Madonna of St Luke. Ink and colours on silk. China, Ming dynasty, late sixteenth to early seventeenth century. © The Field Museum, Chicago. Neg #A113717c. Reproduced with permission.

THE JESUITS

Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773

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UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
Toronto Buffalo London

Toronto Buffalo London
Printed in Canada

Reprinted 2000

ISBN 0-8020-4287-2

Printed on acid-free paper

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

The Jesuits : cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540–1773

Papers from International conference titled: The Jesuits ; Culture, Learning, and the Arts, 1540–1773, held late May 1997 at Boston College.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8020-4287-2

1. Jesuits – History – 16th century – Congresses. 2. Jesuits – History – 17th century – Congresses. 3. Jesuits – History – 18th century – Congresses.
4. Christianity and culture – History – 16th century – Congresses.
5. Christianity and culture – History – 17th century – Congresses.
6. Christianity and culture – History – 18th century – Congresses.
I. O'Malley, John W.

BX3706.2.J47 1999 271'.53 C99-930022-9

University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial assistance to its publishing program of the Canada Council for the Arts and the Ontario Arts Council.

University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial support for its publishing activities of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program (BPIDP).

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GAUVIN ALEXANDER BAILEY

The members of the Society of Jesus were always great promoters of images. From the very beginning, Jesuit leaders recognized the crucial role the visual arts would play in their enterprise. Ignatius of Loyola meditated in front of paintings every day in his apartments in Rome, and was very likely responsible for the gargantuan illustrated Gospel project which resulted in Jerónimo Nadal's 1593 *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Antwerp, 1593), one of the most important engraved cycles of its day. Francisco Borja commissioned his own set of illustrated meditations, though they were never published. He also regularly used images in his homilies, and he enthusiastically revived the cult of the miraculous image of the Virgin of St Luke at the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, which he had copied by professional painters and sent to places as far away as Brazil and India. Francis Xavier carried a suitcase full of icons and illustrated books to India, Southeast Asia, and Japan, taking advantage of the power of images to overcome his linguistic deficiencies. And in addition to writing the text to accompany the illustrated Gospels which bear his name, Nadal actively used pictures for educational purposes when he was teaching in Germany in the 1570s. Owing to the importance given to the arts by these Jesuit pioneers, and the growing impact the Jesuits would have on the art patronage of the late Renaissance and baroque worlds, scholars in the past argued for a distinctly Jesuit style in the arts. The debate over *Jesuitenstil* became one of the most impassioned in the field.

In 1962, Yvan Christ thought he had put to rest once and for all the notion of a 'Jesuit style' with an article whose blunt title I have borrowed here for my own.[1] As it happened, Christ was neither the first nor the last to challenge one of art history's more persistent myths. Scholars in Germany, Italy, France, Spain, and Ireland had tried to reveal the folly of identifying a specifically Jesuit manner of painting, sculpting, and, especially, building since the very beginning of the

twentieth century.[2] As early as 1902 the French scholar Louis Serbat warned that the label was 'bien risquée,' at least when applied to the architecture of Flanders, and in 1908 the German Jesuit Joseph Braun, expanding his scope to include Germany and Spain as well as Flanders, remarked that *Jesuitenstil* is 'in Wirklichkeit ein bloßes Phantom.'[3] Both authors demonstrated that the Jesuits tended to adapt to the styles and preferences of the regions they worked in rather than imposing a uniform style from above. Ever since then, historians of art have moved beyond this outdated commonplace to study the Jesuits' involvement in the arts in other, more fruitful ways, but the phantom refuses to go away. In particular, non-specialists continue to overemphasize the impact on form and style of the liturgical and ideological goals of the Society and the Council of Trent. Let us look briefly at the history of the concept of 'Jesuit style,' and then at some of the more recent alternatives.

The Concept of 'Jesuit Style' and Its Impact on the Art Historiography of the Society

Like the term 'Counter Reformation,' the concept of 'Jesuit style' has persevered so stubbornly because it was prejudicial to start with. Devised by Protestants and Catholic critics of the Society in the early nineteenth century, 'Jesuit style' signified artistic decadence, the antithesis to the Humanist, freedom-loving Renaissance. Like the more basic appellative 'Jesuitical,' a synonym for manipulative, 'Jesuit style' was blamed for making extravagant appeals to the senses as a vehicle for control and domination. Wanton luxury, illusionism, vulgarity, and a specifically Italianate or Roman style were key features of this perjorative concept. Naturally, 'Jesuit style' became virtually synonymous in the late nineteenth century with an even more notoriously disparaging art term, the 'baroque.'[4] John W. O'Malley shows in his contribution to this volume that as late as 1921, Werner Weisbach was still directly linking the spirit of the baroque with Ignatius of Loyola. Most writers simply glossed over the facts that the foundation of the Society of Jesus long predated the style known as the baroque, and that the Jesuits' more exuberant style began only in the seventeenth century with Rubens's Jesuit imagery and, later on, the patronage of Father General Gian Paolo Oliva (1664–81), as Francis Haskell has demonstrated in a ground-breaking article.[5] This confusion echoes a larger debate raging at the time between Weisbach and Nikolaus Pevsner over whether mannerism or the baroque was the more characteristic style of the Counter Reformation.[6] Ultimately, 'Counter Reformation,' 'baroque,' and 'Jesuit style' have all become closely interrelated epithets for a militant, manipulative, overwrought, and insincere artistic hegemony. It was the visual manifestation of a group too often conceived, to borrow Ludwig von

Pastor's words, as 'a spiritual army placed unreservedly at the disposal of the Holy See for the accomplishment of Catholic reformation and restoration.'[7]

Not surprisingly, we may be able to blame the French for the notion of 'Jesuit style.' A rich tradition of anti-Jesuit literature in France dating back well before the time of Pascal (1623–62) gave birth to a wide variety of perjorative terms such as 'Jesuitism' and 'Jesuitical.'[8] As early as the seventeenth century the adjective acquired a more direct relationship to arts and architecture in a series of *jésuitiques*, or heavy-handed satires on the Society of Jesus. Typically they criticized the excessive wealth and opulence of Jesuit foundations: 'De beaux jardins, des bâtimens / Dignes de Seigneurs les plus grands.'[9] In one particularly inventive volume of 1674, based on the famed anti-Jesuit tract *Monita secreta* (1614), the author showed how the Jesuits used sumptuous chapel decoration to entrap rich widows by appealing to their sensuality.[10] Some of the *jésuitiques* in the eighteenth century were lampoons of the fabled Jesuit 'kingdoms' of Paraguay, and emphasized their excessive luxury and the rich wares of mission workshops and warehouses (fig. 2.1).[11] As with later studies of 'Jesuit style,' the tracts related this opulence to political despotism. Some of them may in fact have been thinly veiled attacks on the régime of Louis XV (1710–74). The tradition of Paraguayan *jésuitiques* was picked up by Voltaire (1694–1778) in the well-known passage from *Candide* in which the hero travels to Paraguay and visits one of the famed thirty 'reductions,' or missions, of the Society of Jesus. He describes the building where he dines with the Jesuit 'Commandant' as 'a leafy summer-house decorated with a very pretty colonnade of green marble and gold, and lattices enclosing parrots, hummingbirds, colibris, guinea-hens and many other rare birds.'[12] In both the tracts and Voltaire, this luxury was contrasted with the poverty of the Guaraní Indians. For Candide and the Commandant, 'an excellent breakfast stood ready in gold dishes ... while the Paraguayans were eating maize from wooden bowls.' Small wonder, given the long history of interest in them, that the Paraguay reductions have since then become one of the most flourishing Jesuit topics for art historical research.

The term 'Jesuit style' first was used in the first half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1843 the term *Jesuitenstil* started appearing in German encyclopaedias, where it referred to the Jesuits' excessive use of ornamentation and illusion to manipulate the masses.[13] There are shades of Voltaire in this description of the 'degenerate' Italian style of seventeenth-century Jesuit churches, which employed 'very costly materials, jasper, porphyry, lapis lazuli, and so forth ... for their decoration; ceilings, vaults, pilasters, and so forth, were overladen with the richest *Caskettirungen*, foliage, and festoons.'[14] We can almost hear the squawking of the parrots and the chirping of the guinea fowl. Entries on Jesuit style continued to appear well into the twentieth century, for example the entry

2.1. *Magazin de toutes sortes de marchandises, en gros et en detail*, illustration from *Remonstrances au parlement* ('Buenos Aires,' 1760). Photo courtesy of the John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

'Jésuite (art)' in the 1971 *Encyclopaedia universalis*.[15] The term 'Jesuitical' was also applied to architectural style in the mainstream literature of the mid-nineteenth century, for example when Baudelaire (1821–67) characterized the Jesuit churches of Belgium as 'Jésuitiques.'[16] In 1865 the French critic and historian Hippolyte-Adolphe Taine (1828–93), one of the most influential intel-

lectual figures of his period in France (together with Ernest Renan, referred to in this volume by Marc Fumaroli), blamed the Jesuits directly for a banal taste in architecture which differed from the true spirituality of the Gothic. He wrote about the interior of the Gesù (unaware that most of its 'jésuitiques' postdated Vignola's building by a century): 'This church resembles a magnificent banquet hall in a royal town house ... In [the Jesuits'] hands ... religion is made mundane ... but if they made *bonbons*, they did so with genius; the proof is that they conquered half of Europe in this fashion.'[17]

Scholars in the first three-quarters of the twentieth century, although generally abandoning the term itself, continued to suggest an affinity between the Jesuits and most of the negative qualities embodied in 'Jesuit style.' Geoffrey Scott, for example, in *The Architecture of Humanism*, closely echoed Taine: 'The achievement of the Jesuits lay in converting these preferences of a still pagan humanity to Catholic uses, aggressively answering the ascetic remonstrance of the Reformation by a still further concession to the mundane senses.'[18] The great English art historian and spy Anthony Blunt (1907–83) believed that Jesuit art was lowbrow and anti-Humanist. There is more than a slight echo of nineteenth-century French anti-Jesuitism in this characterization of the Society as a whole: 'One of the first objects of the Counter-Reformers was to abolish the right of the individual to settle all problems of thought or conscience according to the judgment of his own personal reason ... Of these the most powerful were the Inquisition and the Society of Jesus ... The latter was built up like a military organization on the basis of absolute, unquestioning obedience.'[19] It should come as little surprise, therefore, that Blunt had this to say about Jesuit art projects, blaming the Society not only for the baroque, but also – acknowledging the stylistic anachronism alluded to above – for a brand of mannerism: 'This worldly, emotional, anti-intellectual kind of religion produced its equivalent in the arts. In the seventeenth century the whole Baroque movement must be closely associated with the Jesuits, but even before that time there was a branch of Mannerist painting in which many of the same qualities could be found.'[20]

Blunt further stressed the Jesuit appeal to the emotions in *The Art and Architecture of France, 1500–1700* (1953), where he remarked that the restraint of the painter Philippe de Champaigne was 'as typical of the Jansenist approach to a miracle as Bernini's "St. Theresa" is of the Jesuit.'[21] The reference to Bernini recalls a classic work by Walter Weibel called *Jesuitismus und Barockskulptur* (1909), which proposed a direct connection between Bernini's art and the *Spiritual Exercises* in their emphasis on tangibility and realism, even going so far as to use the term *Jesuitenstil*.[22] Weibel's claim that Bernini actually made the full *Spiritual Exercises* is unproved, as Irving Lavin has pointed out, although Bernini was a great friend and disciple of Oliva.[23] Rudolf Wittkower gives

Weibel's thesis more propagandistic overtones, claiming that the *Exercises* created 'a vivid apprehension of any given subject for meditation by an extremely vivid appeal to the senses ... It is through emotional identification with the mood symbolized in a figure that the faithful are led to submit to the ethos of the triumphant Counter Reformation.'[24] The sense of conquest and manipulation which seeps through this remark recalls earlier myths of 'Jesuit style.' Wittkower further disparaged Jesuit artistic programs in his *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750* (1958), still the leading survey of the period and at present in its third revised edition. Contrasting Jesuit attitudes from the tenure of Oliva onward with the 'anti-aesthetic approach' of the 'militant Counter-Reformation,' he stated: 'In the course of the seventeenth century the Order of the Jesuits itself went through a characteristic metamorphosis ... Mundane interests in wealth, luxury, and political intrigue, and a frivolity in the interpretation of the vows replaced the original zealous and austere spirit of the Order.' Wittkower made similar remarks in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution* (1972), where his insistence on the propagandistic nature of Jesuit foundations led him mistakenly to attribute the Collegio di Propaganda Fide (1646–67) to the Society's patronage.[25]

The reader may be forgiven for thinking that I am wasting time on attitudes long dead. But a random investigation of some leading general art surveys shows that, far from being an outdated concept, 'Jesuit style,' or at least the anti-Jesuitical spirit associated with it, is alive and well. Even in the most recent edition of H.W. Janson's *History of Art* (1997), perhaps read by more undergraduates than any other book on art history, we see many of the same attitudes resurfacing about the Jesuits, who are characterized as 'representing the Church militant.'[26] Janson assumes that since the Gesù 'was the mother church of the Jesuits, its design must have been closely supervised so as to conform to the aims of the militant new order ... We may thus view it as the architectural embodiment of the spirit of the Counter Reformation.'[27] While there is no doubt that the Society had a great deal to say about their mother church, Janson has apparently overlooked the considerable and by no means recent literature on the patronage of the Gesù, which shows how decisive was the will of Alessandro Farnese in its ultimate design. This topic is taken up in this volume by Clare Robertson.[28] The notion of the Jesuits as dazzling the masses with the aim of spiritual manipulation is alive and well in Janson's description of the Gesù's design, which evokes images of cattle cars, 'herding the congregation quite literally into one large, hall-like space,' the 'theatrical' use of light at the altar giving it 'a stronger emotional focus than we have yet found in a church interior.'

The concept of 'Jesuit style,' whether used in name or in spirit, has lost most of its validity among specialists ever since the publication of Wittkower and Jaffe's landmark volume *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution* (1972). In it, Wittkower

himself tried to lay 'Jesuit style' to rest despite his dislike for the Jesuits' 'mundane' taste in the arts, and showed that far from being uniform the Society had deep-seated differences in artistic taste from the beginning. He also indicated the problem of proposing a specifically Jesuit manner when so many non-Jesuit artists and architects were involved in Jesuit projects. Architects such as Giacomo da Vignola (1507–73), Giacomo della Porta (c. 1507–1602), Girolamo Rainaldi (1570–1655), and Carlo Fontana (1634/8–1714) were able to work for the Jesuits yet maintain their freedom of expression, thereby challenging the popular perception of Jesuit foundations as monolithic. Wittkower raised here the essential problem with studying style as an institutionally based phenomenon in a field where it tends to be understood as a product of region or artistic personality. In the same volume James S. Ackerman exploded the myth that the Gesù (see fig. 5.1, p. 135) was the purest embodiment of Jesuit ideals and showed that those features of it that would influence the baroque were not necessarily of Jesuit origin; Howard Hibbard eloquently demonstrated how little stylistic unity there was even in the original decorative program of the Gesù; and Francis Haskell reiterated that the exuberant, illusionistic period of Jesuit patronage began over a century after the Society was founded. Wittkower concluded moderately that there was a 'Jesuit strategy in artistic matters,' a fairly vague sense by the Society at the time about what their buildings should look like, a certain amount of control from Rome, and some degree of stylistic conformity owing to the itinerant nature of Jesuit artists and architects.[29] The conclusions reached by these authors have set the tone for subsequent research on Jesuit art topics.

Noster modus?

