuseppe Buono 1751), 64-65. Nineteenth-century authors say that the painting by Rosa occupied the altar first, followed by Fracanzano's painting, but they do not state why Rosa's painting was taken down, saying only that it was not liked. Galante, *Guida sacra*, 198. Celano and Chiarini, *Notizie del bello dell'antico*, 490.

⁸⁰⁰ "...lo che cagionò digusto grande a Salvatore ed odio implacabile verso dei suoi paesani. Essendo poi andato a predicare in Rome il Padre Salviati Gesuita ascolto le doglianze del Rosa per l'affronto ricevuto; tornato in Napoli con efficacia grande indusse I Padri a rimettere il quadro nel primo luogo." Celano, *Delle notizie*, 5: 150-51. "Della qual cosa avendo avuta notizia Salvatore, ne meditò la vendetta, e le riuscì per mezzo del P. Salviati, che si trovava in Roma a predicare il Quaresimale. Questo Padre persuaso dalle giuste dogliane del Rosa (il qual era in gran credito) nel ritorno ch'ei fece a Napoli, fece riponer di nuovo il quadro, e toglier via quello di Fracanzano..." De Dominici, *Vite de' pittori*, 3: 224. Again, the nineteenth-century sources say that the painting by Fracanzano wasn't liked, without going into details as to why. Galante, *Guida sacra*, 345. Celano and Chiarini, *Notizie del bello dell'antico*, 490.

⁸⁰¹ "Indi a molti anni essendosi ampliata la Tribuna, ingrandito, ed abbellito di marmi l'altar Maggiore, vi fece il quadro bellissimo sopra ogni credere il celebre Luca Giordano, che sarà scritto nella sua Vita, e quello di Salvatore fu situata nel corridoio di sopra vicino le scale; ove fu mostrato dal P. Putignano, celebre Antiquario, a chi queste cose scrive, e dopo fu venduto a non sò chi forastiere, che lo condusse con alter opera in Inghilterra." De Dominici, *Vite de' pittori*, 3: 224. These details are not found in Celano's account who only says, "...per ultimo ne è stato tolto di nuovo, & collocatovi uno del pennello del nostro Luca Giordano..." Celano, *Delle notizie*, 5: 151.

⁸⁰² This story is related in Bernardo De Dominici, *Vita del Cavaliere D. Luca Giordano, pittore napoletano* (Naples: Francesco Ricciardi, 1729), 48-49.

dress or appearance. The painter promised to finish by December 3, 1685, in time for the feast day of St. Francis Xavier. However, Giordano was busy at the moment with commissions for foreigners and kept delaying the Xavier altarpiece.⁸⁰³ The day before the altarpiece was due, the Jesuits informed the viceroy that they were having problems getting the painting from Giordano, and the viceroy went to Giordano's house personally to inquire about its status. Giordano hid in fear from the viceroy, who threatened to have the painter arrested if he did not finish the painting by the appointed day. Giordano, finally provided with sufficient motivation, began work immediately. He worked all day and through the night, not even stopping to eat, except for a bit of chocolate to keep his stomach calm. Giordano continued to work during the next morning and after having finished the painting in only forty hours, delivered it to the church. The news flew through Naples and the church of San Francesco Saverio filled with people eager to see an altarpiece that was finished so quickly. The viceroy also came because he could not believe that Giordano had accomplished such a feat. De Dominicis states that when the viceroy saw the painting, he exclaimed in Spanish, "He who has made this painting is either an angel or a demon."⁸⁰⁴ Giordano's relationship with the viceroy was thus repaired and his reputation as "Luca Fa Presto" spread throughout Naples. While De Dominic's life of Luca Giordano is

⁸⁰³ Edoardo Nappi has found documentation that Luca Giordano received 50 ducats in payment for the altarpiece on November 15, 1680 in the Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli. "Banco Sant'Eligio, giornale del 1680, matricola 431, partita di D. 50 del 15 novembre. A Francesco Perriello D. 50. E per lui al padre Fabio Pacifico. E per lui a Luca Giordano a conto del quadro dell'altare maggiore di S. Francesco Saverio..." Edoardo Nappi, "Momenti della vita di Luca Giordano nei documenti dell'Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli," in *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti per la storia dell'arte dedicato a Luca Giordano* (Milan: L&T, 1991), 175. Edoardo Nappi, "Le chiese dei Gesuiti a Napoli," in *Seicento napoletano: Arte, costume, e ambiente*, ed. Roberto Pane (Milan: Edizioni di comunità, 1984), 337. Oreste Ferrari and Giuseppe Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano: Nuove ricerche e inediti* (Naples: Electa, 2003), 123.

⁸⁰⁴ "Vel que ha eehe este quadros es un Angelo o un Demonio." De Dominicis, *Vita del Cavaliere D. Luca Giordano*, 49. Minichini provides a modern Spanish transliteration: "El que ha hecho este cuadro es un ángel o un demonio." Minichini, *La reale chiesa*, 16.

embellished with the richest amount of detail, the speed with which Giordano completed the altarpiece is confirmed by other sources.⁸⁰⁵ Carlo Celano, however, goes on to say that the Jesuits changed their mind about this quickly executed painting and Giordano had to make a second version, which was more beautiful and thus remained on the altar at the time Celano was writing. Modern authors, however, tend to believe that Giordano only painted one version for the Jesuits of San Francesco Saverio.⁸⁰⁶ De Dominicis's main prerogative here is to spin a fascinating yarn; however, for the purposes of this dissertation, the important takeaway is the viceroy's close involvement with the commission, acting almost as if he were the patron, rather than the Jesuits.

⁸⁰⁵ "... Luca Giordano, il quale fù forzato à dipingerlo in pochi giorni." Celano, *Delle notizie*, 5: 151. Onofrio Giannone, writing in the 1770s, also states that the painting was done in one day ("in un giorno") and that many much of it was actually completed with Giordano's finger ("molti dei tratti fatti con ditto." Onofrio Giannone, *Giunte sulle vite de' pittori napoletani* (Naples: R. Deputazione di storia patria, 1941), 165. Oreste Ferrari and Giuseppe Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1966), 1: 117. Chiarini, writing in 1870, repeats that the painting was done in only forty hours. "...il Giordano farne un terzo, dipinto nel corso di solo quaranta ore, o presso a poco, dopo essere stato quel pittore minacciato di arresto dal Vicerè per averne trascurata la esecuzione sino all'antivigilia della solennità che nel tempio dovea compiersi..." Celano and Chiarini, *Notizie del bello dell'antico*, 490.

⁸⁰⁶ Ferrari and Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano*, 1: 117. Giordano's painting remained on the high altar until the 1767 expulsion of Jesuits from Naples, at which time the church was given to the Sacred Military Constantinian Order of Saint George and rededicated to St. Ferdinand of Castile. The Giordano altarpiece was moved to the Museo Borbonico in 1785 and is now in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte in Naples. A painting depicting St. Ferdinand by Antonio Sarnelli (1742-1793) was placed on the altar in the place of the Giordano altarpiece. It is now lost and the painting currently in the church is by nineteenth-century artist Federico Maldarelli (1826-1893). According to Chiarini, at the time it was moved, Luca Giordano's St. Francis Xavier altarpiece was not judged highly. They write that it was viewed as "defective" and "imperfectly completed" ("...quadro che non fu poi tolto perchè difettoso e imperfettamente compiuto"). However, it was transferred to the museum as a testament to the genius and rapidity of the brush of Giordano ("...ma, per essere conservato nel Museo Reale come una prova dall'ingegno portentoso e della rapidità del pennello di Giordano..." Celano and Chiarini, *Notizie del bello dell'antico*, 490.

5.4 LUCA GIORDANO'S ALTARPIECE: A MODEL FOR FIRST AND SECOND CONVERSION

The composition of Luca Giordano's altarpiece, *St. Francis Xavier Baptizing the Indians*, is a complicated arrangement of more than twenty figures on two levels. The upper level, standing above a stair, is St. Francis Xavier himself, wearing a stole and surplice over his black cassock and in the act of baptizing. In his right hand, he holds a shell from which baptismal water pours onto the figures kneeling before him. The painter has captured Xavier in the midst of one of his famously large mass baptisms,⁸⁰⁷ filling the composition with a crowd that surges forward dynamically along a diagonal that goes from lower left to upper right. The multitude is surprisingly diverse; there are several figures with African features, alongside sumptuously dressed Turks in turbans. The figure closest to Xavier has a shaved head, most likely representing a Japanese convert with his son behind him, while the man with his back to the viewer in the center of the painting wears the feathered skirt stereotypically associated with Amerindians. Women with European features in both the bottom left and the upper right bring their infants to be baptized, while a scene in the upper left depicts a group of men with hammers about to destroy a pagan idol. In the lower left corner, there is an empty space upon which the crowd has not encroached. Few people in the multitude notice a second Jesuit saint, St. Francis Borgia, dressed in the simple black

⁸⁰⁷ Francis Xavier himself wrote about his success baptizing astonishingly large numbers of people while in Asia. For example, he wrote from Travancore on January 27, 1545, "I have news to tell you about these regions of India, how in a kingdom where I now am God our Lord has moved so many people to become Christians that within a single month I baptized more than ten thousand persons." Saint Francis Xavier, *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), 117. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 108.

cassock worn by Jesuits with a long cape.⁸⁰⁸ He kneels and looks to heaven with his arms spread wide. At his feet are strewn the symbols of Borgia's renunciation of worldly and ecclesiastical privilege. A sword and pieces of armor, including a breastplate decorated with the red cross of the military Order of Santiago,⁸⁰⁹ symbolize his abdication of all his titles and knighthood before becoming a Jesuit, while a *galero*, a broad-brimmed tasseled red hat worn by cardinals, and a mitre represent Borgia's reluctance to take on any high ecclesiastical offices once he became a priest, including a cardinalate that Pope Julius III attempted to thrust upon him in the years after Borgia entered the priesthood.⁸¹⁰

Several art historians have compared Giordano's composition to Peter Paul Rubens's *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*,⁸¹¹ discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation, and indeed, they do have similarities.⁸¹² While Giordano never went to Antwerp to see Rubens's painting in person, it was widely available through prints, such as the engraving by Marinus

⁸⁰⁸ In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources, St. Francis Borgia was often mistaken for St. Ignatius of Loyola in this altarpiece, the dual dedication of the college having been forgotten. Much of the confusion may have resulted from Ignazio Anders's inventory of the paintings in the Museo di Capodimonte, created in 1800. He described Giordano's altarpiece as representing the "Battesimo di S. Francesco Saverio agl'indiani, S. Ignazio inginocchiato con Gloria d'Angeli." Quoted in Chiara Ruggiero, "San Francesco Saverio battezza gli indiani," in *Luca Giordano, 1634-1705* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001), 218. Variations on this description reappeared in many guides, catalogues and inventories of the holdings of the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte throughout the next century. For an example, see a guide written in 1876, which describes the painting as "S. Francesco Saverio battezza gl'indiani, mentre il Lojola rende grazie all'altissimo. Vuolsi che questo quadro fosse stato eseguito nello spazio di tre giorni." *Nuova guida generale del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, (Naples: C.G. de Angelis e figlio, 1876).

⁸⁰⁹ Mariano Salvador Maella's *St. Francis Borgia Viewing the Corpse of Empress Isabella of Portugal* (1787, Capilla de San Francisco de Borja, Cathedral of Valencia) shows Borgia, while he was still the Duke of Gandia and a knight of the Order of Santiago, with armor and a cape decorated with the red cross of the order.

⁸¹⁰ This reluctance to become a cardinal was an important part of Francis Borgia's hagiography. Pedro de Ribadeneira's biography of the future saint notes that Borgia was grieved by the prospect and asked the pope to let him refuse the cardinalate. Ignatius of Loyola was also very much opposed, not wanting to lose an extremely talented and well-connected Jesuit to the College of Cardinals. Cándido de Dalmasas, *Francis Borgia: Grandee of Spain, Jesuit, Saint*, trans. Cornelius Michael Buckley (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1991), 86-90.

⁸¹¹ Giordano is well known to have admired Rubens and even painted an homage to him, the curious *Rubens Painting the Allegory of Peace* (before 1660, Museo del Prado, Madrid). Ferrari and Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano*, 2: 37.

⁸¹² Ferrari and Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano: Nuove ricerche*, 20. Giuseppe Scavizzi, "La actividad de Giordano desde 1682 hasta su muerte," in *Luca Giordano y España* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2002), 45.

Robyn van der Goes (ca. 1599-ca. 1639) created sometime between 1633 and 1635.⁸¹³ This print had a profound impact on works of art representing the preaching, baptisms, or miracles of St. Francis Xavier, a prominent example being a group of prints that illustrate the so-called "Miracles of Mechelen." After the arrival of a piece of Xavier's right arm in this town in the Southern Netherlands, a huge spate of miracles attributed to the saint took place.⁸¹⁴ Afterwards, various printmakers, such as Peeter Clouwet (1629-1670) and Mathäus Küsel (1629- ca.1681) created a version of Rubens's *Miracles* composition that substituted the posthumous miracles that took place in Mechelen for the thaumaturgical episodes of Xavier's life that Rubens included in his altarpiece.

As in Rubens's altarpiece, Luca Giordano elevates Xavier above the crowd with his arms stretched wide and arranges the figures in the crowd diagonally. Giordano has also included a scene of iconoclasm, but unlike the Flemish painting, the Neapolitan altarpiece shows a group of men with hammers as the perpetrators, instead of a supernatural force emanating from a heavenly vision. As mentioned previously, Graham Smith has identified the specific events from Xaverian hagiography that were depicted by Rubens, demonstrating that the painter was well informed of Xavier's then in-progress canonization process in general and the biography of Xavier written by Orazio Torsellino in particular.⁸¹⁵ Oreste

⁸¹³ Hans Vlieghe, *Saints II*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard (London: Phaidon, 1973), #104b. The modello for the engraving still exists and can be found in the Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. See Figure 15 in Vlieghe.

⁸¹⁴ These miracles are documented in Gérard Grumel, *Mechlinia illustrata luce miraculum S. Francisci Xaverii* (Mechelen: Linstsi, 1666). For a Spanish summary, see Francisco García, *Vida y milagros de San Francisco Xavier de la Compañía de Jesús, Apóstol de las Indias* (Madrid: Marcos Alvarez de Arellano, 1672), 174-76. See also Ricardo Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono: Imágenes para el taumaturgo de ambos mundos," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 174.

⁸¹⁵ Graham Smith, "Rubens' Altargemälde des hl. Ignatius von Loyola und des hl. Franz Xaver für die Jesuitenkircher in Antwerpen," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 29 (1969). See also Christine M. Boeckl, "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' The Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 4 (1996).

Ferrari and Giuseppe Scavizzi have written that Giordano's altarpiece is far more generic than Rubens's version.⁸¹⁶ While it is true that the links between Xaverian hagiography and Giordano's painting are not as strongly evident, it also can be said that the Neapolitan painting evokes generic categories or types of miracles from the life of Francis Xavier. An obvious example are the women holding babies, figures that would remind the knowledgeable viewer of the saint's resurrection of a boy who had drowned in a well during his ministry somewhere in the vicinity of Cape Comorin (Kanyakumari), one of the earliest reported and most widely disseminated of Francis Xavier's miracles.⁸¹⁷ Rubens also references this prodigious act in his *Miracles*, by including a rather blue-tinted woman on the left side, holding an infant who seems deceased and has water streaming from his mouth.⁸¹⁸ Other figures in Giordano's composition purposefully recall the various kings and queens that Xavier was thought to have converted throughout his Asian ministry; most conspicuous is the figure closest to the missionary with a shaved head, a feature used by European artists in Xaverian images to connote that the figure is Japanese. This figure brings to mind the

⁸¹⁶ Ferrari and Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano: Nuove ricerche*, 20.

⁸¹⁷ The exact location of this miracle is disputed, but it most likely took place in either Kombutere or Punicalale (Punnaikayal). It was widely described in witness testimony taken during the canonization investigations that took place in 1556 in Goa and in 1557 and 1616 in Cochin. Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, pg? Because the miracle was attested to by so many witnesses, it was included in the canonization bull. Quoted and translated into Spanish in Mathias de Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias y Nuevas Gentes San Francisco Javier de la Compañía de Jesús* (Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez, 1665), 11-12. "Y successiuamente en Combutere, Lugar en la Costa de la Pesqueria, otro muchacho, que auia caído en un poço, y se auia ahogado, y le sacauan a enterrar con grande llanto de su madre, y parientes; saliendo al encuentro Francisco de vna Iglesia alli vezina, compadecido de ellos, hincandose de rodillas, y fijando los ojos en el Cielo, y haziendo oració a Dios por la vida del muchacho, tomándole de la mano, en nombre de Iesu Christo, le auia mandado se leuantasse, y al instante el muchacho se auia leuantado viuo.." The bull is reproduced in its original Latin in Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 702-24. Torsellino recounts the same story. Orazio Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii. Qui primus e Societate Iesu in Indiam & Iaponiam euangelium inuexit*. (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596), 73. Orazio Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier de la Compañia de Jesus, primero Apostol del Japon y segundo de la India y de outras Provincias del Oriente*, trans. Pedro de Guzman (Pamplona: Carlos de Labayen, 1620), 63. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 2: 344-46.

⁸¹⁸ Rubens seems to be responsible for depicting the subject of this miracle as an infant, instead of a young boy, an innovation followed by later artists.

daimyo of Bungo, Ôtomo Yoshishige (1530-1587),⁸¹⁹ a prominent Japanese lord who became close friends with Francis Xavier during his Japanese ministry and later wrote letters to support the canonization effort.⁸²⁰ Though a scene of baptism, the varied nature of the crowd also suggests the so-called “miracle of the languages,” in which Xavier was preaching to a crowd filled with people from “diverse nations” and all of them could hear Xavier speaking their own native tongues.⁸²¹ This miraculous acquisition of foreign languages clearly casts the Jesuit missionary saint as a new Apostle, filled with Pentecostal zeal to spread the word of God and the power to transcend language barriers and speak to all people of the world. In summary, while Luca Giordano’s altarpiece does not have the same textual specificity as Rubens, it still evokes typological episodes for which Xavier was famous – resurrections of children, baptisms of royalty, and miraculous polyglottism.

One aspect of this altarpiece that has not been remarked upon is that Giordano utilized the two-tiered composition to present two different types of conversion: a baptism of non-Christians and a Catholic’s mid-life turn towards a more religious life. Massimo Leone refers to the latter as a “second conversion” and proposes that during the Counter-Reformation, St. Ignatius of Loyola was widely promoted by the Church and by Jesuits as

⁸¹⁹ Yoshishige is usually referred to as the King of Bungo in Xaverian hagiography and subsequently, in the titles of works of art given by art historians.

⁸²⁰ See Chapter 1. It is important to note that despite his close friendship with Xavier, Yoshishige did not convert to Christianity during the life of the saint. He was not baptized until 1578, but did take the Christian name Francisco to honor Xavier.

⁸²¹ This is described in the canonization bull, issued by Pope Urban VIII on August 6, 1623. See Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 702-24. For a Spanish translation, see Peralta Calderón: “Pues ya las señales y prodigios con que en los principio de la primitiva Iglesia confirmò el Señor la predicacion de sus Apostoles auia renouado tambien misericordiosamente en las manos de su Sieruo FRANCISCO, para el incremento de aquellas nuevas plantas, porque de repente enseñado de Dios, hablaua las lenguas que de antes no sabia, de naciones incognitas eloquentisimamente, como si se huuiera criado en aquellas mismas tierras, y tal vez auia acontecido, que predicando el Santo a pueblos de diuersas naciones, con estupor y pasmo le oyesse cada vno a vn mismo tiempo hablar las grandezas de Dios en su propria lengua en que cada vno auia nacido, y conmovida de este milagro vna grande muchedumbre recibiesse la palabra de Dios.” Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias*, 10. For another account of the “miracle of the languages,” see García, *Vida y milagros*, 67.

an ideal model for such conversion.⁸²² St. Francis Borgia also had experienced a rather dramatic conversion, marked by an extraordinary “redefinition of [his] social condition,” having renounced his noble titles and wealth in favor of leading a religious life.⁸²³ Unlike Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, the precise moment of Borgia’s conversion is difficult to determine. Later hagiographers often focus on an event that took place in 1539, when Borgia was twenty-nine years old.⁸²⁴ The wife of Emperor Charles V, Isabella of Portugal (1503-1539) died in childbirth in Toledo. Her body was transported to Granada to be buried in the royal chapel where Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile had been laid to rest. The day after the cortege arrived in Granada, the empress’s corpse had to be verified. This proved to be a difficult task as she had requested not to be embalmed and the journey to Granada had taken sixteen days. Francis Borgia was present when her decomposing body was displayed and he was rendered distraught by the sight of her face, its beauty and youthfulness ravaged by the power of death. According to his later biographers, Borgia famously vowed that, “Never more, never more will I serve a master who can die.”⁸²⁵

While this episode is often considered to be the moment when Borgia decided to abandon the vanities of the world, it can really be viewed as an interior conversion only.⁸²⁶

⁸²² Massimo Leone, *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 60. It is important to know that many Counter-Reformation saints, particularly Jesuits, had similar second conversions. Francis Xavier’s took place when he encountered Ignatius of Loyola while a student at the University of Paris.

⁸²³ Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 56.

⁸²⁴ For an example, see Pedro de Ribadeneira, “Vida del P. Francisco de Borja,” in *Historias de la Contrarreforma*, ed. Eusebio Rey (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1945).

⁸²⁵ Quoted in Dalmases, *Francis Borgia*, 16.

⁸²⁶ Despite this, scenes of Borgia viewing the corpse of Empress Isabella of Portugal have been given the titles “The Conversion of St. Francis Borgia.” Although outside of the temporal scope of this dissertation, the most famous example is José Moreno Carbonero’s *Conversion of the Duke of Gandía* (1884) in the Museo del Prado.

Borgia continued to live his life as a Spanish grandee, taking on the position of viceroy to Catalonia later the same year. It was not until the death of his wife, Leonor de Castro (1512-1546), seven years later, that he began to take steps towards a religious life. As she lay dying, Borgia prayed that God would allow his wife to recover. In the midst of his prayers, the sculpted figure of Christ on Borgia's crucifix miraculously spoke to him, saying "If you wish me to leave your wife longer in this world, I will do so. However, I warn you that it will not be for your profit."⁸²⁷ He then accepted that it was God's will for his wife to die and, after her death and a period of monastic seclusion,⁸²⁸ Borgia vowed to join the Society of Jesus. Borgia's conversion, therefore, was represented by his biographers not as a sudden event, but as a long process that occupied much of his life, beginning with his experience of the power of death during Empress Isabella's funeral, accelerating after the loss of his own wife and the abdication of his titles, and confirmed during the years of his priesthood as he continuously forsook ecclesiastical honor. Luca Giordano's altarpiece operates in this hagiographic tradition by telescoping Borgia's renunciation of his noble titles with his refusal to become a cardinal, referencing two distinct moments in the larger process in order to demonstrate that this was not a sudden event. This depiction also serves to emphasize that Borgia *chose* the religious path, on not just one, but on at least two occasions. We can contrast the representation of Borgia's conversion with that of the non-Christians above. Giordano gives no indication of the prolonged work that Xavier would have undertaken to

⁸²⁷ A. M. Clarke, *The Life of St. Francis Borgia of the Society of Jesus* (London: Burns and Oates, 1894). Dalmases, *Francis Borgia*, 57.

⁸²⁸ It is common to see individuals in the midst of a second conversion to temporarily cut themselves off from their familial and social ties. For example, Ignatius of Loyola, after his conversion, decided to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. These kinds of actions allowed "new converts to detach themselves from their usual social background and to spend a long period in almost complete solitude, so that the determination to change their life is further fortified." Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 55.

convert just one of these figures. There are no scenes of persuasion, preaching, or teaching the catechism, just a horde of new converts seemingly brought to the faith through Xavier's holy presence and Catholic truth, represented by the host of angels carrying a monstrance, emitting rays of light in the direction of the baptizing saint.

These two different types of conversion that are shown in the Giordano altarpiece can be seen as a visual demonstration of Jesuit views on the theology of grace and justification.⁸²⁹ Throughout the sixteenth century, debates raged in the Church on whether salvation was reached through divine predetermination or the free will of each individual. The Council of Trent took up this issue in June 1546, resulting in a conception of grace and justification that was heavily influenced by Jesuit theologians and differed drastically from the Calvinist concept of predestination. The decree issued by the Council in January 1547 proclaimed that salvation was “a product of both free human initiatives and divine grace.” Despite the fact that Jesuits had long acknowledged that divine grace played an important role in salvation,⁸³⁰ Dominicans regularly accused them of overemphasizing free will. Giordano's altarpiece is a visual reminder of the balance that Jesuits sought on this issue, demonstrating that salvation is possible through both divine determination, in the case of the non-Christian converts, and free will, in the case of St. Francis Borgia. The altarpiece also demonstrates the types of people that Jesuits in Naples planned to help achieve salvation. The missionaries of the Society were present in the Kingdom to bring about first conversions among non-Christians, specifically Muslim slaves, and they also focused their

⁸²⁹ For a detailed analysis of Jesuits views on the theology of grace and justification, see Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 119-25.

⁸³⁰ Leone cites Ignatius of Loyola's writings on this matter in the *Spiritual Exercises*: “As a rule, we must not talk too much about predestination. If sometimes we somehow talk about it, we must talk in a way that the common people are not misled, as they sometimes say: whether I have to be saved or condemned has already been determined, and I cannot change it by doing good or bad. Hence they become lazy and neglect the works that lead one toward salvation and the spiritual profit of the soul.” Leone, *Saints and Signs*, 119.

efforts on second conversions for the denizens of Naples, attempting to persuade decadent nobles and superstitious peasants alike to live lives that were more in keeping with the teachings and doctrines of the Post-Tridentine Church.

5.5 ST. FRANCIS XAVIER AS SPANISH SAINT OR APOSTLE TO THE “INDIES”

Another local issue that this altarpiece touches upon concerns the imposing of Spanish religiosity on the Iberian empire’s territories. It is no accident that the church of San Francesco Saverio, located adjacent to the viceroy’s palace, patronized by a former vice-queen, and attached to a college that was intended to educate the sons of the Spanish in Naples, was dedicated to a saint and a *beatus* who were both Spanish. Scholars such as Thomas Dandeleet and Peter Burke have studied the link between the success of Spanish saints in the early modern period and Spanish political dominance, particularly in relation to the canonization of 1622, in which four Spanish saints were canonized simultaneously.⁸³¹ While this celebration of Spanish saints in Naples might be seen as triumphal,⁸³² at the same

⁸³¹ Thomas Dandeleet, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 180. Peter Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Counter-Reformation: Essential Readings*, ed. David Luebke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 141. See also L.J. Andrew Villalon, "San Diego de Alcalá and the Politics of Saint-Making in Counter-Reformation Europe," *Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (1997).

