

**FOUNDER, HEALER, BLESSED, SAINT: COLLECTING AND INTERPRETING
MIRACLES IN THE EARLY MODERN IBERIAN WORLD**

by

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ABSTRACT

Accumulating miracles as evidence of sanctity is well-documented, but the process for the Jesuit founder, Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), was one of the first to rely upon a sacred economy in which news, medicine, images, and hagiographies disseminated globally. What made this possible was an empirical epistemology wherein the gathering of sense data was used to assess and represent the miraculous, even when these supernatural intercessions failed to receive official recognition from the newly established Congregation of Sacred Rites, the Catholic body that oversaw Ignatius's canonization in 1622. This dissertation helps us understand information management in the early modern world as well as written, visual, and medical understandings of divine intercession through the synthesis of religious history, art history, and the history of medicine.

To begin, I chart the development of the culture of miracles from Ignatius's birth in 1491 to the start of the Iberian Union in 1580, a period that included the early years of the Society of Jesus and European expansion. My attention then shifts to the career of Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527-1611) and his writings on the life and miracles of Ignatius: the *Life of Ignatius* and *Flos sanctorum*. Once averse to miracles, he became, in the 1590s, the enthusiastic collector of the cures and exorcisms performed by the Jesuit founder since his earlier ambivalence toward them severely damaged the chances for canonization, a process further undermined by papal hostility. Ribadeneyra also established the visual culture of Ignatius and his miracles before it became the predominant domain of Flemish

engravers. Print became the primary means to enumerate and illustrate the miracles of Ignatius. Images, however, took on a life of their own by becoming miraculous objects. As the Congregation of Sacred Rites examined Ignatius's miracles, especially those performed through images, medical practitioners proved crucial to this process. Physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and midwives experienced and interpreted miracles with the aid of their first-hand experience, which clashed frequently with the traditional medical curriculum. Physicians, likenesses, and Ribadeneyra's *Life of Ignatius* converged in the Iberian world through the reports excluded from the official canonization procedure. The incipient empiricism is situated globally with the aid of the Jesuits' sacred economy, which collected and circulated representations, hagiographies, and reports of miracles.

Advisor: Professor Richard L. Kagan

Second Reader: Professor Erin K. Rowe

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A cyclist was on his way home in Baltimore, when he was hit by a car. Although injured, the cyclist awoke in a hospital a short time later. The accident happened on the campus of Loyola University and according to Richard Kagan, this was a modern miracle by Ignatius Loyola. While I don't agree, I am thankful for Richard as my doctoral supervisor, at once, encouraging and frank. He read draft after draft of chapters, some in rough shape, which he always returned with helpful comments and suggestions. I benefited immensely from Richard's familiarity with archives, his connectedness in scholarly circles, and his broad knowledge of the early modern world. Thank you Richard.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHSI	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i>
APGCG	Archivio della Postulazione Generale della Compagnia di Gesù, Rome
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
AV	Albertina, Vienna
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
IHSI	Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MPM	Museo del Prado, Madrid
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Migne, 1844-1903)
RAH	Real Academia de Historia, Madrid
RM	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
DI	<i>Documenta Indica</i> , eds. Josef Wicki and John Gomes, 18 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1948-88)
DM	<i>Documenta Malucensia</i> , ed. Hubert Jacobs, 3 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1974-84)
EN	<i>Epistolae Nadal</i> , 4 vols. (Madrid: Augustín Avrial and Gabriel López del Horno, 1898-1905)
<i>Epistolae Salmeronis</i>	<i>Epistolae Salmeronis</i> , 2 vols. (Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1906-07)
<i>Epp. Mixt.</i>	<i>Epistolae Mixtae</i> , 5 vols. (Madrid: Augustín Avrial and R. Fortanet, 1898-1901)
FN	<i>Fontes narrativi de S[ancto] Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu</i> , eds. Dionysio Fernández Zapico and Candido de Dalmases, 4 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1943-65)
MB	<i>Monumenta Brasiliae</i> , ed. Serafim Leite, 5 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1956-68)
MI Epp.	<i>Sancti Ignatii de Loyola epistolae et instructiones</i> , 12 vols. (Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1903-11)
MI Scripta	<i>Scripta de Sancto Ignatio de Loyola</i> , 2 vols. (Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1904-18)
MM	<i>Monumenta Mexicana</i> , eds. Félix Zubillaga and Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, 8 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1956-91)
MNF	<i>Monumenta Novae Franciae</i> , ed. Lucien Campeau, 9 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1967-2003)
MP	<i>Monumenta Peruana</i> , eds. Antonio de Egaña and Enrique Fernández, 8 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1954-86)
M Rib.	<i>Petrus de Ribadeneira Confessiones, epistolae aliaque scripta inedita</i> , 2 vols. (Madrid: La Editorial Ibérica, 1920-23)
MX	<i>Monumenta Xaveriana</i> , 2 vols. (Madrid: Augustín Avrial, 1899-1912)
P. Co Polanco,	<i>Polanci complementa</i> , 2 vols. (Madrid: Gabriel López del Horno, 1916-17) <i>Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Iesu historia</i> , 6 vols. (Madrid:

Chronicon Typographia Societatis, 1894-98)
Recitation Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, *Acta patris Ignatii* in *FN* 1:353-507
SE *Exercitia spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola*, 2 vols., new ed. (Rome:
IHSI, 1955-69), 1:140-417

doc. Documento
leg. Legajo
ms. Manuscrito
no. Numero/Número
r. Ramo

NOTE TO READER

Whenever possible early modern orthography and spelling has been used. In the case of modern editions, updated spelling has been followed.

All Biblical quotations come from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version*, eds. Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

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“I think we ought to get back to Mr. Ramsay and *The Golden Legend*,” said he. “Let’s hear about an era when firm belief was common. I think you said, sir, that for centuries people turned to *The Golden Legend* for thrilling stories. What kind of stories? Would we think them thrilling now?”

“Not in the same way, certainly,” said Mr. Ramsay. “They tend to be pretty terse; not a lot of detail. They tell of martyrdom and miracles and, unless you think martyrdom for the Christian Faith a great and heart-lifting form of death, the story is simply a bloody story about a tyrant and a victim. The same with miracles. They are temporary interruptions of natural law. If you share Evans’ point of view you may dismiss them as pious lies. But it might be hasty to suppose that there are no such interruptions. Things do happen, now and then, about which we hear in a newspaper account, probably written by a sensational journalist, or a cynic, and the truth is obscured in both cases. When we speak of a miracle nowadays we tend to think of it as happening in a hospital, or a scientific lab, where somebody does something that extends or contradicts what had been believed before.”

“And which will stand examination for years after – examination and rigorous testing,” said Evans, whose flame was not quite quenched.

Robertson Davies, *The Cunning Man* (1994)

INTRODUCTION

A miracle attributed to Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), the founder of the Society of Jesus took place amid a 1612 revolt in what is now northern Mexico. A Jesuit father, Pedro Méndez, had sparked the rebellion among the Tehueco, a people from northern New Spain, by destroying some stone idols. The Tehueco reacted violently to this desecration, and were further motivated by the *hechiceros*, a title for healers and pagan priests, who foretold that a great catastrophe would befall the Tehueco if they did not drive out the Spaniards and Jesuits. Several burnt churches and dead priests later, the local *alcaide* and *gobernador* intervened and suppressed the revolt.¹

Not every Tehueco, however, opposed the European presence. One named El Discreto even worked with Father Méndez to convert his people to Christianity. Part of his pastoral work involved translating a *flos sanctorum*, a collection of saints' lives long popular in Iberia, into Tehueco. Sickness, however, soon overtook El Discreto. Méndez arrived to deliver supreme unction and await the death of the young man. As a final act, Mendez grabbed an image of Ignatius and placed it in El Discreto's hand; the young man opened his eyes and recognized the Jesuit founder. With his dying breaths, he venerated the image, which responded by curing him. According to the seventeenth-century historian Andrés Pérez de Ribas, this miracle proved to Satan that he had an exceptional adversary in Ignatius, both locally and globally.²

¹An *alcaide* is the leader of a fortress or prison, whereas a *gobernador* is a political representative of a province, in this case, Nueva Vizcaya.

² Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos de nuestra santa fe entre las gentes mas barbaras y fieras en el nuevo Orbe* (Madrid: Alonso de Paredes, 1645), 190-91.

The episode points to the existence of a ‘sacred economy’ centred on the Jesuits and their founder in the early modern world well before Ignatius’s canonization in 1622. This ‘economy’ comprised various elements, including hagiographies, such as the *flos sanctorum*; images, such as the one that cured El Discreto; and a wide array of miracles attributed to Ignatius. This same economy, which contained an information network, added to Ignatius’s reputation for saintliness and did so globally. And while the accumulation of miracles to prove sanctity is well-documented in the scholarship, such as in the works by Ronald Finucane on the eve of the Lutheran Reformation and André Vauchez’s look at the late Middle Ages, the process for the Jesuit founder, Ignatius Loyola, was one of the first to pursue this collection globally.³

News, medicine, images, and hagiographies disseminated in the Jesuit ‘sacred economy’ with the express intent to collect miracles. What underlay its growth was an empirical epistemology wherein the gathering of sense data was used to assess and represent the miraculous, even when these supernatural intercessions failed to receive official recognition from the newly established Congregation of Sacred Rites (CSR), the Catholic body that oversaw Ignatius’s canonization in 1622. Luke Clossey, the first scholar to examine the Jesuit information network and ‘sacred economy,’ focused more on the management of the Order in Germany, China, and Mexico. In particular, he explored how the Society of Jesus arranged for the movement of relics in three disparate locales as well as their bookkeeping of conversions from Protestantism in Europe,

³ Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Taoism and Buddhism in China, and Pre-Columbian religions in the Americas.⁴ Clossey's contribution is a good first step toward understanding salvific globalization, a field to which this dissertation will contribute to through exploring the tangible (hagiographies, images, and medicine) with the intangible (miracles) amid the efforts to canonize the Jesuit founder.

Integral to a 'sacred economy' was, as Clossey argued, data sent around the world. But the Society of Jesus required what Ann Blair called "information management," a term, while anachronistic to the early modern period, helps to explain the fever pitch with which the Jesuits brought together reports on intercessions performed by the Order's founder.⁵ Information, in early modern Castilian, had two predominant meanings in the early seventeenth century. It was both "the act of learning or disclosing something" and the procedure to find and certify the truth of a deed or crime.⁶ These meanings, as we will see, are implicit to the movement of information by the Society of Jesus. And with the aid of the scholarship of Vauchez, Finucane, Blair, and Clossey, I want to explore how miracles extended to the four corners of the earth through the exchanges of devotional

⁴ Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). See also the scholarship on the global information network via Jesuit colleges: Markus Friedrich, "Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae annuae*: Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication," *AHSI* 77 (2008): 3-39; idem, "Government and Information-Management in Early Modern Europe: The Case of the Society of Jesus (1540-1773)," *Journal of Early Modern History* 12 (2009): 1-25; Paul Nelles, "*Cosas y cartas*: Scribal Production and Material Pathways in Jesuit Global Communication (1547-1573)," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2, no. 3 (2015): 421-50. The recent work of Michelle Molina has attempted to explore the development of the self amid Jesuit globalization: J. Michelle Molina, *To Overcome Oneself: The Jesuit Ethic and Spirit of Global Expansion, 1520-1767* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013).

⁵ Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 1-2.

⁶ *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 6 vols. (Madrid: Real Académia Española, 1726-39), 4: 267. "El acto de informarse o informar de algo." There is also a third meaning, but since I cannot date the usage, I decided to exclude it. The authorities cited in the *Diccionario* are Antonio de Fuenmayor Champin (1569-99), Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), and Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1615).

objects, ideas, and news. The ‘sacred economy’ which propelled this globalization helped prevent information overload and compulsive hoarding, both of which are detrimental to promulgating a saint’s cult.

Who was Ignatius Loyola?

Ignatius’s biography is well known, as is the early history of the Society of Jesus, but a rundown is in order. Ignatius Loyola was born into a family of the minor nobility in the Basque Country. By all reports, the young *gentilhombre* led a lecherous life until his injury at the battle of Navarre versus France in 1521. That injury left him immobilized for several months, but he eventually recovered, reportedly with the aid of a flos sanctorum which he read. Ignatius’s physical recovery also coincided with a religious conversion and the rejection of his former dissolute life. He, the *gentilhombre*, became what one scholar labelled a *caballero a lo divino*, or a Christian knight whose only quest was for the faith.⁷

Ignatius’s conversion was symptomatic of the times in which lived. Just four years earlier, Luther had initiated the Reformation, and along with it, a protracted era of religious upheaval and warfare that engulfed much of Europe. Spain, Ignatius’s native land, escaped much of this conflict, but its monarch, the Emperor Charles V (1500-58, r. 1516-56), the self-styled champion of the Roman Catholic Church, had to contend with

⁷ Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, “Del gentilhomme mundano al caballero ‘a lo divino’: los ideales caballerescos de Ignacio de Loyola,” in *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, ed. Juan Plazaola (Bilbao: Mensajero, 1992), 129-59. The better biographies of Ignatius remain Ricardo García Villoslada, *San Ignacio de Loyola: Nueva biografía* (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1986); William W. Meissner, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Psychology of a Saint* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 23-50; Enrique García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Taurus, 2013).

numerous religious wars during his reign. The Protestant Reformations spurred on by Luther and followed subsequently by John Calvin was just the start of problems for Charles.

One constant enemy was the Ottoman Empire, who Charles feared would bring Islam into his domains. The Ottomans constantly besieged Austria-Hungary during the 1520s, which resulted in the Conquest of Hungary. Aware of the Reconquest in 1492, a centuries-long struggle between Christians and Muslims for control of the Iberian Peninsula, Charles did not want Islam to make inroads into any of his other kingdoms, which included the recently captured fortresses on the northern coast of Africa. Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, acting on behalf of Charles's mother, Juana (r. 1504-55), led expeditions that succeeded in taking several cities in present day Algeria and Libya, including Mers el-Kebir (1505), Oran (1509), and Bougie and Tripoli (1510).⁸ The defeat of Islam would spell, in Charles's mind, a large victory for Christianity in the Mediterranean.

The Emperor did not have to leave Spain to find religious dissenters, such as the abundant Jewish population that had lived in Spain for centuries. But with the end of the Reconquest, Charles's grandfather and grandmother, Isabella and Ferdinand, had initiated campaigns of forced conversions. This new population, known as *conversos*, did not

⁸ Andrew C. Hess, *Spain's Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978). Nor was this anything new. Earlier efforts had focused on what is now Morocco as seen in the Conquest of Melilla (1497). On this and the *longue durée* of Spain's relationship with North Africa, see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995 [first published 1949]; Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, *La imagen de los musulmanes y del norte de África en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII: los caracteres de una hostilidad* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989).

assuage fears of religious heterodoxy. Allegations were made that the *conversos* continued to practice Judaism, albeit hidden, through keeping kosher, observing the Sabbath, and other rituals perceived as amiss in Catholic Spain. The Inquisition in large part was established to root out the heretical practices of the *conversos*, who did not follow the devotional practices of their forcibly adopted religion.⁹

The Inquisition was also kept busy with the threat of heresy in the guise of *alumbrados*, poorly translated as ‘the Illuminated’ and described as adherents of an ‘interior’ spirituality. As Felipe Pereda and Mercedes García-Arenal have contended, *alumbradismo* consisted of a wide series of devotional practices, including ‘mental prayer’, meditation toward a state of perfection, ecstatic experiences, and disinterest, even outright hostility, to the religious rituals of late medieval Christianity. And among the *alumbrados* are pre-eminent figures of the Counter-Reformation. Juan de Ávila (1499-1569) and Luis de Granada (1505-88), for example, wrote some of the most popular devotional books during the sixteenth century. Their ranks also included the renowned mystic and founder of the Discalced Carmelites, Teresa of Ávila (1515-82), and none other than Ignatius Loyola.¹⁰ The Inquisition regarded this ‘interior’ spirituality as extremely suspect due to its detachment from mainline Catholicism and quotidian life. One scholar contended that the Inquisition equated *alumbradismo* with ‘Lutheranism’

⁹ Stefania Pastore, *Una herejía española: conversos, alumbrados e Inquisición (1449-1559)*, trans. Clara Álvarez Alonso (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010); Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la discordia: política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007).

¹⁰ Mercedes García-Arenal and Felipe Pereda, “A propósito de los alumbrados: Confesionalidad y disidencia religiosa en el mundo ibérico,” *La Corónica* 41, no. 1 (Fall 2012): 109-48. García-Arenal examines other religious communities, such as Muslims, in Spain also: Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, trans. Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

(*luteranismo*).¹¹ The latter term was also applied to all who pursued an individual relationship with God, which moved religious intermediaries, such as priests, aside.¹² *Alumbradismo* was one of the Inquisition's main preoccupations during the sixteenth century as was the crypto-Judaism of Iberian *conversos*.

Apart these domestic controversies, Charles had to contend with the pagans of the New World, who, he felt, needed Christian revelation. Christopher Columbus had started the evangelization of the Americas with his expeditions to the Caribbean (1492-1504). During Charles's reign, however, the freewheeling *conquistador*, Hernán Cortés (1485-1547), had completed the 'Conquest' of Mexico (1519-21), while Francisco Pizarro (c. 1471/6-1541), after several expeditions into Peru, would defeat the Inca in 1532. The responsibility for the evangelization of the Americas fell primarily to the mendicant orders. The Franciscans in 1524 were among the first missionaries to arrive in Mexico, while the Dominicans had established themselves in Hispaniola as early as 1510.¹³

Spaniards who wrote about proselytizing the New World did not necessarily see the endeavor as a 'success'. After spending some time in the Caribbean, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478-1557) in the 1520s commented that, among the Amerindians, he had yet to meet a 'true Christian'. Evangelization, in Oviedo's estimation, was thus a sham imposed upon the indigenous peoples by the mendicants. Meanwhile, Francisco López de Gómara (c. 1511-c.1566), compared conversion in Peru with that in Mexico.

¹¹ Marcel Bataillon, *Los jesuitas en la España del siglo XVI*, trans. Marciano Villanueva Salas (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014), 313.

¹² Pastore, 341; Lu Ann Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 9, 12, 225 n. 25.

¹³ D.A. Brading, *The First America: the Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 59-61, 102.

Gómara, it should be noted, had never set foot in the Americas, but had become Cortés's champion in histories printed in the 1550s. For Gómara, Peru was bellicose and rebellious, making it nigh impossible for preaching the Gospel to have any effect. Mexico, however, had become devout quickly.¹⁴ The process of converting the Americas to Catholicism was ongoing during the 1520s with the recent 'Conquest' of Mexico and that of Peru shortly after. Apart from the indigenous converts in his New World territories, Charles V had to contend with religious conflict in Europe in the form of Protestantism, Islam, crypto-Judaism, and *alumbradismo*.

And Charles also fought among his coreligionists, as seen in the Italian Wars (1521-26) that pitted a Franco-Venetian alliance against Charles, the Papal States, and Henry VIII of England. Ignatius was wounded at Pamplona, one of this war's battles, after which his conversion began while he recuperated in Loyola. Once fully healed, he travelled to Manresa, some 460 kilometers from Loyola, where he began to work on his *Spiritual Exercises* in 1522. He continued work on this devotional manual as he travelled to the Holy Land by way of Rome and Venice (1523) returning to Barcelona and finishing the *Exercises* the following year. The *Spiritual Exercises* were a series of meditative practices that allowed its takers to inch away from the inherent sinfulness of man. Ignatius, however, felt his theological acumen lacking and this compelled him to move to Alcalá de Henares in 1526 to begin his studies of the subject in the university located there. He left soon after because he had to answer to representatives of Inquisition sent from Toledo, who came to investigate the extent to which the *Exercises* were tainted

¹⁴ Brading, 41, 50.

with *alumbrado* ideas. The Inquisitors told Ignatius to stop giving the exercises. The following year, Ignatius left for the University of Salamanca, where he again ran afoul with authorities, which, this time, were the Dominicans.

Ignatius arrived in Paris to restart his theological training in 1528. While he learned the intricacies of Catholic doctrine, his alleged charisma and piety attracted fellow students to his practice of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Followers, ten in all, formed in Paris the incipient Society of Jesus, the basis of a religious order that later received approval from Pope Paul III (r. 1534-49) in 1540. It proved remarkable successful. By the time of Ignatius's death in 1556, the new order of which he served as the Superior (or head) had 1500 members, and this number increased to 5000 by the start of Claudio Acquaviva's generalship in 1580, and twice that by the time that came into an end in 1615.¹⁵

The Society of Jesus under Claudio Acquaviva

Globalization accompanied growth. That process got underway when Ignatius ordered the creation of the first Jesuit overseas missions in India (1541), Congo (1548), Japan (1549), Brazil (1553), and Ethiopia (1555). Ignatius's immediate successor, Diego Laínez (r. 1558-65) did not establish any additional missions. But expansion resumed under the direction of Francisco de Borja (r. 1565-72), who approved a mission in Florida (1566) and others in the Americas, including Colombia, Peru (both 1567), and Mexico (1570). The establishment of new missions came to a brief halt during the generalship of

¹⁵ Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 17.

Everard Mercurian (r. 1573-80), but began again in 1580 when Claudio Acquaviva was named Superior. Acquaviva subsequently founded missions in Philippines (1581), China (1582), Paraguay (1604), and New France (1610). And by the end of the generalship, the Order was a truly global enterprise with a presence in Asia, Africa, and the Americas.

Expansion, however, did not always go smoothly in as much as Acquaviva's generalship was marked by controversies and challenges of various sorts.¹⁶ One entailed the refusal to admit *conversos* into the Order in 1593; another was the controversy between the Jesuits and the Dominicans on help afforded by divine grace (*auxilia*), a dispute that lasted decades (1581-1611). Acquaviva was also responsible for initiating efforts to have his confreres recognized as saints following the establishment of the CSR. Despite opposition from Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605), he had a series of reported miracles as ammunition.

Acquaviva initially orchestrated the beatification of two Jesuits, Luigi Gonzaga and Stanislaus Kostka in 1605. Beatification brought with it recognition as “blessed” (*beatus*) together with a designated feast day and permission to have halos in their likenesses. Four years after the recognition of Gonzaga and Kostka, Ignatius received the same honor. In the end, Acquaviva succeeded in getting the CSR to recognize three blessed Jesuits.¹⁷ His successor Mutio Vitelleschi (r. 1615-45) did equally as well, as he

¹⁶ From one perspective, see Silvia Mostaccio, *Early Modern Jesuits between Obedience and Conscience during the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615)*, trans. Clare Copeland (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014).

¹⁷ Carlo Borromeo (1602), Gonzaga (1605), Kostka (1605), Teresa of Ávila (1614), and Filippo Neri (1615) formed the blessed named by the CSR, while it canonized Diego de Alcalá (1588), Julián de Cuenca (1594), Hyacinth (1594), Raymundo de Peñaforte (1600), Gregory VII (1606), Francesca Romana (1608), Borromeo (1610), and Albert de Louvain (1613). There was also the equipollent canonization of

stage-managed three new beatifications and the canonization of two Jesuit saints. These included Francis Xavier (1506-1552) – beatified in 1619, canonized in 1622; the canonization of Ignatius (1622); and the beatification of Francisco de Borja (1624).¹⁸ In each of these cases, the Society had to provide the CSR with documented miracles as these constituted proof of sanctity.