Ironically, the Jesuits themselves are also partly to blame for the tenacity of the concept of 'Jesuit style' in the arts. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Jesuits believed that their architectural and artistic projects, like their myriad other enterprises, adhered to what they termed *noster modus procedendi*, 'our way of proceeding.'[30] Pietro Pirri showed, for example, that the Jesuits from the superior general down described the style of the Jesuit architect Giovanni Tristano (active 1555–75), who designed the original Collegio Romano and a string of important churches from Naples to Ferrara, as 'modo proprio.'[31] However, his style was not predetermined by the Jesuits, but fully formed before he entered the Society, and strongly influenced by his Ferrarese origins.

The Jesuits also made several attempts, most of which came to naught, to centralize and control the design of their worldwide foundations, with the fortuitous result that for three centuries plans of Jesuit projects from many parts

of Europe and the world were sent to Rome.[32] The question posed by many art historians, especially from the 1950s onward, was whether the term *noster modus* referred to a true stylistic unity or to something more vague. After all, it appears to have been used indiscriminately, encompassing everything from severe Herreran classicism to sugar-coated Bavarian baroque. It was used even on the missions to refer to structures employing indigenous forms and techniques. It turns out to be virtually impossible to link this term, used mostly by non-artists and having a largely pastoral and practical meaning, with the modern notion of style and stylistic development, which has its roots in nineteenth-century academia.

The Jesuits had a similar conception of the role of the design of the Gesù. All around the globe, Jesuits built churches they described as being 'just like the Gesù.'[33] There is no doubt that the Gesù was an extremely influential building, especially in Italy; however, anything beyond a basic emulation of its plan is rare.[34] Thomas daCosta Kaufmann in his contribution to this volume discusses one such foundation in Vienna, which makes direct quotations from the mother church, but such a practice was certainly not the norm. Even in France, François de Dainville pointed out, the term referred more to size and commodiousness than style – precisely the qualities implied by *noster modus*.[35] When we expand our scope to include the rest of the world as this volume compels us to do, we are even less likely to find miniature Gesùs with della Porta façades and Farnese barrel vaults. On the overseas missions, Jesuit mission churches supposedly 'just like the Gesù' were built almost uniformly with rudimentary three-aisled floor plans imitating early Christian basilicas, a characteristic they shared with churches built by the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and others. In their elevations these structures often diverged even further from Roman prototypes, adapting to a wide spectrum of regional variations in technique and style, probably to a greater degree than did those of the other orders. The mission churches that did pay lip-service to Italian architecture did so not by copying engravings of the Gesù, but by referring on a much more basic level to the major classical and Renaissance treatises on architecture. Illustrated copies of architectural manuals by Vitruvius, Alberti, Palladio, Serlio, and Scamozzi, among others, were included in Jesuit libraries in Asia and the Americas, and recognizably Serlian motifs turn up in places like a church built in Ethiopia by Pedro Paez, S.J., in 1619–20, whose façade looks remarkably like Tristano's Church of the Annunziata in Rome.[36] David M. Kowal demonstrates in his paper in this volume the impact of Serlio on Jesuit architecture in Goa.

Only at the beginning of the eighteenth century did Jesuit foundations overseas first quote literally from a Jesuit building in Rome, but this time they emulated newer foundations, especially the decorations of the new Church of

Sant'Ignazio (1693–4) and the Chapel of St Ignatius at the Gesù (completed 1699), which provided the model for the high altar of the Church of the Bom Jesus in Goa, which houses the tomb of St Francis Xavier (c. 1698) (see fig. 22.4, p. 491). Thanks largely to Andrea Pozzo's own *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (Rome, 1693) and to engravings of the sculptural groups at the Chapel of St Ignatius, churches in China, India, and Paraguay reflected Jesuit Roman models in a way that the modern mind might consider more stylistically accurate. The earlier structures had a different concept of the copy, one that had more to do with semantics than with style – precisely what makes *noster modus* so difficult to define.

In the 1950s a group of scholars tried to tackle the issue of *noster modus* in architecture by going back to archival material, including the crucial collection of plans for Jesuit building projects at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which had already been studied by Braun. Pietro Pirri, Pierre Moisy, Jean Vallery-Radot, and Pio Pecchiai postulated that the Jesuit mode related to more practical and technical issues such as size, position of sacristies and vestries, economy, and speed.[37] Although none of them believed that 'style' in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century sense came into play, they all identified what they felt to be universal Jesuit architectural forms.

Pirri pointed to Tristano's use of *corretti* (tribunes) in his churches as something 'non essenziale, ma caratteristica della nascente architettura gesuitica.'[38] Moisy cited the common simplicity and austerity of Jesuit foundations, and identified a church plan he believed to be unique to the Society, at least in France – the so-called Martellange scheme, devised by the Jesuit architect Etienne Martellange (1569–1641).[39] Vallery-Radot isolated what he believed to be a unifying *esprit* in Jesuit architecture, characterized by the preference for a spacious rectangular, single-naved church with side chapels, which he compares to the *esprit* found in Cluniac, Benedictine, or Cistercian foundations.[40] Pecchiai also pointed to other orders, indicating how much the plan of the Gesù owes to Franciscan and Dominican predecessors, as well as to earlier churches in Rome. Although he did not deal specifically with the term *noster modus*, Pecchiai demonstrated that the plans and elevations of Jesuit churches were closely tied to practical and economic criteria and, although fairly uniform, were not significantly different from those of the churches of other orders.[41] None of these supposedly universal forms operated beyond the regional level or even, in later periods, in the same country. But the new scholarly emphasis on the practical goals of the Society, along with the desire to identify universal Jesuit architectural forms or mentalities, has continued to exert a strong influence on scholarship in the last few decades.

New Directions

Fortunately, the study of the art and architecture of the Society of Jesus has survived the century-and-a-half-long debate over 'Jesuit style.' In fact, it is flourishing as never before. Building on the foundations of archivists such as Braun, Pirri, Vallery-Radot, and Pecchiai, and viewing 'Jesuit style' and its associations with a critical eye, the last two generations of scholars the world over have changed radically the way Jesuit art is studied. First and most obviously, the scope of the field has expanded so that the Society of Jesus is now considered in its global context, as this volume attests. At the same time, scholars are focusing their lenses more and more on single regions, cities, buildings, artists, or even works of art, acknowledging the diversity and heterogeneity that make the Jesuit enterprise both rich and hard to define. Many scholars are moving away from a traditional institutional treatment of the subject to look at the role played by other agents in what O'Malley in this volume calls 'negotiation.' One particularly fruitful direction has been the study of non-Jesuit patronage of Jesuit projects, or of patronage by Jesuits of non-Jesuit artists, and the function of Jesuit foundations within their greater cultural context. Another approach, especially evident in this volume, is the new focus on the impact of non-Europeans on Jesuit corporate culture. Even more so than in Europe, the Jesuit artistic and architectural projects overseas owed a profound debt to 'the Other.' The field is also being enriched by new methodologies, including cultural history, anthropology, postcolonial theory, and urban geography.

But the interest in *noster modus* is by no means dead. Some, following the example of Vallery-Radot and others, seek a definition in terms of corporate orientation, or, as Joseph Connors puts it, a 'corporate strategy.' Others go further and seek to identify basic common architectural and iconographic forms, even reviving the discussion over 'Jesuit style' itself. Since the Jesuits were so intimately linked with the culture of early modern Catholicism in general, and mention of the Jesuits turns up in a great number of studies of the period, the following survey cannot hope to cover everything written about the Society and the arts in recent years. I do hope, however, to provide a sketch of the works that treat Jesuit subjects exclusively or principally.

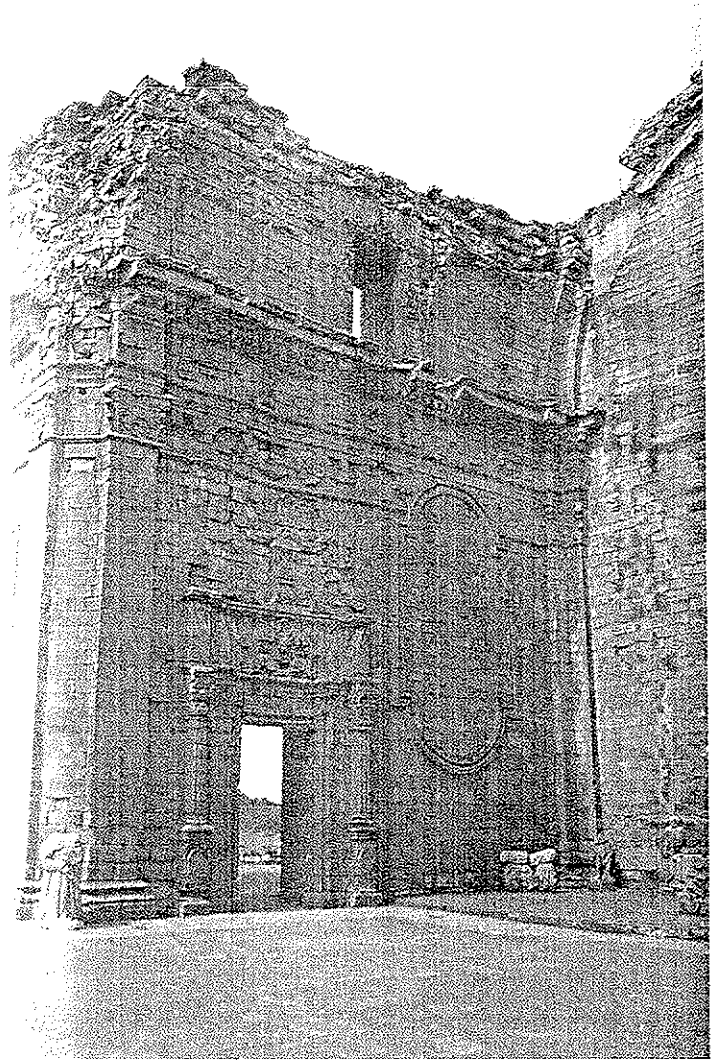
Global Patrons

The art history of the Jesuits is the art history of the world. In keeping with scholarship on early modern Catholicism in general, Jesuit art historiography has become increasingly global in scope. In actual fact it always has been global,

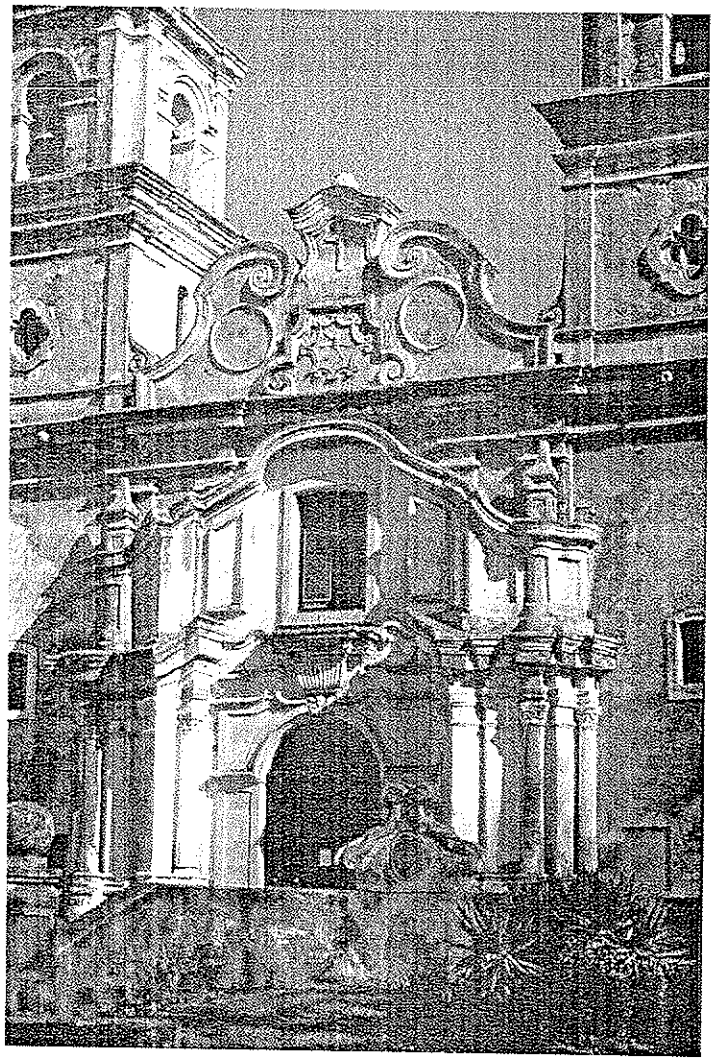
2.2. Church of the São Miguel reduction, Brazil. By Gianbattista Primoli, c. 1730.
Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.

only now historians of European art are becoming aware of a rich tradition of scholarship on Jesuit art and architecture in Latin America and Asia that dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century or earlier. Before embarking on recent research, I will review briefly this earlier literature.

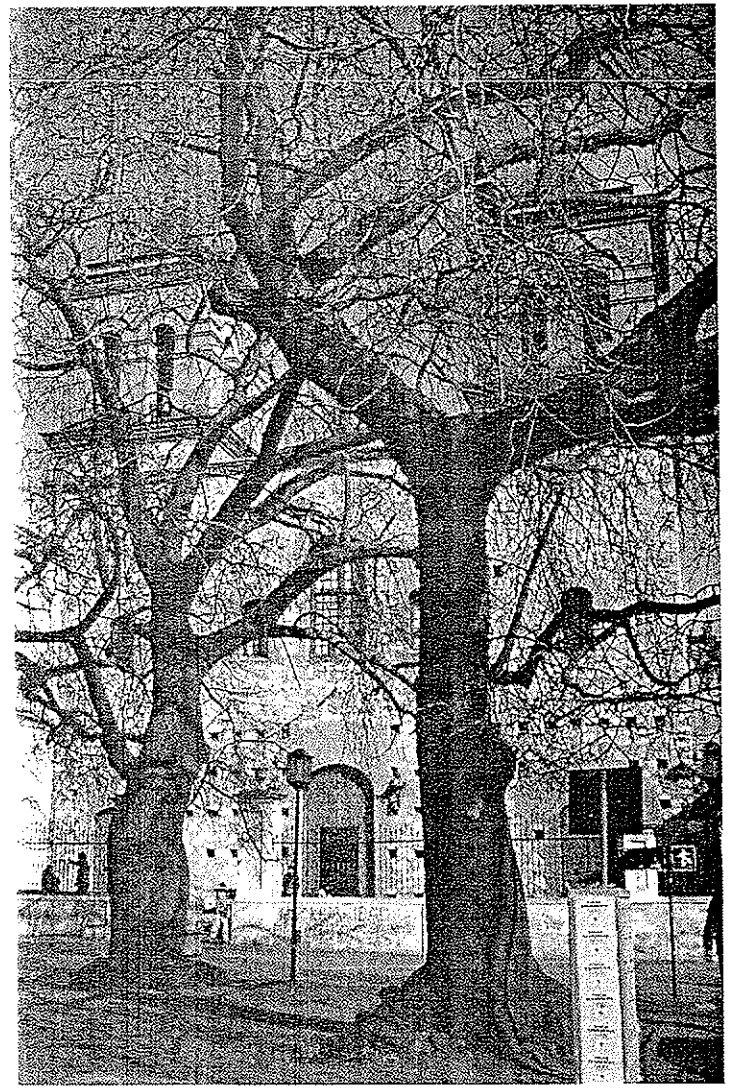
The most productive field, then as today, was South America. Between the 1930s and 1960s, scholars such as Guillermo Furlong, S.J., Miguel Solá, Victor Nadal Mora, Robert Smith, Hector Schenone, and M.J. Buschiazzo brought the full benefit of archival research, architectural surveys, and art inventories to Jesuit art history in Peru, Chile, Brazil, and, above all, Argentina and Paraguay (figs 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5).[42] Although these works offered relatively little analysis – a more contemporary concern – they built a solid foundation of rigorous scholarship and remain invaluable. In the early 1960s, scholars such as Felix Plattner, José de Mesa, and Teresa Gisbert produced monographs on the work of individual Jesuit artists in Latin America, including the Italian Bernardo Bitti (d. 1610) and a wide range of Jesuit architects of German origin (fig. 2.4.).[43] Some of the same issues that we have seen in European scholarship have appeared in Latin American assessments of Jesuit art. In particular, scholars have debated the validity of the supposition that an Italianate style predominated in



2.3. Interior view looking towards the crossing, church of the Santísima Trinidad reduction, Paraguay. By Gianbattista Primoli, c. 1730.
Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.