⁸³² Dandeleet sees Spanish political triumph as being an important part of the 1622 canonization festivities in Rome. "[These canonization festivities] gave the Spanish nation and its various contingent groups in [Rome] the opportunity to parade the spoils of victory as did few other occasions. Carrying the painted image of [St. Isidore the Laborer] from St. Peter’s through the center of the city like a conquering hero, the Spaniards who dominated the procession made it clear that this was their hero, a hero now permanently part of the Roman pantheon of saints, and a powerful celestial patron." Furthermore, the procession was "were a triumphal victory parade for the Spaniards that demonstrated to everyone assembled the central position of Spanish saints in the church militant and the triumph of the Catholic Reformation; and it located these saints in some of the most important churches and neighborhoods of the city." Dandeleet, *Spanish Rome*, 180 and 86.

time, it is clear that religion was used as social glue on the part of Spanish authorities in Naples, or as Giuseppe Galasso writes, “a link for integration and cultural communication between various levels of a complex and varied society.”⁸³³ The new devotions and saints of the Counter-Reformation, particularly those supported by the Spanish court, were intended as “a powerful instrument of social and political control, [and] also a means of integration to create consensus and identity.”⁸³⁴ In many cases, the Jesuits were responsible for implementing Spanish-flavored religious reform in Naples. The strong connections between the Society of Jesus and the Spanish ruling class has already been noted several times in this chapter; however, it is worth reiterating that Spanish patronage of Jesuit works of art and architecture often went hand in hand with the promotion of Spanish cults. In the case of the building of the Gesù Nuovo in Naples, the viceroy’s involvement was integral to the process, and the building itself was designed to resemble both St. Peter’s in Rome and the Escorial. Despite being nicknamed the Gesù Nuovo in the eighteenth century, the church of the Jesuits’ professed house in Naples was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, a cult that had become closely associated with the Spanish court. As Sebastian Schütze writes,

...the foundation of the Gesù Nuovo and its dedication to the Immaculate Conception present a rather unique case of straight-forward alliance, which allowed the order a monumental presence in the center of Naples and the Spanish Hapsburgs to promote their image as defenders of the Catholic faith and legitimate rulers on a totally new scale.”⁸³⁵

⁸³³ Galasso, "Society in Naples," 28.

⁸³⁴ Sebastian Schütze, "The Politics of Counter-Reformation Iconography and a Quest for the Spanishness of Neapolitan Art," in *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion, 1500-1700*, ed. Thomas Dandeleit (Leiden: Brill 2007), 557. As Schütze explains, historians are divided on the degree of success achieved by Spanish attempts to use religion to create social cohesion in Naples. Romeo De Maio occupies one end of the spectrum, convinced that Neapolitans were ultimately resistant to all such attempts, while Jean-Michel Sallmann believes that these efforts brought about a “profound cultural revolution.” Romeo De Maio, *Pittura e controriforma a Napoli* (Rome: Laterza, 1983). Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Santi barocchi: Modelli di santità, pratiche devozionali e comportamenti religiosi nel Regno di Napoli dal 1540 al 1750* (Lecce: Argo, 1996), 13.

⁸³⁵ Schütze, "The Politics of Counter-Reformation Iconography," 562.

While I agree with Schütze's analysis overall, the case of the Gesù Nuovo was not exactly unique in Naples; although not built on the same monumental scale, the church of San Francesco Saverio, with its twin dedication to Sts. Francis Xavier and Francis Borgia, provides another example of an symbiotic relationship between the Jesuits and their Spanish patrons. While the Jesuits acquired the opportunity and the funds to complete a large-scale building project, the Spanish ruling class was able to promote yet another Spanish cult in a drive to create social cohesion in Naples.

At the same time, it is possible to argue that Francis Xavier's identification as "Spanish" is contentious. He was Basque, born in the Kingdom of Navarre,⁸³⁶ before it became subject to the Spanish crown and, unlike a saint such as St. Teresa of Ávila (1515-1582), he spent very little of his life in Spain.⁸³⁷ Xavier's ministry took place in Italy and the Portuguese territory of Asia; in a previous chapter, we have seen how the Portuguese crown attempted to claim him as one of their own, "...making a Portuguese saint out of a Spanish missionary"⁸³⁸ by declaring Xavier Defender of the East, responsible for the spiritual defense of the Estado da Índia. Additionally, cities and regions all over the world elected Xavier patron saint, in essence claiming him as one of their own due to his miraculous presence in their land. This indicates that Francis Xavier was a saint with a multifaceted identity that

⁸³⁶ Georg Schurhammer, "Die Muttersprache des hl. Franz Xaver," in *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964). Georg Schurhammer, "Javier y Navarra," in *Gesammelte Studien: Varia* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965).

⁸³⁷ Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

⁸³⁸ Ines G. Županov, "The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia: A Hagiographical View of Colonial Culture," *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies* 3 (1995): 137.

cannot easily be reduced to being only Spanish. Clare Copeland, in her essay “Spanish Saints in Counter-Reformation Italy,” provides a helpful way to think about this issue:

Examining how saints were identified and adopted by believers reveals the important role played by devotees in shaping how holy men and women were seen and used. Saints were not – and are not – static beings. Canonization festivities might set a tone and an official iconography for particular saints, but new meanings could be attributed to them within the different contexts in which they were venerated. Saints certainly held the potential to represent geographical areas or groups of people, but their significance was always open to change and they might not be identified by all primarily in local, regional, or even national terms. The flexibility of saints’ identities and the ability to recast them understandably encouraged any group with a vested interest in ‘claiming’ a saint to push and promote this figure as one of their own.⁸³⁹

In addition to being thought of as Spanish, Francis Xavier’s identity must also be seen in terms of being a Jesuit and a Neapolitan, since the city had claimed him as a patron saint and his large number of Neapolitan miracles proved that he was spiritually in residence there.⁸⁴⁰ In the section that follows, I propose that the Luca Giordano altarpiece can be utilized to explore the multi-layered nature of St. Francis Xavier’s identity in Naples. I ask, what does the Luca Giordano altarpiece reveal about the relationship between Xavier and Naples? The answer to this question lies in the way that Jesuits approached their mission to southern Italy, an area of Europe that they regularly referred to as “the Indies down here.”

⁸³⁹ Clare Copeland, “Spanish Saints in Counter-Reformation Italy,” in *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, ed. Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden, *Transculturalisms, 1400-1700* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 104.

⁸⁴⁰ Seventeenth century authors like Andrea Mastelloni explained that the location of a saint’s miracle could be a powerful indicator of their identity. “Santa Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi, although born in Florence, could be called of Naples on account of the many miracles that she works in Naples, just as San Nicolò is said to be of Bari and San’Antonio of Padua for the same reason, the first having been born in Patara, and the second in Lisbon.” Andrea Mastelloni, *La prima chiesa dedicata a S. Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi...* (Naples: G. Fasulo, 1675). Quoted and translated in Copeland, “Spanish Saints,” 115.

Beginning in the first decades of Jesuit missionary activity, it is possible to find Jesuits working in remote parts of Europe filling their letters and reports with comparisons between the Europeans to whom they were ministering and the inhabitants of foreign lands who were being evangelized by Jesuits like Francis Xavier.⁸⁴¹ This was particularly common in the Mezzogiorno, with Jesuits missionaries referring to places like Sicily as a “true India” and Abruzzo as the “Italian India.”⁸⁴² Silvestro Landini, while not active in the Kingdom of Naples, made similar comments about Corsica, referring to the island as “my India.”⁸⁴³ As was common in early modern Europe, the Jesuit use of the words “the Indies” or “India” lack geographical specificity. Adriano Prosperi notes that Jesuits did not have a specific geographic reality in mind when invoking the idea of “the Indies.” The image of the Indies to which they were referring was related neither to the East nor the West, but was the wider world where Jesuit missionaries could direct their energies towards propagating the Gospel.⁸⁴⁴ In general, it seems as if Jesuits viewed “the Indies” as any place where the people were ignorant in Christian matters, prone to unorthodox religious practices, and lacking in civility. Whether these places existed within or outside of Europe seems to have

⁸⁴¹ Beyond the “Indies” of southern Italy, with which I am concerned in this dissertation, other scholars have noted that Jesuits in other parts of Europe used the same kind of rhetoric. For example, Luke Clossey discusses the “German Indies” in Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 141, 232-33. Clossey has found additional examples of Jesuits referring to areas in Europe as the “Indies” in places as diverse as the Mezzogiorno, Galicia, Lithuania, and Brittany.

⁸⁴² Cited in Prosperi, “Otras Indias,” 207. The first reference comes from a report written by a Jesuit in Messina in January 1568 and the second can be found in a letter written by Pietro Blanca, the rector of the college in Teramo, and sent to Jerónimo Nadal in 1578. See also Pietro Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* (Roma: Civiltà cattolica, 1950), I, I, 324-25.

⁸⁴³ “Questa isola sarà la mia India.” From a letter dated 1553. *Epistolae mixtae, ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu (Rome: Matrini, 1898-1901), 115. Quoted in Prosperi, “Otras Indias,” 208. For more on Landini, see Armando Guidetti, *Le missioni popolari: I grandi gesuiti italiani: Disegno storico-biografico delle missioni popolari dei gesuiti d'Italia dalle origini al Concilio Vaticano II* (Milan: Rusconi, 1988), 21-29.

⁸⁴⁴ Prosperi, “Otras Indias,” 208.

made no difference.⁸⁴⁵ The idea of ignorance is particularly common in many of these accounts. As the author of the Messina report mentioned above writes, “This kingdom was like a true India, in regards to the great ignorance and need of evangelical light, as well as in the disposition and attitude of the people.”⁸⁴⁶ Miguel Navarro, active in Calabria and in Sicily, also used ignorance as the metric by which he judged the people of southern Italy to be similar to those of the Indies: “Many souls... were lost due to the appalling ignorance that reigns in these mountains... And while some of us [Jesuits] go to the Indies, but here, without traveling many dangerous leagues by sea and without having to learn the language, they could use their talents.”⁸⁴⁷

In all of this discourse surrounding the idea of Southern Italy as “the Indies down here,” the city of Naples plays an interesting role. When reading non-Jesuit guides to the city from the early modern era, one is struck by the positive nature of the descriptions. Enrico Bacco’s *Nuova Descrizione* of 1629 is an excellent example in which the author praises everything from the “civil people who live like nobles” to the “beautiful and straight streets” to the “lovely gardens” and “beautiful buildings.”⁸⁴⁸ Jesuits, however, still styled Naples as an “ungovernable, backward urban jungle, peopled by a bloodthirsty, incorrigible, and superstitious population,” a “paradise inhabited by devils.”⁸⁴⁹ Additionally, Naples had

⁸⁴⁵ Prospero, "Otras Indias," 216.

⁸⁴⁶ “.essere in questo regno come la vera India, sì nella grande ignorantia et bisogno della luce evangelica, come nella disposition et etitudine della gente.” Prospero, "Otras Indias," 216.

⁸⁴⁷ “Tante anime... vann perdute a cagione della spaventosa ignoranza che regna in queste montagne... E come alcuni d’ nostri vanno all’Indie... qui, senza percorrere tante leghe per mare con pericolo di vita e senza dovere molto attendere per imparare la lingua, potrebbero bene spendere i loro talenti.” From a letter written in Messina on January 24, 1575. Quoted in Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia*, I, i, 325-26. Prospero, "Otras Indias," 218.

⁸⁴⁸ Quoted and translated in Muto, "Urban Structures," 36-37.

⁸⁴⁹ Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 3.

special connections to the Jesuit overseas missions, serving as both a training ground for missionaries destined to go to Asia, Africa, or the Americas and also as consolation for Jesuits deemed unsuitable for such a task by their superiors. Jennifer Selwyn and Adriano Prosperi have both noted that Jesuit leaders consciously utilized letters sent back to Europe from overseas missions as a recruitment tool for the Society, inspiring in young men a desire for travel, spreading the Gospel to the four corners of the world, and even martyrdom.⁸⁵⁰ Francesco Schinosi, writing in 1711, notes the effect that these accounts had on young Jesuit novices, citing an example where a reading of the letters of Pietro Paolo Navarra, a Jesuit martyr in Japan, “set fire to the youth here studying to go there to work in those missions, [and] at the end to perpetuate the glory of the Law of Christ and of our Province with their sweat and blood.”⁸⁵¹ Hundreds of young Neapolitan Jesuits wrote formal requests, known as *Indipetae*, to be sent overseas;⁸⁵² Selwyn estimates that between 1589 and 1648, three hundred *Indipetae* came from Jesuits stationed in the Neapolitan and Sicilian provinces. In 1620 alone, there were 579 total members of the order in the province of Naples and fifty-five of them (9.5%) requested to be sent overseas.⁸⁵³ Very few of these petitions were successful, and thus Jesuit authorities faced a fundamental problem. They had used the lure

⁸⁵⁰ Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 99-100. Prosperi, "Otras Indias," 213-20.

⁸⁵¹ Quoted and translated in Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 100. “Pietro Paolo Navarra, che poscia in testimonio della Santa Fede illustrò le fiamme Giapponesi, morendo in esse; parve che con quell fuoco stesso, mediante sue lettere dall’India, incendesse la Gioventu qui studiante ad irne fra quelle missioni, a fine di perpetuarvi col sudor e col sangue la Gloria all Legge di CRISTO e all nostra Provincia.” Schinosi and Santagata, *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù*, 2: 54-55.

⁸⁵² Approximately 14,000 of these *Indipetae*, dating from between 1580 and 1773, are preserved in the Jesuit Archive (ARSI) in Rome. For more information, see Gian Carlo Roscioni, *Il desiderio delle Indie: Storie, sogni, e fughe* (Torino: Einaudi, 2001). C. Russell, "Imagining the 'Indies': Italian Jesuit Petitions for the Overseas Missions at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century," in *Per Adriano Prosperi: L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi* ed. Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci, and Stefania Pastore (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011). Ines G. Županov, "Passage to India: Jesuit Spiritual Economy between Martyrdom and Profit in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012): 3. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 98-105. Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 138-41.

⁸⁵³ Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 99, footnote 6.

of the Indies to attract novices, but were unable to grant a position to all those who requested to go abroad since there was vital work to be done closer to home.⁸⁵⁴ Adriano Prosperi has demonstrated that Jesuit superiors solved this problem by constructing an alternative “Indies” in Naples, emphasizing the similarities between the missions of the Mezzogiorno and those of the overseas provinces to placate disgruntled Jesuits like Marcello Mastrilli, whose later biographers wrote that he personally wrote thousands of *Indipetae* to his superiors, explaining that his talents would be better utilized abroad.⁸⁵⁵ While historians like Prosperi have emphasized the role played by written accounts in the creation of this alternative Indies in Naples, Luca Giordano’s altarpiece for the church of San Francesco Saverio demonstrates that the visual arts could play a part in this discourse as well.

Like the use of the word “Indies” in Jesuit accounts describing missions of Southern Italy, the members of the crowd in Luca Giordano’s altarpiece lack any kind of geographic specificity. Art historians have thus far been unsuccessful in any attempt to identify precise sources for Giordano’s exotic figures. Unlike Rubens, who used a drawing of a Korean man made from life for one of the figures in his *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* altarpiece,⁸⁵⁶ none of Giordano’s figures seem to be a result of a personal encounter with a person from Africa, Asia, or the Americas. Perhaps due to the speed with which Giordano was forced to complete the painting, the figures are rather standard types, similar to the regal archetypes

⁸⁵⁴ Prosperi, “Otras Indias,” 209.

⁸⁵⁵ Prosperi, “Otras Indias,” 213. For more on Mastrilli, see Chapter 4 of this dissertation. The number of his letters is most likely exaggerated. See Leonardo Cinami, *Vita e Morte del Padre Marcello Francisco Mastrilli della Compagnia di Gesù* (Viterbo: [n.p.], 1645), 16, 20, 21. Županov, “Passage to India,” 8.

⁸⁵⁶ Anne-Marie Logan and Michiel Plomp, *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 224. Anne-Marie Logan and Liam Brockey, “Nicolas Trigault, SJ: A Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens,” *Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 38 (2003): 159.

usually found in scenes of the Adoration of the Magi, where the kings are seen as representatives of Europe, Asia, and Africa.⁸⁵⁷ Accordingly, we could compare several of the costume details included in Giordano's *St. Francis Xavier* altarpiece with those found in some of his *Adoration of the Magi* paintings, including one now held in the Museo Diocesano of Salerno, containing a figure wearing the same long-pointed cap as the person in blue on the left side of the San Francesco Saverio altarpiece. The stylized headdress worn by the female figure on the far left is also repeated in another Giordano painting, the *Presentation in the Temple* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes, her exotic headgear perhaps contributing to the setting of the scene in the Holy Land.⁸⁵⁸

For this argument, however, the most relevant aspect of Giordano's crowd is the wide variety of physiognomic types, including African, Asian, and European, to be found among the figures. By including European figures, Giordano, like the Jesuits of Naples, acknowledged that there was a need for missionary activity in Europe, in essence including it in the image of the Indies presented by this canvas. Of course, Giordano is not the only artist to have including European figures in crowds of St. Francis Xavier preaching or baptizing, but in Naples, a city that was an "interior frontier" between orthodoxy and religious otherness in the early modern world,⁸⁵⁹ where an abundant spiritual harvest could be achieved for enterprising and skilled preachers of the Gospel,⁸⁶⁰ this inclusion takes on an

⁸⁵⁷ For the history of the tradition of the black magus in particular, and the legends surrounding the geographic origins of the magi in general, see Paul Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).

⁸⁵⁸ Ferrari and Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano*, 2: 87. A male executioner in Giordano's *Martyrdom of St. Placidus* (ca. 1684-1690, Santa Giustina, Padua) also wears a similar type of headgear. Like Giordano's *St. Francis Xavier* altarpiece, *The Martyrdom of St. Placidus* also contains quite a few exotic types, including several turbaned figures and a person with African features. Ferrari and Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano*, 2: 127-28.

⁸⁵⁹ Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 3.

⁸⁶⁰ Prosperi, "Otras Indias," 208.

importance and local specificity that is lacking in other Xaverian representations. For Giordano and the Neapolitan Jesuits, “the Indies” were neither east nor west, but wherever people were in need of religious and cultural reform. The altarpiece encouraged Jesuits to see Naples and Southern Italy as an alternative “Indies,” a place where they could follow Ignatius of Loyola’s directive to dedicate their lives to the “help of souls.”⁸⁶¹ The altarpiece convinces the viewer that St. Francis Xavier himself, the ideal model of the early modern missionary,⁸⁶² viewed the second conversion of Europeans as part of the same millenarian drive as the baptism of extra-European non-Christians, an effort that would eventually result in all of the peoples of the world being united under the Catholic faith and bring about the second coming of Christ.⁸⁶³ In this altarpiece, Xavier is celebrated not as the “Apostle of the East Indies,” “the Apostle of the Orient,” or the “Apostle of India and Japan,” as he was often called in the titles of hagiographies dating to the first half of the seventeenth century.⁸⁶⁴ Instead, he is the “Apostle of the Indies,” wherever the Indies may be, an appellation that was introduced in the canonization bull of 1623 and used with greater frequency as the seventeenth century progressed.⁸⁶⁵

⁸⁶¹ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

⁸⁶² Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 105-10.

⁸⁶³ Prosperi, “Otras Indias,” 212.

⁸⁶⁴ The earlier hagiographies tend to be much more geographically specific. The 1596 Latin edition of Orazio Torsellino’s biography calls Xavier the evangelist of India and Japan, while the Spanish translation of that same text names Xavier the first apostle of Japan, the second apostle of India and the other provinces of the East. Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*. Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*. Another early biographer, Lucena, titled his Portuguese biography *The Story of the Life of Father Francis Xavier and What He Did in India...* João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizeram na India os mais religiosos da Companhia de Iesu* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1600).

⁸⁶⁵ The canonization bull refers to Xavier as the “new Apostle to the Indies” (“novus Indiarum apostolus”), the “Apostle to the New People” (“novarum gentium apostolus”), and “the Apostle to the Undiscovered People” (“incognitarium gentium apostolum”). The bull also uses the phrase “Apostle of the east Indies, of all the kingdoms of India, and of all the Christian World.” (“orientalium Indiarum apostolus ab universis Indiae regnis totoque christiano orbe.” Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 705-06 and 15. For Peralta Calderón’s Spanish translation, see Peralta Calderón, *El*

One can assume that primary audience for this altarpiece was made up of members of the Spanish ruling class in Naples, including the viceroy, who had played a prominent role in the creation of the altarpiece, as described in many of the sources cited above. St. Francis Borgia is certainly an ideal model for such a viewer, having been a member of the Spanish aristocracy. After spending time serving the king as viceroy of Catalonia, he retired from political life, renounced his wealth, and dedicated his remaining years to a devoutly religious life. The various regal figures throughout the composition, however, could serve as models for those who were unable to abandon worldly life in the same way that Borgia had. Giordano's crowd is obviously unrealistic; there is no record of mass royal baptisms in the letters of Xavier or later his hagiography. However, Xavier was known and celebrated for royal conversions of kings and queens in Asia,⁸⁶⁶ which was in keeping with a Jesuit missionary strategy where the conversion of a ruler was thought to bring mass baptisms of their subjects.⁸⁶⁷ Giordano's focus on these regal figures exclude any of the other classes to

Apóstol de las Indias, 4-5. By the second half of the seventeenth century, it was increasingly common to refer to Xavier more universally as "the Apostle to the Indies." Matthias Peralta Calderón, emulating the language of the canonization bull, which he includes in Spanish translation, and Cristóbal Berlanga called him "the Apostle to the Indies and New People," implying strongly that Xavier's dominion extended over the Americas, as well as Asia. Cristóbal Berlanga, *El apóstol de las Indias y nuevas gentes, San Francisco Javier de la Compañía de Jesús: epitome de sus apostólicos hechos, virtudes, y milagros* (Valencia: n.p., 1698). Peralta Calderón, *El Apóstol de las Indias*. Francisco García also used the "Apostle of the Indies" appellation. García, *Vida y milagros*.

⁸⁶⁶ The previous chapter notes that while Xavier was known for royal baptisms, it is unclear if he ever baptized a king. Xavier is also thought to have converted Niachile Pocoraga, the queen of Ternate, one of the islands of the Moluccas. Giovanni Battista Gaulli depicted this event in the novitiate church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, to name but one example. Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "La imagen de San Francisco Javier en el arte europeo," in *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006), 134. Francis Xavier himself mentions her Niachile's conversion in a letter written to Fathers Paulo, Antonio Gomes, and Baltasar Gago in June 1549. ... "I wrote to His Highness about Queen Dona Isabel [Niachile Pocoraga], the mother of the former king of Maluco, who became a Christian, when I was in Maluco..." Francis Xavier, *The Letters and Instructions* 271-72. Another letter, written by Pérez on December 4, 1548, is more emphatic that Xavier was responsible for baptizing this queen. Georg Schurhammer, "Die Königstufen des Hl. Franz Xaver," in *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, ed. László Szilas (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964).

⁸⁶⁷ Jesuits were criticized for this approach by other orders, such as the Franciscans, who directed their attention to the poorer segments of society and in places like Japan, built hospitals where they could tend to lepers. Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 132-33.

whom Xavier was known to have preached, such as the pearl fishers of southern India, humble folk who are more in keeping with the crowds depicted in other paintings by Luca Giordano, such as *The Preaching of St. Vincent Ferrer*, in Santa Maria della Sanità in Naples.⁸⁶⁸ Giordano's emphasis on regal figures in the Francis Xavier altarpiece brings to mind once more the words of Silvestro Landini, the Jesuit missionary quoted above. After calling the island of Corsica "my India," he wrote that the land was in much need of a Prester John,⁸⁶⁹ meaning a pious and Christian king who could tame the Indies and lead his people in living civilized, Christian lives. Any of the royal figures included in Giordano's altarpiece could be seen as a Prester John and each could serve as ideal models for the viceroy or other Spanish nobles.

5.6 PAOLO DE MATTEIS'S FRESCOES

When the Giordano altarpiece was installed in 1685, the church of San Francesco Saverio presumably had bare walls. In the 1690s, the Jesuits turned their attention to the frescoed decoration of the interior of the church, commissioning the young Paolo de Matteis (1662-1728), a student of Luca Giordano, based on the acclaim De Matteis had earned. De Matteis completed the decoration for the entire church interior, except the dome, by December 3, 1693, in the space of only four months, according to notices from the weekly

⁸⁶⁸ Ferrari and Scavizzi, *Luca Giordano*, 2: 75-76.

⁸⁶⁹ "Questa isola sarà la mia India, meritoria quanto quello dil Preste Giovanni." *Epistolae mixtae*, 115. Quoted in Prosperi, "Otras Indias," 208. For Prester John, see Keagan Brewer, *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015). C.F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton, *Prester John, the Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Aldershot, UK: Variorum, 1996).

Gazetta di Napoli.⁸⁷⁰ If this extraordinary speed is to be believed, this would certainly demonstrate that De Matteis had learned well from his teacher, Luca “Fa Presto.” According to the same gazette, the dome was completed by July 13, 1695.⁸⁷¹ The subjects of De Matteis’s paintings in San Francesco Saverio that depict Jesuit saints are as follows: *St. Francis Xavier in Ecstasy* (left of the window on the entrance wall), *St. Francis Xavier Bearing the Cross and Accepting his Evangelical Mission* (right of the window on the entrance wall), *St. Francis Xavier in Glory Protecting the City from Hunger, Plague, and Fire and Ships at Sea from Storms* (apse vault), *St. Francis Borgia’s Conversion at the Sight of the Corpse of the Queen of Spain, Isabella of Portugal* (left side of apse vault), *St. Francis Borgia Building Jesuit Seminaries in Spain* (right side of apse vault), *St. Ignatius of Loyola Embracing the Crucifix* (left side of the window on the altar wall), *St. Ignatius of Loyola (Contemplating a Skull)* (right side of the window on the altar wall), *St. Ignatius in Glory*, (vault of the left transept), *St. Ignatius of Loyola Sending St. Francis Xavier to his Mission in India* (right side of the left transept wall), *St. Ignatius of Loyola Writing the Spiritual Exercises* (left side of the left transept wall), *St. Francis Xavier Preaching to Indians* (vault of the right transept), *Triumph of Religion over Heresy through the Works of SS. Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Francis Borgia, and the Martyrs of Japan* (nave vault), and in the dome, *SS. Francis Xavier, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Borgia in Glory*.⁸⁷² All of these frescos

⁸⁷⁰ These notices were published by Donald Rabiner, De Matteis finished his work at the Chiesa de S. Luigi di Palazzo on April 7, 1693. "In tal occasione concorse tutta la città nella contigua, e ricchissima Speziaria dello stesso S. Luigi, storiata vagamente dal nobel pennello del Sig. Paoluccio di Matteo." He was finished at San Francesco Saverio on December 3, 1693: "Giovedì passato fu solennizzata la Festività del glorioso S. Francesco Saverio nella sua Chiesa... Accrebbe la magnificenza della solennità di detta festa per essersi scoperta ivi nel medesimo giorno le nuove e vaghe pitture nelle volte della Cupola, e laterali del Crocifero di essa, opera del celebre pennello del Sig. Paolo di Mattei" Donald Rabiner, "Notices on Painting from the "Gazzetta di Napoli" " *Antologia di belle arti* 2, no. 7/8 (1978): 326. See also Pestilli, *Paolo de Matteis*, 176.

⁸⁷¹ "S.E. e l'Ecc. Sig. Viceregina assisterono la passata Domenica nella Chiesa di S. Francesco Savèrio de' PP. Gesuiti... Il giorno avanti erasi ivi discoperta la desiderata dipintura della Cupola, opera del nobel pennello dell'eccellente pittore Sig. Paolo de Mattei, terminata con stupore di tutti nel breve spazio di solo quattro mesi." Rabiner, "Notices on Painting," 326.

⁸⁷² English titles adapted from Pestilli, *Paolo de Matteis*, 176-77, note 14.

survived the suppression of the Jesuits and the church's rededication to St. Ferdinand of Castile; however, the dome fresco was repainted in the early twentieth century by Giovanni Dianni. During a recent restoration of the dome (completed by 2004), a small portion of the original dome frescoes was left uncovered.

