

Macao's *Church of Saint Paul* A Glimmer of the Baroque in China

César Guillén Nuñez

Published in conjunction with



澳門特別行政區政府文化局
INSTITUTO CULTURAL do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau



香港大學出版社
HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

Hong Kong University Press

14/F Hing Wai Centre

7 Tin Wan Praya Road

Aberdeen

Hong Kong

© Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau 2009

ISBN 978-962-209-922-7

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Secure On-line Ordering

<http://www.hkupress.org>

Printed and bound by Lammar Offset Printing Ltd., Hong Kong, China



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“At first glance, Square Word Calligraphy appears to be nothing more unusual than Chinese characters, but in fact it is a new way of rendering English words in the format of a square so they resemble Chinese characters. Chinese viewers expect to be able to read Square Word Calligraphy but cannot. Western viewers, however are surprised to find they can read it. Delight erupts when meaning is unexpectedly revealed.”

— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*



Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
Preface	xiii
Abbreviations	xvii
Introduction	1
1 Jesuit Architecture and <i>Mediocrità Religiosa</i>	9
2 The Jesuit College in Goa	31
3 The College of Madre de Deus	53
4 The Collegiate Church	85
5 The Power of the Host	105
Notes	143
Selected Bibliography	165
Index	171



Illustrations

- | | | |
|----|---|----|
| 1. | Church of the Gesù, Rome
Vignola, 1568–1575, façade by della Porta, 1571–77
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art) | 12 |
| 2. | Church of the Gesù, Rome
Ground plan by Vignola
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art) | 14 |
| 3. | Monastery-Palace of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid
Partial view of main front
(photo: author) | 18 |
| 4. | Monastery-Palace of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid
High altarpiece, Basilica of San Lorenzo
(photo: author) | 19 |
| 5. | Interior of the Gesù
Ceiling decoration
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art) | 22 |
| 6. | Interior of the Gesù
Transept organ
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art) | 23 |
| 7. | St. Charles Borromeo, Antwerp
1615–1621 (Engraving) Pieter Huyssens, S.J.
(Conway Collection, copyright unknown) | 24 |
| 8. | St. Charles Borromeo, Antwerp
Houtappel Chapel
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art) | 26 |
| 9. | Chapel of the Jesuits
1692. Cambrai, France
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art) | 27 |

10. Santa Maria Assunta, Venice 29
View of exterior, 1717–1729
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art)
11. Santa Maria Assunta, Venice 29
Main altar
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art)
12. Church of São Paulo, Goa 37
1560s. Portal
(photo: Instituto Cultural, Macao)
13. *Igreja de Jesus*, Setúbal, Portugal 42
View of interior
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art)
14. *Igreja de Jesus*, Setúbal, Portugal 43
Ground plan
(Conway Collection, copyright unknown)
15. Basilica of Bom Jesus, Goa 45
General view of Church and part of Casa Professa
(photo: Instituto Cultural, Macao)
16. Basilica of Bom Jesus, Goa 47
Detail of attic relief with Monogram of Jesus Christ
(photo: Instituto Cultural, Macao)
17. Jesuit college, Diu 48
General view
(photo: Instituto Cultural, Macao)
18. Church of São Jerónimo, Mapuçá, Goa 50
(photo: Instituto Cultural, Macao)
19. Detail of Monte Fort, Macao 58–9
(2007 photo: author's collection)
20. College of St. Paul, Macao 60
1990s reconstruction of general layout
(photo: courtesy of The Museum of Macao)

21. College of St. Paul, Macao 73
Reconstructed 1990s ground plan of College and Church
(photo: courtesy of The Museum of Macao)
22. College of St. Paul, Macao 73
Detail of stone paving of main courtyard
(photo: courtesy of The Museum of Macao)
23. College of St. Paul, Macao 74
Detail of ruins of main courtyard
(2007 photo: author's collection)
24. College of St. Paul, Macao 76
Detail of ruins of south wing, with cubicles
(2007 photo: author's collection)
25. Church of Madre de Deus from the steps 77
with partial view of College buildings on right
George Chinnery, ink on paper drawing, 1830s
(Crown Copyright Victoria and Albert Museum)
26. Blue and white porcelain jar, with underglaze Jesuit symbol 79
Reign of Kangxi (1662–1722). 9.5 cm high
Museu do Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, Lisboa Collection (inv. 772)
(photo: courtesy of MCCCML)
27. Jesuit saint, probably Francis Xavier, with skull and cross (missing) 82
Polychrome wood, ca. 18th century (*Ruínas de S. Paulo* Museum)
(photo: courtesy of The Museum of Macao, with permission of Diocese of Macao)
28. Anonymous ivory statuette of dying Christ 83
Indo-Portuguese, second half of 17th century (*Ruínas de S. Paulo* Museum)
(photo: courtesy of The Museum of Macao, with permission of Diocese of Macao)
29. Detail of ivory statuette of dead Christ 84
Crown of thorns missing, silver radiance.
Indo-Portuguese, second half of 17th century (*Ruínas de S. Paulo* Museum)
(photo: courtesy of The Museum of Macao, with permission of Diocese of Macao)

30. Façade of Church of Madre de Deus 87
Anonymous architect and artists, ca. 1620s–1644
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
31. Church of Madre de Deus 94
1990 reconstructed 1602 ground plan, originally by Carlo Spinola, S.J.
(photo: courtesy of The Museum of Macao)
32. Church of Madre de Deus 98–9
Detail of three upper storeys and pediment
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
33. Infant Jesus 100
Bronze, ca. 1622–40, 4 ft., 6” h. granite pedestal, 1 ft. x 2 ft. 6”
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
34. Michael the Archangel 109
Oil painting on wood (*Ruínas de S. Paulo* Museum)
(photo: courtesy of The Museum of Macao, with permission of Diocese of Macao)
35. St. Luís Gonzaga (Church of Madre de Deus) 120
Bronze, ca. 1625–40, 5 ft., 6” h. granite pedestal, 1 ft. x 2 ft. 6”
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
36. St. Francis Borgia (Church of Madre de Deus) 121
Bronze, ca. 1625–40, 5 ft., 6” h. granite pedestal, 1 ft. x 2 ft. 6”
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
37. St. Ignatius of Loyola (Church of Madre de Deus) 122
Bronze, ca. 1625–40, 5 ft., 6” h. granite pedestal, 1 ft. x 2 ft. 6”
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
38. St. Francis Xavier (Church of Madre de Deus) 123
Bronze, ca. 1625–40, 5 ft., 6” h. granite pedestal, 1 ft. x 2 ft. 6”
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
39. Church of Madre de Deus, second storey bronzes of Jesuits, 124–5
gilding on garments and red paint on hands and faces
(Author’s reconstruction, mainly from a 1640s description)
Photo-retouching by Patrick Pun

40. Assumption of Mary (Church of Madre de Deus) 129
Bronze, ca. 1625–40, about 6 ft. h.
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
41. Bronze of Holy Spirit (Church of Madre de Deus) 130
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
42. Third storey granite relief (Church of Madre de Deus) 131
with Apocalyptic Woman, Apocalyptic Dragon and Chinese characters
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
43. Bronze of the Assumption of Mary (Church of Madre de Deus) 133
with granite relief of angels
(2007 photo: author’s collection)
44. Image of *Assumpta* (Church of Madre de Deus) 134
crowned by angels with Infant Jesus above
(Author’s reconstruction mainly derived from 1640s description)
Photo-retouching by Patrick Pun
45. *Tota Pulchra* 136
ca. 1500 print (from S. Ostrow, “Cigoli’s *Immacolata* and Galileo’s Moon”,
The Art Bulletin, June, 1996, pp. 218–35, fig. 11)
46. 17th century Roman Catholic liturgical shawl 138
Diocese of Algarve, Portugal
Anon. Chinese artists
(photo: courtesy of *Oriental Art Magazine, Ltd.*)
47. Gilded bronze of Holy Spirit (Church of Madre de Deus) 139
(Author’s reconstruction, based on 1640s description)
Photo-retouching by Patrick Pun



The Imperfect Pearl

Together with the Age of Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Europe, the previous century, which produced the artistic marvels of the Baroque style, can be seen as a golden age for the Society of Jesus. In Jesuit history this golden age forms part of the era known as the first period of the Society. It is a period that has a joyful beginning with the founding of the order in 1540, but which ends tragically with its suppression through the papal Brief *Dominus Ac Redemptor*, issued by Pope Clement XIV on July 21, 1773.

The reasons for the order's suppression during its moment of greatest splendour are extremely complex and fall outside the main theme of this book. But the dawn of the Society's golden age is directly relevant to it because it comprises the period during which many of the buildings and works of art discussed in the following pages were created. It resulted in large measure from the renown attained by the Jesuits as prime movers of many of the main educational and artistic endeavours that developed during the age of the Baroque.

This book focuses specifically on the Church of Madre de Deus and the College to which it belonged, both conceived and created during the first period of Jesuit history. Although the intervention of Italian Jesuits in its creation was paramount, it was a building that was, nonetheless, a characteristic offshoot of Iberian colonial architecture: the Jesuits journeyed to China under the aegis of the Portuguese crown and a Portuguese colonial port city nurtured the growth of the College and its church.

The etymology of the word "Baroque" is thought to derive from a Portuguese word for an imperfect pearl, or, less flatteringly, from the Latin *verruca*, meaning a wart.¹ It is used by a number of academic disciplines as a distinct category to refer to works of literature and art that were created through the centuries, from antiquity to the present. But in this book the term "Baroque" is given its modern art-historical usage and refers mainly to the artistic productions that appeared after the Mannerist style of the sixteenth century and which flourished mainly in the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century.

For the practitioners of the nineteenth century's neoclassic style that developed as a reaction to the Baroque, the latter's structurally fragmented and visually busy and colourful buildings and artifacts rose like bizarre phantoms from the immediate past, the very antithesis of their ideal world of rationally conceived architectural forms in white marble. Fortunately, comparatively recent art-historical research argues that the Baroque style was a highly original and dynamic expression of a new age. Today scholars recognize that there is not only a Roman Baroque, but also various urban and regional developments of the style in Italy. They equally accept that there are important variations of the style typical of the genius of the Spanish, the Portuguese and the French, as well as of other peoples of Europe and Latin America. Apart from these national schools there are further classifications, one of which is, or was, the so-called Jesuit Baroque.

The historical forces that set the stage for the appearance of this controversial style are particularly fascinating. During what is really an extremely short period of

time — not more than 40 years — especially during the second, third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century, a particularly restless social scene emerged in Europe, with a spirit of religious and political confrontation that convulsed practically the whole of Christendom.² This was as true of the Catholic South as it was of the Protestant North, where religious extremists often initiated radical measures. To take Spain as an example, church authorities in cities and villages in that country became vigilant of contamination from heretical doctrines from the Protestant North. Although there was a degree of religious paranoia in these developments, the suspicions of Spanish authorities were not unfounded: Protestant cells did spring up in Valladolid and Seville and resulted in the forming of suspect religious communities in the late 1550s. Alarm led to an extreme reaction by the Inquisition that spared few, including the Jesuits who in time became its zealous collaborators. Measures taken ranged from the censorship of books to more violent ones, such as the garrotting or burning at the stake of hundreds of Spanish Lutherans, and the vicious persecution and jailing of the distinguished Dominican theologian, Friar Batolomé Carranza, archbishop of Toledo.³ In spite of such excessive measures, there were Reformation and Counter-Reformation thinkers and visionaries who attempted to solve Christendom's spiritual crisis in more positive ways. Even if they could never entirely rid themselves of the excesses of partisanship, their reforms led to a new spiritual outlook from which more hopeful religious and social reforms eventually emerged.

The Dream of Jerusalem

The birth and subsequent development of the Society of Jesus occurred during this period of dissension but was not a direct outcome of it. To gain a better understanding of the ideals that animated the nascent religious order it is necessary to briefly recall the original plan conceived in the mind of Ignatius of Loyola, the Society's founder. Badly recovered from a leg wound received in battle in 1521, his first impulse was to peregrinate hundreds of miles to Jerusalem. While completing university studies in Paris, he formed the company of Jesus with fellow students. The march of time eventually overtook the lame ex-military man; Ignatius himself never went beyond the frontiers of Europe. But in his stead thousands of his companions would travel the length and breadth of the globe.

To some the intervention of Pope Paul III and of a number of Roman Catholic princes may seem providential. Two years before the Jesuit order was officially approved by the Pope, the Portuguese Humanist Diogo de Gouveia the Elder, probably one of the most undervalued characters in the history of the Society of Jesus, had conceived the idea of sending the members of the new spiritual society as missionaries to India. King João III of Portugal was approached with this novel idea. From then on the simple group of brothers in Christ was to form a stalwart religious phalanx in Europe, and a mobile community of priests and lay brethren in distant overseas lands, all in the service of Roman Catholicism and the Pope, and more specifically of Paul III, the reigning Pontiff.

For a Jesuit missionary, travel gave his order a distinct corporate identity. The way he travelled and set up a mission abroad, usually with a small number of brethren, was quite different from the pioneering adventures of Mendicants.⁴ Moreover, travel could also sometimes result in greater adaptability, as the pursuit of a Jesuit missionary's ultimate goal of conversion obliged him to be more open and understanding of the differences of the unfamiliar.

A better idea of the Jesuits' modernity is obtained if we contrast it to the more static life of the typical medieval conventual order, daily carried out in large and often dark masonry buildings enclosed by boundary walls. Particularly revelatory is the sixth-century example of St. Benedict and the monastic complexes that developed throughout the Middle Ages from his vision of self-sufficient colonies of Christian men.⁵ In his much-admired Rule, St. Benedict's definition of the monastic ideal is avowedly contemptuous of vagrant monks, in part because of their lack of a fixed place of abode. Although Ignatius of Loyola's Constitutions did not radically break with certain of the old monastic ideals, such as those of poverty, chastity and obedience, and there is much in the order that is derivative of the aims of the Dominicans, new departures were present as much in the Society's creed of a more widely mobile, evangelizing entity, as in the order's dynamic administrative machinery, quite different from that of the old monastic orders.⁶ In certain respects — and the Jesuits would have been the last to admit it — it was a post-Tridentine resurgence of the Christian parable of Martha and Mary, of the active versus the contemplative. In fact, they cleverly modified St. Thomas of Aquinas' *contemplata aliis tradere*, or the necessity to share that which contemplation has revealed, into *in actione contemplativi* (contemplatives in action), thus investing action with what the Jesuits saw as a new spiritual dimension, but what to the more traditional religious orders appeared as a religious philosophy that came too close to the temporal and worldly.

Travel in physical space to the farthest confines of the globe had a counterpart in the individual spiritual journeys of members and their devotees. It was expressed as a search for a closer communion with Christ and was mainly attainable through the medium of Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, where at the start a parallel is made between deliberate physical movement and deliberate psychological movement away from sinful states. Originally created to help novices abandon individual desires that were considered sinful and replace these with the will of God, it could be said that with the *Spiritual Exercises* each individual practitioner, with the skilful guidance of a director, was expected to make a solitary journey of the soul towards a spiritual Jerusalem.

To help accomplish the journey, the *Exercises* employ a highly emotional psychological technique that works by arousing conflicting emotions, where the retreatant is at first frightened and then consoled. With the *Spiritual Exercises*' composition of space, the experience of Christ's life and Passion in the Holy Land becomes a creation of the retreatant's individual imagination. Thus his or her fantasy is stimulated to awaken in the mind's eye images that enable each to gain access to deeper spiritual truths.

The visual aids that were produced by the Jesuits to facilitate its performance have long fascinated historians of art. If or how the *Spiritual Exercises* helped or hindered the creation of an art that was characteristic of the order is a question much debated by current scholarship.⁷ But at least as regards the Christian art of China and Japan, the *Exercises*' conjuring up of religious images was to lead to a new and important development through the medium of print illustrations. Of these the most influential was Jerónimo Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*. Largely through this book Jesuit iconodulism was to reach one of its most brilliant phases not only in Counter-Reformation Europe but also in the Far East.

Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580), a Spaniard from the island of Majorca, conceived his book, the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Images from the New Testament), at the request of St. Ignatius as a book of meditation for Jesuit novices on Gospel passages used in the liturgy of the Mass. From the point of view of art there is little doubt that it was the engravings by Flemish artists such as the brothers Jan, Jerome and Anton Wierix II, illustrating the book that was to have a greater significance.⁸

In the Jesuits' China missions either the Flemish engravings appearing in Nadal's masterpiece or similar works by these masters were adapted by Chinese artists for the woodcuts that illustrated several devotional books in Chinese.⁹ Among the most remarkable is the 1619 *Prática de rezar o rosário*, ([誦] 念珠規程), or Method of Saying the Rosary, by the Portuguese João da Rocha that included 15 woodcuts attributed to the artist Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang (董其昌) (1555–1636), and considered the first examples of Christian devotional art of their kind in China.¹⁰ There was also a 1635 life of Christ by the Italian Giulio Aleni containing a large number of prints adapted from those of Nadal, as well as another life of Christ composed for the Chinese emperor in 1640 by the German Jesuit Johann Adam Schall von Bell.¹¹ Equally extraordinary — if not for the artistic quality of the surviving prints, at least as curios — are the four prints which were given as gifts by Matteo Ricci to the ink master Ch'eng Ta-yüeh, incorporated in his 1606 illustrated catalogue of ink tablets, the *Mo Yuan* 墨苑.¹² The *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*' prints would have a similar devotional impact on the Japan mission, especially in paintings that made the mysteries of the rosary more accessible to devotees through the use of narratives.¹³

Thus the prints of the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* had been transmuted by the Jesuits in their missions, including those of the Far East, into didactic evangelical tools. It was an enticing and convenient method of evangelization that would moreover assist Christian converts in obtaining a deeper understanding of the mystery of Christ and of his mother Mary. In a return to the old tradition of the Christian Church, images had once again become the books of the illiterate; in the East, illiterate being those who could not read Latin or European languages, or who were unable to understand the complicated theology behind the simple stories. Time and again Matteo Ricci and his fellow Jesuit missionaries speak of the usefulness of the *imagini* found in Nadal's book as an aid to proselytizing. In one of the best (and best known) examples Ricci writes a letter from

Beijing in May 1605, to João Álvarez, S.J., assistant to Father General Aquaviva in Rome. Ricci asks for an extra copy of Nadal's book, declaring with Jesuitical pragmatism, "*perchè più utile é anco quel libro che questo della Biblia per adesso; poichè con quello dichiariamo, anzi poniamo avanti agli occhi quello che alle volte con parole non possiamo dichiarare*" (because that book [of Nadal] is even more useful than the Bible itself; as we speak the words we put before the eyes of the listener those concepts [of the Bible, illustrated by the images in Nadal's book] which at that moment we cannot explain with mere words).¹⁴

Apart from printed pictures, there were other artistic tools that the missionaries found very useful. The kind of religious images and their legitimate use, sanctioned in the 25th session of the Council of Trent (December 3–4, 1563), also arrived in the China and Japan missions through the use of the emblems and the devotional images that were favoured or promoted in Jesuit institutions and colleges. These icons arrived as harbingers of Roman Catholic Christianity. But in Asia as in Europe they were only some of the tools for conversion. The others were the spoken and the written word.

Zealous Sermons

By the time that the Council of Trent had held its final session in the 1560s, images had become characteristic of Roman Catholicism rather than Christianity. To some Tridentine reformers they were even of greater value than the word because of their greater emotional impact on the mind.¹⁵ The high religious value placed on the emotionalism stirred by sacred images was one which had been resurrected as a counterattack to Protestant iconoclasm. But the spoken evangelical word was one point of dogma in which, to a greater or lesser degree, all sixteenth-century Christian denominations converged. From their pulpits both Catholics and Protestants interpreted the Gospel message according to their theological perspective. For Jesuit preachers it was the tenets of Roman Catholicism, as defined by the Council, which would be conveyed to congregations of all nationalities throughout the world.