2.4. Church of the Jesuit *estancia* of Santa Catalina, Sierras de Córdoba, Argentina. By Anton Harls (?), begun in the first third of the eighteenth century. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.



2.5. Compañía, Córdoba, Argentina. By Bartolomé Cardeñosa and Philippe Lemaire, begun c. 1645–54 and completed in 1671. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.

Jesuit architecture, the role of illusion and manipulation in Jesuit church interiors, and the relationship of the Society to the 'baroque.'

Serious study of Jesuit art in Asia goes back even further. Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the 1930s, Protestant officials of the British raj such as Sir Edward Maclagan (1864–1952) became fascinated with the artistic interaction between the Society of Jesus and the great Mughals of India (1526–1858).[44] In a particularly creative burst of Eurocentrism, some scholars even proposed that the Jesuits and their European agents were responsible for the design of the Taj Mahal (1632–43), a myth that took almost as long to dispel as that of 'Jesuit style.'[45] Scholars alternated between disdain for and adulation of the Jesuits, depending upon whether they happened to be discussing them as papists or as Europeans. Others, including Maclagan himself, were thorough and relatively impartial, and their work remains extremely valuable today.

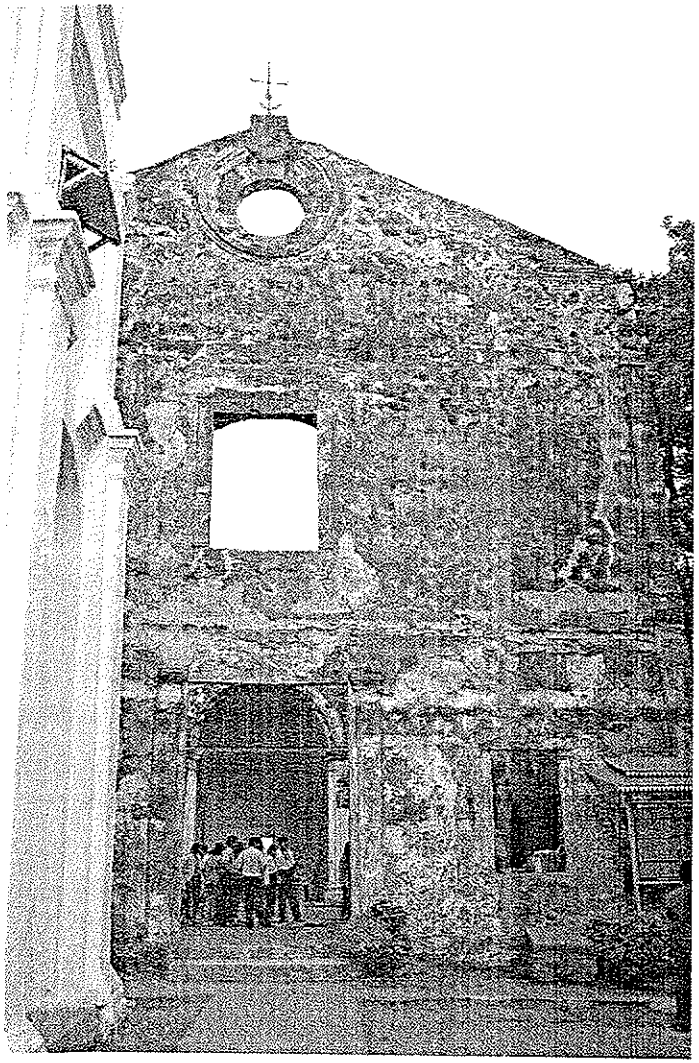
In the decades before World War II, Japanese scholars like Tokihide Nagayama, Terukazu Akiyama, Tei Nishimura, and Idzuru Shimmura showed great interest in Jesuit devotional art in Japan, especially its influence on the painting of Japanese *namban byōbu*, or 'southern barbarian screens.'[46] Soon afterwards a number of European scholars, many of them Germans and none of them art historians, began to explore the artistic impact of what was Japan's first contact with Europe. These included Georg Schurhammer, S.J., and Joseph Schütte, S.J., the biographers of Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano respectively, as well as the great English historian C.R. Boxer.[47] The only Western art historian to pay attention to this field was the American John McCall, who in the 1940s and 1950s wrote a lengthy survey of Jesuit art in Japan and China. McCall is responsible for coining the fictitious name 'Academy of St Luke' for the remarkable Jesuit art school and workshop which became the largest ever to operate on the Asian missions.[48]

Scholarship on Jesuit art history in China also originated in the 1920s, but here most of the interest came from France and Italy. One prominent art historian was among them – Paul Pelliot, one of the original excavators of the famed Buddhist caves of Dunhuang. Others, including the Jesuits Henri Bernard and Pasquale M. d'Elia, focused on the art of the mission during the time of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and shortly afterwards, but in the 1940s George Loehr shifted attention to the period of the Italian Jesuit painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766) and the Qing court.[49] This famous era, when Jesuit artists worked for the Qing emperor as glorified domestic servants and had a limited (and too often exaggerated) influence on court art, would henceforth dominate the scholarship on the subject. As for Portuguese Asia (figs 2.6, 2.7, 2.13, 2.14), a small amount of interest was shown in Jesuit architecture in Macao and Portuguese India in the 1940s and

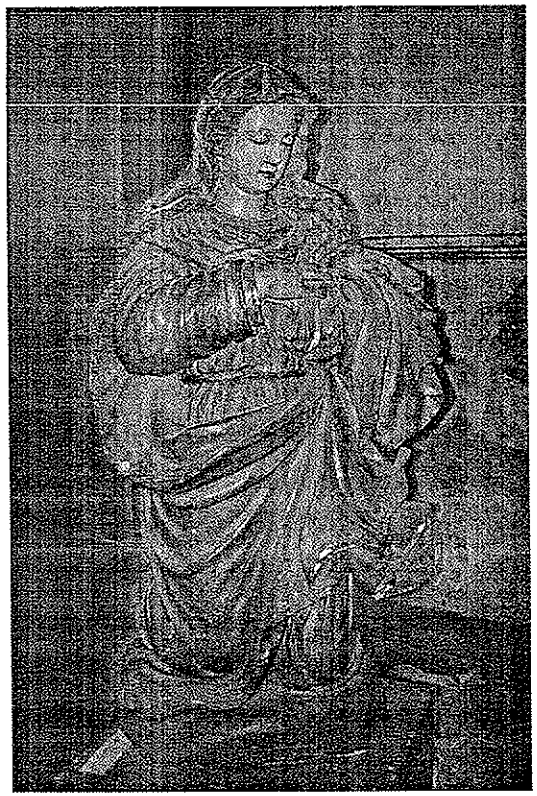
2.6. The Jesuit fortress, or Fortaleza do Monte, at Macao, 1626.
Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.

1950s by Manuel Teixeira, Mário T. Chicó, and others, but that area has remained sorely understudied until more recently.[50]

Whereas interest in the Asian artistic projects of the Jesuits remains comparably slim today, even the European literature does not exceed the amount of more recent work on Latin America. This is not so surprising when we consider that in some South American countries colonial art was virtually equatable with Jesuit art. In the past decade, Paraguay and Bolivia alone have been the subject of two substantial, full-colour volumes of essays;[51] four major museum exhibitions, in New York (1988–9), Madrid (1995), Paris (1995), and Lucerne (1994), each with a scholarly catalogue;[52] and a bewildering number of books and articles. As in earlier decades, architectural studies still dominate the field, especially now that the buildings of both the Chiquitos and the Paraguay reductions have been extensively, if not always accurately, restored.[53] Nevertheless, scholars are showing more interest than ever before in the sculpture and painting of the missions (fig. 2.8), subjects which until very recently lacked even basic chronologies. The pioneers are Josefina Plá, whose sensitively written *Barroco hispano-guaraní* (1964) is a classic in the field; Ernesto Maeder; Ramón Gutiérrez; Adolf Luis Ribera; Susana Fabrici; and especially Bozidar Darko Sustersic,



2.7. Church of São Paulo, Malacca, Malaysia, 1521. It was here that Francis Xavier preached in one of the most prosperous and cosmopolitan ports on earth. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.



2.8. *The Virgin Mary*, from an *Annunciation* group. Guaraní, eighteenth century. Loreto Chapel Museum, Santa Rosa, Paraguay. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.

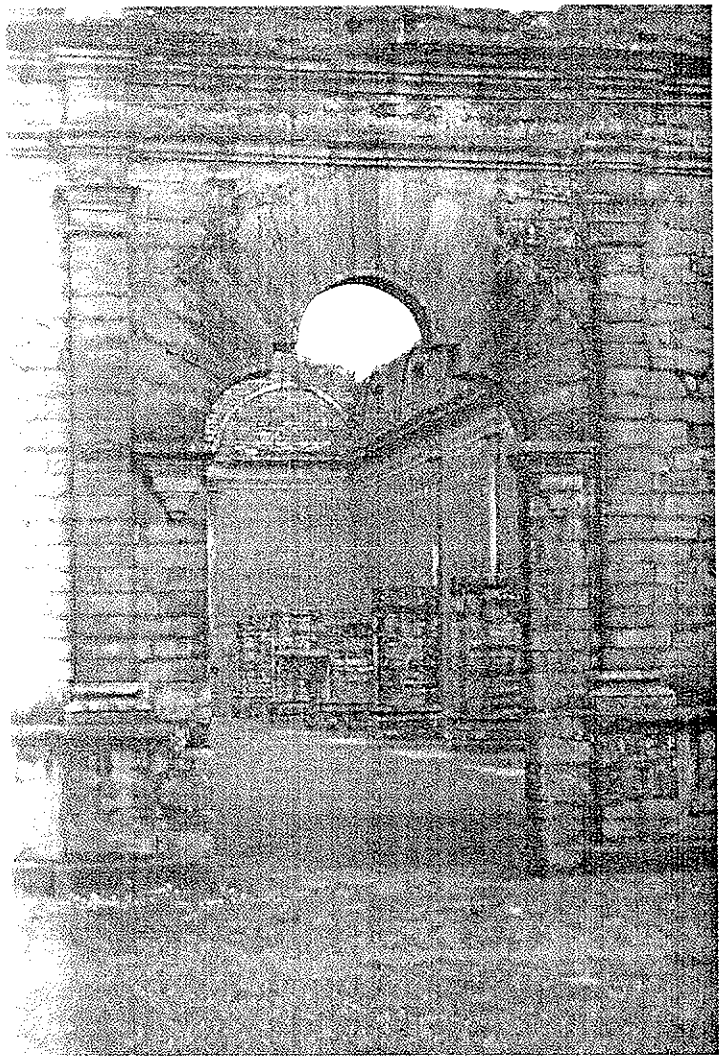
who has gone further than any of his contemporaries in creating a working typology for reduction sculpture.[54]

Scholars of South American Jesuit art have also shifted their focus from traditional institutional history to social history, economics, urbanism, and the careers of individual artists. Plá and especially Maeder have vastly increased our understanding of the social and economic aspects of Jesuit art ateliers on the reductions, workshops which were so extensive that they supplied art and furniture to most of the southern cone of South America until 1767.[55] Norberto

Levinton and Pedro Querejazu have moved away from the tendency to equate Jesuit art with the baroque, focusing on the influence of Islamic, or *mudéjar*, style on the Paraguay and Chiquitos reductions (fig. 2.9).[56] Gutiérrez has looked at Jesuit urbanism, proposing that Jesuit reduction towns were unique in Spanish America and departed significantly from the city plans decreed by Philip II of Spain in 1573.[57] He calls these new city plans, which owe something to indigenous tradition as well as to other factors, the 'Jesuit model.' Acculturation studies have also influenced studies of reduction sculpture, particularly in the work of Ticio Escobar. Working from an anthropological background, Escobar is the first to make a serious case for indigenous content in the style and even iconography of reduction art, something he does by relating it to the art of neighbouring unconverted tribes with whom the reduction Guaraní maintained contact throughout the colonial period.[58] In recent decades more studies have appeared of individual artists, most notably that of Dalmacio Sobrón, S.J., on the architect Giovanni Andrea Bianchi (1675–1740), that of Sustersic on the sculptor Giuseppe Brasanelli (1659–1728), and that of Rainald Fischer on the Swiss architect of the Chiquitos mission, Martin Schmid (1694–1772).[59] A goal of this volume is to encourage multi-perspectival approaches to individual Jesuit figures, and it is fair to comment that a recent exhibition devoted to Schmid was innovative in considering its subject simultaneously as missionary, musician, and architect.[60] Schmid, incidentally, was one of the authors of the opera *San Ignacio de Loyola*, the only surviving opera from the Paraguayan reductions.

There is also a widening of scope in the scholarship on the art of the Jesuits in Latin America to include regions and countries not considered before. Argentina has benefited enormously from a series of recent government inventories of individual Argentine provinces, whereby a wider spectrum of Jesuit art, architecture, and furniture has been brought to public attention than ever before.[61] Brazilian scholars, including Beatriz Santos de Oliveira and Maria Inês Coutinho, have become more active in the field, in producing studies not only of the Guaraní reductions in Brazil but of Jesuit architecture and urbanism in Rio de Janeiro and city planning on the Portuguese-run Jesuit Tupí-Guaraní *aldeias*.[62] The Jesuit contribution to baroque art in Ecuador has recently attracted attention in two studies, by Jimena Carcelen de Coronel and G. Ted Bohr, S.J., devoted to the Compañía church at Quito alone.[63] Since the 1970s several important publications by scholars such as María del Consuelo Maquívar and Marco Díaz have dealt with Jesuit art and architecture in New Spain (Mexico), and have included studies on sculptural programs at the Jesuit novitiate at Tepotzotlán (fig. 2.10) and on the architecture of the Jesuits in northern New Spain.[64] Clara Bargellini's contribution to this volume contains more references to the work in this area.