5.7 THE TRIBUNE VAULT: XAVIER AS A UNIVERSAL SAINT

The tribune vault of San Francesco Saverio has been given the title *St. Francis Xavier in Glory Protecting the City from Hunger, Plague, and Fire and Ships at Sea from Storms*.⁸⁷³ In this fresco, St. Francis Xavier floats on a cloud, surrounded by angels and playing the role of the patron saint *par excellence*. On the right side of the painting, victims of a shipwreck cling to rocks and offer prayers to the saint, while figures on the left suffer from disease and famine or are threatened by fire, imploring the saint for relief. The figure in a cart wearing a turban is especially eye-catching with his body covered in sores, which Pestilli has indicated may be a result of syphilis, a common, but debilitating, disease in early-modern Naples.⁸⁷⁴ As will be argued below, it is more accurate to see these as plague sores. De Matteis has indicated that several figures depicted in the fresco have already succumbed to their diseases, including the unseen body inside of the coffin being carried towards the background, the foreshortened figure with rotting flesh that tumbles into the space of the viewer, and the corpses of several children littering the ground under the path of the cart. However, the most striking element

⁸⁷³ Pestilli, *Paolo de Matteis*, 177.

⁸⁷⁴ Pestilli, *Paolo de Matteis*, 177.

of this fresco is the sheer variety of crises situations depicted, all of which St. Francis Xavier was expected to be able to ameliorate. In my analysis of this fresco, I will illuminate several aspects of the cult of St. Francis Xavier in Naples, as well propose a new title for the image – *St. Francis Xavier Triumphant over the Elements*. While I will discuss the importance that miracles played in the context of crisis and the special place that saints and their prodigious acts had in Neapolitan religiosity during the seventeenth century, I will also argue that this fresco functions as a Jesuit argument for the superiority of Xavier among all of the other numerous patron saints of Naples. In the decoration of San Francesco Saverio, we see Jesuits attempting to strike a balance, proposing Xavier as a universal saint who could protect Naples in all nature of crisis, while still insisiting on the saint’s strong ties to the Jesuit order.

Much of the interior decoration of San Francesco Saverio represents Xaverian miracles. Interest in miracles was, of course, very much evident in early modern Naples,⁸⁷⁵ where Giulio Sodano writes that asking for divine intervention was practically an automatic reflex, describing an incident where a child was run over by a cart in the street and the boy’s mother, instead of rushing to his side or calling for a physician, ran into the nearby chapel of St. Cajetan in San Paolo Maggiore to ask for heavenly intercession.⁸⁷⁶ In a study that examines a limited group of texts describing a small, but representative, portion of the miracles that took place between 1500 and 1745 in Naples, Sodano quantitatively

⁸⁷⁵ For a comprehensive treatment of miracles in southern Italy in the early modern period, see Giulio Sodano, *Il miracolo nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia dell'età moderna: Tra santi, Madonne, guaritrici e medici* (Naples: Alfredo Guido Editore, 2010).

⁸⁷⁶ “...vide la madre il figlio quando fu sotto la carrozza ma non hebbe animo di pigliarlo, perché credeva d’averlo a ritrovare tutto infranto che non vi fosse rimasto neppure un osso che fusse buono. Perciò, senza neppur fissarvi lo sguardo, si scompigliò e se ne venne alla cappella del Beato Gaetano dove con replicate voci chieseli conforme al bisogno o la vita o la salute del bambino.” Giacomo Dentice, *Vita e miracoli del glorioso S. Gaetano Thiene fundatore della religione de’ Padri Chierici Regolari* (Naples: Roncagliolo, 1655), 307. Quoted in Giulio Sodano, “Miracoli e ordini religiosi nel Mezzogiorno d’Italia,” *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 105 (1987): 333.

demonstrated that high rates of miraculous incidents corresponded with times of acute crisis. For example, Sodano counts forty-three miracles in the years between 1601 and 1610. However, in the next decade the number spiked to 275. This decade was characterized by extreme economic hardship, creating the circumstances under which reliance on divine intervention could grow. The number of miracles returned to normal levels for the years between 1621 and 1640, but the following two decades saw the years of Masaniello's revolt and the calamitous plague of 1656. The number of reported miracles accordingly skyrocketed.⁸⁷⁷ Sodano also discusses the nature of miracles performed by Jesuit saints in Naples, as opposed to miracles worked by the Virgin Mary or by saints belonging to older orders, like the Dominicans. He has discovered that the miracles of Jesuit saints in Naples tended to be individual, rather than collective. For large-scale miracles intended to rescue the entire city from natural disasters, such as volcanic explosions or famine, the people of Naples tended to invoke the help of the Virgin, St. Januarius, or St. Dominic.⁸⁷⁸ Sodano hypothesizes that Jesuits saints were not yet fully integrated into the collective religious imagination of Neapolitans, unlike saints with centuries-old cults, and thus were not viewed as having the same efficacy.⁸⁷⁹ Jesuits, however, certainly tried to turn their saints into universal protectors who could save the city at moments of collective crisis.

The tribune vault fresco of San Francesco Saverio certainly makes this argument. It shows Xavier with the ability to work large-scale collective miracles against natural disasters and disease. This fresco works in concert with the Luca Giordano altarpiece that would

⁸⁷⁷ Sodano, "Miracoli e ordini religiosi " 309-10.

⁸⁷⁸ Sodano, "Miracoli e ordini religiosi " 402.

⁸⁷⁹ Sodano, "Miracoli e ordini religiosi " 402-03.

have been visible on the high altar at the time, showing broad types, instead of definite Xaverian miracles that could be tied to specific hagiographic texts. Evonne Levy describes a similar project in Rome, the Ignatian Corridor, frescoed by Andrea Pozzo between 1682 and 1686, in which St. Ignatius of Loyola is depicted executing miraculous acts that fall into general categories, such as healing illnesses, putting out fires, exorcising demons, and freeing prisoners. Levy writes, “Ignatius is thus represented, not as the saint who extinguished a fire, but as a saint who can extinguish fires. In the diversity of types of miracles, the corridor cycle suggests that Ignatius will act for you, whatever danger you face.”⁸⁸⁰ Paolo de Matteis’s tribune vault functions in the same way; however, the four types of miracles that are depicted in this fresco can each be tied to one of the four elements, a visual tactic that underlines the argument that Jesuits were making for Xavier’s universal applicability. The inclusion of the four elements in the tribune vault also underscores the message of the Giordano altarpiece below, where Francis Xavier is represented as the patron of all of the Indies, all over the world. As previously mentioned, there was an increasingly common tendency to view Xavier as the patron saint of all of the lands newly encountered by Europeans in the early modern period, a belief that had roots in some of the earliest Xaverian hagiographies.⁸⁸¹ This universalizing tendency could be visually expressed by showing the Jesuit saint preaching to allegories of the four continents or triumphant over

⁸⁸⁰ Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 146.

⁸⁸¹ In the front matter of the Spanish translation of Torsellino’s biography of Xavier, the translator, Pedro de Guzman, provided a list of the places where Francis Xavier had preached or been present. He included America on the list, saying “[Xavier] did not touch its mainland, but he did touch its seas, because those who sail to India, fearful of the Cape of Good Hope, sail close to Brazil, a land of America. Also [Xavier] sailed the seas that are between the Molucas and New Spain, which some consider to be American territory, according to the division of Alexander VI.” “No tocò terra firme della: pero tocò sus mares. Porq. los q. nauegã à la India temerosos del Cabo de Buena Esperãça, se arrimã al Brasil, tierra de la America. Tãbiẽ nauegò la mar, q. està entre las Malucas, ya la nueua España, que algunos contaran por distrito de la America, segun la diuision de Alexandro Sexto.” Torsellino, *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, non-paginated.

the four elements. In addition, various authors textually described Xavier's dominion over the elements in hagiographic texts. One example can be found in Francisco Garcia's *Vida y milagros de San Francisco Xavier de la Compañía de Jesús, Apóstol de las Indias* (1672):

The gentiles called the holy apostle 'God of the earth and of the sea,' for the miracles that he had made in one or the other element, and although I do not approve of their error attributing to the apostle what is properly the power of God, nevertheless I cannot help but notice their inconsistency in not calling [Xavier] 'god of all of the elements...' *All of the elements... were witnesses and heralds to his sanctity.*"⁸⁸²

De Matteis's fresco is not the only visual work of art to make this same reference, but it is the most monumental example of which I am aware and one of the earliest. Printed versions were more common and tended to be unambiguous representations of the elements. We should consider De Matteis's fresco to be a nascent form of this iconography, which would later become schematized in examples such as a print by the Klauber brother in Augsburg from the early eighteenth century. This image consisted of four vignettes of Francis Xavier working miracles arranged around a representation of his arm relic with quotes from scripture above and below, both related to the mighty ability of Xavier's arm to protect and defend the faithful.⁸⁸³ The quote below, "Dextera sua [t]eget eos..." mentions specifically the right arm, which is fitting as his was amputated from his incorrupt corpse and pieces of it were sent all over the world to aid European and Jesuit causes.⁸⁸⁴ In

⁸⁸² "Llamavan los Géntiles al Santo Apóstol, *Dios de la tierra, y de la mar*, por los milagros que hazia en uno, y otro elemento; y aunque no apruebo su error, atribuyendo al Apóstol lo que es proprio del poder de Dios; con todo esso no puedo dexar de notar su inconsequencia en no llamarle Dios de todos los elementos.... *Todo los elementos... fueron testigos, y pregoneros de su santidad.*" García, *Vida y milagros*, 420."

⁸⁸³ Above is written "Fecit potentiam in braccio" ("He hath showed strength with his arm."), a quotation from Luke 1:51, and below is "Dextera sua [t]eget eos, et brachio sancto suo defendet illos.." ("...with his right hand he will cover them, and with his holy arm he will defend them), from the deuterocanonical Book of Wisdom (5:17). Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono," 165-66.

⁸⁸⁴ See Chapters 1 and 4.

the surrounding scenes, Xavier puts out fires, calms the winds that cause shipwrecks and fire to spread, commands the sea to miraculously provide food for his companions, and orders the earth to provide for the hungry.⁸⁸⁵ Each vignette is allegorized as an elemental scene by the presence of a Greco-Roman god. Vulcan, Tellus, Neptune, and an unspecified wind god all watch over Xavier as he commands their respective elements. As we will see, although De Matteis's tribune vault fresco lacks these more obvious allegorical markers, it too can be viewed as an image of Xavier triumphant over the four elements.

Beginning on the right side of the fresco, we see Francis Xavier's ability to save victims of shipwrecks. In both his life and death, Xavier was famous for aiding ships during storms and rescuing them from breaking up on rocks. The variations upon such miracles are numerous; Schurhammer notes at least nine different versions of Xavier either saving a ship from a storm at sea or warning sailors about a future shipwreck.⁸⁸⁶ Thirty-five witnesses questioned during the canonization process mentioned some sort of miracle involving Xavier protecting ships at sea.⁸⁸⁷ The one that appears most often in hagiographic literature involves the *Santa Cruz*, a ship owned by Diogo Pereira, a Portuguese merchant and friend of St. Francis Xavier.⁸⁸⁸ After leaving Goa for China, a storm threatened Pereira's ship and all the passengers were afraid they would wreck. Xavier, however, foretold that Pereira's ship would not be destroyed, but that another ship, which had left the harbor in Goa at the same time, would not have a happy fate. Additionally, Xavier foretold that Pereira's ship

⁸⁸⁵ Fernández Gracia, "San Francisco Javier patrono," 166.

⁸⁸⁶ See note #8 in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 4: 314-17.

⁸⁸⁷ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 4:314.

⁸⁸⁸ The origin of this account is a lost report written by Miguel de Lacerda. Orazio Torsellino and João de Lucena both included this miracle in their hagiographies based upon this source. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 4:315.

would never be harmed by the sea and would only break apart on land, in the place where it was built. All of Xavier's prophecies indeed came to pass; the wreckage of the second ship was soon seen floating on the waves, while Pereira's ship survived and was used for thirty more years before it was broken up on the dock where it was initially constructed.⁸⁸⁹ Even in situations where he was unable to save the ship itself from ruin, he was often able to provide salvation for the passengers. Antonio Henriques, an Indian merchant and convert to Christianity, had received a blessing and a rosary from Xavier before departing on a voyage. His ship was subsequently wrecked in a storm and Henriques fashioned a raft out of broken beams for himself and his crew. He passed out while they were adrift at sea and dreamed of Xavier. Upon awaking, Henriques discovered that he had washed ashore in Nagapattinam without the raft and his companions, still wearing the rosary that Francis Xavier had given him.⁸⁹⁰ These events combined, plus others,⁸⁹¹ caused the fame of Xavier's powers of maritime protection to grow steadily throughout the seventeenth century. Spanish authorities in Manila declared Xavier to be the patron saint of all voyages between New Spain and the Philippines in 1654. Several decades later, Lorenzo Ortiz published an extremely popular collection of the maritime adventures and miracles of Xavier, entitled *El príncipe del mar, San Francisco Javier* (1688), inspiring a popular print depiction of Xavier in the guise of Neptune,

⁸⁸⁹ Torsellino, *The Admirable Life*, 400-01. Torsellino, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, 205.

⁸⁹⁰ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 2: 604. Multiple witnesses attested to this miracle during the canonization process, including a Parava man named João Nareguerigue who had heard the story directly from Henriques, Thomé de Gamboa, who had learned about this event from his father and grandmother, an Indian man named Luis Correa who also received the story secondhand, and a Portuguese man named Antonio Rodrigues Barachio, who had also been told about Henriques by his father. Lecina, *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia*, 487-88, 555-56, 64, 67.

⁸⁹¹ Other prominent Xaverian miracles involving the sea include the miracle of the freshwater, in which Xavier converted seawater into potable water to save his fellow passengers from dying of thirst, and the miracle of the crab, in which Xavier lost his crucifix at sea and it was rescued by a crab. Schurhammer, "Xaveriuslegenden und Wunder." Schurhammer, "Das Krebswunder Xavers." Juan Iturriaga Elorza, "Hechos prodigiosos atribuidos a San Francisco Javier en unos grabados del siglo XVII," *Príncipe de Viana* 55, no. 203 (1994): 485-87.

riding triumphantly over the waves on a conch shell pulled by seahorses, the trident of Neptune inverted and converted into a flagstaff from which the banner of the Society of Jesus waves.⁸⁹² Since Xavier's reputation for miracles was so intimately connected with the sea,⁸⁹³ it is only fitting that De Matteis dedicates roughly half of the San Francesco tribune vault fresco to the element of water.

Calming storms at sea also involved controlling the element of air, as García pointed out.⁸⁹⁴ Appropriately, De Matteus has located his sea scene next to the area of the fresco that represents the element of air. Here, we see victims of a disease covered in sores. While Livio Pestilli has suggested these might be victims of syphilis, it is far more likely that the figures in De Matteis's fresco are sufferers of the plague, due to Francis Xavier's strong reputation as intercessor for this particular disease.⁸⁹⁵ Additionally, since early modern medical theory held that plague was spread through noxious air (miasma theory), this disease also fits the elemental theme of the fresco more appropriately than syphilis.⁸⁹⁶ Seventeenth-century Xaverian biographers directly connected the saint's power to lift plagues with this element. For example, Francisco García wrote, "What can be said about the plagues that [Xavier] subdued in various cities in the New or Old Worlds, purifying the

⁸⁹² Lorenzo Ortiz, *El príncipe del mar, San Francisco Javier* (Cádiz: Christóbal Requena, 1688).

⁸⁹³ Hagiographers like Francisco García wrote that water was the element over which Francis Xavier had the most power: "Innumerables han sido las tempestades que se han sossegado con invocar à San Francisco Xauier; y parece que el elemento del agua es el que mas ha experimentado su poder." García, *Vida y milagros*, 425.

⁸⁹⁴ "Todos los milagros que ha hecho San Francisco Xauier sossegando tempestades, perteneceu tambien al element del ayre, porque juntamente le obedecian dos elementos, ayre y agua." García, *Vida y milagros*, 426.

⁸⁹⁵ See Chapter 1.

⁸⁹⁶ Joseph P. Byrne, "Miasma Theory," in *Encyclopedia of the Black Death* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012), 235-36.

air of the deaths that threatened their citizens...?”⁸⁹⁷ Xavier’s powers to liberate whole cities from the plague were particularly celebrated in Naples, where he had played a role in the liberation of the city from the devastating plague of 1656. His involvement in this epidemic began when a painting of Xavier in the Gesù Nuovo by Bernardo Azzolino (ca. 1640) preformed a miracle that many took to predict the epidemic.⁸⁹⁸ On May 8, 1653, the painted face of Xavier became pale, like that of a corpse, and his forehead began to sweat. The eyes of the saint, which normally gazed at the image of the Virgin and Child before him, instead, turned outwards to look at the public.⁸⁹⁹ This miracle reoccurred several times and was seen by many witnesses from all of the Neapolitan social classes.⁹⁰⁰ When the plague of 1656 began to ravage the city three years later, people remembered the changes that took place in the painting and began to consider it an omen of the disease that was to come.⁹⁰¹

⁸⁹⁷ “Que dirè de las pestes que ha apagado en diversas Ciudades en uno, y otro mundo, purificando el ayre de las muertes que amenaçauan à sus Ciudadanos...?” García, *Vida y milagros*, 427.

⁸⁹⁸ “La prima dimostrazione di affetto adunque, che palesò S. Francesco Saverio verso questa sua diletta Città di Napoli, si osservò ne’ prodigi della sua miracolosa Imagine. E’ nella Chiesa della Casa Professa della Compangia di Gesù una sontuosa Cappella dedicate al Santo: nella quale vedesi un Quadro di lui, fatto già dal divoto Pittore Giovan Berardino Siciliano. Quivi rappresentasi il Santo inginocchione in atteggiamento di orare avanti una altare della Regina degli Angioli, la quale recasi in braccio il suo Divino Figliuolo. Ne sta con ambedue le mani, come in atto do slargarsi la veste sul petto per dare refrigerio all’ardor Divino, che nel cuore gli avvampava. Nella man destra ha un giglio, solito geroglifico della sua interissima purità: e tiene sollevati gli occhi verso la Divina Madre, a cui porge le sue suppliche.” *Ragguaglio della miracolosa protezione di San Francesco Saverio verso la citta e il Regno di Napoli nel contagio*, (Naples: Pietro Palombo, 1743), 4-5.

⁸⁹⁹ “Vedevasi il volto di S. Francesco Saverio, il quale era stato effigiato con colore più carico forse di quell che si conveniva, in istante divenire si pallido, e scolorito, che sembrava ritratto di un moribundo: e dimostrare una espressione tale di affetto compassionevole, che molti famosi Pittori asserirono, non poter giugnere forza di umano pennello ad uguagliarla. Tutto d’improvviso poi miravasi infiammarsi, e divampare, come per grave interno sentimento; e intanto grondar sudore dalla fronte. Gli occhi, che prima erano sollevati verso la Vergine, si vedevano ora abbassarsi, come se mirasse egli il popolo; ora di nuovo rialzarsi verso la Divina Madre, quasiche a lei lo raccomandasse; ed ora chiudersi dell’intutto, come in atto di orare.” *Ragguaglio*, 6-7.

⁹⁰⁰ “Si succedevano l’un l’altro questi prodigiosi cambiamenti, non solo per quell giorno, ma per molti altri in appresso: ne’ quali appena può spiegarsi quanto fosse sterminato il concorso non solo della plebe, ma della prima Nobiltà, di Titolati del Regno, di Prelati, e Religiosi in gran number: moltissimi de’ quali poi testificarono il fatto...” *Ragguaglio*, 7. The author of the *Ragguaglio* also includes a list of those persons who can attest to the changes that took place in this miraculous image of St. Francis Xavier. *Ragguaglio*, 10-14.

⁹⁰¹ “Sopragiunto l’anno 1656., del quale non potrà giammai non esser dolorosa la rimembranza in questa Città, e nel Regno tutto, si scorse ben presto qual disastro preannunziato avesse tre anni prima S. Francesco Saverio soi prodigiosi cambiamenti della sua Imagine.” *Ragguaglio*, 15. See also Rodriguez G. de Ceballos, “La imagen de San Francisco Javier,” 135-36. Clifton, “Mattia Preti’s Frescoes,” 491-92. The author of the *Ragguaglio* additionally wrote that Xavier’s reputation

On May 27, 1656, the *eletti* of Naples and the members of the Deputazione della Salute went to the Gesù Nuovo where they participated in a mass in Xavier's honor in front of the miraculous Azzolino painting and lit torches in his name, hoping to acquire the saint's patronage.⁹⁰² Authorities had previously invoked the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception and in June 1656, they formally included St. Francis Xavier in this vow.⁹⁰³ At the same time, they vowed that if the city were liberated, they would commission frescoes depicting the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with the Christ child in her arms, along with St. Januarius, St. Francis Xavier and St. Rosalia for each of the gates of the city. Because the frescoes could not be completed immediately, the Neapolitan authorities also vowed to commission a print depicting these same protectors for immediate distribution in the city of Naples.⁹⁰⁴ On July 2, 1656, they took a second vow to Xavier and placed his statue among other sculptures depicting the patron saints of Naples in the Royal Chapel of the Treasure of San Gennaro in the cathedral, an act that represented official civic sanction of a particular saint's cult.⁹⁰⁵ If Xavier delivered the Neapolitans from the plague, the

as a plague saint was based upon his lifting of the plague on the island of Manar during his life and in Malacca and Bologna, posthumously. *Ragguaglio*, 38-39.

⁹⁰² "A di 27. di Maggio 1656. gl'Ilustrissimi Signori Eletti della Città di Napoli adarono nella Chiesa della Casa Professa della Cōpagnia di GIESV' nella medesima Città; ed iui tennero Cappella auanti l'Altare di S. Francesco Xauerio, e gli diedero il solito tribute di torcie come ad implorato lor Padrone." Nicolò Pasquale, *A' posteri della peste di Napoli, e suo regno nell'anno 1656* (Naples: Luc'Antonio di Fusco, 1668). James Clifton also cites an anonymous undated manuscript account of the plague that contains much of the same information as Pasquale. Saburo Kimura, "La source écrite du Miracle de saint François-Xavier de Poussin," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 38, no. 5-6 (1988): 66vff. Clifton, "Mattia Preti's Frescoes," 491. Sodano, "I patronati a Napoli " 222.

⁹⁰³ The various surviving documents that record these events are often unclear or contradictory about whether these actions were taken by the *eletti* or members of the Deputazione della Salute. For this reason I am purposefully vague, using general terms like "the Neapolitan authorities." Sodano, "I patronati a Napoli " 222. The entire text of the vow is reproduced in the *Ragguaglio*, 40-44. "Per tanto hà stabilito questa Deputazione in nome di questa Città ricorrere al Patrociniio di S. Francesco Saverio..." *Ragguaglio*, 43.

⁹⁰⁴ *Ragguaglio*, 45-46.

⁹⁰⁵ "Anzi a i 2. Di Luglio glio gli Eccellentissimi Sig. Deputati per impegnare in favor della Città S. Francesc Saverio, a cui onore fin d'allora facevano quanto era in lor potere, presero la Statua del Santo, e la condusero a riporre tra le Statue degli altri Santi Protettori nel Tesoro." *Ragguaglio*, 48. Jean-Michel Sallmann, "Il santo patrono cittadino nel '600 nel Regno di

authorities promised to establish a location outside of the walls of the city, dedicated to SS. Januarius and Francis Xavier, where beggars and others in need could be fed.⁹⁰⁶ The next day, reports circulated that four hundred people had suddenly been cured of the plague; the author of the *Ragguaglio* reproduced a letter from Cavaliere Filippo di Dura who reported, "Joy! Joy! ...last night, around four hundred people were suddenly healed, outside of any expectation and human hope."⁹⁰⁷ The number of plague victims steadily decreased from that point onwards and by August 17, the plague had virtually ceased; subsequently, a mass was said in thanks at the altar dedicated to St. Francis Xavier in the Gesù Nuovo.⁹⁰⁸ The city officially celebrated December 8, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, as the end of the epidemic.⁹⁰⁹ It was at this time that the members of the Deputazione della Salute decided to send a request to Pope Alexander VII to ask for St. Francis Xavier to be declared a patron saint of the city of Naples.⁹¹⁰

Xavier's hagiographers had a more difficult time making a case for the saint's power over the element of earth. García, who spends several pages describing Xavier's dominion over the elements of air, water, and fire, has only one sentence for the element of earth. He writes that Xavier could stop tremors during earthquakes and that the miracle of the saint's incorrupt body, which did not succumb to decomposition while it was buried on the island

Napoli e in Sicilia," in *Per la storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso and Carla Russo (Napoli: Guida editori, 1982), 205.

⁹⁰⁶ *Ragguaglio*, 48.

⁹⁰⁷ "Allegrezza, allegrezza! ...la sera precedente circa quattrocento persone erano rimaste improvvisamente guarite, fuori d'ogni aspettazione, e speranza umana." *Ragguaglio*, 49.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ragguaglio*, 51.

⁹⁰⁹ Sodano, "I patronati a Napoli " 222-23.

⁹¹⁰ *Ragguaglio*, 153.

of Shangchuan Island, also demonstrates his mastery over the earth. Lastly, the earth served as the “theater of [Xavier’s] marvels.”⁹¹¹ However, in other sections of García text, he mentions that St. Francis Xavier was viewed as having the power to end famines: “In public and private calamities of plague, hunger, infertility, [and] diseases, the Gentiles, forgotten by their gods, and the Moors, forgotten by Muhammad, turned to St. Francis Xavier and asked for remedy with the same confidence as Christians.”⁹¹² Both the Klauber print mentioned above and the Paolo de Matteis fresco utilized the motif of barren ground to symbolize famine and Xavier’s power to create miraculous harvests. Paolo de Matteis has depicted brown earth, cracked and dessicated, with a kneeling woman wearing a gauzy underdress slipping from her shoulders under a luxurious blue overrobe casting her eyes towards St. Francis Xavier in heaven, pleading for his intercession. Again, halting famines was not one of the more celebrated Xaverian miracles, but the alternative image that Paolo de Matteis could have used to depict the saint’s mastery over the element of earth was an earthquake. However, in Naples, St. Januarius had been protecting Naples from the destructive seismic and eruptive power of Mt. Vesuvius since as early as the fifth century and as recently as 1631.⁹¹³ St. Francis Xavier, a more recent saint, clearly could not intrude on St. Januarius’s centuries-old cult in Naples.

The last element featured by Paolo de Matteis is that of fire. In the upper left of the fresco, a city burns while its residents flee. Again, putting out fires was not a major Xaverian

⁹¹¹ “En la tierra se mostrado singularmente el poder de San Francisco Xauier; porque este elemento le ha obedecido, estremeciendo su firmeza, sossegando sus temblores, respetando la incorrupcion de su cuerpo, y siendo teatro de innumerables marauillas.” García, *Vida y milagros*.

⁹¹² “En las calamidades publicas, ò priuadas de peste, hambre, esterilidad, enfermedades, olvidados los Gentiles de sus Dioses, y los Moros de su Mahoma, acudian à San Francisco Xauier, y le pedian remedio, con la misma confiança, que los Christianos.” García, *Vida y milagros*.