It would be an oversimplification to think that during the second half of the sixteenth century and throughout the next vitriolic sermons against the new forms of Christianity was the only topic for Jesuit preachers. In a world where the mass media or Information Technology was not even conceivable, church sermons played a critical role in the dissemination of information and the latest news by way of argumentation, in which spiritual, political and ethical issues were presented. Jesuit preachers, good or bad, discoursed emotionally not only on the Gospels, but also on topics that would be frowned upon today because of their political content, such as patriotic calls to arms against the Dutch or for independence from Spanish rule. Others clamoured for human rights causes — for instance, the rights of indigenous peoples in Paraguay or Brazil — whose topicality is still relevant. Other sermons touched on questions of aesthetics, dealing

with the decoration proper for Jesuit churches or surprisingly materialistic themes, some as worldly as a critique on the significance of a particular work of art in Rome. Good examples are the fiery sermons of António Vieira (1608–1697) in Portugal and Brazil; the efficacy of the sermons of António Gomes the 1st (1520–1554), the controversial rector of the Jesuit college in Goa, India; the edifying sermons of Gianpaulo Oliva (1600–1681) in Rome before and after he became general of the order. Their sermons, as well as those of others in Italy and the missions, drew large crowds and became famous in their days.¹⁶ To take António Vieira as an example, in one of his most famous sermons delivered in the 1650s on the Sexagesima, whose theme is the preaching of the Gospels, he indirectly attacks the Dominicans and their monastic way of life and animosity towards him and his order. Borrowing an image from one of Christ's parables, he makes a distinction between two kinds of preachers by declaring that among sowers of the word there are those who go out to sow, while others sow without going out. The ones who go out are those who go to preach as far as India, China or Japan. He points out that to all preachers, even to those who stay safe at home, God in His justice will give their due wages by measuring how far the seed, or word, has been scattered.¹⁷ Naturally, the Jesuits, the ones going to such lengths and distances to cast the words of the Gospels, would earn a reward proportionately greater in Heaven than that earned by smugly sedentary preachers.

In reflecting on the use of impassioned declamations by these star preachers, one should be careful not to dissociate the Society of Jesus from the socio-historical context out of which it emerged. The preached word constituted one of the pillars of Christianity from the time of Christ and the apostles. The development of Gothic pulpits in Italy is a good indication of the significance the sermon had already attained in that country. It continued to flourish under the influence of the revival of classical rhetoric during the Renaissance and attained one of its peaks with the Jesuits and with the other Roman Catholic orders that thrived during the Counter-Reformation. These included the Theatines, the Regular Clerics of St. Paul, or *Barnabites*, and the oratory of St. Philip Neri.¹⁸ Moreover, similar large halls with conspicuous pulpits suitable for extensive preaching were equally a feature of the simplified churches of the new Protestant denominations that were sprouting all over northern Europe. For these emerging denominations the importance of sermons can be traced back to Martin Luther himself and was already thriving in England and northern Europe before the Reformation.¹⁹ But the pivotal role of sermons for the new sixteenth-century Protestant or Roman Catholic religious organizations is shown by the fact that pulpits had to figure more prominently than before in the interior of churches.

The Great Change in Artistic Vision

In artistic terms the historical period under discussion was a time when the Italian High Renaissance ramified into a variety of artistic styles. Mannerism, the main and most influential among these, evolved stylistic and formal disequilibria that appeared in the

art and architecture of many European countries. Of greater concern for this book is the religious art that first appeared as a reaction to secular Mannerism in the last quarter of the century. It became a fully fledged religious style in the 1590s in Italy and crossed over to Spain in the South and to Flanders in the North, as well as to other European, mainly Catholic countries, to finally metamorphose into one of the main forms of expressions of the Baroque style.

Concerning the political and religious forces that dictated the choice of a specifically Roman Catholic religious art of the Counter-Reformation, some scholars have taken a rather critical view, while others are more appreciative of the transcendental dimension that germinated at the end of the century. In this respect Anthony Blunt's interpretation of the relationship between the Council of Trent and the religious art it spawned can be usefully contrasted with Walter Friedlaender's 1930 study on the spirituality emerging in the Italian paintings of the 1590s.²⁰

For Blunt the rather fatal combination of Counter-Reformation Spain's ascendancy and the decrees of the Council of Trent were mainly responsible for the development during the second half of the century of an official religious art that inhibited the originality and freedom that art had attained under the Humanism of the Renaissance. The political stage, dominated by Spain which dominated a Papacy, to whom the Sack of Rome and the Reformation had taught severe lessons, was now set for a return to medieval absolutism. For artists the search was now for theological or supernatural content.²¹

Friedlaender's study appeared about a decade before that of Blunt and is in many respects a pioneering work, but his insights are still valid. His approach is less judgmental, stressing rather the unprecedented manner — what Friedlaender calls the secularization of the transcendental — in the treatment of religious themes by certain artists in a process that reached maturity in Italy at the end of the century.²² There is much truth in both these contradictory perspectives, and the artistic mutations that led to Spanish and Italian naturalism during the age of the Baroque can only be fully comprehended by taking both points of view into account.

To what extent the mentioned historical conflicts were reflected in the works of artists is exemplified by High Renaissance luminaries such as Michelangelo. From the second decade of the sixteenth century until his death early in 1564 — soon after the final session of the Council of Trent — Michelangelo's painterly and sculptural style became ever more expressive, often of physical or spiritual suffering. The Tridentine spirituality that could leave such a deep imprint even on Michelangelo's powerful mind was a particular kind of spirituality, one that also informed the art and architecture of the Society of Jesus for much of the remainder of the century and beyond.

From the beginning of its creation the Society of Jesus adhered to the spiritual ideal of poverty common to most Christian religious orders. This is one of the main reasons why the Jesuits were preoccupied with practical considerations rather than style in the construction of their main sixteenth-century buildings. In fact, the comparatively low priority they gave to stylistic questions eventually led the Jesuits to adopt, rather erratically, a variety of artistic styles.¹ In the seventeenth century, when the Jesuits' previous more severe Tridentine outlook had been relaxed, a rather similar inclination prevailed, even if like other religious institutions they were open to what the creativity of artists could provide for the plan and style of their buildings.²

The Jesuits' pragmatism regarding architecture can be said to have been more fully realized during the Counter-Reformation period than at any other time. When not occupying pre-existing buildings and when in charge of erecting their own residences, professed houses and colleges, practical considerations steered the Jesuits towards functionality as a foremost aim. In Pietro Pirri's apt phrase, from the time of St. Ignatius all superfluous decoration and any semblance of worldliness was to be eliminated in the pursuit of a "*sobria ed austera semplicità*" (a sober and austere simplicity), for the structure as well as the decoration of the Society's houses and colleges.³

This decorum was reflected in the *gravitas* of the styles they sought during the sixteenth-century phase, in which the unembellished exterior walls and interiors of some of their buildings, including churches, create an astonishingly stark effect. The famously controversial *modo nostro* phrase appearing in contemporary Jesuit correspondence, which was once identified by historians of art as relating to a characteristic Jesuitical style, refers mainly to this kind of architecture. Less frequently used by the Jesuits and less cited by specialists is *mediocrità religiosa*, an even more telling phrase that the fathers general of the Society sometimes employed in reference to the kind of art and architecture that was perceived to conform more closely to their religious ideals.⁴ The poverty of structures of the buildings that to a greater extent embodied the architectural concepts of the Jesuits at this time is exemplified by their *casa professa* (Professed House) in Rome. This house for ordained or professed Jesuits originated in the modest residence first occupied by St. Ignatius in 1543–1544. Up to 1598 other residential structures had been added to it over the years, but that year the Jesuits were obliged to seriously consider the construction of better premises after a famous flood of the river Tiber.

The new Professed House was designed by the Jesuit Giovanni de Rosis (1583–1610), with a later intervention by Girolamo Rainaldi and with the patronage of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, a member of the powerful Farnese family.⁵ Its first stone was laid on July 6, 1599, but construction continued during the first decades of the seventeenth century.⁶ What is important to note here is the simplicity of design and style originally chosen by the Jesuits for their House, and that its austerity would be influential for subsequent residences of the order.⁷

Several decades before the 1599 reconstruction of the Professed House the Jesuits had already taken an unprecedented step in the architecture of its church. For this temple

they were willing to be more flexible because in the self-definition of the Society that had occurred in the General Congregation of 1558 churches of the order were excluded from architectural austerity. The rationale behind this ruling was that a Roman Catholic temple, in which the consecrated Host and wine are housed in a tabernacle, is by implication the house of the Trinity, that is, of God. The appropriateness of rich decoration and furnishings for Christian churches is a concept that goes back to the Middle Ages, and in this regard the Jesuits were more receptive to the idea of a more sensuous liturgy.⁸

It is important to keep this theological reasoning in mind because it explains why a grander kind of architecture was primarily evident in their churches when an extraordinary change of stylistic direction took place in Jesuit art towards the last decades of the sixteenth century. It is in these late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century temples that one finds the impressive façades and cupolas, the dizzying, breathtaking *quadratura* scenarios of ceilings and vaults and the material and liturgical splendour that for many today have come to exemplify the architecture of the Jesuits on either side of the Atlantic. Even then, the Jesuits did not give up their predominant religious ideal of poverty easily. In reality actual change came from outside the order and could be said to have had its origins in the mentioned church of their Professed House, that is, the Church of the Gesù.⁹

The Gesù

If there were one building that could be said to represent the Society of Jesus in Europe, it would be the Church of the *Santissimo Nome di Gesù* (The Most Holy Name of Jesus), known simply as the Gesù. It is little wonder that for practically a century the Gesù has become the subject of a perennial ongoing debate in art-historical discourse, a building controversial to some, or to others simply the most important church in Europe of the late sixteenth century (Figure 1).¹⁰

A masterpiece of Mannerist ecclesiastical architecture, the Gesù was begun in mid century. If the frescoes and altar decoration of the interior are taken into account it was not fully completed until much later. The story of the earliest ground plans and elevations, of which their drafting and redrafting are complicated enough, has been carefully studied by past and present scholarship, and is still a subject of research. But it is worth reconsidering a number of outstanding features of its plan because of the implications it carries for the subsequent churches of the Society, including those in Portuguese colonies to be examined in greater detail later.

Towards the end of 1550 the first foundation stone of the new church of the Gesù took place, built on the site of the small church of Santa Maria della Strada (Our Lady of the Street) — Pope Paul III's charitable 1540s gift to the first Jesuits. But due to many vicissitudes the project was brought to a standstill and similar ceremonies followed. St. Ignatius had already died at the end of July, 1556, before the stone of the final project was laid on the ground over a decade later. The architects who participated in the planning

of the church included two Jesuits in charge of architectural matters within the order. They were Giovanni Tristano, who as architect was rather limited and unimaginative, and Giovanni de Rosis. Several lay architects also participated in its construction during various dates, namely, Nanni di Baccio Bigio, the great Michelangelo — who was a friend of St. Ignatius¹¹ — as well as one of Michelangelo's pupils, Giacomo della Porta. But the definitive and defining plans of the Gesù were those drawn up by Jacopo Barozzi, better known as Vignola.

An early 1550 plan for the project, now in the National Library, Paris, today thought to be by Giovanni Tristano, consisted of a set of rooms for the Professed House built around a large square courtyard, with an adjoining church resembling a large barn-like hall.¹² An interesting aspect of this eventually rejected ground plan is not only the large courtyard, but also the fact that the Professed House communicated with the church through one of the transept arms. Equally characteristic is the large roomy single nave of the church covered by a flat ceiling. Although suitable for intensive and prolonged preaching, especially if covered by a wooden ceiling, this nave, if built according to prevailing Counter-Reformation tastes, could well have resulted in a rather dull interior. After an interval it was to the plans of Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573) and of Giacomo della Porta (ca. 1532–1602), main architects of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (the pope's grandson), that final works were carried out.¹³

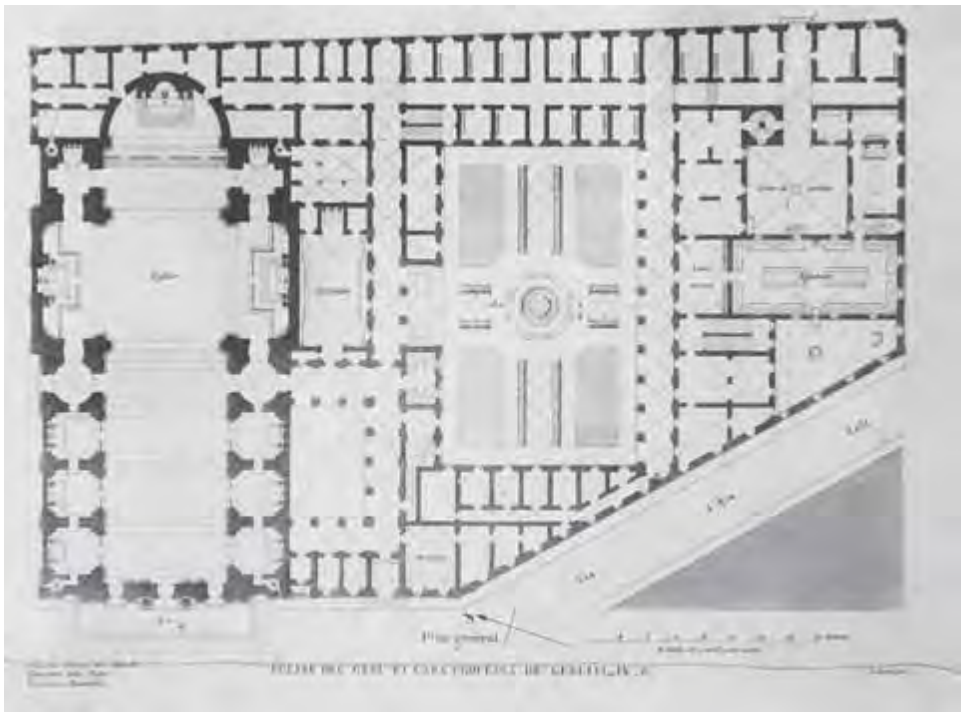
The first stone of Vignola's plan was put in place at the end of June of 1568, with St. Ignatius' great friend, Francisco de Borja, or to give him his more familiar name, St. Francis Borgia (1510–1572), presiding as third general of the Society. The largely completed church was consecrated at the end of November of 1584 with a façade by Giacomo della Porta.

Vignola's ingenious plans still reflect the fading Renaissance ideal of the primacy of human reason. In his architecture this meant forms mainly subordinated to rational Vitruvian canons. In fact, his concepts were to ennoble the architecture of the Gesù, which was to become the most influential of all of Vignola's churches.¹⁴ The drafting, construction and stylistic innovations of the Gesù at the hands of Vignola have been well studied, but some of the main points related to its creation should be reassessed here because of their relevance to the main topic of this book. To begin with, Vignola's ground plan for the entire Professed House complex shows an architecturally innovative Latin Cross on the left side of the site. Instead of the numerous little square rooms clustered around a large square of the 1550 plan, Vignola planned an elegantly rectangular courtyard with a more satisfactory arrangement of smaller courts and subordinate spaces. The proportions for the church are equally fine (Figure 2).

Particularly impressive is the temple's interior with its basilical nave, its interconnecting side chapels and grand dome at the crossing. It is largely agreed that Vignola was inspired by the fifteenth-century architect and theoretician Leon Battista Alberti. Following Alberti's classical concepts, Vignola cleverly fused his Latin Cross with the single hall found in classical Roman basilicas, in which an apse appears at the eastern

end. For engineering purposes he adapted the scheme of the Roman Basilica of Maxentius, using the buttresses of the large vault roofing eventually adopted for the nave to serve as dividing walls of the lateral chapels. But Vignola created a more coherent and modern plan by widening the nave and reducing the projection of the transepts, which were squeezed into a rectangle in which there were no aisles but one single dominant nave with side chapels.¹⁵ He further unified the interior by reducing the number of lateral chapels and by integrating them more satisfactorily to the large longitudinal nave.

Although Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's wishes were pivotal for the creation of this new type of sophisticated Late Mannerist church, the unmistakable stamp of the Jesuits, and in particular of their superior general at the time, the genial Francis Borgia, is still present, mainly in the simplicity of the large single hall of the nave.¹⁶ Francis Borgia insisted on it because, interestingly, he considered it to be *al modo nostro*, that is, in the mentioned Jesuits' own functional and unadorned kind of art and architecture.¹⁷ His intervention shows that although the Jesuits did not create an identifiable corporate architectural style, a number of leading Jesuits or architects did indeed participate in creating norms or constructing buildings that let us understand today what they initially thought their architecture should aim to be like.¹⁸



2. Church of the Gesù, Rome
Ground plan by Vignola
(Conway Collection, copyright Courtauld Institute of Art)

The single nave obeyed two practical requirements of the order. One concerned the visibility of a large pulpit for sermons that had to be in full sight of the congregation. The other was the need for an uninterrupted view towards the elevated main altar at the apse during the celebration of Mass. Apart from these two liturgical prerequisites, a roomy space of this nature also allowed for the placing of confessionals along both sides of the nave ministering to groups of penitents. These were all strictly religious requirements and Vignola's architecture masterfully accommodated them.

The single nave as well as the *modo nostro* may have played an important role during the drafting of various plans for the church. But its final design as a masterpiece owes much to Alessandro Farnese, the building's sponsor and one of the most influential Maecenas of the age. Apart from placing Vignola in charge of the architectural design, he also chose his painters for the initial decoration of the interior. For the design of the façade, he arbitrarily rejected Vignola's and chose a second architect, Giacomo della Porta.

Della Porta is today mainly famous for his design of the west façade of the church, works on which proceeded from 1571 to 1577. Not all architectural historians are enthusiastic about the result, considering it inferior to Vignola's rejected design.¹⁹ Rising two storeys high and crowned by a large pediment, the façade is articulated by paired Corinthian pilasters, except for the middle bay. Here there is what could be described as a portico embedded in the façade, composed of half columns with a straight-sided pediment, acting as frame to the main door with the emblem of the Jesuits above it. This structure is in turn itself framed by pilasters with a circular pediment. The interconnected forms of the pediments protrude into the space of the upper storey and it may be argued that they disrupt the harmony of Vignola's unrealized elevation. To this objection one may counter that as Michelangelo's follower, Della Porta employed the kind of interlocking forms that one can see in Michelangelo's architecture. Also the large dimensions and more classical volumetric treatment of the half columns and pediments in the centre already prefigure the Baroque style, with its deliberate creation of dramatic lights and shadows. The whole design is made grander by the large volutes flamboyantly unifying the two storeys.

Outside, running along the plain frieze of the first storey entablature, an inscription in capital letters in the purest classical style announces to the world the name of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese as patron. Inside, the Cardinal is buried in front of the main altar, a gesture that leaves little doubt for future generations in determining who the mastermind behind this much-debated church was. Such was its influence in Europe and abroad that the Gesù, together with the design of the Church of San Fedele in Milan that derives from it, is considered a prototype for many Jesuit churches of the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth century in Europe and abroad.²⁰

San Giovannino

The stylistic sobriety of the college and collegiate church of San Giovannino (Little Saint John), the Jesuits' first establishment in Florence, serves to illustrate another facet of the architecture of the Society in the sixteenth century. During the building of this college the Jesuits showed a predilection for as functional and temperate an architecture for the colleges of the order as they had for their residences.