The efforts of Acquaviva and to a lesser extent Vitelleschi to canonize Jesuits had to contend with the CSR's early decades, a period explored at length by Giovanni Papa, whose book *Canonizations Cases in the First Era of the Congregation of Sacred Rites* (*Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei riti*) provides a useful overview of the work of the CSR during this era (1588-1634). It contributes an immensely useful examination of the mechanisms that determined the saints of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Well-versed in the ecclesiastical archives in Rome, Papa has furthered the knowledge of an ignored period with his invaluable contribution to the foundations of early modern sanctity. But while Papa offers an institutional history of the CSR, he paid relatively little attention to the role of miracles in the making of saints, an issue that is central to this dissertation.¹⁹ So are the

Romauld in 1595 and Pompejanus in 1615, which bypassed the procedure followed by the CSR in favor of traditional veneration.

¹⁸ The other Jesuit-related beatification was for the Twenty-Six Japanese Martyrs in 1627 which included three Japanese Jesuits – Paulo Miki, Joan de Gotó, and Santiago Kisai – who were crucified on 5 February 1597 in Nagasaki. Outside the Society of Jesus, the CSR beatified Paschal Baylon (1618) and Isidro Labrador (both 1619). Those canonized include Teresa, Neri, and Isidore (all 1622) as well as Elizabeth of Portugal (1625), Peter Nolasco (1628) and Andrea Corsini (1629). The period saw three equipollent canonizations, that for Norbert in 1621, those for Bruno and Stephen Harding in 1623. And while Urban VIII canonized Conrad of Piacenza in 1625, his cult was limited to Sicily and the Franciscan Third Order.

¹⁹ Giovanni Papa, *Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei riti: 1588-1634* (Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 2001).

representations of potential saints since they are irrelevant to Papa's interests. Both, however, are integral to early modern conceptions of sanctity and must be explored further.

1588 marked the establishment of the CSR, which was examined by Papa and, more recently, the sociologist Paolo Parigi who looks at its investigation of miracles from its creation until the death of Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-44). Urban implemented rigid regulations on valid evidence of a candidate's virtues and miracles, even separating further the procedures for beatification and canonization. His papacy also installed the 'promoter of the faith' (*promotor fidei*), better known as the devil's advocate, into the process as the 'doubting Thomas' of every extraordinary claim. Anything that survived this cross-examination was more substantive 'proof' of sainthood.

Although Parigi lacks the archival breadth of Papa, he compensates for this deficit by assessing the miracles of several candidates for sainthood, including the rejects, for instance, Alonso Orozco (1500-91, c.d. 2002) and Rainiero de Borgo San Sepolcro (d. 1304, beatified 1802), and the successes, such as the bastions of the Counter Reformation, Filippo Neri (1515-95), Teresa of Ávila, and Francesca Romana (1384-1440). Although Parigi's statistical approach to the work of the CSR can be tedious, his work offers a useful catalogue of the miracles that passed muster with the CSR.²⁰ Neither Papa nor

²⁰ Paolo Parigi, *The Rationalization of Miracles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Urban's changes to canonization procedure has received extensive attention from the scholarship, for instance, Silvia de Renzi, "Witnesses of the Body: Medico-Legal Cases in Seventeenth-Century Rome," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 33, no. 2 (2002): 219-42; Gianna Pomata, "Malpighi and the Holy Body: Medical Experts and Miraculous Evidence in Seventeenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Studies* 21 (2007): 568-86; Fernando Vidal, "Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making," *Science in Context* 20, no. 3 (2007): 481-508. I was unable to consult one work, which examines miracles

Parigi, however, have accorded much attention to saints' lives and visual representations of sanctity in the guise of paintings, sculptures, woodcuts, and the like. These devotional objects may be secondary to the process of saint-making, but they are central to the main concerns of this dissertation: the creation of a cult. Equally important to a saint's cult are their miracles.

Miracles in the Historiography

Miracles predominated history writing, image making, and medicine, but what precisely were they? According to Sebastián Covarrubias y Orozco (1539-1613) in his Castilian dictionary of 1611, miracles were “any extraordinary and admirable thing [that] can only be done by divine will”.²¹ Extraordinary here referred to something transcendent and atypical. Yet Covarrubias felt obliged to limit miracles to occurrences performed by ‘divine will’ as opposed to a demonic force. They also had to be “admirable,” inspiring reverence, even respect. Despite such qualifications, miracles in the sixteenth century retained their older associations with other supernatural phenomena, such as monsters, prodigies, and omens. The ambiguity resulted in an issue of definition. Miracle, wonder, and marvel were all beyond the scope of nature. How were they different? And how did they relate to one another?

and canonization in France during the first quarter of the seventeenth century: Albrecht Burkardt, *Les clients des saints* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004).

²¹ Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), 549 verso. “quidquid admirationem afferre potest, quasi sit contra naturam, porte[n]tum, prodigium, monstrum...Pero en rigor Milagros se dizen, aquellos que tan solamente se pueden hazer por virtud divina. Largo modo dezimos aca milagros, cualquiera cosa extraordinaria y admirable. Como decir, Fulano ha hecho milagros, id est, a hecho cosas tan grandes que no se esperaban del.”

Most of my sources, such as the histories and canonization documents, used the Latin words *mira* for wonders and *miracula* as miracles. Marvels (*mirabilia*) never appear in these documents, despite being ubiquitous during the sixteenth century. Although distinct in Latin, the boundaries between these terms blur in translation. For instance, the Castilian word for wonder and marvel was the same (*maravilla*), whereas miracles had its own (*milagro*). Portuguese shared the Castilian distinction between *maravhila* and *milagre*. Latin distinguished wonders, miracles, and marvels one way, romance vernaculars another.

Recent scholarship helps to clarify the differences in terminology. Carolyn Bynum Walker, for example, analyzed the medieval concept of wonder and its eventual inclusion into the ontological debates between *mirabilia* and *miracula*, although wonder in her assessment was *admiratio* and not *mira*.²² Lorraine Daston found in Augustine (354-430) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) the medieval and early modern conceptions of miracles. Aquinas and Augustine blurred the lines between marvel and miracle. Augustine envisioned supernatural miracles, preternatural marvels, and natural occurrences as emanating directly from God, although Augustine had malleable formulations and no interest in causation. Aquinas, in contrast, rigidly defined this term, equating miracles with the direct actions of God, whereas marvels were rarities resultant from human agency. Theologians into the sixteenth century insisted on distinguishing, despite its impracticality, the supernatural from the preternatural.²³ With these variances

²² Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," *American Historical Review* 102 (February 1997): 4-5.

²³ Lorraine Daston, "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (Autumn 1991): 97-98.

in mind, I differentiate between miracle, wonder, and marvel since the Jesuits took pains to make the distinction when interpreting the miracles attributed to Ignatius.

Historians disagree about how these terms should be properly defined as evident in the differences in the interpretations of Walker Bynum and Daston. For the early modern period more broadly, Stuart Clark in his work on demonology explored the relationship between miracles, wonders, and marvels with varying degrees of success. Although he briefly mentioned marvels, Clark failed to explicate what these were precisely. Meanwhile, he argued that miracles and wonders were separate categories and things that operated beyond nature's limits. The former (*miracula*) were unknowable since they were acts by a creator, in this case, the Christian God. Wonders (*mira*), however, were potentially knowable as they existed in nature. Human intellect impeded the ability to understand wonders and that limitation, in turn, resulted in conflation of miracles with wonders. Unlike humans, demons understood wonders easily. To counter this demonic advantage, intellectuals were responsible for correcting human misinterpretation of wonders. And natural philosophy was especially useful for this task. Yet, according to Clark, the formation of confessions in the decades after the Protestant Reformation made the separation between wonders and miracles even more difficult. Theological changes, along with the rewriting of what Clark called ecclesiastic histories, contributed to the obfuscation of these supernatural phenomena. Protestants and

Catholics alike attempted to evaluate the distinction with varying results and no shortage of confusion.²⁴

This uncertainty made it difficult for Clark to interpret wonders and miracles. As for Daston and Katharine Park, historians of science and medicine respectively, they disagreed with Clark's assessment and exclusion of marvels from his analysis. Wonder and marvel were interchangeable, whereas marvels were the secular equivalent to sacred miracles. In common usage, however, the terms were often interchangeable.²⁵ Although my sources use a specific nomenclature, the fluidity of these concepts should be noted as Park and Daston made obvious. Clark's overly rigid taxonomy, meanwhile, fails to grasp the porous relationship between miracles and wonders, miracles and marvels. Intellectuals – theologians, physicians, and others – determined if an event, say a cure, had a natural or demonic explanation. If so, the occurrence was a wonder, otherwise, it was a miracle. Since every knowable conclusion was disproven, then the cure, exorcism,

²⁴ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 165, 262. Demonic forces have preoccupied the history of religion, although it has largely overlooked the ability of demons to also work 'miracles'. Demonic forces could make cures and resurrections appear miraculous resulting in ambiguity and debate between theologians uncertain whether to categorize these occurrences as preternatural or supernatural, wonders, marvels, or miracles, the work of demons or the holy (God, the Virgin, the saints). Apart from Clark, much of the historiography focuses on Satan and his minions in the Americas: Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994); Laura de Mello e Souza, *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil*, trans. Diane Grosklaus Whitty (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Peter A. Goddard, "The Devil in New France: Jesuit Demonology, 1611-1650," *Canadian Historical Review* 78 (1997): 40-61. Dominique Deslandres and Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs are exceptional in their comparative analyses of saintly and demonic manifestations during the seventeenth century: Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire: les missions françaises au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 408-45; Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad: la incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532-1750* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2003), *passim*.

²⁵ Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 16.

or whatever else was beyond human knowledge. The arcane was an act of the creator and thus a miracle.

Miracles featured extensively in the religious controversies of the sixteenth century. The Council of Trent (1545-63), assembled in response to these controversies, decreed that the Catholic Church would follow Thomas Aquinas's definition of miracles. Aquinas, as previously discussed by Daston, in his *Summa contra Gentiles* and *Summa theologia* contended that God alone could work miracles. Extraordinary events, however, are not necessarily miracles. Since both demons and the Antichrist had the ability to perform wonders, an event could only be labeled as a miracle if it had 'divine power'.²⁶ Christians, imbued by the Holy Spirit, were the only ones who could perform 'true' miracles since they acted as conduits for God's 'divine power'. Aquinas also insisted on the importance of human observation to confirm miracles, a tendency noted by Clark and Daston, and an idea that the Jesuits wholeheartedly embraced in their global network.²⁷ The insistence on authentication by observation, promulgated by Aquinas, became procedure once canonizations, overseen by the CSR, resumed in 1588. Among the new round of canonizations was the procedure for Ignatius.

Saints were said to cure the sick, exorcise the possessed, and manipulate nature.

This small, yet comprehensive list gives a sense of the culture of miracles of the sixteenth

²⁶ Covarrubias had used 'divine will' to indicate the same idea.

²⁷ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, trans. and ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 2: 774-76. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles*, III, 100-03; idem, *Summa Theologica*, II.ii, Q. 178; III, Q. 43-44. I relied on the following translations: Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas*, 2nd and rev. ed., trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 22 vols. (London: Burns, Oates, & Washburne, 1920-42); idem, *Summa contra Gentiles*, trans. Anton Pegis et al. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975). On Jesuit reportage and observation, see Paul Nelles, "Seeing and Writing: the Art of Observation in the Early Jesuit Missions," *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 317-33.

and seventeenth centuries. Immersed in this culture, Jesuits accumulated miracles to represent them first in histories and then images. But certain representations, namely images, could also cure. These images and miracles also had to contend with early modern medicine whose practitioners used their expertise to interpret the supernatural within canonization procedures. Miracles thus changed to correspond with the epistemologies of history, images, and medicine. The culture of miracles also underwent epistemological shifts wherein precedent and sense-data coexisted in representations and medicine. This same culture grounded in European understandings underwent global expansion as part of the Jesuits' 'sacred economy' wherein information and objects related to saints and miracles circulated across the globe.

The world of miracles, an 'Iberian world' specifically, requires qualification. The dissertation's temporal span (1580-1622) coincides with the era in which Portugal and its overseas dominions – the *Império Português* that included Brazil and the *Estado da Índia* – formed part of Spain's Catholic Monarchy (*Monarquía Hispánica*). That monarchy incorporated the Iberian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, large portions of Italy, the Low Countries, as well as Spain's overseas possessions in the Americas and the Philippines, collectively known as the Indias. In practice, however, as John H. Elliott has explained, the Catholic Monarchy was a 'composite monarchy' in the sense that, with the exception of the Indias, an extension of Castile, each of its constituent parts exercised a considerable degree of autonomy, especially with respect to matters of local governance

and the management of ecclesiastical affairs.²⁸ In contrast, the Society of Jesus was a much more centralized organization governed by the Superior in Rome who exercised direct control over a series of territorial units known as assistancies divided up by language with Latin names, such as Hispania and Lusitania. These in turn were divided into provinces within Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas (see Table 1). And each province's establishments, especially the colleges, were the basis of the Jesuits' global information network that disseminated accounts and reports of miracles. At the time of Ignatius's death in 1556, Hispania and Lusitania had twenty-one colleges, but by 1613, this number expanded to 116 in these assistancies spanning continents.²⁹

Chapter Outline

This dissertation begins by examining the culture of miracles in the early modern Iberian world. Emphasis here will be on changes toward the definition and reception of miracles during the life of Ignatius and the early years of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius Loyola was born a year before Columbus's encounter with the New World in 1492 and lived through the religious reformations. The Society of Jesus emerged at a time when the priority was to convert Protestants and non-Christians to Catholicism. Amid the global transformations was ongoing contention about miracles: their place, their legitimacy, their persistence into the present. Protestant theologians, the Council of Trent, and Jesuits missionaries all struggled with what constituted a miracle. This chapter focuses on the development of the culture of miracles from Ignatius's birth to the start of the Iberian

²⁸ John H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present* 137 (November 1992): 48-71.

²⁹ Ladislao Lukács, "De origine collegiorum externorum deque controversiis circa eorum paupertatem obortis. Pars prior: 1539-1556," *AHSI* 29 (1960): 242-43.

Union in 1580 in order to understand the transitions to both European society and conceptions of miracles since the late Middle Ages.

After setting the stage comes a closer look at sacred histories as they relate to the Jesuits. Here my primary concern is the career of Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526-1611) and his writings on the life and miracles of Ignatius, his *Life of Ignatius (Vita Ignatii)* and *Flos sanctorum*. The exemplary life of Ignatius was a constant preoccupation for Ribadeneyra, whose life spanned the foundation of the Society of Jesus in 1540 to the beatification of Ignatius in 1609. During this long life, many of the currents within the culture of miracles forced Ribadeneyra to adapt and contend with the supernatural feats of the Jesuit founder while still seeking to maintain historical accuracy. Some hesitancy toward miracles, especially in light of critiques made by Protestant reformers, is reflected in the *Life of Ignatius*, a work that is ambivalent on Ignatius as a post-mortem exorcist and thaumaturge. Yet by the 1590s, when the official procedure to canonize Ignatius was underway, the lack of recorded miracles became problematic thus forcing Ribadeneyra to accumulate reports of cures and its ilk, evidence of sanctity for the CSR, the entity responsible for adjudicating causes of canonizations. The result of these efforts was the *Flos sanctorum*.

In Chapter Three, the focus moves to the issue of sacred images, again with references to the Jesuits and Ignatius. The purpose of this chapter to consider the amplified presence of miracles in the visual culture of Ignatius, which had its beginnings in Spain at the behest of Ribadeneyra. In subsequent decades, it would move from Madrid to Rome, Paris, and Antwerp with the latter becoming the predominant site of

image production. Accompanying its geographic dispersal was its transformation into a visual culture predominated by prints depicting the miracles of Ignatius. By Ribadeneyra's death, there was a series of works dedicated to enumerating historically and visually the supernatural feats of Ignatius. But this corpus also coexisted with a multitude of objects themselves capable of performing miracles. The visual culture thus became the means to promulgate both the curative powers and the saintly reputation of Ignatius.

Images remain important in Chapter Four, which investigates the medical interpretation of miraculous likenesses. As the CSR examined Ignatius's miracles, medical practitioners featured extensively in the proceedings. If every possible treatment was exhausted, a practitioner, usually a physician, could conclude that there was no natural remedy for the particular ailment under consideration as only the incurable could be the recipient of a saint's intercession. Physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and midwives relied on written authorities and first-hand experience to assess Ignatius's healing of the infirm and possessed. Although both types of evidence were used, they relied increasingly the senses. Medical practitioners, the focus of this chapter, thus encountered and interpreted miracles performed by Ignatius with the aid of direct experience. But empirical understandings did not necessarily accord with medical tradition based on the writings of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna.

Physicians, images, and Ribadeneyra's *Life of Ignatius* converge in the dissertation's concluding chapter, which examines Ignatius' miracles in the Iberian world through the reports excluded from the official canonization procedure. News of these

supernatural cures came from the Jesuit information network, which was responsible for disseminating what was happening in the Asian and American provinces. This system formed an integral part of the Jesuit 'sacred economy' which circulated devotional objects, such as images and Ribadeneyra's *Life*, overseas where they were integrated into local traditions. In particular, I look at the exchanges between East Asia and the viceroyalties of the Americas culminating in an examination of the likenesses from New Spain, a place where the miraculous representations of Ignatius were plentiful. And these disparate elements come together with El Discreto, who had adapted a *flos sanctorum* for his fellow Tehuecos that told of miracles. Furthermore, he was healed by miraculous image of Ignatius that subverted the ways of nature. The Jesuit 'sacred economy' brought images, lives, and medicine into an early modern culture of miracles, which was then carried these objects and ideas to the four corners of the Earth.

Table 1: *The Ibero-Jesuit World (c. 1613)*³⁰

Portuguese Assistancy

Grouping	Province	Place	Type of Institution (Name)
Lusitania		Lisbon	College (St. Anthony)
		Coimbra	College
		Ebora	College
		Porto	College
		Braga	College
		Braganza	College
		Pharo	College
		Madeira	College
		Angra	College
		Sam Miguel	College
		Lisbon	Professed House
		Villauicosa	Professed House
		Portalegre	Probationary House
		Lisbon	Probationary House
		Cabo Verde	Residence
		San Fins	Residence
		Canal	Residence
		Angola	House
India Orientalis	Goana	Goa	College
		Salcete	College
		Bassein	College
		Tanà	College
		Daman	College
		Chaul	College
		Goa	Professed House
		Goa	Probationary House
		Ethiopia	Residence
	Mughal Kingdom	Jesuit Presence	
	Malabarica	Cochim	College
		Vaipicota	College
		Coulam	College
		Tutucorim	College
		Sam Thomè	College
Colombo		College	

³⁰ Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Catalogus scriptorium religionis societatis Iesu*, 2nd ed. (Antwerp: Plantin, 1613), 326-334, 337-338.

		Palliporto	Residence	
		Porça	Residence	
		Tidore	Residence	
		Amboym	Residence	
Japonia		Nagasaki	College	
		Arima	College	
		Nagasaki	Probationary House	
		Facata	Residence	
		Cocura	Residence	
		Firoxima	Residence	
		Amacusa	Residence	
		Xiqui	Residence	
		Conzura	Residence	
		Osaka	Residence	
		Fuscim	Residence	
		Omura	House	
		Miaco	House	
	Regnum Sinarum		Macao	College
			Sciauceo	College
		Nanking	Residence	
		Sciauchino	Residence	
		Pachin	Residence	
Brasilia		Pernambuco	College	
		Baya	College	
		Rio de Janeiro	College	
		Pernambuco	Residence (St. Andrew)	
		Pernambuco	Residence (B. Virgin)	
		Baya	Residence (Holy Spirit)	
		Baya	Residence (St. John)	
		Baya	Residence (St. Anthony)	
		Baya	Residence (St. Sebastian)	
		Baya	Residence (B. Virgin)	
		Rio de Janeiro	Residence (St. Barnabas)	
		Rio de Janeiro	Residence (St. Ignatius)	
		Rio de Janeiro	Residence (B. Virgin)	
		Rio de Janeiro	House (Holy Spirit)	
		Baya	House	
		Piratininga	House	
	Dos Santos	House		

Spanish Assisntancy

Grouping	Province	Place	Type of Institution (Name)
Hispania	Toletana	Toledo	College
		Madrid	College
		Alcalá de Henares	College
		Ocaña	College
		Plasencia	College
		Cuenca	College
		Belmonte	College
		Murcia	College
		Caravaca	College
		Segura	College
		Huete	College
		Talavera	College
		Oropesa	College
		Toledo	Professed House
		Madrid	Probationary House
		Villarejo	Probationary House
		Navalcarnero	Residence
		Jesús del Monte	Residence
		Almagro	Residence
	Castellana	Valladolid	College
		Valladolid	English College
		Salamanca	College
		Salamanca	Irish College
		Burgos	College
		Medina del Campo	College
		Segovia	College
		Ávila	College
		Palencia	College
		Santiago	College
		Pamplona	College
		León	College
		Logroño	College
Oviedo	College		
Soria	College		
Santander	College		
Monterey	College		
Monforte	College		
Arevalo	College		
Vergara	College		
Tudela	College		

		Bilbao	College
		Bellimar	College
		Villagarcia	Probationary House
		Azcoitia	Residence
	Aragonensis	Valencia	College
		Barcelona	College
		Zaragoza	College
		Mallorca	College
		Girona	College
		Gandia	College
		Calatayud	College
		Taracona	College
		Urgel	College
		Huesca	College
		Lerida	College
		Valencia	Professed House
		Tarragona	Probationary House
		Perpiñan	Residence
	Baetica	Seville	College
		Seville	English College
		Trigueros	College
		Gadiz	College
		Marchena	College
		Cordona	College
		Granada	College
		Baeza	College
		Malaga	College
		Jerez	College
		Cazorla	College
		Ubeda	College
		Ezija	College
		Guadix	College
Frejenal	College		
Seville	Professed House		
Seville	Probationary House		
Montilla	Probationary House		
Antiquer	Residence		
Sardinia	Sassari	College	
	Cagliari	College	
	Yglesias	College	
	Alghero	College	
	Sassari	Professed House	

		Cagliari	Probationary House
India Occidentalis	Peruana	Lima	College
		Cuzco	College
		Potosí	College
		De la Plata	College
		Chuquisaca	College
		La Paz	College
		Arequipa	College
		Guamangua	College
		Lima	Probationary House
		Lima	Seminary
		Lima	Residence (St. James)
		Juli	Residence
		Paraquaria	Santiago de Chile
	Santiago del Estero		Residence
	Córdoba		Residence
	Asunción		Residence
	Viceprovinc ia novi Regni & Quitensis	Quito	College
		Cartagena	College
		Santafé de Bogotá	College
		Santafé de Bogotá	Seminary (St. Bartolomew)
		Panama	Residence
		Cajica	Residence
	Mexicana	México	College
		Guazaca	College
		Guadalajara	College
		Los Angeles, Puebla	College
		Valladolid	College
		Pazquaro	College
		Tepozotlan	College
		México	Professed House
		Vera Cruz	Residence
		Sinaloa	Residence
		Gyadiana	Residence
Insulae Philippinis	Manila	College	
	Cebu	College	
	Antipolo	Residence	
	Taytay	Residence	
	Santiago	Residence	
	Bool	Residence	
	Dulac	Residence	
	Carigara	Residence	