⁹¹³ Jordan Lancaster, *In the Shadow of Vesuvius: A Cultural History of Naples* (London and New York: IB Tauris, 2005), 6.

miracle, but there are brief mentions of this prodigious power in hagiographies that focused on Xavier's dominion over the four elements. Again, we can look to García to illuminate this aspect of Xaver's elemental miracles. When discussing the element of fire, he describes the famous miracle at Kottar where lamps placed in front of a shrine dedicated to Xavier burned with only holy water as fuel, instead of oil.⁹¹⁴ In addition to this act, which was included in the bull of canonization, Xavier also caused candles to burn without consuming wax, prevented images of himself from burning, saved his devotees from flames, and put out house fires.⁹¹⁵ Both the Klauber print and Paolo de Matteis's fresco focus on this final aspect, demonstrating that Xavier has the power to put out fires that threaten to consume houses and cities.

Paolo de Matteis's fresco, *St. Francis Xavier Triumphant over the Elements* uses the motif of Xavier's domination over the four elements to promote him as a universal saint with immense intercessory powers. In Naples, this argument was necessary, for the city had an extremely large number of patron saints, whose devotees were often in competition with one another. At the end of the sixteenth century, there were seven official patron saints of Naples, many of whom were Neapolitan bishops from the early history of Christianity in Southern Italy; however, by the end of the seventeenth century, there had been at least twenty new patron saints elected in the city, including St. Francis Xavier.⁹¹⁶ While Jesuits and their Spanish patrons worked hard to make sure that Xavier became the most

⁹¹⁴ García, *Vida y milagros*, 243-44. See also Chapter 2.

⁹¹⁵ "Dexo otros prodigios, que ha obrado el Santo en el fuego, ya castigando con el à los enemigos de la Fè en fauor de los Christianos, ya apagando incendios de las casa de sus deuotos, ya ardiendo las hachas sin gastarse la cera, ya no quenmandose en el fuego sus Imagenes, ya librando a sus deuotos de peligros de fuego..." García, *Vida y milagros*, 242.

⁹¹⁶ Sallmann, "Il santo patrono cittadino," 190 and 94. Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water*, 141.

prominent patron of Naples, there is evidence to suggest that the efficacy of their efforts was limited. As previously mentioned, Sodano has noted a reluctance on the part of Neapolitans to call on Jesuit saints like Xavier at times of collective crisis.⁹¹⁷ Figures like the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception or the Virgin of the Carmine were often the first intercessors to be invoked in times of citywide natural disasters and epidemics.⁹¹⁸ Mattia Preti's *ex voto* frescoes, commissioned by the *eletti* after the plague of 1656 provide visual evidence of this phenomenon. The compositions of the frescoes, which were destroyed in the 1688 earthquake, are known to us through Preti's oil sketches, preserved in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. In these two extant *bozzetti*, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception is given overwhelming visual prominence, while Sts. Januarius, Francis Xavier, and Rosalia flank her in a supporting role. As James Clifton explains, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception was the perfect plague intercessor. This was the Virgin in her purest form, free from Original Sin, and therefore, the most potent weapon against an illness that was thought to result from Adam and Eve's transgression in the Garden of Eden.⁹¹⁹ Saints, though powerful in their own right, were still born with the stain of Original Sin, and thus bow down to the Virgin's superior powers against epidemics in the Mattia Preti frescos. The Paolo de Matteis tribune fault fresco in San Francesco Saverio, created seven years after Preti's *ex voto* paintings were destroyed in an earthquake, revise this history of intercession in Neapolitan crises, removing both the Virgin and other saints, and demonstrating that Xavier deserved to be considered the Neapolitan patron saint *par excellence*.

⁹¹⁷ Sodano, "Miracoli e ordini religiosi " 401-02.

⁹¹⁸ Clifton, "Mattia Preti's Frescoes," 486-91. Burke, "The Virgin of the Carmine."

⁹¹⁹ Clifton, "Art and Plague " 99-100. Clifton cites a sermon delivered by Indico Fiorillo during the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1659, where Fiorillo refers to the Virgin as "'an impenetrable wall against the Original Plague."

The explicitly forceful and perhaps overblown visual language of the De Matteis tribune vault was necessary in a city where dozens of patron saints were jockeying for a prominent place. Various non-Jesuit parties, particularly members of rival orders, often contested St. Francis Xavier's role as the special protector of Naples. For example, after the plague of 1656, Theatines protested that their founder, Gaetano di Thiene (1480-1547, beatified in 1629) had not been included in Mattia Preti's frescoes above the city gates, despite the fact that on his feast day (August 7), not a single person had succumbed to the disease.⁹²⁰ The *eletti* decided to erect statues of Gaetano at the gates to correct this oversight, but since the Theatines continued to suspect that Jesuit scheming had led to their founder being omitted from the original paintings, relations between the two orders worsened considerably.⁹²¹ Francis Xavier's election as patron of Naples was similarly fraught. Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino, the archbishop of Naples at the time, opposed naming Xavier an official patron saint of the city, and Goschwin Nickel, the superior general of the Society of Jesus between 1652 and 1664, wrote to the Neapolitan provincial that the pope would not approve of Xavier's patronage without the support of the archbishop.⁹²² The campaign to elect Xavier as patron was eventually successful because it was backed by politically powerful aristocrats who had strong connections to the Spanish viceroy and had attended Jesuit colleges, receiving an education that was strictly tied to devotion to St. Francis

⁹²⁰ Sodano, "I patronati a Napoli " 223.

⁹²¹ For example, see a letter republished by Sodano where Giambattista Spinola informs the Theatine general in Rome that efforts to declare Gaetano a patron of Naples were being impeded by members of the Deputazione della Salute who were supporters of the Jesuits. Sodano, "I patronati a Napoli " 226. Attempts were made to reconcile the two orders. For example, Placido Carafa, the bishop of Acerra, preached a sermon in 1662 that recommended that both orders preach to their followers that Francis Xavier and Gaetano di Thiene were equally responsible for lifting the plague. Additionally, the bishop recommended that during the next Carnevale, Jesuits should attend wearing Theatine costumes and vice versa. Lastly, Jesuits and Theatines should organize annual picnics for each other, at Capodimonte and Poggioreale respectively. Clifton, "Mattia Preti's Frescoes," 493-96.

⁹²² The letter is republished in Sodano, "I patronati a Napoli " 229.

Xavier.⁹²³ In the years after Xavier was elected patron, the Jesuits enacted a persuasive visual campaign to encourage more intense devotion to Xavier, portraying him as a universal saint who had dominion over the entire world. However, if this effort became too successful, the danger was that the prestige Jesuits would normally receive for having such an efficacious saint would be negated.⁹²⁴ In order to avoid this, Jesuits promoted their saints in ways that would maintain the links between their saints and the Society. For example, Sodano notes that Jesuits published accounts of miracles that took place after devotees had been anointed with oil in which the relics of a Jesuit saint had been dipped. Since these relics belonged to the Society and the oil was distributed via Jesuit priests, this allowed the order to maintain control over their own saints.⁹²⁵ In the next section, we will see that even while promoting an image of Xavier as universal, the church of San Francesco Saverio also contained images that specifically tied the missionary saint to the Society of Jesus and addressed the pressing challenge of converting Muslim slaves in Naples.

5.8 THE NAVE VAULT: SLAVES, TRIUMPH, AND FEAR

Paolo de Matteis's fresco on the nave vault of the church of San Francesco Saverio continues to celebrate Francis Xavier as an efficacious patron saint, but positions him as only one of a large group of powerful Jesuit intercessors. As previously mentioned, in a city like Naples where the number of official patron saints exploded during the seventeenth

⁹²³ Sodano, "I patronati a Napoli " 227 and 30.

⁹²⁴ Sodano, "Miracoli e ordini religiosi " 403.

⁹²⁵ Sodano, "Miracoli e ordini religiosi " 403.

century, it was important for the Society to have De Matteis depict Jesuits saints as being the most powerful, the most magnanimous, the most efficacious, and the most miraculous. Thus we see the dove of the Holy Spirit enlightening an allegory of the Catholic Religion, who holds a book and a cross. Three Jesuit saints form a triangle below her – Ignatius of Loyola with a book inscribed with the motto of the Order, St. Francis Borgia standing in front of the three Jesuit martyrs of Japan, and St. Francis Xavier, crucifix in hand and wearing his white surplice and stole over a black cassock, celebrated his role as a Baptist. Stereotypical European, African, American, and Middle-Eastern figures kneel on the clouds below him, representing the four continents of the world and signifying the universality of Christian truth and Catholicism's spread to the corners of the globe. The inclusion of these figures helps to connect the nave vault fresco thematically to the altarpiece by Luca Giordano that adorned the high altar of the church.

The light of the dove of the Holy Spirit is channeled through the intercessory powers of the Jesuits saints toward the bottom of the fresco, where a group of heretics are struck dumb and tumble downwards, presumably to hell. However, these are not generic heretics; instead they are specifically marked as Muslims by the presence of the prophet Muhammad, with a crescent on his turban, clutching a book labeled "Alcoron." Depictions of the prophet of Islam are extremely rare in European church decoration. It is possible that the only other example is a fifteenth-century fresco by Giovanni da Modena in San Petronio in Bologna, depicting Muhammad being punished in hell. Images of Muhammad are much more common in book illustrations from the sixteenth century onwards.⁹²⁶ Initially these images

⁹²⁶ Alberto Saviello, "Muhammed's Multiple Faces: Printed Images of the Prophet in Western Europe," in *Constructing the Image of Muhammed in Europe*, ed. Avinoam Shalem (Berlin De Gruyter, 2013).

would show Muhammad in the guise of the Anti-Christ,⁹²⁷ but gradually they began to identify him quite closely with the Ottoman sultan, as can be seen in an illustration included in Michel Baudier's 1625 history of the Turkish religion.⁹²⁸ De Matteis's Muhammad is clearly a part of this tradition; his clothing greatly resembles that of the portrait in Baudier's text, while the crescent and book attributes would be a staple of depictions of Muhammad far into the eighteenth century.

The inclusion of Muhammad in this fresco is quite meaningful in the context of late-seventeenth-century Naples. One of the premier occupations of Jesuits there was the conversion of the city's sizeable population of Muslim slaves. Scholars such as Salvatore Bono have estimated that there may have been as many as 20,000 such slaves present in the city at any given moment, constituting as much as ten percent of the total population.⁹²⁹ Many of these Muslims were captured during naval skirmishes between European powers and the Ottoman Empire; the men tended to be enslaved on galley ships as property of the Kingdom of Naples,⁹³⁰ while women and children were sent to palaces for domestic work.⁹³¹ For the Jesuits, Muslim slaves in Naples were an extremely promising demographic. As an order with a strong missionary focus, these Muslims presented an opportunity for Jesuits to carry out one of their primary directives closer to home. Thus, Naples could serve as an

⁹²⁷ Saviello, "Muhammed's Multiple Faces," 89-92.

⁹²⁸ Saviello, "Muhammed's Multiple Faces," 108-13.

⁹²⁹ Salvatore Bono, "Schiavi Musulmani in Italia nell'età moderna," *Erdem* 3, no. 9 (1987): 830-32. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 91. The bibliography on Muslim slaves in southern Italy has grown quite extensive recently. See Giovanna Fiume, *Sciavitù mediterranea: Corsari, rinnegati, e santi de età moderna* (Milan: Bruno Mondadori 2009). Giuliana Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam: storie di musulmani, schiavi e rinnegati in età moderna* (Naples: M. D'Auria, 2010).

⁹³⁰ Colombo, "'Infidels' at Home," 194.

⁹³¹ Bono, "Schiavi Musulmani," 830-31.

alternative mission field for Jesuits who were not sent to Asia or the Americas.⁹³² In other words, the presence of these Muslim slaves allowed Jesuits to perpetuate an image of Naples as an alternative Indies, as mentioned above.

Because the potential converts were not Christian, the missionaries of the Society of Jesus utilized many of these same techniques of accommodation that they used on the overseas missions.⁹³³ Beginning as early as the 1580s, Jesuits worked to convert both galley slaves and domestic servants in private homes, but the seventeenth century saw an even more intense evangelization effort in these directions. This was signaled by the creation of the Congregation of the Epiphany, a confraternity dedicated to aiding the Jesuits in their conversion efforts.⁹³⁴ This Jesuit work intensified in the 1660s when Baldassare Loyola (1631-1667), a Muslim prince of Fez who had converted to Christianity and joined the Society of Jesus, worked in Naples, using his language abilities and knowledge of the Qur'an to convert hundreds of slaves in the space of a year.⁹³⁵ Jesuits continued to exert considerable energy on this project even into the eighteenth century with missionaries like Francesco de Geronimo becoming famous for their work with galley slaves.⁹³⁶

De Matteis's fresco was carefully crafted to speak meaningfully to those who would have been present in the church of San Francesco Saverio, a viewing body made up of both

⁹³² Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, 89.

⁹³³ Colombo, "'Infidels' at Home," 194.

⁹³⁴ Lay members of the confraternity visited domestic slaves in the homes of the Neapolitan and Spanish aristocrats and encouraged these slaves to attend church services. Gennaro Nardi, "Nuove ricerche sulle istituzioni napoletane a favore degli schiavi: La Congregazione degli Schiavi dei PP. Gesuiti," *Asprenas* 14 (1967).

⁹³⁵ Emanuele Colombo, "A Muslim Turned Jesuit: Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631-1667)," *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013).

⁹³⁶ Francesco de Geronimo's life is described in Carlo de Bonis, *Vita del venerabile Padre Francesco di Geronimo della Compagnia de Gesù* (Naples: Muzi, 1747).

the Spanish governing class and their slaves. As discussed earlier, the church had strong viceregal connections and the majority of the congregation came from the Spanish elite of Naples. These people were extremely likely to own Muslim slaves and thus, could facilitate or prevent Jesuits having access to these potential converts. Many masters worried that if their slaves converted to Christianity, they would be pressured to free them and thus lose their property.⁹³⁷ At the very least, Jesuits might expect masters to treat Christian slaves better. Therefore, there was little incentive for Neapolitan and Spanish masters to allow Jesuits to have access to their slaves for the purposes of conversion. Missionaries had to work hard to convince slave owners that it was advantageous to allow their slaves to be converted. For example, Baldassare Loyola, the Jesuit convert from Islam mentioned above, cultivated a close relationship with the viceroy at the time, Pedro Antonio de Aragón (r. 1666-1671), who was persuaded that it was beneficial to allow his slaves to convert to Christianity and gave them permission to go listen to Loyola preach. The viceroy also exerted pressure on other elites in Naples to do the same.⁹³⁸

It is also possible that the fresco was designed with an audience of Muslim slaves in mind. There are traces in the historical record of Spanish and Neapolitan aristocrats bringing their unconverted slaves with them into the churches of Naples. For example, in the *Giornali di Napoli* of 1661, there was a notice that the Girolamini had invited the viceroy to participate in a procession in their church. When the German viceregal guards arrived

⁹³⁷ Whether or not one should free a converted slave was a point of contention in early modern Europe. The rule of thumb was that it was immoral to enslave a person who was already a Christian, but if a non-Christian slave converted, it was not necessary to free them. However, a papal decree issued by Paul III in 1549 and confirmed by Pius V in 1566 stated that any baptized slave would be freed if they presented themselves at the Capitoline Hill in Rome. It does not seem as if this decree was widely enforced. Colombo, "'Infidels' at Home," 197-99. Mazur, "Combating 'Muslim Indecency'," 28.

⁹³⁸ Colombo's source for this information is a manuscript autobiography of Baldassare Loyola preserved in the Archives of the Pontifical Gregorian University (APUG). Colombo, "'Infidels' at Home," 200.

before the beginning of the event, they cleared the first few rows of seating to make room for the viceroy's carpet. A large number of slaves, belonging both to the viceroy and to other aristocrats in his retinue, then entered the church, causing a scandal because of their "Mohammadean indecency."⁹³⁹ Mazur relates another incident that took place in 1670 when one of the unbaptized slaves of the viceroy went to the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli and actually took communion. After placing the Eucharistic wafer in his mouth, he expelled it and put it in a handkerchief, an act for which he was imprisoned.⁹⁴⁰ These episodes demonstrate that unconverted slaves could be present in Neapolitan churches and thus, it is possible that the nave vault fresco was intended to send a particular message to both the Spanish elite and slave populations of Naples, using a language of both fear and triumph.

The fresco employs a triumphal visual vocabulary that was common in Jesuit works of art of the late seventeenth century. The golden light of the Holy Spirit fills a large portion of the painting and through the intercession of the Jesuits saints, bathes the figures below representing the various continents of the world. We are seeing a vision of the Church triumphantly spread to the four corners of the globe, showing all the nations of the world united under the Catholic faith, a state that would presage the second coming of Christ.⁹⁴¹

⁹³⁹ "Giovedì, san Mattia, 24 febrero 1661, il viceré fu similmente alli Gelormini e, mentre era in punto di ritornarsne, venne a tempo una pioggia, onde, li PP. lo pregorno che intervenisse alla processione del Santissimo, mentre terminava quella sera le Quarantore, et immediatamente quell pio signore ritornò indietro dalla porta grande et intervenne all detta processione, dove li todeschi della sua guardia fecero atti poco decenti all presenza del Santissimo per far luogo in mezzo la chiesa e la gran moltitudine di gente, oltre il far togliere tre fila di scanni vicino l'altare maggiore, dove stavano sentate le genti, per ponervi lo strato del viceré et alcuni schiavi (delli quali vi era abbondanza in Napoli in questi tempi, per essere cresciuto il lusso e spese e mancate le monete), stavano anco con indecenza maumettana, e perché erano di persone nobili, stavano armati in modo, che non potevano esser corretti." Vincenzo D'Onofrio, *Giornali di Napoli dal MCCLX al MCCLXXX* (Naples: Società napoletana di stora patria 1934-), 1: 73. Mazur, "Combating 'Muslim Indecency'," 24-26.

⁹⁴⁰ Mazur, "Combating 'Muslim Indecency'," 33.

⁹⁴¹ Prospero, "Otras Indias," 212. Peter Mazur notes that the conversion of Ottoman Muslim slaves played a special role in this millenarian project: "[Muslim slaves constituted] a special category that stood at the boundary of social and religious

Victory against the Ottoman Empire in Vienna, the conversion of Muslims, and the spreading of the Gospel all over the earth were all viewed as evidence that the weakened position of the Church in the sixteenth century had been reversed in the seventeenth century. The Roman Catholic Church was growing again and found itself on the offensive instead of the defensive against its perceived enemies. According to Robert Engass, the latter seventeenth century was characterized by a “new spirit of optimism and self-confidence which invigorates the Church,” a “collective frame of mind” that he calls the “Church Triumphant.”⁹⁴² Engass then cites works of art that express the idea of the Church Triumphant, including Gialorenzo Bernini’s *Cathedra Petri*, Giovanni Battista Gaulli’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* in the ceiling of the Gesù, and Andrea Pozzo’s *Glorification of St. Ignatius* in Sant’Ignazio. Other art historians have expressed similar ideas; Beverly Louise Brown has written about Veronese’s altarpieces for San Benedetto Po, near Mantua, saying, “These altarpieces are indicative of the growing need by Catholic reformers for religious images that would affirm the Roman Church’s triumph over Protestantism. They are, in short, images of the Church Triumphant.”⁹⁴³ Yet another example comes from John Barber’s *The Road from Eden: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, in which he directly connects Jesuit art of the seventeenth century, particularly Jean-Baptist Theodon’s *Triumph of Faith over Idolatry* and Pierre Le Gros the Younger’s *Religion Overthrowing Heresy and Hatred*, both

acceptability, not only as unbelievers, but as representatives of a hostile Ottoman Empire that constituted a military threat to the Kingdom of Naples and for its part hosted a lively trade in Christian slaves. In their submission they represented the defeat offered, while the possibility of their salvation demonstrated the universality of Christian redemption. For the rulers of Naples, both clerical and lay, the conversion and assimilation into society of a Muslim slave was a victory full of symbolism that embodied the highest values of the Catholic Church and the Spanish monarchy.” Mazur, “Combating ‘Muslim Indecency,’” 28.

⁹⁴² Robert Engass, *The Painting of Baciccio* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964).

⁹⁴³ Beverly Louise Brown, “Veronese and the Church Triumphant: The Altarpieces for San Benedetto Po,” *Artibus et Historiae* 18, no. 35 (1997): 51.

installed in the chapel dedicated to St. Ignatius of Loyola in the Gesù, with the mindset of the Church Triumphant.⁹⁴⁴ Paolo de' Matteis's vault fresco in San Francesco Saverio could be described in the same terms, especially since it has much in common thematically and compositionally with Gaulli's Gesù ceiling. Both feature golden light erupting from the monogram of Christ or the dove of the Holy Spirit; they show the blessed bathed in this light, while the damned tumble down into hell, tormented with horrors like the snakes that wrap around the limbs of several of the figures in De Matteis's painting. Gaulli's, of course, is much more illusionistic than De Matteis's, in which the figures remain confined within their frame. De Matteis spent the early years of his career in Rome, before returning to Naples on the occasion of the investiture of his patron Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán as viceroy in 1683 and clearly, had seen Gaulli's newly completed ceiling of the Gesù, which was unveiled to acclaim in 1679.⁹⁴⁵ Unlike Gaulli's painting, however, De Matteis's ceiling contains an image of defeated Islam, the prophet Muhammad with his followers tumbling down into hell, making the entire fresco an active participant in this discourse of the Church victorious over Islam.

However, the definition of "the Church Triumphant" provided by the art historians cited above ignores the important theological meaning that this phrase had in the

⁹⁴⁴ John Barber, *The Road from Eden: Studies in Christianity and Culture* (Palo Alto, CA: Academia Press, 2008), 295.

⁹⁴⁵ The revised edition of Filippo Titi's guide to Roman churches provides one example of the praise given to the ceiling: "Nel mezzo del voltone della Chiesa si vede espresso con quantità di figure: *In Nomine Iesu omne genuflectatur*: con la medesima prontezza, colorito, e studio diligente, in particolare nelle figurine infernali, che in effetto pare che precipitino dalla detta volta gran gusto à Roma per hauer portato fuori con sollecitudine vn'opera, che pareua richiesdesse quasi l'està de vn'huomo." Filippo Titi, *Ammaestramento utile e curioso di pittura, scultura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma, palazzi Vaticano...* (Rome: Giuseppe Vannacci, 1686), 154-55. See also François Deseine, *Description de la ville de Rome* (Lyon: Jean Thioly, 1690), 176-77. Later sources mention that there had been mixed opinions about Gaulli's ceiling when it was completed. See Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni...* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1730), 200-02. Raffaele Soprani and Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti genovesi*, vol. 1 (Bologna: Forni, 1797), 80-81.

seventeenth century. Instead of describing a geopolitical state of affairs,⁹⁴⁶ the Church Triumphant is actually related to the doctrine of the communion of saints (*communio sanctorum*), “the spiritual solidarity which binds together the faithful on earth, the souls in purgatory, and the saints in heaven in the organic unity of the same mystical body under Christ its head, and in a constant interchange of supernatural offices.”⁹⁴⁷ The Church Militant, the Church Suffering, and the Church Triumphant are the three bodies of the communion of saints, comprised of living Catholics on earth, souls in Purgatory, and the saints in heaven, respectively. These three components of Christ’s mystical body can interact with each other and with God, as described by Edith Turner:

The living of the Church Militant pray to God and to members of the Church Triumphant on behalf of the members of the Church Suffering, and to God in honor of the saints. The saints intercede with God for the suffering and the living. The suffering, the souls in purgatory, pray to God and the saints for others.⁹⁴⁸

By ignoring this specific theological relationship between the Church Triumphant and the communion of saints, the art historians cited above are disregarding an important element of early modern Catholic religiosity and negating the agency of images with such content to communicate ideas related to the mystical body of Christ, salvation, and saintly

⁹⁴⁶ While it is true that Catholic authors of the late seventeenth-century did think of Roman Catholicism as being in a newly strengthened and victorious position vis-à-vis Protestantism and Islam, they did not use the phrase “Church Triumphant” to describe this state of affairs. For example, Jesuit author Nicolò Maria Pallavicino titled his book, which describes the recent triumphs of Catholic states over the Ottoman Empire, *The Modern Prosperity of the Catholic Church against Islam (Le modern prosperità della Chiesa Cattolica contro il Maccomettismo)*. Nicolò Maria Pallavicino, *Le moderne prosperità della Chiesa Cattolica contro il maccomettismo* (Rome: G.G. Komarek Boëmo, 1688). See also Thomas Michel, “Jesuit Writings on Islam in the Seventeenth Century,” *Islamochristiana* 15 (1989): 76-82. Emanuele Colombo, “Jesuits and Islam in Seventeenth-Century Europe: War, Preaching, and Conversions,” in *L'Islam visto da occidente: Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all'Islam*, ed. Bernard Heyberger, et al. (Genoa: Marietti, 2009), 316.

⁹⁴⁷ Joseph Sollier, “The Communion of Saints,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company 1908).

⁹⁴⁸ “It is held, though, that the holy souls of purgatory ‘cannot effectively intercede for the living until their ‘temporal punishment’ is over.” Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 159.

intercession.⁹⁴⁹ For example, if we interpret Paolo de Matteis's nave fresco in San Francesco Saverio solely as an expression of the newly confident and renewed Roman Catholic church of the late seventeenth century, we risk overlooking that this fresco was intended to speak to the heterogeneous population of Naples about the rewards of joining the Church Militant and the penalty of ignoring Christian truth.

Fundamentally, Paolo de' Matteis fresco is an image of the interaction between the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant. Sts. Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Borgia, Francis Xavier, and the Jesuit martyrs of Japan, kneeling on clouds and surrounded by angels, *are* the Church Triumphant, the saints in heaven, to which the Church Suffering and Church Militant pray for intercession. The representatives of the four continents, engaged in fervent prayer to the Jesuit saints, embody recent converts to the increasingly global Catholic Church who now have access to recourse from the Church Triumphant by virtue of their baptism into the Church Militant. The damned figures below, by contrast, resolute in their heresy, are denied the aid, succor, and salvation that can be provided by the saints in heaven. In this way, De Matteis combines triumphal imagery with images meant to inspire fear, creating a work of art that functions as a companion to Jesuit sermons on the Neapolitan mission, which often featured vivid descriptions of hellfire and eternal punishment, a tactic that Bartolomé Bennassar has described as the "pedagogy of fear."⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁹ Barbara Haeger's essay about the façade of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp is the only art historical study I know to critically engage with the doctrine of the communion of saints. She writes that the "façade demonstrates that it is only by entering the Church Militant, by becoming a faithful member of the Catholic community that one can enter the Church Triumphant, that is, the Kingdom of Heaven." Barbara Haeger, "The Façade of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp: Representing the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant," in *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008), 97.

⁹⁵⁰ Bartolomé Bennassar, "Modelos de la mentalidad inquisitorial: Métodos de su pedagogía del miedo," in *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial*, ed. Angel Alcalá (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984), 174-82. See also Mazur, "Combating 'Muslim Indecency'," 37. Colombo, "Infidels' at Home," 201.