San Giovannino was built under the plans and artistic direction of Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511–1592), one of the leading architects and sculptors of the Mannerist age, who also financed the project.²¹ Again, the unadorned functional lines of the exterior of the college were the product of religious principles, expressive of the ideal of poverty incorporated in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. But they were also representative of the style evolved at this time by Ammannati himself, one of the leading artists of the Mannerist age in Florence.

However, an episode related to Ammannati's designs for the college demonstrates just how unwilling Jesuit authorities in Rome were for even a limited concession to artistic flights of fancy. The then general of the order, Father Claudio Aquaviva (1543–1615), who fully embodied the austere outlook of the Jesuits in questions of art, looked askance at Ammannati's attempts to enliven the otherwise plain lines of his design for the college front with a device typical of his architectural manner. A letter from Aquaviva of September 1590, regarding the magnificent relief with the emblem of the Society intended by the architect as sole embellishment for the decoration of the front, expresses diplomatic but firm disapproval to the rector of the college in Florence.²² What is even more curious is that several years before this incident the architect-sculptor, deeply transformed by the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, as proof of his Catholic orthodoxy, had publicly renounced his earlier, more sensuous works of sculpture.²³

The building of the college was started on May 1579 and continued for several years. Apart from schoolrooms, its first structure was composed of six rooms for the Jesuits as well as a kitchen and other dependencies that formed the Jesuit residence proper. This part of the building continued to be extended during the 1580s. As was to be the case with the Professed House and would be in subsequent Jesuit colleges in various parts of the world, most of the decorative and structural luxuries at San Giovannino were reserved for the collegiate church.

The Church of San Giovannino, begun in 1581, had largely reached completion a year later except for the façade. Its construction continued through the 1580s and the college complex was finally ready by 1589. After it was finished, this building, which had no cloister, resembled a contemporary palace of sober lines.²⁴

The stylistic sobriety of San Giovannino was not limited to the architecture of the Society in Italy and many of the Jesuits' sixteenth-century foundations in other parts of Europe were created in what has been termed a Counter-Reformation Mannerist style. As far as architecture is concerned the latter can imply simple classical lines that reflect

different degrees of gravitas, with those of Jesuit churches in Spain as perhaps the most decoratively abstemious.

Apart from the architecture typical of Giovanni Tristano in Italy, the productions of the period by Spanish Jesuit architects present us with numerous examples of *mediocrità religiosa* displayed even on the façades of churches. Moreover, Spanish examples provide another instance that the Society of Jesus was not totally indifferent to questions of style. In fact, the orders' Spanish architects found the powerful classical style of King Philip II's architect, Juan de Herrera, main architect of the monastery-palace of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (1563–1584), quite congenial to their aesthetic aspirations (Figure 3).

In the spirit of the Council of Trent in this majestically austere palace, the greatest splendour of the decoration was reserved for the Escorial's basilica and its 30-metre-high altarpiece, in which a painting of the Assumption of Mary is seen above the central oil painting of Pellegrino Tibaldi's 1592 Martyrdom of St. Lawrence. The symbolism of the Assumption in this altarpiece, as indeed in the subsequent Jesuit churches to be studied later in these pages where this image is used, is that of triumph over sin and death. Mary's triumph over physical death was a particularly meaningful image when appearing over a scene of martyrdom (Figure 4).

The influence of Herrera was more directly exercised in the architecture of the Jesuits in Spain. Among others of his Jesuit followers Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552–1608), one of the most celebrated architects of the age, had been his disciple.²⁵ By the time that Herrera's architectural style was being superseded at the close of the century, his influence still lingered in the main projects of the order. Thus their college in Monforte de Lemos (1592–1608) has an impressive façade, 106 metres long, designed by the Jesuit lay brother Andrés Ruiz, who also drafted plans for the large college complex from 1592–1594. There are other influences at work here and it has been argued that it signals the start of more Baroque tastes in Spain. But even then, at first glance the resemblance to the Escorial is still its most immediately striking feature. The Monforte college was in fact called the second Escorial.²⁶

The Jesuit churches and colleges of Portugal embody another version of this Mannerist Counter-Reformation manner. George Kubler first famously christened this style in Portugal the *estilo chão*, or plain style, even though the validity of his classification for all Portuguese architecture of the period has been recently questioned.²⁷ Broadly considered, the plain style does indeed emerge as the national Portuguese style of the period. Characteristically the leading exponent of the plain style was the military architect Miguel de Arruda (active ca. 1500–1563).²⁸ Buildings erected following its canons have largely unadorned rational lines, in which, unlike those of Juan de Herrera in Spain (for example, his design for the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption in Valladolid), the human scale has not been lost. Among the finest plain-style constructions of the second half of the century were the Church of São Roque, Lisbon and the College and Church of Espírito Santo, Évora, both built for the Jesuits.²⁹

Who the Jesuit College of Espírito Santo's architects were is still a subject of uncertainty, but its plan is one of the most progressive for a college institution of the period.³⁰ Residential areas, classrooms and other halls are built around a large, sunny arcaded two-storeyed courtyard where a large central fountain plays. The collegiate church stands to the left of the courtyard's main entrance. It was designed and worked on by Manuel Pires from 1566 up to his death in 1570, when, appropriately, a disciple of Miguel de Arruda, Afonso Álvares, took over the works for another five years. Certain architectural features, such as the arcaded Galilee giving access to the building and the temple's blind-aisled plan with overhead tribunes,³¹ are adapted from medieval architecture to meet the requirements of the Jesuits. The design of its tribunes over the nave is one of its most innovative features.³² The Jesuits' influence proper is seen in the large rectangular central hall forming the nave, with its unobstructed view towards the main altar, which is housed inside a small square sanctuary that is visible through a large semicircular arch of triumph.

However, even Pires' and Álvares' comparatively novel approach did not escape the influence of Herrera's Escorial palace.³³ Moreover, the wishes of the college's patron, Cardinal Henrique, to use the Church of São Francisco in Évora as a model for that of the Jesuits were opposed by members of the order as too luxurious, and a more austere solution was arrived at by the architects, with a severe use of the Tuscan order.³⁴

Stylistic Diversity and Baroque Intensity

The impact that the Gesù had at the time has led many later researchers and writers astray. In their opinion its lines are discernible in practically all of the main churches inaugurated by the Society, be it in Europe, Latin America or the Orient. Some continue to argue rather wilfully that it is the prototype for the façade and interior of the Church of Madre de Deus in Macao, something which is clearly not the case. In fact, the reality is very different and it is estimated that in Italy, out of 160 churches built by the Society, only 30 follow the design of the Gesù.³⁵

More typical of the Jesuits' approach to architecture is flexibility in architectural idiom. One of the most powerful examples of this may be seen in the dramatic change that took place in the Mannerist architecture of the Gesù by the adoption of a luxuriant Baroque interior decoration. It was a change in aesthetic sensibilities that was evidently influenced by the change of historic and artistic climate in the seventeenth century, from Counter-Reformation militarism to that of the *Ecclesia triumphans*.³⁶ In this more relaxed religious climate the Jesuits now accepted that the arts could not only edify, but as has been remarked by other scholars, also delight.³⁷ The more exuberant and theatrical developments of the High Baroque style, occurring from about 1625 to 1675,³⁸ made a more forceful appearance in the buildings of the Jesuits towards the last decades of the seventeenth century, during what has been termed the Late Baroque (from ca. 1675 to the early eighteenth century). This was not in itself a novelty, since it was exactly during this

period that most of the large frescoes decorating Roman Baroque churches were painted.³⁹ What is remarkable about the fresco decoration of the two main churches of the Jesuits in Rome, the Gesù and St. Ignatius, is their magnificence and sumptuousness.⁴⁰ These frescoes represent a quantum leap forward from the Jesuits' earlier *mediocrità religiosa*.

In this stylistic shift the 1664 election of Gianpaolo Oliva as general of the order is considered a turning point.⁴¹ The change under Oliva is the more to be marvelled at, since he was an advocate of moral reform and for a return to poverty within his order, at least in the colonies. It seems that even this stern, capable cleric appreciated the theatrical and propagandist possibilities that the Baroque style offered, almost certainly because of his friendship with the sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini.

An excellent insight into what Oliva did accomplish is provided by alterations made to the original Mannerist interior of the Gesù. Very few are aware of the previous rather unexciting interior decoration of the church — which has been described as rather bleak⁴² — because of the spectacular redecoration that is to be seen today. With Oliva at the helm and very likely providing a theological programme for the iconography of the decoration, the Genoese painter Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639–1709), nicknamed *il Baciccia*, busily toiled on the frescoes of the interior for more than a decade, beginning in 1672 and which culminated with those decorating the vault of the nave. After he had completed the latter (1674–1679), the bare vault of the church had been transformed into a glorious fresco depicting the Triumph of the Name of Jesus. The sculptor Antonio Raggi (1624–1686) completed the ceiling decoration by framing Baciccia's illusionistic masterpiece with figures in white stucco portraying allegories and a heavenly host over which the laws of gravity seem to have no power as they hover over the nave (Figure 5).⁴³

With the transformation of the interior of their church with this amazing spectacle by these great artists, the Jesuits, understandably now emotionally attuned to the spirit of the Baroque, continued to add elaborate altars and organs to the transepts as the enrichment of the interior decoration and the final acceptance of Baroque music in their churches intensified during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Figure 6).

Moreover, during the last two decades of the century they had the ceiling of the nave of the Church of St. Ignatius of their Collegio Romano frescoed with an even more spectacular masterpiece by one of their own, the lay brother Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709). This in-your-face Baroque illusionism depicts the theatrically composed theme of the Apotheosis of St. Ignatius, overwhelming the spectator through the sheer virtuosity of the perspectival effects, of which Pozzo was a genius. In fact his theoretical book on the science of perspective was so influential that in the China mission it was partly translated into Chinese by the Qing scholar Nian Xiyao in 1729 and 1735.⁴⁴

Equally remarkable in this unexpected change by the Jesuits is the Church of St. Ignatius, Antwerp (Figure 7). It bears the name of St. Charles Borromeo today, but was originally dedicated to St. Ignatius (built 1615–1621). Its architecture is relevant to the main theme of this book because among other things, like Macao's Church of Madre de Deus, it was largely under the directions of the Jesuits, with Pieter Huyssens, S.J. as main

architect. But due to the fact that the Jesuits had shown a marked preference for the Gothic rather than the Baroque style in Belgium, some art historians suspect that Huyssens may have been greatly assisted in his design of the church by the painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). Like Michelangelo, Bernini and Baciccia in Rome, Rubens was a friend of the Jesuits, who commissioned him to decorate the interior of St. Ignatius.

Its façade follows Della Porta's design for the Gesù, but Huyssens has greatly elaborated it according to a more Baroque canon. In the original interior the Baroque style was very much in evidence with Ruben's lavish and now lost decorations. The Houtappel Chapel is one of the most stirring examples of the style, with a large oil painting of the Assumption of Mary over the altar (Figure 8).

The Jesuits used a variety of religious subjects related to the order for the works of art decorating their churches, but thematically this chapel's painting goes right to the heart of their spiritual devotions. This applies as much to painting as it does to architecture. From the sixteenth century up to the order's dissolution in the eighteenth century, a good number of Jesuit churches of various styles were dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption. In some churches, including those dedicated to other saints, an image of the *Assumpta* was also exhibited as part of the façade's decoration. Characteristic European examples of those named after the Virgin's transit to heaven are the Mariähimmelfahrt church of Cologne, Germany, begun in 1618 in a Gothic style; the 1654–1666 Church of the Assumption in Hradec Králové, in the Czech Republic, by the Italian architect Carlo Lurago (1615–1684); Dillingen's 1688 Mariähimmelfahrt church, Germany; the Jesuit Chapel in Cambrai, France, dating to 1692 — remarkable because of its Assumption relief and ornamental volutes with giant scrolls (Figure 9), also to be found in several Jesuit churches; and the eighteenth-century Church of Santa Maria Assunta in Venice, Italy. In the Japan and China missions the Jesuits built the 1575–1576 Church of Our Lady of the Assumption in Miaco (sometimes spelt Miyaco in the sources, that is, modern Kyoto), and that of Nagasaki, as well as the 1602–1644 Church of Nossa Senhora da Assunção (Madre de Deus), in Macao, China.

The stylistic adaptability of the Jesuits is exemplified by Miaco's church, built with the approval of the superior of the Japan mission, the Portuguese Francisco Cabral (1533–1609). Details concerning the structure of the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption in Miaco may be gathered from the reports of the Jesuit Luís Fróis as well as his confreres in Japan.⁴⁵ The initiative for building this church in Upper Miaco came from Luís Fróis himself and his Jesuit companion Organtino. Its architect was Dario Tacayamadoro, a Japanese convert, who not only designed the church with the collaboration of the Jesuits, but also went to great pains to obtain the strongest forest wood for the columns of the main structure; he equally supervised the temple works with the assistance of Jorge Yafeijidone and other Japanese converts.⁴⁶ The latter donated many of the funds for the temple and its decoration, as did Francisco Cabral, who ordered that 2,500 cruzados be taken from the Society's funds for its completion. Such was the exemplary generosity of Japanese converts for the project that even pious elderly Japanese ladies of noble birth offered other

important gifts and donations, such as tatamies for the floor of the residence and church. The number of these floor coverings for Jesuit churches in Japan could be numerous. For their main church in the Goquinai area more than 100 tatamies were donated.⁴⁷ The wooden columns of Miaco's church were raised on a foundation of stones that was constructed with enormous physical effort. Teams of up to 40 carpenters worked on the structure, with some 40 to 50 people toiling on the foundation.⁴⁸

The result was an impressive three-storeyed wooden structure, with the actual Church of Our Lady of the Assumption on the ground floor topped by a two-storey residence above. Built in the style of certain traditional Japanese temples, this unusual architectural solution had actually been dictated by necessity, the mother of invention, as the land obtained for the church and living quarters was not sufficiently big for a more typical Jesuit residence.⁴⁹

Following the instructions of Alessandro Valignano, the recently arrived Father Visitor of the India Province and the Far East (more will be written about him in the following chapters), the compound's ground floor temple was adapted to Roman Catholic ritual. Valignano not only advised but warned that contrary to the wide rectangular halls of traditional Buddhist temples, these adapted churches in Japan should follow a longitudinal axis. His main motive was that an insidious pagan element would creep into the order's temples in Japan, but this episode in his missionary career also demonstrates the extent to which the one-point longitudinal perspective of the Gesù's interior was becoming a constant of Jesuit churches.

The Japanese temple design of the Miaco church — or indeed of other Jesuit churches in the Japan mission — is further confirmed by a contemporary painting of a *nambanjin* church on a folding hand fan now at Kobe Municipal Museum believed to depict Our Lady of the Assumption.⁵⁰ This is also true of a Namban folding screen at the Freer Gallery in Washington representing a Jesuit church.⁵¹

Its design as a Japanese temple aside, the dedication of the Miaco church to the Assumption is highly significant in the context of this book's main subject. For the mentioned European churches of the Society, the principal reason for the dedication would have been the vow of Montmartre by St. Ignatius and his companions taken on the feast of the Assumption to institute the Society of Jesus. At Miaco the dedication to Our Lady of the Assumption was in memory of St. Francis Xavier's arrival in Japan in 1549 on the day of the feast of the Assumption,⁵² something evidently miraculous for the Jesuits and their converts.

Unlike the frugality seen in sixteenth-century Jesuit churches, including, to a certain extent, those in Japan, the repertoire of decorative motifs of the Jesuits' European and Latin American temples evolved into a frenzied cornucopia during the Late Baroque and Rococo (1675–1750). The Church of Santa Maria Assunta, Venice, referred to above, situated in the *Campo dei Gesuiti* (Jesuits' square), gives an excellent example of how things had changed; lavish and costly decoration was the artistic idiom for the Jesuits now (Figures 10, 11).

This point is clearly illustrated by the sculptural display of Santa Maria Assunta's main altar. Here a forest-like cluster of Solomonic columns in black marble, the epitome of Late Baroque Roman Catholicism, seems to vibrate behind the altar. But even then, as this church illustrates, the Jesuits kept fairly consistently to the rule of stylistic simplicity for the exterior of their residences and colleges, and stylistic splendour for their churches.



Notes

Preface

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Introduction

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- 2 Reformation and Counter-Reformation historians have given various dates for the delimitation of these much-studied periods. See Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. ix, 1–2, 7. See also Mario Fois, “A Igreja europeia na época da fundação da Companhia de Jesus”, N. da Silva Gonçalves trans., in *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionaç o no Oriente (Actas do Col quio Internacional, Lisboa 21–23 Abril, 1997)*, Brot ria/Funda  o Oriente, Lisbon, 2000, pp. 15–34.
- 3 J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716*, London, 1963, pp. 204–6, 217–8. On Carranza see *ibid.*, pp. 220–3. J. P. Kirsch, “Bartolom  Carranza”, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, 1908. Online edition 2003, K. Knight. April 18, 2006 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03376a.htm>>.
- 4 The literature on these pioneers is naturally quite large. An interesting account of the travels of some of these pioneers in N. Cameron, *Barbarians and Mandarins: Thirteen Centuries of Western Travellers in China*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1997 ed., pp. 28–60, 90–106 and 107–20.
- 5 Robert G. Calkins, *Medieval Architecture in Western Europe: From A.D. 300 to 1500*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1998, pp. 57–60. See also Thomas M. Lucas S.J., *Landmarking: City, Church & Jesuit Urban Strategy*, Loyola Press, Chicago, 1997, p. 54.
- 6 A description of the machinery of government of the Society in John O’Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits*, Harvard University Press, 1994 printing, pp. 51–4. See also J. H. Pollen (M. Donahue transcript) “The Society of Jesus”, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 14. Online edition 2003, February 15, 2006 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14081a.htm>>.
- 7 See in particular Pierre-Antoine Fabre’s writings on the subject, including “Les ‘Exercices spirituels’ sont-ils illustrables?” in *Les j suites   l’ ge baroque 1540–1640*, Grenoble, 1996, pp. 197–209. Ralph Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem: Status, fonctions et usages de l’image dans la litt rature spirituelle j suite du XVII  si cle*, Gen ve, 2005, pp. 137–8, 146–53, 157–61, *passim*. —, “L’Embl matique J suite   l’ preuve de l’illustration des *Exercices Spirituels*”, in *Florilegio de Estudios de Emblem tica, Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de Emblem tica*