		Tinagon	Residence
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Relevant Establishments of the German Assistency

Belgica	Flandrica	Antwerp	College
		Sinte Winocxberghen	College
		Brugge	College
		Brussels	College
		Cortrijck	College
		Ghent	College
		Leuven	College
		Ypres	College
		Ruremond	College
		Tshertogen-Bosch	College
		Maastricht	College
		Leuven	English College
		Machelen	Probationary House
		Leuven	Probationary House (English)
	Belgica	Arras	College
		Saint-Omer	College
		Cambrai	College
		Dinant	College
		Douay	College
		Lille	College
		Liege	College
		Luxembourg	College
		Mons en Haynault	College
		Namur	College
		Tournai	College
Valenciennes	College		
Tournai	Probationary House		
Saint-Omer	English Seminary		

CHAPTER 1: A CULTURE OF MIRACLES

Without a French cannonball, Ignatius's life could have followed a different trajectory. As a young man, Ignatius served the Viceroy of Navarre during the multi-kingdom fracas known as the Italian War (1521-26). Ignatius fought on behalf of the Spanish king Charles V, while his adversaries were French. By early May 1521, this enemy army attempted to take Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, from the Viceroy's forces. Leading the city's defense was Ignatius who fought alongside the rank and file. His proximity to the action was such that a cannonball fired by the French scored a direct hit. The fortifications of Pamplona had been damaged, but the projectile wounded Ignatius leaving his legs bruised and broken. Also bruised was his chivalric sense of honor, since his soldiers had surrendered to their foes. Two weeks later, his men carried him to a castle in Loyola, a trip of nearly ninety kilometers, and once there, physicians and surgeons (*medicos y curujanos* [sic]) began their treatments or so-called "butchery" (*carnecería*) that left him near death.¹

This recollection was the start of Ignatius's narrative spoken in the early 1550s to a scribe named Luís Gonçaves da Câmara, a Portuguese Jesuit tasked with recording the life of founder Ignatius for posterity. The narrative continued since after the 'butchery', Ignatius made some entreaties to St. Peter, one of the twelve apostles often invoked for foot ailments, to come to the rescue. An apparition then appeared and the danger departed with the spectre of Peter following suit, leaving a bed-ridden Ignatius and some perplexed medical practitioners. Crisis averted, Ignatius soon acquired the routine condition of

¹ *Recitation*, [1-2].

boredom with nothing to entertain him during his bedridden convalescence. Plagued by ennui, an irritable Ignatius asked for books to read. He wanted his favorites, chivalric tales, a popular genre in which a knightly hero, full of Christian virtue, undertook quests to gain secular honor, while wooing maidens chaste and pious. The castle in Loyola was fresh out. Instead, he received “a *Life of Christ* and a vernacular book of saints’ lives.” Out of desperation born of tedium, he began to read these books. One was a medieval life of Jesus, the other a compilation of narratives that recounted the deeds of the saints, virtuous followers of Christ and miracle-workers through God’s infinite power. Despite his initial reluctance, Ignatius read the books cover to cover within which was a life of Peter, his saintly helper. And Ignatius did so repeatedly since he filled notebook after notebook with meditations on Christ and the saints, notes that guided Ignatius toward his self-described conversion.² Without cannonball and apparition, Ignatius would have continued his love-affair with chivalric romances at least according to his recollections, ones filtered through Gonçalves da Câmara some thirty years later.

Now in Rome, Ignatius continued to recount his life to Gonçalves da Câmara who hurried to catch every last word. With this recitation, however, it is difficult to know how much of the resulting narrative was Ignatius and how much was his scribe’s embellishment. Problems aside, it expounded upon a miracle from Ignatius’s lifetime – Peter healed him when medicine failed. Yet, in this case, Ignatius never spoke of it as a miracle, nor did Gonçalves da Câmara. Instead, Ignatius had described the event vaguely

² *Recitation*, [3], [5]. “mas en aquella casa no se halló ninguno de los [Caballerías] que él solía leer, y así le dieron un Vita Christi y un libro de la vida de los Santos en romance.”

as an ‘improvement...willed by the Lord’ through one of his saints.³ Such hesitation was a prominent part of the culture of miracles during the sixteenth century, the focus of this chapter that explores the contested status of miracles among the confessions born of religious reformations. In a notable essay, D.P. Walker had interpreted the sixteenth century as a time marked by the “cessation of miracles.” This idea, common in Protestant theology, envisioned the early church as an age of miracles since Christianity in its infancy needed signs, which validated the religion. Once Christianity became entrenched in Europe, miracles were redundant and occurred less and less over time.⁴ But as Walker explained, this ‘cessation’ was constantly redefined resulting in thorny debates between Protestants and Catholics as they reassessed the doctrine of miracles.

The culture of miracles increased in scope during an age of global expansion. In the New World, miracles were understood as providential signs. For example, in a history of the conquest of New Spain, Bernal Díaz del Castillo recounted the installation of a Marian image in Tenochtitlan by Cortés to which the Aztecs responded with hostility. They were so unreceptive that some assembled to destroy the representation. A miracle, however, thwarted the iconoclasts whose assaults did no damage.⁵ Incidents, like the one reported by Díaz del Castillo, flooded into Europe through letters and histories. The result was the growth of the culture of miracles to the four corners of the globe.

³ *Recitation*, [3]. “Solía ser el dicho enfermo devoto de S[an] Pedro, y así quiso nuestro Señor que aquella misma media noche se començase a hallar mejor; y fue tanto creciendo la mejoría, que de ahí a algunos días se juzgó que estaba fuera de peligro de muerte.”

⁴ D.P. Walker, “Cessation of Miracles,” in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988), 111-24.

⁵ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1632), 101 verso-102 recto. The book remained unpublished at Díaz’s death in 1585. I relied on the first printed edition.

Ignatius and the Jesuits participated in said culture amid religious upheaval and global expansion. The chapter starts by looking at miracles in the works of Martin Luther and John Calvin, the seminal figures of the reformations of the sixteenth century, before exploring the Catholic response. Traditionally, scholars have perceived these three as utterly irreconcilable, but recent work has found considerable common ground among these confessions despite disagreements in theology. Ignatius enters here, first by understanding him in relation to the reformations and then examining his time as the first Jesuit Superior (1540-56). As Superior, he oversaw the initial growth of the Order and its overseas missions, which he moderated with the help of an information network. Jesuits would dispatch letters to Ignatius and each other that told of divine intercession. The correspondents, however, were allergic to the term miracle, which rarely appeared in the letters from Ignatius's lifetime. This ambivalence gradually receded during the tenures of the successive Superiors: Diego Laínez, Francisco de Borja, and Everard Mercurian. The era prior to Acquaviva's time as Superior saw a tenuous embrace of miracles among the Jesuits as they founded colleges and professed houses. These institutions allowed the Order to instruct locals in the ways of Counter-Reformation Catholicism with the hope of obtaining converts in Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Miracles confirmed the Jesuit enterprise in locations foreign to the sensibilities of Roman Catholicism after the Council of Trent. Contrary to the 'cessation,' the early modern culture of miracles persisted despite lingering uncertainty and the culture underwent global expansion.

Reformations and Miracles

Martin Luther (1483-1546) is seen as the figurehead of confessional divide during the sixteenth century and his interpretation of key theological points, such as grace, justification by faith, and the primacy of Scripture, are already well-established in the historiography.⁶ As for miracles, there has been a propensity to regard Luther as hostile to them but Philip Soergel refutes this charge in his most recent work. Looking to Luther's 1520 treatise, (*To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*) *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, Soergel found that the reformer denounced the intercession of saints as well as the fraudulent miracles that occurred at popular shrines.⁷ Luther argued that miracles at these shrines were too problematic since Holy and Evil Spirits could manipulate nature [Matthew 24:24]. He revisited this idea with the aid of the Pauline epistles [2 Thessalonians 2:9] to remind the reader that "the Antichrist shall, through Satan, be mighty in false, miraculous signs."⁸ Evil and Holy powers alike were supernatural forces that made their presence felt in quotidian life. In the case of God, he could perform miracles through his saints since they have inward faith.⁹

John Calvin (1509-64) agreed with Luther in most respects as seen in a 1536 letter to Francis I, the king of France. Here, Calvin deemed the miracles from the New Testament as legitimate and integral to the growth of Christianity. As Luther had done so,

⁶ Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 2:3-19; Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980), 223-44; R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 190-228.

⁷ Philip M. Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination: The Evangelical Wonder Book in Reformation Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 38-39.

⁸ Martin Luther, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* in *Selections from his Writings*, trans. and ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Doubleday, 1962), 417.

⁹ Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination*, 40-41.

Calvin relied on the letters of Paul to support his argument and the two reformers even cited the same passages [Matthew 24:24; 2 Thessalonians 2:9]. Calvin also repeated Luther's call to watch for evil forces capable of performing miracles and to be ever vigilant in repudiating the fakes peddled by charlatans. Complicit in this regard were Catholics who, in Calvin's opinion, embraced false miracles that were demonic distractions and "the delusions of Satan" (*satanae illusiones*), which led to idolatry. These misrepresentations so revered by Catholics directed them away from properly worshipping God. If Catholics would only abandon such hindrances, they too could experience the "certain miracles" (*miracula certa*) visible to Calvin and his followers.¹⁰

Where the two reformers disagreed was on the very matter of the 'cessation of miracles'. For Calvin, the need for supernatural cures and exorcisms had passed and miracles were now irrelevant.¹¹ Consistency, however, evaded Calvin since he alleged that his followers had experienced 'certain miracles' contrary to the false ones of Catholics. If miracles were gratuitous, then endorsing them within polemic was equally so. According to one historian of miracles, Calvin waffled on the subject elsewhere in his oeuvre in stark contrast to Luther's more systemic formulations.¹² Although more critical

¹⁰ John Calvin to Francis I of France, Basle, 1 August 1536 in idem, *Christianae religionis institutio* (Basle: Thomas Platter and Balthasar Lasius, 1536), 18. "Miracula ergo nobis minime desunt eaque certa, nec cauillis obnoxia, que autem illi pro se obtundunt, merae sunt satanae illusiones, quando a uero Dei sui cultu ad uanitatem populu[m] abducunt." Calvin cited also in his argument from Hebrews 2:4; 2 Corinthians 11:14.

¹¹ Calvin to Francis, 16. "Quod miracula a nobis postulant, improbe faciunt. Non enim recens aliquod euangelium cudimus: sed illud ipsum retinemus, cuius confirmandae ueritati seruiunt omnia, que unqua[m] et Christus & apostoli ediderunt, miracula. At id prae nobis habent singulare, quod assiduis in hunc usque diem miraculis fidem suam confirmare possunt."

¹² Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 22-23.

than Luther, Calvin was ambivalent about the place of miracles in Christianity attacking those celebrated by Catholics as he glorified those of God in the next breath.

As we have seen, the Council of Trent maintained the Thomist schema as the official theological position on miracles. But ecclesiastical debates had little weight in ‘local religion’, the day-to-day devotional practices of Catholics where saints averted the misfortunes befalling their petitioners. Saints would intervene to heal the sick, prevent blight, and protect communities from harm. To learn more about ‘local religion’, one scholar examined the responses of questionnaires dispatched by Philip II during the 1570s to select provinces throughout his kingdoms. In these surveys, he discovered that the saints each had roles to play. Blaise and Mary of Egypt resurrected children; Benedict cured a man from paralysis; Cecilia saved a knight who fell off a cliff; and so on.¹³ Spain, however, did not wield a monopoly of miracles, since belief in the intercession of saints persisted in centers of religious tumult between Catholics and Protestants, such as increasingly Lutheran Bavaria and Calvin’s Geneva.¹⁴ Catholics, theologians, and devotees alike kept miracles as part of their religious life contrary to the followers of Luther and Calvin.

One notable example involved Philip II, the dispatcher of the aforementioned questionnaires, whose experiences with the supernatural occurred at home, when his son, the Infante Don Carlos, fell down the stairs in 1562, resulting in serious, and potentially

¹³ William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 93-98.

¹⁴ Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in his Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 93-98; Jeanne de Jussie, *The Short Chronicle*, trans. and ed. Carrie F. Klaus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 163.

fatal, injuries. The attending physicians cured Don Carlos, but he was not quite well. What completed his recovery was the cadaver of Diego de Alcalá applied onto the Infante, at least, according to a contemporary source.¹⁵ Diego (c. 1400-63) was a Franciscan missionary to the Canary Islands who had a tradition of posthumous healing of royalty with Henry IV of Castile (r. 1454-74) as the most notable example. While on a hunting trip in 1463, Henry fell off his horse and injured his arm leaving it weak and constantly in pain. After physicians' remedies proved futile, Henry travelled to Diego's tomb at Alcalá de Henares. Once there, the caretakers of Diego's body removed and then placed it beside Henry. Instantly, the saint fully restored the king's arm.¹⁶ Like Henry, Diego physically healed Carlos, but the Infante was said to have become mentally unstable for the rest of his life and even rumored to have conspired against his father. That did not deter Philip II's celebration of the cure of Don Carlos and sponsorship of the canonization of Diego with this miracle integral to his sainthood.¹⁷ Miracles occurred in the countryside and royal palaces alike, which Catholics celebrated while remaining aloof of the theological controversies over the intercession of saints.

Miracles flourished in the New World too. One of the earliest examples was Christopher Columbus's recollections of his first voyage (1492-93) penned shortly after Ignatius's birth. In the last entry of his log-book dated 15 March 1493, Columbus

¹⁵ BNE, ms. 9175, 266 verso: *Memoria de la enfermedad y convalecencia del p[ri]ncipe don Carlos n[uest]ro Señor*, s.a.

¹⁶ José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Iglesia y génesis del estado moderno en Castilla (1369-1480)* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1993), 246. Henry was the half-brother of Isabella, the better half of the Catholic Monarchs, and her predecessor to the Castilian throne.

¹⁷ L. J. Andrew Villalon, "Putting Don Carlos Together Again: Treatment of a Head Injury in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 347-65; Geoffrey Parker, *Felipe II: la biografía definitiva*, trans. Victoria E. Gordo del Rey and Santiago Martínez Hernández (Barcelona: Planeta, 2010), 396-438.

interpreted his safe passage from Spain to Hispaniola and back as a miracle of God.¹⁸ And while this account did not circulate widely, others did, such as that by Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (1488/90/92 – 1557/8/9/60) whose *Account (Relación)*, first published in 1543, recounted the survivors of an ill-fated expedition to Florida in 1527. The shipwrecked Spaniards acquired a reputation for healing becoming the self-appointed physicians (*fisicos*) of the local indigenous peoples.¹⁹ Both Columbus and Cabeza de Vaca credited safe passage and curative powers to God who was solely responsible for miracles. That, however, does not dismiss the role of saints since God performed miracles through them. Despite claims to the contrary especially in popular culture, saints acted on behalf of God and not their own efficacy.

Compared to Columbus and Cabeza de Vaca, others had more nuanced interpretations of divine efficacy, such as that of Franciscan Jerónimo de Mendieta (1525-1604) whose ecclesiastic history of Mexico, a work banned from publication, warned against miraculous occurrences. These manifestations were best suited for pagans and infidels, argued Mendieta, since these people required heavenly signs. Using Paul to support his claims, as Luther and Calvin had, Mendieta contended that willing converts did not need proof that Christianity was the one, true religion. But Paul had also acknowledged God's ability to manipulate nature, an inconsistency that Mendieta never addressed in his history. Despite his thoughts on the subject, he was not above

¹⁸ Christopher Columbus, *Relaciones y Cartas de Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid: Librería de Viuda de Hernando y Compañía, 1892), 183

¹⁹ Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *La relación y comentarios...de lo acaecido en las dos jornadas que hizo a las Indias* (Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, 1555), 21 recto-22 recto, 45 verso-47 verso.

enumerating the miracles done by Franciscans in New Spain.²⁰ Columbus, Cabeza de Vaca, and Mendieta saw miracles amid the expansion of the Catholic Monarchy into the Americas. Mendieta, however, was ambivalent about them. For him, miracles were fit for unbelievers and attributed to holy and evil entities, claims that are reminiscent of those made by Luther and Calvin. The Franciscan was a hardline Catholic and thus would have distanced himself from the reformers who were heretics with only an inkling of the ‘true faith’. Mendieta dealt with a different world since the Spanish Monarchy was home to so-called pagans and infidels, a group comprised of Jews, Muslims, and Amerindians lacking Christian revelation.

Mendieta epitomized many of the contradictions about miracles that troubled sixteenth-century Catholics with its basis in the humanist reappraisal of Christianity. The Dutch reformer Erasmus (1466-1536), for example, undermined the religious traditions of the Late Middle Ages arguing in favor of the ‘cessation of miracles’ without the indecisiveness of Luther and Calvin. In his 1524 colloquy, Erasmus articulated his stance explicitly:

Innkeeper: The apostles won renown by miracles; they healed the sick... You can’t do anything like that.

Conrad: We could if we were like the apostles and if the situation called for a miracle. But miracles were granted at the time for the sake of unbelievers. Nowadays we need only a holy life.²¹

²⁰ Jerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica Indiana* (Mexico: Díaz de León y White, 1870), 598, 651, 675, 722, 739. See also John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 187.

²¹ Erasmus, Πρωχοπλοῦσιοι, March 1524 in *Collected Works: Colloquies*, trans. Craig R. Thompson, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 1:474. On the place of Erasmus in Spain, the pivotal work remains Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI*, trans. Antonio Alatorre (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950).

He summarized widely circulating ideas about miracles that would also be expressed by Luther and Calvin. And like Calvin, Erasmus described present-day miracles as inconsequential since Christianity was firmly entrenched in Europe. By considering Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Mendieta, and Catholicism more broadly, it becomes readily apparent that Protestants and Catholics challenged and, in some ways, retained miracles. What ensued was an ambiguity imprinted onto the theologies and devotions of Christians during the sixteenth century.

Ignatius Loyola and the Miraculous

Ignatius found himself immersed within the same intellectual milieu as the reformers since he, Erasmus, and Calvin were alumni, but not peers, of the Collège de Montaigu at the University of Paris.²² The college was Paris's second-largest that had an infamous reputation. Thanks to another alumnus, we hear it described as a place where "the slaves of Moors and Tartars, murderers in prison for criminals, even, probably, the dogs in your house, are better treated than the unfortunate of that College."²³ Perhaps Ignatius agreed since he transferred to the Collège Saint-Barbe, which was initially grounded in scholasticism and antagonistic to humanism before a brief dalliance with Erasmian reform. The University of Paris during the 1520s had officially condemned Lutheranism after which the institution pursued alleged heretics with great prejudice,

²² Michèle Gendreau-Massaoux, "Ignacio de Loyola y la Sorbona," in *Ignacio de Loyola: Magister Artium en Paris, 1528-1535*, eds. Julio Caro Baroja and Antonio Beristain (San Sebastián: Kuxta, 1991), 13-17; M. D. Chenu, "L'Humanisme et la réforme au collège de Saint Jacques," *Archives d'histoire dominicaine* 1 (1946): 131-32, 135, 147-48. Erasmus attended in the 1490s, while Calvin's father pulled his son out by 1526, whereas Ignatius was there between 1528 and 1529.

²³ François Rabelais, *Les oeuvres* (Lyon : Jean Martin, 1558), 114. "Car trop mieux sont traictez les forçaires entre les Mores et Tartares, les meurtriers en la prison criminelle, voyre certes les chiens en vostre maison, que ne sont ces malotru, audit College [de Montaigu]."

although Luther retained some supporters among the University's faculty.²⁴ These intellectual currents at Paris, ones uneasy over Luther and Erasmus, left a mark on Ignatius as it did on Calvin. Contrary to Luther and his fellow alumni, however, Ignatius remained a proponent of Thomism making him a peculiarity, at once, religious reformer and scholastic. At Paris, the interpretation of miracles by Aquinas featured as prominently as those by Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin.

Although educated at Paris, Ignatius was also aware of books that disseminated an accessible form of Catholicism in the vernacular. Examples of which were the *Life of Christ* and the *flos sanctorum*, both in Castilian, given to Ignatius during his convalescence in Loyola. The *Life of Christ* by Ludolph of Saxony (c. 1295-1378) was no simple biography of Christ, instead, it combined commentary, narrative, and exposition. And on miracles, Ludolph had much to say. In his commentary on the cleansing of the leper [Matthew 8:1-4; Mark 1:40-45; Luke 5: 12-16], Ludolph explained that miracles confirmed doctrine. Christ was the redeemer of humanity, while the leper acted as an allegory for a sinner. Christ cured both physical and spiritual ailments through his intercession with different miracles substantiating different messages from the Gospels. Later in the *Life of Christ*, Ludolph took this idea a step further. Within a concluding prayer, Ludolph described Jesus as a "physician of souls" (*médico de las almas*).²⁵ When

²⁴ Robert Wuthnow, *Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 94. On the University of Paris's judgement of Luther by a contemporary, albeit a hostile one, see Johannes Cochlaeus, *Commentary on the Life of Luther*, 1534-49 in *Luther's Lives*, trans. Elizabeth Vandiver, Ralph Keen, and Thomas D. Frazel (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 97.

²⁵ Ludolph of Saxony, *La vida de Cristo*, ed. Emilio del Río, 2 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 2010), 1: 369-73, 388.

Christ cured sicknesses in the Gospels, such as leprosy, it was more than healing the body. Ludolph used this episode to describe one of Christ's interventions, one that alleviated the spiritual suffering of humanity. Miracles may heal the body, but they must always restore the soul. What is bred in the soul comes out in the flesh.

Ludolph also arranged miracles based on the amount of divine presence. First were cures from sickness followed by resurrections and leprosy since lepers were customarily more damaged than others. Finally were the exorcisms that overcome entities who despised the works of God.²⁶ In this example, Ludolph again prioritized treatment of the soul over the body. Possession by demons and the removal of sin were more miraculous since it required God to overcome evil. Ludolph had equated leprosy with sin, a different type of spiritual ailment that required greater effort when compared to bodily cures and resurrections. Why? Sickness and death were disorders of a frail human body. With the exception of leprosy, they did not impede the soul's passage to eternal life. The sickness unto death caused by both leprosy-cum-sin and demonic possession required a greater degree of divine intervention. While Ignatius never stated explicitly what he had found so edifying in the *Life of Christ*, Ludolph reiterated these themes so frequently that some of these ideas must have had some impact on the Jesuit founder.