Jesuits, despite their reputation for accommodation and adaptation, did not avoid more forceful language and were known to warn the unconverted of the dangers of hell and the suffering that they would experience after death, if they did not accept Christ as their savior. Paolo de Matteis's image of the unrepentant heretics tumbling down into hell clearly qualifies as a visual component of this "pedagogy of fear."⁹⁵¹

As Evonne Levy has shown, "Propaganda is often a mark of insecurity,"⁹⁵² and Paolo de Matteis's nave vault fresco is no different. The figure of Muhammad in the painting would surely continue to strike terror in the hearts of Neapolitans who lived in dread of continued Barbary pirate raids or a resurgence in Ottoman military attacks, which were largely abandoned after the empire's defeat at Vienna in 1683. Even after this triumph for Christendom, the Ottomans were still viewed as a threat. For example, in 1688, the Jesuit Nicolò Maria Pallavicino described Ottoman Empire as a "dragon [that would] devour the Christian provinces."⁹⁵³ He also decried the heterogeneity of the Christian world, noting that the presence of heretics (i.e. Lutherans and Calvinists) and other rebels in Europe only aided the Ottomans in destroying Christendom.⁹⁵⁴ Neapolitans remained especially afraid of the possibility of being attacked by Muslim forces, viewing a victory by any force of Islam as a weakening of Catholicism. Miracles in which saints healed victims who had suffered physical injuries from pirate raids or prevented these attacks from

⁹⁵¹ Bennassar, "Modelos de la mentalidad inquisitorial," 174-82. See also Mazur, "Combating 'Muslim Indecency'," 37. Colombo, "'Infidels' at Home," 201.

⁹⁵² Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 117.

⁹⁵³ Pallavicino, *Le moderne prosperità* 186. Michel, "Jesuit Writings on Islam," 78.

⁹⁵⁴ "... così nel Mondo politico del Cristianesimo non mancano mai Eretici, o ribelli, che porgano alimento confacente: che induchino il Dragone Maccomettano a diuorar le Prouincie Cristiane." Pallavicino, *Le moderne prosperità* 186. Michel, "Jesuit Writings on Islam," 78.

happening were widely publicized by the Church, often in the same sermons that decried Turks, Jews, heretics, and unorthodox practitioners of superstition as followers of Satan, doing his bidding by spreading evil in the world.⁹⁵⁵ In other words, religious heterogeneity was seen as the root cause of all of the disastrous crises that plagued not only Naples, but all of Latin Christendom in the early modern period. Paolo de' Matteis's fresco is therefore a warning to the Neapolitan Spanish elite of the danger their unconverted slaves posed to the Kingdom, as well as an invitation to Muslims in Naples to abandon their heretical religion and join the Church Militant. The benefit for these converts would be access to the intercessory powers of saints like Francis Xavier, as displayed in the tribune vault fresco. For Jesuits in the early modern period, art was a tool of persuasion, wielded by missionaries in their endeavor to eliminate global religious difference. When the Jesuit order arrived in Naples, they found a windfall of potential converts including prostitutes, superstitious peasants, and a sizable population of Muslim Ottoman slaves. The decoration of the Church of San Francesco Saverio discussed here – Luca Giordano's altarpiece and Paolo de Matteis's tribune and nave vault frescoes – thematizes the transformation of heterodoxy into orthodoxy through the miraculous powers of Jesuit saints. St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit missionary par excellence, is promoted as a universal saint who could alleviate all ills, reflecting Jesuit and Spanish viceregal efforts to channel Neapolitan devotion into centralized Vatican-sanctioned cults promoted by the Spanish monarchy. Those who have accepted Christ, like the converted kings in the Giordano altarpiece, have the ability to call upon the intercessory powers of Xavier and the other Jesuit saints depicted in the nave vault fresco, while those who continue to lead heretic lives will be punished. Religious

⁹⁵⁵ Sodano, *Il miracolo nel Mezzogiorno*, 250-51.

homogeneity is promoted as ideal in all of these images. Fostered by the king of Spain, the Jesuits' efforts to create an orthodox religious environment in the Kingdom of Naples are lauded as the key to bringing about the triumph of the Catholic Church. Concurrently, the nave vault proclaims the dangers of continued religious heterogeneity, visualizing a fear that the religious Others present in Naples would continue to act as agents of Satan, bringing discord and crisis to a kingdom mired in dangerous heterodoxy.

6.0 EPILOGUE

In 1844, the French novelist Eugène Sue began writing a serialized novel that would eventually reach 1400 pages in length. The title, *Le juif errant*, or *The Wandering Jew*, reveals very little about the plot of the novel; one would never expect that the story is largely concerned with scheming, conniving Jesuits dedicated to destroying the lives of the descendants of a French Huguenot family, the Renneponsts, and ultimately, stealing their fortune. The Jesuit priests engage in all kinds of nefarious behaviors, including stealthily tattooing a sleeping member of the Rennepont family with the emblem of an order of assassins so that he is mistakenly thrown in prison and misses his boat to Paris where he was to claim his inheritance. One of the illustrations from this novel represents the main antagonist, the Jesuit priest Father Rodin, embracing a giant globe marked with a cross, his claw-like hands grasping the sphere greedily, his body spread over the globe lasciviously as he gazes slyly at the viewer. Father Rodin is clearly the antithesis of St. Francis Xavier, the heroic exemplar to whom this study has been dedicated. While Xavier gave away all his worldly possessions and insisted on wearing a single robe until it wore out, Father Rodin ruined lives to seek earthly treasure. While Rodin sought to control the world for the love of power for power's sake, Xavier wanted to win the world for God. Despite all of the paintings, prints, and sculptures that propagated such a devout, pious, and miraculous image of St. Francis Xavier and other Jesuit saints all over the world, by the mid-nineteenth

century, “Jesuit” had become a colloquial term meaning a crafty, disingenuous person who cared only for their own interests. The image of Father Rodin, rather than Francis Xavier, became the stereotypical image of the Jesuit in the modern mind.

In the end, the image of the scheming self-interested Jesuit was just as powerful as the image of the model missionary that has been presented in the preceding chapters. Just as representations of St. Francis Xavier could effect change worldwide, working for almost two centuries to create a community of people that spanned the globe, all connected through their devotion to the Catholic cult of saints, the image of Xavier’s opposite, the calculating, treacherous Jesuit, in the context of the Enlightenment and the dawn of modernity, had the power to destroy the global Jesuit order.

This dissertation has been about the power of images. I have shown that Xaverian representations are not just passive reflections of their cultural and historical contexts, but actually performed vital cultural work, especially in early modern cultural contact zones where groups of people with different languages and worldviews were attempting to initiate or sustain relationships across cultural divides. At the same time, I have demonstrated that the study of visual culture can open up new avenues of exploration in the field of world history. I have provided insights into the ways that global phenomena like colonialism, missionary activity, empire building and destruction, and religious schism affected lives and demonstrated that early modern Catholics looked to images of St. Francis Xavier to solve problems that resulted from the new tensions and stresses of early modern life in an increasingly interconnected world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources - Biographies and Hagiographies of St. Francis Xavier

- Aguilar, Laurencio. *Sermón panegirico que el M. R. Padre Laurencio de Aguilar...predicó en la Santa Metropolitana, y Apostolica Iglesia el dia tres de diziembre, en que se celebrou la fiesta de S. Francisco Xabier*. Granada: Francisco de Ochoa, 1675.
- Alberti, Giovanni Andrea. *Enneade panegirica detta a San Francesco Saverio*. Bologna: Zenero 1650.
- Aldovera y Monsalve, Jerónimo de. *Discursos en las fiestas de los santos que la iglesia celebra sobre los Evangelios*. Zaragoza: Juan de Larumbe, 1627.
- Balza, Francisco. *Sermón que predicó el doctor Francisco Balza Canónigo penitenciario de la Sant Iglesia de Seville... en la solemne festividad que la casa profesa de la Compañia de Jesús celebró a la beatificación del bienaventurado y glorioso padre Francisco Javier*. Seville: Juan Serrano de Vargas y Ureña 1620.
- Bardi, Girolamo. *Il Pellegrino moribondo ovvero divozione da praticarsi per ottenere una santa morte con l'intercessione di S. Francsco Saverio Apostolo dell'India*. Rome: [n.p.], 1663.
- Bartoli, Daniello. *De vita et gestis S. Franciscii Xaverii e Societate Iesu*. Leiden: [n.p.], 1666.
- . *Dell'Istoria della compagnia de Gesù: Il Giappone, seconda parte, Dell'Asia, libro quinto*. Viterbo: Giacinto Marietti, 1825.
- Berlanga, Cristóbal. *El apóstol de las Indias y nuevas gentes, San Francisco Javier de la Compañia de Jesús: epitome de sus apostólicos hechos, virtudes, y milagros*. Valencia: [n.p.], 1698.
- Bouhours, Dominique. *La vie de Saint François Xavier de la Compagnie de Jesús, Apôtre des Indes et du Japon*. Paris: [n.p.], 1683.
- . *The Life of St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus, Apostle of India*. Philadelphia: E. Cummiskey, 1841.
- Cinami, Leonardo. *Vita e Morte del Padre Marcello Francisco Mastrilli della Compagnia di Giesù*. Viterbo: [n.p.], 1645.

- Companhia de Jesus, Província Portuguesa. *Relações das sumptuosas festas, com que a Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Portugal celebrou a canonização de S. Ignacio de Loyola, e S. Francisco Xavier*. Lisbon: Livraria d'Alcobaça, 1622.
- Correa, Gaspar. *Lendas da Índia*. Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1858-1866.
- Della Valle, Pietro. *Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle il pellegrino con minuto raguaglio di tutte le cose notabili osseuate in essi, descritti da lui medesimo in 54. lettere familiari, da diuersi luoghi della intrapresa peregrinatione, mandate in Napoli all'erudito ... suo amico Mario Schipano. Diuisi in tre parti, cioè, la Turchia; la Persia, e l'India*. Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1663.
- . *The Pilgrim: The Travels of Pietro della Valle*. Translated by George Bull. London: Hutchinson, 1989.
- García, Francisco. *Vida y milagros de San Francisco Xavier de la Compañía de Jesús, Apóstol de las Indias*. Madrid: Marcos Alvarez de Arellano, 1672.
- Gonçalez, Francisco Ramon. *Sacro monte Parnaso de las musas catolicas de los reynos de España: En elogio del prodigio de dos mundos*. Valencia: Francisco Mestre, 1687.
- Gonçalves, Sebastião. *Primeira parte da historia dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus*. Coimbra: Atlântida, 1957.
- Grumsel, Gérard. *Mechlinia illustrata luce miraculum S. Francisci Xaverii*. Mechelen: Linstsii, 1666.
- Guzmán, Luis de. *Historia de las misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañía de Iesus para predicar el sancto Euangelio en la India Oriental y en los reinos de la China y Japón*. Alcalá: Biuda de Iuan Gracian, 1601.
- Lecina, Mariano, ed. *Monumenta Xaveriana: Sancti Francisci Xaverii epistolas aliaque scripta complectens, quibus praemittitur ejus vita a P. Alexandro Valignano, S. J. ex India Romam missa*. Vol. 16, Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu. Matriti: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1899-1900.
- , ed. *Monumenta Xaveriana: Scripta varia de sancto Francisco Xaverio*. Vol. 43, Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu. Matriti: Typis Augustini Avrial, 1912.
- Lucena, João de. *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizeram na India os mais religiosos da Companhia de Iesu*. Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1600.
- . *Vita del B.P. Francesco Xavier della Compagnia de Giesu*. Translated by Lodovico Mansoni. Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1613.
- Massei, Giuseppe. *Vita di San Francesco Saverio della Compagnia de Giesù, Apostolo dell'Indie*. Rome: Ignatio de' Lazzeri, 1681.

- Mastrilli, Marcello. *Relacam de HVM prodigioso milagre: que o glorioso S. Francisco Xauier, Apostolo do Oriẽte, obrou na cidade de Napeles no anno de 1634*. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1989.
- Monforte y Herera, Fernando. *Relacion de las fiestas que ha hecho el Colegio Imperial de la Compañia de Jesus de Madrid en la canonizacion de San Ignacio de Loyola, y S. Francisco Xavier*. Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1622.
- Natoli, Francesco. *Delle gratie e miracoli operati dall'apostolo dell'Indie S. Francesco Saverio in Podami, terra di Calabria*. Genoa: Benedetto Guasco, 1654.
- Ortiz, Lorenzo. *El príncipe del mar, San Francisco Javier*. Cádiz: Christóbal Requena, 1688.
- Palma, Francesco. *Raccolta di Miracoli de Grazie prodigiose operate specialmente coll'acqua benedetta colle Reliquie di San Francesco Saverio in questi ultimi anni per lo più nelle sacre missioni*. Naples: [n.p], 1731.
- Paolucci, Scipione. *Missioni de padri della Compagnia di Gesù nel Regno di Napoli*. Naples: Secondino Roncagliolo, 1651.
- Peralta Calderón, Mathias de. *El Apóstol de las Indias y Nuevas Gentes San Francisco Javier de la Compañia de Jesús*. Pamplona: Gaspar Martínez, 1665.
- Pinto, Fernão Mendes. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*. Translated by Rebecca D. Catz. Edited by Rebecca D. Catz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Ragguaglio della miracolosa protezione di San Francesco Saverio verso la citta e il Regno di Napoli nel contagio*. Naples: Pietro Palombo, 1743.
- Ramirez, Diego. *Relación de un prodigioso milagro que San Francisco Javier, Apóstolo de la India, ha hecho en la ciudad de Nápoles este año de 1643*. Pamplona: Pliegos volandero del GRISO, 2003.
- Regnard, Valérien. *S. Francisci Xaverii Ind: apli Societ: Iesv: qvædã miracvla*. Rome: [n.p.], 1622.
- Ribadeneira, Pedro de. *The Life of B. Father Ignatius of Loyola*. Translated by W.M. Saint-Omer: English College Press, 1616.
- Ribadeneira, Pedro de, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, and Francisco García. *R.P. Pedro de Ribadeneyra... Flos Sanctorum: Sexta parte: En que se contienen las vidas de los Santos, que pertenecen a los meses de Noviembre, y Diziembre*. Madrid: Don Gabriel del Barrio, 1716.
- Ribadeneyra, Pedro de, Cándido de Dalmases, Dionysius Fernández Zapico, and Ignatius of Loyola. *Monumenta Ignatiana. Series quarta. Scripta de S. Ignatio. Fontes narrativi de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis*. Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1943-1965.

- Schurhammer, Georg, and Josef Wicki, eds. *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*. 2 vols, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, vol. 67-68. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1944-1945.
- Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*. Florence: Ex Typographia a SS. Conceptione, 1887.
- Sopranis, Giovanni Girolamo. *Compendio della vita di S. Francesco Saverio della Compagnia de Gesù*. Roma: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1922.
- Sousa, Francisco de. *Oriente Conquistado*. Porto: Lello e Irmão Editores, 1978.
- Stafford, Ignacio. *Historia de la celestial vocation: Misiones apostolicas y gloriosa muerte del Padre Marcello Francisco Mastrilli*. Lisbon: [n.p.], 1939.
- Strada, Famiano. *Saggio delle feste che si apparecchiano nel Collegio Romano in honore de' Santi Ignatio et Francesco da N.S. Gregorio XV canonizati*. Rome: Alessandro Zannetti, 1622.
- Teixeira, Manuel. *Vida del bienaventurado padre Francisco Javier*. Buenos Aires: Grupo de Editoriales Catolicas, 1945.
- Torre, Francisco de la. *El peregrino Atlante S. Francisco Javier, apóstol del oriente. Epitome histórico y panegírico de su vida y prodigios*. Valencia: [n.p.], 1670.
- . *El peregrino Atlante S. Francisco Javier, apóstol del oriente. Epitome histórico y panegírico de su vida y prodigios*. Lisbon: [n.p.], 1674.
- Torsellino, Orazio. *De vita Francisci Xaverii qui primus è Societate Iesu in India, & Iaponia evangelium promulgavit*. Rome: Gabiana, 1594.
- . *De vita Francisci Xaverii. Qui primus e Societate Iesu in Indiam & Iaponiam evangelium invexit*. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596.
- . *De vita Francisci Xaverii: qui primus è Societate IESV in Indiam, & Iaponiam Euangelium inuexit*. Antwerp: Ioachimi Trognaesij, 1596.
- . *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier de la Compania de Jesus, primero Apostol del Japon y segundo de la India y de outras Provincias del Oriente*. Translated by Pedro de Guzman. Pamplona: Carlos de Labayen, 1620.
- . *The Admirable Life of S. Francis Xavier*. Translated by T.F. Paris: English College Press, 1632.
- Vieyra, Antonio de. *Todos sus sermones y obras diferentes que de su original portuguès se han traducido en castellano*. Barcelona: Juan Piferrer, 1734.
- Villacastín, Tomás de. *Compendio da vida, virtudes, e milagres do Beato Padre Francisco Xavier, religioso da Companhia de Jesu Apostolo da Índia Oriental. Traduzida de Castelhana em Portugues, por Diogo Mõteiro, natural desta cidade de Lisboa. Ao Illustrissimo S. D. Miguel*

de Castro, Arcebispo Metropolitano desta cidade de Lisboa. Translated by Diogo Mõteiro. Lisbon: António Alvares, 1620.

Xavier, Francis. *Francisci Xaverii Epistolarum libri quattuor. Ab Horatio Tursellino e Societate Iesu in Latinum conversi ex Hispano...* Translated by Orazio Torsellino. Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1596.

———. *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier.* Translated by M. Joseph Costelloe. St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992.

Xavier, Francis and Félix Zubillaga. *Cartas y escritos de San Francisco Javier.* Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1968.

Other Primary Sources

Araldo, Giovan Francesco, and Francesco Divenuto. *Napoli, l'Europa, e la Compagnia di Gesù nella 'Cronica' di Giovan Francesco Araldo.* Naples: Edizioni scientifiche napoletane, 1998.

Baldinucci, Filippo. *Vita del cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino scvltore, architetto, e pittore.* Florence: Vincenzio Vangelisti, 1682.

Baldinucci, Francesco Saverio. *Vite di artisti dei secoli XVII-XVIII.* Rome: De Luca, 1975.

Bergeron, Pierre. *Voyage de Pierre Bergeron ès Ardennes, Liège, et Pays-Bas en 1619.* Liège: L. Grandmont-Donders, 1875.

Bernier, François. *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-1668.* Translated by Irving Brock. Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1891.

Bobadillae monumenta; Nicolai Alphonsi de Bobadilla, sacerdotis e Societate Jesu. Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu. Madrid: Gabrielis Lopez del Horno, 1913-.

Bocarro, António *O livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do estado da India Oriental.* Lisbon: Impr. Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992.

Bolland, Johannes, Godefridus Henschenius, and Jean de Tollenaer. *Imago Primi Saecvli Societatis Iesv: A Provincia Flandro-Belgica Eivsdem Societatis Repraesentata.* Antwerp Moretus, 1640.

Bonacina, Carlo Mauro. "Ristretto dell'avvenuto nella fabrica della Cappella del nostro santo padre Ignatio nella Chiesa della Casa Professa della Compagnia di GIESÙ di Roma." Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), [n.d].

Bonis, Carlo de. *Vita del venerabile Padre Francesco di Geronimo della Compagnia de Gesù.* Naples: Muzi, 1747.

- Bulifon, Antonio. *Giornale del viaggio d'Italia del l'invittissimo e glorisissimo monarca Filippo V re de Spagne di Napoli*. Naples: Niccolò Bulifoni, 1703.
- Camões, Luís de. *The Lusiads*. Translated by William C. Atkinson. London: Penguin Books, 1952.
- Campanella, Tommaso. "La Città del Sole." In *Storia della letteratura italiana*, edited by Francesco De Sanctis, 1-43. Torino: Einaudi, 1996.
- Castellino, Luca. *Elucidarium theologicum de certitudine gloriae sanctorum canonizatorum. Sacrorum Scripturarum, Pontificum, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, celeberrimorumque Doctorum, monumentis locupletatum. In quo ad gloriam, beatificationem, canonizationem, venerationem, atque miracula sanctorum spectantia, clara methodo explicantur*. Rome: Guilelmi Facciotti, 1628.
- Celano, Carlo. *Delle notizie del bello, dell' antico, e del curioso dell città di Napoli*. 10 vols. Naples: Giacomo Raillard, 1692.
- Celano, Carlo, and Giovanni Battista Chiarini. *Notizie del bello dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli*. Naples: L. Chiurazzi, 1870.
- Chrysostom, John. "Homily on the Statues." Translated by W.R.W Stephens. In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, edited by Philip Schaff. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1889.
- Confourto, Domenico. *Giornali di Napoli dal 1679 al 1699*. 2 vols. Naples: Lubrano, 1930-1931.
- Costa, Felix da. *Antiquity of the Art of Painting*. Translated by George Kubler. Edited by George Kubler. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.
- D'Afflitto, Luigi. *Guida per i curiosi e per i viaggiatori che vengono all città di Napoli*. Naples: Chianese, 1834.
- D'Engenio Caracciolo, Cesare. *Napoli sacra di D. Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo*. Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1624.
- D'Onofrio, Vincenzo. *Giornali di Napoli dal MCCLX al MCCLXXX*. Naples: Società napoletana di stora patria, 1934-.
- De Dominici, Bernardo. *Vita del Cavaliere D. Luca Giordano, pittore napoletano*. Naples: Francesco Ricciardi, 1729.
- . *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti napoletani*. Naples: [n.p.], 1743.
- Del Migliore, Ferdinando Leopoldo. *Firenze, città nobilissima illustrata*. Florence: Forni, 1684.

- Dentice, Giacomo. *Vita e miracoli del glorioso San Gaetano*. Naples: Roncagliolo, 1655.
- Descamps, Jean-Baptiste. *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant*. Rouen: chez Desaint... 1769.
- Deseine, François. *Description de la ville de Rome*. Lyon: Jean Thioly, 1690.
- Erasmus, Desiderius. *The Praise of Folly*. Translated by Hoyt Hopewell Hudson. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Epistolae mixtae, ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae*. Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu. Rome: Matrini, 1898-1901.
- Franco, Antonio. *Synopsis annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania ab annis 1540 usque ad annum 1725*. [n.p.]: Augustae Vindelicorum et Graecii, 1726.
- Fryer, John. *A New Account of East-India and Persia in Eight Letters: Being Nine Years Travels Begun 1672 and Finished 1681*. London: R.R., 1698.
- Galanti, Giuseppe Maria, and Ferdinando Castiglia. *Breve descrizione della citta di Napoli e del suo contorno*. Naples: Gabinetti Letterario, 1792.
- Gallonio, Antonio. "De his quae prestari possunt non canonizatis." Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome, 1596.
- Gemelli-Careri, Giovanni Francesco. *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri*. Naples: Giuseppe Roselli, 1708.
- Giannone, Onofrio. *Giunte sulle vite de' pittori napoletani*. Naples: R. Deputazione di storia patria, 1941.
- Girardi, Felice. *Il Mercurio del decimosettimo secolo nel quale si contengono i fatti piu illustri succeduti nel mondo dal 1601 fino al 1650*. Naples: Giacinto Passaro, 1664.
- Gonçalves, Sebastião. "Report of Sebastião Gonçalves on the martyrs of Salsete, Goa." In *Monumenta Historica Societatus Iesu, Doc. Ind.*, 994. [n.p.]: [n.p.], 1609.
- Ignatius of Loyola. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus by Saint Ignatius of Loyola*. Translated by George E. Ganss. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970. 1540.
- . *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*. Translated by Elder Mullan. New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007. 1540.
- Jarric, Pierre du. *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales*. Vol. 1, Bordeaux: [n.p.], 1608.
- Kircher, Athanasius. *Ars magna lucis et umbrae in decem libros digesta: Quibus admirandae lucis et umbrae in mundo, atque adeo universa natura, vires effectusq. uti nova, ita varia novorum*

- reconditorumq. speciminum exhibitione, ad varios mortalium usus, panduntur.* Rome: Sumptibus Hermanni Scheus, 1646.
- Linschoten, Jan Huygen van. *Itinerarium, Ofte Schip-vaert naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien.* Amsterdam: Ghedruckt voor Everhardt Cloppenburch, 1644.
- Linschoten, Jan Huygen van. *The Voyage of J.H van Linschoten.* Translated by A.C Burnell. Vol. I, London: Hakluyt Society, 1885.
- Mastelloni, Andrea. *La prima chiesa dedicata a S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi....* Naples: G. Fasulo, 1675.
- Montesquieu. *Voyages de Montesquieu.* Bordeaux: G. Gounouilou, 1894.
- Montoya, Antonio Ruiz de *Conquista espiritual hecha por los Religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus en las provincias Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay, y Tape.* Madrid 1639.
- Nadal, Jerónimo. *Scholia in Constitutiones S.I.* edited by Manuel Ruiz Jurado Granada: Facultad de Teologia, 1976.
- Nau, Michel. *Religio christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa et probata.* Lutetiae Parisiorum: Apud Gabrielem Martinum, 1680.
- Nuova guida generale del Museo Nazionale di Napoli.* Naples: C.G. de Angelis e figlio, 1876.
- O'Malley, John W., ed. *Art, Controversy, and the Jesuits: The Imago Primi Saeculi* Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2015.
- Pallavicino, Nicolò Maria. *Le moderne prosperità della Chiesa Cattolica contro il maccomettismo.* Rome: G.G. Komarek Boëmo, 1688.
- Parrino, Domenico Antonio. *Teatro eroico, e politico de' gouerni de' vicere del regno di Napoli.* Naples: [n.p.], 1692.
- . *Nuova guida de' forastieri per osservare e godere a curiosità più vaghe... della fedelissima gran Napoli.* Naples Giuseppe Buono 1751.
- Pascoli, Lione. *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni....* Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1730.
- Pasquale, Nicolò. *A' posteri della peste di Napoli, e suo regno nell'anno 1656.* Naples: Luc'Antonio di Fusco, 1668.
- Picinelli, Filippo. *Mondo simbolico formato d'impresce scelte, spiegate ed illustrate... studiosi diporti dell'abbate D. Filippo Picinelli.* Venice Nicolò Pezzana, 1678.
- Porzio, Camillo. "Relazione del Regno di Napoli al Marchese di Mondesciar, Vicere di Napoli." In *La congiura dei baroni del Regno di Napoli contra il re Ferdinando Primo e gli altri scritti*, edited by Ernesto Pontieri. Naples Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1964.

- Puget de La Serre, Jean. *Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui c'est passé à l'entrée de la Reyne Mere du Roy treschestien dans les villes des Pays Bas*. Antwerp: L'imprimerie Plantinienne de Balthasar Moretus, 1632.
- Regio, Paolo. *Vite dei sette santi protettori di Napoli*. Aquila: Gioseppe Cacchij, 1573.
- Rego, António Silva, ed. *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português*. 2nd ed. Vol. VII. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1994.
- Ribadeneira, Pedro de "Vida del P. Francisco de Borja." In *Historias de la Contrarreforma*, edited by Eusebio Rey, ? Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1945.
- Richa, Giuseppe. *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine divise ne'suoi quartieri*. Vol. 5, Florence: Viviani, 1757.
- Rosweyde, Heribert, ed. *Vitae patrum*. Vol. X. Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1628.
- Rosweyde, Heribert, and Pedro de Riadeneyra. *The Lives of Saints: With Other Feasts of the Year, According to the Roman Calendar*. Translated by William Petre. Vol. 1, London: B.S., 1730.
- Rubens, Peter Paul. "Al benigno lettore." In *Palazzi di Genova*. Antwerp: Jan Van Meurs, 1622.
- . *Palazzi antichi di Genova, Palazzi moderni di Genova*. New York: Blom, 1968.
- Santalla, Tirso Gonzalez de. *Manuductio ad Conversionem Mahumetanorum: In duas partes divisa*. Madrid: Bernardi de Villa-Diego, 1687-1689.
- Sanz, Emmanuel. *Breve trattato nel quale con ragioni dimostrative si convincono manifestamente i Turchi....* Catania: Paolo Bisagni, 1691.
- Sarnelli, Pompeo. *Guida de' forestieri: Curiosi di vedere, e d'intendere le cose più notabili della regal città di Napoli, e del suo amenissimo disretto*. Naples: G. Roselli, 1697.
- Sassetti, Filippo. *Lettere da vari paesi, 1570-1588*. Milan: Longanesi & Co., 1970.
- Scannelli, Francesco. *Il microcosmo della pittura*. Cesena: Peril Neri 1657.
- Schinosi, Francesco, and Saverio Santagata. *Istoria della compagnia di Gesù appartenente al Regno di Napoli*. 4 vols Naples: Mutio and Mazzola, 1706-1757.
- Schroeder, Henry Joseph, ed. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1950.
- Sigismondo, Giuseppe. *Descrizione della città di Napoli e suoi borghi*. Naples: Terres, 1788.