- de *The Society for Emblem Studies*, (A Coruña 2002), Sociedad de Cultura Valle Inclán, 2004, pp. 267–74. Also Lydia S. Insolera, “Le illustrazioni per gli esercizi spirituali intorno al 1600”, *AHSI*, January–June 1991, pp. 166–7 and 171–217.
- 8 Nadal’s book first appeared in two parts in Antwerp, Belgium. The first, published in 1593, consisted of a set of 153 prints in a Mannerist style by Flemish engravers illustrating main passages in the New Testament. The second part, the *Adnotationes et meditationes*, appeared the following year and consisted of explanatory notes and meditations by Nadal that interpreted the print narratives of the first part to the seminarians. There were to be several editions of this highly influential Counter-Reformation book in the seventeenth century. See *Imágenes de las historias evangélicas, Jerónimo Nadal; con un estudio introductorio por Alfonso Rodríguez G. De Ceballos*, Barcelona, El Albir ed., 1975. F. García Guiérrez, S.J., “Los grabadores flamencos de los siglos XVI y XVII y la Compañía de Jesús”, *AHSI*, Rome, 2003, pp. 89–119. Nadal’s biography in M. Ruiz Jurado’s entry in *DHCJHT*, C. E. O’Neill, S.J., J. M. Domínguez, S.J., directors, Vol. 3, IHSI/ Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Rome/Madrid, 2001, pp. 2793–6. See also Suzanne Stratton, *La Inmaculada Concepción en el Arte Español*, J. L. Checa Cremades trans., Madrid, 1988, pp. 46–7.
 - 9 Pasquale D’Elia, *Le origini dell’Arte cristiana Cinese (1583–1640)*, Reale Accademia d’Italia, Rome, 1939. G. A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542–1773*, University of Toronto Press, 2001, p. 93. James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting*, Cambridge, Mass. 1982, pp. 88, 89. Hsiang Ta 向達, “European Influences on Chinese Art in the Late Ming and Early Ch’ing Periods” (明清之際中國美術所受西洋之影響), in *Renditions, A Chinese-English Translation Magazine (Special Art Issue)*, No. 6, Hong Kong, Spring 1976, pp. 156–6. J. D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, Faber and Faber, London, 1985. Michael Sullivan, “Some Possible Sources of European Influence on Late Ming and Early Ch’ing Painting”, in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting*, Taipei, 1970, pp. 595–600 and 603–10. E. Menegon, “Jesuit Emblematica in China: European Allegorical Images in the Late Ming Period (1630s)”, *Papers on China Symposium*, The Getty Research Institute, 13–14 December 2007.
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 - 11 G. A. Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–4. G. Criveller, *op. cit.*, pp. 233–44. F. García Guiérrez, S.J., *op. cit.*, pp. 99–101. The mentioned writers disagree somewhat re. details of dates and number of prints. I have followed those of D’Elia and G. Criveller. See also N. Standaert, *An Illustrated Life of Christ Presented to the Chinese Emperor: The History of Jinchén shuxiang (1640)*, Monumenta Serica, LIX, 2007.
 - 12 *Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368–1644*, L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang eds., Vol. I, Columbia University Press, 1976, pp. 212–5. G. A. Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–9. Hsiang Ta, *op. cit.*, p. 157. J. D. Spence, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 59–63, *passim*.
 - 13 F. García Guiérrez, S.J., *op. cit.*, pp. 101–2. G. A. Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
 - 14 *Opere Storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.*, Vol. II: *Le Lettere dalla China (1580–1610)*, Tacchi Venturi ed., Macerata, 1913, pp. 283–4.
 - 15 Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450–1600*, Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 126.
 - 16 See “Predicacion”, J. W. O’Malley’s entry in *DHCJHT*, Vol. 4, pp. 3216–23. Pietro Pirri also lists Giulio Mazzarino, Gregorio Mastrille and Carlo Reggio as other once famous but today forgotten Jesuit preachers. See Pietro Pirri, S.J., “L’architetto Bartolomeo Ammannati e i

- Gesuiti”, *AHSI*, 12, 1943, pp. 40, 41. *Padre António Vieira*, Hernani Cidade ed., 5 vols., Lisbon, 1940. “Oliva, Gianpaulo” in *DHCJHT*, Vol. 2, Madrid, 2001, pp. 1633–4; biblio. of his sermons on p. 1642. See also Francis Haskell, “The Role of Patrons: Baroque Style Changes”, in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, R. Wittkower and I. B. Jaffe eds., Fordham University Press, 1972, p. 51. On preaching in Goa see Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times*, Vol. 3, Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1980, pp. 535–7, *sic passim*. For António Gomes, see entry in *DHCJHT*, Vol. 2, pp. 1770–1.
- 17 *Obras Completas do Padre António Vieira, Sermões*, Vol. 1, Porto, 1907, pp. 1, 2.
 - 18 H. Bowden, “The Oratory of St. Philip Neri”, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, November 1, 2006 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11272a.htm>>.
 - 19 As regards England see H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993. J. C. Cox, *Pulpits, Lecterns & Organs in English Churches*, Oxford University Press, London, 1915.
 - 20 Anthony Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–36. Friedlaender’s study, “The Anti-Mannerist Style”, was republished in Walter Friedlaender, *Mannerism & Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting*, D. Posner intro., New York, 1970 printing, pp. 47–83. Very important insights in John Shearman, *Mannerism*, Penguin Books, 1967, pp. 167–70. For a more youthful but original study of the question in relation to Spanish art, see Cristina Cañedo-Argüelles, *Arte y Teoría: La Contrarreforma y España*, Ethos-Arte 6, Oviedo University, 1982.
 - 21 Anthony Blunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–7 and 126–7. Blunt’s study raises the question of the past and present literature on the Society of Jesus, with its negative and positive aspects. See John W. O’Malley, S.J., “The Historiography of the Society of Jesus: Where Does It Stand Today”, in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, University of Toronto Press, 1999, pp. 3–37.
 - 22 Walter Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–83.

Chapter 1

- 1 See the highly influential article by R. Wittkower, “Problems of the Theme”, in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, pp. 2–3, 5. In his pioneering studies Joseph Braun showed that a variety of styles rather than an identifiable single style was more characteristic of Jesuit temples. See for example, J. Braun, S.J., *Spaniens alte Jesuitenkirche*, Freiburg, 1912; and *Die Kirchenbauten der deutschen Jesuiten*, Freiburg, 1908–12. Also, Carlo Galassi Paluzzi, *Storia segreta dello stile dei Gesuiti*, Rome, 1951. For a recent discussion of the question and current studies on the architecture of the Society, see G. A. Bailey, ““Le style jésuite n’existe pas”: Jesuit Corporate Culture and the Visual Arts”, in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, pp. 38–89. In this publication see also Clare Robertson, “Two Farnese Cardinals and the Question of Jesuit Taste”, p. 134. A novel reassessment of the argument in E. Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, University of California Press, 2004, pp. 28–41, *passim*. On the specific question of the ideal of poverty operative in Jesuit buildings see, Giovanni Sale, S.J., “Paupérisme Architectural et Architecture Jésuite”, in *L’Art des Jésuites*, Mengès, Paris, 2003, pp. 31–45, the French edition of *Ignazio e L’Arte dei Gesuiti* (G. Sale ed.). The more descriptive French title of G. Sale’s article has been changed in the recent English edition of the book to “Architectural Simplicity and Jesuit Architecture”. See *The Jesuits and the Arts 1540–1773*, Philadelphia, 2005, pp. 29–44, 31–3, 37–8, and 43–4 in particular. For the Jesuits’

- ideal of poverty see, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, St. Louis, 1996, pp. 226–32 and p. 241: No. 179.1 in particular.
- 2 R. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600–1750*, Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books, 1986 reprint, pp. 25, 138.
 - 3 Pietro Pirri, S.J., “L’architetto Bartolomeo Ammannati e i Gesuiti”, p. 29.
 - 4 *Ibid.*, note 70, and p. 35.
 - 5 Pietro Pirri, S.J. and Pietro di Rosa, S.J., “Il P. Giovanni de Rosis (1538–1610) e lo Sviluppo dell’Edilizia Gesuitica”, *AHSI*, 44, 1975, pp. 25–30 and 75–9.
 - 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–8.
 - 7 *Ibid.*, p. 30. G. Sale, S.J., “Architectural Simplicity and Jesuit Architecture”, pp. 43–4.
 - 8 See the thirteenth-century writings of William Durandus. Gulielmo Durando, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Venice, 1609. For an English translation, see that of William Durandus, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, J. Mason Neal and B. Webb trans., Leeds, 1843. G. Sale, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
 - 9 G. Sale, S.J., “The Design of the Gesù in Rome: A Difficult Collaboration”, in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, pp. 48–57.
 - 10 J. Ackerman, “The Gesù in the Light of Contemporary Church Design”, in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, pp. 15–28. Clare Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–47, and her biblio. on p. 144, note 2. G. Sale, “The Design of the Gesù in Rome”, pp. 47–62. Klaus Schwager, “Concetto e realtà: Alcune precisazioni sulla difficile nascita del Gesù di Roma”, in *L’architettura della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, XVI–XVIII secolo*, L. Patteta, S. Della Torre eds., Milan, 1992, pp. 69–77.
 - 11 Peter Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1988 reprint, p. 165.
 - 12 This plan was formerly attributed to Nanni di Baccio Bigio. See Clare Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 138. G. Sale, “The Design of the Gesù in Rome”, pp. 50–3.
 - 13 Though his ideas for the church are not sufficiently known, it was probably Michelangelo who reduced the large number of small chapels lined on either side of the main nave of the early plan and gave it greater spatial and organic coherence. On Alessandro Farnese’s patronage of the Jesuits and the Gesù, see Clare Robertson, “*Il Gran Cardinale*”: *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992. Also the review of her book by Walter S. Melion in *The Art Bulletin*, June 1995. There was an intervention in 1576 and during the 1580s by Giovanni de Rosis, the most able of the Jesuit architects and main architect of the Society at the time.
 - 14 Peter Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 203. See also Murray’s discussion of the church on pp. 203–6. For a concise account on Vignola see Richard J. Tuttle, “Vignola”, *The Dictionary of Art*, 32, Jane Turner ed., Macmillan Publishers Ltd., London, 1996, pp. 502–8, esp. p. 506. Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, pp. 197, 200.
 - 15 Peter Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 203. John Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, Oxford University Press, 1986, pp. 19–21.
 - 16 G. Sale, “The Design of the Gesù in Rome”, p. 50, 52–7. On Francis Borgia’s generalship, see Enrico Rosa, S.J., *I Gesuiti: Dalle origini ai nostri giorni*, La Civiltà Cattolica, 3rd ed., Rome, 1957, pp. 157–61.
 - 17 The influence of Francis Borgia on this important feature of Jesuit architecture is wonderfully debated by A. Rodríguez y Guitérrez de Ceballos, S.J., “Miscelánea de Arte Jesuítico”, *AHSI*,

- 68, July–December 1965, pp. 323–4. His review there of Maria Walcher Casotti's book on Vignola. M. Walcher Casotti, *Il Vignola*, Trieste, 1960.
- 18 See A. Rodríguez y Guitérrez de Ceballos, *op. cit.*, pp. 321–6, re. Jesuits' preferred architecture as well as its subsequent transformation due to seventeenth-century cultural currents.
- 19 See Peter Murray, *op. cit.* R. J. Tuttle, *op. cit.*, discusses this design, p. 507. John Varriano, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–5.
- 20 On San Fedele, see G. Sale, S.J., "The Design of the Gesù in Rome", p. 56.
- 21 Pietro Pirri, S.J., "L'architetto Bartolomeo Ammannati e i Gesuiti", p. 6, *passim*. M. Kiene, "Bartolomeo Ammannati et l'architecture des jésuites au XVII^e siècle", in *Les jésuites à l'âge baroque (1540–1640)*, pp. 188–95.
- 22 M. Kiene, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–4.
- 23 Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy*, pp. 120–1.
- 24 M. Kiene, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
- 25 A. Rodríguez y Guitérrez de Ceballos, S.J., "Juan de Herrera y los Jesuitas Villalpando, Valeriani, Ruiz, Tolosa", *AHSI*, 35, July–December 1966, pp. 285–321. See also C. Wilkinson Zerner, *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain*, Yale University Press, 1993, pp. 50–1.
- 26 A. Rodríguez y Guitérrez de Ceballos, S.J., "Juan de Herera", pp. 303–5 and 316.
- 27 George Kubler, *Portuguese Plain Architecture, between Spices and Diamonds 1571–1706*, Wesleyan University Press, 1972. Translated into Portuguese as, *A Arquitectura Portuguesa Chã, Entre as Especiarias e os Diamantes 1521–1706*. See also Rafael Moreira, "Arquitectura: Renascimento e classicismo", in *História da Arte Portuguesa*, P. Pereira director, Vol. 2, 1995, pp. 359–60. Miguel Soromenho, "Classicismo, italianismo e 'estilo chão'. O ciclo filipino", also in *História da Arte Portuguesa*, in particular pp. 383–5.
- 28 R. Moreira, *op. cit.*, pp. 356–60.
- 29 George Kubler, *A Arquitectura Portuguesa Chã*, pp. 58–65. Also see Maria J. Madeira Rodrigues, *A Igreja de S. Roque*, Lisbon, 1980.
- 30 Paulo Pereira, "A Arquitectura Jesuita: Primeiras Fundações", in *Oceanos*, No. 12, *Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, November 1992, pp. 104–11. R. Moreira, *op. cit.*, pp. 360, 361.
- 31 George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions 1500 to 1800*, Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books, 1959, p. 105.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 G. Kubler, *A Arquitectura Portuguesa Chã*, p. 59. R. Moreira, *op. cit.*, pp. 360, 361.
- 34 P. Pereira, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
- 35 G. Sale, "The Design of the Gesù in Rome", p. 59.
- 36 A. Rodríguez y Guitérrez de Ceballos, S.J., "Miscelánea de Arte Jesuítico", p. 326.
- 37 R. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, p. 139.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 137–42.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 328.
- 40 There are numerous writings on the Baroque decoration of the Gesù and St. Ignatius. Two of the most recent are: Marcello Fagiolo, "La Scène de la Gloire: le Triomphe du Baroque dans la Théâtralité des Jésuites", in *L'Art des Jesuites*, pp. 213–4. G. A. Bailey, "La Contribution des Jésuites à la Peinture Italienne et Son Influence en Europe 1540–1773", in *L'Art des Jesuites*, pp. 150–68.

- 41 See Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters, Art and Society in Baroque Italy*, Yale University Press, p. 78. —, “The Role of Patrons: Baroque Style Changes”, pp. 51–62. “Oliva, Gianpaulo”, in *DHCJHT*, p. 1641.
- 42 F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, p. 66.
- 43 R. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, pp. 174, 328 and 333–4. F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, pp. 65–6, 80–4. G. A. Bailey, “La Contribution des Jésuites”, pp. 158–66.
- 44 Elisabetta Corsi, *La Fábrica de las Ilusiones, Los Jesuitas y la Difusión de la Perspectiva Lineal en China, 1698–1766*, El Colegio de México, Mexico, 2004.
- 45 Luís Fróis, S.J., *Historia de Japam*, Vol. II (1565–1578), J. Wicki ed., Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, 1981, pp. 432–43.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 433.
- 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 436, 437.
- 48 *Ibid.*, pp. 200–1, 432.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 434.
- 50 D. M. Kowal, “Jesuit Buildings in Asia: Reflections on the Practice of Architectural Accommodation”, in *MRIS* 3, November 27–29, 2003, pp. 75–6. G. A. Bailey, “Jesuit Art and Architecture in Asia”, in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, pp. 321, 332 and illustration 10.16.
- 51 G. A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, pp. 58, 59. Designs of these Japanese churches could also include a covering of straw instead of wood, as was the case with those in the region of Goquinai. See L. Fróis, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 200.
- 52 *ARSI JapSin*, pp. 59, 165. L. Fróis, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 437.

Chapter 2

- 1 After a perilous sea voyage, Francis arrived in Goa on May 6, 1542. See G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, Vol. 2, Rome, 1977, pp. 5, 151–3. M. Joseph Costello, S.J., *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, Missouri, 1992, Introduction, pp. xv–xx.
- 2 “General Introduction”, *DI*, Joseph Wicki, S.J., J. Gomes, S.J. eds., Vol. 16 (1592–1594), Rome, 1984, p. 1.
- 3 *Ibid.*
- 4 For the spiritual, charitable and educational goals of the Society as set out in its official charter, see John W. O’Malley, S.J., “Introduction: The Pastoral, Social, Ecclesiastical, Civic, and Cultural Mission of the Society of Jesus”, in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Science and the Arts 1540–1773*, J. W. O’Malley *et al* eds., University of Toronto Press, 2006, pp. xxiii–xxxvi.
- 5 For the fundraising of the Jesuits see Olwen Hufton, “Every Tub on Its Own Bottom: Funding a Jesuit College in Early Modern Europe”, in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts*, pp. 5–23. Re. the India, China and Macau missions’ income and expenditures, good insights in C. J. Borges “The Jesuits of the Estado da India and Their China Links”, in *Actas, VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Macau, October 22–26, 1991, pp. 111–24.

- 6 Francisco de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo, pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*, M. Lopes de Almeida ed. of 1710 publication, Porto, 1978, p. 72. See also G. A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, p. 86.
- 7 See Alden and Schurhammer's very apt comments. Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750*, p. 45, note 10. G. Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier*, Vol. 3, p. 457.
- 8 Letter of September 20, 1542 from Goa. *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, G. Schurhammer, S.J., J. Wicki, S.J. eds., Vol. 1 (1535–1548), Rome, 1996, (second half) texts, pp. 132–7.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 132.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- 11 *DI*, Vol. 1 (1540–1549), J. Wicki, S.J. ed., Rome, 1948, pp. 800–8. G. Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Rome, 1977, pp. 235–43.
- 12 Dauril Alden, *op. cit.*, p. 45. See also Gomes Vaz's letter of January 20, 1576, in *DI*, Vol. 10, Rome, 1968, p. 456.
- 13 Cosme Anes was India secretary before his appointment as *vedor* at the end of 1548. Details and sources in G. Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 533. M. J. Costello, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–6, and p. 245, note 18, p. 246, note 19.
- 14 Gomes' letter quoted in Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 456, 458. For Xavier's opinion of Cosme Anes see his letters of 1545 and 1548 to the King, in M. J. Costello, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–1, 190–1. For the direction of the college see *ibid.* On Gomes' policy of segregation see Afonso de Noronha's letter to Simão Rodrigues, of January 5, 1551. *DI*, Vol. 2 (1550–1553), pp. 140–1.
- 15 G. Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 457. Dauril Alden, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–5. D. M. Kowal, "Innovation and Assimilation: The Jesuit Contribution to Architectural Development in Portuguese India", in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, 1999, p. 482. Gomes Vaz's remarks in his January 20, 1576 letter, in *DI*, Vol. 10, *op. cit.*, p. 456. See also Francesco Pasio's report of October 28–November 30, 1578, in *DI*, Vol. 11 (1577–1580), Rome, 1970, p. 358.
- 16 *DI*, Vol. 10, p. 456.
- 17 G. Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 457. See also the contemporary sources in *DI* that Schurhammer consulted for his reconstruction. *Ibid.*, pp. 457–8.
- 18 P. Pirri and P. di Rosa., "Il Giovanni de Rosis (1538–1610), p. 13 and plate II.
- 19 A. C. Ross, "Alessandro Valignano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East", in *The Jesuits, Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts*, pp. 339–41. For Alessandro Valignano's bio, see *DHCJHT*, Vol. 4, pp. 3877–9.
- 20 Letter of December 25, 1574, *DI*, Vol. 9, p. 490.
- 21 *DI*, Vol. 9, p. 490.
- 22 On the Lisbon-Goa route, see G. Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 1, and *ibid.* note 1. *Ibid.* biblio. of the charts of the Lisbon-Goa voyages (*roteiros*) in Appendix III, pp. 682–6. F. A. Plattner, S.J. *Jesuits Go East*, Dublin, 1950 (English trans. of *Jesuiten zur See*, Zürich, 1946) gives an interesting account of the experience. See also A. Disney, "Getting to the China Mission in the Early Seventeenth Century", in *Actas, VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, pp. 95–109.
- 23 *DI*, Vol. 9, p. 490.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 491.