In the meantime, study of the Asian missions has lagged behind. Although



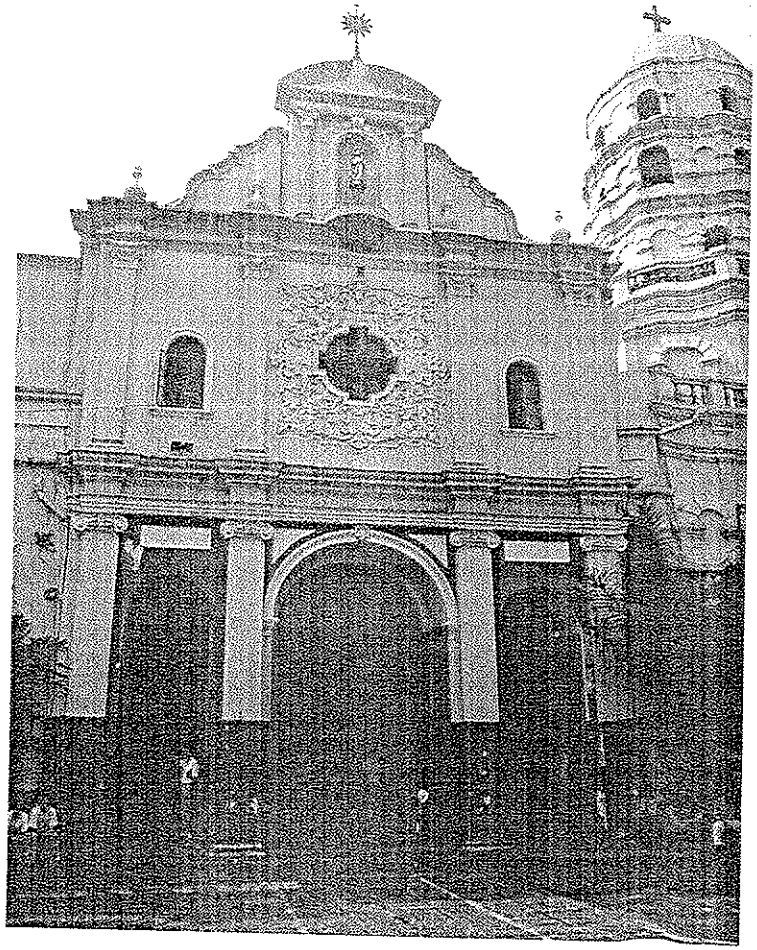
9 Detail of a *mudéjar* doorway in the façade of the church of the Jesús reduction, Paraguay. By Juan Antonio Ribera (?) and José Grimau, 1765–7 (unfinished). Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.

2.10. The Jesuit novitiate church of San Martín at Tepotzotlán, Mexico. Built mostly between 1628 and 1762. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.

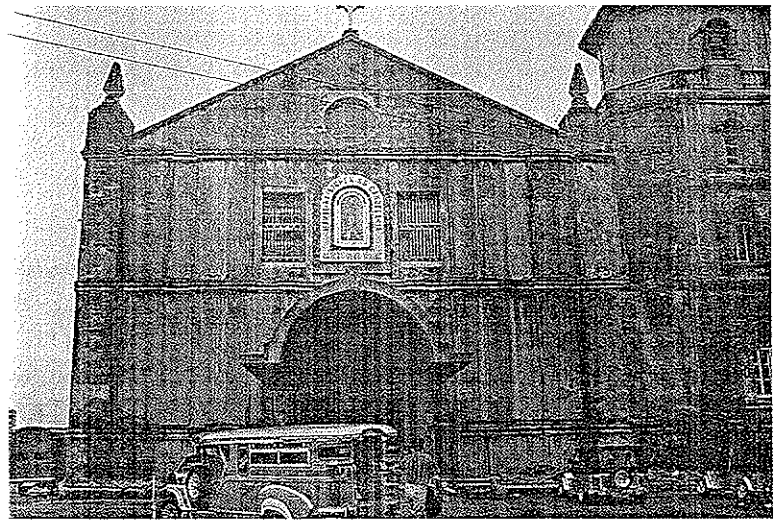
Sinologists have devoted unprecedented attention to Castiglione and his contribution to the Qing court, there is very little work on the art of the missions themselves, which operated more on a grassroots level and were often subtly acculturative in the visual arts.[65] One exception is an important article by Harrie Vanderstappen (1988), which opened many intriguing possibilities for research but has remained largely unheeded.[66] I would like to see less work on Castiglione, whose situation was artificial and had little to do with the goals of the Society, and more on the Chinese Jesuit Wu Li (1632–1716), the celebrated Qing scholar-painter who was also a missionary and has much to teach us about 'Jesuit style.' Here was a man who was a committed Christian, who spent the latter years of his life missionizing in his native Jiangsu, yet who refused to relinquish his *cultural* commitment to the Chinese scholar-painter tradition (*wenren hua*), which he believed was more innately spiritual than any equivalent in Western art.[67] Wu has yet to be claimed by Jesuit art historiography. Prominent Sinologists such as James Cahill and Michael Sullivan have tried to show the influence of the engravings brought by the Jesuits (including Nadal) on the *wenren hua* tradition, but such influence remains elusive at best.[68] In the meantime, innovative new work on the imagery of the China missions has been incorporated into an educational project called ChinaVision by Erik Zürcher and Ellen Uitzinger, and an important monograph on the subject entitled *Exhibition of 'Western-Style Paintings of China' – Paintings, Prints, and Illustrations from Ming to Qing Dynasties* was issued in 1995 in Tokyo by the Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts. New studies of Chinese-language texts reacting to the art of the Jesuits are being undertaken by Catherine Pagani at the University of Alabama and Huihung Chen at Brown University, and by others in a recent volume on the inscriptions in the Jesuit cemetery in Beijing.[69]

Virtually no new archival research has been undertaken on the art of the Japan mission, although several recent publications deal with Namban art and the influence of European art on Momoyama culture.[70] My own work has reconsidered the Jesuit mission to Mughal India (1585–1773), at its height one of the most flourishing cultural exchanges in Jesuit mission history, in terms of the Mughal reception of Western art and iconography, a topic also recently taken up by Ebba Koch and Khalid Anis Ahmed.[71] In addition, K.K. Muhammed has just excavated the Jesuit church at Akbar's capital of Fatehpur Sikri and the famous debating hall where the Jesuits conversed with members of different faiths.[72] As in Latin America, new areas of Asia are being explored for the first time, for example in the ground-breaking monographs on Jesuit architecture and colonial church architecture in the Philippines (figs 2.11, 2.12) by René B. Javellana, S.J., and Regalado Trota José.[73]

The Macanese scholarly community also has been active in restoring and



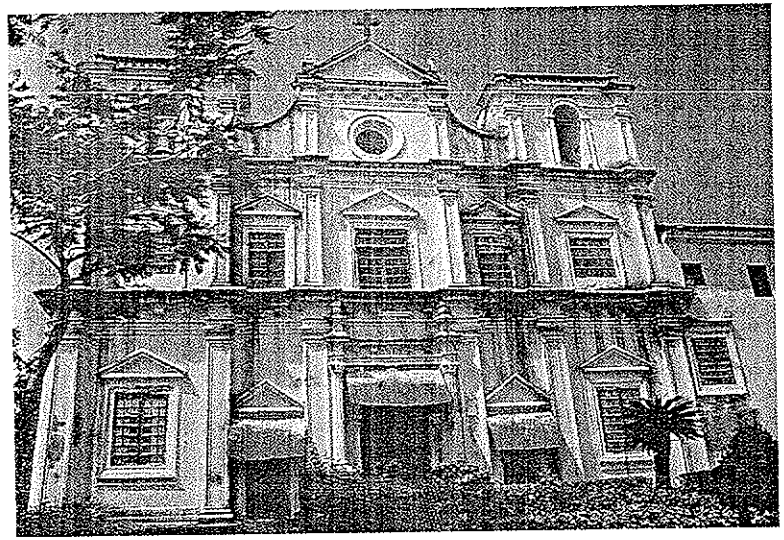
2.11. The church of the Jesuit college of San Ildefonso, Santa Cruz, Manila, Philippines. Built in 1688 and heavily restored in 1869. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.



2.12. The Jesuit mission church of Silang, Cavite, Philippines, before 1645. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.

researching the great Jesuit college church of São Paulo (begun in 1601) in Macao (fig. 2.13), which was recently the subject of an exhibition and conference (1994).[74] Portuguese scholars showed new interest in Indo-Portuguese art in preparation for the celebrations of the 1998 Vasco da Gama quincentenary, although so far little specifically on the Jesuits has appeared.[75] The most prominent art historian now working on that material is David M. Kowal, whose contribution to this volume is the first reassessment of Jesuit architecture in Portuguese India since Chicó (fig. 2.14). Portuguese Jesuit forays into Ethiopia, a field of especially rich potential for the history of art, have recently been the subject of pioneering work by Marilyn Heldman, the first scholar seriously to examine Jesuit art in Africa.[76] Images such as the Virgin of St Luke in the Borghese Chapel at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome were quickly disseminated in Ethiopia and persevered for centuries in Ethiopian miniature painting. I hope to fill some of the gaps in the study of Jesuit mission art with my comparative survey of Jesuit mission art in Asia and Latin America; that survey for the first time will bring the two areas together for consideration.[77] My volume will treat the missions in China, Japan, Mughal India, and Paraguay, against the

2.13. The Jesuit church of Nossa Senhora da Assunção (better known as either Madre de Deus or São Paulo), Macao. By Carlo Spinola (?), begun in 1601 and completed in mid-century. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.



2.14. The church of the Jesuit college at Rachol, Salcete, India, 1580. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.

background of Jesuit efforts in New Spain, Peru, and the Philippines, with an emphasis on the indigenous participants in mission culture.

The Jesuits in Europe

Now let us return once more to Europe, where like its counterpart in Latin America Jesuit art and architecture has received unprecedented attention in the last few decades. There is still, however, a marked preference for architectural studies over those treating painting and sculpture. Like those in the first half of the twentieth century, most of these studies are regional; now, however, there is a tendency to focus more closely on smaller areas or individual cities. Many of the recent studies have appeared as exhibition catalogues. The 1990s in particular has been a decade for exhibitions on the Society, including many held to celebrate the Ignatian year 1990–1. Scholarly catalogues from shows in Augsburg (1982), Vatican City (1990), Milan (1990), Munich (1991), Ingolstadt (1991), Toulouse (1991), Lisbon (1997), and Munich again (1997) have contributed greatly to our understanding of regional peculiarities of the Jesuit enterprise in Germany, France, Portugal, and Rome.[78] Most of them are refreshingly interdis-

ciplinary in nature, and they tend to interpret their subjects in their greater geographical and social context. One prominent approach is the study of patronage issues and Jesuit urban strategy, as for example in the article by Thomas M. Lucas, S.J., on the urban mission in Rome and in Johannes Terhalle's piece on the Jesuit church of St Michael in Munich (see fig. 27.2, p. 570), which relates the urban approach shown in Munich to earlier approaches in Rome.[79] Terhalle also provides an excellent summary of the problem of 'Jesuit style' and *noster modus*. I will return to patronage and urbanism shortly. Two other exhibitions, of Jesuit art in United States collections, have also enhanced the scholarly literature, including a useful survey of Jesuit iconography by Jane ten Brink Goldsmith and valuable bibliographies.[80]

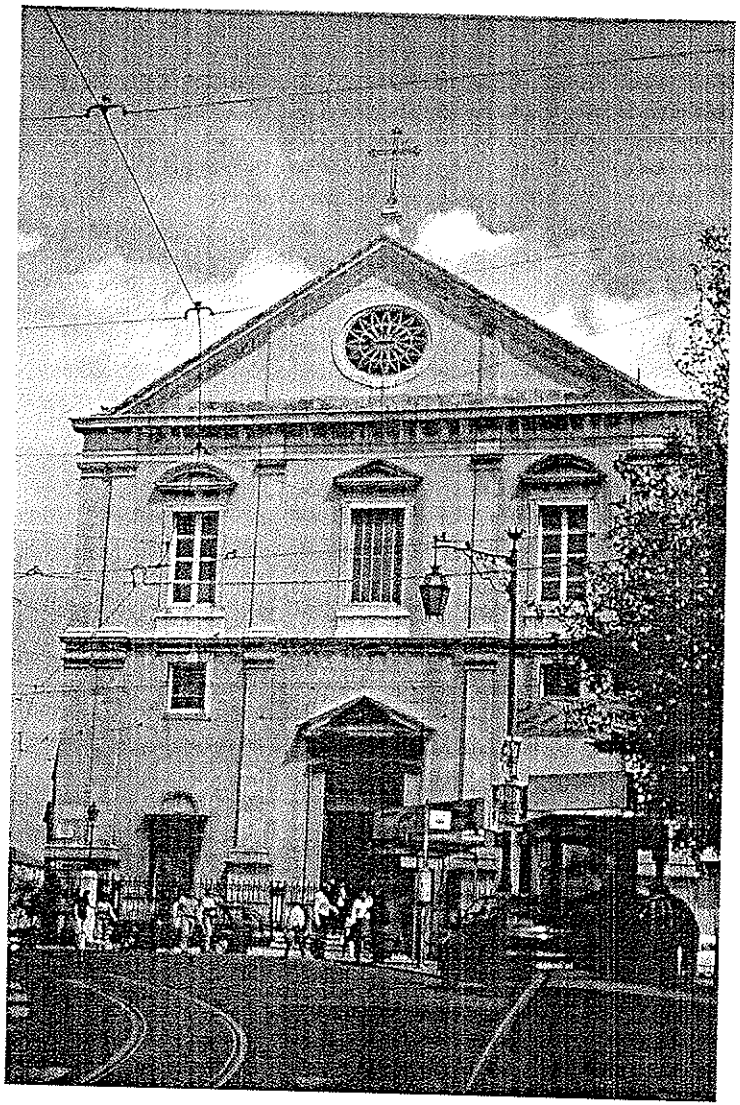
Italy is now the most productive European field, thanks in part to Richard Bösel's extensive project to publish the Italian architectural plans from the Bibliothèque Nationale, following in the footsteps of Braun, Moisy, and Vallery-Radot. Only one volume is yet complete (on the Roman and Neapolitan provinces), but we can get an idea of his greater conclusions about Jesuit architecture in Italy from several extremely insightful articles on individual churches or architects.[81] Bösel seeks architectural commonalities (*ordensintern entwickelter Bautypen*) among Jesuit foundations and raises once again – with caution – the notion of 'Jesuit style.' I hope that we will not allow the search for such types, which can never extend far beyond individual regions anyway, to overshadow the much more exciting conclusion of Bösel's study – namely, that individual Jesuit buildings were more innovative and creative than most people realized. It turns out that the Jesuits were interested in aesthetics after all. Bösel correctly points out that in the aftermath of the 'Jesuit style' controversy scholars went too far in denying the Jesuits a role in style, by assuming they were concerned solely with practicality and austerity.[82] In the end these scholars drove a wedge between style and function. Dainville (1955), for example, had written, 'Il n'y a pas de style jésuite parce que l'architecture des Jésuites est avant tout utilitaire et pratique,' and Howard Hibbard comments in his much more recent monograph on Caravaggio (1983) that for the Jesuits 'artistic concerns were limited to subject matter.'[83]

This shift in focus in the 1950s to the practical aims of the Society has been used to promote a newer incarnation of the Jesuits-as-anti-Humanists topos, in which their architecture is characterized as plain and 'anti-classical' and as being as much opposed to true Renaissance ideals as the wedding-cake church interiors lambasted in the *Jesuitenstil* entries. The anti-classical Jesuit model was recently taken up by Sandro Benedetti, in his work on sixteenth-century Italian architecture (1984).[84] Benedetti uses the oft-quoted rule from the First General Congregation of the Society of Jesus (1558) calling for practicality and plainness in Jesuit foundations to demonstrate an underlying ideal of poverty. That statement, however, referred only to houses, leaving the door wide open for church

architecture, as Joseph Connors notes in his reflection at the end of this volume.[85] The Jesuits had little idea where they wanted to go artistically in the first century and had not even decided whether they preferred austerity or magnificence. Moreover, in those early days the Society was constantly strapped for cash, and forced thereby to abandon, prolong, or alter artistic and architectural commissions, which often ended up looking haphazard and unplanned as a result. They were often forced also, for similar reasons, to use second-rate artists. As Derek Moore has asked in his review of Benedetti's book, 'Is it not too easy to see the aesthetic of functionalism for the results of necessity, the ideal of poverty for a poverty of ideas?'[86]