- Soprani, Raffaele, and Carlo Giuseppe Ratti. *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti genovesi*. Bologna: Forni, 1797.
- Strada, Famianus. *Histoire de la guerre des Pays-Bas*. Translated by Pierre du Ryer. 2 vols. Brussels: Chez Simon t'Serstevens, 1727.
- Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste. *Travels in India*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1889.
- Thou, Jacques-Auguste de. *Histoire Universelle*. London: [n.p.], 1734.
- Titi, Filippo. *Studio di pittura, scoltura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma*. Rome: Mancini, 1674.
- . *Ammaestramento utile e curioso di pittura, scultura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma, palazzi Vaticano...* Rome: Giuseppe Vannacci, 1686.
- Varthema, Ludovico. *The Travels of Ludovico di Verthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1863.
- . *Itinerario di Ludovico Varthema*. Edited by Alberto Bacchi della Lega Bologna Gaetano Romagnoli 1885.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. Translated by Gaston DuC. Devere. New York: AMS Press, 1976.
- Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. Princeton: Princeton University, 2012.
- Wicki, Josef, and John Gomes, eds. *Documenta Indica*. Vol. 70-73. Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu. Rome: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, 1948.

Secondary Sources

- Ackx, Beatrix. "Mechelse doeken over Franciscus Xaverius." *Zeventiende eeuw* 14, no. 1 (1998): 95-105.
- Acton, Harld. *The Last Medici*. London: John Calmann and Cooper Ltd, 1980.
- Akbari, Suzanne Conklin. *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Alvin, L. *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre des trois frères Jean, Jérôme et Antoine Wierix*. Brussels: Arnold, 1866-1873.
- Ananthakrishnan, G. "Thomas's Visit Under Doubt." *Times of India*, December 26 2006.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Revised ed. London: Verso, 2006.

- Andueza Unanua, Pilar. "La vera effigies de San Francisco Javier: la creación de una imagen postridentina." In *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 96-119. Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.
- Añoberos Trias de Bes, Xabier. "Presentación iconográfica de San Francisco Javier en la Catedral y Museo Diocesano de Tuy." *Pórtico 2* (1994): 7-10.
- . "La vida de un santo contada a través de los siglos." In *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 50-73. Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.
- Antonucci, Valentina. "Il bordone e la candela: Lettura iconografica del dipinto di Antonio Verrio nella Pinacoteca di Lecce." *Kronos 13*, no. 2 (2009): 237-44.
- Arblaster, Peter. "The Archdukes and the Northern Counter-Reformation." In *Albert and Isabella, 1598-1621*, edited by Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas, 87-91. Turhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1998.
- Arellano, Ignacio. *Vida y aventuras de San Francisco Javier*. Pamplona: Fundación Diario de Navarra, 2005.
- , ed. *Sol, apóstol, peregrino: San Francisco Javier en su centenario*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2005.
- , ed. *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2007.
- . "América en las fiestas jesuitas celebraciones de San Ignacio y San Francisco Javier." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica 56*, no. 1 (2008): 53-86.
- Arellano, Ignacio, and Delio Mendonça, eds. *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008.
- Arnade, Peter. *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- L'art en Lorraine au temps de Jacques Callot*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992.
- Astarita, Tommaso. *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2005.
- Aston, T.H., ed. *Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660*. New York: Basic Books, 1965.
- Avelar, Ana Paula. "Da representação do "outro" no Códice Casanatense, ou como as representações visuais se aliam a uma cronística da expansão." *Anais de história de além-mar 13* (2012): 113-32.

- Azevedo, Carlos de. *Arte cristã na Índia portuguesa*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1959.
- Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- . "Le style jésuite n'existe pas': Jesuit Corporate Culture and the Visual Arts." In *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by John W. O'Malley, Gauvin A. Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy, 38-89. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- . "The Florentine Reformers and the Original Painting Cycle of the Church of S. Giovannino ". In *Spirit, Style, Story: Essays Honoring John W. Padberg*, edited by John W. Padberg and Thomas M. Lucas, 135-79. Chicago: Jesuit Way/Loyola Press, 2002.
- . *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- . "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting under the Jesuits and its Legacy throughout Catholic Europe." In *The Jesuits and the Arts*, edited by John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 125-98. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003.
- . "Jesuit Art and Architecture in Asia." In *The Jesuits and the Arts*, edited by John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 313-60. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003.
- Baldini, Umberto, Anna Maria Giusti, and Annapaula Pampaloni Martelli, eds. *La Cappella dei Principi e le pietre dure a Firenze*. Milan: Editoriale Electa, 1979.
- Baratta, Mario. *I terremoti d'Italia: Saggio di storia, geografia e bibliografia*. Torino: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1901.
- Barber, John. *The Road from Eden: Studies in Christianity and Culture*. Palo Alto, CA: Academia Press, 2008.
- Barker, Sheila. "Poussin, Plague, and Early Modern Medicine." *Art Bulletin* 86, no. 4 (2004): 659-89.
- Barnes, Susan J. and et al. *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Baroncini, Carmela. *Lorenzo Pasinelli, pittore (1629-1700): Catalogo generale*. Rimini: S. Pataconi, 1993.

- Bartoli, Lando. "I rapporti tra la Firenze dei Medici e l'India nella prima metà del XVII secolo: analisi di due culture." *Atti del XXV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte V* (1985): 57-63.
- Battisti, Alberta, ed. *Andrea Pozzo*. Milan: Luni, 1996.
- Baudouin, Frans. "Altars and Altarpieces before 1620." In *Rubens before 1620*. edited by J.R. Martin, 45-91. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- . *Rubens en zijn eeuw*. Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1972.
- . "De toren van de Sint-Carolus-Borromeuskerk te Antwerpen." *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen* 44 (1983): 16-56.
- . "Peter Paul Rubens and the Notion "Painter-Architect"." In *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, edited by Piet Lombaerde. Architectura Moderna, 15-36. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002.
- Bean, Jacob. *17th-Century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: H. Abrams, 1979.
- Becker, Jochen. "Hochmut kommt vor dem Fall: Zum Standbild Albas in der Zitadelle von Antwerpen, 1571-1574." *Simiolus* 5, no. 1/2 (1971): 75-115.
- Beckingham, C.F., and Bernard Hamilton. *Prester John, the Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes*. Aldershot, UK: Variorum, 1996.
- Begheyn, Paul. "The Collection of Copperplates by Members of the Wierix Family in the Jesuit Church 'Der Krijtberg' in Amsterdam." *Quaerendo* 31, no. 3 (2001): 192-204.
- Belkin, Kristin. *The Costume Book*. Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Brussels: Arcade, 1980.
- Bennassar, Bartolomé. "Modelos de la mentalidad inquisitorial: Métodos de su pedagogía del miedo." In *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial*, edited by Angel Alcalá, 174-82. Barcelona: Ariel, 1984.
- Berti, Luciano. *Il Principe del studiolo: Francesco I de' Medici e la fine del Rinascimento fiorentino*. Florence: Editrice Edam, 1967.
- Biancardi, Cleide Santos Costa. *Formas e funções nas Sacristias no Brasil-Colônia*. São Paulo: University of São Paulo, 1988.
- Bieneck, Dorothea. *Gerard Seghers, 1591-1651: Leben und Werk des Antwerpener Historienmalers*. Lingen: Luca Verlag, 1992.

- Bietenholz, Peter G., and Thomas Brian Deutscher. *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Blinkoff, Jodi. "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra." *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (1999): 180-96.
- Bindman, David, Jr. Henry Louis Gates, and Karen C. C. Dalton, eds. *The Image of the Black in Western Art*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Blaut, James M. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. New York: Guilford Press, 1993.
- Boccardo, Giuliana. *Napoli e l'Islam: storie di musulmani, schiavi e rinnegati in età moderna*. Naples: M. D'Auria, 2010.
- Bodian, Miriam. *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Boeckl, Christine M. "A New Reading of Nicolas Poussin's The Miracle of the Ark in the Temple of Dagon." *Artibus et Historiae* 24 (1991): 119-45.
- . "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' The Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 4 (1996): 979-95.
- . *Images of Plague and Pestilence: Iconography and Iconology*. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000.
- Bonaccorso, Maria Teresa, and Francesco Salvo. "La rosa celeste: ancora su Pietro Novelli." *Quaderni dell'Istituto di storia dell'arte medievale e moderna Facoltà di lettere e filosofia Università di Messina* 15 (1991): 73-96.
- Bono, Salvatore. "Schiavi Musulmani in Italia nell'età moderna." *Erdem* 3, no. 9 (1987): 829-38.
- Boogaart, Ernst van den. "Introduction". *Anais de história de além-mar* 13 (2012): 9-13.
- . "Civility and Sin: The Survey of the Peoples, Politics, and Religions of Portuguese Asia in the Codex Casanatense 1889." *Anais de história de além-mar* 13 (2012): 73-112.
- Boorsch, Suzanne. "America in Festival Processions." In *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, edited by Fred Chiapelli. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Borchmeyer, Dieter. "Gesamtkunstwerk." In *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1282-89. Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter, 1994-2007.

- Borges, Charles J., and Helmut Feldmann. *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co, 1997.
- Boucher, Bruce. *Italian Baroque Sculpture*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998.
- Bourassa, Paul. "La diffusion d'un thème iconographique dans l'art au Québec: la mort de saint François Xavier." *Journal of Canadian Art History* 10, no. 2 (1989): 120-52.
- Brading, D.A. *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867*. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Brewer, Keagan. *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015.
- Brodrick, James. "Encyclopaedic Biography." *Month* 15 (1956): 110-12.
- Brown, Beverly Louise. "Veronese and the Church Triumphant: The Altarpieces for San Benedetto Po." *Artibus et Historiae* 18, no. 35 (1997): 51-64.
- Brown, Peter R. *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Burgaleta, Claudio M. *José de Acosta, S.J., 1540-1600: His Life and Thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Burke, Peter. "The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello." *Past and Present* 99 (1983): 3-21.
- . "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint." In *The Counter-Reformation: Essential Readings*, edited by David Luebke, 130-42. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.
- . "The Crisis in the Arts of the Seventeenth Century: A Crisis of Representation?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 2 (2009): 239-61.
- Bury, Michael. *The Print in Italy*. London: British Museum, 2001.
- Buser, Thomas. "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome." *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976): 424-33.
- Bushart, Bruno, and Bernhard Rupprecht. *Cosmas Damian Asam, 1686-1739: Leben und Werk*. Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1986.
- Byrne, Joseph P. "Miasma Theory." In *Encyclopedia of the Black Death*, 235-36. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2012.
- Cabella, Alessandra. "Note sulla formazione e l'attività giovanile di Paolo Gerolamo Piola." *Bollettino dei Musei civici genovesi* 16, no. 47-49 (1994): 75-82.

- Calvi, Giulia. *Histories of a Plague Year: The Social and the Imaginary in Baroque Florence*. Translated by Dario Biocca and Bryant T. Ragan. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Camille, Michael. *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image Making in Medieval Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Canestro Chiovenda, Beatrice "La morte di S. Francesco Saverio di G.B. Gaulli e suoi bozzetti: Altre opere attribuite o inedite." *Commentari* 28, no. 4 (1977): 262-72.
- La canonizzazione dei Santi Ignazio di Loiola e Francesco Saverio*. Roma: Grafia, S.A.I. Industrie Grafiche, 1922.
- Cantone, Gaetana. "The City's Architecture." In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita, 331-59. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Carriò-Invernizzi, Diana. "Royal and Viceregal Art Patronage in Naples (1500-1800)." In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita, 383-404. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Carroll, Michael P. *Veiled Threats: The Logic of Popular Catholicism in Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Castelnau, Charlotte de. "Le spectacle de la mission: les fêtes de la canonisation d'Ignace de Loyola et de François Xavier au Brésil en 1622." In *Struggle for Synthesis: A obra de arte total nos séculos XVII e XVIII*, 429-40. Lisbon: Instituto português do património arquitectónico, 1999.
- Castets, Jean. *The Miracle of the Body of St. Francis Xavier*. Trichinopoly: Indian Catholic Truth Society, 1925.
- Cautela, Gemma , Leonardo Di Mauro, and Renato Ruotolo. *Napoli sacra: Guida alle chiese della città*. Naples: Elio de Rosa, 1993-.
- Chastel, André. "The Chapel of the Princes." *FMR* 22 (1986): 100-10.
- Chatellier, Louis. "La fête comme mission dans les villes entre Rhin-Moselle-Mer du Nord : l'exemple des cérémonies en l'honneur de la canonisation de saint Ignace de Loyola et de saint François Xavier en juillet 1622." In *Bürgertum und Kunst in der Neuzeit*, edited by Hans-Ulrich Thamer. Cologne: Böhlau, 2002.
- Chiarini, M. *Artisti alla corte granducale*. Florence: Centro Di, 1969.
- Chiarini, M., and F.J. Cummings, eds. *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670-1743*. Florence: Centro Di, 1974.
- Christian, William A. *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

- Clark, Kenneth. "Provincialism." English Association Lecture. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Clarke, A. M. *The Life of St. Francis Borgia of the Society of Jesus*. London: Burns and Oates, 1894.
- Clavijo García, Agustín. *Juan Niño de Guevara y su obra en la catedral de Málaga*. Málaga: Málaga Caja de Ahorros Provincial, 1975.
- Clifton, James. "Jesuits, Theatines, and Mattia Preti's Frescoes for the city Gates of Naples." *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano* (1986): 103-10.
- . "Mattia Preti's Frescoes for the City Gates of Naples." *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (1994): 479-501.
- . "Art and Plague at Naples." In *Hope and Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague*, edited by Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Pamela M. Jones, Franco Mormando and Thomas W. Worcester. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Clooney, Francis X. "Roberto de Nobili's Dialogue on Eternal Life and an Early Jesuit Evaluation of Religion in South India." In *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by John W. O'Malley, Gauvin A. Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2000.
- Clossey, Luke. *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Colombo, Emanuele. *Convertire i musulmani: L'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo del Seicento*. Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2007.
- . "Jesuits and Islam in Seventeenth-Century Europe: War, Preaching, and Conversions." In *L'Islam visto da occidente: Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all'Islam*, edited by Bernard Heyberger, Mercedes García-Arenal, Emanuele Colombo and Paola Vismara, 315-40. Genoa: Marietti, 2009.
- . "A Muslim Turned Jesuit: Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631-1667)." *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013): 479-504.
- . "'Infidels' at Home: Jesuits and Muslim Slaves in Seventeenth-Century Naples and Spain." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014).
- Conelli, Maria Ann. "The Gesù Nuovo in Naples: Politics, Property, and Religion." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1992.
- . "A Typical Patron of Extraordinary Means: Isabella Feltria della Rovere and the Society of Jesus." *Renaissance Studies* 18, no. 3 (2004): 412-36.

- Conforti, Claudia. "Cosimo III de' Medici patrono d'arte a Goa: La Tomba di S. Francesco Saverio di Giovan Battista Foggini." In *Lo specchio del principe: Mecantisimi paralleli: Medici e Moghul*, edited by Dalu Jones. Rome: Associazione Italia-India di Roma, 1991.
- Cooper, Michael. *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- Copeland, Clare. "Saints, Devotions and Canonisation in Early Modern Italy." *History Compass* 10, no. 3 (2012): 260-69.
- . "Sanctity." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, edited by Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven, 225-42. Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013.
- . "Spanish Saints in Counter-Reformation Italy." In *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Images of Iberia*, edited by Piers Baker-Bates and Miles Pattenden. Transculturalisms, 1400-1700, 103-23. Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015.
- Cornelison, Sally J. *Art and the Relic Cult of St. Antoninus in Renaissance Florence*. Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.
- Costelloe, M. Joseph. "In Memoriam: Georg Otto Schurhammer, SJ." In *Francis Xavier: His Life and Times*, II-XXXII. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973.
- Croce, Benedetto. "Sommaro critico della storia dell'arte nel napoletano I: Il Falsario." *Napoli nobilissima* 1 (1892): 12-144.
- Cuadriello, Jaime. "Xavier Indiano o los indios sin apóstol." In *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 200-33. Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.
- Cuzzocrea, S. "Francesco Curradi ovvero la pittura de devozione." *Paragone* 6 (1985): 107-29.
- D'Elia, Pasquale. "CAMES FOTOQUÈS AMIDA ET XACA: Kurze Bemerkgun zu einer römischen Barock-Inschrift." *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Alterstumkunde und Kirchengeschichte* 56 (1961): 78-80.
- D'Orey, Leonor. "Os tesouros indianos do Convento do Carmo da Vidigueira e da Graça em Lisboa." In *A Herança de Rauluchantim*, edited by Nuno Vassallo e Silva, 156-69. Lisbon: Museu de São Roque, 1996.
- Daelemans, Bert. "Pieter Huysens S.J. (1577-1637): An Underestimated Architect and Engineer." In *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, edited by Piet Lombaerde, 41-52. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.

- Dalmases, Cándido de. *Francis Borgia: Grandee of Spain, Jesuit, Saint*. Translated by Cornelius Michael Buckley. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1991.
- Dandele, Thomas. "'Celestiali eroi' e lo 'splendor d'Iberia:' La canonizzazione di santi spagnoli a Roma in età moderna." In *Il santo patrono e la città: San Benedetto il Moro: Culti, devozioni, strategie di età moderna*, edited by Giovanna Fiume. Venice: Marsilio, 2000.
- . *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Davidson, Peter. "The Jesuit Garden ". In *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by S.J. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 86-107. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Davis, Bruce William. *The Drawings of Ciro Ferri*. New York: Garland, 1986.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France." *Past and Present* 59 (1973): 51-91.
- . "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France: A Rejoinder." *Past and Present* 67 (1975): 131-35.
- De Feo, Vittorio, and Vittorio Martinelli, eds. *Andrea Pozzo*. Milan: Electa, 1996.
- De Maio, Romeo. "The Counter-Reformation and Painting in Naples." In *Painting in Naples 1606-1705: From Caravaggio to Giordano*, edited by Clovis Whitfield and Jane Martineau, 31-35. Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1982.
- . *Pittura e controriforma a Napoli*. Rome: Laterza, 1983.
- . "L'ideale eroico nei processi di canonizzazione della Controriforma ". In *Riforme e miti nella Chiesa del Cinquecento*, 253-72. Naples: Guida, 1992.
- De Martini, V. . "Introduzione allo studio di Paolo de Matteis." *Napoli nobilissima* 14 (1975): 209-28.
- Defert, Daniel. "Collections et nations au XVIe siècle." In *L'Amérique de Théodore de Bry: Une collection de voyages protestante du XVIe siècle*, edited by Michèle Duchet. Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987.
- Dehejia, Vidya, ed. *Delight in Design: Indian Silver for the Raj*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishin, 2008.
- Dekoninck, Ralph. "The Society of Spectacle: The Jesuits and the Visual Arts in the Low Countries." In *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540-1773)*, edited by Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis, 65-82. Leuven: Peeters, 2012.

- Delbeke, Maarten. *The Art of Religion: Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.
- Delooz, Pierre. "Towards a Sociological Study of Canonized Sainthood in the Catholic Church." In *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religion, Sociology, and History*, edited by Stephen Wilson, 189-216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Deslandres, Dominique. "Mission et altérité: Les missionnaires français et la définition de l'Autre au XVIIe siècle." In *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, edited by James Pritchard. Cleveland: French Colonial Historical Society, 1993.
- Dias, Pedro. *Arte indo-portuguesa: Capítulos da História*. Coimbra: Almedina 2004.
- Diaz Padron, Matías "Un lienzo de Jan Van Boeckhort en la colección del conde de Schönborn." *Archivo español de arte* 56, no. 223 (1983): 272-75.
- Diéz Torres, Julián. "Evidencia e imaginación históricas: La leyenda de Santo Tomás en la India y América." In *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, edited by Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendonça, 153-70. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008.
- Ditchfield, Simon. "How Not to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint: The Attempted Canonization of Pope Gregory X, 1622-1645." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 379-422.
- . *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . "Sanctity in Early Modern Italy." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47, no. 1 (1996): 98-112.
- . "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of the Saints." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, edited by R. Po-Chia Hsia, 201-43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . "Thinking with the Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World." *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 552-84.
- . "De-Centering the Catholic Reformation: Papacy and Peoples in the Early Modern World." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010): 186-208.
- Doggett, Rachel, ed. *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700*. Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1992.
- Dorival, Bernard. *Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1674: la vie, l'oeuvre, et le catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre*. Paris: L. Laget, 1976.

- Duchet, Michèle. "Le texte grave de Theodore de Bry." In *L'Amérique de Théodore de Bry: Une collection de voyages protestante du XVIIe siècle*, edited by Michèle Duchet. Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987.
- Duerloo, Luc. "Archducal Piety and Habsburg Power." In *Albert and Isabella, 1598-1621*, edited by Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas, 267-84. Turhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1998.
- Duke, Alastair. *The Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries*. New York: Continuum 2003.
- Eire, Carlos M. N. *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Elliot, J.H. "The Decline of Spain." In *Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660*, edited by Trevor Aston, 167-94. New York: Basic Books, 1965.
- Ellul, Jacques. *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. Translated by Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.
- Emiliani, Andrea, and August B. Rave. *Giuseppe Maria Crespi, 1665-1747*. Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1990.
- Engass, Robert. *The Painting of Baciccio*. Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964.
- Errichetti, Michele. "L'architetto Giuseppe Valeriano (1542-1596) progettista del Collegio Napoletano del Gesù Vecchio." *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 78 (1959): 325-52.
- . "La chiesa del Gesù Nuovo in Napoli: Note storiche." *Compania Sacra* 5 (1974): 34-75.
- . "L'antico Collegio Massimo dei Gesuiti." *Compania Sacra* 7 (1976): 170-264.
- Euler-Rolle, Bernd. "Das barocke Gesamtkunstwerk in Österreich - idealer Begriffe und historische Prozesse." *Kunsthistoriker Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Kunsthistoriker Verbandes* 2, no. 55-61 (1985).
- Evers, Hans Gerhard. *Peter Paul Rubens*. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1942.
- Fagiolo dell'Arco, Maurizio. *La festa barocca*. Rome: De Luca, 1997.
- Fagiolo dell'Arco, Maurizio, and Silvia Carandini. *L'effimero barocco: Strutture della festa nella Roma del '600*. Roma: Bulzoni, 1977.
- Fagiolo dell'Arco, Maurizio, and Francesco Petrucci. *Il Baciccio un anno dopo: la collezione Chigi: restauri e nuove scoperte*. Milan: Skira, 2001.

- Feitor, José António Neves. "O retábulo da capela de S. Francisco Xavier do antigo Colégio de Jesus de Coimbra e o escultor lisboeta Matias Rodrigues de Carvalho." *Munda* 29 (1995): 19-25.
- Fernández Gracia, Ricardo. Estampa, *Contrarreforma y Carmelo Teresiano: la colección de grabados de las Carmelitas Descalzas de Pamplona y Leonor de la Misericordia*. Pamplona: Caja de Ahorros y Monte Piedad de Navarra, 2004.
- . "Religioso camarín y aula de milagros: La santa capilla del castillo de Javier entre los siglos XVII y XIX." In *Sol, apóstol, peregrino: San Francisco Javier en su centenario*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, 287-323. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2005.
- , ed. *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*. Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.
- . "San Francisco Javier patrono: Imágenes para el taumaturgo de ambos mundos." In *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 155-99. Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.
- . *El fondo iconográfico del P. Schurhammer: La memoria de Javier en imágenes*. Pamplona: Cátedra de Patrimonio y Arte Navarro, 2006.
- . *San Francisco Javier, Patrono de Navarra: Fiesta, religiosidad, e iconografía*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2006.
- Fernando, Leonard, and G. Gispert-Sauch. *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*. New Delhi: Viking, 2004.
- Ferrari, Oreste, and Serenita Papaldo. *Le sculpture del Seicento a Roma*. Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 1999.
- Ferrari, Oreste, and Giuseppe Scavizzi. *Luca Giordano*. Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1966.
- . *Luca Giordano: Nuove ricerche e inediti*. Naples: Electa, 2003.
- Figueiredo, João Manuel Pacheco de. "São Francisco Xavier: Tentativa de um estudo médico-histórico." *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Classe de Ciências* 20 (1977): 93-122.
- Finucane, Ronald. "Saint-Making at the End of the Sixteenth Century: How and Why Jacek of Pland (d. 1257) Became St. Hyacinth in 1594." *Hagiographica* 9 (2002): 207-58.
- Fischer Pace, Ursula Verena "L'ultimo Pietro da Cortona nei suoi disegni." In *Pietro da Cortona: Atti del convegno internazionale Roma-Firenze*. Milan: Electa, 1998.
- Fiume, Giovanna. *Sciavitù mediterranee: Corsari, rinnegati, e santi de età moderna*. Milan: Bruno Mondadori 2009.

- Freedberg, David. "Johannes Molanus on Provocative Paintings: De Historia Sanctarum Imaginum et Picturarum, Book II, Chapter 42." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 229-45.
- . *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609*. New York: Garland, 1988.
- . *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- . "Painting and the Counter Reformation in the Age of Rubens ". In *The Age of Rubens*, edited by Peter Sutton. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993.
- Freedberg, Sydney. *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Frend, W.H.C. *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967.
- Fujita, Neil S. *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan*. New York: Paulist Press, 1991.
- Galante, Gennaro Aspreno. *Guida sacra della città di Napoli*. Naples: Stamperia del Fibreno, 1872.
- Galasso, Giuseppe. "Napoli nel Viceregno spagnolo dal 1648 al 1696 ". In *Storia di Napoli*. Naples: Cava dei Tirreni, 1970.
- . *L'Altra Europa: Per un'antropologia storica del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*. Milan: Mondadori, 1982.
- . "Society in Naples in the Seicento." In *Painting in Naples, 1606-1705: From Caravaggio to Giordano*, edited by Clovis Whitfield and Jane Martineau, 24-30. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1982.
- Garberson, Eric. "Historiography of the Gesamtkunstwerk." In *Struggle for Synthesis: A obra de arte total nos séculos XVII e XVIII*, 53-72. Lisbon: Instituto português do património arquitectónico, 1999.
- García Gutiérrez, Fernando. *San Francisco Javier: en el arte de España y Japón*. Seville: Guadalquivir, 1998.
- . "Iconografía de San Francisco Javier en Oriente." *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002): 279-301.
- . "Los grabadores flamencos de los siglos XVI y XVII y la Compañía de Jesús." *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 73, no. 145 (2004): 89-119.