- 25 *DI*, Vol. 4, pp. 726–7. See also D. Yuuki, S.J., “Luis Frois”, *Jesuits (Yearbook) 2008*, Rome, 2007, pp. 43–5.
- 26 *DI*, Vol. 9, p. 491.
- 27 D. M. Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation”, p. 486.
- 28 Letter from Goa of November 5, 1572. *DI*, Vol. 8 (1569–73), pp. 584–5.
- 29 See Franceco Pasio’s report, already cited, in *DI*, Vol. 11, p. 358, and *ibid.* notes 112, 113 and 114. Also *DI*, Vol. 8, p. 421, entry in list under Marcos Ruiz.
- 30 W. Friedlaender, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism*, pp. 68–70.
- 31 The church of the Convent of Jesus has only recently been the object of serious study. See M. C. Mendes Atanázio, *A Arte do Manuelino*, Lisbon, 1984, p. 133. Fernando António Baptista Pereira and Carlos Silva, *A Igreja do Mosteiro de Jesus de Setúbal*, Setúbal, 1989. The *igreja-salão* had medieval roots in the fourteenth-century *Hallenkirche* of northern Europe. See George Kubler, *A Arquitectura Portuguesa Chã*, pp. 31–44. Paulo Pereira, “As grandes edificações (1450–1530)”, in *História da Arte Portuguesa*, Vol. 2, pp. 57–8.
- 32 D. M. Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation”, pp. 484–5.
- 33 D. M. Kowal, *ibid.*, p. 481. —, “The Evolution of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Portuguese Goa”, in *Mitteilungen der Carl Justi-Vereinigung e. V.*, 1993, pp. 3–6. On the Manueline style see M. C. Mendes Atanázio, *op. cit.* Paulo Pereira, “As grandes edificações (1450–1530)”, pp. 57–69.
- 34 On the symbolism of the Composite order of the façade, see D. M. Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation”, p. 484.
- 35 Mario T. Chicó, “Algumas obsevações acerca da arquitetura da Companhia de Jesus no distrito de Goa: as igrejas, fachada, planta e espaço interior”, *Gracia de Orta*, Lisboa, número especial 1956, pp. 257–72.
- 36 D. M. Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation”, pp. 482 and 488. For the introduction of the retable-portal in Portugal by João de Castilho in the second decade of the sixteenth century, see the article by P. Pereira, “A simbólica manuelina, razão, celebração, segredo”, in *História da Arte Portuguesa*, Vol. 2, pp. 115–7.
- 37 J. Wicki, “Philip II und die Jesuiten der Indischen Provinz (Einschliesslich Molukken, China und Japan) 1580–1598”, *AHSI*, Vol. 50, July–December 1981, p. 177.
- 38 Letter from Goa of December 14, 1585, in *DI*, Vol. 14, Rome, 1979, pp. 72–4. For Valignano’s view on the matter see *DI*, Vol. 14, pp. 195–7.
- 39 D. M. Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation”, p. 488. For a 1586 description and ground plans of Casa Professa see *DI*, Vol. 14, pp. 274–9, and unnumbered plates following p. 280. For the Basilica of Bom Jesus see Gomes Catão’s writings; biblio. in J. Wicki, S.J., *AHSI*, July–December, 1965, p. 358. A nicely illustrated introduction to the Baroque style in Goa in T. P. Issar, *Goa Dourada*, Bangalore, 1997. See G. Bonsanti’s article on St. Francis Xavier’s mausoleum, in *Velha Goa* (exhibition catalogue), Fundação Oriente, Macao, September 15, 2000, (unnumbered). Prof. Bonsanti states that the Bom Jesus’ plans were by G. B. Cairatti but does not indicate sources. See also J. Wicki, “Philip II und die Jesuiten der Indischen Provinz”, p. 185.
- 40 D. M. Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation”, pp. 488–93.
- 41 See for example Primaticcio’s overmantel decoration carved in stucco in Fontainebleau Palace of the 1540s, discussed in John Shearman, *Mannerism*, p. 121 and illustration 64.

- 42 Little is known of Marcos Rodrigues; some information on him in J. F. Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan* (J. J. Coyne, S.J., English trans. of *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan*), Vol. 1, Part 1, Anand-India, 1980–1985, pp. 236–7, note 196.
- 43 Nuno Vassalo e Silva, “A arte da prata nas casas jesuíticas de Goa”, in *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missão no Oriente*, pp. 367–85. Marjory Trusted, “The Making and Trading of Hispano-Filipino and Portuguese-Goan Ivories in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”, Victoria and Albert Museum (unpublished).
- 44 *DI*, Vol. 14, p. 175. Also see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 160–1.
- 45 See 1572 letter from Goa to St. Francis Borgia by Eduardo Leitão, *DI*, Vol. 8, pp. 585–6, and that of Father Cabral to Aquaviva of November 20, 1594. *DI*, Vol. 16, p. 853.
- 46 *DI*, Vol. 8, p. 581. M. C. Osswald, “The Society of Jesus and the Diffusion of the Cult and Iconography of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the Portuguese Empire during the Second Half of the 16th Century”, in *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Iberica nos sécs. 16 e 17. Espiritualidade e cultura: Actas, Colóquio Internacional Maio 2004*, Oporto, 2005, pp. 601–9.
- 47 On the function and meaning of these images in the seventeenth century, see Ralph Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem: Status, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVIIe siècle*, Genève, 2005.
- 48 *DI*, Vol. 8, pp. 584–5.
- 49 *Ibid.*, pp. 585–6.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 584.
- 51 M. de Ribadeneira, O.F.M., *Historia del Archipielago y Otros Reynos*, Vol. 1, bilingual Spanish/English ed., P. Guevara Fernandez trans., Manila, 1970, pp. 62–4. Francisco de Sousa, S.J., *op. cit.*, p. 85. Similar spectacles could be found in Europe up to the eighteenth century and later.

Chapter 3

- 1 *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 8, Part II, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 348.
- 2 Characteristics of this patronage in Rome discussed by F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*.
- 3 On the Macao-Japan trade see C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon*, Lisbon, 1959. See also John Villiers's illuminating study on that trade, the Jesuits' financial profits from it, as well as its relation with the Manila-Mexico galleon. John Villiers, “Silk and Silver: Macau, Manila and the Trade in the China Seas in the Sixteenth Century”, *JHKBRAS*, Vol. 20, Hong Kong, 1980, pp. 66–80.
- 4 Thomas M. Lucas, *Landmarking*, pp. 101–4. John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 182–8.
- 5 John 8: 3–11 Vulgate.
- 6 M. R. Dunn, “Nuns as Art Patrons: The Decoration of S. Marta al Collegio Romano”, *AB*, September 1988, pp. 452–3.
- 7 Melchior Carneiro journeyed from Portugal to Rome, where he arrived at the end of 1553 in the company of Simão Rodrigues, one of St. Ignatius' initial companions. There he befriended Ignatius, at the time superior general of Jesuits, with whose approval he was charged with the mainly titular offices of Bishop of Nicaea and Coadjutor-Patriarch of Ethiopia by the great friend of the Jesuits, Pope Julius III (1487–1555), for whom the architects Vignola and

Michelangelo were constructing the Villa Giulia at the time. After leaving Lisbon as a missionary for Portuguese India, while in Malacca, on February 2, 1566, Pope Pius V named him Episcopal Governor of Japan and China. Two years later he embarked for Macao, where he arrived the following month and where he remained until his death on August 19, 1583. *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesus Biográfico-Temático*, C. O'Neill, S.J. and J. Domínguez, S.J. eds., Vol. 1, Madrid/Rome, 2001, pp. 663–4. Manuel Teixeira, “D. Melchior Carneiro, Fundador da Sta. Casa da Misericórdia”, *BEDM*, Vol. 66, December 1968, pp. 1275–85. Early in 1580 Carneiro’s espousing of poverty in Macao was reported by his confreres. See *MHJ I, Textus Catalogorum Japoniae ... 1549–1654*, Rome, 1975, pp. 384–5. On Macao’s Misericórdia, see Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, “Introdução ao estudo da Misericórdia de Macau: caridade, poder colonial e devoção régia”, in *O Compromisso da Misericórdia de Macau de 1627*, L. Diaz de Seabra ed., Universidade de Macau, 2003, pp. 8–9. The initial inspiration for Macao’s Misericórdia may have come from Rome but by the early seventeenth century the statutes of Macao’s House were already modelled after those of Lisbon and Goa, with more genuine charitable aims to serve the colonial community. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–9. See also Manuel Teixeira, *op. cit.*, p. 1276.

- 8 *BPAL*, Codex 49–V–5, fl. 78 v. See also *ibid.* Codex 49–V–6, fls. 436v.–437v.
- 9 Letter of October 28, 1578 to the Provincial of Toledo, *DI*, Vol. 11 (1577–1580), pp. 326–7.
- 10 José Montanha, S.J. in *AHU*, Codex No. 1659, fl. 85.
- 11 On the walls surrounding the college, see M. Teixeira, *Toponímia de Macau*, Imprensa Nacional, Macau, 1979, pp. 164–6.
- 12 C. Amaro, “The College of St. Paul and The Monte Fortress, Intervention and Archeological Readings”, in *A Museum in an Historic Site, The Monte Fortress of St. Paul*, Museu de Macau, Macao, 1999, pp. 122, 133, 138–9 and 127–8.
- 13 C. Amaro, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–9.
- 14 C. R. Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau, Séculos XVI a XVIII (Obras Completas de Charles Ralph Boxer)*, Vol. 1, 1st part, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 1991, pp. 218–20.
- 15 See António Bocarro’s 1635 description of the Fort in C. R. Boxer, *Macau na Época da Restauração/Macau Three Hundred Years Ago*, Macao, 1942, pp. 31–3. Jorge Graça, *The Fortifications of Macau*, 2nd ed., Macao, 1984. More recently, —, “The Defences of Macau, The Monte Fortress as Exponent ‘Primus Inter Pares’”, in *A Museum in an Historic Site*, pp. 61–76. M. Teixeira, *Os Militares em Macau*, Imprensa Nacional, Macao, 1976, pp. 97–102.
- 16 M. Teixeira, *Os Militares em Macau*, p. 99.
- 17 António Francisco Cardim, S.J., *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, Luciano Cordeiro ed., Lisbon, 1894, p. 19.
- 18 Thomas M. Lucas, S.J., *op. cit.* p. 137.
- 19 The house could only have been ready early in 1566 because its construction only started at the end of December of the previous year. See annual letter from college of February 7, 1617 in *BPAL Jesuítas na Ásia*, Codex 49–IV–66, fls. 45–6. See also B. Videira Pires, S.J., “The Genesis of the Jesuit College at Macao”, *BEDM*, Vol. 62, October/November 1964, pp. 806–8. M. Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, III, *As Ordens e Congregações Religiosas em Macau*, Macau, 1956–1961, pp. 166–7, 170–1.
- 20 *BPAL Jesuítas na Ásia*, *op. cit.*
- 21 John O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 121.

- 22 M. Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, III, pp. 167, 170–1. On the Jesuits' China mission, see L. M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724*, Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 25–8, 30–54, *passim*.
- 23 M. Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, III, p. 178.
- 24 *FR*, Vol. I, Rome, 1942, p. 148 and p. 154, note 1.
- 25 *ARSI Jap-Sin* 8, t.2, f.258, quoted in B. Videira Pires, S. J., “Os Três Heróis do IV Centenário”, *BEDM*, October/November, 1964, pp. 723–4. Also B. Videira Pires, S.J., “A Igreja de Na. Sra. Do Amparo e a conversão dos chineses na cidade”, *RP*, no LXI, No. 34, September 4, 1955, pp. 796–9. See *ibid.* p. 796, where Videira Pires disputes the location of the first house.
- 26 1 Cor. 14: 10–1 Vulgate.
- 27 C. R. Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion 1440–1770*, Baltimore/London, 1978, pp. 42–3.
- 28 *FR*, Vol. I, Plate X, p. 197 (253) and note 2, on pp. 197–8. See also B. Videira Pires, S.J., “Os Três Heróis do IV Centenário”. C. R. Boxer, *The Church Militant*, pp. 41–2.
- 29 “Anno de 1634. Da Igreja dos Catecumenos N. Sra. Do Amparo”, in *AHU* Codex 49–V–3, fl. 160. B. Videira Pires, S.J., “A Igreja de Na. Sra. Do Amparo ...”, p. 798. The church's closure or demolition and the persecution of Chinese converts at the time are subjects that have been treated rather subjectively in the past by various writers. For a more recent evaluation see, Fok Kai-Cheong (in later footnotes quoted as K. C. Fok), “The ‘Macao Formula’ in Crisis over the Quest for Spiritual Faith”, in *Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li (1632–1718) and His Inner Journey*, *MRIS* 3, 2006, pp. 55–63.
- 30 J. F. Moran has studied both his published and unpublished treatises and letters. See J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, London/New York, 1993. Also, M. Antoni J. Üçerler, S.J., “Alessandro Valignano: man, missionary and writer”, *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 17, Issue 3, September 2003, pp. 337–66. A. C. Ross, “Alessandro Valignano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East”.
- 31 The *Informaciones* are commented on by John Witek, S.J., “With a View towards Japan: Alessandro Valignano and the Opening of the College in Macau”, in *Religion and Culture: An International Symposium Commemorating the IVth Centenary of the University College of St. Paul, Macao, November 28–December 1, 1994*, Instituto Cultural de Macao/Ricci Institute, S. Francisco University, Macao, 1999, pp. 55–67.
- 32 J. F. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
- 33 J. F. Schütte, S.J., *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan*, Rome, Bd. I, Teil 2, Rome, 1958, pp. 462–5. Also see *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, pp. 206–47 and 242–6 in particular. *Ibid.*, pp. 193–8 for Cabral's character.
- 34 A concise narrative history of the Sengoku and history leading to it in L. G. Perez, *The History of Japan*, Greenwood Press, 1998, p. 46 ff.
- 35 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–8, 35 ff, and 42–3.
- 36 J. F. Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze*, pp. 462–3.
- 37 L. G. Perez, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–8. “Ikko.” Wikipedia. August 29, 2006 <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ikko>>.
- 38 J. F. Schütte, *op. cit.*, p. 463.
- 39 For a recent descriptions of these Christian lords and the extent of their domains, see J. P. Oliveira e Costa, “Tokugawa Ieyasu and the Christian Daymió during the Crisis of 1600”,

Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies, Vol. 7, December 2003, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, pp. 45–71.

- 40 A. C. Ross, “Alessandro Valignano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East”, p. 346.
- 41 I am grateful to Nicolas Standaert, S.J. for clearing up doubts about the first occurrence of the term accommodation in the Far Eastern missions. For main examples of accommodation as mainly a product of twentieth-century discourse, see D. E. Mungello’s rather controversial *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, University of Hawaii, 1989, pp. 15, 17–18, 44, 46, 49, *passim*. For a more recent discussion of the aims of this strategy, see Zhang Kai, *Diego de Pantoja y China: Un estudio sobre la “Política de Adaptación” de la Compañía de Jesús*, Tang Baisheng/Kang Xiaolin translation, Beijing, 1997, and p. 83 in particular.
- 42 D. E. Mungello, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
- 43 See for example, *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 7, Cambridge University Press, 1997 reprint, p. 562. See also G. A. Bailey’s observations in *Art on the Jesuits Missions*, p. 62.
- 44 This is a point of view strongly opposed by John Witek, S.J., “With a View towards Japan”, pp. 65–6.
- 45 See Anna Jackson, “Visual Responses: Depicting Europeans in East Asia”, in *Encounters, The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800*, A. Jackson and A. Jaffer eds., V & A Publications, 2004, p. 202.
- 46 A. J. Figueiredo, (B. Videira Pires and J. M. Braga preface and notes), *Primeira embaixada do Japão à Europa* (Separata from *Religião e Pátria*) Companhia de Jesus, Macau, 1961. J. F. Moran, “The Real Author of De Missione Legatorum Japonensium Ad Romanam Curiam”, *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, June 2001, Vol. 2, pp. 7–21.
- 47 Anna Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
- 48 J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp. 189–91.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 6, *passim* and pp. 175–7. See also D. F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Vol. 1: The Century of Discovery*, Book 2, The University of Chicago Press, 1965, pp. 688–706, and p. 697 in particular. —, *Asia, Vol. 2: A Century of Wonder*, Book 1, The University of Chicago Press, 1970, p. 72. A. J. Figueiredo, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Y. Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan* (R. K. Jones trans. of *Namban Bijutsu*), New York–Tokyo, 1972, p. 143.
- 50 J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, p. 174.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 6. For Hara Martinho’s oration see, “Uma obra raríssima impressa em Goa no ano 1588: A ‘Oratio Habita a Fara D. Martino’”, in G. Schurhammer, S.J., *Orientalia*, Lisbon, 1963, pp. 747–53; p. 753 in particular.
- 52 See in particular C. R. Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion 1440–1770*, pp. 26–7, 39–40 and 45–6. J. F. Schütte, S.J., *Valignano’s Mission Principles for Japan*, Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 242–4, 251–6 and 258. J. L. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp. 52–3.
- 53 See for example, *FR*, Vol. I, pp. 29–32 (NN 38, 41, 43). Paul Pelliot, “La Peinture et la Gravure Européennes en China au Temps de Mathieu Ricci”, *T’oung Pao*, Vol. XX, Leide, p. 6.
- 54 C. R. Boxer, *The Church Militant*, p. 24. See also J. L. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, p. 192.
- 55 C. R. Boxer, *The Church Militant*, pp. 39–40.
- 56 J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp. 24–5.
- 57 *Ibid.*, pp. 97–8.

- 58 Quoted in J. F. Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan*, Rome, Bd. I, Teil 1, Rome, 1951, pp. 171–2.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 172.
- 60 *Ibid.*, pp. 172–3. Fernão Mendez Pinto, *Peregrinaçam* (Lisbon, 1614 ed.) Livraria Ferreira, Editora, Lisbon 1908, Vol. 2, Chapter CVII, p. 147.
- 61 J. L. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 85 and pp. 189–91.
- 62 J. F. Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, Vol. 1, Part 1, J. J. Coyne, S.J., trans., Anand, India, 1980, pp. 230–4. John Witek, S.J., “With a View towards Japan”, pp. 56, 63, 65. J. F. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
- 63 Videira Pires’ article treats the foundation and development of the college rather idealistically but is nonetheless valuable. B. A. Videira Pires, S.J., “The Genesis of the Jesuit College at Macao”, pp. 803–13. See also D. M. Gomes dos Santos, S.J., “Macao, Primeira Universidade Ocidental do Extremo Oriental”, *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*, II série, Vol. 17, Lisbon, 1968. Republished as *separata* by Fundação Macau and the Universidade de Macau, with an English translation by Marie Imelda Macleod and a Chinese translation by Sun Cheng–Ao, Macao, 1994. Subsequent references to Gomes dos Santos’ study in these notes refer to the Portuguese text of the 1994 reprint.
- 64 J. L. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
- 65 *AHU*, codex no. 1659, fl. 83v.
- 66 *Ibid.*
- 67 J. M. Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 126 and p. 174.
- 68 José Montanha, *Apparatos*, cited in Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11.
- 69 C. Amaro, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
- 70 The Ajuda collection was first published by the Macanese historian José Maria Braga starting in 1955 in the *BEDM*, although a few other scholars such as Y. Okamoto had also researched it at the Ajuda Palace. Braga’s papers were later donated by him to the National Library of Australia, Canberra, where they now form part of the Braga Collection, including the about 500 pages of his catalogue of the *Jesuítas na Ásia*. Joseph Franz Schütte, S.J., first researched the complicated history of the original seventeenth-century manuscripts and Montanha’s eighteenth-century transcripts. See note 71 below. In studies of the collegiate church Montanha’s *Apparatos* is already quoted briefly as far back as the late nineteenth century by Marques Pereira, who relies more on A. Cardim and others for a description of the façade. See Marques Pereira, Serie I, 2, p. 487. “Em prol de umas ruínas (A propósito do frontespício do Collegio de S. Paulo, em Macau)”, in *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo, Archivos e Annaes do Extremo-Oriente Português*, Lisbon, 1899–1902, Serie I, 2, p. 487.
- 71 J. F. Schütte, S.J., “Descoberta de originais do Arquivo de Macau, base da colecção ‘Jesuítas na Ásia’”, *Brotéria*, Vol. LXXII, No. 1, Lisbon, Jan. 1961, pp. 88–90. —, “Vicissitudes do Arquivo do Japão enviado de Macau para Manila no ano de 1761”, *Brotéria*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 2, Lisbon, February 1962, pp. 187–93. —, “P. Joseph Montanha’s ‘Apparatos’ und die Abschrift des Fernost-Archivs S.I. im Rahmen der Initiative der Academia Real da História Portuguesa”, *AHSI*, July–December, 1962, pp. 225–63, and pp. 254–62 in particular. Information on the College and Church of Madre de Deus is also found in the *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*, I, *Textus Catalogorum Japoniae ... 1549–1654*, Rome, 1975, p. 386 *passim*, as well as in various other volumes of the *MHJ*, edited and commented by Schütte.