More recent work on the Italian architecture of the Society of Jesus includes a survey of Jesuit architecture in Tuscany by Mario Bencivenni (1996) and the *atti* from a 1990 Milan symposium which considered Jesuit architecture from Sicily to Venice.[87] One of the highlights of the symposium, by Bösel again, is a much-needed comparative study of the architecture of different religious orders including the Jesuits, here focusing on their relationship to their mother churches.[88] He proposes that many orders promoted distinctive architectural solutions based on particularly beloved churches belonging to their order, in a conscious statement of self-representation. The biggest surprise, perhaps, to those who see such buildings as reflections of 'Counter-Reformation' principles, is that the mother churches of some orders were sometimes built by other orders – the mother church of the Barnabites, for example, was built before that order was even founded – or were not designed to adhere to liturgically specific rules. The Milan symposium volume also includes a thoughtful discussion of Jesuit urbanism by Angela Marino that identifies *noster modus* in architecture as a 'modo operativo' and not a 'modo normativo' – that is, as characterized by precisely the flexibility and adaptation to local usage that makes Jesuit buildings so difficult to generalize about.[89] Two recent surveys, one by Evonne E. Levy (1990) and the other my own work (1999), reassess Jesuit painting programs in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rome and Italy, attempting to compensate for the detailed picture provided by architecture studies; but much work remains to be done.[90]

Although their work does not compare in volume to the scholarship on Italy, scholars have also recently paid attention to Jesuit foundations and art in the Iberian Peninsula, especially Portugal. This is not surprising, given that in the 1940s Portuguese scholars maintained that Jesuit architecture in Portugal had inspired the Roman Gesù and the Italian baroque by serving as a conduit into Europe for Oriental extravagance. Monographs have appeared on the more important Jesuit buildings in Portugal, such as São Roque (fig. 2.15) and the college at Funchal, and a 1994 dissertation by Fausto Sanches Martins surveys the entire architectural production of the Old Society in that country.[91] Nuno Vassallo e Silva, director of the São Roque Museum and a specialist in



2.15. The Jesuit church of São Roque, Lisbon, Portugal. Begun in 1566. Photo courtesy of Gauvin Alexander Bailey.

metalwork, has recently produced some intriguing studies on the unusual topic of Jesuit silverware in Portugal.[92] A 1997 conference in Lisbon on the Society of Jesus included an entire session on the arts.[93] It would be beneficial to the field of Jesuit art in general if these studies were more widely known, but neither Portuguese nor other scholars have yet integrated them into the mainstream literature on the Jesuit arts. The recent article 'Os jesuítas e a arte' by Teresa Freitas Morna, for example, while providing an invaluable typology of Jesuit art in Portugal, does not cite a single non-Portuguese work on Jesuits and the arts.[94] And, conversely, the studies on Italy rarely discuss the Iberian Peninsula, even though Italian Jesuit architects like Tristano and Giuseppe Valeriano (1542–96) worked there. Tristano assisted in the design of the Church of São Roque in Lisbon, for example, and Valeriano was extremely active in Spain and Portugal. An important exception is the excellent work by Hellmut Hager on Carlo Fontana's work on the church of Loyola in Spain, in which he underscores the close connection between Iberian and Italian architects such as Fontana and Pozzo even at the very end of the seventeenth century.[95]

One other fruitful direction in our understanding of Jesuit art and architecture has been the study of individual Jesuit artists. The most popular is Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709), the subject of two enormous volumes of essays in 1996 alone, one of which devotes no fewer than three articles primarily to a single commission, the altar of St Ignatius in the Gesù.[96] The standard works on Pozzo are Bernhard Kerber's *Andrea Pozzo* (1971), N. Carbonieri's *Andrea Pozzo architetto* (1961), Remigio Marini's *Andrea Pozzo pittore* (1959), and Vittorio de Feo's *Andrea Pozzo: Architettura e illusione* (1988). For more references and a discussion of Pozzo's diffusion outside Italy, see Kaufmann's contribution to this volume. Second in terms of popularity is Giovanni Battista Gaulli (Baciccio, 1639–1709), the non-Jesuit painter of the Gesù ceiling and other major Jesuit commissions, but most of the scholarship dates from the 1960s and 1970s. The only monograph is still Robert Enggass's *The Painting of Baciccio* (1964), although much research was also undertaken by Beatrice Canestro Chiovenda.[97] The architectural work of Giacomo Briano and Orazio Grassi has been reconsidered by Bösel in the works referred to earlier, and the latter's career as an opera librettist drew attention in 1992 with the production of J.H. Kapsberger's opera *Apotheosis sive consecratio* (1622) by T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., at Boston College (for more about this work please refer to Kennedy's paper). John Bury has recently published plans by Giacomo Briano (1588–1649), the Jesuit architect responsible for churches in northern Italy and Poland; these are discussed along with other sources on Jesuit architecture in Poland in Kaufmann's article in this volume.

A major reassessment of the architecture of Giuseppe Valeriano is being prepared by Maria Conelli, focusing on the Gesù Nuovo in Naples.[98] Conelli has found that Valeriano was much less dependent upon Serlio than is traditionally

assumed, and she pays particular attention to his relationship with the Spanish master Juan de Herrera (c. 1530–97), giving further proof of the close affinity and interaction between Italian and Iberian foundations of the Society of Jesus. She concludes that Valeriano's building recommendations had more to do with structure than with style. Another recent study that links Italy with Spain is Michael Kiene's article (1996) on Bartolomeo Ammannati and Jesuit architecture in Spain.[99] Other work in the same vein is the scholarship on the Spanish Jesuit architect Juan Bautista Villalpando, whose influence was quite strong in Italy as elsewhere.[100] For more literature on Villalpando, see Jaime Lara's paper in this volume. Finally, mention should be made of some no longer recent scholarship on the Spanish Jesuit architect Bartolomé de Bustamente (1501–70) by Alfonso Rodriguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos (1961, 1967).[101]

Other studies look at relationships between non-Jesuit artists and patrons and Jesuit intellectuals. The most famous example of this kind of collaboration is Pietro da Cortona's association with the reactionary Jesuit moralist Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli, with whom he penned one of the most curious treatises on the visual arts ever to come out of the frenzy of treatise writing after the Council of Trent. Although most of *Trattato della pittura e scultura uso et abuso loro* (Florence, 1652) was written by Ottonelli, Cortona appears to be responsible for a substantial portion of the work, primarily the passages with purely art-historical and technical information, which are often lively and original. David Freedberg has recently investigated the relationship between the great art patron and connoisseur Cassiano del Pozzo, who dominated the cultural scene of Urban VIII's Rome, and his close friend the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Ferrari (1582–1655), in an article emphasizing the affinity of the sciences and the visual arts in Baroque Italy.[102]

Many studies of the European Jesuits now focus on individual buildings. The lion's share of literature belongs to the Gesù in Rome, the bibliography for which exceeds the limits of this survey, but which is discussed in detail in Clare Robertson's contribution to this volume. I have already referred to the still classic and valuable monograph by Pecchiai. Luciano Patetta has recently written a masterly survey of the literature.[103] Mention should again be made of the pioneering work on the iconographic programs in the Gesù by Howard Hibbard, as well as the considerable recent contribution of Klaus Schwager, who has written several penetrating articles on the Gesù as a prototype.[104] Pellegrino Tibaldi's Church of San Fedele in Milan was the subject of monographs by Derek Moore, Stefano Della Torre, and Richard Schofield, which stressed the Jesuits' policy of adaptation to their urban surroundings and the haphazard way in which their early foundations got off the ground.[105] Other major Jesuit monuments that have been considered in monographs include St Michael's in Munich (1983)

and the Jesuit church in Antwerp (1968).[106] Jeffrey Chipps Smith's paper in this volume cites works on St Michael's.

The study of the mechanisms of patronage has been crucial to the field in recent years, having taken the lead from Francis Haskell's landmark *Patrons and Painters* (1963) and his 1972 article subtly relating the change in Jesuit patronage style in the 1660s to the writings of Father General Oliva.[107] Many of the works dealing with urbanism and social context cited above look at patronage, but there have been several important new studies that focus on the role of individual patrons. The most prominent recent work is Clare Robertson's study of Alessandro Farnese (1992), the man who paid for the Gesù and whose conflict with the Jesuits over its design is familiar even to non-specialists.[108] Carolyn Valone and Maria Conelli have recently been engaged in investigation of women patrons of Jesuit foundations, a topic that promises further to enrich our understanding of the complexity of the social context of these foundations.[109] Considerable attention has also been devoted specifically to Jesuit urban strategy, particularly in a new book by Thomas M. Lucas on the impact of the Roman urban fabric on early Jesuit foundations (1997) and in recent work by Joseph Connors, as well as in excellent studies by Morton Colp Abromson, Alessandro Zuccari, and Stefania Macioce, which integrate Jesuit efforts in the late Cinquecento into the larger context of urban renewal and the palaeochristian revival.[110]

In the figurative arts, certain iconographies and cults did come to be associated with the Society of Jesus, even if they did not constitute a 'style.' Many of these originated not in Rome, but in the second most important centre for Jesuit imagery, Antwerp. As early as 1932, Emile Mâle laid the foundations for the study of Jesuit iconography with his classic *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, which isolated a number of themes especially favoured by the Society.[111] Scholars have once again speculated on these issues, this time relating them more closely to Jesuit texts. Many studies have sought to understand the artistic goals of major Jesuit figures such as Ignatius, Bellarmine, and Possevino.[112] The most popular text, naturally, has been the *Spiritual Exercises*, which a recent study has shown were illustrated as early as 1649, and perhaps earlier.[113] I have already mentioned Weibel's (1909) pioneering attempt to tie Bernini's tangibility and realism to Ignatius's 'composition of place.' Similar endeavours have been made for the work of Caravaggio, but equally unconvincingly – there is no positive evidence that either of these artists made the full *Exercises*.[114] In his article already cited, Howard Hibbard (1972) gave an original interpretation of the first decorative program of the side chapels in the Gesù, in terms of the weekly progression in the *Exercises*.[115] Similar links to the 'composition of place' have been proposed for the Jesuit emphasis on natural landscapes in the

late Cinquecento decorative programs, especially the martyrdom cycles such as that at San Vitale in Rome (c. 1597). Zuccari suggests, for example, that this preference relates to Ignatius's interest in returning to the origins of Scripture in the Holy Land.[116]

Early Jesuit martyrdoms, also first considered by Mâle, have been the topic of some intriguing articles from the 1970s and 1980s by Herwarth Röttgen, Lief Holm Monssen, Alexandra Herz, and others.[117] In the late sixteenth century the Jesuits commissioned more images of martyrdoms, whether in frescos or books, than anyone else at that time. Many of them subordinated their subjects to a Christological model whereby the martyrdoms were presented as echoes of Calvary. The genre of martyrdoms continued to flourish into the seventeenth century in works such as the gruesome collection of crucifixions of early Christians by Bartolomeo Ricci, S.J., *Triumphus Jesu Christi crucifixi* (Antwerp, 1608), which was widely disseminated on the missions, and the more triumphalist martyrological catalogues by Mathias Tanner, for example *Societatis Jesu ... militans* (Prague, 1675), on martyrs, and *Societatis Jesu apostolorum imitatrix* (Prague, 1694), on confessors. Jesuit plague imagery, used in early seventeenth-century Flemish depictions of miracles of St Francis Xavier as a metaphor for heresy, have recently been considered by Christine Boeckl.[118] Boeckl contrasts them with depictions of plagues in other orders, where they were merely narratives of spiritual and corporal works of mercy.

Another important type of Jesuit iconographic cycle was the life of Jesuit saints, beginning with that of the still only beatified Ignatius called *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Jesu* (Antwerp, 1609), the engravings of which by the Galle workshop have been linked with Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). Early portraits of Ignatius and Francis Xavier were also painted by Rubens in 1617 for the Jesuit church in Antwerp, and by Gerard Seghers for the Church of the Gesù in 1622.[119] The iconography of Jesuit saints was further developed in the later seventeenth century in the work of Carlo Maratti, Gaulli, Pozzo, and possibly Pietro da Cortona for their work at the Gesù and Sant'Andrea al Quirinale.[120] But by far the most important Jesuit image cycle of the period – and one which was virtually overwhelmed with landscape – was the magnificent set of 153 illustrations to Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, engravings by the Wierix brothers after drawings by Livio Agresti, Giovanni Battista Fiammeri, and others which were extremely influential not only in Europe but on missions from China to Paraguay (see fig. 18.5, p. 387).[121] Nadal may have made the Jesuits' greatest artistic contribution of the sixteenth century, the equivalent in the visual arts of the Gesù.

Another tradition favoured strongly, though not exclusively, by the Jesuits was that of the Quarant'ore, the public exposure of the Eucharist for forty hours

discussed in a now classic article by Mark S. Weil (1974).[122] Often involving elaborate, theatrical *apparati* that verged on architecture, the Quarant'ore of the Gesù became a major event in the Roman liturgical calendar and had a strong impact on illusionistic painting and sculpture in baroque art. Louise Rice in this volume explores the thesis print, a type of visual image related intimately to one of the Society's unique enterprises, the college. Ongoing work by Maria Conelli, Clara Bargellini, and Jeffrey Chipps Smith, as well as some of my own research, focuses on other individual cults favoured by the Jesuits, either globally or in single regions. Conelli is considering the impact of the Jesuit theology of the Immaculate Conception and Incarnational theory on church interior programs in Naples and elsewhere; Bargellini's and Smith's contributions to this volume examine the impact of Jesuit cults or catechisms on church interiors in New Spain and Bavaria; and I am working on the role of Nadal's cycle and the cults of the Virgin of St Luke and Loreto on Rome and the world missions.

Finally, mention must be made of the burgeoning new field of Jesuit emblematica, in this volume represented by Karl Josef Höltgen's paper. Jesuit emblems have been the focus of extensive research by G.R. Dimler and the subject of a major exhibition in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels (1996).[123] In a masterly recent study, Marc Fumaroli has considered the greatest of the emblematic albums, *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu* (Antwerp, 1640) (see fig. 1.2, p. 10) as a quintessentially Jesuit text, representative of a spirit of exuberance in the Society which predated Haskell's 'style Oliva' by two decades.[124] He sees this centenary volume of the Jesuits as a piece of virtual architecture, whose most salient characteristic is not homogeneity but inclusiveness; a festival of styles, genres, and languages, it is aimed at addressing a universal audience, elite and plebeian alike. In the same article, Fumaroli makes an instructive distinction between Jansenist and Jesuit approaches to art, one which takes a subtler approach than Blunt's. He uses the ancient rhetorical terms 'Atticism' and 'Asianism' to characterize the two orientations, the former more elitist in essence and the latter more plebeian – although as just indicated he shows that the Jesuits appealed to both audiences.[125] I add as an interesting footnote and fitting close to this survey that most of the great emblematists were also playwrights, evidence not only of the close affinities between the two arts in their day, but also of the interdisciplinary abilities of many Jesuits.[126]

Conclusion

The bibliography I have surveyed helps set the stage, I hope, for the studies of Jesuit arts and architecture – not to mention those of history, of musicology, of the history of science, and of the missions – that follow in this volume. I would

like at this point briefly to suggest ways in which we might look at the arts of the Society now, almost a century after Louis Serbat and Joseph Braun challenged the prevalent concept of a monolithic, anti-classical, artistic behemoth. The big question remains: Did the Jesuits have a *noster modus* – a way of proceeding – in the arts, or were their projects simply a combination of practical necessity with the same artistic trends that were shared by other orders and by early modern Catholic culture at large?

Certainly, to varying degrees throughout the history of the Society, *noster modus* involved an element of practicality born of economic necessity, and this did sometimes have an impact on style. One obvious result was the creation of second-rate art and architecture, as in many sixteenth-century Jesuit churches in Spain; another was the making use of existing buildings, such as the Lutheran church at Neuburg an der Donau or the Japanese Buddhist temple of Saikoji at Arima. Practical necessity perforce changed the Jesuits' visual self-representation in certain regions in ways that could never have been foretold from looking at the minutes of the Jesuit General Congregations. Another manifestation of practical necessity was the haphazard and unpremeditated use of styles, according to the capability of whatever artist or architect could be enlisted. Many of the earliest foundations in Italy were Ferrarese in style because Tristano happened to be Ferrarese, and many of the greatest architectural monuments in Latin America were in a recognizably German or Italian style because the architects came from Germany or Italy.