The second book that engrossed Ignatius's attention was a collection of saints' lives, a *flos sanctorum* attributed to Jacobus de Voragine, an Italian Dominican chronicler and archbishop. Written originally in the thirteenth century, Voragine's collection – the

²⁶ Ludolph of Saxony, 1: 386-87. Ludolph based the hierarchy on Mark 10:8-9, which reads: “‘and the two shall become one flesh.’ So they are no longer two, but one flesh. Therefore what God has joined together, let no one separate.” Ludolph exhibited creativity in his speculation since the book [Mark 10:1-12] was Christ's response to the Pharisees' questions on divorce.

popular *Golden Legend* (*Legenda Aurea*) – predominated the Late Middle Ages. But by the sixteenth century, renaissance humanists and Protestant reformers mocked the work. Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540), a humanist philosopher who wrote extensively on education, described “an insult...to blessed and Christian men [that] which is named the *Golden Legend*. What I do not know is why it is called golden, since it was written by a man with *a mouth of iron* [and] *a heart of lead*.”²⁷ Luther also attacked Voragine. In a preface for a Lutheran compilation of saints’ lives, he decried the *Golden Legend* as full of lies and fictions comparable to Homer and in need of a complete overhaul.²⁸ Looking at the scathing remarks by Vives and Luther, it appeared that the *Golden Legend* and the derivative *flores sanctorum* were no longer relevant.

Yet *flores sanctorum* flourished and were available in several printed editions, including one from 1521 produced in Seville in which crude woodcuts illustrated the lives of both saints and extravagantes, holy persons ‘wandering outside’ the liturgical calendar.²⁹ This *flos sanctorum* was the one read by Ignatius at Loyola and a work that included accounts of Marian miracles and Christ’s passion. According to Ignatius’s later recollections, these two books were wholly complementary as they allowed him the opportunity to read the New Testament without a Bible and the lives of individual saints

²⁷ Juan Luis Vives, *De disciplinis libris XX* (Antwerp: Michael Hillenius, 1531), 32 verso “Q[uam] indigna est divis atque hominibus Christianis illa sanctorum historia, qu[a]e *Legenda aurea* nominatur, quam nescio cur auream appellant, quum scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris, plu[m]bei cordis.” Italics are mine.

²⁸ Martin Luther, *Greeting to the Reader* in Georg Major, *Vitae patrum in usum ministrorum verbi quo ad eius fieri potuit reprobare* (Wittenberg: [Seitz], 1544), sig A 1 verso.

²⁹ This term derived from canon law and dated back to Gratian’s *Decretum* of the twelfth century; it referred to anything ‘wandering outside’ the *Decretum*. John Gilchrist, “Canon Law,” in *Medieval Latin*, eds. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 248-49.

(and the miracles by each) in close proximity. The anonymous compiler of the *flos sanctorum* was probably a Spaniard in as much he focused on the miracles of James the Greater, also known as Santiago, the patron saint of Spain. He also accorded particular attention to Dominic and Francis, founders of the mendicant orders, and three other saints – Hilary of Poitiers, Brice of Tours, and Martin of Tours — patrons respectively of lawyers, judges, and against poverty. Based on his choice of selections, we can surmise that the compiler might also have been a lawyer or a mendicant friar. Hilary, Brice, and Martin were also important to Poitiers and Tours, two stops on the noted pilgrimage from Paris to Santiago de Compostela, the principal shrine for the patron of Spain.³⁰

Ignatius later claimed Dominic and Francis as the most significant saints during his conversion.³¹ As for the miracles these saints performed, his *flos sanctorum* harped upon these. With reference to Dominic, the compiler presented him as a missionary and a visionary whose miracles included exorcising demons and raising the dead. The presentation of Francis's miracles was much the same, which he supplemented with miraculous conversions (i.e. of the soul). In addition, the book emphasized Francis's own conversion from a vain, reckless youth to a man of God.³² Looking back at his life, Ignatius envisioned his convalescence as the start of his conversion, one similar to that of

³⁰ The historiography on the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela is immense, I consulted the following Maryjane Dunn and Linda Kay Davidson, *The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela: A Comprehensive, Annotated Bibliography* (New York and London: Garland, 1994); Braulio Valdivielso Ausín, *Aventura y muerte en el camino de Santiago* (Burgos: Editorial La Olmeda, 1999). A useful map of the pilgrimage routes can be found in William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993), 271-72.

³¹ *Recitation*, [7].

³² Jacobus de Voragine, *Leyenda de los santos (que vulgarmente Flos sanctorum llaman)*, ed. Félix Juan Cabasés (Rome: IHSI, 2007), 377-85, 478-86.

Francis, that is, from what he called a ‘man given up to the vanities of the world’ to an imitator of the saints. Yet he also remembered that his conversion did not occur overnight.

Nor did it entail becoming a miracle worker, credited with the kinds of exorcisms, resurrections, and conversions associated with both Francis and Dominic. As he had with Ludolph’s *Life of Christ*, Ignatius had to have found something of interest in the *flos sanctorum*, since he, as he would later recall, compiled a notebook, now lost, containing extracts from each work. Ignatius, through Gonçalves da Câmara, claimed that the notebook was some three-hundred quarto-sized pages, itself no small feat, especially when compared to the weekly allowance of paper at his alma mater, the Collège de Montaigu, of twenty-four quarto pages.³³ The notebook that Ignatius claimed to produce was, in fact, an immense tome filled with selections from the *Life of Christ* and the *flos sanctorum*, which had to have had, at least, a superficial gloss on miracles.

Yet Ignatius mentioned next to nothing about miracles when he recited his life to Gonçalves da Câmara. One of the exceptions was a recollection of his trip by sea between Valencia and an unknown destination in Italy. A violent storm encircled and began to assault the ship, its rudder broke off and floated away, the passengers and crew accepted impending death.³⁴ What happened next was a miracle according to Ignatius since the vessel limped to safety. But he preferred to fixate on the time spent examining his conscience amid the tempest. Ignatius seemed disinterested in miracles, despite early

³³ *Recitation*, [11]. On notebooks, see Paul Nelles, “*Libro de Papel, libri bianchi, libri papyracei*: Note-Taking Techniques and the Role of Student Notebooks in the Early Jesuit Colleges,” *AHSI* 76 (2007): 110.

³⁴ *Recitation*, [33].

modern society's preoccupation with them, even when others would claim retroactively that events in his life were miraculous, a topic to be explored in the next chapter.

His reticence toward miracles was widespread throughout the surviving writings from his lifetime, including his spiritual treatises and correspondence. The well-known *Spiritual Exercises* relegated miracles to an addendum on Biblical passages useful for pious contemplation. Those included were the marriage at Cana, the resurrection of Lazarus, and the draft of the 153 fish. At Cana, Jesus turned water into wine. With Lazarus, he had died but was brought back to life by Christ. And after the crucifixion, Christ appeared to seven of the disciples as they fished; the resultant catch surpassed the disciples' angling talents. In each case, Ignatius relied on the mystical Gospel of John for the best examples of miracles amenable to contemplation.³⁵ Although the *Spiritual Exercises* had its share of critics and detractors, the passages in question were standard biblical fare. But his reluctance to elaborate on miracles suggested some ambivalence, even when they had their basis in Scripture and were indisputable for Catholics and Protestants alike. The *Spiritual Exercises* excluded cures and exorcisms, which, according to Ludolph's hierarchy, were the lowest and highest types of miracles respectively. Among the paucity of miracles, Ignatius favored material transformations. Water into wine was a change in substance and accident, while the handful of fish caught by the disciples increased exponentially, thus, an alteration of matter through its multiplication. Although he downplayed miracles in the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius still

³⁵ *SE*, [276], [285], [306]. See John 2:1-11; 11:1-45; 21:1-17.

included them since they were among the mysteries of Christ, the content necessary for those taking the exercises.

Ignatius was also demure about miracles in his vast correspondence with one telling anomaly. In February 1555, Ignatius wrote to Emperor Claudius of Ethiopia (r. 1540-59) about a potential mission into Africa made at the behest of King John III of Portugal (r. 1521-57). A cavalier Portuguese priest – the self-appointed Patriarch of Alexandria and Ethiopia – had annoyed Claudius with presumptive airs that undermined the diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Portugal. Equally irked, John then sent an authorized envoy of Jesuits to survey the kingdom. With this mandate in mind, Ignatius reminded Claudius that Catholicism “has been confirmed by an infinite number of nations, saintly Fathers of the wilderness, bishops, and countless confessors with countless signs and miracles.”³⁶ Despite Ignatius’s unease about miracles, he used them and other ‘signs’ to substantiate the legitimacy of Catholicism in Ethiopia, the kingdom and not the generic term used to describe a number of African regions, including parts of Congo, Angola, and Mozambique.³⁷ Although hyperbole, the reference to an ‘infinite number of nations’ meant that he viewed miracles as transregional, occurrences that had the potential to blanket the world and confirm the ‘true religion’. No matter the degree, miracles were the best evidence amid religious controversy regardless of any ambivalence toward them.

³⁶ Ignatius of Loyola to Claudius, Emperor of Ethiopia, Rome, 16 February 1555 in *MI Epp.* 8:472. “Ha sido este fee confirmada por infinitas naciones, santos Padres del yermo, obispos, y otros innumerable confesores, con infinitas señales y milagros”

³⁷ André Ferrand de Almeida, “Da demanda do Preste João à missão jesuíta da Etiópia. A Cristiandade de Abissínia e os portugueses nos séculos XVI e XVII,” *Lusitania Sacra* 11 (1999): 278-82.

Circulation and Dissemination

Although reticent about miracles, Ignatius did hear about them from Jesuits writing to him. Among the earliest reports came from Alfonso Salmerón (1515-85), one of the initial companions in Paris, who wrote to Ignatius from Venice in 1547. Salmerón suffered from a deadly fever, but by divine mercy, he was healed by miracle of God.³⁸ Salmerón was not incredulous to miracles either. As a well-regarded theologian and one present at the Council of Trent, he was thoroughly familiar with learned interpretations of heavenly interventions. In his commentaries on the Gospels, Salmerón claims miracles are feats doable by forces good and evil. In addition, Salmerón viewed the primitive church as in need of cures and exorcisms to legitimize the new religion, but that was no longer the case: ideas that sound very much like those articulated by Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin. The Jesuit theologian, however, conceded that miracles continued to occur, albeit rarely, and only to console the faithful and confirm the sanctity of a person glorified by God.³⁹ While Ignatius tended to avoid discussions about miracles, perhaps due to his theological insecurity, his hesitancy did not extend to his companions from Paris, such as the qualified Salmerón. Unlike many theologians, Salmerón was one of the few to experience a supernatural cure, which he recounted to Ignatius. This extraordinary news was spiritual consolation and not a sign of sanctity.

New recruits also sent reports about miracles to Ignatius, such as the one by Jerónimo Nadal (1507-80), a Majorcan converso who joined the Order in 1545. Six years

³⁸ Alfonso Salmerón to Ignatius Loyola, Venice, 16 April 1547 in *Epistolae Salmeronis* 1:37.

³⁹ Domenico Grasso, *Los carismas en la Iglesia: teología e historia*, trans. Alfonso de la Fuente Adánez (Madrid: Ediciones cristiandad, 1984), 150.

later, he had a miraculous experience with confrere Isidoro Bellini. The two had departed from Palermo on 27 June 1551 as part of a fleet set to battle the Ottoman navy in the Mediterranean. Nadal and Bellini were the spiritual advisors for the Christians fighting against the Muslim Ottomans. On 2 July, off the coast of Lampedusa, a storm struck and sank fifteen of the fleet's ships, including the one carrying the two Jesuits. Bellini drowned, while Nadal washed ashore near Mahdia in present-day Tunisia. Here he remained come October, when he wrote to Ignatius and recounted his maritime miracle that he attributed to God. After a brief recuperation, he started to preach to the Muslims around Mahdia.⁴⁰ Such efforts were possible since the city at the time was a Spanish possession (1550-53).

Ignatius received a barrage of letters that told of miraculous conversions of Muslims. For a Jesuit active in the Andalusian city of Marchena, he recalled that God made it possible for two Jesuits in Cordoba to convert a Muslim to Catholicism. Although it took twenty-two days, the conversion was nothing short of a miracle.⁴¹ The convert in question was an *alfaqui* who were religious scholars responsible for maintaining Islamic law.⁴² Having an *alfaqui* convert was significant since it pointed to the prowess of the Order whose unnamed brothers had to present a substantive case to convince a Muslim deeply invested in his religious-cum-judicial traditions of its errors.

⁴⁰ Jerónimo Nadal to Ignatius Loyola, Mahdia, 28 October 1551 in *EN* 1:118. Nadal had first sent news about the miracle to Antonius Vinck, the Jesuit provincial of the Rhineland, days after the shipwreck: Jerónimo Nadal to Antonius Vinck, Mahdia, 7 July 1551 in *EN* 1:109-110. See also the interpretations of Juan Nadal Cañellas, *Jerónimo Nadal: Vida e influjo* (Bilbao: Mensajero, 2007), 92; Youssef El Alaoui, *Jésuites, morisques et indiens* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006), 61-62.

⁴¹ Antonio de Córdoba to Ignatius Loyola, Marchena, 30 Sept 1554 in *Epp. Mixt.* 4:373.

⁴² On *alfaquies*, see L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 91, 98.

The letter writer wrote directly, as did the others, to Ignatius. Although a fickle correspondent, he kept abreast of affairs through the summaries produced by his secretary Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517-76) who gathered its content from the numerous letters that came to Rome.

With Polanco's assistance, Ignatius learned of a number of miracles, such as the one dated 20 December 1555 from Messina in Sicily. Juan Jerónimo Domenech recounted a maritime miracle he experienced off the coast of Calabria, a situation so dire that it compelled him to hear confession for all onboard followed by leading the group in prayer. God and his divine majesty then saved the ship from danger as they drifted into the port of Policastro, where they stayed for eight days before proceeding to Naples.⁴³ European Jesuits interpreted conversions and rescue from shipwrecks as miracles, which were concentrated in the Mediterranean amid Christian conflicts with Islam. Cures, like the one experienced by Salmerón, were exceptions. And this news came to Ignatius by way of the epistolary network established by Polanco in 1547, which was subsequently managed by him.⁴⁴ The network was so good at disseminating information that Europeans learned about the discovery of Xavier's incorrupt body months after it happened. Xavier had died in December 1552 on the remote Shangchuan Island just off the coast of China. His body remained there until its exhumation for transport to Goa in

⁴³ Juan Jerónimo Domenech to Ignatius Loyola, Messina, 20 December 1555 in *Epp. Mixt* 5:129.

⁴⁴ Friedrich, "Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae annuae*," 7-8; Nelles, "*Cosas y Cartas*."

February 1553. Xavier looked no different despite being interred for three months. By the end of that year, Rome became aware of the miraculous state of the missionary's body.⁴⁵

Nossa Senhora, Mamelucos, and Huguenots

Accounts, like that of incorruptible Xavier, went through many intermediaries before arriving in Rome. Jesuits ritually copied letters in transit so that edifying news could circulate locally. With the correspondence from Brazil, for example, it landed at Lisbon first, the hub for everything coming and going to Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Once in Portugal, the information tended to surface in Coimbra. Jesuits there and in Lisbon would duplicate and forward any news – mundane and extraordinary – to Rome.⁴⁶ Among the events recorded and then promulgated were miracles, such as those mentioned by an unnamed Jesuit in 1553. He wrote from São Vicente, which is approximately eighty kilometers from present-day São Paulo and the earliest Portuguese settlement in the Americas named after Lisbon's patron saint. Contained within the town was the church of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda whose cult was brought to Brazil by the Jesuits.⁴⁷ São Vicente was a place of many miracles, according to the letter-writer, and a respite for Jesuits after they returned from “the places of disbelievers” (*lugares de los gentiles*) that surrounded the community, home of the Tupi people.⁴⁸ Our anonymous correspondent sent news to Portugal about the growth of a Marian devotion in Brazil, one

⁴⁵ Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, 4 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1973-82), 4:643-48.

⁴⁶ João Pedro Ferro “A epistolografia no quotidiano dos missionários jesuítas nos séculos XVI e XVII,” *Lusitania sacra*, 2nd series, 5 (1993): 139-41.

⁴⁷ Manuel Quitério de Azevedo, *O culto a Maria no Brasil: história e teologia* (São Paulo: Editora Santuário, 2001), 25 n. 30.

⁴⁸ Unnamed Jesuit in Brazil to the Jesuits of Portugal, São Vicente, 10 March 1553 in *MB* 1:427.

blessed with miracles and one that aided the fledging mission to the indigenous peoples around São Vicente.

Another letter, same place, same day, redirected the reader to the works (*obras*) of the Jesuit missionaries. Pero Correia wrote to the Portuguese Assistant, a Jesuit in charge of the Lusophone missions, about the leadership of Manuel da Nóbrega (1517-70), the first Provincial of Brazil and key in the establishment of many cities, including Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo:

Of all things done here on earth that we have written about, things great, good and for the greater glory of God, Our Lord still labors daily, as does Father Nóbrega who has performed some [tasks] after his arrival to this ever-increasing land, works on which I do not mention frequently since I can no longer write about the holy and virtuous things of our Fathers, [things] very clearly miracles that God worked through them. And my brothers will want to obscure [the miracles] for the greater benefit of God.⁴⁹

Correia's ringing endorsement perpetuated an understanding of miracles as occurrences wherein God acted through whomever he wished. In this 'ever-increasing land', so much happened that Correia could not keep pace with these supernatural signs forcing him to stop enumerating them. In fact, he never bothered to list any of the miracles performed by Nóbrega and the other Jesuits. This information overload complemented the humility of the Brazilian Jesuits who, Correia claimed, downplayed and even withheld their miracles. Conversions could be miraculous, such as that of the alfaqui of Cordoba, but Correia

⁴⁹ Pero Correia to Simão Rodrigues, São Vicente, 10 March 1553, in *MB* 1: 439-40. "De las cosas grandes y buenas y de mucha gloria de Dios que son hechas en esta tierra ya las tenemos scriptas, y aún nuestro Señor obra cada día, y aún el P[adr]^c Nóbrega hizo algunas después que vino a esta tierra de mucho aumento, las quales no scrivo por menudo, porque me parece que ia no se devia de screvir de nuestros Padres cosas sanctas y virtuosas, sino milagros muy [440] evidentissimos, los quales Dios por ellos obra y ellos los quieren encubrir para más mérito con Dios."

made no mention of them or even the focus of the Jesuits' evangelization much like the previous letter that mentioned unidentified 'places of nonbelievers'.

North of São Vicente was Porto Seguro, a place full of miracles. In a letter to the Jesuits of Coimbra, António Bláquez claimed that an image of Christ and the Virgin Mary had worked a number of miracles, including the pacification of the local indigenous people, the Tapuia. Nor was the likeness finished since it aided the Jesuit efforts to teach literacy to the Mamelucos who were the offspring of Portuguese and Amerindians.⁵⁰ Mamelucos often functioned as intermediaries between European clergy and the aboriginal 'gentiles' so that the latter could be converted to Christianity. Bláquez, however, never described any conversions as miracles. Instead, he iterated a common belief in miracles as part of daily life. Many of the Brazilian letters focused on the seemingly peerless results of Jesuit evangelization and the intercession of Mary through her Portuguese cults, such as Nossa Senhora da Ajuda. What differentiated Bláquez from the others was his reference to a miraculous image in the Americas, the first letter of its type written by a Jesuit. Miracles abounded within the Brazilian mission as seen in these letters that forwarded news of the extraordinary to Portugal where they informed and edified the recipients.

Brazilian Jesuits continued to send word of miracles to Europe after Ignatius's death in 1556. Marian intercession and conversions around São Vicente and Porto Seguro remained the norm in these letters. Mary, for example, continued to supply Porto Seguro

⁵⁰ António Bláquez to the Jesuits of Coimbra, Bahia, 8 July 1555 in *MB* 2:259-60.

with miracles as told in a 1566 dispatch.⁵¹ But now, Protestants joined the indigenous as the ‘unbelievers’ on Brazilian soil. In this case, French Huguenots established a colony known as Antarctic France (*France Antarctique*) in 1555, which was located on what is present-day Rio de Janeiro. The presence of Protestants and foreigners worried the Portuguese Governor-General Mem de Sá who waited to receive the order to expel the French, which arrived in 1560. This command ushered in a period of ongoing attacks that lasted until 1567 when the French were finally routed.⁵²

In the midst of the fighting, Jesuits reported back to Europe about the miracles that resulted from this conflict between France and Portugal, Protestants and Catholics. One letter from 1560 recounted the destruction of Fort-Coligny, the main fortress of Antarctic France, by Sá and his men. The Jesuit correspondent noted that this attack and its favorable result were more miraculous than humanly possible (*mais milagrosa que humanamente*).⁵³ And the talk of miracles did not cease once Fort-Coligny became Rio de Janeiro. Another Jesuit, Leonardo do Vale, interpreted the area as overflowing with supernatural signs that outnumbered those in Africa and India. Examples listed by Vale included the foundation of Rio de Janeiro and the successful skirmishes against the French.⁵⁴ Prior to Ignatius’s death, Brazilian Jesuits tended to celebrate Marian

⁵¹ António Gonçalves to the Fathers and Brothers of Portugal, Porto Seguro, 15 Feb 1566 in *MB* 4:315.

⁵² Francisco Bethencourt, “Le Brésil face à la France,” in *La France et le monde luso-brésilien: échanges et représentations (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. Saulo Neiva (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2005), 21-24.

⁵³ Rui Pereira to the Jesuits of Portugal, Bahia, 15 Sept 1560 in *MB* 3:287.

⁵⁴ Leonardo do Vale to the Father and Brothers of Portugal, São Vicente, 25 June 1565 in *MB* 4:209.

intercession and missionary successes. But under his successors, the attention shifted toward ongoing Protestant-Catholic conflicts centered on Antarctic France.