- García Valdés, Celsa Carmen. "La Conquista Espiritual de Japón, Comedia jesuítica javeriana, y la perspectiva paulina de la evangelización." In *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta and Arnulfo Herrera, 35-58. Madrid: Iberamericana, 2007.
- Garstang, Donald. *Giacomo Serpotta and the Stuccatori of Palermo, 1560-1790*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1984.
- Gaudio, Michael. *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Gentilcore, David. "'Adapt Yourselves to the People's Capabilities': Missionary Strategies, Methods and Impact in the Kingdom of Naples, 1600-1800." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45, no. 2 (1994): 269-96.
- Giannatiempo, Maria. *Disegni di Pietro da Cortona e Ciro Ferri dalle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe*. Rome: De Luca, 1977.
- Ginzburg, Carlo, and Enrico Castelnuovo. "Centro e periferia." In *Storia dell'arte italiana. Parte prima: Materiali e problemi*, edited by Giovanni Previtali, 283-352. Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1979.
- . "Centre and Periphery." Translated by E. Bianchini. In *History of Italian Art*, edited by E. Bianchini and C. Dorey, 29-113. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.
- Gisbert, Teresa. *Iconografía y mitos indígenas en el arte*. La Paz: Editorial Gisbert, 1994.
- Giusti, Annamaria. "Pietre dure tra occidente e oriente." In *Lo specchio del principe: Mecantissimi paralleli: Medici e Moghul*, 37-44. Rome: Associazione Italia-India di Roma, 1991.
- . "Ritorno in India: di nuovo l'Opificio e il mausoleo di San Francesco Saverio a Goa." *OPD. Restauro* 11 (1999): 278-98.
- . *Pietre Dure: The Art of Semiprecious Stonework*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006.
- Giusti, Anna Maria, and A. Pampaloni Martelli, eds. *Splendori di pietre dure: Arte di corte nella Firenze granducale*. Florence: Giunti, 1988.
- Glen, Thomas L. *Rubens and the Counter Reformation: Studies in His Religious Paintings between 1609 and 1620*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1977.
- Goergen, Anton. "Der Hauptaltar: Seine Geschichte." In *Die Jesuitenkirche St. Mariae Himmelfahrt in Köln: Dokumentation und Beiträge zum Abschluß ihrer Wiederherstellung 1980*, edited by Hans Peter Hilger, 89-117. Dusseldorf: Schwann 1980.

- Gomes, Paulo Varela. *Whitewash, Red Stone: A History of Church Architecture in Goa*. New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2011.
- González Acosta, Alejandro. "Ecos xaverianos en la Nueva España: Festejos a San Ignacio y San Francisco Xavier en México (1622) y Puebla (1623)." In *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta and Arnulfo Herrera, 89-100. Madrid: Iberamericana, 2007.
- González Magaña, Jaime Emilio. "Del triunfo del mundo a la alegría del servicio: Itinerario de Francisco Javier hacia la santidad." In *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta and Arnulfo Herrera, 101-22. Madrid: Iberamericana, 2007.
- Gorman, Michael John. "The Angel and the Compass: Athanasius Kircher's Magnetic Geography." In *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, edited by Paula Findlen, 239-59. New York: Routledge 2004.
- Gottler, Christine. "'Actio' in Peter Paul Rubens' Hochaltarbildern für die Jesuitenkirche in Antwerpen ". In *Barocke Inszenierung: Akten des Internationalen Forschungscolloquiums an der Technischen Universität Berlin*. Emsdetten: DEU, 1999.
- Göttler, Christine. "The Place of the 'Exotic' in Early-Seventeenth-Century Antwerp." In *Looking East: Rubens's Encounter with Asia*, edited by Stephanie Scramer, 89-108. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013.
- Grafton, Anthony, April Shelford, and Nancy G. Siraisi. *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Graziano, Frank. *Wounds of Love: The Mystical Marriage of Saint Rose of Lima*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Groesen, Michael van. *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Guidetti, Armando. *Le missioni popolari: I grandi gesuiti italiani: Disegno storico-biografico delle missioni popolari dei gesuiti d'Italia dalle origini al Concilio Vaticano II*. Milan: Rusconi, 1988.
- Gupta, Pamila. "The Relic State: St. Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India." PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004.
- Gutiérrez Pastor, I. "La serie de la vida de San Francisco Javier de Colegio Imperial de Madrid (1692) y otras pinturas de Paolo de Matteis en España ". *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (U.A.M.) 16 (2004): 91-112.
- Gutiérrez, Ramón, and Graciela María Viñuales. "The Artistic and Architectural Legacy of the Jesuits in Spanish America." In *The Jesuits and the Arts*, edited by John W.

- O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 271-310. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003.
- Habegger, Kimberly. "Santiago in the Americas: The Iconography of the Conquerer and the Infidel ". In *Mapping the Catholic Cultural Landscape*, edited by Paula Jean Miller and Richard Fossey, 63-71. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Haeger, Barbara. "The Façade of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp: Representing the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant." In *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, edited by Piet Lombaerde, 97-124. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.
- Hardon, John A. "The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier." *American Ecclesiastical Review* 127 (1952): 248-63.
- Harris, Ann Sutherland. "Andrea Sacchi and Emilio Savonanzi at the Collegio Romano." *Burlington Magazine* 110, no. 782 (1968): 249-55+257.
- . *Andrea Sacchi*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Harris, Steven J. "Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge." In *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by John W. O'Malley and et al. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Harter, Michael. *Hearts on Fire: Praying with Jesuits*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1993.
- Haub, Rita. "Francis Xavier: An Introductory Life." *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002): 221-30.
- Heal, Bidget. *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Heath, Michael J. "Islamic Themes in Religious Polemic." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 50, no. 2 (1988): 289-315.
- Held, Julius. "Rubens and the Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae of 1609." In *Rubens before 1620*, edited by J.R. Martin, 93-134. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- . *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue*. Kress Foundation Studies in the History of European Art. 2 vols Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- . *Rubens: Selected Drawings*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1986.
- . "Carolus Scribanus's Observation on Art in Antwerp." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 174-204.

- Heming, Carol Piper. *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517-1531*. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2003.
- Herz, Alexandra. "Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-Cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context." *Storia dell'arte* 62 (1988): 53-70.
- Hills, Helen. "The Face is the Mirror of the Soul: Frontispieces and the Production of Sanctity in Post-Tridentine Naples." *Art History* 31, no. 4 (2008): 547-74.
- . "How to Look like a Counter-Reformation Saint." In *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honor of Peter Burke*, edited by Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo and Joan-Pau Rubiés, 207-30. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- . "Through a Glass Darkly: Material Holiness and the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro in Naples." In *New Approaches to Naples c.1500–c.1800: The Power of Place*, edited by Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills, 31-62. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013.
- Hitchcock, James. *History of the Catholic Church: From the Apostolic Age to the Third Millennium*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century." *Past and Present* V, VI (1954).
- Honour, Hugh. *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1975.
- Hood, William. "Ciro Ferri's Pensiero for the Altarpiece of the Blessed Stanislaus Kostka in Sant'Andrea al Quirinale." *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 37, no. 1 (1979): 26-49.
- Hsia, R. Po-chia. *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Humbert, J. "The Transfer of the Body of St. Francis Xavier." *Indian Ecclesiastical Studies* 5 (1966): 24-35.
- Ifeka, Caroline. "The Image of Goa." In *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, edited by Teotonio R. de Souza, 181-95. New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1985.
- La iglesia de Curahuara de Carangas: la capilla sixtina del altiplano*. La Paz: Universidad Católica Boliviana San Pablo and Museo Nacional de Etnografía y Folklore, 2008.
- Insolera, Lydia Salviucci. *L'immagine primi saeculi (1640) e il significato dell'immagine allegorica nella Compagnia di Gesù: Genesi e fortuna del libro*. Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2004.
- Isar, Nicoletta. "The Broken Image. Of Splits and Cuttings: Modern Representation and its Beginnings." In *Signs of Change: Transformations of Christian Traditions and their*

- Representation in the Arts, 1000-2000*, edited by Nils Holger Petersen, Claus Clüver and Nicolas Bell, 113-36. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2004.
- Iturriaga Elorza, Juan. "Hechos prodigiosos atribuidos a San Francisco Javier en unos grabados del siglo XVII." *Príncipe de Viana* 55, no. 203 (1994): 467-511.
- Jackobs, Fedrika. "Rethinking the Divide: Cult Images and the Cult of Images." In *Renaissance Theory*, edited by James Elkins and Robert Williams, 95-114. New York and London: Routledge, 2008.
- Jaffe, Michael. "Rubens before 1620 with Particular Reference to Aspects of his Commissions for the Company of Jesus." In *Rubens dall'Italia all'Europa: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Padova*, edited by Caterina Limentani Viridis and Francesco Bottacin. Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1992.
- Jan Boeckhorst 1604-1668: Maler der Rubenszeit*. Freref: Luca Verlag, 1990.
- Jeremiah, Ken. Christian. *Mummification: An Interpretative History of the Preservation of Saints, Martyrs, and Others*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012.
- Jonckheere, Koenraad. *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm: Experiments in Decorum*. Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2012.
- Kamat, Pratima. *Farar Far: Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912*. Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999.
- . "Peasantry and the Colonial State in Goa, 1946-1961." In *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*, edited by Charles J. Borges, Oscar Guilherme Pereira and Hannes Stubbe, 133-58. Goa: Concept Publishing, 1999.
- Kaplan, Paul. *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985.
- Karpowicz, Mariusz. "Gianlorenzo Bernini autore dell'altare sepolchre di San Francesco Saverio nella chiesa del Gesù a Roma." In *Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Maria Luisa Gatti Perer*. Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1999.
- Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *Toward a Geography of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Keating, Jessica, and Lia Markey. "'Indian' Objects in Medici and Austrian-Habsburg Inventories: A Case-Study of the Sixteenth-Century Term." *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 2 (2011): 282-300.
- Keazor, Henry. "'Sentences, pressées aux pieds nombreux de la poésie'? Pierre Le Moyne's Poussin Sonnet of 1643 and its Context." In *Poetry on Art: Renaissance to Romanticism*, edited by Thomas Frangenberg. Donington: S. Tyas, 2003.

- Kerber, Bernhard. *Andrea Pozzo*. New York: de Gruyter, 1971.
- Kim Young-Jae. "Looking at the Clothing of Rubens's Man in Korean Costume." In *Looking East: Rubens's Encounter with Asia*, edited by Stephanie Scradar, 24-38. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013.
- Kimura Saburo. "La source écrite du Miracle de saint François-Xavier de Poussin." *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 38, no. 5-6 (1988): 394-98.
- . "Saint François-Xavier prêchant aux Indiens : quelques aspects iconographiques." In *Georges de La Tour ou la nuit traversée: colloque organisé à Vic-sur-Seille du 9 au 11 septembre 1993 à l'occasion du IVe centenaire de la naissance de Georges de la Tour*, edited by Anne Reinbold. Metz: Editions Serpenoise, 1994.
- King, Catherine. *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy, ca. 1300-ca. 1550*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998.
- Knaap, Anna. "Seeing in Sequence: Peter Paul Rubens's Ceiling Cycle for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004).
- . "Meditation, Ministry, and Visual Rhetoric in Peter Paul Rubens's Program for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp." In *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by S.J. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 157-81. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- . "Seeing in Sequence: Rubens and the Jesuit Christ in Antwerp." PhD diss., New York University, 2007.
- Knipping, John B. *Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on Earth*. Nieuwkoop: De Graff, 1974.
- Koch, Ebba. *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi*. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1988.
- . "Le pietre dure e altre affinità artistiche tra le corti dei Moghul e dei Medici." In *Lo specchio del principe: Mecantistimi paralleli: Medici e Moghul, 17-32*. Rome: Associazione Italia-India di Roma, 1991.
- König-Nordhoff, Ursula. *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600*. Berlin: Mann, 1982.
- Krüger, Klaus. "Authenticity and Fiction: On the Pictorial Construction of Inner Presence in Early Modern Italy." In *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Reindert Falkenburg, 37-70. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.
- Kubler, George. *Portuguese Plain Architecture: Between Spices and Diamonds, 1521-1706*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1972.

- Lach, Donald. *Asia in the Making of Europe*. Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- Lancaster, Jordan. *In the Shadow of Vesuvius: A Cultural History of Naples*. London and New York: IB Tauris, 2005.
- Langedijk, Karla. *The Portraits of the Medici, 15th-18th Centuries*. Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1981.
- Lankheit, Klaus. *Florentinische Barockplastik: Die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici*. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1962.
- . "Florence under the Late Medici." In *Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670-1743*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1974.
- Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Lavin, Irving. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. 2 vols New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1980.
- Lawrence, Cynthia. "Confronting Heresy in Post-Tridentine Antwerp: Coercion and Reconciliation as Opposing Strategies in Rubens' Real Presence in the Holy Sacrament." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2006): 87-116.
- Lazar, Lance Gabriel. *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Lazure, Guy. "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial." *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2007): 58-93.
- Le Cobeiller, Clare. "Miss America and Her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World." *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series* 19, no. 8 (1961): 208-23.
- Lécrivain, Philippe "Jesuit Cultures and Missions in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." In *The Jesuits and the Arts*, edited by John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 249-68. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003.
- Leone, Massimo. *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010.
- Leuschner, Eckhard "The Papal Printing Privilege." *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (1998): 359-70.
- Levenson, Jay A., ed. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press/National Gallery of Art, 1991.

- Levenson, Jay A., Diogo Ramada Curto, and Jack Turner, eds. *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Washington DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery/Smithsonian Institution, 2007.
- Levy, Evonne. "'A Noble Medley and Concert of Materials and Artifice:' Jesuit Church Interiors in Rome, 1567-1700." In *Saint, Site and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome, and Jesuit Urbanism*, edited by Thomas Lucas, 47-59. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990.
- . "A Canonical Work of an Uncanonical Era: Re-Reading the Chapel of St. Ignatius (1695-1699) in the Gesù of Rome." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1993.
- . "Che cos'è un autore/architetto gesuita?" In *Andrea Pozzo*, edited by Alberta Battisti. Milan: Luni, 1996.
- . "Locating the bel composto: Copies and Imitations in the Late Baroque." In *Struggle for Synthesis: A obra de arte total nos séculos XVII e XVIII*, 73-85. Lisbon: Instituto português do património arquitectónico, 1999.
- . *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Lewine, Milton. "The Sources of Rubens's Miracles of St. Ignatius." *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): 143-47.
- Lewis, Mark A. "'Preachers of Sound Doctrine:' The Social Impact of the Jesuit College of Naples, 1552-1600." PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1995.
- . "The Development of Jesuit Confraternities in the Kingdom of Naples in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, edited by Nicholas Terpstra. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- I Ligari: Pittori del settecento lombardo*. Milan: Skira, 2008.
- Limm, Peter. *The Dutch Revolt, 1559-1648*. New York: Longmen, 1989.
- Lock, Léon E. "Rubens and the Sculpture and Marble Decoration." In *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, edited by Piet Lombaerde, 155-74. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.
- Lockhart, James. *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Logan, Anne-Marie, and Liam Brockey. "Nicolas Trigault, SJ: A Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens." *Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 38 (2003): 161-67.

- Logan, Anne-Marie, and Michiel Plomp. *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005.
- Lombaerde, Piet. "The Significance of the Two Volumes of Rubens's Palazzi di Genova for Architectural Theory." In *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, edited by Piet Lombaerde. Architectura Moderna, 51-80. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002.
- . "Introduction." In *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, edited by Piet Lombaerde, 15-30. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.
- . "The Façade and the Towers of the Jesuit Church in the Urban Landscape of Antwerp during the Seventeenth Century." In *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, edited by Piet Lombaerde, 77-95. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.
- Losty, J.P. "Identifying the Artist of Codex Casanatense 1889." *Anais de história de além-mar* 13 (2012): 13-40.
- Loureiro, Rui Manuel. "Information Networks in the Estado da Índia, A Case Study: Was Garcia de Orta the Organizer of the Codex Casanatense 1889?" *Anais de história de além-mar* 13 (2012): 41-72.
- Lourenço, Eduardo. "Portugal e os Jesuitas." *Oceanos* 12 (1992): 47-53.
- Luca Giordano y España*. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2002.
- Lucas, Thomas. *Saint, Site and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome, and Jesuit Urbanism*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990.
- MacCormack, Sabine. "Limits of Understanding: Perceptions of Greco-Roman and Amerindian Paganism in Early Modern Europe." In *America in European Consciousness, 1593-1750*, edited by Karen Ordahl Kupperman, 79-129. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Maniura, Robert. "The Icon is Dead, Long Live the Icon: The Holy Image in the Renaissance." In *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Presented to Robin Cormack* 88-103. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Mansour, Opher. "Picturing Global Conversion: Art and Diplomacy at the Court of Paul V." *Journal of Early Modern History* 17, no. 5-6 (2013): 525-59.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*. Translated by Terry Cochran. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.
- Marciani, Corrado. "Il commercio degli schiavi all fiere di Lanciano nel sec. XVI." *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 41 (1961): 269-82.

- Marnef, Guido. *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550-1577*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1996.
- Marta, Roberto. *L'architettura manuelina: Protagonista dell'imperio Portoghese*. Rome: Kappa, 1998.
- Martin, John Rupert. *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*. London: Phaidon, 1968.
- Massing, Jean Michel. "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach." In *Circa 1492: Art in the Age Exploration*, edited by Jay A. Levenson, 515-20. New Haven and London: Yale University Press/National Gallery of Art, 1991.
- . "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach." In *Studies in Imagery*, Vol. II: The World Discovered, 94-113. London: Pindar Press, 2007.
- Mata Induráin, Carlos. "Tres vidas en verso de San Francisco Javier: Matías Vivero (1620), Francisco de Lancina (1682), y José de Villarroya (1736)." In *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, edited by Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendonça, 197-222. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008.
- Matos, Manuel Cadafaz de. "A edição rara dos prelos jesuíticos de Goa, de 1624." In *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, edited by Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendonça, 59-136. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008.
- Mauquoy-Hendrickx, Marie. *Les estampes des Wierix: Conservées au Cabinet des estampes de la Bibliothèque royale*. Bruxelles: Bibliothèque royale, 1978.
- Mazur, Peter. *The New Christians of Spanish Naples, 1528-1671: A Fragile Elite*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Mazur, Peter A. "Combating 'Muslim Indecency': The Baptism of Muslim Slaves in Spanish Naples, 1563-1667." *Journal of Early Modern History* 13, no. 1 (2009): 24-48.
- . "A Mediterranean Port in the Confessional Age: Religious Minorities in Early Modern Naples." In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita, 215-34. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Mazzacchera, Alberto. *Gaetano Lapis: I dipinti di Cagli*. Italy: Associazione Gaetano Lapis, 1994.
- Michel, Thomas. "Jesuit Writings on Islam in the Seventeenth Century." *Islamochristiana* 15 (1989): 57-85.
- Minichini, Benedetto. *La reale chiesa di S. Ferdinando di Napoli: Monumento nobile della via Toledo*. Naples: Tip. dell'Accademia reale delle scienze, 1887.

- Mitter, Partha. *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992.
- Monaci, Lucia. *Disegni di Giovan Battista Foggini*. Florence: L.S. Olschiki, 1977.
- Mormando, Franco. "The Making of the Second Jesuit Saint: The Campaign for the Canonization of Francis Xavier, 1555-1622." In *Francis Xavier and the Jesuit Missions in the Far East: An Anniversary Exhibition of Early Printed Works from the Jesuitana Collection of the John H. Burns Library, Boston College*, edited by Franco Mormando and Jill G. Thomas, 9-23. Boston: Jesuit Institute, 2006.
- Mormando, Franco, and Jill G. Thomas, eds. *Francis Xavier and the Jesuit Missions in the Far East: An Anniversary Exhibition of Early Printed Works from the Jesuitana Collection of the John H. Burns Library, Boston College*. Boston: Jesuit Institute, 2006.
- Mughal Silver Magnificence (XVI-XIXth C.)*. Brussels: Antalga, 1987.
- Mulders, Christine van. "Theodor Galle." In *Grove Art Online*.
- Muller, Jeffrey. "Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders." In *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by S.J. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 113-56. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Musi, Aurelio. "Political History." In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita, 131-52. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Muto, Giovanni. "Urban Structures and Population ". In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita, 35-62. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Nagel, Alexander. *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Nagel, Alexander, and Christopher S. Wood. *Anachronic Renaissance*. New York: Zone Books 2010.
- Napoli, J. Nicholas. "The Visual Arts." In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita, 309-30. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Nappi, Edoardo. "Le chiese dei Gesuiti a Napoli." In *Seicento napoletano: Arte, costume, e ambiente*, edited by Roberto Pane, 318-37. Milan: Edizioni di comunità, 1984.
- . "Momenti della vita di Luca Giordano nei documenti dell'Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli." In *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi e documenti per la storia dell'arte dedicato a Luca Giordano*, 157-82. Milan: L&T, 1991.
- Nardi, Gennaro. "Nuove ricerche sulle istituzioni napoletane a favore degli schiavi: La Congregazione degli Schiavi dei PP. Gesuiti." *Asprenas* 14 (1967): 294-313.

- Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christianity in India: the Beginnings to AD 1707*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Neubert, Karel, Ivo Kořán, and Miloš Suchomel. *Charles Bridge*. Prague: Klas Publishers, 1991.
- Newcome, Mary. "Notes on Gregorio de Ferrari and the Genoese Baroque." *Pantheon* 37, no. 2 (1979): 142-49.
- Newman Fernandes, I.P. *St. Francis Xavier and Old Goa*. Goa: Avedem, 1994.
- Noreen, Kirstin. "Ecclesiae militantis triumphus: Jesuit Iconography and the Counter-Reformation." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 3 (1998): 689-715.
- Norris, Christopher, and F. Grossmann. "Flemish Paintings at Bruges." *Burlington Magazine* 99, no. 649 (1957): 125-27.
- Novi Chavarria, Elisa. "L'attività missionaria dei Gesuiti nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia tra XVI e XVIII secolo." In *Per la storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, edited by Giuseppe Galasso and Carla Russo, 159-85. Napoli: Guida editori, 1982.
- . *Il governo delle anime: Azione pastorale, predicazione, e missioni nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia*. Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001.
- Noyes, Ruth S. "A me toccano masticare pillole amare: Rubens, the Oratorians and the Crisis over the Beati moderni in Rome ca. 1600: Towards a Revised Geography of the Counter Reformation." PhD diss., Johns Hopkins, 2010.
- . "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the Beati moderni in Rome ca. 1600." *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2011): 800-46.
- Nygren, Barnaby Robert. "The Monumental Saint's Tomb in Italy: 1260-1520." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1999.
- Nygren, Christopher. "Vibrant Icons: Titian's Art and the Tradition of Christian Image-Making." PhD diss., Johns Hopkins, 2011.
- O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- . "Mission and the Early Jesuits." *Ignatian Spirituality and Mission* 79 (1994): 3-10.
- . "Saint Ignatus and the Cultural Mission of the Society of Jesus." In *The Jesuits and the Arts*, edited by John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 3-26. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003.
- O'Malley, John W., and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, eds. *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

- , eds. *The Jesuits and the Arts*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003.
- , eds. *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Olson, Todd P. "Un Jupiter tonnant!: Poussin's Miracle of St. François Xavier, Japan and Antiquity." In *Poussin et la construction de l'antique*, edited by Marc Bayard and Elena Fumagalli, 389-406. Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 2011.
- Orbaan, J.A.F. "Virtuosi al Pantheon." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 37 (1914/1915): 17-52.
- Orlandi, Giuseppe. "La missione popolare in età moderna." In *Storia dell'Italia religiosa*, edited by Gabriele de Rosa, Tullio Gregory and André Vauchez, 419-52. Rome: Laterza, 1994.
- Osbat, Anna. "'È il perdonar magnanima vendetta:' I pacificatori tra bene comune e amor di Dio." *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa* 53 (1998): 121-46.
- Osswald, Cristina. *Written in Stone: Jesuit Buildings in Goa and their Artistic and Architectural Features*. Goa: Goa 1556, 2013.
- Osswald, Maria Cristina. "The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier." *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002): 259-77.
- . "Goa and Jesuit Cult and Iconography before 1622." *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 74, no. 147 (2005): 155-74.
- . "Cultos e iconografías jesuíticas en Goa durante los siglos XVI y XVII: El culto e iconografía de San Francisco Javier ". In *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia. Cultos e iconografías jesuíticas, 234-53. Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.
- . "Culto e iconografía de San Francisco Javier en Portugal en los siglos XVI y XVII." In *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta and Arnulfo Herrera, 151-76. Madrid: Iberamericana, 2007.
- . "Aspectos de devoción e iconografía del túmulo de San Francisco Javier en Goa." In *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, edited by Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendoza, 223-52. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008.
- Ostrow, Steven. "Marble Revetment in Late Sixteenth-Century Roman Chapels." In *IL60: Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on his Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 253-76. New York: Italica Press, 1990.
- Oswald, Julius. "Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier." *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 71, no. 142 (2002): 231-48.

- Ottenheim, Konrad. "Peter Paul Rubens's Palazzi di Genova and its Influence on Architecture in the Netherlands." In *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, edited by Piet Lombaerde. Architectura Moderna, 81-97. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002.
- Pacelli, Vincenzo. *La pittura napoletano da Caravaggio a Luca Giordano*. Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1996.
- Padberg, John W., Martin D. O'Keefe, and John L. McCarthy, eds. *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations: A Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees*. St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994.
- Paez Ríos, Elena. *Iconografía Hispana: Catálogo de los retratos de personajes españoles de la Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1966.
- Paiva, José Pedro. "Spain and Portugal." In *A Companion to the Reformation World*, edited by R. Po-chia Hsia. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Pallucchini, Rodolfo. *La Pittura nel Veneto. Il Settecento*. Milan: Electa, 1995.
- Papa, Giovanni. *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti: 1588-1634*. Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 2001.
- Parente, Ulderico. "Nicolò Bobadilla e gli esordi della Compagnia di Gesù in Calabria." In *I Gesuiti e la Calabria: atti del convegno, Reggio Calabria, 27-28 febbraio 1991*, edited by Vincenzo Sibilio, 19-56. Reggio Calabria: Laruffa, 1991.
- Park, Katharine. "The Criminal and the Saintly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (1994): 1-33.
- Parker, Geoffrey. "Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered." *American Historical Review* 113, no. 4 (2008): 1053-79.
- Parker, Geoffrey, and Lesley M. Smith, eds. *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- . "Introduction." In *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith, 1-25. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Parsons, Gerald. *The Cult of St. Catherine of Siena: A Study in Civil Religion*. Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008.
- Pecchiai, Pio. *Il Gesù di Roma*. Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1952.
- Pereira, José. *Baroque Goa: The Architecture of Portuguese India*. New Delhi: Books and Books, 1995.
- . *Churches of Goa*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

- Pereira, Paulo. "A arquitectura jesuítica: Primeiras fundações." *Oceanos* 12 (1992): 104-11.
- . *Jerónimos Abbey of Santa Maria*. London: Scala, 2001.
- Pescarmona, Daniele. "Avvio alla conoscenza della committenza pittorica del marchese Giorgio Clerici (gli oratori di Tremezzo e di Niguarda)." In *Studi per Pietro Zampetti*, 455-57. Ancona: Il Lavoro, 1993.
- Pestilli, Livio. *Paolo de Matteis: Neapolitan Painting and Cultural History in Baroque Europe*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013.
- Peter Paul Rubens: A Touch of Brilliance*. Munich: Prestel, 2003.
- Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. "The Virgin of Guadalupe: Symbol of Conquest or Liberation?" *Art Journal* 51, no. 4 (1992): 39-47.
- Pfeiffer, Heinrich. "The Iconography of the Society of Jesus." In *The Jesuits and the Arts*, edited by John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 201-28. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003.
- Piñero, Marga. "Elementos escénicos en las comedias de San Francisco Javier." In *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, edited by Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendonça, 253-65. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008.
- Pissurlencar, P. "O túmulo, o caixão e o bastão de S. Francisco Xavier." *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 25 (1935): 68-81.
- Prosperi, Adriano. "'Otras Indias:' Missionari della controriforma tra contadini e selvaggi". In *Scienze, credenze occulte, livelli di cultura: Convegno internazionale di studi (Firenze, 26-30 giugno 1980)*, 205-34. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1982.
- . *Tribunali della coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*. Torino: Einaudi 1996.
- Puglisi, Catherine. "Guido Reni's Pallione de Voto and the Plague of 1630." *Art Bulletin* 77, no. 3 (1995): 402-12.
- Quesada Aldana, Emilio H. "De Xavier a Kino: La 'inculturación' en el arte." In *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta and Arnulfo Herrera, 197-216. Madrid: Iberamericana, 2007.
- Rabb, Theodore K. "Introduction: The Persistence of the 'Crisis'." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40, no. 2 (2009): 145-50.
- Rabiner, Donald. "Notices on Painting from the "Gazzetta di Napoli." *Antologia di belle arti* 2, no. 7/8 (1978): 325-28.
- Rayanna, P. *St. Francis Xavier and His Shrine*. Old Goa, India: Rekha Printers, 1989.