It is also true that we should not exaggerate the difference between the Jesuits and other orders. Even though the Jesuits promoted certain cults more than others, on the whole they were interested in the same iconography as their counterparts in the regular and secular clergy, and they often hired the same artists to produce their paintings and design their buildings. Some were great artists, such as Guercino and Bernini, but most were humbler, like the Roman painter of Bavarian origin Sigismondo Laire (1550–1639), who, according to the great biographer of baroque artists Giovanni Baglione, produced small paintings on copper for the Jesuits to send to America and Asia.[127] Caravaggio named Laire among his friends, but – significantly – not as one of the *valentuomini*, or good painters.[128] The buildings and other works of art of the various early modern Catholic orders, if studied closely together, may prove to be more alike than different. Two other orders especially vital to the development of the Jesuits' own visual culture were the Oratorians in Italy and the Franciscans on the world missions.

Nonetheless, I am convinced that the Jesuits had a 'way of proceeding' and that it may have made their foundations noticeably different from those of other orders. By its very nature, however, *noster modus* also prevented those foundations as a group from being stylistically uniform or normative. This *noster modus*, or corporate strategy, was a complex and fluid mixture of experimentation and creativity, combined with a willingness to adapt and learn from the surrounding cultural landscape, whether Neapolitan or Moxos. It was the desire, to paraphrase Fumaroli, to say everything in every way possible, and to mediate between the learned and the unlettered, between Europeans and non-Europeans.[129] It can never be understood out of this context and without the determining hand of 'the Other.' Patetta sums it up nicely in his *Storia e tipologia* (1989): 'The Jesuits have never had "a style" in architecture ... To the contrary, the Jesuits were one of the most flexible of the orders, having chosen to adapt themselves to all historical situations, all cultural evolutions, and all conditions of society.'[130] Perhaps Pascal and his friends have the last laugh, because in the end the 'style' of the Jesuits is very Jesuitical indeed. Confusing and misleading, the Jesuit *noster modus* gives the illusion of being something concrete and uniform, yet it dissolves when probed. Instead of dominating everything around it as its critics have for so long maintained, it ends up accommodating and assimilating. For *noster modus* is not a product but a process.

NOTES

1 Yvan Christ, 'Le "style jésuite" n'existe pas,' *Jardin des arts* 86 (1962): 44–9.

2 Louis Serbat, 'L'architecture gothique des jésuites au XVIIe siècle,' *Bulletin monumental* 66 (1902): 315–70; Joseph Braun, *Die belgischen Jesuitenkirchen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kampfes zwischen Gotik und Renaissance* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907); Braun *Kirch.*; Carlo Bricarelli, 'Le chiese degli antichi gesuiti in Germania,' *La civiltà cattolica* 4 (1910): 338ff; Joseph Braun, *Spaniens alte Jesuitenkirchen* (Freiburg im Breslau, 1913); Alfred Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Anciens Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1926), pt 1, pp. 575–83; E. Kirschbaum, 'La Compagnia di Gesù e l'arte,' in *Il quarto centenario della costituzione della Compagnia di Gesù* (Milan, 1941), pp. 211–26; Carlo Galassi Paluzzi, *Storia segreta dello stile dei gesuiti* (Rome, 1951); François de Dainville, 'La légende du style jésuite,' *Etudes* 257 (1955): 5–16; D.C. Barrett, 'A "Jesuit Style" in Art?' *Studies* 45 (1956): 335–41; Pierre Moisy, *Les églises des jésuites de l'ancienne assistance de France* (Rome, 1958); P. Charpentrat, 'Jésuite (art),' *Encyclopaedia universalis*, 20 vols (1968–75), IX 421–6; Witt. *Bar.*; B. Hernan Gómez, 'Polémica en torno a los orígines de la arquitectura de los jesuitas y la posible aceptación de un estílo,' thesis, University of Oviedo, 1978.

3 Serbat, 'L'architecture gothique,' p. 315; Braun *Kirch.* 1:v.

4 The term 'baroque' is earlier, but it was not until the nineteenth century that it was used specifically to label the artistic style of the seventeenth century. For a classic

summary of the use of the term 'baroque,' see Otto Kurz, 'Barocco: Storia di una parola,' *Lettere italiane* 12:4 (1960): 414–44.

5 Hask. 'Role.' As early as 1887 Cornelius Gurlitt pointed out that the popular conception of Jesuit style was flawed since it ignored the earlier austere phase, between 1540 and the mid-seventeenth century; Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte der Baukunst in Italien* (Stuttgart, 1887), p. 222. In Hask. *Patr.* Haskell shows that the Jesuits were not even the prime players in the development of baroque visual culture. For a recent discussion of this problem, see Luciano Patetta, *Storia e tipologia: Cinque saggi sull'architettura del passato* (Milan, 1989), p. 164.

6 Werner Weisbach, *Der Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation* (Berlin, 1921); Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Gegenreformation und Manierismus,' *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 46 (1925): 243–62. Both authors responded in *Repertorium* 49 (1928): 16–28, 225–46.

7 Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 40 vols (London, 1923–53), I 5.

8 Beginning with Etienne Pasquier, *Le catéchisme des jésuites*, ed. Claude Sutto (Sherbrooke, [c. 1982]), first published in 1592.

9 From a poem on the proposed expulsion of the Jesuits from France at the end of *Remonstrances au Parlement* ([Paris?], 1761), p. 11.

10 *Le cabinet jésuitique* (Cologne, 1674), pp. 57–8. *Monita secreta* was written by the Polish ex-Jesuit Hieronymus Zahorowski in 1614. For more about this work, see John W. O'Malley's contribution to this volume, pp. 7–8.

11 In 1756 and 1760, e.g., were published several versions of a *Histoire de Nicolas I*, elsewhere entitled *Nicholas premier, jésuite et roi du Paraguai*, as well as the similar *Remonstrances au Parlement*, all of which claimed to have been printed at the Jesuit press in Buenos Aires, but which were almost certainly produced in Paris. The John J. Burns Library at Boston College has a copy of *Nicholas premier, jésuite et roi du Paraguai* and *Remonstrances au Parlement* ('Buenos Aires,' 1760). For a discussion of these tracts, see Somm. *Bib.* 11:1352.

12 *The Portable Voltaire*, ed. Ben Ray Redman (Harmondsworth, 1980), p. 264.

13 F.U. Brockhaus, *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyklopädie fur die gebildeten Stände*, 9th ed., 15 vols (Leipzig, 1843–8), VII 657–8. The 7th edition (vol. 5, 1827) does not yet have a listing for *Jesuitenstil*. For later excerpts from German encyclopaedias such as Brockhaus and Meyer, see Barrett, 'A "Jesuit Style"?' p. 335, and Patetta, *Storia e tipologia*, p. 161. Evonne E. Levy also cited some later versions of Brockhaus and Meyer in 'Art History's "Baroque": The Jesuit Contribution,' paper delivered at the Boston College symposium (May 1997).

14 Brockhaus, *Real-Encyclopädie*, VII 658.

15 Charpentrat, 'Jésuite (art).' The entry, however, does not discuss 'Jesuit style.' It is merely an overview of Jesuit artistic patronage.

16 For the reference, see ibid., p. 421.

17 From *Voyage en Italie* (Paris, 1896), p. 279. Although not published until the late nineteenth century, the work was actually written in 1865. Taine is quoted in Dainville, 'La légende,' pp. 3–4; Barrett, 'A "Jesuit Style"?' pp. 1–2; and Patetta, *Storia e tipologia*, p. 161.

18 Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism* (London, 1924), p. 25.

19 Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450–1600* (Oxford, 1962), p. 105.

20 Ibid., pp. 134–5.

21 Anthony Blunt, *The Art and Architecture of France, 1500–1700* (London and Baltimore, 1953), p. 176.

22 Walter Weibel, *Jesuitismus und Barockskulptur in Rom* (Strasbourg, 1909), p. 47.

23 Ibid., p. 8, for Weibel's claim; Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York and London, 1980), p. 4 n3. While it is difficult to prove – and very unlikely – that Bernini actually made the full *Exercises*, he did own a copy of the text and would have made the shorter versions of them familiar to confraternities such as the Bona Mors. For more on Bernini's relationship with the Jesuits, see Rudolf Kuhn, 'Gian Paolo Oliva und Gian Lorenzo Bernini,' *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 64 (1969): 229–33, and 'Gian Lorenzo Bernini und Ignatius von Loyola,' in *Argo: Festschrift für Kurt Badt*, ed. M. Gosebruch and L. Dittmann (Cologne, 1970), pp. 297–323. Kuhn shows how strongly influential Oliva's sermons were on Bernini's spirituality. For a thorough treatment of the application of the *Exercises* in the early modern period, see Ignacio Iparraguirre, *Historia de la práctica de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 3 vols under slightly different titles (Rome and Bilbao, 1946–73). On the role of the Bona Mors, see Michael William Maher, 'Reforming Rome: The Society of Jesus and Its Congregations at the Church of the Gesù,' Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1997.

24 Rudolf Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (London, 1955), introduction.

25 Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750* (London, 1958; repr. 1991), p. 138, and Witt. 'Prob.,' pp. 11–13.

26 H.W. Janson and Anthony Janson, *The History of Art*, 8th ed. (New York, 1997), p. 483.

27 Ibid., p. 502.

28 The most famous stylistic imposition of the Farnese was the use of a barrel vault for the Gesù despite the Jesuits' desire for a more austere and acoustical flat roof. This struggle between the Farnese and the Jesuits at the Gesù has recently been summarized in Clare Robertson's magisterial book *'Il Gran Cardinale': Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven and London, 1992).

29 James S. Ackerman, 'The Gesù in the Light of Contemporary Church Design,' in Witt. *Bar.*, pp. 15–28; and Hib. '*Ut pict.*'; Hask. 'Role'; Witt. 'Prob.,' p. 9.

30 Ignatius of Loyola himself was credited with the invention of this term by Jerónimo Nadal (O'M. *First*, p. 8). The best recent survey of the use of the term is Isabella Balestreri, 'L'architettura negli scritti della Compagnia di Gesù,' in *L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, XVI–XVIII secolo*, ed. Luciano Patetta and Stefano Della Torre (Milan, 1990), exhib. cat., pp. 19–26.

31 Pirri *Trist.*, p. 11.

32 For a summary of this history, see Vall.-Rad. *Rec.*, pp. 6ff; Bösel *Jes. Italien* 1:11ff.

33 See my forthcoming survey of Jesuit mission art and architecture, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto, forthcoming), especially chap. 2. For a Filipino example from the sixteenth century, see René B. Javellana, *Wood and Stone for God's Greater Glory: Jesuit Art and Architecture in the Philippines* (Manila, 1991), 29.

34 The disparity between the modern and the pre-modern concept of the 'copy' has been discussed in a classic article by Richard Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33.

35 Dainville, 'La légende,' p. 7.

36 See the illustration in Philip Caraman, *The Lost Empire: The Story of Jesuits in Ethiopia, 1535–1634* (London, 1985).

37 Pirri *Trist.*; also Pietro Pirri, 'L'architetto Bartolomeo Ammannati e i gesuiti,' *AHSI* 12 (1943): 5–57; idem, 'Intagliatore gesuiti italiani dei secoli XVI e XVII,' *AHSI* 21 (1952): 3–59; idem (with P. di Rosa), 'Il P. Giovanni de Rosis (1538–1610) e lo sviluppo dell'edilizia gesuitica,' *AHSI* 44 (1975): 3–104; idem, *Giuseppe Valeriano, S.I.: Architetto e pittore, 1542–96* (Rome, 1970); Moisy, *Les églises des jésuites* (n2 above); Vall.-Rad. *Rec.*; Pio Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma* (Rome, 1952).

38 Pirri *Trist.*, p. 11.

39 Moisy, 'Les églises des jésuites,' p. 352.

40 Vall.-Rad. *Rec.*, pp. 60ff.

41 Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma*, pp. xiii–xix.

42 Maximino de Barrio, 'Las colecciones de las misiones jesuíticas del Paraguay existentes en el Museo de La Plata,' *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 33 (1932): 195–205; Guillermo Furlong, *Los jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense* (Montevideo, 1933); idem, 'La arquitectura en las misiones jesuíticas,' in *Estudio 64* (Buenos Aires, 1940); idem, *Artesanos argentinos durante la dominación hispánica* (Buenos Aires, 1946); idem, *Misiones y sus pueblos de guaraníes* (Buenos Aires, 1962); A. Ruiz Moreno, 'El urbanismo en las misiones jesuíticas,' in *Estudio 64* (Buenos Aires, 1940); Lúcio Costa, 'Arquitetura dos jesuitas no Brasil,' *Revista do Serviço do Patrimonio Historico et Artistico Nacional* 4 (Rio de Janeiro, 1941); Miguel Solá, *Documentos de arte argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1946); Adolfo Luis Ribera and Hector Schenone, *El arte de la imaginería en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1948); Juan G. Guiria, *La arquitectura en el Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1950); Paulo Ferreira Santos, *O barroco e o jesuítico na arquitetura no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951); M.J. Buschiazzo, *La arquitectura de las misiones de Mojos y Chiquitos* (Buenos Aires, 1953); idem, *Estancias jesuíticas de Córdoba* (Buenos Aires, 1969); idem, 'La arquitectura en madera de las misiones del Paraguay,' in *Latin American Art and the Baroque Period in Europe* (Princeton, 1963); Victor Nadal Mora, *San Ignacio Miní* (Buenos Aires, 1955); H. Busaniche, *La arquitectura de las misiones guaraníes* (Santa Fé, 1955); Robert Chester Smith, *Arquitetura jesuítica no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1962); Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Los jesuitas del Perú y el arte* (Lima, 1963); Fidel Araneda Bravo, *El barroco jesuita chileño* (Santiago, n.d.). There is also much on the Jesuits in Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Historia del arte en el reino de Chile* (Santiago, 1965).

43 Felix Plattner, *Deutsche Meister des Barock in Südamerika im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Basel, 1960); José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Bernardo Bitti* (La Paz, 1961); and *Bitti, un pintor manierista en Sudamérica* (La Paz, 1974). Another work which has much to say about Jesuit artists and architects is Vicente D. Serra, *Los jesuitas germanos en la conquista espiritual de Hispano-America* (Buenos Aires, 1944). Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Ensayo de un diccionairo de artifices coloniales de la America Meridíonal* (Lima, 1947), pp. 62–4; Martín S. Soria, *La pintura des siglo XVI en Sud America* (Buenos Aires, 1956), pp. 45–72.

44 Sir Edward Maclagan, 'Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 65 (1896): 38–112, and *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932); Henry Hosten, 'European Art at the Moghul Court,' *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* 3:1 (1922): 110–84; Felix zu Löwenstein, *Christliche Bilder in altindischer Malerei* (Münster, 1958).

45 See e.g. Henry Hosten, 'Who Planned the Taj?' *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, new series, 6 (1910): 281–8. The story, vehemently promoted by scholars like Hosten, was that the Venetian architect Girolamo Veroneo (d. 1640), a friend and agent of the Jesuits, was the true architect of the Taj Mahal. They also started the rumour that the Jesuits provided the expertise for the *pietra dura* ornamentation on the Taj's exterior. Traces of both of these stories still find their way into contemporary guidebooks to Agra. See Hosten, 'European Art at the Mogul Court.'