From the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean

As the Jesuit information network began to span the globe, so did the reports of divine intervention, such as the exceptional experience of Manuel Álvares. In his 1562 letter to Coimbra, Álvares recounted his trip from Lisbon to Malacca that started in a routine fashion. His ship, the São Paulo, hugged the African coast before making a brief detour to Bahia in Brazil. Passengers and crew then crossed the south Atlantic passing the Cape of Good Hope and went into the Indian Ocean. Nothing out of the ordinary happened until the São Paulo was thirty leagues from Sumatra when an immense storm enveloped the vessel. Fearing the worst, Álvares and his Valencian colleague Juan Rojo heard the confessions for all onboard. As the passengers asked for forgiveness, an apparition of the “holy body” (*santo corpo*) appeared and bathed the São Paulo in light. While most miraculous narratives would proceed to relate the rescue of a beleaguered ship, Álvares recorded the destruction of the São Paulo the next day against the rocks of an unnamed island which he sketched for posterity [**Figure 1**]. The survivors eventually arrived at Malacca, the intended destination, after a harrowing journey of a year.⁵⁵ In

⁵⁵ Manuel Álvares to the Jesuits at Coimbra, Malacca/Cochin, 5 January 1562 in *DI* 5: 436-41, 470-74. Álvares provided no departure date from Lisbon. He only started to recorded dates after the arrival of the São Paulo in Bahia (17 August 1560). Typically, the trip from Lisbon to Bahia took about a one month during the summer. Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 212 n. 105.

contrast, a normal trip from Lisbon to Malacca took eight to ten months barring extenuating circumstances.⁵⁶

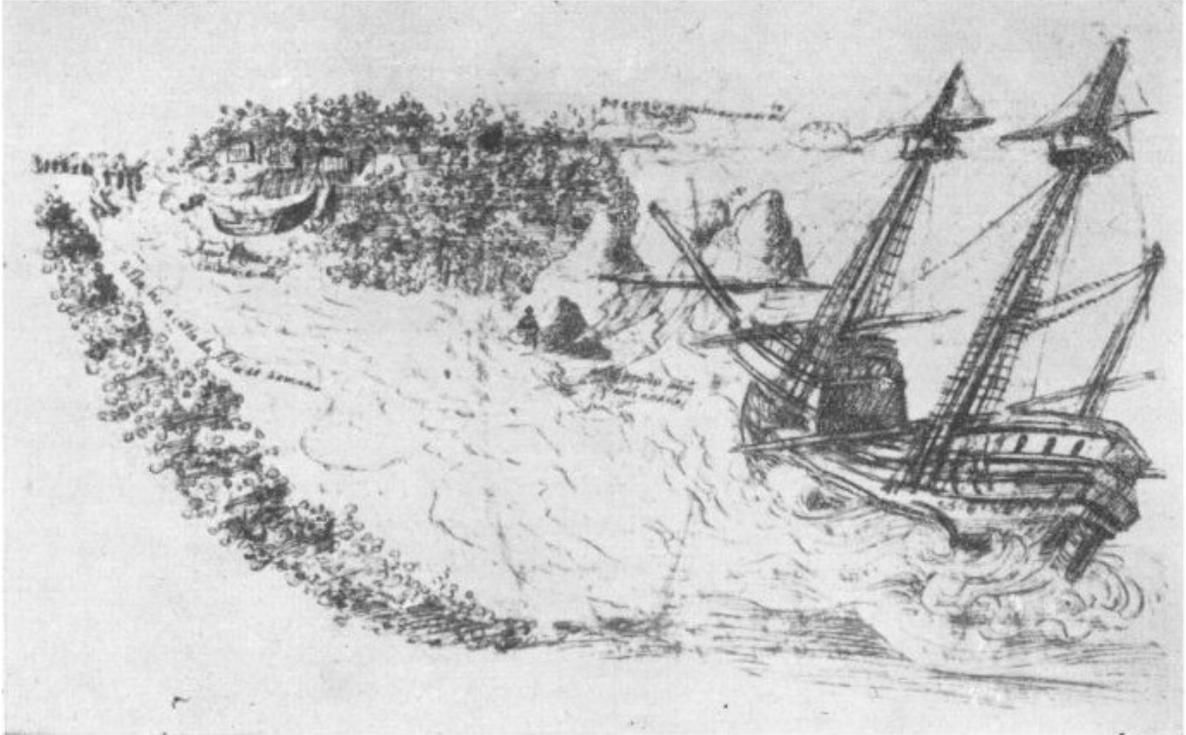


Figure 1: Manuel Álvares, Wreck of the São Paulo, 5 January 1562, etching on paper (DI 5:451)

As uncanny as the experience was, Álvares did not think the apparition was a miracle. What was miraculous was God's works on earth, which were like the rigging on ships that propelled a vessel with forces beyond human capacities. With the aid of this metaphorical rigging, continued Álvares, the Jesuits saved many Christians with miracles and the providence of God granting salvation at the expense of the unfaithful and the

⁵⁶ A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 37-38.

followers of Mohammed.⁵⁷ Álvares typified the Jesuit obsession with Islam in their correspondence as we have seen with the miracles involving Nadal and the alfaqui from Cordoba. But with the alfaqui, his miraculous conversion was celebrated since it overcame the acrimonious dealings of Christians and Muslims in Spain, which were often mediated by members of the Order.⁵⁸ Álvares perpetuated the entrenched hostility toward Islam in the Lusophone Estado da Índia, where Jesuits stockpiled spiritual weapons against Muslims, including the relics of St. Thomas, the apostle who brought Christianity to India.⁵⁹ Jesuits seemed near-frenzied yet hesitant to report the miracles that broadcasted Christian triumph at the expense of nonbelievers, whether they be Muslims, indigenous peoples, or Protestants. Maritime rescues also formed the bulk of the miracles mentioned by Jesuits in their correspondence even though Álvares failed to interpret his experience on the São Paulo as such.

The Chronicler

Reports from the Indies returned to Europe and dispensed edification, yet Jesuits did not need to look that far for miracles. Juan Alfonso Polanco, secretary first for Ignatius and then his successors Laínez and Borja, was the architect of the Order's information network who also had a penchant to collect and distribute news to the entire

⁵⁷ Álvares, 5:460. “Segundo a grande necessidade dos nosos companheiros que por terra vinha[m] e o grande perigo da sua salvação, Noso Senhor – como pay misericordioso, não oulhando a nosos peccados – milagrosamente parece que nos aparelhou aly aquelas embarcações da maneira que disse, pera se salvarem tãoos christãos, aynda que fosse com perda dos infiês e seguidores de Mafamede, e pera que nisto visemos sua grande piedade e misericordia e a crueza grande que os homens tem huns com outros; emfim de qualquer maneira eu tive este negocio, com outras muitas cousas que nos acontecerão, por milagre e especial providentia de Noso Senhor.”

⁵⁸ Harvey, 102-121; El Alaoui, 90-102.

⁵⁹ Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India, 16th-17th Centuries* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 49, 91; Alden, 53-59.

Society of Jesus. His dispatches contained snippets about supernatural interventions. In a message dated 31 December 1568, Polanco relayed a miraculous rescue of an unnamed Jesuit headed to Rome to attend a meeting of representatives from the European provinces. Having just left France, the anonymous Jesuit wandered through the mountains on a path narrow and winding. He nearly lost his footing while atop a great precipice, but he reached Rome unscathed through the protection of Gervase and Protase, two second-century martyrs and the patron-saints of Milan.⁶⁰ Although lacking in details – such as the Jesuit’s identity – Polanco wanted to broadcast news of a miracle, which demonstrated God’s favor as shown to the Jesuits; this process was echoed in the letters from Cordoba and Brazil. Here saints prevented mountain misadventure, while God and the Virgin Mary worked to convert non-Christians and thwart French Protestants. In contrast, accounts of maritime rescue – or mishap to recall the shipwreck of the *São Paulo* – itemized the predicament and its resolution to make the fantastic more palatable to an audience. Polanco collected these reports and distilled them to provide the Society with what he deemed notable, including the supernatural.

And he inserted Mary into his systemic organization of information, akin to the sustained promotion of *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda* in Brazil. One of the better examples by Polanco comes from a 1572 letter to the Order at large, which contained an inventory of the miracles centered on the shrine of the Lady of Loreto. Contained within said shrine were a Black Madonna and the house of the Virgin Mary. At the time, Polanco had just visited Loreto with Borja, a deed indicative of a personal relationship with this Marian

⁶⁰ Juan Alfonso de Polanco to all the Society of Jesus, Rome, 31 December 1568 in *P Co.* 2:30.

cult.⁶¹ The shrine played large in the devotional landscape and was one active since the late Middle Ages with no shortage of miracles to its name. The Jesuits also assumed Loreto as part of their identity, a process finalized when they became the caretakers of the shrine in 1554. With the order's place secure at Loreto, a German Jesuit, writing in 1577, described it as the most important Marian pilgrimage during the decade, although that statement was equal parts devotion and self-promotion.⁶²

Among the miracles of Loreto listed by Polanco was the temporary ability given to a woman to heal burn victims in Camerino, a town in the Apennine Mountains. Another case had an Irish priest walking to Rome when he noticed a Huguenot approach him. Fearing violence, the priest had no recourse except to reach for his image of the Lady. Gripping the icon tightly, he approached the Huguenot and walked past unharmed. The Irish father escaped due to momentary invisibility granted to him through the Virgin's likeness.⁶³ Akin to his other reports, Polanco omitted details of those saved by the Lady of Loreto, for these people have no names, although, whenever inclined, he would provide some descriptor (the Irish priest, the woman in Camerino). The focus for Polanco was the cult of the Virgin Mary, which would bolster the reputation of the Society of Jesus. Since the Order was responsible for the Loreto shrine, they became the guardians of its miracles as well as the shrine's promoters to Catholics. Miracles, in

⁶¹ Mario Scaduto, *L'opera di Francesco Borgia, 1565-1572* (Rome: Edizioni 'La Vicilta cattolica', 1992), 62, 403-06.

⁶² Bridget Heal, *Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 157. The Capuchins also claimed a monopoly on the shrine: Pietro Vittorino Regni, *Loreto e i Cappuccini: Storia, devozione e servizio della Santa Casa* (Loreto: Congregazione universale della Santa Casa, 1995).

⁶³ Juan Alfonso Polanco to all the Society of Jesus, Rome, 31 December 1572 in *P Co.* 2:205-07.

Polanco's estimation, confirmed the Jesuit enterprise, whether as the wardens of Loreto or the father saved by Gervase and Protase in the mountains.

After Borja's death in 1572, the process to elect a new Superior began and Polanco was the frontrunner. But as a Spanish converso, Polanco had to contend with the strong lobbies against Spaniards and persons of Jewish descent. This anti-Semitic and Hispanophobic collective vetoed Polanco in favor of a Flemish Superior. Now that his services were no longer wanted, Polanco was free to pursue what became his *Chronicle* (*Chronicon*), which concentrated on Ignatius's time as Superior (1540-56). Polanco relied extensively on the letters from his time as secretary for his *Chronicle*, correspondence that he had read, copied, and organized in this official capacity. Many of the aforementioned miracles featured in the *Chronicle*, including those from Brazil and Loreto as well as the ones experienced by Nadal and Domenech, with some additions thrown in for good measure.⁶⁴ Polanco supplemented the *Chronicle* with supplementary accounts of miracles resulting in a work that was equally the history of the Jesuits and the glorification of Ignatius.

The earliest miracle in the *Chronicle* dated from 1547, when Polanco became secretary and thus privy to all incoming messages. It was the perseverance of the Portuguese in India the previous year when so-called barbarians (*barbari*) attempted to capture the city of Diu (*Diensem*) on the Arabian Sea. If Diu fell, the Jesuit mission would be lost. But through the will of God, the city was saved.⁶⁵ Here Polanco referred to

⁶⁴ Polanco, *Chronicon*, 2:238 (Nadal); 3:468 (São Vicente); 4: 636 (Porto Seguro); 5:81 (Loreto); 5:219 (Domenech); 5:636 (another miracle of the Virgin in Brazil).

⁶⁵ Polanco, *Chronicon* 1:265-66.

the 1546 siege by the Gujarati of Portuguese-held Diu. The Portuguese barely held onto the city, a victory interpreted by contemporaries and Polanco as a miracle.⁶⁶ Jesuits understood military windfalls as divine intercessions against perceived threats to Catholicism. At Diu, the threat were Muslims, while Antarctic France was overrun by Protestants.

Polanco included another miracle from the Arabian Sea, this time a maritime rescue thanks to one of Ursula's virgins. Polanco featured this type of miracle frequently in the *Chronicle*, which included the experiences of Nadal and Domenech in the Mediterranean. But Polanco moved his attention eastward where the head of one of the eleven-hundred virgins performed miracles off the coast of Mozambique and in Ormus on the Persian Gulf.⁶⁷ The relic in question belonged to Gaspar Barzeo (1515-53), a Dutch Jesuit who migrated between the ports in the Arabian Sea. Barzeo, the virgin's head, and a companion, António Gomes, had left Portugal in 1548. While off the coast of Mozambique, a storm surrounded the ship threatening to capsize it but the head came to the rescue. The unnamed vessel then proceeded to Goa as planned thanks to the relic.⁶⁸ For his information, Polanco relied on a letter penned by Barzeo in December 1548 who did not skimp on details providing what one scholar has called a literary treatment of the

⁶⁶ Michael Naylor Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 78-82; Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668* (London: Routledge, 2005), 132.

⁶⁷ Polanco, *Chronicon*, 2:741, 743.

⁶⁸ Polanco, *Chronicon*, 1:338-45; 2:772. On Barzeo, see Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo, "Gaspar Barzeo: el hombre y sus escritos," *AHSI* 77, no. 153 (January-June 2008): 68-80.

miracle. Polanco in the *Chronicle* disregarded Barzeo's excesses wanting only the facts.⁶⁹ Maritime miracles of this type circulated widely in the information network and Polanco's *Chronicle* as was the case with Barzeo's report. These rescues produced signs for the Jesuits that showed God blessing the Order's global enterprise. If God had wanted the Jesuits to fail, the ship and its passengers would have never reached land. And this type of miracle remained a fixture in Jesuit correspondence from the region for decades to come.⁷⁰

Cures, in contrast, received little attention in the correspondence with the exception of accounts by Salmerón and Polanco. Miraculous rescues and conversions were innocuous compared to cures and exorcisms that could rouse accusations of feigned sanctity. Polanco in the *Chronicle* included the feats of Miguel de Ochoa, a Jesuit miracle-worker during its early years and a potentially problematic inclusion due to the uncertainty over miracles during the mid-sixteenth century. No letters about Ochoa's cures are known, not that Polanco would need them since Ochoa in 1548 had cured the secretary from an unrelenting fever. When Polanco chose resignation as his remedy due to the failure of medicine, Ignatius grew impatient and ordered him to visit Ochoa. With no medical training, Ochoa began his treatment by writing the Our Father and Hail Mary

⁶⁹ Gaspar Barzeo to Jesuits in Coimbra, Goa, 13 December 1548 in *DI* 1:394-395. See also Jaime Ferreiro Alemparte, *La leyenda de las once mil virgenes* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1991), 169-70; Županov, 116-19, 145.

⁷⁰ Examples include Thomas Stephens to his Father, Goa, 10 November 1579 in Richard Hakluyt, *The principal nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoeries of the English nation made by sea or ouerland*, 3 vols. (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599-1600), 2:100; ARSI, Jap-Sin 101-I, fól. 10: Miguele Ruggieri, *Relatione del successo della missione della Cina del mese di Nou[iem]bre 1577 insin'alli 1591...al n[ost]ro Generale*, ca. 1592

three times in proximity to the Eucharist after transubstantiation.⁷¹ Once he finished writing, he then placed the page around Polanco's neck. And immediately, the fever abated. Although grateful for the cure, Polanco warned Ochoa that his method of healing was unorthodox since it used the two most important prayers in Catholicism written out. Ochoa should instead, Polanco suggested, use his hands to heal.⁷² Whether Ochoa heeded Polanco's advice is unknown, but Polanco told of two subsequent cures by Ochoa: one from 1550 at Città di Castello, Perugia (*Tiberinum*) and another dated to 1551 in Oñate within the Basque Country.⁷³

Polanco, however, never described the cures as miracles, despite his personal experience with Ochoa's healing powers. The secretary was ambivalent about otherworldly feats at least those by other Jesuits, except for Francis Xavier who was the saint-in-waiting of the Order. The *Chronicle* abounded in content on the exceptional life of Xavier and so did other writings from this era.⁷⁴ Prior to the Acquaviva's time as Superior, Ochoa was one of the few Jesuit thaumaturges. Instead, miraculous rescues and conversions provided edification, while association with widespread cults legitimated the Society when compared to the established orders, such as the mendicant friars. But cures and exorcisms were controversial since they could be the work of evil spirits as noted by Luther, Calvin, and Mendieta. Apart from criticisms of these reformers, the drought of

⁷¹ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2:695. According to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, the wine and bread literally change into the blood and body of Christ due to his divine presence occupying the wine and bread.

⁷² Polanco, *Chronicon*, 1:269-70; O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 268.

⁷³ Polanco, *Chronicon*, 2:17-20, 312-13.

⁷⁴ Polanco, *Chronicon*, 5:665. Jesuits accumulated miracles of Xavier as early as 1555, three years after his death: António de Quadros to Diego Mirón, Goa, 6 December 1555 in *MX* 2:953.

canonizations since 1523 also made Catholics hesitant to embrace healings performed by holy persons, such as Ochoa. Celebrating his miracles could result in accusations of feigned sanctity leading to censure by ecclesiastical authorities. Still, Catholics maintained belief in the ability of saints to intervene and better a petitioner's situation, whether by reversing blight affecting a farmer's field or curing the Spanish Infante from a serious fall.

Conclusion

Although there remained a culture of miracles during the sixteenth century, they proved contentious within the Society of Jesus. Ignatius during his lifetime made few mentions of miracles in his correspondence or treatises. His followers, meanwhile, focused on maritime rescues and conversions, popular and uncontroversial intercessions, while cures and exorcisms were far and few between in the written record. Salmerón was cautious when crediting his healing to God, which was an exception to what was common in the Order. At the time, Jesuits associated themselves with long-standing cults, including the order's prolific reliance on Marian devotions, whether the Lady of Loreto or Nossa Senhora da Ajuda. Ochoa the miracle-worker was too problematic a figure for the Jesuits to celebrate amid the Protestant reformers' attacks on supernatural interventions. As exemplary as Xavier was, whenever his miracles were broached, the topic of cures and exorcisms was avoided despite rumors to the contrary.

Shortly after Acquaviva became Superior in 1580, an unnamed Jesuit compiled a roster of missions. Jesuits were sent into Protestant lands, including England, Lutheran Sweden, and the Calvinist cantons of Switzerland, venues where miracles had diminished

in relevance. Although the ‘cessation of miracles’ was largely complete in these lands, uncertainty over miracles still proliferated in England. Yet missions were also arranged for the Philippines and Pamplona in the Ibero-Catholic world.⁷⁵ Pamplona, in particular, was significant for Jesuits as the place where Ignatius experienced his conversion and encounter with St. Peter in 1521.

As for miracles of Ignatius prior to the generalship of Acquaviva, they went ignored. Polanco’s *Chronicle* made no mention of them, despite its focus on Ignatius as Superior. Nadal admitted in 1576 that he was disinclined to see miracles, even when they involved Ignatius.⁷⁶ That did not mean that Nadal was adverse to miracles. Quite the contrary. He was rescued from a shipwreck by God during Ignatius’s lifetime. And Nadal ordered Jesuit colleges during the 1560s to read inventories of miracles (*liber miraculorum*) attributed to a saint or shrine. In the same set of instructions, he also encouraged the reading of sacred histories, the focus of the next chapter, which he defined as lives of Christ and the saints, akin to the *Life of Christ* and *flos sanctorum* at Ignatius’s bedside back in 1521.⁷⁷ The sacred histories by Jesuits, as we will see, seemingly combined lives and *flores sanctorum* as the means to disseminate the worthy example of Ignatius. And these forms of history inherited and contended with the culture of miracles.

⁷⁵ ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 720-I, n.p.: *Catalogo delle missione de P[at]ri della Comp[agni]a quali per ordine de S[ede] s[an]ta in diuersi luoghi attualmente essercitano i n[ost]ri Ministeri in quest’Anno MDLXXX-LXXXI*. On miracles in England, see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 226-32.

⁷⁶ Jerónimo Nadal, *Exhortationes Complutensis*, 1576 in *EN* 5:269. For more on Nadal and saint veneration, see O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 268-69.

⁷⁷ Jerónimo Nadal, *Instructio...quae poterit accommodari prouincialibus quando visitant*, 1562 in *EN* 4: 450-51.

CHAPTER 2: HAGIOGRAPHER AS COLLECTOR

Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527-1611), who became the main authority on Ignatius's life and miracles, started his time in the Society of Jesus as an argumentative fourteen-year-old novice. As he later recalled, he would heckle and mock Ignatius for teaching Christian doctrine in language that was more Castilian than Italian. Ribadeneyra, whose command of Italian was excellent, interrupted aggressively, reminding Ignatius of his linguistic limitations. Ignatius, however, was a humble man, at least in Ribadeneyra's recollections, who asked the novice to take notes and correct his errors, which he dutifully did. Despite such help, Ignatius's Italian did not improve, and Ribadeneyra soon took Ignatius to task again. But instead of responding angrily, Ribadeneyra remembered that Ignatius responded with a simple question: "Well, Pedro, what will we do for God?"¹ The answer that suggested doing God's work was far more important than speaking fluent Italian.

Later in life, perhaps as a result of his early experiences with Ignatius, Ribadeneyra assumed the responsibility of perpetuating the memory of the founder of the Jesuits through a series of sacred histories, specifically a life and a *flos sanctorum*. But who was Ribadeneyra and what did he hope to achieve in writing these works? Born in Toledo in 1527, the same year as Philip II, Ribadeneyra belonged to a wealthy merchant family of converso descent. His father, Álvaro Husillo Ortiz de Cisernos, was a wealthy merchant who served on the municipal council of Toledo, while his mother, Catalina de

¹ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *De actis Patris Nostri Ignatii*, 1559-66 in *FN* 2:349-50. "Pues, Pedro, ¿qué haremos a Dios?"

Villalobos y Ribadeneyra, belonged to an important noble family.² Little about Ribadeneyra's early life is known until 1539, when he happened to meet Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-89), who was visiting Toledo in order to meet with the Spanish monarch, Emperor Charles V. Farnese recruited Ribadeneyra as a page, and took him to Rome, where he resided at the cardinal's palace for fourteen months.

Owing to some unspecified transgression, Ribadeneyra, aged fourteen, left Farnese's service in 1540 and found refuge with the nascent Society of Jesus, an Order that was still open to men of *converso* descent. Later that same year, Ignatius welcomed the teenager into his new order, only ten days before Paul III gave it the papal seal of approval. At this point, Ribadeneyra embarked on an academic pilgrimage that took him to the universities of Paris (1542), Louvain (1542-43), and Padua (1545-49). Ribadeneyra subsequently taught rhetoric in the Jesuit colleges in Palermo (1549-52) and Rome (1553), prior to completing missions in Flanders (1553-57) and England (1558-59).³ But following Queen Elizabeth I's coronation in 1559, the new Jesuit Superior, Diego Laínez, recalled Ribadeneyra to Rome in 1559 and, for the next decade or so, he served a number of posts in Italy.⁴

He began his quest to write a biography in 1546 during his academic sojourn in Padua when he approached Ignatius's confessor, Diego de Eguía (1448-1556), with

² José Gómez-Menor, "La progenie hebrea del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira S.I.," *Sefarad* 36, no. 2 (1976): 307-32; Linda Martz, *A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo: Assimilating a Minority* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 110, 140.

³ Pedro de Ribadeneyra and Cristóbal López, *Vida de P. Pedro de Ribadeneyra*, Madrid, 1612 in Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Confesiones: Autobiografía documentada*, ed. Miguel Lop Sebastia (Bilbao: Mensajero, 2009), 34-64, 76-103.