- 72 Silva Amaro's pioneering study was a praiseworthy effort to bring to the attention of scholars the main documents related to the college, but it was inevitably incomplete. F. da Silva Amaro, "Achegadas para a reconstituição histórica da Fábrica Jesuita de S. Paulo, de Macau", in *BEDM*, May 1961, pp. 458–74. C. Amaro, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 142.
- 73 See Chapter 2, note 18.
- 74 *ARSI Japsin* 64, fls. 218v–219. The lessons mentioned in this letter are fairly representative of Jesuit colleges and agree with the *ratio studiorum*, though science classes are not mentioned. See also the annual letter of 1650 from the Macao college, *BPAL*, Codex 49–IV–61, flos. 3–3v. For an outline of António Ferreira's life see Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, *DHCJHT*, Vol. II, pp. 1406–7. M. Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter, An Early Jesuit in Japan and China*, New York/Tokyo, 1974, p. 324. Catalogue of books of Japan procurator in M. Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, III, pp. 313–25.
- 75 An idea of what these techniques, structures, fronts of buildings, patios, etc. were like may be glimpsed from Shiu-Kwan Wong's *Macao Architecture: An Integrate of Chinese and Portuguese Influences*, Imprensa Nacional, Macao, 1970, pp. 73, 77, 121 *passim*.
- 76 See Francesco Pasio's letter of November 30, 1578, Goa. *DI*, Vol. 11, p. 364. A few of the mentioned tea services' cups are found in France and Portugal, but one of the most impressive surviving pieces is the teapot in the Mottahedeh Collection. However, they are of a much later date and too ostentatious for a Jesuit residence of the period. See D. Howard and J. Ayers, *China for the West, Chinese Porcelain and Other Decorative Arts for Export Illustrated from the Mottahedeh Collection*, Vol. 1, London and New York, 1978, No. 246, p. 252. The decoration of the tea service derives from a print and shows a partial reproduction of a Rubens painting depicting St. Ignatius Loyola facing an apparition with the letters IHS. See also, *Reflexos, Símbolos e Imagens do Cristianismo na Porcelana Chinesa*, undated bilingual exhibition catalogue, Museu de São Roque, Lisbon, pp. 56, 57, 106, 107. Relevant are also the comments of H. Vanderstappen, S.V.D., "Chinese Art and the Jesuits in Peking", in *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582–1773*, C. Ronan, S.J. and Bonnie B. C. Oh eds., Chicago, 1988, p. 116.
- 77 *Do Neolítico Ao Último Imperador; A Perspectiva De Um Coleccionador de Macau*, Palácio de Queluz, 1994, where these items appear as Nos. 152–63, pp. 161–7.
- 78 *Casa-Museu Dr. Anastásio Gonçalves*, Lisbon. Inv.: CMAG 118. This jar is illustrated and discussed in *Reflexos, Símbolos e Imagens do Cristianismo*, pp. 49–50 and 70–1.
- 79 M. Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, III, p. 206. The 1762 description of the furnishings found in the college at the time of its closure confirms the kinds of works of art under discussion. *Ibid.*, pp. 344–7.
- 80 Luís Fróis, S.J., *Historia de Japam*, Vol. III (1578–1582), J. Wicki ed., Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, 1982, pp. 260–1. On the Namban screens that developed after the arrival of the Portuguese and the Jesuits, see Anna Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 202–4.
- 81 *ARSI JapSin* 64, fl. 222.
- 82 *Ibid.*
- 83 See Vitor Serrão, "Quadros de Vida de S. Francisco Xavier", in *Oceanos*, pp. 56–69. *História da Arte Portuguesa*, Vol. 3, pp. 12–3.
- 84 *Pintura Maneirista de Coimbra*, exht. catalogue June–November 1983, pp. 27–8 and Figure 44.
- 85 See for example, António Francisco Cardim, *Elogio e ramalhete ...*, Lisbon, 1950. Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, pp. 135–6, 157, *passim*.

- 86 *The Age of the Baroque in Portugal*, J. A. Levenson ed., National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1993, p. 263, entry 91. C. Guillén Nuñez, *Macau (Images of Asia)*, Oxford University Press, 3rd impression, 1998, p. 53. The image of the Macao baldachin there was wrongly reported as including mother-of-pearl in the decoration of the entablature.
- 87 Xiaping Lin, *Wu Li (1632–1718), His Life, His Paintings*, University Press of America, 2001, p. 117.

Chapter 4

- 1 Panofsky's thesis still holds up though it may seem fanciful in places. Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, Meridian Books, Cleveland, 1967 printing, pp. 65–70. See also, G. E. Ganss, S.J., *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University*, Marquette University Press, 1956, pp. 136, 157–9, 306–7.
- 2 J. F. Marques Pereira, “Em prol de umas ruínas (A proposito do frontespicio do Collegio de S. Paulo, em Macau)”, in *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo, Archivos e Annaes do Extremo-Oriente Português*, Lisbon, 1899–1902, p. 491.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 485.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 483–92. J. M. Braga, “A Igreja de S. Paulo”, *BEDM*, April 1932, pp. 246–7. M. Teixeira, *A fachada de S. Paulo*, Macao, 1940. —, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, III, pp. 178–81.
- 5 For the more serious pioneering art-historical writings on these structures, see J. B. Bury, “A Jesuit Façade in China”, *The Architectural Review*, VI. CXXIV, No. 743, London, December 1958, pp. 412–3. —, “Macao's St. Paul”, in *Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros*, II, Lisbon, 1960, pp. 30–6. —, “A Igreja de São Paulo”, *Arquitectura e Arte no Brasil Colonial*, São Paulo, 1991, pp. 154–61. See also M. Hugo-Brunst, “An Architectural Survey of the Jesuit Seminary Church of St. Paul's, Macao”, *Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, July 1954, University of Hong Kong, pp. 327–44. Hugo-Brunst's article, now somewhat outdated, is still important because it provides measurements of the façade taken in situ. Another writing that should be noted is that by J. D. Francis, “Macao's San Paolo, A Symbolical Ruin”, *The Macao Review*, Macao, 1930, pp. 3, 14. Though written for a little known publication it was probably the first to focus on the iconographic meaning of the façade.
- 6 C. Guillén Nuñez, *The Relationship of the 17th Century Façade of the Jesuit Collegiate Church of Madre de Deus, Macao, to Retable-Façades*, unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, University College London, 1997. G. Couçeiro, “The Church of the College of Madre de Deus” (later published as *A Igreja de S. Paulo de Macau*, Lisbon, 1997), F. A. Baptista Pereira, “A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Church of the College of Mater Dei”, and C. Guillén Nuñez's commentaries to both, all in *Religion and Culture: An International Symposium Commemorating the IVth Centenary of the University College of St. Paul, Macao*, pp. 177–248.
- 7 See Fei Gengkang's claim that the first article by a mainland Chinese scholar on the college is that of 1994 by Huang Qichen (Zhongshan University). Huang Qichen, “The First University in Macau: The Colégio de São Paulo”, in *Religion and Culture: An International Symposium Commemorating the Fourth Centenary of the University College of St. Paul*, pp. 251–69, and *ibid.* Fei Gengkang, pp. 271–2 and p. 275. A more recent general survey of the college and the Jesuits active in the college and the China mission in, 李向玉 Lei Heong-Iok 澳門聖保祿學院研究, *Macau Daily News*, Macao, 2001. Chen Hui-Hung includes the church's façade as part of

- a thesis written for Brown University, with an original interpretation of the structure's images with reference to Chinese art. Chen Hui-Hung, *Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences: Jesuit Visual Culture in Seventeenth Century China*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, History of Art and Architecture Dept., Brown University, May 2004, pp. 112–60.
- 8 *Relação Annual das Coisas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas Suas Missões ... nos Anos de 1600 à 1609. Vol. 1, 1600–1603*, 3 vols. Coimbra University Press, 1930 edition (A. Viegas ed.), p. 235.
 - 9 J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, pp. 11–2.
 - 10 The English and Portuguese bibliography on the 1622 victory is extensive; see especially Charles R. Boxer's writings on the subject. C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770*, The Hague, 1948, pp. 72–92 and p. 88 in particular. *Obra Completa de Charles Ralph Boxer*, Vol. I: *Estudos para a História de Macau Séculos XVI a XVIII*, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 1991, pp. 21–102. See also *BPAL Jesuitas na Asia*, Codex 49-V-6, fl. 436ff.
 - 11 Gomes dos Santos, “Macau, Primeira Universidade Ocidental do Estreito Oriental” p. 15. See D'Elia, *FR*, Vol. 2, p. 371, notes 1 and 2.
 - 12 Gomes dos Santos, “Macau, Primeira Universidade Ocidental”, note 58.
 - 13 Henri Bernard, S.J., *Le Père Matthieu Ricci et la Société Chinoise de son temps (1552–1610)*, Vol. 2, Tientsin, 1937, p. 177.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, p. 244. Paul Pelliot, “Un Ouvrage sur les Premiers Temps de Macao”, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 31 (Leide, 1935), Kraus Reprint, Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1975, pp. 69–70. In discussing this paragraph in the official *History*, H. Bernard's main aim was to expose the superstitious nature of the Cantonese, which had resulted in the torture to death of the Macanese Jesuit Brother Francisco Martinez. For this tragic incident see H. Bernard, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–56.
 - 15 Most of the scholars quoted here all agree that the statement in the *History of the Ming* must refer to the Church of Madre de Deus. But see D'Elia, *ibid.*, note 2.
 - 16 Paul Pelliot, “Un Ouvrage sur les Premiers Temps de Macao”, p. 70, note 1. C. A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, Oxford University Press, 1984 edition of 1926, 2nd ed., p. 60.
 - 17 Albert Chan, S.J., “A European Document on the Fall of the Ming Dynasty (1644–1649)”, *Monumenta Serica*, 35, 1981–83, pp. 76–109. —, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1982, preface pp. xxi–xxii.
 - 18 Albert Chan, S.J., “A European Document”, p. 76. H. Vanderstappen, S.V.D., *Chinese Art and the Jesuits in Peking*, pp. 122–3. For contemporary Ming and later Chinese sources and the opinions therein re. the Portuguese, see K. C. Fok, “Early Ming Images of the Portuguese”, in *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)*, R. Ptak ed., Beiträge zur Südasiens Forschung: Bd. 117, University of Heidelberg, 1987, p. 144. —, *Estudo Sobre a Instalação dos Portugueses em Macau*, Gravida, 1997.
 - 19 This lack of Chinese sources applies even to the institutional relationship between Macao, the Kwantung authorities and China. See *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 8, Part II, p. 345 ff.
 - 20 *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, Hakluyt Soc., London, 1919, III, Part I, p. 163. C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp. 123–38.
 - 21 Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450–1600*, p. 128. For Charles Borromeo's *Instrukiones*, see E. C. Voelker, “Charles Borromeo's *Instrukiones Fabricae et Supellectilis*

- Ecclesiasticae*, 1577. A Translation with Commentary and Analysis”, Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977.
- 22 Bento Fernandes’ 1622 account from Nagasaki is found in his “Relaçam das Vidas e mortes gloriosas ...”, *ARSI JapSin* 60, fls.224v–233v. See also Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, S.J., “Un genovés nacido en Madrid. Carlos Spinola, científico, misionero y mártir”, *Quaderni Franzoniani*, Year 5 (no. 2), Genoa, July–December 1992, pp. 69–86. Republished with slight alterations by the Instituto Cultural de Macau under the title “Un Jesuita de Madrid, Arquitecto de la Iglesia de São Paulo, Macao” in *Revista de Cultura*, No. 21 (II série), Portuguese ed., October–December, 1994, pp. 37–49. See also R. Yuuki’s bio. of Spinola in *DHCJHT*, Vol. 4, pp. 3623–4, and biblio. therein.
 - 23 A. Cavaleiro Paixão, “Archeological excavations at St. Paul’s Church (Macau’s Santa Madre de Deus Church), in *Macau — As Ruínas de S. Paulo, Um Monumento para o Futuro/St. Paul’s Ruins, A Monument towards the Future*, bilingual exhibition catalogue, Lisbon-Macao, September/December 1994, pp. 90–95.
 - 24 Peter Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 54, 55. See also, John Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, pp. 19–20.
 - 25 The Latin Cross ground plan found full expression in Western churches during the Middle Ages, beginning in the ninth century. See E. H. Swift, *Roman Sources of Christian Art*, Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 33–4.
 - 26 See André Grabar, *Martyrium, recherches sur le culte des reliques et l’art chrétien antique*, Vol. 1, (Paris, 1943–46) London, 1972 reprint.
 - 27 F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 67. L. H. Monssen, “The Martyrdom Cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo, Part I”, *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, 2, 1982, pp. 175–317, and Part II, *AAAHP*, 3, 1983, pp. 11–106. —, “*Rex Glorioso Martyrum*: A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography”, *AB*, Vol. 63, No. 1, March 1981, pp. 130–7. G. A. Bailey, “Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting under the Jesuits and Its Legacy throughout Catholic Europe, 1565–1773”, *The Jesuits and the Arts*, p. 130 and 133–42. See also, *Notices et Documents sur les Petres de la Mission ... ou Les Premiers Martyrs de l’Oeuvre de la Sainte Enfance*, anonymous, Peking, 1893, pp. XVIII–X, *passim*, where the Vincentians’ cult of martyrdom, evidently under the influence of the Jesuits, is wonderfully expressed.
 - 28 K. Noreen, “*Ecclesiae militantis triumphi*: Jesuit Iconography and the Counter-Reformation”, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29, 1998, pp. 689–715. D. Freedberg, “The Representation of Martyrdoms during the Early Counter-Reformation”, *Burlington Magazine* 118, 1976, pp. 128–38. M. C. Osswald, “The Society of Jesus”, pp. 608–9. As may be imagined Protestant martyrologies were equally numerous and popular.
 - 29 See A. Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination 1558–1660*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 226, and note 5.
 - 30 J. M. Braga, “Os Tesouros do Colégio de São Paulo”, *Archivos de Macau*, 2^a. Série, Vol. 1, No. 6 (November–December 1941), Macau, Imprensa Nacional, 1942, p. 359.
 - 31 J. Laures, S.J., *Kirishitan Bunko: Manual of Books and Documents on the Early Christian Missions to Japan*, Sophia University, Tokyo, 1957, pp. 11, 30–2.
 - 32 L. H. Monssen, “*Rex Glorioso Martyrum*: A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography”, pp. 133–4.
 - 33 C. R. Boxer, *Macau na Época da Restauração*, p. 42.
 - 34 Some of the letters of the Jesuits describing the martyrdom of their confreres may be found in, *ARSI JapSin* 53, 60 fls. 222–56v., 61, 62, 63. *BPAL*, Codices 49–V–9, 49–V–10, 49–V–11.

- For a contemporary account see M. de Ribadeneira, O.F.M., *Historia del Archipielago y Otros Reynos*, Vol. 2, p. 761.
- 35 This painting has been attributed to the German Jesuit Bernard Fuckrad. See D. Spengler, “Primitiae Martyrum Societatis Iesu in Ecclesia Iaponica: Der Maler Bernard Fuckrad S.J., Ein Beitrag zur Arbeitsweise der OrdensMalerei”, *AHSI*, 75, 2006, pp. 63–78. Schelte Bolswert was the brother of Boetius Bolswert, with whom he produced a series of prints of Jesuit saints. For an account by the Franciscans of the 1597 Nagasaki martyrs, see M. de Ribadenaira, O.F.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 440–82. See also M. Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter*, p. 140 *passim*, which includes the 1633 martyrdom of Julianus Nakamura, originally one of Valignano’s boy envoys to Rome. See also Diego Pacheco, S.J., “Los Mártires de Koboshi No Ura”, *AHSI*, 71, January–June 1967, p. 141.
 - 36 *BPAL Jesuitas na Asia* Codex 49–V–66, fls. 87v.–89v. Videira Pires, *RP*, Ano XLI, No. 35, September 11, 1955, pp. 821–5. Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, III, pp. 185–9. J. F. Schütte, S.J., “P. Joseph Montanha’s ‘Apparatos’ und die Abschrift des Fernost-Archivs ...”.
 - 37 This drawing was first published by R. Hutcheon, *Chinnery, The Man and The Legend*, South China Morning Post, Ltd., 1975, p. 76, second illustration, unnumbered. It has since become a commonplace.
 - 38 *AHU*, fls. 83v.–86. D’Elia, *FR*, Vol. 2, p. 370, and p. 370, note 5. M. Teixeira, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–9. Videira Pires, *RP*, XLI–No. 33, August, 1955, pp. 776–7, describes separate areas reserved for men and women in the church.
 - 39 *AHU*, fl. 84. D’Elia, *FR*, Vol. 2, mentions the 12 chapels. See also F. A. Baptista Pereira’s reconstruction; based on the recent archaeological excavations he points out that the *palmas* used were *palmas de Goa*. Baptista Pereira, “St. Paul’s Ruins (Macao): History and Art”, *Macau — As Ruínas de S. Paulo, Um Monumento para o Futuro/St. Paul’s Ruins, A Monument towards the Future*, pp. 71–6.
 - 40 The tribune over the sanctuary is mentioned by M. Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, III, p. 189. The lateral doorways are discussed by Videira Pires, *RP*, Ano LXI, No. 33, August 1955, p. 777. See also the eighteenth-century Chinese description in Tcheong Yu-Lam and Ian Kuong-Iam, L. G. Gomes translation, *Monografia de Macau, (澳門記略)*, Macau, 1850, p. 176. The floor of the church is discussed in Baptista Pereira, “St. Paul’s ruins (Macao): History and Art”, p. 76.
 - 41 Maria J. Madeira Rodrigues, *A Igreja de S. Roque*, p. 19, and plate XII.

Chapter 5

- 1 *AHU*, fl. 84v.
- 2 R. Ptak, “Notes on the Kuang-Tung Hsin-Yü”, *Boletim do Instituto Luis de Camões*, 15, Nos. 1, 2, 1981, p. 140. In the 1680s under the Portuguese, Thomas Pereira, the biggest organ in the East was built in the Jesuits’ Hsi-t’ang Church in Beijing. See *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest*, S.J. Dillingen, 1687, Noël Golvers intro. and trans., *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series*, XXVIII, Steyler Verlag, Nettetal, 1993, p. 311.
- 3 *AHU*, fl. 84.
- 4 *BPAL Jesuitas na Asia*, Codex 49–V–5, fl. 79v.