46 Tokihide Nagayama, *Kirishitan shiryu shu: Collection of Historical Material Connected with the Roman Catholic Religion in Japan* (Nagasaki, 1924); T. Nagami, *Nagasaki no bijutsu shi* (Tokyo, 1927); Idzuru Shimmura, 'L'introduction de la peinture occidentale au Japon,' *Revue des arts asiatiques* 4 (1927): 195–201, and *Kaikoku bunka taikan* (Osaka, 1929); H. Sato, *Namban byōbu taikan zuroku* (Osaka, 1936); Terukazu Akiyama, 'First Epoch of European Style Painting in Japan,' *Bulletin of Eastern Art* (1941); Tei Nishimura, 'Study on the Fifteen Mysteries of St. Mary in Japan,' *Bijutsu kenkyu* 81 (September 1938); idem,

'Paintings of the "Society of Jesus" in Japan and Those of Western Style at the End of the Ming Dynasty,' *Bijutsu kenkyu* 97 (January 1940); idem, *Nihon shoki yoga no kenkyu* (Kyoto, 1946); Idzuru Shimmura, 'Christian Relics at Mr. Higashi's House North of Takatsuki, Settsu,' *Reports on Archaeological Research in the Department of Literature, Kyoto Imperial University* 7 (1923), and *Namban koki zoku* (Tokyo, 1927).

47 Georg Schurhammer, 'Die Jesuitenmissionare des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts und ihr Einfluss auf die japanische Malerei,' *Jubiläumsband der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 1 (1933): 116–26; C.R. Boxer, 'Some Aspects of Portuguese Influence in Japan, 1542–1640,' *The Japan Society: Transactions and Proceedings* 33 (1935–6): 13–64; Maurice Prunier, 'Des peintures à fouler aux pieds,' *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* 11 (1939): 1–4; Joseph Schütte, 'Christliche japanische Literatur, Bilder, und Druckblätter,' *AHSI* 9 (1940): 226–80.

48 John McCall, 'Early Jesuit Art in the Far East,' *Artibus Asiae* 10 (1947): 121–37, 216–33, 283–301; 11 (1948): 45–69; 17 (1954): 39–54. For more on the name 'Academy of St Luke' and the real name of this academy, the 'Seminary of Painters,' see my *Art on the Jesuit Missions* (n33 above).

49 Paul Pelliot, 'La peinture et la gravure européennes en Chine au temps de Mathieu Ricci,' *T'oung Pao*, 2nd series, 20 (1921): 1–18; Henri Bernard, 'L'art chrétien en Chine du temps du Mathieu Ricci,' *Revue d'histoire des missions* 12 (1935): 199–229; Pasquale M. d'Elia, *Le origini dell'arte cristiana-cinese* (Rome, 1939), and 'La Madonna di S. Maria Maggiore in Cina,' *Ecclesia* 1:9 (January 1950): 30–2; George Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione* (Rome, 1940), and 'Missionary Artists at the Manchu Court,' *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 34 (1962–3): 51–67; Bertold Laufer, 'A Chinese Madonna,' *The Open Court* (January 1912), and *Christian Art in China* (1910); P.R. Fausti, 'Le prime immagini cristiane in stile cinese del secolo xvii,' *Arte cristiana* 27:4 (April 1940); S. Schüller, 'P. Matteo Ricci und die christliche Kunst in China,' 'Die "Chinesische Madonna" der bedeutendste Fund aus der ersten Missionsperiode in China: Neue Untersuchungen und neue Ergebnisse,' and 'Die christliche Kunst in China zur Zeit von P. Adam Schall,' *Katholischen Missionen* 64 (1936).

50 Manuel Teixeira, *A fachada de S. Paulo* (Macao, 1940); M. Hugo Brunt, 'An Architectural Survey of the Jesuit Seminary Church of St Paul's, Macao,' *Journal of Oriental Studies* 1:2 (July 1954); Mário T. Chicó, 'Algumas observações acerca da arquitetura da Companhia de Jesus no distrito de Goa,' *Garcia de Orta* (1956): 257–74 (Chicó also wrote about Augustinian architecture in Goa); S. Schüller, 'P. Simona a Cunha und die Jesuitenmaler in Macao,' *Katholischen Missionen* 64 (1936).

51 *Las misiones jesuíticas del Guayrá* (Buenos Aires, 1995); *Las misiones jesuíticas del Chiquitos*, ed. Pedro Querejazu (La Paz, 1995).

52 *Paradise Lost: The Jesuits and the Guaraní South American Missions, 1609–1767*

(New York, 1989); *Un camino hacia la Arcadia: Arte en las misiones jesuíticas de Paraguay* (Madrid, 1995); *Baroque du Paraguay* (Paris, 1995); *Martin Schmid, 1694–1772: Missionar, Musiker, Architekt* (Lucerne, 1994), all exhib. cats.

53 Ramón Gutiérrez, 'Preservación del Centro Histórico de Trinidad,' *Presencia* (La Paz, 23 September 1979); idem, 'La estructura de manzanas en las misiones jesuíticas,' *Simposio internacional de arquitectura contemporanéa* (Barcelona, 1982); idem, 'Para una nueva metodología de análisis del barroco americano,' in *Actas del simposio sobre 'Barroco en América'* (Rome, 1982); idem, 'La misión jesuítica de San Miguel Arcángel (Brasil),' in *Documentos de arquitectura nacional y americana* 14 (Resistencia, 1982); Antonio Eduardo Bösl, *Una joya en la selva boliviana: La restauración del templo colonial de Concepción* (Zarautz, 1988); J.O. Gazaneo, *Informe sobre el nivel de los estudios y estado de conservación de los monumentos jesuíticos y franciscanos en América y Filipinas* (Paris, 1992); Bozidar Darko Sustersic, 'La fachada de San Ignacio Miní, entre hallazgos y nuevos enigmas,' pp. 196–214, and Norberto Levinton, 'Recursos de información para la restauración de las obras de arquitectura de las misiones jesuíticas: El regreso a las fuentes,' pp. 187–95, both in *La salvaguarda del patrimonio jesuítico* (Posadas, 1994).

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56 Pedro Querejazu, 'El mudéjar como expresión cultural ibérica, y su manifestación

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58 Ticio Escobar, *Una interpretación de las artes visuales en el Paraguay*, 2 vols (Asunción, 1980).

59 On Brasanelli: Bozidar Darko Sustersic, 'José Brasanelli: Escultor, pintor, y arquitecto de las misiones jesuíticas guaraníes,' *Organización de Universidades Católicas de América Latina, Jornadas* 2 (1992): 267–77; idem, 'La iglesia barroca de Trinidad y su friso de ángeles músicos,' *Jornadas de teoría e historia de las artes* 5 (1993): 380–9; idem, 'El hermano José Brasanelli y las posibilidades de la reconstrucción de su trayectoria biográfica y artística,' paper delivered at the Simposio Nacional de Estudios Missioneiros, Santa Rosa, 1996.

On Schmid: Rainald Fischer, *Martin Schmid, S.J., 1694–1772: Seine Briefe und sein Werken* (Zug, 1988); *Martin Schmid* (n52 above).

On Bianchi: It is a great tragedy that Dalmacio Sobrón passed away before his book on the architecture of Giovanni Andrea Bianchi, S.J., was complete. His thesis at the Universidad Católica de Córdoba does exist, but it is difficult to find. Word is out that scholars in Argentina are putting together the notes for his book for press. Sobrón summarizes his thesis in 'Acerca de la arquitectura del Hermano Andrés Blanqui, S.J.,' in *La salvaguarda del patrimonio jesuítico* (n53 above), pp. 19–33.

60 *Martin Schmid* (n52 above).

61 The series title is *Patrimonio Artistico Nacional Inventario de Bienes Muebles* (1982–), and volumes have been published for Jujuy, Salta, Corrientes, and other Argentine provinces. They are full of photographs, never published before, of works of art and buildings connected with the reduction workshops or other Jesuit foundations such as colleges and *estancias*.

62 Armando Trevisán, *A escultura dos sete povos* (Porto Alegre, 1980); José Antonio

Carvalho, *O colégio e as residencias dos jesuitas no Espirito Santo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982); Beatriz Santos de Oliveira, *Espacio e estrategia: Consideraçoes sobre a arquitetura dos jesuítas no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988); Mabel Leal Vieira and Maria Inês Coutinho, *Inventário da imaginária missioneira* (Porto Alegre, 1993), and *A forma e a imagem: Arte e arquitetura jesuítica no Rio de Janeiro colonial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1991).

63 Carcelen de Coronel's book is still in press; G. Ted Bohr wrote his dissertation on the subject, which he also presented in a paper at the Boston College symposium (May 1997), 'The Collegiate Church of the Society of Jesus in Quito, Ecuador, and Its Artistic and Intellectual Legacy.'

64 María del Consuelo Maquívar, *Los retablos de Tepotzotlán* (Mexico City, 1976); Paul M. Roca, *Spanish Jesuit Churches in Mexico's Tarahumara* (Tucson, 1979); Díaz *Arq.;* Marco Díaz, *Arquitectura en el desierto: Misiones jesuitas en Baja California* (Mexico City, 1986).

65 Cécile and Michel Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione: A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors* (Rutland, Va., and Tokyo, 1971); *Orientations* 19:11 (1988), which is entirely devoted to Castiglione, with articles by Yang Boda, Tseng Yu, Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, Victoria Siu, and Zhu Jiajin; Gonçalo Couseiro, 'Pintores jesuítas na China,' *Oceanos* 12 (November 1992): 92–101; Bruno Zoratto, *Giuseppe Castiglione: Pittore italiano alla corte imperiale cinese* (Fasano di Puglia, 1994). See also René Picard, *Les peintres jésuites à la Cour de Chine* (Grenoble, 1973), and Michel Beurdeley, *Peintres jésuites en Chine au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1997). On Castiglione's pavilions at the Yuanmingyuan Palace, see *Le Yuanmingyuan, jeux d'eau et palais européens du XVIIIème siècle à la cour du Chine* (Paris, 1987); Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, 'A Pluridisciplinary Research on Castiglione and the Emperor Ch'ien-Lung's European Palaces,' *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 24 (Taipei, 1989) 4:1–12, 5:1–16; Hou Renzhi, 'Yuanmingyuan,' in *Yuanming Casang* (Beijing, 1991); Antoine Durand and Regine Thiriez, 'Engraving the Emperor of China's European Palaces,' *Biblion: The New York Public Library Bulletin* 1 (1993): 81–107, and *The Delights of Harmony: The European Palaces of the Yuanmingyuan and the Jesuits at the 18th Century Court of Beijing* (Worcester, Mass., 1994).

66 Harrie Vanderstappen, 'Chinese Art and the Jesuits in Peking,' in Ronan *East*, pp. 103–26. The final chapter of Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton, 1997) makes an important reassessment of the seventeenth-century art of the Jesuit missions in China and especially of the reactions of the Chinese to the strange art 'from the Western Ocean.'

67 For a recent assessment of Wu Li, see Richard Barnhart, *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting* (New Haven and London, 1997), p. 264; Jonathan Chaves, *Singing of the Source* (Honolulu, 1993).

68 James Cahill, *The Compelling Image* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989).

69 On the Jesuit cemetery in Beijing, see Edward J. Malatesta and Gao Zhiyu, *Departed, yet Present: The Oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing* (Macao, 1995). Huihung Chen, to whom I am grateful for the Machida Museum citation, is writing her Ph.D. dissertation at Brown University on the subject of Jesuit art in China. For Catherine Pagani's work on Jesuit clockmakers in China, see 'One Continuous Symphony: Automata and the Jesuit Mission in Qing China,' in volume 4 of *Conflict between Cultures*, ed. Bernard Luk (Lewiston, 1992), pp. 279–84; 'The Clocks of James Cox: Chinoiserie and the Clock Trade to China in the Late Eighteenth Century,' *Apollo*, new series, 140:395 (January 1995): 15–22; 'Clockmaking in China under the Kangxi and Qianlong Emperors,' *Arts asiatiques* 50 (1995): 76–84; and 'Most Magnificent Pieces of Mechanism and Art: Elaborate Clockwork and Sino–European Contact in the Eighteenth Century,' *SECAC Review* 15 (1998), forthcoming.

70 Michael Cooper, *The Southern Barbarians* (Tokyo, 1971), which has a chapter on Jesuit arts; Shin'ichi Tani, *Namban Art: A Loan Exhibition from Japanese Collections* (Tokyo, 1973), exhib. cat.; Grace Alida Hermine Vlam, 'Kings and Heroes: Western-Style Painting in Momoyama Japan,' *Artibus Asiae* 39 (1977): 240–2. In addition to these works, several recent publications on Namban art include sections on the Jesuits: *Art namban: Les portugais au Japon* (Brussels, 1989); *Via orientalis* (Tokyo, 1993); *Christian Art in Japan* [in Japanese] (Tokyo 1972); *Exhibition of Surviving Christian Art in Japan* [in Japanese] (Tokyo, 1973); *The Namban Art of Japan* (Osaka, 1986); Yoshimoto Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan* (Tokyo, 1972); Mitsuru Sakamoto et al., *An Essay of Catalogue Raisonné of Namban Art* (Tokyo, 1997).

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72 K.K. Muhammed, 'Excavation of a Catholic Chapel at Fatehpur Sikri,' *Indica* 28:1 (March 1991): 1–12, and 'Excavations at Fatehpur Sikri: Ibadat Khana (Hall of Interreligious Discussions), Discovered,' *Indica* (forthcoming).

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74 *Um monumento para o futuro: As ruínas de São Paulo* (Macao, 1994), exhib. cat. Other recent monographs on the church are Lee Yuk Tin, *Olhar as ruínas* (Macao, 1990), and Gonçalo Couseiro, *A igreja de S. Paulo de Macau* (Lisbon, 1997).

75 *Oceanos* 12 (November 1992), with articles on Jesuit art by Gonçalo Couceiro, Paulo Pereira, and Nuno Vassallo e Silva.

76 Marilyn Heldman, 'From Print to Miniature: New Visual Evidence of the Jesuit Mission at the Ethiopian Court,' paper delivered at the Sixteenth Century Conference, St Louis, 26 October 1996.

77 The study is *Art on the Jesuit Missions* (n33 above).

78 *Die Jesuiten und ihre Schule St. Salvator in Augsburg, 1582* (Augsburg, 1982), exhib. cat.; Luc. *Saint*; *L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù*, ed. Patetta and Della Torre (n30 above); *Die Jesuiten in Bayern, 1549–1773* (Munich, 1991), exhib. cat.; *Die Jesuiten in Ingolstadt, 1549–1773* (Ingolstadt, 1991), exhib. cat.; *Expression du baroque: Les jésuites aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Toulouse, 1991), exhib. cat.; *O púlpito e a imagem: Os jesuítas e a arte*, ed. Nuno Vassallo e Silva (Lisbon, 1997), exhib. cat.; Baum. *Rom*, including articles on the arts and architecture by Johannes Terhalle, Dagmar Dietrich, Ilse von zur Mühlen, Sabine M. Schneider, and Lorenz Seelig.

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87 Mario Bencivenni, *L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù in Toscana* (Florence, 1996); *L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù*, ed. Patetta and Della Torre.

88 The original article was in German: Richard Bösel, 'Typus und Tradition in der Baukultur Gegenreformatorisher Orden,' *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 31 (1989): 239–53. The Italian version is 'Tipologie e tradizioni architettoniche nell'edilizia della Compagnia di Gesù,' in *L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù*, ed. Patetta and Della Torre, pp. 13–26.

89 Angela Marino, 'L'idea di tradizione e il concetto di modernità nell'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù,' in *L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù*, ed. Patetta and Della Torre, pp. 53–6.