⁴ Thomas M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1541-1588* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 34-38, 48 n. 23; Robert A. Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and the Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 42-45.

whom he broached the subject. But Eguía said no. Better, he told Ribadeneyra, to rely instead on the Gospels, as these provided the only example worthwhile for Jesuits in search for edification.⁵ Eguía had first met Ignatius, long before any notion of the Jesuits, when the two men lived in Alcalá de Henares (1526-27) to attend the Complutense University. After Ignatius was run out of Alcalá by the Inquisition, he and Eguía fell out of touch until 1537, when both were in Venice. The founder made quite an impression and inspired Eguía, so claimed Ribadeneyra, to follow the example of Christ giving the embryonic Society another recruit.⁶ Ribadeneyra had in Eguía a confrere who knew Ignatius before and after his establishment of the Society of Jesus. Eguía, however, thought that writing a life of Ignatius was a waste of time since the Gospels gave his fellow Jesuits all they needed.

Eguía's opposition aside, Ribadeneyra's and other efforts to produce a life of Ignatius were also thwarted by other issues troubling the Society of Jesus in the mid-sixteenth century. For one thing, the Society had to contend with accusations of heresy launched by the Dominicans and other religious orders. One of the Society's most vocal critics was the Dominican theologian Melchor Cano (1509-60), who suggested that the Jesuits were guilty of *alumbradismo*, a term commonly used to impugn mystics who practiced 'mental prayer'. During the second assembly of the Council of Trent (1551-52), as he recalled, the Jesuits in attendance were forced to defend their religious order due to its "novelty" (*novedad*). Abrasive as ever, Cano replied that he grew weary of the Jesuits'

⁵ *Memoriale Romanum* in FN 3:737.

⁶ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae* (Naples: Giuseppe Cacchio, 1572), 51 verso.

rebuttals and responded: “Novelty? More shit!” (*¿Novedad? Mas ¡mierda!*).⁷ Ribadeneyra warned Láinez about Cano, informing that “Master Cano is the Provincial of [the Dominicans] in Castile and he comes to his chapter in Rome determined to disabuse us to Pope [Paul IV (r. 1555-59)]”⁸

Despite such challenges, Láinez determined to obtain a definitive and adulatory account of Ignatius’s life. Towards this end he commissioned Pedro Juan Pepinyá to write such a work in 1558, but this project went nowhere before Pepinyá’s death in 1566.⁹ The next year, the new Superior of the Order, Francisco de Borja, commissioned Ribadeneyra to begin writing. He also ordered every Jesuit to provide Ribadeneyra with any information relevant to such a work. Although permutations of the recitation by Gonçalves da Câmara circulated in manuscript within the Society of Jesus, Ribadeneyra, took it upon himself to write the life of Ignatius he had previously envisioned. Towards this end he compiled a notebook with snippets of Ignatius’s life. The last entry was dated 1566 and the following year, as we have seen, Borja asked Ribadeneyra to get started on the biography.

Ribadeneyra finished quickly and by May 1569 sent the manuscript *Life of Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Society of Jesus (Vita Ignatii Loiolae, Societatis Iesu Fundatoris)* to Naples for printing. The book did not come off the presses until 1572 and

⁷ ARSI, Hisp. 144, 1 verso-2 recto: Melchor Cano, *Tratado...del Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús*, c. 1558. This is a later variation of the manuscript in the British Library.

⁸ Pedro de Ribadeneyra to Diego Láinez, Brussels, 4 April 1558 in *M Rib* 1:292. “que el M[ae]str[o] Cano es provincial de su Orden en Castilla, y que va a Roma a su capítulo, con determinación de desengañar al papa en lo que toca a la Compañía [de Jesús]”

⁹ John W. O’Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate?: Studies in Jesuit History* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 270.

when it did only five-hundred copies were printed, half of a typical print run, a figure that suggests copies were likely to have circulated mostly within the Order as well to what Borja indicated were ‘allies’ of the Jesuits.¹⁰ Books I through IV of the *Life of Ignatius* documented the pious life of Ignatius in the context of the global expansion of the Jesuits under his divinely-inspired leadership. He was wary, however, to avoid any use of the word ‘miracle’ to describe any facet of Ignatius’s life.

In contrast, Book V listed the virtues of Ignatius, among them charity, humility, obedience, and vigilance. It then ended with Ribadeneyra’s assessment of Ignatius’s miracles, although in order to avoid criticism, he was careful to note that miracles in question were not necessarily associated with Ignatius’s sanctity. Rather, he attributed to the Jesuits who, in all their global missions, worked to convert disbelievers (*infideles*) to Catholicism.¹¹ Such conversions, he explained, were indeed miracles as opposed to cures, exorcisms, and the like. Ribadeneyra made a point to include instances where Ignatius had personally healed, exorcised, and saved people from shipwreck, but refrained from identifying these actions as miracles. As he saw it, the only miracle that Ribadeneyra attributed to Ignatius was the foundation of the Society of Jesus itself.

Ribadeneyra even refused to consider Ignatius’s cures as miracles. One example of Ignatius’s otherworldly powers – and note this was not categorized as a miracle – that Ribadeneyra included in the 1572 *Life* was the cure of Simão Rodrigues (1510-79). The

¹⁰ Antonio Remiro to Antonio Araoz, Naples, 5 May 1572 in *FN* 4: 934. See also O’Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate*, 273. On the average volume of a print-run, I relied on Fernando J. Bouza Álvarez, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*, trans. Sonia López and Michael Agnew (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 43.

¹¹ Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii*, fols. 208-17.

story goes as follows: Rodrigues was one of Ignatius's original companions but in 1537, living in Bassano, he took ill and was apparently close to death. When Ignatius, who happened to be in Vicenza, some 35 kilometers away, heard this news, he rushed to attend to Rodrigues. En route to Bassano, Ignatius experienced a vision wherein God told him that Rodrigues would live. Ignatius later shared the divine prognosis with Rodrigues who was immediately consoled and quickly recovered his health.¹²

Ribadeneyra interpreted this particular story an imaginative way, in as much as Ignatius's vision allowed him to maintain that Rodrigues's recovery was the result of divine intervention as opposed to a miracle that Ignatius himself worked. Despite the overtones of a miraculous cure, Ribadeneyra was careful to escape the stock narrative of person gets sick, person prays to saint, saint heals person, and thus a miracle. It was God that had cured Rodrigues. The Lord simply told Ignatius what would happen ahead of time. And so, the only miracle of Ignatius in the *Life* remained his foundation of the Society of Jesus.

The death of Borja at the age of sixty-one in 1573 ushered in a significant change for Ribadeneyra and his writing about Ignatius. Although the Jesuits combed through the *Life of Ignatius* for inspiration as they searched for Borja's successor, a storm of controversy brewed in the Society of Jesus that had a direct effect on Ribadeneyra.¹³ Italian and Portuguese Jesuits resented continuing Spanish dominance within the Order and their near-monopoly on positions of authority. The same lobby grumbled about the

¹² Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii*, 57 verso-58 recto. Ignatius had also recounted this event to Gonçalves da Câmara: *Recitation*, [95].

¹³ ARSI, Hist. Soc. 42, 159 recto: *Diversi ordini*, 1573.

preponderance of New Christians among the Spanish faction. Ribadeneyra, for example, together with Polanco, Láinez, and Nadal were all of converso ancestry. Instead, the Luso-Italian party demanded a Superior who was not a Spaniard. They got their wish. With the aid of Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85), the Jesuits elected the Luxembourgian Everard Mercurian as their leader.¹⁴

Soon after his appointment, Mercurian, who was sympathetic to the Luso-Italian party, moved quickly to remove Spaniards, especially those of converso origin, from positions of authority within the Order. Ribadeneyra was essentially banished from Rome, heading initially to his home town of Toledo, and starting in 1583, to Madrid, where he remained until his death in 1611.¹⁵ Mercurian also took direct aim at Ribadeneyra's *Life of Ignatius*, going as far as to prevent publication of Giovanni Battista Peruschi's Italian translation that was scheduled to be printed in Venice.¹⁶ In its place, Mercurian tasked Giampietro Maffei an Italian Jesuit (1533-1603), to write a new biography of Ignatius to replace the one by Ribadeneyra.¹⁷

¹⁴ Maryks, *passim*; Thomas Cohen, "Nation, Lineage, and Jesuit Unity in Antonio Possevino's Memorial to Everard Mercurian (1576)," in *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII: espiritualidade e cultura*, 2 vols. (Porto: University of Porto, 2004), 2: 545-47; Pierre Antoine Fabre, "La conversion infinie des 'conversos': enquête sur le statut des nouveaux chrétiens dans la Compagnie de Jésus au XVIe siècle," *Annales* 54, no. 4 (1999): 875-93.

¹⁵ Everard Mercurian, *Instructions to the Provinces of Castile and Toledo concerning Ribadeneyra*, Rome, 10 July 1574 in *M Rib* 2:494-95. On his subsequent career in Spain, see Jodi Bilinkoff, "The Many "Lives" of Pedro de Ribadeneyra," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 180-96; idem, "'A Christian and a Gentleman': Sanctity and Masculine Honor in Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Life of Francis Borgia*," in *Francisco de Borja y su tiempo: Política, religión y cultura*, eds. Enrique García Hernán and María del Pilar Ryan (Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 2011), 447-55.

¹⁶ Miguel Gotor, *Santi stravaganti: Agiografia, ordini religiosi e censura ecclesiastica nella prima età moderna* (Rome: Aracne, 2013), 198.

¹⁷ There is little scholarship on Maffei. Some examples include O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate*, 273-74; Mario Fois, "Everard Mercurian," in *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture, 1573-1580*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Rome: IHSI, 2004), 28-29.

But Maffei failed to finish by Mercurian's death in 1579 leaving the exiled Ribadeneyra a chance to revise his *Life of Ignatius*. Four years later, Ribadeneyra published a Castilian translation in Madrid, introducing only minor changes into the text. Among the slight alterations was his account of a cure from 1541. An Italian novice Stefano Baroelo was fatally ill and diagnosed as beyond all hope by physicians. Ignatius heard news of Baroelo's plight and in a subsequent mass, Ignatius leaned over to Ribadeneyra, who happened to be present, telling him: "Stefano will not die presently."¹⁸ Ignatius was proven right when Baroelo recovered completely. Like with the healing of Rodrigues, Ribadeneyra provided another instance of Ignatius's communication with God, which gave him foresight to divine intercession. Again, Ignatius did not cure Baroelo, but knew that the novice would recover avoiding the problematic designation as miracle-worker.

Ribadeneyra was so confident in his interpretation of Ignatius's life that he took aim at his competitors, such as Maffei. Upon the publication of Maffei's *On the Life and Character of Ignatius Loyola (De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae)* in 1585, Ribadeneyra combed the work for errors. He then assembled a lengthy inventory which charged his adversary with making false statements.¹⁹ Acquaviva even admitted as such in two of his letters to Ribadeneyra from August and September 1585, months after the printing of Maffei's *Life* in January of that year. Although better in style, the Superior found Maffei

¹⁸ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vida del B[ienaventurado] Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Religión de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Alonso Gómez, 1583), 286 verso. "No morira Esteuan desta vez."

¹⁹ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Censurae in vitam S. Ignatii a P. Maffei conscriptam*, Madrid, 1585 in *FN* 3:220, 222, 227, 229-30, 235. See also Ursula König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600* (Berlin: Mann, 1982), 51-53.

credulous. Ribadeneyra, meanwhile, was frank, although lacking Maffei's eloquence.²⁰ This exchange was not Acquaviva's first to comment on Ribadeneyra's *Life of Ignatius*. A year earlier, the Superior urged Ribadeneyra to fine-tune the work so to maximize its ability to console its readers.²¹ Despite his exile from Rome, Ribadeneyra remained the authority on all things Ignatius.

Ribadeneyra, Canonizations, and Clement VIII

In 1593 Jesuits from various parts of the world gathered in Rome for the Order's Fifth General Congregation. One of the aims of this assembly was to launch a campaign to provide the Vatican's newly established CSR the evidence it needed to begin the process of canonizing Ignatius.²² Such proceedings were complicated as the CSR demanded concrete evidence of a candidate's miracles and virtues. According to a definition provided in 1601 by the Roman Augustinian Angelo Rocca, canonization was "canonical and public recognition of the sanctity of some person, who is declared and solemnly proclaimed to be included in the Calendar of Saints."²³ In practice, the procedure of canonization began with a thorough review of the life, virtues, and miracles of the candidate. The CSR would then assess the merits of the candidate through the

²⁰ ARSI, Tolet. 3, 39 verso-40 recto: Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Rome, 12 August 1585; *ibid.*, 41 verso: Acquaviva to Ribadeneyra, Rome, 19 September 1585.

²¹ ARSI, Tolet. 3, 3 verso-4 recto: Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Rome, 15 June 1584.

²² *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuits General Congregations*, eds. And trans. John W. Padberg, Martin D. O'Keefe, and John L. McCarthy (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994), 212.

²³ Angelo Rocca, *De canonizatione sanctorum commentarius* cited in Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 215. "canonizatio est canonica et publica sanctitatis alicuius hominis approbatio, qua quis Catalogo sanctorum adscriptis declaratur et solemniter promulgatur." Ditchfield used the 1610 edition, which I contrasted with the first edition, both of which are identical: Angelo Rocca, *De canonizatione sanctorum commentarius* (Rome: Guillelmo Facciotti, 1601), 5.

interrogation of relevant witnesses.²⁴ If the CSR approved canonization, it was left to the Pope to then decide whether veneration would be universal or local. The CSR maintained this procedure with few changes until it was revised by Pope Urban VIII during his pontificate (r. 1623-44), which began a year after Ignatius's canonization.

Canonizations had long needed the help of secular rulers to grease the Curia's wheels. Supporters of a certain candidate deployed tactics that ranged from cajoling to bribery in order to win over the Pope and, after 1588, members of the CSR. King Philip II used such tactics prior to the 1588 decision of the CSR to vote in favor of the canonization of Diego de Alcalá. The King's campaign had begun as early as 1563, or shortly after Diego's relics had been credited with the miraculous cure of his son, the Infante Carlos. According to one scholar, the king "pressure[d] and cajole[d] three successive popes – Pius V (1566-72), Gregory XIII, and Sixtus V (1585-90)." Approval of Diego's canonization succeeded only after offering Sixtus a "gift" of 21,000 ducats.²⁵

But if Philip had proved willing to support Diego's canonization, he was initially unwilling to endorse that of Ignatius. According to one letter addressed to the Duke of Sessa, the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, in 1593, the king grumbled about the "ambition of these [Jesuit] fathers," albeit for reasons he did not explain but likely to have been connected with the eagerness of the Society to push the CSR to begin the process of

²⁴ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History*, 215, 217; Rocca, 17-23, 72-73, 77-78, 99-100.

²⁵ L.J. Andrew Villalon, "San Diego de Alcalá and the Politics of Saint-Making in Counter-Reformation Europe," *Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (October 1996): 704-15, quotation from 706. For the broader picture of politics and canonization, see Miguel Gotor, *I beati del papa: santità, inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna* (Florence: Olschki, 2002); and Erin K. Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Ávila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

Ignatius's canonization.²⁶ The following year, however, after having been provided with an inventory of Ignatius's miracles, Philip was not only urging Sessa but also the Pope Clement VIII to get the canonization process moving on the grounds that "is so wanted by Christianity."²⁷

Christianity, perhaps. But not Clement, as there is no evidence that the Pope did anything to move the canonization along. The Society, however, took advantage of Philip's support by initiating a series of local investigations into Ignatius's sanctity. These inquiries, conducted under the auspices of papal nuncio Camillo Caetano and the Jesuit procurator general for Spain, Gaspar de Pedrosa, started in Alcalá de Henares (5-10 June 1594), then Madrid (21 July-18 August 1594) and Barcelona (24 August-30 September 1594) before ending in Minorca, Montserrat, and Els Prats de Rei (*Pratorum regis*) (20 October-4 November 1594).

As part of these investigations, Caetano and Pedrosa summoned Ribadeneyra to Madrid to testify about the "miraculous and supernatural things" (*cosas milagrosas y sobrenaturales*) he had attributed to Ignatius in his *Life*.²⁸ More specifically, they asked him whether his account of such "things" was totally forthright or purposely embellished. Ribadeneyra responded by defending the veracity of his work followed by providing Caetano and Pedrosa with a detailed inventory of these "things" that included the

²⁶ Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, leg. 962, doc. 70: Philip II to Antonio Fernández de Córdoba y Cardonna, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 17 October 1593 cited in Gotor, *Santi Stravangti*, 193."pretensión de estos padres [jesuitas]."

²⁷ Philip II to Clement VIII, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 6 August 1594 in *MI Scripta* 2:127-28. Quotation is on page 127. "es tan deseada de la cristiandad."

²⁸ While in Madrid, Caetano and Pedrosa heard evidence from representatives of Azpeitia in the Basque Country as they interviewed Ribadeneyra intermittently between July 13 and August 5.

ecstasies Ignatius had experienced at Manresa; the Vision of Christ he had seen while at La Storta; and the aforementioned cures of Simão Rodrigues and Stefano Baroelo.²⁹

A week later, Ribadeneyra wrote Acquaviva informing him of what he considered the prerequisites of the successful canonization of Ignatius. He began by suggesting that the Jesuits needed representatives from the Order in Rome and Spain to work together to establish a number of local tribunals which would gather information about the life and virtues of Ignatius. Ribadeneyra also restated the need to garner the support of Philip II and his sister, the Empress María of Austria (1528-1603). He then informed Acquaviva that he had taken the initiative to write to “all of the Provincials of the Order in Europe”, asking them to report on “anything known and talked about concerning the sanctity and miracles of our Father [Ignatius].” Ribadeneyra also mentioned hearing rumors of an unspecified miracle by Ignatius that took place during the first translation of Ignatius’s body back when Borja was Superior.³⁰ In the past, the lack of a coherent strategy had undermined the Order’s chances to have Ignatius canonized. Now, as Ribadeneyra urged Acquaviva, the Order needed a more organized effort involving secular rulers as well as the information network to induce the canonization. Philip and María would mobilize Spain and the Papacy into action, while the Jesuits sending news of miracles would provide the necessary evidence of Ignatius’s sanctity.

²⁹ Testimony of Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Madrid, July-August 1595 in Ribadeneyra, *Confesiones*, 221-36, see especially 225-28.

³⁰ Pedro de Ribadeneyra to Claudio Acquaviva, Madrid, 12 August 1595 in *MI Scripta* 2:260-61. “escrui a todos los prouinciales de [261] la Compañía de Europa, que auissen en sus prouincias, que qualquier cosa que supieren y tocaren a la sanctidad o milagros de nuestro Padre, lo auissen, para, que siendo cosa de sustancia, se pueda aueriguar y tomar por testimonio; y no siéndolo, se dexen.” Ribadeneyra suggested the Acquaviva should reach out to the King Sigismund III of Poland, Prince Sigismund Báthory of Transylvania, and the Duke William V of Bavaria and Duke Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy.

The 1595 inquiries focused on the virtues, visions, and prophecies of Ignatius, but did little to address the important issue of his miracles. The CSR did so with the aid of witness testimonies and the lives by Ribadeneyra and Maffei, although how the latter were used go unmentioned in the documents.³¹ In light of the findings of the CSR, the royal printer Juan Flamenco had the sections of Ribadeneyra's *Life* on the virtues of Ignatius published as a standalone tome in 1596. It retained the same aloofness toward miracles, which one scholar ungenerously called "anti-miraculous" (*anti-miracolistico*) since Ribadeneyra's motivations, as we have seen, were far more complicated than that.³² Hesitation and condemnation, after all, are not identical.

The next year, Ribadeneyra addressed the Provincial Congregation of Spanish Jesuits with an update on the canonization. His suggestions from 1595 had been successfully executed. But there were issues with Ignatius's reputation of sanctity. Firstly, Ignatius was without the necessary miracles, in life and post-mortem, needed to canonize a saint since his greatest miracle remained the foundation of the Order and its evangelization of the world.³³ Ribadeneyra's most critical claim in his *Life of Ignatius* now undermined the goal of canonization. Miracles of the more traditional variety were necessary. As we have seen, Diego de Alcalá had performed cures from beyond the grave, which helped fuel his case for canonization. Ignatius had not performed this type of

³¹ APGCG, no. 10, fols. 669-94: *De beato Ignatio [Secundu]m Sumarium*, 1599. On the use of Ribadeneyra and Maffei's vitae, see APGCG, no. 10, 637 recto: *Compendiosa enumeratio miraculorum quorundam a B[eato] Ignatio Loiola Societatis Iesu Fundatore siue dum in humanis agetet, sive post mortem editorum*, 1596.

³² Gotor, *Santi stravaganti*, 195, 197. The work in question is Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *El libro Quinto de la vida del padre Ygnacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Juan Flamenco, 1596).

³³ Pedro de Ribadeneyra to the Provincial Congregation of Spain, Madrid, 5 April 1597 in *MI Scripta* 2: 402-03.

miracle, which severely damaged his saintly reputation, at least, according to the perception of the CSR. Proof of Ignatius's supernatural efficacy was now needed. Ribadeneyra and the Jesuits had to scrounge up reports of cures and exorcisms performed by their Order's founder.

Philip wrote again to Clement in July 1597, four months after Ribadeneyra's report to the Provincial Congregation, to encourage consideration of the procedure to canonize Ignatius.³⁴ So did the Empress María the following month.³⁵ But their entreaties fell on deaf ears since Clement stopped the process in 1598 owing to his disdain for Jesuits and Spaniards. Cesare Baronio, the noted sacred historian, openly admitted that Clement had little interest in Ignatius's canonization.³⁶ Although the canonization was not off the books, it had not advanced any further. As a result, no progress was made in determining the miracles of Ignatius.

Ribadeneyra's stubborn resistance to the promulgation of miracles, however, reversed in 1601 when the second volume of his *Flos sanctorum*, containing a truncated, but miracle-heavy life of Ignatius, was published in Madrid by the printer Luis Sánchez, who eventually became the royal printer in 1601. Ribadeneyra was aware of the extent to which canonizations were politicized due to his reliance on persons associated with Spanish crown. Upon his return to Spain, Ribadeneyra developed a relationship with Spain's royal printers to produce his books, starting with Alonso Gómez and Juan

³⁴ Philip II to Clement VIII, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 19 July 1597 in *MI Scripta* 2: 406-07.

³⁵ Empress María to Clement VIII, Madrid, 8 August 1597 in *MI Scripta* 2: 407-08.

³⁶ A.D. Wright, "'La sua santità non inclina niente': The Papacy and the Canonization of Ignatius Loyola," in *Ite inflamate omnia. Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Rome: IHSI, 2010), 442-43.

Flamenco. This habit culminated with Sánchez whose connections with the royal court were so close that he followed it during its temporary relocation from Madrid to Valladolid (1602-07).³⁷

And Ribadeneyra had a habit of dedicating his books to members of the Spanish court, such as the *Treatise of the Christian Prince* (*Tratado del Principe Christiano*) for the Infante, later king Philip III (r. 1598-1621), and in the case of the *Flos sanctorum*, Philip's queen, Margaret of Austria (r. 1599-1611). Although Philip III supported the canonization, the women of the Spanish court, among them the Austrian Habsburgs Margaret and the Empress María, held considerable influence.³⁸ Ribadeneyra, in an introductory letter to the *Flos sanctorum*, beseeched Margaret to read the life of "our blessed Father" Ignatius, in addition to reminding her of the assistance provided by her ancestors, the Princes of the House of Austria and Bavaria, to the Jesuits.³⁹ Ribadeneyra through his choice of dedicatees found a way to mobilize support for Ignatius through the expansive Habsburg network.