- Redig de Campos, D. "Intorno a due quadri d'altare, di Van Dyck, ritrovati in Vaticano." *Bollettino d'arte* 30 (1936-1937): 150-65.
- Reeves, Marjorie. *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future*. London: S.P.C.K., 1976.
- Regina, Vincenzo. *Le chiese di Napoli: Viaggio indimenticabile attraverso la storia artistica, architettonica, letteraria, civile, e spirituale della Napoli sacra*. Rome: Newton Compton editori, 1995.
- Rego, António da Silva "The Collected Writings of Georg Schurhammer." *The Catholic Historical Review* 54, no. 1 (1968): 70-79.
- Renger, Konrad. "Rubens's Bavarian Altarpieces and Counter Reformation Propaganda." In *Rubens dall'Italia all'Europa*, edited by Caterina Limentani Verdis and Francesco Bottacin, 21-30. Padova: Neri Pozzo Editore 1992.
- Rice, Louise. "'Pomis Sua Nomina Servant:' The Emblematic Thesis Prints of the Roman Seminary ". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007): 195-246.
- Robertson, Roland. "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity." In *Global Modernities*, edited by Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, 25-44. London: Sage Publications, 1995.
- Rodrigues, Dalila. "A pintura na antiga Índia Portuguesa." *Vasco da Gama e a Índia* 3 (1999): 369-91.
- Rodrigues, Francisco. *São Francisco Xavier: Duas exposições de seu corpo em 1744 e 1751*. Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1926.
- Rodrigues, Maria Idalina Resina "São Francisco beato e santo: representações seiscentistas." In *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, edited by Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendonça, 267-80. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008.
- Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, Alfonso. "Las imágenes de la Historia Evangélica del Jerónimo Nadal en el marco del Jesuitismo y la Contrarreforma." In *Imágenes de la Historia Evangélica*, edited by Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos. Barcelona: Ediciones Albir, 1975.
- . "La imagen de San Francisco Javier en el arte europeo." In *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 120-53. Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.
- Rodríguez G. De Ceballos, Alfonso "Las pinturas de la vida de San Francisco Javier del convento de la Merced de Quito." *Anales de Museo de América* XV (2007): 89-101.
- Rooses, Max. "De Zolderstukken der Voormalige Jezuieten-Kerk." *Rubens Buletijn* 16 (1888): 265-309.

- . "De Plaatsnijders Der Evangelicae Historiae Imagines." *Oud Holland* 6, no. 1 (1888): 277-88.
- Roscioni, Gian Carlo. *Il desiderio delle Indie: Storie, sogni, e fughe*. Torino: Einaudi, 2001.
- Rosen, Mark. "Pietro Tacca's Quattro Mori and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany." *Art Bulletin* 97, no. 1 (2015): 34-57.
- Ross, Alexander. *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742*. New York: Maryknoll, 1994.
- Rouquette, Robert. "Review." *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 45 (1956): 133-39.
- Rowe, Erin Kathleen. *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- Roworth, Wendy Wassynge. "The Evolution of History Painting: Masaniello's Revolt and Other Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Naples." *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (1993): 219-34.
- Rubiés, Joan-Pau. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250-1625*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Ruggiero, Chiara. "San Francesco Saverio battezza gli indiani." In *Luca Giordano, 1634-1705*, 218. Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001.
- Ruiz Gomar, Rogelio. "San Francisco Xavier en la pintura de la Nueva España." In *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta and Arnulfo Herrera, 217-38. Madrid: Iberamericana, 2007.
- Ruiz Gomar, Rogelio, and Juana Gutiérrez Haces. "El retablo de la Profesa y su efimera transfiguración en 1672." In *Discursos sobre el arte: XV Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1995.
- Rusconi, Roberto. "Gli ordini religiosi maschili dalla controriforma alle soppressioni settecentesche: Cultura, predicazione, missioni ". In *Clero e società nell'Italia moderna*, edited by Mario Rosa, 207-74. Rome: Editori Laterza, 1992.
- Russell, C. "Imagining the 'Indies': Italian Jesuit Petitions for the Overseas Missions at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century." In *Per Adriano Prosperi: L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi*, edited by Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci and Stefania Pastore, 179-89. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011.
- Sale, Giovanni. "The Design of the Gesù in Rome: A Difficult Collaboration." In *The Jesuits and the Arts*, edited by John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 45-62. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003.

- Sallmann, Jean-Michel. "Il santo e le rappresentazioni della santità: problemi di metodo." *Quaderni Storici* 41 (1979): 584-602.
- . "Il santo patrono cittadino nel '600 nel Regno di Napoli e in Sicilia." In *Per la storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, edited by Giuseppe Galasso and Carla Russo, 187-211. Napoli: Guida editori, 1982.
- . *Naples et ses saints à l'âge baroque, 1540-1750*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1994.
- . *Santi barocchi: Modelli di santità, pratiche devozionali e comportamenti religiosi nel Regno di Napoli dal 1540 al 1750*. Lecce: Argo, 1996.
- San Juan, Rose Marie. "Contaminating Bodies: Print and the 1656 Plague in Naples." In *New Approaches to Naples c.1500–c.1800: The Power of Place*, edited by Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills, 63-78. Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013.
- Sánchez, Carlos José Hernando. "Nation and Ceremony: Political Uses of Urban Space in Viceregal Naples." In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita, 153-76. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Sánchez Lora, José Luis. *El diseño de la santidad: La desfiguración de San Juan de la Cruz*. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2004.
- Santos, Reynaldo dos "A Índia Portuguesa e as Artes Decorativas." *Revista e Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes* 7 (1954): 3-16.
- Sauerländer, Willibald. *The Catholic Rubens: Saints and Martyrs*. Translated by David Dollenmayer. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014.
- Saunders, Eleanor A. "A Commentary on Iconoclasm in Several Print Series by Maarten van Heemskerck." *Simiolus* 10, no. 2 (1978-1979): 59-83.
- Savarese, Silvana. *Francesco Grimaldi e l'architettura della Controriforma a Napoli*. Rome: Officina, 1986.
- . "Francesco Grimaldi e la transizione al Barocco." In *Barocco napoletano*, edited by Gaetano Cantone. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1992.
- Saviello, Alberto. "Muhammed's Multiple Faces: Printed Images of the Prophet in Western Europe." In *Constructing the Image of Muhammed in Europe*, edited by Avinoam Shalem, 87-141. Berlin De Gruyter, 2013.
- Scaramella, Pierroberto. *I santolilli: Culti dell'infanzia e santità infantile a Napoli alla fine del XVII secolo*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1997.
- Scavizzi, Giuseppe. "La actividad de Giordano desde 1682 hasta su muerte." In *Luca Giordano y España*, 43-55. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2002.

- Schaar, Eckhard. "Carlo Marattas Tod des heiligen Franz Xaver im Gesù." In *Munuscula discipulorum; kunsthistorische Studien, Hans Kauffmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, 247-64. Berlin: B. Hessling, 1968.
- Scheelen, W. "De herkomst en de datering van Rubens' voorstellingen van de H. Ignatius van Loyola en de H. Franciscus Xaverius." *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten-Antwerpen* (1986): 153-72.
- Schmidt, Benjamin. "Collecting Global Icons: The Case of the Exotic Parasol." In *Collecting across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Atlantic World*, edited by Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall, 31-57. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Schöller, Bernadette. "Eine wiederentdeckte Wundervita des Hl. Franz Xaver." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 52 (1993): 313-19.
- Schrader, Stephanie. "Implicit Understanding: Rubens and the Representation of the Jesuit Missions in Asia." In *Looking East: Rubens's Encounter with Asia*, edited by Stephanie Schrader, 38-66. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013.
- . "The Many Identities of Rubens's Man in Korean Costume: New Perspectives on Old Interpretations." In *Looking East: Rubens's Encounter with Asia*, edited by Stephanie Schrader, 1-24. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013.
- Schurhammer, Georg. *Die Heiligsprechung Franz Xavers*. Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1922.
- . *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und seine Zeit*. Translated by Franz Xaver. Freiburg: Herder, 1955-1973.
- . "Nuevos datos sobre Navarra, Javier, y Loyola." *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País* 16 (1960): 251-302.
- . *Gesammelte Studien*. 4 vols. Rome and Lisbon: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu and Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962-1965.
- . "Desenhos orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier ". In *Gesammelte Studien: Orientalia*, 111-18. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1963.
- . "Il contributo dei missionari cattolici nei secoli XVI e XVII alla conoscenza del Giappone." In *Gesammelte Studien: Orientalia*, 755-68. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1963.
- . "Die Königstaufen des Hl. Franz Xaver." In *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, edited by László Szilas. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964.
- . "Die Muttersprache des hl. Franz Xaver." In *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, 339-52. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964.

- . "Xaveriuslegenden und Wunder kritisch untersucht ". In *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, edited by László Szilas, 249-70. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964.
- . "Die Taufen des hl. Franz Xaver." In *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, edited by László Szilas, 271-304. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964.
- . "Cronologia xaveriana." In *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, edited by László Szilas, 3-11. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964.
- . "The Church of St. Paul, Malacca." In *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, edited by László Szilas, 531-36. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1964.
- . "Festas en Lisboa em 1622." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 483-92. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Festas em Goa no ano 1624." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Xaveriusverehrung in Mexiko-Stadt." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 511-47. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Les reliques de S. François Xavier et leur histoire." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 366-70. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Das Bild des hl. Franx Xaver." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 209-12. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Das Wahre Bild des hl. Franz Xaver?" In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 213-16. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Las fuentes iconográficas de la Serie Javeriana de Guasp." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 599-604. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Der Silberschrein des hl. Franz Xaver in Goa." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 561-68. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Die Xaveriusreliquien und ihre Geschichte." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 345-65. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Der Kölner Rosenkranz des hl. Franz Xaver." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 375-404. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Die Kruzifixe des Heiligen Franz Xaver." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 405-09. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Die Lissabonner Heiligsprechungsprozesse Franz Xavers." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 419-30. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.

- . "Uma relação inédita do P.e Manuel Barradas si sobre São Francisco Xavier." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 431-65. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Die Heiligsprechung Franz Xavers." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 467-79. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Der Hl. Franz Xaver und das Köln." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 497-510. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert." In *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, 57-114. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Nações, províncias, e dioceses, cidades, e outras localidades que têm por Patrono a S. Francisco Xavier." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 627. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Sulle orme del Saverio." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 619-22. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "A New Life of Saint Francis Xavier." In *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, 129-44. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Franciscus Xaverius SI (1506-1552)." In *Gesammelte Studien: Xaveriana*, 20-23. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Javier y Navarra." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 245-56. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Auf Schloss Xaver." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 257-60. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Las Islas de Moro." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 295-98. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Duas impressões portuguesas desconhecidas." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 371-74. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Méjico y Javier: Un documento inédito sobre su culto ". In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 549-60. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Der angebliche "japanische" Sonnenschirm des heiligen Franz Xaver." In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 587-98. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.
- . "Das Krebswunder Xavers - Eine budhistische Legende?" In *Gesammelte Studien: Varia*, 537-64. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1965.

- . *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973-1982.
- . *Francisco Javier: Su vida y su tiempo*. Translated by Francisco Zurbano. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1992.
- Schütze, Sebastian. "The Politics of Counter-Reformation Iconography and a Quest for the Spanishness of Neapolitan Art." In *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion, 1500-1700*, edited by Thomas Dandeleit, 555-68. Leiden: Brill 2007.
- Schwager, Klaus. "Anlässlich eines unbekanntes Stiches des römischen Gesù von Valerianus Regnartius." In *Festschrift Lorenz Dittmann*, edited by Hans-Caspar Bothmer, Klaus Gùthlein and Rudolf Klein, 295-312. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994.
- Scordato, Cosimo, ed. *La Chiesa di San Francesco Saverio: Arte Storia Teologia*. Palermo: Abadir, 1999.
- , ed. *La Chiesa di San Francesco Saverio: Dalla fabbrica all'uppellittile*. Palermo: Abadir, 2003.
- Selwyn, Jennifer D. *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004.
- Serrão, Vitor. "Quadros de Vida de S. Francisco Xavier." *Oceanos* 12 (1992): 56-69.
- . *A lenda de São Francisco Xavier pelo pintor André Reinoso*. Lisbon: Quetzal, 1993.
- . "O pintor Simão Rodrigues e a posse do Codex Casanatense em 1628: Fortuna, atribuições e influências artísticas." *Anais de história de além-mar* 13 (2012): 169-98.
- . "O túmulo de D. Jerónimo Mascarenhas no Bom Jesus de Goa e a tónica do sincretismo artístico na Índia Portuguesa ao tempo dos Filipes." In *Goa, passado e presente*, edited by Artur Teodoro de Matos and João Manuel Teles e Cunha, 63-99. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa, 2012.
- . "Uma vida em imagens: São Francisco Xavier e a pintura portuguesa do século XVII. André Reinoso e o estabelecimento de uma iconografia credível do Apóstolo das Índias." In *Misión y aventura: San Francisco Javier, sol en Oriente*, edited by Ignacio Arellano and Delio Mendoza, 301-21. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008.
- Sharan, Ishwar. *The Myth of St. Thomas and the Mylapore Shiva Temple*. 2nd rev. ed. New Delhi: Voice of India, 1995.
- Sherman, J.E. *The Nature of Martyrdom: A Dogmatic and Moral Analysis According to the Teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas*. Paterson, NJ: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1942.
- Sievernich, Gereon, and Carlos Fortea. *Asia y África De Teodoro de Bry*. Madrid: Ediciones Siruela, 1999.

- Silva, Maria Madalena de Cagigal e. *A arte Indo-Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Edições Excelsior 1966.
- Silva, Nuno Vassallo e. "Tesouros da 'Terra de Promissam.' A Ourivesaria entre Portugal e a Índia." *Oceanos* 19/20 (1994): 88-100.
- , ed. *A Herança de Rauluchantim*. Lisbon: Museu de São Roque, 1996.
- . "A Herança de Rauluchantim." In *A Herança de Rauluchantim*, edited by Nuno Vassallo e Silva, 14-16. Lisbon: Museu de São Roque, 1996.
- . "Arte da Ourivesaria na Índia Portuguesa ". In *A Herança de Rauluchantim*, edited by Nuno Vassallo e Silva, 16-29. Lisbon: Museu de São Roque, 1996.
- Silva, Nuno Vassallo e "A arte da prata nas casa jesuítas de Goa." In *A Companhia de Jesus e a missão no Oriente*, edited by Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, 367-85. Lisbon: Brotéria 2000.
- Silva, Nuno Vassallo e. "Art in the Service of God: The Impact of the Society of Jesus on the Decorative Arts in Portugal." In *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, edited by S.J. John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 182-210. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Smith, Graham. "Rubens' Altargemälde des hl. Ignatius von Loyola und des hl. Franz Xaver für die Jesuitenkircher in Antwerpen." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 29 (1969): 39-60.
- Smith, Jeffrey Chipps. *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Smith, Robert C. "Samuel Tibau and Portuguese Ivory Inlaid Furniture of the Seventeenth Century." *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 21 (1971): 153-63.
- Smolderen, Luc. *Jacques Jonghelinck: Sculpteur, médailleur et graveur de sceaux (1530-1606)*. Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1996.
- Snaet, J. "A Case Study: Rubens's Palazzi di Genova and the Jesuit Churches of Antwerp and Brussels." In *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, edited by Piet Lombaerde. Architectura Moderna. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002.
- Sobral, Luís de Moura. "A Sacristia como Pinacoteca na época barroca: O ciclo pictural de Bento Coelho no Convento de São Pedro de Alcântara Lisboa." *Barroco* 15 (1990-1992): 137-44.
- Sodano, Giulio. "Miracoli e ordini religiosi nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia." *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 105 (1987): 293-414.

- . "I patronati a Napoli nel XVII secolo: I casi di San Gaetano e San Francesco Saverio." In *Il santo patrono e la città: San Benedetto il Moro, culti, devozioni, strategie di età moderna*, edited by Giovanna Fiume. Marsilio, 217-30. Venice Marsilio, 2000.
- . "Promozione dei culti e processi di canonizzazione nel Rego di Napoli nell'età moderna." In *Ordini religiosi, santi e culti tra Europa, Mediterraneo e nuovo mondo (secoli XV- XVII): Atti del V Convegno internazionale AISSCA, Lecce 3-6 maggio 2003*, edited by Bruno Pellgrino, 277-96. Lecce: Galatina, 2009.
- . *Il miracolo nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia dell'età moderna: Tra santi, Madonne, guaritrici e medici*. Naples: Alfredo Guido Editore, 2010.
- . "Governing the City." In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita, 109-30. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Sodini, Carla. *I Medici e le Indie Orientali: Il diario di viaggio di Placido Ramponi emissario in India per conto di Cosimo III*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1996.
- Soergel, Philip M. *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Sollier, Joseph. "The Communion of Saints." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company 1908.
- Souchal, François. "L'apothéose de Saint François Xavier de Guillaume II Coustou." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 111 (1988): 43-48.
- Souza, T.R. de "The Portuguese in Asia and their Church Patronage." In *Western Colonialism in Asia and Christianity*, edited by M.D. David. Bombay: Humalaya Publishing House, 1988.
- Soyer, François. *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Spagnoletti, Angelantonio. "The Naples Elites between City and Kingdom ". In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, edited by Tommaso Astarita, 197-214. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Spicer, Joaneath, ed. *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe*. Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012.
- Spike, John T. "Mattia Preti's Passage to Malta." *Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 905 (1978): 497-98+500-07.
- Struggle for Synthesis: A obra de arte total nos séculos XVII e XVIII*. 2 vols. Lisbon: Instituto português do património arquitectónico, 1999.

- Sturtevant, William C. "First Visual Images of Native America." In *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, edited by F. Chiapelli, 417-26. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- . "La Tupinambisation des Indiens d'Amérique du Nord." In *Les figures d l'Indien*, edited by G. Thérien, 293-303. Montreal Service des Publications de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, 1988.
- Suau, Pierre. "St. Francis Borgia." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company 1909.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*. New York: Longman, 1993.
- . *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Sutton, Peter. "The Spanish Netherlands in the Age of Rubens." In *The Age of Rubens*, edited by Peter Sutton. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1993.
- Tacchi Venturi, Pietro. *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*. Roma: Civiltà cattolica, 1950.
- Tanis, James, and Daniel Horst. *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*. Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College Library, 1993.
- Tapié, Alain. *Baroque, vision jésuite: du Tintoret à Rubens*. Paris: Somogy, 2003.
- Teixeira, Manuel. *A Precious Treasure in Coloane: The Relics of Japanese and Vietnamese Martyrs*. Macau: Centro de Informação e Turismo, 1979.
- Thomas, Werner. "Andromeda Unbound: The Reign of Albert and Isabella in the Southern Netherlands, 1598-1621." In *Albert and Isabella, 1598-1621*, edited by Luc Duerloo and Werner Thomas, 1-14. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1998.
- Thuillier, Jacques. *Nicolas Poussin*. Paris: Flammarion, 1994.
- Thunø, Erik, and Gerhard Wolf, eds. *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004.
- Tietze, Hans. "Andrea Pozzo und die Fürsten von Liechtenstein." *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 13/14 (1914-1915): 432-36.
- Timmermans, Ben. "The Chapel of the Houtappel Family and the Privatisation of the Church in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp." In *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, edited by Piet Lombaerde, 175-86. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.

- Torres Olleta, María Gabriela. *Vita thesibus et Vita iconibus: dos certámenes sobre San Francisco Javier*. Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005.
- . *Milagros y prodigios de San Francisco Javier*. Pamplona: Fundación Diario de Navarra, 2005.
- . "De la hagiografía al arte: Fuentes de la iconografía de San Francisco Javier." In *San Francisco Javier en las artes: El poder de la imagen*, edited by Ricardo Fernández Gracia, 74-95. Pamplona: Fundación Caja Navarra, 2006.
- . "Vidas ilustradas de San Francisco Javier." In *San Francisco Javier entre dos continentes*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Alejandro González Acosta and Arnulfo Herrera, 239-59. Madrid: Iberamericana, 2007.
- Torres Olleta, María Gabriela. *Redes iconográficas: San Francisco Javier en la cultura visual del barroco*. Navarre: Universidad de Navarra, 2009.
- Tracy, James D. "With or Without the Counter-Reformation: The Catholic Church in the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic." *Catholic Historical Review* 71 (1985): 547-75.
- Treffers, Bert. "The Arts and Craft of Sainthood." In *The Genius of Rome, 1592-1623*, edited by Beverly Louise Brown, 338-72. London: Royal Academy Books, 2001.
- Trevisani, F. "Giovanni Battista Negroni committente dell'altare di S. Francesco Saverio al Gesù di Roma." *Storia dell'arte* 38-40 (1980): 361-69.
- Turner, Edith. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Turner, N. J. L. *Italian Baroque Drawings*. London: British Museum Publications, 1980.
- Tuttle, E. F. "'Borrowing versus Semantic Shift:' New World Nomenclature in European Languages." In *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, edited by F. Chiapelli, 595-611. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- Unger, Daniel. "A Memorial: St. Gregory the Great with Sts. Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier." In *Guercino's Paintings and His Patrons' Politics in Early Modern Italy*, edited by Daniel Unger, 101-13. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.
- Valone, Carolyn. "Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits." In *Creative Women in Medieval and Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, edited by Ann E. Matter and John Coakley. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1994.
- . "Architecture as a Public Voice for Women in Sixteenth-Century Rome." *Renaissance Studies* 15, no. 3 (2001): 301-27.

- Van den Boogaart, Ernst. "Heathendom and Civility in the *Historia India Orientalis*: The Adaptation by Johan Theodor and Johan Israel de Bry of the Edifying Series of Plates from Linschoten's *Itinerario*." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 53 (2002): 71-107.
- . *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Image and Text in the Itinerario and the Icones of Jan Huygen van Linschoten*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Van Eck, Xander. "De jezüieten en het wervende wisselaltaarstuk." *Zeventiende eeuw* 14, no. 1 (1998): 81-94.
- Van Puyvelde, Leo. "Les Saint Ignace et Saint François Xavier de Rubens." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 53 (1959): 225-36.
- Van Rossem, Stijn. "The Verdussens and the International Trade in Catholic Books (Antwerp, Seventeenth Century)." In *Books in the Catholic World During the Early Modern Period*, edited by Natalia Maillard Alvarez, 1-50. Leiden Brill, 2014.
- Vargas Lugo, Elisa. "San Francisco Javier bautizando a un cacique mexicana." In *Catálogo: Obras maestras del arte colonial*. Mexico City: UNAM, 1990.
- Villalon, L.J. Andrew. "San Diego de Alcalá and the Politics of Saint-Making in Counter-Reformation Europe." *Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (1997): 691-715.
- Villari, Rosario. *The Revolt of Naples*. Translated by James Newell. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993.
- Villaseñor Black, Charlene. *Creating the Cult of St. Joseph: Art and Gender in the Spanish Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Vlam, Grace. "The Portrait of S. Francis Xavier in Kobe." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42, no. 1 (1979): 48-60.
- Vlieghe, Hans. *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses oeuvres*. Brussels: Arcade, 1972.
- . *Saints II*. Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. London: Phaidon, 1973.
- . *Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp*. Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Brussels: Arcade, 1987.
- . *Flemish Art and Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Volk, Peter. *Ignaz Günther: Vollendung des Rokoko*. Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1991.
- Wagner, Karl, and Albert Keller. *St. Michael in München: Festschrift zum 400. Jahrestag der Grundsteinlegung und zum Abschluss des Wiederaufbaus*. Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1983.

- Webb, Debora. *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States*. New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 1996.
- Weisbach, Werner. *Die Kunst des Barock in Italien, Frankreich, Deutschland, und Spanien*. Berlin: Propyläen, 1924.
- Whitfield, Clovis, and Jane Martineau, eds. *Painting in Naples, 1606-1705: From Caravaggio to Giordano*. Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 1982.
- Willette, Thomas. "Bernardo de' Dominici e le Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani: contributo alla riabilitazione di una fonte." In *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano dedicato a Ulisse Prota-Giurleo nel centenario della nascita*, 255-73. Milan: L&T, 1986.
- Wilmers, Gertrude. *Cornelis Schut (1597-1655): A Flemish Painter of the High Baroque*. Brussels: Brepols, 1996.
- Wilson, Stephen, ed. *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Winkel, Marieke de. *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.
- Wittkower, Rudolf. "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159-97.
- Wittkower, Rudolf, and Irma B. Jaffe, eds. *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1972.
- Woodward, Kenneth L. *Making Saints: How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.
- Worcester, Thomas. "Saints as Cultural History." In *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honor of Peter Burke*, edited by Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo and Joan-Pau Rubiés, 191-206. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010.
- Wortley, Clare Stuart. "Rubens Drawings of Chinese Costumes." *Old Masters Drawings* 9 (1934): 40-47.
- Wright, Jonathan. *God's Soldiers: Adventure, Politics, Intrigue, and Power, A History of the Jesuits*. New York: Doubleday, 2004.
- Young, G.F. *The Medici*. Vol. II, New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1911.
- Zangheri, Luigi. "I rapporti tra la Firenze dei Medici e l'India nella prima metà del XVII secolo: ragguagli documentari e ipotesi." *Atti del XXV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte V* (1985): 65-71.

- Ziggelaar, August. "Peter Paul Rubens and François de Aguilón." In *Innovation and Experience in the Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, edited by Piet Lombaerde, 31-40. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2008.
- Županov, Ines G. "The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia: A Hagiographical View of Colonial Culture." *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies* 3 (1995): 135-61.
- . *Disputed Mission: Jesuits Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- . *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005.
- . "Passage to India: Jesuit Spiritual Economy between Martyrdom and Profit in the Seventeenth Century." *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012): 1-39.
- Zurbano, Francisco. "Observaciones a la presente edición." In *Francisco Javier: Su vida y su tiempo*. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1992.