- 5 *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, Vol. II, J. A. Fitzmyer, S.J. and R. E. Browns, S.S. eds., New Jersey, p. 483. Chen Hui-Hung discusses a medal with the Immaculate and St. Michael today in the Tokyo National Museum. Chen Hui-Hung, *Encounters in Peoples, Religions, and Sciences*, pp. 149–50. St. Francis' prayer in G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, Vol. 3, p. 454.
- 6 For some of the more significant writings on Nicolao's workshop in Japan and Macao, see note 29 below. More recently F. García Gutiérrez, S.J., has reconsidered the subject in his paper "Early Encounters between Japanese Culture and that of the West. Introduction and Development of Western Art in Japan in the 16th Century", in *A Reunion between Japan and Spain in the 21st Century*, University of Valladolid, September 27–29, 2004.
- 7 G. A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, p. 77. This painting also reminds us of Guido Reni's famous work with the chained Lucifer at his feet, the pose of the Archangel's right hand and sword in particular. But in the Macao painting the Fallen Angel is not seen.
- 8 *BPAL Jesuitas na Asia*, Codex 49–V–7, fl. 5v. See also *BPAL* Codex 49–V–5, fl. 20, as well as José Montanha's transcript in *AHU*, fl. 84.
- 9 F. A. Baptista Pereira cites Montanha's transcript as reporting that the arches were "*os primeiros de pedra que se fizeram na China*", but it is difficult to know which copy of the document he may have been using. Both the original codices in the Ajuda Palace Library and that in the Archivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, have "*nesta terra*". However, the point here is that, quite understandably, at least some modern scholars have interpreted the phrase to mean China, not Macao. F. A. Baptista Pereira, *Macao — As Ruínas de S. Paulo, Um Monumento para o Futuro/ St. Paul's Ruins, A Monument towards the Future*, p. 72. Reiterated by Baptista Pereira in, "A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Church of the College of Mater Dei", *op. cit.*, p. 223.
- 10 See Filarete's *Treatise on Architecture* in *A Documentary History of Art*, Vol. 1, *The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Elisabeth Holt ed., New York, 1957, p. 248. The Ciceronian preference of the Jesuits is discussed by R. A. Maryks, *St. Cicero and the Jesuits. The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabilism*, Ashgate Publishing, 2008.
- 11 See Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- 12 C. Guillén Nuñez, "The Façade of St. Paul's, Macao: A Retable-Façade?", *JHKBRAS*, Vol. 41 (2001), 2002, pp. 138–41.
- 13 Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450–1600*, pp. 10, 48, 50–1, 54–5, 57. A. Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning 1500 B.C.–A.D. 1911*, University of Chicago Press, 1962, pp. 155–7. See also, "Art of China — Architecture and Landscape Architecture/Gardens", *Encyclopedia Smithsonian*. October 11, 2000. Smithsonian Institution, April 10, 2007 <http://www.smithsonian.org/Encyclopedia_SI/freersac/chinarct.htm>.
- 14 A. Boyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–5.
- 15 See *ibid.*, p. 66.
- 16 *FR*, Vol. I, pp. 29–30 (N38).
- 17 Anthony Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
- 18 *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, pp. 162–3.
- 19 *AHU*, fl. 84.
- 20 "Apontamentos para Anua da Prov. de Jappão e Provincia da China do Anno de 1627", in *BPAL Jesuitas na Asia*, Codex 49–V–6, fl. 439v.
- 21 A representative example of the Mudejar carpentry tradition flourishing in Baroque Latin America in *Historia del Arte de España*, Xavier Barral i Altet director, Lunweg, 1996, pp. 354–6.

- 22 *FR*, Vol. 2, p. 258, note 1, and p. 370, note 5.
- 23 For Japanese confraternities of the Assumption see *ARSI JapSin* 59, pp. 165–173.
- 24 There are various English translations of the Council of Trent's 25th session. See H. J. Schroeder's in *A Documentary History of Art*, Vol. 2, Elisabeth Holt ed., New York, 1958, p. 65.
- 25 *AHU*, Codex 1659, fl. 79. Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, VII, 1967, p. 131. Main Jesuit churches and colleges in Europe and overseas often housed richly crafted reliquaries of saints and martyrs. See for example, Nuno Vassalo e Silva, "Os Relicários de São Roque", in *Oceanos*, pp. 112–7. For A. Bocarro's comment see C. R. Boxer, *Macau na Época da Restauração/Macau Three Hundred Years Ago*, p. 47.
- 26 See C. Guillén Nuñez, "El Frontispicio de la Iglesia de San Pablo, Macao: Una Fachada-Retablo?", *El Museo de Pontevedra*, No. LIX, Pontevedra (Spain), 2005. R. C. Smith, "Recent Publications on the Fine Arts of Portugal and Brazil", *AB*, June 1944, Vol. 26, No. 2, p. 127.
- 27 G. A. Bailey, "The Art of the Jesuit Missions in Japan", p. 10. C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650*, University of California, 1951, p. 198. B. F. de Tavares e Távora, *Imaginária Luso-Oriental*, Lisbon, 1983, pp. 192–3.
- 28 The tradition was reported by Antonio Basto in *Jornal Unico*. See Marques Pereira, "Em prol de umas ruínas", p. 484.
- 29 On Giovanni Cola, see J. Ruiz-de-Medina, S.J., *DHCJHT*, Vol. 1, pp. 838–9. John E. McCall first seriously researched the activities of Giovanni Nicolao and his academy or school in Japan and Macao. As pioneering studies his findings inevitably included some inaccuracies, but are still indispensable. J. E. McCall, "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3, Ascona, 1947, I, pp. 121–37, II, pp. 216–33, III, pp. 283–301; and *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 11, No. 1–2, Ascona, 1948, IV, pp. 45–69. See in particular the last mentioned, which deals with Jesuit art in China and Macao. Also —, "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East. V. More Discoveries", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1954, pp. 39–54. Also G. Schurhammer, S.J., "Die Jesuitenmissionare des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts und ihr Einfluss auf die japanische Malerei", *Orientalia*, pp. 771–9. Yoshitomo Okamoto, in his *Namban Bijutsu*, provides interesting insights on Nicolao and Japanese Christian and Namban artists. Y. Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan*, pp. 99–113. See also more recently, G. A. Bailey, "The Art of the Jesuit Missions in Japan in the Age of St. Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano", lecture in the *450th Anniversary of St. Francis Xavier's Arrival in Japan. International Symposium '98*, Sophia University, 1998, pp. 7–22.
- 30 Montanha's transcript is found in *AHU*, fl. 85–86.
- 31 Original description in Portuguese in *ARSI Japsin* 64, fol. 220–220v.
- 32 H. Rodríguez-Camilloni, "The Retablo-Façade as Transparency: A Study of the Frontispiece of San Francisco, Lima", in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, 62, Mexico, 1991, pp. 111–22. S. F. Moran, "The Gilding of Ancient Bronze Statues in Japan", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1969, pp. 55–65.
- 33 A. Rodríguez y Guitérrez de Ceballos, S.J., "Juan de Herrera y los Jesuitas Villalpando, Valeriani, Ruiz, Tolosa", p. 303.
- 34 C. Guillén Nuñez, "'Retablo' and 'Imafronte': A Study of the Influence of the Retable on the Church Façade in Mexico and Peru during the Baroque", unpublished 1973 M.A. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, pp. 55–6.
- 35 R. J. Mullen, *Architecture and Its Sculpture in Viceregal Mexico*, University of Texas Press, pp. 60–6.

- 36 Cited in Marco Diaz, *La Arquitectura de los Jesuitas en Nueva España*, Mexico, 1982, p. 71.
- 37 The Church of St. Francis Xavier was designed as a Latin Cross by José Durán and its retablo-façade is the work of Ildefonso Bejarano y Durán, José's grandson. Luisa Elena Alcalá, *Fundaciones Jesuíticas en Iberoamérica*, Fundación Iberdrola, 2002, pp. 320–3. Marco Diaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–4, 139–64. Yves Bottineau, *Iberian-American Baroque*, New York, 1970, pp. 46–7, 56 and ills. on pp. 74–80. A. von Wuthenau, *Tepotzotlan*, Mexico, 1941. Pál Kelemen already noticed the similarity between the main altar and façade of the Mexican church. Pál Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America*, pp. 92–3.
- 38 For the significance of Serlio's treatise, see Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance, Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 113–43. On that of Vignola see Peter Murray, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 204. Measured drawings of façade are in the Department of Architecture, University of Hong Kong. See also M. Hugo-Brunet, "An Architectural Survey of the Jesuit Seminary Church of St. Paul's, Macao".
- 39 Sylvie Deswarte, "Francisco de Hollanda et les Etudes Vitruviennes en Italie", in *A Introdução da Arte da Renascença na Península Iberica*, Coimbra, 1981, pp. 254–80. See also Anthony Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- 40 José María Torres Pérez, "Tercero y cuarto libro de arquitectura de Sebastiano Serlio", Biblioteca: Universidad de Navarra. April 8, 2005 < <http://www.unav.es/biblioteca/hufaeexp04p03.html>>.
- 41 See G. R. Dimler's entry *Libros de Emblemas*, in *DHCJHT*, Vol. 2, Rome-Madrid, 2001, pp. 1237–8, as well as biblio. therein.
- 42 G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, Vol. 4, p. 52.
- 43 Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japan*, Vol. II, pp. 200–1. G. Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 452. On the iconography of the Assumption and those of the Immaculate and the *Tota Pulchra* related to it, as well as their final fusion after the Council of Trent, see Suzanne Stratton, *La Inmaculada Concepción el Arte Español*, pp. 34–6, 38–40, and in particular pp. 41–4 and 46–8.
- 44 *Padre António Vieira*, Vol. 2, p. 177. Fray José de Sigüenza, *La Fundación del Monasterio de El Escorial*, Aguilar, 1988 ed., pp. 483–4.
- 45 *BPAL*, 49–V–11, fls. 118v–122v. António Franco, *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal*, (1715), Porto, 1930 printing, p. 490. M. Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, II, Macao, 1940, pp. 98–100. In Europe scholarly members of the Society, such as rectors of colleges, are known at the time to have participated as programmers of a church's decoration, including those in Rome.
- 46 See Sir Andrew Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China* (Boston, 1836), Viking Hong Kong Publications, 1992, p. 15. Marques Pereira, *op. cit.*, pp. 484, 485.
- 47 J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, p. 6.
- 48 Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "Art in the Service of God: The Impact of the Society of Jesus on the Decorative Arts in Portugal", in *The Jesuits II*, p. 185. Here see also Vassallo e Silva's elucidating description of the altars of the Church of St. Rock, Lisbon, and their iconography on pp. 183, 185. On Holy Spirit novenas offered at Madre de Deus, see *BPAL*, Codex 49–V–6, fl. 437.
- 49 I am extremely grateful to Dr. Humberto Rodríguez-Camilloni, of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, for pointing out the similarities of the steps with the *monte sacro* concept.



Index

User's Note:

The alphabetical arrangement of entries is word-by-word.

Prepositions, etc., at the beginning of sub-headings have been ignored in determining the alphabetical order of sub-headings.

References to reproductions of photographs, drawings and plans comprise the page number followed by “(illus)”.

The letter “n” immediately following the page number indicates a reference to end notes.

- accommodation, policy of, 66–7
 artistic expression of, 127
- Africa, attitude to people of, 69
- Ajuda Palace (Lisbon), library of, 71, 88, 137, 155n70, 161n9
- Alberti, Leon Battista, 13, 94–5, 111
- Aleni, Giulio, 5
- Alfonso Rodriguez, Saint, 135
- altars and altarpieces, 17, 19(illus), 28, 29 (illus), 107, 117, 118, 125
- Álvares, Afonso, 20
- Álvares, João, 71
- Álvares, Manuel (painter, 1527–1571), 41
- Amaro, F. da Silva, 72
- Ammannati, Bartolomeo (1511–1592), 16
- An-chi Bridge, 110
- Anes, Cosme (Portuguese India secretary), 35, 36
- annual letters, to the Society of Jesus
 1603 letter, 94, 102, 108
 1608 letter, 56, 106
 1627 letter, 113
 1644 letter, 75, 80, 119
- Antwerp, 21, 46, 48
- Aquaviva, Father General Claudio (1543–1615), 6, 16
- Aquaviva, Rodolfo, 80, 101
- Aranha, Francisco, 80
- archaeological excavations, 72, 75, 93
- arches, 108, 110, 111–2
- architects (*see also names of individual architects*), 40, 110–1, 146n13
- architecture (*see also Iberian colonial architecture; names of individual buildings*; Society of Jesus), 108, 110, 111
- archives and manuscripts, 71, 88, 97, 119
- Archivo Histórico Ultramarino, 70, 88, 161n9
- Arruda, Miguel de (military architect, active ca. 1500–1563), 17, 20
- Assumption of Mary, 140
 dedication of churches to, 25, 132
 paintings of, 17, 25, 106, 114, 115
 statues of, 129(illus), 133–4(illus)
- Averlino, Antonio, 110
- Baçaim (India), 33, 44, 89
- Baciccia, 88
- Barnabites*, *see* Regular Cleric of St. Paul
- Baroque (*see also* High Baroque; Italian Baroque; Late Baroque; Roman Baroque), 25, 44, 98(illus), 100(illus), 106, 142
 art, xiii, 141
 church architecture, 126
 etymology of, 2
 music, 21
- Basilica of Bom Jesus (Goa), 44, 45(illus), 45–6, 47(illus), 89, 106
- Basilica Church of San Vitale (Rome), 95
- Basilica Church of Santo Stefano Rotondo (Rome), 95, 96, 97
- Basilica of Maxentius, 14
- Basilica of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Spain), 95, 117

- Beijing, 25, 110
 Bell, Johann Adam Schall von, 5
 Benedict, St., monastic ideal of, 4
 Bernard, Henri, 90
 Bernini, Gianlorenzo (sculptor), 21, 81
 Berno, Pietro, 80
 Bigio, Nanni di Baccio, *see* Michelangelo
 Blunt, Sir Anthony (art historian), 8
 Bocarro, António, 97, 116
 Bolswert, Boet, 160n35
 Bolswert, Schelte (engraver), 101, 160n35
 Bom Jesus, *see* Basilica of Bom Jesus
 Bonifacio, Juan (1538–1606), 96
 Borba, Father Diogo de, 34, 35
 Borgia, Francis the Blessed (1510–1572), 13, 14, 65, 66, 68, 115, 118, 121(illus), 138, 146n17
 Borja, Francisco de, *see* Borgia, Francis, the Blessed
 Braga, José Maria (historian), 155n70
 bronzes, *see* statues and statuettes
 Buddhist sects, slaughter of, 66
- Cabral, Francisco (1533–1609), 25, 65, 66, 69, 111
 Cairatti, Giovanni Battista (architect), 45
Calçada de São Paulo (street), 61
 Cambrai (France), 25
 Cardim, António, 62, 116, 140
 Carneiro, Melchior, 55, 56, 151n7
 Carranza, Friar Batolomé, 3
 cartouches, 46
casa professa, *see* Professed House
 Catechumens, *see* Chinese House of Catechumens
 Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption (Valladolid), 17
 Catholicism, *see* Roman Catholicism
 Cemetery of St. Michael, 86
 ceramics, *see* porcelain and pottery
 ceremonies and processions, 49, 52, 101
 Chan, Albert, 91
 Chapel of the Jesuits (Cambrai), 24, 27(illus)
 Chapel of St. Francis Xavier, 57
 charity, practice of, 56
 Charles Borromeo, Saint, 55, 92, 95, 111, 114
 Charles I, King of England, 92
 Ch'eng Ta-yüeh (inkmaker), 5
 Chicó, Mário (scholar), 43, 45
- China (*see also* Vice-Province of China and Japan), 54
 China missions, 5, 21, 54, 64, 65, 70, 91, 126, 141
 chinaware, *see* porcelain and pottery
 Chinese (language), devotional books in, 5
 Chinese craftsmen, 111, 112, 119, 137, 140
 Chinese House of Catechumens, 63–4
 Chinnery, George (artist, 1774–1852), 76–8, 77(illus), 102
 choirs (church architectural feature), 106
 Christendom, religious conflict in, 3
Christiani Pueri Institutio (Instruction for Christian Boys), 64, 67, 96
 Church of the Assumption (Hradec Králové), 25
 Church of the Convent of Jesus (Setúbal), 41
 Church of Espírito Santo (the Holy Spirit) (Diu), 33, 44, 48–9
 Church of Espírito Santo (Évora), 17
 Church of Madre de Deus (*see also* College of Madre de Deus), 2, 78(illus), 88–9, 90–1, 98–100(illus), 101, 111, 140, 141, 142
 construction of, 86
 destroyed by fire, 88, 94, 102
 façade of, 20, 54, 81, 86, 87(illus), 88, 89, 90–1, 92, 97, 103, 113, 116–7, 118–9, 125, 126–7, 128, 130, 140, 141, 142
 ground plan, 93–5, 94(illus), 101–3
 interior, 45, 93, 102–3
 decoration of, 106–8, 112–6
 relics exhibited in, 115–6
 ruins of, 63
 site of, 92
 under-researched, xiii
 uniqueness of, xiv
 Church of the Menino Jesus (Goa), 33
 Church of Nossa Senhora da Assunção (Madre de Deus, Macao), 25
 Church of Our Lady of the Assumption (Miaco), 25, 28, 31, 132
 Church of Our Lady of the Assumption (Nagasaki), 25
 Church of St. Charles Borromeo (Antwerp), 21, 24(illus), 25, 26(illus), 46, 48, 128
 Church of St. Francis Xavier, 163n37
 Church of St. Ignatius (Antwerp), *see* Church of St. Charles Borromeo
 Church of St. Ignatius (Rome), 21

- Church of St. John the Evangelist (Funchal), 139
- Church of St. Rock (Lisbon), 163n48
- Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, 96
- Church of San Domingo (Oaxaca City), 126
- Church of San Domingo (Yanhuitlán), 126
- Church of San Fedele (Milan), 15
- Church of San Felipe (Segovia), 124
- Church of San Giovannino (Little Saint John), 16
- Church of Sant'Andrea (Mantua), 94
- Church of Santa Maria Assunta (Venice), 25, 28, 29(illus)
- Church of the *Santissimo Nome di Gesù* (The Most Holy Name of Jesus), 11, 13–5, 21, 35, 36, 70, 88
- façade of, 12(illus), 13, 15
- ground plan, 14(illus), 95
- impact of, 20
- interior, 22–3(illus)
- Church of Santo Agostinho (St. Augustin) (Macao), 106
- Church of Santo Nome de Jesus (the Holy Name of Jesus) (Baçaim), 33
- Church of São Domingos (St. Dominic) (Macao), 81, 106
- Church of São Francisco (Évora), 20
- Church of São Jerónimo (Mapuçá), 49, 50(illus)
- Church of São Lourenço (St. Lawrence) (Macao), 55
- Church of São Paulo (St. Paul) (Goa), 33, 37(illus), 39–41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 89
- Church of São Paulo dos Arcos (St. Paul of the Arches), 36
- Church of São Roque (Lisbon), 17, 80, 103
- churches, Jesuit
- in Japan, 28
- prototype of, 15
- Circignani, Niccolò, 96, 97
- Clavins, Christopher, 93
- Clement XIV, Pope, 2
- Cola, Giovanni, *see* Nicolao, Giovanni
- College of Catanzaro (Naples), 38, 74
- College of the Conversion of St. Paul, *see* College of St. Paul
- College of Espírito Santo (Évora), 17, 20
- College of the Holy Faith, *see* College of St. Paul
- College of Madre de Deus (Macao), 33, 36, 38, 54, 56–7, 61, 70–1, 108
- architecture, 71–2, 74–8, 76(illus), 140
- conception and creation of, 2, 35, 63, 65, 69, 101, 140
- courtyard, 73–4(illus), 74
- destroyed by fire, 54, 57, 63
- interior, decoration of, 78, 80–1
- layout, 60(illus), 72, 73(illus)
- site of, 74
- under-researched, xiii
- College of St. Francis Xavier (Tepozotlán), 125, 126
- College of St. Paul (Goa), 32, 33, 34, 35–6, 44, 65, 68, 70, 72, 75, 116
- ground plan, 36, 38–9
- College of St. Paul (Macao), *see* College of Madre de Deus
- Collegio Romano, 38, 55, 93
- Cologne, 25, 101
- Conversion of St. Paul*, painting by Álvares, 40, 41
- converts, *see* Japanese converts
- Costa, António, 64
- Council of Trent, 6, 8, 39, 41, 115, 117
- Counter-Reformation, 7, 16, 41, 62, 64, 80, 89, 106, 132, 144n8
- “dark side” of, 3, 51
- religious art of, 8
- courtyards, 36, 38, 73–4(illus)
- Coutinho, Miguel Vaz, 34
- cultural assimilation, policy of, 67
- D'Elia, Pasquale, *see* Elia, Pasquale D'
- devotional art, *see* religious art
- devotional books, in Chinese, 5
- Dias, Manuel, Senior, 63
- Dillingen (Germany), 25
- Diu (India), 33, 44, 48, 89
- Dominicans, 4, 7, 125
- dormitories, 39
- Durán, Ildefonso Bejarano y, 163n37
- Durán, José, 163n37
- Dutch, attack on Macao, 62, 89, 118, 135
- education
- as concern of Jesuits, 32
- Jesuits' vision of, 54