The *Flos sanctorum* and Historical Method

Amid the political wrangling, Ribadeneyra began to produce what became his *Flos sanctorum*, whose first volume would be printed in 1599. The germ for this project likely came from his letter to the Spanish Provincial Congregation of 1597 as well as a

³⁷ Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, "La imprenta y el comercio de libros en Madrid (siglos XVI-XVIII)" (PhD. Dissertation, Universidad Complutense, 1991), 292-96.

³⁸ Julián J. Lozano Navarro, *La Compañía de Jesús y el poder en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2005), 124, 127-29. On the place of the women – Margaret of Austria, the Empress María, and Margaret of the Cross – in Philip's life that challenged and undermined the royal favorite the Duke of Lerma, essential is Magdalena Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

³⁹ Pedro de Ribadeneyra to Margaret of Austria, Madrid, 29 March 1601 in Ribadeneyra, *Flos Sanctorum, o libro de las vidas de santos* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599-1601), 2: sig. ¶ fol. 4.

1598 letter that Acquaviva had sent to all provincials encouraging Jesuits to write histories about conversions, sanctity, and the calamities that plagued foes and deserters of the Society of Jesus.⁴⁰ In the correspondence between Ribadeneyra and Acquaviva, Ribadeneyra seemed unsure about an unnamed history that he was writing, something that Acquaviva reminded him was useful and important for the edification of others. Although Ribadeneyra had finished a history of the Spanish assistancy (*Hispania*) by the time of his death in 1611, the unnamed history was more likely the *Flos sanctorum* in which he enumerated the miracles of the saints and among them was Ignatius.⁴¹ The 1595 inquiries in Toledo about the miracles and supernatural occurrences of Ignatius's life led him to tackle a subject that he had been so reluctant to address.

Any ambivalence that Ribadeneyra had about miracles evaporated in light of Clement's stubbornness, wherein Ribadeneyra, with the approval of Acquaviva, included a life of Ignatius within his *Flos sanctorum*, a controversial genre on account of credulousness as we examined in Chapter One. For this reason, the Vatican included such works on the *Index of Prohibited Books* (*Index prohibitorum librorum*) issued in 1596. The *Index* did not target only *flores sanctorum* since any compilation labelled *flores* was problematic, including collections of epigrams (*Flores epigrammatum*) and tales of virtues (*Flores virtutum*).⁴² The same ban applied in Portugal as seen in the *Index* of 1597

⁴⁰ ARSI, Inst. 121, 174 verso: Claudio Acquaviva to all Jesuit Provincials, Rome, 26 September 1598.

⁴¹ ARSI, Hisp. 94: Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús de las Provincias de España y parte de las del Piru y Nueva España y Philippinas*, c. 1611.

⁴² *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Rome: Impressoes Camerales, 1596), 15 verso. "Flores epigrammatum / Flores Romani / Flores sanctorum / Flores Virtutum"

published in Lisbon.⁴³ Yet such works retained their popularity in Spain, where they remained off the *Index* bar one problematic edition from Zaragoza.⁴⁴

Each of the major religious orders competed with one another in a race to publish *flores sanctorum* highlighting the importance of the saints of Spanish Catholicism. The first of such works was of Dominican Juan de Marieta's *Ecclesiastic History and Flowers of the Saints of Spain* (*Historia eclésiastica y flores de Santos de España*) published in 1594. It was then followed by the Franciscan Pedro Ortíz Lucio's *Flos sanctorum* in 1605. Next to appear in 1613 was secular Bartolomé Cairasco y Figueroa's *Church Militant* (*Templo militante*).⁴⁵ And while they all recounted miracles, each maintained a specific focus, the most common of which were the saints of one's homeland, the Iberian Peninsula, or a particular religious order. Unsurprisingly, few made mention of Ignatius.

The one exception was the excessively popular *flos sanctorum* by Alonso de Villegas (1533-1603). This chaplain from Toledo produced a five-volume omnibus that included the lives of Christ, Mary, biblical figures, and any and all saints, which had fifty-seven editions in circulation between 1580 and 1600. Villegas the generalist would have included a life for Ignatius for his comprehensive *flos sanctorum*. In this account, which cited Ribadeneyra repeatedly, Ignatius had no miracles and was among the

⁴³ *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1597), 25 verso.

⁴⁴ *Index et catalogus librorum prohibitorum* (Madrid: Alfonso Gómez, 1583), 66 verso. "Flos sanctorum, impresso en Zaragoza año de 1556."

⁴⁵ Juan de Marieta, *Historia eclésiastica y flores de Santos de España* (Cuenca: Juan Masselin, 1594); Pedro Ortíz Lucio, *Flos sanctorum* (Madrid: Miguel Serrano de Vargas, 1605); Bartolomé Cairasco y Figueroa, *Templo Militante: Flos sanctorum, y triumphos de sus virtudes* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1613).

extravagantes, the saints wandering outside the official liturgy.⁴⁶ Based on Villegas's inclusion of Ignatius in what was arguably one of the most popular *flos sanctorum* in Spain, there was a demand for a popular retelling of the life of Ignatius.

Although *flores sanctorum* were popular literature, they were also serious learned endeavours as evidenced in Ribadeneyra's claim that he drew from the *Ecclesiastic Annals* (*Annales ecclesiastici*) by Baronio, which became the benchmark for subsequent historians of the Counter-Reformation. In the *Annals*, Baronio intended to produce a history of Christianity from its early centuries into the sixteenth century, which he based on primary sources, previously unpublished and unused, although he only got to the twelfth century before his death in 1607. According to Ribadeneyra, Baronio was the premier historian "in these most dangerous times," who with untiring study and incredible diligence "read the lives and books of the saints." Baronio, in Ribadeneyra's estimation, had recovered and accumulated sources ("things that were buried"), "observed and collected other scattered things", while critically analyzing these sources ("ascertained what was doubtful"). Baronio provided for his readers the revelation for a Christian Republic through its history, all of which Ribadeneyra wanted to implement in his *Flos sanctorum*.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Alonso de Villegas, *Flos sanctorum y Historia general*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588), 2: 138 verso. The entry is surprisingly long at fifteen pages. For more on Villegas, see Jaime Sánchez Romeralo, "Alonso de Villegas: semblanza del autor de la *Selvagia*," in *Actas del Quinto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, eds. François López et al., 2 vols. (Bordeaux: Université de Bordeaux III, 1977), 2: 784-86; Katrina B. Olds, *Forging the Past: Invented Histories in Counter-Reformation Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 50-51, 120-21.

⁴⁷ Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 1: sig. ¶¶ 5 verso – 6 recto. "al cual escogió el Señor en estos nuestros tiempos tan calamitosos, para que con un estudio infatigable, è increíble diligencia, emplease la mayor y mejor parte de su vida, en la lección de las vidas y libros de los Santos, y con maduro y acertado juicio resucitase algunas cosas que estaban sepultadas; observase, y recogiese otras esparcidas;

The *Flos sanctorum* continued Ribadeneyra's practice of using worthy examples that best illustrated certain aspects of sanctity. He had done so in most of his earlier writings, starting with the first edition of the *Life of Ignatius* from 1572, but there he had focused exclusively on virtues. In the *Flos sanctorum*, however, he elaborated on the miracles of Ignatius in the vein of the flores sanctorum attached to other orders and by Alonso de Villegas. His method also resembled that employed by the royal historian Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa, whom he cited.⁴⁸ Garibay compared the historian with a florist who, in order to make a garland, carefully selected the best flowers at hand. Even the title, *Flos sanctorum*, translated as 'flower of the saints' refers to process of selection based on Garibay's horticultural metaphor. Similarly, Ribadeneyra cultivated a miraculous cult by pruning and arranging the miracles of Ignatius in a way most agreeable. This habit of collecting and arranging did not end with the *Flos sanctorum*. He did much of the same in his bibliography and martyrology of the Society of Jesus, but in these works, he sought to enumerate the breadth, learnedness, and suffering of his confreres.⁴⁹ In the *Flos sanctorum*, however, Ribadeneyra had to select only the finest miracles to convey the sanctity of Ignatius – ones that best articulate his miraculous exemplarity.

averiguase las dudosas; diese luz à las oscuras, è ilustrase la historia Eclesiástica, con singular beneficio de la República Cristiana." The 'Christian Republic' was a broader obsession of Ribadeneyra's found in his political treatises: José María Iñurrategui Rodríguez, *La gracia y la república: el lenguaje político de la teología católica y el Príncipe Cristiano de Pedro de Ribadeneyra* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 1998).

⁴⁸ Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 115-17. For another example of a similar metaphor in Roman Antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia, and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1979), 113-17.

⁴⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Catalogus scriptorum Societatis Iesu*.

A Garden of Miracles

Ribadeneyra was aware of the limitations of his earlier standalone biographies since he alleged, in a preface for the new life, to have spent insufficient time on the “other multitude of miracles that God had worked through the intercession of this blessed father,” a lacuna that needed filling post haste. Interestingly, he only realized this oversight in 1597 as seen in his aforementioned letter to the Provincial Congregation of Spain.⁵⁰ So what miracles did Ribadeneyra pick for his *Flos sanctorum*? His categorization consisted of sixty-two miracles of four types with a basis in Scripture: cures (such as Jesus with the Lepers); the manipulation of nature (walking on water); exorcisms (such as the one performed by Jesus at the Synagogue in Capernaum); and finally the ability to move the hearts of people (when he summoned the apostles). I imagine that this is the kind of ‘proof’ the CSR required and one imagines that Ribadeneyra compiled that list with the CSR in mind.

There remained into the seventeenth century a continued trust in healers with God-given gifts. Virtuous men and women with divine power could heal the afflicted of whatever ailed them, while medical and religious authorities kept a close watch for chicanery, whether unlicensed healers or potential saints.⁵¹ With respect for example to cures, Ribadeneyra seemingly understood that the CSR equated instantaneous cures with miracles. Those that occurred more slowly were classified simply as a grace and therefore

⁵⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2: 846-47. “expliquemos algunos de los otros muchos milagros que Dios ha obrado por intercession deste B[eato] Padre.”

⁵¹ María Tausiet, *Abracadabra Omnipotens: Magia urbana en Zaragoza en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2007), 133-37.

not directly relevant to the proofs needed for canonization.⁵² With these criteria in mind, Ribadeneyra claimed that Ignatius healed fevers, heart palpitations, plague, foot problems, abscesses, and many others starting a day after his death. Most of these cures – forty-six in all – occurred in Spain (Gandia in particular), Italy, and a few others in Germany and Hungary.⁵³

Yet even as Ribadeneyra compiled this list, he recognized that they would not carry much weight with the CSR. According to the standards of the day, especially the criteria set for by Ludolph of Saxony, cures represented the bottom of the hierarchy of miracles whereas exorcisms were on the very top. A number of cures and exorcisms occurred as Ribadeneyra was writing the *Flos sanctorum*. To compensate for the lack of prestige, Ribadeneyra supplied essential information about these miracles, including the illnesses, names, places, and dates, which were worked into short expositions to provide corroboration for the extraordinary claims. Ribadeneyra typically also included a brief statement about the attempts to use treatments of physicians and surgeons, whose efforts were in vain. This inclusion, while amplifying Ignatius's ability to perform miracles, was also necessary for the CSR's burden of proof since any cure could easily be found to have a readily available remedy. It was most likely a miracle, however, if there were no natural courses of treatment. Cures were relatively simple occurrences to assess since witnesses and advocates were easy to find and interrogate due to the networks that formed during canonization trials after 1588 to seek out these testimonies.⁵⁴ While low on the hierarchy

⁵² Vidal, 488-90; Pomata, "Malpighi and the Holy Body," 576 n. 48.

⁵³ Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2: 855-67.

⁵⁴ Parigi, 80-82.

of miracles, the abundance of cures in number and detail made them ideal evidence to forward to the CSR.

Another type of miracle that Ribadeneyra knew would be popular with the public, but less impressive to the CSR was the reversal or alteration of natural phenomena, such as when Christ calmed the sea or fed the five-thousand. This type of miracle was a fixture of ‘local religion’ as discussed in the introduction and Chapter One. Ribadeneyra claimed that Ignatius had worked two of these miracles. Ignatius purportedly calmed the Caribbean Sea, once off the coast of Jamaica, the other on route back to Iberia.⁵⁵ The persons onboard used relics in both instances to prevent maritime disaster, and while Chapter Five examines the non-European miracles in greater depth, the paucity of these miracles befits some mention, for they were scorned by the CSR, a tendency likely not lost on Ribadeneyra. One sociologist, for example, tabulated that of the 511 miracles verified by the CSR for all candidates between 1588 and 1642, only forty-two involved the manipulation of nature. Cures, in contrast, numbered at 433.⁵⁶ Although natural miracles constituted much of ‘local religion’, they were discounted by the CSR in the determination of sainthood. That, however, did not make these miracles irrelevant since they were taken seriously by the populace, and would increase the popularity of a proposed saint. Sailors, for example, frequently directed their prayers to a number of intercessors, the most notable was their patron, Pedro González Telmo, whom

⁵⁵ Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2: 867-68.

⁵⁶ Parigi, 62.

Ribadeneyra included in a later edition of his *Flos sanctorum*.⁵⁷ While such miracles proliferated in early modern Catholicism, those attributed to Ignatius require analysis alongside other miracles ignored by the CSR, specifically those reports from outside of Europe, to be pursued in Chapter Five.

Exorcisms, unlike cures and the manipulation of nature, were supernatural remedies directed toward demoniacs, which provided the CSR greater proof of sanctity than cures. In early modern Castilian, demons were spirits and angels, good and evil alike. Exorcisms, however, involved evil spirits exclusively that went by many names: Satan, Belial, Beelzebub, Leviathan, lord of the flies, and so on.⁵⁸ These demons preferred to target ordinary women perceived, according to early modern interpretations, as weak and easily persuaded. Possessions were not a subject taken lightly as theologians and physicians alike sought out remedies for the afflicted albeit with caution. If a person was truly a demoniac, medicine would do nothing and religious intervention alone could ameliorate. In order to assess possessions, clerics would provide placebos such as those in one French case, wherein a demoniac received pieces of the True Cross, Holy Water, and Latin recitations to rid her of a demon, which did nothing because random shards of wood, well-water, and verses of Virgil lacked the presence or sacred power to perform exorcisms. Physical objects were integral to the performance of exorcisms, especially if

⁵⁷ Iberian mariners blended a medieval cult for St. Erasmus (Elmo in Spanish and Portuguese) with that of a Galician friar (Pedro González) to form a distinct patron reserved exclusively for the Portuguese and Spanish men of the sea. On the cult and veneration of Pedro González Telmo, see Pablo E. Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Carla Rahn Phillips (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 242-43; Lorenzo Galmés, *El bienaventurado Fray Pedro González, O.P., San Telmo* (Salamanca: Editorial San Esteban, 1991), 148-76. Ribadeneyra included Pedro González Telmo among the extravagantes in his 1604 edition: Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1604), 2: 82-86.

⁵⁸ Covarrubias, 303 verso.

the miracle was done after a saint's death, yet, as with cures, all natural possibilities had to be exhausted before heavenly intercession could be considered.⁵⁹ Unlike cures, which were plentiful and relatively easy to confirm, exorcisms were extremely difficult to prove, although they occupied the top of Ludolph of Saxony's hierarchy.

The twelve exorcisms Ribadeneyra attributed to Ignatius were a miscellany involving men, women, and children living in the Basque Country as well as Sicily and the island of Majorca. Ignatius performed two of these exorcisms himself while the other took place after his death with the help of objects associated with the Jesuit founder. Images of Ignatius, for example, accounted for three of these exorcisms, while an unidentified relic performed another. Ignatius's posthumous powers are also reflected in Ribadeneyra's account of another exorcism that occurred in Sicily in 1556. In that year the Spanish viceroy in Sicily had prayed to Ignatius to help expel a demon who had possessed an unnamed woman. Overhearing this prayer, the demon could be heard saying "that his enemy Ignatius was now dead, and he went to heaven among the other founders, Dominic and Francis."⁶⁰

The Ignatian exorcism that Ribadeneyra accorded the most attention was one involving five women from Modena which occurred in 1600. Four of these women were sisters from a noble family (three maidens, one married), while the fifth was the sisters' unmarried niece. The five women in question suffered from demonic possession that had

⁵⁹ Clark, 389-96; Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 136-38; María Jesús Zamora Calvo, "Posesiones y exorcismos en la Europa Barroca," *Garoza. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Literarios de Cultura Popular* 3 (2003): 213-29.

⁶⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2: 848. "que su enemigo Ignacio ya era muerto, y estaua en el cielo entre los otros fundadores de religiones, santo Domingo y S[an] Francisco."

proved impervious to medical treatments, as well as prayers, masses, holy water, saints' relics, and even pilgrimages to sanctuaries renowned for their curative powers. After exhausting all other options, however, Ribadeneyra reports that an engraving of Ignatius led to God's intervention and the successful exorcism of the five women.⁶¹ Ribadeneyra's accounts of the other exorcisms attributed to Ignatius customarily required no more than more than a single paragraph. In contrast, his account of this one occupied four full pages of text. To add additional weight to the veracity of this miracle, he listed the names of the Jesuits and other individuals who had witnessed the event. He also compared it, favorably, to another multiple exorcism attributed to St. Malachy (1095-1148) suggesting that Ignatius's was far greater than Malachy's in much as that saint had only cured two individuals whereas Ignatius's involved five. Oddly, however, Ribadeneyra withheld the names of the five women who were cured, an omission that might be attributed to his hesitance to overstate a notoriously difficult type of miracle to assess prior to its examination by the CSR.

The last category of miracle that Ribadeneyra attributed to Ignatius and which was hardest to prove were those entailing his power "to move the hearts of people." "To move the heart" was understood as an inner, spiritual transformation that encouraged an individual or group of individuals to alter their lives, customs and beliefs and to dedicate themselves completely to following, even imitating the life of Christ. It was also something that applied to Christians and non-Christians alike. In a 1584 letter to Ribadeneyra, Fray Luis de Granada, the most widely read Catholic writer of the late-

⁶¹ Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2: 850-53.

sixteenth century, reasoned that the miracles of Ignatius that “bear greater fruit is the movement of souls rather than bodies.”⁶² “To move the soul” in early modern Castilian was tantamount “to moving the heart” since the heart and spirits were perceived as conjoined.⁶³ Christ had elaborated on this idea [Mark 15:1-20] among the apostles after he had chastised the Pharisees for their empty words in praise of God. Whatever is in the heart exits through the mouth, so if the inner orientation was misdirected, at least according to Christian precepts, sin would become real when spoken, which in turn, would defile the person. Speech amplifies the good or baseness in the heart.

Ignatius thus had to be in a state wherein his heart was free of sin so that he could successfully speak to sinners and then redeem them through his untainted words. Eloquence, however, held secondary importance, despite the standing of rhetoric among the Jesuits. If a person, Jesuit or otherwise, was in a state of constant sin, they could not move hearts, regardless of eloquence or theological learnedness as a Jesuit claimed in his revision of the *Imitation of Christ*.⁶⁴ Ignatius, according to Ribadeneyra, lived a virtuous life, largely free of sin, and could move hearts with his speech despite a lack of fluency, evident in his mediocre Italian as recalled by Ribadeneyra. Since virtue alone emanated from Ignatius’s mouth, he could perform miracles by speaking to someone and subsequently change their inner orientation away from sin.

⁶² Luis de Granada to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Lisbon, 28 July 1584 in Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vida del padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la religión de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Widow of Alonso Gómez, 1586), s.n. “quanto es de mayor fruto la mudança de los animos, que la de los cuerpos.”

⁶³ Covarrubias, 237 recto.

⁶⁴ Francisco Arias, *Parte segunda del libro de la imitación de Christo Nuestro Señor* (Seville: Juan de León, 1599), 559.

And these miracles were fewer in number compared to the abundant exorcisms and cures due to its high improbability of proof since without the divinely-inspired words, no miracle would result.⁶⁵ While many of the other types of miracles proffered extensive information, the two ‘moving of heart’ miracles lacked substantive evidence. At best, Ribadeneyra could speak to the audience and content of Ignatius’s miraculous words, other details, however, were not provided. Although included for the sake of thoroughness, Ribadeneyra, for the most part, recounted these miracles as quickly as possible. One exception was the conversion of Isaac the Jew, which was significant due to the ongoing converso controversies rife in the Society of Jesus. Ribadeneyra had included the episode in his earlier lives, but he had attributed it to the Holy Spirit and not Ignatius.⁶⁶ Isaac was a Roman Jew who had joined a Jesuit novitiate at some point in the 1540s, but by the time of his pending baptism, Isaac was having second thoughts about his conversion. Ribadeneyra reported that the efforts of other Jesuits to convince Isaac to convert failed until Ignatius came and remarked to Isaac: “Stay with us Isaac.”⁶⁷ And Isaac stayed.

The conversion of Isaac was of great personal significance for Ribadeneyra amid a time of controversy within the Society of Jesus. The Congregation General of 1593, the same meeting that initiated the canonization of Ignatius, had banned conversos from

⁶⁵ Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2: 853-55.

⁶⁶ Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Ignacio* (1586), 364 verso.

⁶⁷ Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2: 854. “*Quedaos co[n] nosotros Isaac*” I suspect that Isaac’s baptism occurred between 1540 and 1552 since it corresponded with the establishment of the Order in 1540 and the mention of a Jewish convert named Isaac in a 1552 letter from Cologne. The letter purportedly identifying Isaac is Johann Rhedt to Ignatius Loyola, Cologne, November-December 1552 in *MI Epp* 12:449. “Est hic Joannes Isaac, judaeus baptizatus, hebraica lingua peritissimus” It was not uncommon for Jesuits to travel between Rome and Cologne using the Spanish Road and the Rhine: O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 63-64.

entering the Society. Ribadeneyra had grandfathered rights to remain, yet he viewed the measures as a betrayal of Ignatius's vision for the Jesuits who had justified the admission of New Christians based on Scripture.⁶⁸ Dismissive in some ways toward his ancestry, Ribadeneyra was also a vocal opponent of the ban on conversos.⁶⁹ Although respected in Spain, where his converso status went largely unnoticed, Ribadeneyra was a problematic figure in Italy due to his lineage, which led to a begrudging acceptance since he soon became the sole historian of Ignatius. Ribadeneyra's rival, Maffei, was an Italian of impeccable Christian ancestry. Acquaviva, however, relegated Maffei to the sidelines with busywork until his death in 1603.⁷⁰

By the 1590s, when the anti-converso panic was in full swing, Ribadeneyra used this miracle of Ignatius to argue in favor of toleration for Jesuit conversos, albeit subtly since he could hardly write 'stay with us conversos' without repercussions. For the anti-converso Jesuits, the miracle would have articulated the ability for Ignatius to overcome the 'error' of Judaism. For Ribadeneyra, however, it was a jab at the anti-converso policies that had begun with Mercurian. If Ignatius encouraged Jews and persons of Jewish descent to convert and then become Jesuits, Ribadeneyra argued, so should the anti-converso lobby.