90 Evonne E. Levy, '"A Noble Medley and Concert of Materials and Artifice": Jesuit Church Interiors in Rome, 1567–1700,' in Luc. *Saint*, pp. 46–59; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 'The Jesuits and Painting in Italy, 1550–1690: The Art of Catholic Reform,' in *Saints and Sinners: Caravaggio and the Baroque Image* (Boston, 1999), exhib. cat., pp. 151–78.

91 Raul da Costa-Torrês, *A arquitetura dos descobrimentos* (Braga, 1943) promotes the notion that the Italian baroque had its origins in Portuguese Jesuit architecture. Jorge Henrique Pais da Silva, *Notas sobre a arquitetura dos jesuítas no espaço português* (Porto, 1961); Eugénio da Cunha e Freitas, *O Colégio de S. Lourenço* (Porto, n.d.); M.J. Madeira Rodrigues, *A igreja de S. Roque* (Lisbon, 1980); Rui Carita, *O colégio dos jesuítas do Funchal* (Funchal, 1987); Paulo Pereira, 'A arquitetura jesuíta, primeiras fundações,' *Oceanos* 12 (November 1992): 104–11; Fausto Sanches Martins, 'A arquitetura dos primeiros colégios jesuítas em Portugal: 1542–1759,' Ph.D. dissertation, University of Porto, 1994.

92 Nuno Vassallo e Silva, 'Aspectos da arte da prata na Companhia de Jesus,' in *O púlpito e a imagem*, ed. Vassallo e Silva, pp. 57–67.

93 'A Companhia de Jesus e a missionação no Oriente,' Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Lisbon, 22–3 April 1997.

94 Teresa Freitas Morna, 'Os jesuítas e a arte,' in *O púlpito e a imagem*, ed. Vassallo e Silva, pp. 13–42.

95 See Hellmut Hager, 'Carlo Fontana and the Jesuit Sanctuary in Loyola,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 280–9; J.R. Eguillor, Hellmut Hager, and R.M. de Hornedo, *Loyola: Historia y arquitectura* (San Sebastián, 1991); and Hellmut Hager, 'Andrea Pozzo e Carlo Fontana, tangenze e affinità,' in *Andrea Pozzo* (Milan and Trent, 1996; see n96 below), pp. 235–52.

96 Pozzo: L. Montalto, 'Andrea Pozzo nella chiesa di Sant'Ignazio al Collegio Romano,' *Studi romani* 6 (1958): 668–79; Remigio Marini, *Andrea Pozzo pittore* (Trent, 1959); N. Carbonieri, *Andrea Pozzo architetto* (Trent, 1961); Wilberg-Vignau, *Andrea Pozzos Deckenfresko in S. Ignazio* (Munich, 1970); Bernhard Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo* (Berlin and New York, 1971); H. Schadt, 'Andrea Pozzos Langhausfresko in S. Ignazio, Rome,' *Das Munster* 24 (1971): 153–60. Among the many recent works on Pozzo are several with the same title, date, and even place of publication: Vittorio de Feo, *Andrea Pozzo: Architettura e illusione* (Rome, 1988), and (with Valentino Martinelli, eds), *Andrea Pozzo* (Milan, 1996); M. Fagiolo, 'Struttura del trionfo gesuitico: Baciccio e Pozzo,' *Storia dell'arte* 38–40 (1980): 353–60; *Andrea Pozzo* (Milan and Trent, 1996).

97 Robert Enggass, 'Three Bozzetti by Gaulli for the Gesù,' *Burlington Magazine* 99 (1957): 49–53, and *The Painting of Baciccio: Giovanni Battista Gaulli, 1639–1709* (University Park, 1964); Beatrice Canestro Chiovenda, 'Della *Gloria di S. Ignazio* e di altri lavori del Gaulli per i gesuiti,' *Commentari* 13 (1962): 289–98; D. Graf, *Die Handzeichnungen von Guglielmo Cortese und Giovanni Battista Gaulli*, 2 vols (Düsseldorf, 1976). Enggass recently contributed an article on the relationship between Gaulli and Pozzo to one of the 1996 Pozzo volumes (see n96 above), 'Pozzo a Sant'Ignazio e Baciccio al Gesù: Tracce della fortuna critica,' in *Andrea Pozzo*, ed. de Feo and Martinelli, pp. 253–8. Canestro Chiovenda also made considerable contributions to the study of Gaulli in a series of articles published in the 1970s in the journal *Commentari*, e.g. 'La morte di S. Francesco Saverio di G.B. Gaulli et suoi bozzetti, altre opere attribuite o inedite,' *Commentary* 28 (1977): 262–72.

98 Maria Conelli, *The Gesù Nuovo in Naples: Politics, Property, and Religion* (forthcoming).

99 Michael Kiene, 'Bartolomeo Ammannati et l'architecture des jésuites au XVIe siècle,' in Giard *Jés. bar.*, pp. 183–96. The classic work on Ammannati is Pietro Pirri's painstakingly researched article 'L'architetto Bartolomeo Ammannati e i gesuiti,' *AHSI* 12 (1943): 5–57.

100 Alfonso Rodríguez y Gutiérrez de Ceballos, 'Juan de Herrera y los jesuitas Villalpando, Valeriani, Ruiz, Tolosa,' *AHSI* 35 (1966): 285–321; Taylor 'Herm.'; *Dios arquitecto: J.B. Villalpando y el Templo de Salomón*, ed. Juan Antonio Ramírez (Madrid, 1991).

101 Alfonso Rodríguez y Gutiérrez de Ceballos, *Bartolomé de Bustamente y los orígines de la arquitectura jesuítica en España* (Madrid, 1961; repr. Rome, 1967).

102 Vittorio Casale, 'Ragione teologica e poetica barocca,' editor's preface to G.D.

Ottonelli and P. Berrettini, *Trattato della pittura e scultura uso et abuso loro (1652)* (Rome, 1973), pp. i–cxli, and 'Poetica di Pietro da Cortona e teoria del barocco nel "Trattato della pittura e scultura,"' in *Pietro da Cortona*, ed. Anna Lo Bianco (Milan, 1997), pp. 107–16; Marco Collareta, 'L'Ottonelli Berrettini e la critica moralistica,' *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, 3rd series, 5:1 (1975): 177–96; *The Society of Jesus, 1548–1773* (Bernard Quaritch Ltd, Catalogue 1226, London, 1996), cat. no. 154; David Freedberg, 'From Hebrew and Gardens to Oranges and Lemons: Giovanni Battista Ferrari and Cassiano del Pozzo,' in *Cassiano dal Pozzo: Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi*, ed. Francesco Solinas (Rome, 1997), pp. 37–72.

103 Luciano Patetta, 'Le chiese della Compagnia di Gesù come tipo: Complessità e sviluppi,' in his *Storia e tipologia* (n5 above), pp. 160–201.

104 James S. Ackerman, 'Della Porta's Gesù Altar,' in *Essays in Honor of Walter Friedlaender, Marsyas*, suppl. 2 (New York, 1965), pp. 1–2, and his article in Witt. *Bar.* (n29 above); Klaus Schwager, 'L'architecture religieuse à Rome de Pie IV à Clement VIII,' in *L'église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, ed. J. Guillaume (Paris, 1995), pp. 223–44; idem, 'La chiesa del Gesù del Vignola,' *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi d'Architettura Andrea Palladio* 19 (1977): 251–71; idem, 'Concetto e realtà: Alcune precisazioni sulla difficile nascita del Gesù di Roma,' in *L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù*, ed. Patetta and Della Torre, pp. 69–79; idem, 'Anlässlich eines unbekannten Stichs des römischen Gesù von Valerianus Regnartius,' in *Festschrift Lorenz Dittmann*, ed. H.C. von Bothmer, K. Güthlein, and R. Kuhn (Frankfurt, 1994), pp. 295–312. I would like to thank Joseph Connors for bringing the first two articles by Schwager to my attention.

105 Moore, 'Pellegrino Tibaldi's Church of S. Fedele.' For a more recent study, see Stefano Della Torre and Richard Schofield, *Pellegrino Tibaldi architetto e il S. Fedele di Milano: Invenzione e construzione di una chiesa esemplare* (Como, 1994).

106 *St. Michael in München: Festschrift zum 400. Jahrestag der Grundsteinlegung und zum Abschluß des Wiederaufbaues*, ed. Karl Wagner and Albert Keller (Munich and Zürich, 1983); John Rupert Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (Brussels, 1968).

107 Hask 'Role.'

108 Robertson, *Il Gran Cardinale* (n28 above).

109 Carolyn Valone, 'Women on the Quirinal Hill: Patronage in Rome, 1560–1630,' *Art Bulletin* 36 (1994): 129–46. Maria Conelli is currently collaborating on a biography of Isabella della Rovere, a very important patron of the Society of Jesus.

110 Morton Colp Abromson, *Painting in Rome during the Papacy of Clement VIII*

(New York, 1981); Luc. *Saint;* Thomas M. Lucas, *Landmarking: City, Church, and Jesuit Urban Strategy* (Chicago, 1997); Joseph Connors, 'Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale: Payments and Planning,' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41 (1982): 15–37; idem, 'Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism,' *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989), especially 279–93 on the Piazza Sant'Ignazio; idem, 'Borromini's S. Ivo alla Sapienza: The Spiral,' *Burlington Magazine* 138 (October 1996): 668–82. I would like to thank Joseph Connors for the last two references. See also Alessandro Zuccari, *Arte e committenza nella Roma di Caravaggio* (Torino, 1984); Stefania Macioce, *Undique splendent* (Rome, 1990).

111 Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1932).

112 Clement J. McNaspy, 'Art in Jesuit Life,' *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 3 (1973): 93–111; John Patrick Donnelly, 'Antonio Possevino, S.J., as a Counter-Reformation Critic of the Arts,' *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 3 (1982): 153–64; Valeria de Laurentiis, 'Immagini ed arte in Bellarmino,' pp. 581–608, and Alessandro Zuccari, 'Bellarmino e la prima iconografia gesuitica: La Capella degli Angeli al Gesù,' pp. 611–28, both in *Bellarmino e la Controriforma*, ed. Romeo De Maio et al. (Sora, 1990); Antonio Secondo Tessari, 'Tempio di Salomone e tipologia della chiesa nelle *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei* di San Roberto Bellarmino, S.J.,' in *L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù*, ed. Patetta and Della Torre, pp. 31–4.

113 Lydia Salviucci Insolera, 'Le illustrazioni per gli Esercizi Spirituali intorno al 1600,' *AHSI* 60 (1991): 161–217.

114 On Caravaggio and Ignatius, see P. Francastel, 'Le réalisme de Caravage,' *Gazette des beaux-arts* 80 (1938): 57; Walter Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies* (Princeton, 1955), pp. ix, 121–2; Richard Spear, *Caravaggio and His Followers* (Cleveland, 1971), pp. 5–6; Joseph F. Chorpenning, 'Another Look at Caravaggio and Religion,' *Artibus et historiae* 16 (1987): 149–58. I discuss Caravaggio's relationship with the Jesuits in 'The Jesuits and Painting in Italy' (n90 above).

115 Hib. '*Ut pict.*' See also Alexandra Herz, 'Imitators of Christ: The Martyr-Cycles of Late Sixteenth Century Rome Seen in Context,' *Storia dell'arte* 62 (1988): 65–7, and *The Age of Caravaggio* (New York, 1985), p. 172.

116 Zuccari, *Arte e committenza*, p. 140.

117 Herwarth Röttgen, 'Zeitgeschichtliche Bildprogramme der katholischen Restauration unter Gregor XIII, 1572–1585,' *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 26 (1975): 89–122; Lief Holm Monssen, '*Rex gloriose martyrum*: A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography,' *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 130–7, and 'The Martyrdom Cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo,' *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 2 (1982): 175–317; 3 (1983): 11–106; A. Vannugli, 'Gli affreschi di Antonio Tempesta a S. Stefano Rotondo e l'emblematica nella cultura

del martirio presso la Compagnia di Gesù,' *Storia dell'arte* 48 (1983): 101–16; Herz, 'Imitators of Christ,' pp. 53–70; Luc. *Saint*, pp. 186–91. Martyrdom themes in Jesuit engravings in the late Cinquecento were treated in an essay by Pietro Pirri, 'Intagliatori gesuiti italiani' (n37 above), pp. 3–59. See also my article 'The Jesuits and Painting in Italy' for a recent reassessment of the martyrdom paintings including new archival material.

118 Christine M. Boeckl, 'Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*,' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27:4 (1996): 979–95. See also A. Lynn Martin, *Plague? Jesuit Accounts of Epidemic Disease in the Sixteenth Century* (Kirksville, Mo., 1996).

119 D. Angeli, *Sant'Ignazio di Loyola nella vita e nell'arte* (Lanciano, 1911); Milton Lewine, 'The Sources of Rubens's *Miracles of Saint Ignatius*,' *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963): 143–7; Graham Smith, 'Rubens Altargemälde des Hl. Ignatius von Loyola und des Hl. Franz Xavier für die Jesuitenkirche in Antwerpen,' *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 65 (1969): 39–60; Julius Held, 'Rubens and the *Vita Beati Ignatii Loiolae* of 1609,' in *Rubens before 1620*, ed. John R. Martin (Princeton, 1972), pp. 93–104; Kön.-Nord. *Ign.*; Gianni Papi, 'Le tele della capellina di Odoardo Farnese nella Casa Professa dei gesuiti a Roma,' *Storia dell'arte* 62 (1988): 71–80.

120 See my article 'The Jesuits and Painting in Italy' for a survey of the literature. Recent work, as yet unpublished, linking the imagery of *The Death of St Francis Xavier* to Pietro da Cortona is being undertaken by Ursula Fischer Pace.

121 Thomas Buser, 'Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome,' *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976): 424–33; Marie Mauquoy-Hendricks, 'Les Wierix illustrateurs de la Bible de Natalis,' *Quarendo* 6 (1976): 28–63; M.B. Wadell, 'The *Evangelicae historiae imagines*: The Designs and Their Artists,' *Quaerendo* 10 (1980): 279–91. See also Marc Fumaroli, 'Sur le seuil des livres: Les frontispices gravés des traités d'éloquence (1594–1641),' in his *L'école du silence: Le sentiment des images au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1994), pp. 325–42.

122 Mark S. Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 218–48. See also Howard E. Smither, 'The Function of Music in the Forty Hours' Devotion of 17th and 18th Century Italy,' in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwynn McPeek*, ed. Carmelo Comberiati and Matthew C. Steel (New York, 1988), pp. 149–74. I am grateful to T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., for this reference.

123 G.R. Dimler, 'The Egg as Emblem: Genesis and Structure of a Jesuit Emblem Book,' *Studies in Iconography* 2 (1976): 85–106, and 'A Bibliographical Survey of Jesuit Emblem Books in German-Speaking Territories: Topography and Themes,' *AHSI* 48 (1976): 297–309; Porte. *Embl.*

124 Fum. 'Bar.'

125 Ibid.

126 First noted by Macioce, *Undique splendent*, p. 64.

127 Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori* (1642), pp. 353–4. Laire specialized in images like the *Borghese Madonna* and the *Madonna del Populo*, that 'filled souls with extreme marvel' (earning him also, incidentally, 'a great sum of money'). He was laid in state in the Jesuit church of San Stefano Rotondo, and was buried in the Capella di San Giuseppe di Terra. I am grateful to Pamela Jones and Joseph Connors for bringing this reference to my attention.

128 Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (n83 above), p. 161 n18.

129 Fumaroli calls the Jesuit approach as characterized in the *Imago primi saeculi* an 'aspiration vraiment pantagruélique à tout dire, et à tout dire sous toutes les formes disponibles,' and refers to that same work as a 'médiateur entre l'humanisme docte et le grand public' (Fum. 'Bar.,' pp. 346, 355).

130 Patetta, *Storia e tipologia* (n5 above), p. 164. The translation from Italian is my own.