- El Greco (painter), 64
- Eleven Thousand Virgins
celebration/feast of, 49, 51
martyrs, 116
paintings of, 106, 115
- Elia, Pasquale D' (scholar), 90
- emblems, 46, 128
- estilo chão* (plain style), 17
- Eucharist, as theme in religious images, 128
- Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Nadal), 5, 6,
107, 130, 144n8
- Évora (Portugal), 17, 20
- façades (architectural feature) (*see also* Church
of Madre de Deus; Church of the *Santissimo*
Nome di Gesù), 17, 25, 33, 43–4, 46, 48, 49,
52, 92, 117
- Farnese, Cardinal Alessandro, 13, 14, 15, 35,
36, 146n13
- Farnese, Cardinal Odoardo, 10
- Fernandes, Bento, 93, 101
- Fernandes, Domingo, 44
- Fernández, Gregorio, 140
- Ferreira, António, 75, 80, 119
- fires, 54, 88, 94, 102
- Flemish artists, 5
- flooring, wooden, 103
- Florence, 16
- Foggini, Giovanbattista, 45
- Fort Agunda (Goa), 61
- Fort San Lorenzo (Portobello, Panama), 61
- Fortress of St. Paul (Macao), 57, 58–9(illus),
61–2, 72, 75, 89
- Francis Xavier, St, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 80,
82(illus), 107, 115, 126, 148n1
canonization of, 89, 138
Chapel of, 57
Church of, 163n37
incorrupt body of, 45
relic of, 116
statue of, 118, 123(illus)
- Franciscans, 44
- Francisco, António, 80
- frescoes, 21, 95, 97
- Friedlaender, Walter, 8
- Fróis, Luís (missionary), 25, 40
- frontispiece (architectural feature), *see* façades
- Fuckerad, Bernard, 160n35
- Fujian (province in China), migrants from, 71
- Funchal (Madeira), 139
- Gaulli, Giovan Battista (painter, 1639–1709),
21
- Gesù, Church of, *see* Church of the *Santissimo*
Nome di Gesù
- Goa, xiv, 32, 33, 39, 49, 106, 118
- Gomes, António, the 1st (1520–1554), 7, 35
- Gómez, Father Pedro, 63
- Gonçalo da Silveira, St. (1526–1561), 96
- Gonçalves, João, 41
- Gonzaga, Francesco, 44
- Gonzaga, Luís, the Blessed, 115, 118, 120(illus)
- Gospel message, interpretation of, 6
- Gothic style, 25
- Gouveia, Diogo de, the Elder (humanist), 3
- Green Island (Macao), *see* *Ilha Verde*
- Gregory XIII, Pope, 67, 140
- Guerréiro, Fernão (1550–1617), 88
- Henrique, Cardinal, 20
- Henriques, Manuel, 80
- Herrera, Juan de (architect), 17, 140
- Hideyoshi, Toyotomi (Japanese shogun), 67,
101
- High Baroque, 20
- High Renaissance, 7
- Holanda, Francisco de (painter), 127
- Holy House of Mercy (Goa), 44
- Holy House of Mercy (Macao), 55, 152n7
- Holy Spirit, the, bronze image of, 130(illus),
139, 139(illus)
- Hospital for the Poor (Macao), 55
- Houtappel Chapel (Antwerp), 25, 26(illus), 114
- Hradec Králové (Czech Republic), 25
- Hsi-t'ang Church (Beijing), 160n2
- Huyssens, Pieter, 21, 24, 25
- Iberian colonial architecture, 2, 33, 44, 110
- icons and iconography (*see also* religious images),
108, 118, 132, 137–9, 141
- Ignatius of Loyola, St., 10, 13, 28, 32, 34, 55,
64, 115, 151n7, 156n76
canonization of, 89, 138
death of, 11
founding of Society of Jesus, 3

- Spiritual Exercises*, 4
 statue of, 118, 122 (illus)
- Igreja de Jesus (Setúbal), 42(illus), 43(illus)
- Ilha Verde* (Green Island), 90
- images, *see* religious images
- Immaculate Conception of Mary, cult of, 107, 140
- India (*see also* Province of India), 54, 70
- Indian artists, 49
- infirmaries, 39
- Inquisition, the, 3, 51
- inscriptions, Chinese, 128, 130
- Italian Baroque, 81
- Italian Renaissance, 112
- James Kisai, St., 101
- Janesenists, 137
- Japan (*see also* Vice-Province of China and Japan), 65–6, 97
 China trade, 54
- Japan mission, xiv, 25, 54, 65, 69–70, 91, 96, 118, 139, 140, 141
- Japanese Christians
 embassy to Europe, 67–8, 89, 160n35
 martyrdom of, 101, 116
 persecution of, 108
- Japanese converts, 25, 97
- Japanese craftsmen, 118, 119, 140
- Jesuit Baroque, 2
- Jesuítas na Ásia* (manuscript collection), 88, 102, 155n70
- Jesuits, *see* Society of Jesus
- Jesus, Infant, image of, 138–9, 141
- Jesus, Montalto de (historian), 90
- João III, King of Portugal, 3, 35
- John of Goto, St., 101
- Julius III, Pope (1487–1555), 151n7
- Kagoshima (Japan), 132
- Kobe Municipal Museum, 28
- Kubler, George, 17
- Kyoto, *see* Miaco
- Late Baroque, 20, 28
- Latin Cross (architectural design feature), 13, 45, 94, 95, 163n37
- Leitão, Father Eduardo, 40, 51
- leprosarium, 55
- Li Ch'un (architect), 110
- libraries (*see also* names of individual libraries), 71, 75, 88, 91, 102, 137
- Linschoten, Jan Huygen van, 36
- Lisboa, Friar Gaspar de, 44
- Lisbon, 17, 80, 163n48
- Ljungstedt, Sir Anders (historian of Macao), 138
- Lurago, Carlo (architect, 1615–1684), 25
- Luther, Martin, 7
- Luzia, Gregorio de Santa (Bishop of Malacca), 51
- Macao, xiii, xiv, 54, 71, 76
 arrival of Jesuits, 62
 Dutch attack on, 62, 89, 118, 135
- Madrid, 51, 91, 93, 102
- Maech, Marcus, *see* Ruiz, Marcos
- Mannerist style, 2, 7–8, 16, 46, 48, 80, 115
 architecture, 11, 17
 churches built in, 17, 41, 95
 Italian, 127
 Late, 106
 prints and engravings in, 144n8
 reaction to, 80
 theorists, 127
- Mantua, 95
- Manueline (architectural style), 41
- manuscripts, *see* archives and manuscripts
- Mapuçã (Goa), 49
- Mariähimmelfahrt churches (Germany), 25, 101
- Martin of Tours, St., 63, 64
- Martinez, Brother Francisco, 158n14
- Martinho, Hara (Japanese envoy), 68, 139
- martyrs and martyrdom, 69, 80–1, 93, 96, 141
 in Japan, 101, 116, 160n35
 names of, 97
 “passive”, xiv, 95
- Mary, the Virgin, *see* Virgin Mary, the
- Mascarenhas, Francisco (governor of Macao), 61
- mediocrità religiosa*, Jesuit architecture as, 10, 17
- Mercurian, Father General Everard, 38, 39
- Mexia, Lourenço (1539–1599), 63
- Miaco (Kyoto, Japan), 25, 67, 132
- Michael, St., the Archangel, images of, 106, 107, 109(illus)
- Michelangelo (painter and sculptor), 8, 13, 152n7
- Milan, 15

- Ming officials, reaction missionaries and church buildings, 89–92
 missionaries, Jesuit, 4, 62, 64, 91
 assumptions and attitudes of, 68
 missions, *see* China mission; Japan mission
Mo Yuan (Ch'eng Ta-yüeh), 5
modo nostro, Jesuit architecture as, 10, 14, 15
 Molina, Luis (philosopher), 140
 Molinists, 137
 Monfort de Lemos, college in, 17
 Montanes, Martínez, 140
 Montanha, José, 70, 71, 94, 102, 103, 106, 110, 111, 112, 119, 128
monte sacro, 141
 Monte Fort, *see* Fortress of St. Paul
 Moreira, Inácio (master mason), 71
 Mundy, Peter, 88, 92, 112, 113, 114, 116
 Museum of Macao, 61
 Museum of the Ruins of St. Paul, 107
 museums, 61, 80, 81
 music, use of, 49
- Nadal, Jerónimo (1507–1580), 5, 80, 96, 107, 130, 144n8
 Nagasaki (Japan), 25, 65, 101, 107, 116
 Nakamura, Julianus, 159n35
 Naples, 38, 74
 National Archives, Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), 88
 National Library of Australia, 160n70
 National Library (of France), 13
 National Library (of Spain) (Madrid), 91
 National Museum Machado de Castro (Coimbra), 80
 naves, 14, 15, 41, 102
 neoclassic (architectural style), 2
 Nian Xiyao (scholar), 21
 Nicolao, Giovanni (1560–1638), 108, 115, 118, 119, 137, 140, 162n29
 Niicem, Giacomo (painter), 114–5, 118
 Niva, Giacomo, *see* Niicem, Giacomo
 Nobunaga, Oda (Japanese warlord), 66, 78
 Nola (Italy), 93
 Nolibí, Roberto De (1577–1656), 69
 Nossa Senhora da Esperança (Our Lady of Hope) (Macao), 55
 Nossa Senhora do Amparo (Our Lady of Shelter or Refuge), 64
- Oaxaca City (Mexico), 126
 Oliva, Gianpaulo (1600–1681), 7, 21
 Oratory of St. Philip Neri (Roman Catholic Order), 7
 organs, church, 21, 23(illus), 49, 106, 160n2
 Organtino (Jesuit), 25
 ossuaries, 86
- Pacheco, Alonso, 80
 paintings (*see also* frescoes; *names of individual paintings*), 17, 25, 40, 78, 80, 101, 106, 107, 115
 Palladio (architect), 127
 Palmeiro, André, 64
 Panama, 61
 Panofsky, Erwin (scholar), xiii, 86
 Pantoja, Diego de, 110
 Papacy, the, 8
 Parra, Father Pedro, 56
 Pasio, Father Francesco, 40, 78
 patronage, 54, 114, 140
 Paul III, Pope, 3, 11, 32
 Paul Miki, St., 101
 Pelliot, Paul (orientalist), 90
 Pereira, J. F. Marques (scholar), xiii, 138, 155n70
 Pereira, Thomas, 160n2
 Peter Claver, St. (1580–1654), 69
 Philip II, King of Spain, 45, 95, 117
 Philip IV, King of Spain, 117
 Pires, Manuel, 20
 Pires, Videira, 64
 Pirri, Pietro, 10
 Pius V, Pope, 152n7
 Ponzello, Domenico, 72
 Ponzello, Giovanni, 72
 porcelain and pottery, 78, 79(illus), 156n76
 Porta, Giacomo della (ca. 1532–1602), 12, 13, 15, 40
 portals, 37(illus)
 Portugal (*see also* Province of Portugal), 118
 Jesuit architecture in, 17
 pottery, *see* porcelain and pottery
 poverty, ideal of, 16
 Pozzo, Andrea (1642–1709), 21
 Primaticcio, Francesco (artist, 1504–1570), 46
 printing presses, using movable type, 64, 96
 processions, *see* ceremonies and processions
 Professed House (Goa), 33, 44, 45(illus)

- Professed House (Rome), 10, 11, 13, 35, 36
 Protestants, 6, 7, 117
 Province of India, Jesuit, 32, 38
 Province of Portugal, Jesuit, 32
 pulpits, 7, 15

 racial segregation, 35, 38
 Raggi, Antonio (sculptor, 1624–1686), 21
 Rainaldi, Girolamo, 10
 Reformation, 117
 Regular Clerics of St. Paul (Roman Catholic Order), 7
 Reinoso, André (artist), 80
 relics and reliquaries, 51, 115–6, 162n25
 reliefs, 46, 47(illus), 97, 127, 132, 133(illus), 135, 137, 141
 granite, 118, 128, 131(illus)
 religious architecture, 41
 religious art, 5, 8, 81, 108
 religious images (*see also* bronzes; paintings; statues and statuettes), 96, 107, 117
 as aid to proselytizing, 5–6
 theological messages in, 128, 130, 141
 Renaissance, 110
 theorists, 127
 Reni, Guido, 161n7
 retable-façades, xiii, 44, 116, 124, 125–6, 141, 163n37
 retables, 40, 41, 106–7, 115, 117, 118, 141
 Rhodes, Alexandre de (1591–1660), 88, 116
 Ribadeneira, Marcelo de (chronicler), 51
 Ribera, José de, 101
 Ricci, Matteo, 5, 64, 66–7, 110, 111
 Rococo (style period), 28
 Rodrigues, Gerónimo, the Younger, 113, 114, 140
 Rodrigues, Marcos, *see* Ruiz, Marcos
 Rodrigues, Simão, 35, 151n7
 Roman Baroque, 2, 21
 Roman Catholicism
 images characteristic of, 6
 propagation of, 32
 Rome, 21, 102
 roses, carved, symbolism of, 114, 137
 Rosis, Giovanni de (1583–1610), 10, 13, 38, 74, 146n13
 Royal Academy of Portuguese History, 71
 Rubens, Peter Paul (painter, 1577–1640), 25

 Rudolph II, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia and Hungary (1552–1612), 93
 Ruggieri, Michele, 63, 64, 66
 Ruiz, Andrés, 17
 Ruiz, Marcos, 41, 46
 Ruiz-de-Medina, Juan, 93

 sacred art, *see* religious art
St. Martin and the Beggar, painting of, 64
 St. Paul, Church of, *see* Church of Madre de Deus; Church of São Paulo (Goa)
 St. Paul, College of, *see* College of Madre de Deus; College of St. Paul (Goa)
 San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Monastery-Palace of (Madrid), 17, 18–9(illus)
 sanctuaries, 102–3, 112
 Sande, Duarte de, 67
 Sandoval, Alfonso de (1576–1652), 69
 Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (Rome), 95
 Sant'Andrea, Mantua, 95
 Santa Casa da Misericórdia, *see* Holy House of Mercy (Macao)
 Santa Maria della Strada (Our Lady of the Street), Church of, 11
 Santo António, hermitage of, 62
 Santos, Gomes dos, 90
 São Paulo Velho (Old St. Paul) (Goa), *see* College of St. Paul (Goa)
 Schall, Adam, 91
 Schinosi, Francesco (historian), 93
 Schurhammer, George, 36, 38, 39
 Schütte, Joseph Franz, 155n70
 screens, folding, 78
 sculptures, 127
 Segovia (Spain), 124
 Serlio, Sebastiano, 127
 sermons, role of, 6–7
 Setúbal (Portugal), 41
 shawls, liturgical, 138(illus)
 silversmiths, 49, 81
 Simão, Julio (architect), 44
 slaves and slavery, 68–9
 Society of Jesus, 2, 3, 32, 115, 138, 151n3
 annual letters to, 56, 75, 80, 94, 102, 106, 108, 113, 119
 archives, 119
 art and architecture of, xiv, 8, 11, 16, 17, 20, 40, 41, 48, 54, 140

- pragmatism in, 10
 churches, design of, 15
 colleges (*see also names of individual colleges*), 93, 96, 128
 creation of, xiv, 32, 34, 54
 Constitutions of, 16
 devotional manuals, 135
 as educators, vision of, 54
 emblem, 78, 79(illus)
 funding, 32
 General Congregation of, 11, 39
 Inquisition, the, 3
 missionary work of, 38, 62
 spiritual ideal of, 4, 10, 32
 training of priests, 34–5
 Sousa, Francisco de, 33
 Sousa, Martim Affonso de, 35
 Spain, 8
 Jesuit architects in, 17
 religious confrontation in, 3
 Spinola, Ambrosio, 92
 Spinola, Carlo (architect, 1565–1622), 90, 92–3, 111, 114, 127, 137
 designs and plans of, 72, 106, 118, 140
 martyred, 93, 101
 Spinola, Fabio Ambrogio, 92
 Spinola, Ottavio, 93
Spiritual Exercises (Ignatius of Loyola), 4, 5
 statues and statuettes, 80, 83–4(illus), 118, 134(illus), 138, 141
 bronze, 120–4(illus), 124, 125, 128, 129–30(illus), 132, 133(illus), 139, 139(illus), 141
 stucco, 46, 49, 94
 Suárez, Francisco, 137, 140
 symbols, 132, 135

 tabernacles, 41, 107
 Tacayamadoro, Dario (architect and Japanese convert), 25
 Tepozotlán (Mexico), 125
 Theatines (Roman Catholic order), 7
 Thomas of Aquinas, Saint, 4
 Thomism, 137
Tianzhu shilu (Chinese Catechism) (Ruggieri), 64
 Tibaldi, Pellegrino (artist), 17, 95
 timber, use of, in building, 111
 Torre do Tombo National Archives, 88

Tota Pulchra, *see* Virgin Mary, the
 Tridentine churches, 92
 Tristano, Giovanni, 13, 17, 38
 Tung Ch'i Ch'ang (artist, 1555–1636), 5

 Urban VIII, Pope, 118

 Val, Pablo del, 91
 Valente, Dom Diogo Correa (theologian, ? – 1633), 137
 Valignano, Alessandro, xiv, 28, 35, 38, 39, 44, 64, 65, 75, 97, 108, 114, 115, 127
 accommodation policy of, 66–7
 attitude toward native peoples, 68–9
 Christiani Pueri Instituto, 64, 67, 96
 idea for college, 63, 70, 101, 140
 Japanese envoys, 68, 89, 139
 Valladolid (Spain), 17
 Vaz, Gomes, 36, 38
 Vaz, Miguel, 35
 Velázquez (artist), 93
 Venice, 25, 28
 verandas, 36, 38
 Verbiest, Ferdinand, 91
 Verstegan, Richard, 96
 Vice-Province of China and Japan, 32
 Vieira, António (1608–1697), 7, 135
 Vignola, Jacopo Barozzi da (1507–1573), 12, 15, 36, 127, 151n7
 architectural plans of, 13–4, 38, 40
 Villa Guilia, 152n7
 Villalpando, Juan Bautista (architect, 1552–1608), 17, 127
 Virgin Mary, the (*see also* Assumption of Mary; Immaculate Conception of Mary), 114, 116, 141
 Marian symbols, 135
 Tota Pulchra, image of, 132, 135, 136(illus)
 visual aids, *see* religious images

 Weddel, Captain John, 92
 whitewashing, structures and walls, 40, 43–4, 46
 Wierix, Jerome, 108
 Wu Li (poet-painter), 81, 92

 Xavier, St. Francis, *see* Francis Xavier, St.

 Yafeijidone, Jorge (Japanese convert), 25
 Yanhuilán (Mexico), 126