Once Ribadeneyra had compiled his roster of miracles in the *Flos sanctorum*, it remained the same even after Clement reinitiated the procedure in 1600, wherein

⁶⁸ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 59. Ignatius's Biblical justification [Romans 10:12] reads "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and is generous to all who call on him."

⁶⁹ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Las razones que se me ofrescen para no hazer nouedad en el admitir gente en la Compañía*, Madrid, 1593 in *M Rib* 2:374-84.

⁷⁰ ARSI, Rom. 14-I, 38 recto: Acquaviva to Maffei, Rome, 7 July 1592; Rom. 14-I, 79 verso: Acquaviva to Maffei, Rome, 14 August 1593.

miracles were constantly reviewed and confirmed by the CSR. The procedure moved so slowly that little changed until Clement's death in 1605 and revision may have seemed pointless to Ribadeneyra. Although he made no changes to his *Flos sanctorum*, Jesuits continued to send him reports of miracles. One of his confreres, Francisco de Aguado, the rector of the college at Huete in Cuenca, sent Ribadeneyra a detailed report about a miracle he had witnessed. Aguado described a woman in his parish, María Esculada, who had become possessed by three devils in 1603 named Beelzebub, Barabbas, and Satan. Any of the treatment options available nearby were quickly exhausted and María's family and the local residents began to panic. The Jesuit college in town held a letter written in Ignatius's hand, why not try that? And sure enough, on 4 January 1604, the letter was placed upon María and the demons fled instantly.⁷¹

Aguado waited until Clement's death, aware of his hostility to the canonization of Ignatius, to send Ribadeneyra the report on the exorcism of María Esculada. Whether Ribadeneyra responded to Aguado is unknown, but the miracle was absent from the *Flos sanctorum* and the inventory compiled by the CSR. Ribadeneyra likely ignored Aguado's miracle-account since it seemed so cliché. Inquisitors frequently oversaw such cases involving demons with the same names and Aguado's report seemed so riddled of commonplaces that Ribadeneyra would be skeptical of its claims.⁷²

Post-Clement Clemency

⁷¹ BNE, ms. 6149, fol. 295: Francisco de Aguado to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Huete, 16 October 1605; fol. 296-309: Francisco de Aguado, *Relacion de un milagro q[ue] Dios N[uestro] S[eñ]or a obrado el año pasado...en la ciudad de Huete librando a una muger en demonada por intercession del B[eato] P[adr]e Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Comp[añ]ia de Jesús*, 1605.

⁷² Tausiet, 29, 119-21.

Clement VIII died on 3 March 1605. The canonization procedure restarted due to, as Ribadeneyra would later recall, Clement's successors, Leo XI (r. 1605) and Paul V (r. 1605-21). Leo had renewed the process, as Ribadeneyra claimed, quite the feat for a twenty-six day papacy (1-27 April). Paul became Pope on May 16, after which he appointed a three-man Rota, a tribunal effectively, to oversee each local inquiry.⁷³ Witnesses called to testify for the Rota had to answer twenty-one questions, many of which asked the witness to identify him or herself – name, age, occupation, and so on – and their knowledge of Ignatius including his ancestry, his life, and, with questions seventeen to twenty-one, his miracles.⁷⁴ Witnesses first had to acknowledge and define a miracle and then distinguish between a miracle and a grace. Inquisitors subsequently wanted specifics about the miracles: where, when, who, what, and how. After which, witnesses had to explain how the miracle was an intercession of Ignatius with the final questions compelling the witness to classify the miracle, following Aquinas's categories and if true. For witnesses whose education was limited or lacked theological expertise, a common answer listed was “to not know” (*nescire*). With the exception of the procedures held in Italy, the testimonies found in archives were translated into Latin and likely lost something in translation.

⁷³ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Relación de lo que ha sucedido en el negocio de la Canonización del bienaventurado P[adre] Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Religión de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1609), fol. 22. Paul V appointed Alessandro Lodovico, Giambattista Panfilio, and Alfonso Manzanedo de Quiñones to form the Rota. On the Jesuit response to Paul's restart of the canonization, see APGCG, no. 10, 907 recto: Lorenzo de' Paoli to Paul V, 1605, Rome; and *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 218, when the sixth Congregation General convened in 1608, many provinces requested the Jesuit Curia to petition Paul V about the canonizations of Ignatius and Francis Xavier.

⁷⁴ The questions are found in the Remissorial Scroll on the Canonization of Ignatius in *MI Scripta* 2:523-27. Contrary to the consensus of some, only a sliver of the witness testimonies appear in print.

Ribadeneyra, on the other hand, had no problems with his Latin or theology. The octogenarian testified on 11 October 1606 at the inquiry held in Madrid describing himself as somebody who lived as a member of a religious order who celebrated mass every day.⁷⁵ And when prompted, Ribadeneyra explained that a miracle is “an unusual work that God performs above and beyond the course of nature in either substance or mode.”⁷⁶ Ribadeneyra here had maintained conventions about miracles, such as their rarity and performance by God, yet he modified theology to his taste. Aquinas explained that miracles were contrary, above, and beyond nature, while Ribadeneyra simplified this schema, doing away with things contrary to nature. Only God could supersede his own handiwork, according to Ribadeneyra, by performing miracles in substance and mode, Scholastic categories with Aristotelian origins. Ribadeneyra’s usage, however, was idiosyncratic for in one of his earlier histories, he used “in substance or mode” as an alternative for everything. In Ribadeneyra’s estimation, therefore, God performs miracles above and beyond nature everywhere.⁷⁷

Ribadeneyra attributed thirty miracles to Ignatius – “fifteen by intercession and fifteen by account [*ad rationem*].” These miracles were to be taken most seriously,

⁷⁵ Remissorial Process for Toledo in *MI Scripta* 2: 802. “uiuere expensis religionis; quasi singulis diebus missam celebrare”

⁷⁶ APGCG, no. 6, 291 recto: *Summarium Depositionum testium ubicumq[ue] exaitorum iuxta Interrogatoria in causa canonizationis B[eati] P[atris] Ignatii*, 1611-15. “Miraculum est opus insolitus quod operatur Deus ex[tr]a et supra cursum n[atur]ae uel in substantia uel in modo.” The documents are subsequent translations of the testimonies gathered prior to the canonization, Ribadeneyra could have answered the questions in Latin, Castilian, or Italian. The original’s whereabouts are unknown.

⁷⁷ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Las obras del P[adre] Pedro de Ribadeneyra de la Compañía de Jesus* (Madrid: Widow of Pedro de Madrigal, 1595), 663.

although fifty-four were under deliberation.⁷⁸ Apart from quantity, he withheld specifics. When compared to the sixty-two miracles found in the *Flos sanctorum*, Ribadeneyra had scaled back and even arranged miracles according to credibility, which explains the lack of revisions to subsequent editions of his *Flos sanctorum*. When prompted at the procedure, he believed that many of Ignatius's miracles were the result of virtue, consequently, bolstering any claim of intercession.⁷⁹ The canonization procedure forced Ribadeneyra to change his understanding of miracles in relation to virtue, and the link remained ambivalent for the rest of his life, a saint, however, cannot perform miracles without virtues.

Memento Mori

By Ribadeneyra's death in September 1611, many had become convinced of Ignatius's efficacy as a miracle worker. According to Ribadeneyra, Philip III and Margaret of Austria celebrated the 1609 beatification of Ignatius in Madrid, and it extended across the Iberian world.⁸⁰ Margaret, to whom the *Flos sanctorum* is dedicated, would die only a few weeks after Ribadeneyra. Portuguese Jesuits, avid readers of Ribadeneyra (so they claimed), celebrated prematurely in Coimbra in 1607.⁸¹ Ribadeneyra continued to be read after his death, as evidenced by the Valencian Jesuits who in 1611 produced handwritten copies of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* and its

⁷⁸ *Summarium Depositionum*, 368 verso-369 recto. "se ad 15 inter[cessione]m et ad rationem 15 circa opinionem sanctitatis (illam habes in 54 arto)"

⁷⁹ *Summarium Depositionum*, 388 verso.

⁸⁰ Ribadeneyra, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 272 recto.

⁸¹ ARSI, Lus. 74, 96 verso: Cristóvão Gil to João Álvares, Coimbra, 5 August 1607.

French, Italian, English, and Flemish translations.⁸² And a month after Ribadeneyra's death, Ignatius, according to a French pamphlet, allegedly performed a miracle in Toulouse.⁸³

Ignatius was alleged to have worked miracles, yet problems abounded in the concept and assignment of miracles as evident in the biographies by Ribadeneyra and Maffei. These sacred historians had included virtues without any thought, but miracles were too problematic to incorporate without any justification. Ribadeneyra's avoidance receded once his *Flos sanctorum* circulated since he could no longer ignore Clement's halt of the canonization proceedings. He transitioned from the 'supernatural and miraculous things' in 1595 to the openly embracing Ignatius as a miracle worker. In the interim, Ribadeneyra provided an inventory of miracles by Ignatius in the *Flos sanctorum* as a response to Acquaviva's order, the limitations of his earlier lives, and especially Clement. The strained relationship between Clement and the Jesuits placed the proceedings in a bind that was further complicated by the tensions between Madrid and Rome.

So how did the inventory compiled by the CSR match up with Ribadeneyra's? It had divided the miracles according to when they occurred, in Ignatius's lifetime (*in vitam*) or after his death (*post mortem*). There were fifteen miracles in life, ten of which

⁸² AHN, Clero, Jesuitas, leg. 257, no. 87, n.p.: Jerónimo Villanueva to Unknown, Valencia, 11 July 1611. For a later example, see AHN, Clero, Jesuitas, leg. 257, no. 119, n.p.: Pedro Cavigio to Jerónimo Gavez, Valencia, 27 May 1619. The practice of manuscript flores sanctorum was not limited to the Society of Jesus, for instance, BNE, mss. 7096-98: *Santoral o Flos sanctorum*, c. 17th century.

⁸³ *Miracle du Patriarche Ignace Loyola faict à Thoulouse anno 1611* (s.l.: s.n., 1612).

appeared in the *Flos sanctorum*.⁸⁴ Ribadeneyra had included many of them in his earlier lives, such as the conversion of Isaac and the cures of Simão Rodrigues and Stefano Baroelo, cures that Ribadeneyra had considered among the ‘supernatural and miraculous things’ in his 1595 testimony. As for the post-mortem miracles, there is an obvious limitation of comparison since Ribadeneyra’s inventory stops at 1601, whereas the CSR continued to accumulate reports. It determined that Ignatius had performed twenty miracles of this variety, six of which appeared in the *Flos sanctorum*. Whatever Ribadeneyra knew about, he reported.⁸⁵

The once argumentative novice, who lambasted Ignatius’s lessons on Christian doctrine in broken Italian, had cultivated, decades later, a miraculous cult for Ignatius. Luis de Granada called Ribadeneyra a modern-day St. Bonaventure. Luis told the Jesuits that “I learned not from Quintilian, but Saint Bonaventure who wrote the life of Saint Francis since he took part in the same spirit of the saint. The *Life of Ignatius* is written very well, although the words are not Ciceronian.”⁸⁶ Ribadeneyra’s *Life* was so effective due to its accessible prose as well as his relationship with Ignatius to which Luis compared with the rapport shared by Bonaventure (1221-74) and Francis of Assisi (1181/2-1226). Bonaventure, as Luis noted, wrote the definitive biography for his order’s

⁸⁴ APGCG: no. 3, 19 recto, 25 recto, 31 recto, 33 recto, 37 recto, 39 recto, 41 recto, 43 recto, 45 recto, 47 recto, 49 recto, 51 recto, 55 recto, 57 recto, 59 recto: *Summarium Miraculorum B.P. Ignatii tam in vita quam post-mortem tam quae sunt in Rotulo quam extra Rotulu[m] tam ex processit Remissorialibus Compulsoriali quam informatiuis*, c. 1605-09.

⁸⁵ *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, 63 recto, 67 recto, 69 recto, 73 recto, 75 recto, 77 recto, 108 recto, 109 recto, 113 recto, 117 recto, 119 recto, 123 recto, 125 recto, 129 recto, 131 recto, 133 recto, 135 recto, 139 recto, 145 recto.

⁸⁶ Luis de Granada to Ribadeneyra, s.n. “aprendi, no de Quintiliano, sino de S[an] Buenaentura, que escriue la vida de su padre S[an] Francisco, y como el participaua el mismo espíritu del santo, assi la escriue muy bien escrita, aunque las palabras no sean Ciceronianas.”

founder, much as Ribadeneyra had done for Ignatius. Such parallelism has long been part of Catholic religious culture, acting as shorthand for readers to ground their present within the Christian past.

Ribadeneyra, however, felt his own saintly acumen lacking, despite writing the life of Ignatius and other Jesuits.

I am so certain and faithful a witness of the holy lives [of Ignatius, Laínez, and Borja] and bound by many reasons to imitate them, but I never would have written lives for others, when I compare my life so unlike theirs. Others have taken advantage of what I have written, and that they irrigate their fields with the examples of these holy men, while I remain as land parched and burnt bearing no fruit.⁸⁷

Ribadeneyra saw himself as a ‘faithful witness’ in his sacred histories which extended to his testimony at the two inquiries of 1595 and 1606. But the worthy example of Ignatius given to readers, such as Luis, made no imprint on Ribadeneyra, as he claimed, although this seems to be self-deprecation more than anything else.

After a long and action-packed life, he died in relative tranquility. In a letter written on the day of his death, the Jesuit Provincial Hernando Lucero recalled that Ribadeneyra “received the sacrament of Last Unction in front of an image of our saintly Father [Ignatius]. It was always present and left us full of feeling and edification. And with much peace and calm, Ribadeneyra gave his soul to the Lord.”⁸⁸ The images of Ignatius, such as the one that Ribadeneyra was said to keep by his side, and their

⁸⁷ Ribadeneyra and López, 105. “soy tan cierto y fiel testigo de su sancta vida, y obligado por tantos títulos a ymitarlas aunque nunca las huiera escrito para los otros, quando considero la mía tan desemejante de la suya, y que otros se aprobechan de los que yo he escrito, y que riegan sus campos con los exemplos destes sanctos varones, y yo me quedo como tierra seca y quemada isn fruto”

⁸⁸ Hernando Lucero to Juan Robledo, Madrid, 22 September 1611 in *M Rib* 2:498. “Reciuió también el sacramento de la Extrema Vnçión, y tiniendo siempre delante la imagen de nuestro s[anto] P[adre], estando todos presentes, y dexándonos llenos de sentimiento y de aedificación, con mucho paz y quietud dió su alma a nuestro Señor.”

ambivalent relationship with miracles, much like that with sacred histories, are the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: TO SEE A MIRACLE-WORKER

In a 1611 portrait of Ribadeneyra, the sacred historian stood against a black background. **[Figure 2]** The somber backdrop emphasized a bald man with slender time-worn features. Yet his gaze was pointed and fierce, a sign of a fiery disposition that also looked off into the distance, which was meant to represent humility. Resting upon a nearby table was his *Life of Ignatius* and *Flos sanctorum*; the Blessed Name of Jesus (IHS) radiated above him; and his hands held a representation of Ignatius flanked by angels. This portrait of Ribadeneyra emphasized the historian's two passions: the *Flos sanctorum* representing a written history of Ignatius and his miracles; and the painting representing Ribadeneyra's pursuit of a likeness of Ignatius.¹

But the image in Ribadeneyra's hand was without miracles, despite their increased presence within the iconography and as conduits for healing. Representations of Ignatius could depict the Jesuit founder, record his miracles, and act as a miraculous object in and of itself. Just as Ribadeneyra's printed words became the guardian of Ignatius's miracles, this visual culture, initiated by Ribadeneyra before he devoted himself to the *Flos sanctorum*, functioned as a repository of miracles as well. Unlike the sacred histories in Europe, however, images – printed, painted, and sculpted – could cure the sick, drive out demons, or anything else that God willed through Ignatius.

The use of representations and its relationship with miracles are the locus of this chapter that starts with an examination of the Ribadeneyra-controlled period in Spain (c.

¹ Attributed to Juan de Mesa, *Retrato de Pedro de Ribadeneyra*, c. 1611, oil on canvas, 94 x 67.5 cm, Real Academia Española, Madrid.

1580-c. 1590), which was an acerbic reaction to a ‘Roman style’ of portraiture. Once print culture adopted the Spanish iconography, the supernatural content, including miracles and visions, came to predominate in the subsequent decade (1590-1600). Amid this transition was the rise of miraculous representations (c. 1595-1609). Thus began the visual compilation of Ignatius’s otherworldly feats, which accompanied Ribadeneyra’s *Flos sanctorum*. By 1609, Flemish engravers wielded a near monopoly of the likenesses that illustrated Ignatius’s miracles. Between beatification and canonization (1609-22), however, paintings and prints promulgated the cures performed through images of the Jesuit founder.

The Roman Style

The Jesuit curia in Rome had initiated a plan to obtain representations that could simulate, at the very least, lifelike precision. They hired Jacopino del Conte (1510-98) who used a death mask to portray the physiognomy of Ignatius accurately.² **[Figure 3]** What resulted, as Polanco reported to Ribadeneyra a week after Ignatius’s death in 1556, were “some painted portraits and death masks at this time, which in life, he never allowed, although many had asked.”³ Although portraits of Counter-Reformation saints were becoming commonplace, Ignatius had denied his acolytes an image, despite frequent entreaties as reported by Polanco. The dead, however, cannot comment on their likeness

² Jacopino del Conte, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 1556, oil on canvas, 46 x 35 cm, Curia Generalizia, Rome.

³ Juan Alfonso Polanco to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Rome, 6 August 1556 in *FN* 1:769-70. “También le hicieron algunos retratos de pintura y de bulto en este tiempo: que en vida nunca él lo permitió, aunque muchos lo pedían.”

nor can they personally refuse portrait requests. Upon Ignatius's death on 31 July 1556, the Jesuits took the opportunity to commemorate their founder.

The first step, as recounted by Polanco, involved the casting of death masks, which allowed a mold, usually of plaster or some other malleable medium, to take the form of a person's face. The masks then formed the basis of a realistic likeness. Saints Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444) and Francesco di Paola (1416-1507) were notable recipients of this treatment near the end of the Middle Ages.⁴ The technique remained popular in sixteenth-century Rome and when it came time to produce a portrait of Ignatius, the Jesuits used the same procedure.

With the mask complete, a painter could then produce a portrait. Jacopo Bellini did so for Bernardino, Jean Bourdichon for Francesco, and now Conte had to do the same for Ignatius.⁵ [Figures 4 and 5] Conte had established his reputation in Rome with his papal portraits and was rumored to be friendly with Ignatius, although this claim comes from sources celebratory of the painter and his studio.⁶ Regardless of the extent of the relationship between Ignatius and Conte, if any, the artist's portrait remained the visual template of Ignatius for decades. Even if Conte was familiar with Ignatius during his lifetime, the painter was indebted to the mask since Ignatius's face was the centerpiece of

⁴ On Bernardino's death mask, see Ernst Benkard, *Das ewige antlitz: eine sammlung von totenmasken*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Frankfurter Verlag-Anstalt, 1929), 5-6. The creation of a death mask for Francesco de Paola is summarized in Finucane, 117-18.

⁵ Jacopo Bellini, *Saint Bernardino of Siena*, ca. 1450-55, tempera and gold on wood, 34.3 x 24.8 cm, MMA, L.2015.45.1. The original painting by Bourdichon is lost, but survives as a print from 1644: Michael Lasne after Jean Bourdichon, *Vray pourtrait de S. François de Paule*, 1644, engraving, 21.2 x 15.2 cm, British Museum, Prints and Drawings, 1869,0612.339.

⁶ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori de architettori scritte*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1906), 5:58; 7:575-77; Iris H. Cheney, "Notes on Jacopino del Conte," *The Art Bulletin* 52, no. 1 (March 1970): 37-38.

the painting with no detail spared. Conte did not extend the same care to the rest of the canvas since the vestments, biretta, and scarf made it easy for him to cover parts of Ignatius's body difficult to illustrate. Corpses do not tend to sit upright without great difficulty, forcing Conte to take liberties with the torso and the crown, areas difficult to cast successfully. Earlier portraits of saints based on death-masks, such as those by Bellini and Bourdichon, used hooded habits to evade the need to paint the subject's body and calvaria. The face in each of these examples was the focus of the image.

Our Man in Madrid

In 1585, however, Ribadeneyra reacted adversely to Conte's portrait, despite his direct knowledge of its production. Polanco in 1556 had addressed his letter, with its description of the posthumous representations of Ignatius, to Ribadeneyra. But the *Life of Ignatius* had been his priority. Images had to wait until 1585 when a portrait arrived in Toledo. It was a reproduction of Conte's painting based on a wax copy of the original mask and a gift for the local provincial.⁷ Upon seeing the likeness, Ribadeneyra was displeased and said to proclaim, according to his secretary Cristóbal López: "This portrait is not of our Father; it appears more like someone really comfortable and fat, or some laborer, not as our Father."⁸ The exacting method implemented in Rome decades earlier had failed to satisfy Ribadeneyra's own demanding standards due to perceived inaccuracies. Ribadeneyra, according to López, thought the original mask was flawed

⁷ Pedro de Leturia, *Estudios ignacianos*, 2 vols. (Rome: IHSI, 1957), 1:471.

⁸ Cristóbal López, *Relación de la forma que se tuvo en nazer el retrato de nuestro santo P. Ignacio de Loyola y del motivo que para ello tuvo el P. Pedro de Ribadeneyra*, March 1587 in *FN* 3:241. "Este retrato no es de nuestro Padre; más parece de algún muy regalado y relleno, o algún labrador, que no de nuestro Padre."

since it did not compensate for post-mortem swelling resulting in disproportionate lips, uneven nostrils, and closed eyes.⁹ Portraits based on mortuary masks were imperfect despite the immediacy between subject and painter. In the case of Ignatius, Ribadeneyra undermined the Roman portrait with his firsthand knowledge of the founder. Experience superseded the efforts to capture a realistic likeness.

To begin, Ribadeneyra hired his confrere Domingo Beltrán (1535-90) to make another mask to efface the errors of the original produced in Rome. Ribadeneyra left this important task to a Jesuit and not an outsider, even though the sculptor specialized in large sculptures of the Crucifixion.¹⁰ And Beltrán had few models at his disposal when making the mask since, unlike in France and Italy, they were comparatively rare in Spain. One exception was that taken of Francisco de Borja after his death in 1572. Like Ignatius, Borja refused to sit for a portrait during his lifetime. But the mask of Borja was successful. His brother admitted that “the holiness of [Francisco’s] soul appeared in his very countenance.”¹¹ Here experience confirmed the accuracy of the mold taken. Apart

⁹ López, *Relación*, FN 3: 242-43. “Para que mejor se acertase, rogo al Hermano Beltrán, grande escultor, que tomase trabajo de hacer uno de barro, y enmendar en el lo que al retrato de cera, que arriba dije, le faltaba, que es: como al tiempo de la muerte los labios se hinchan, se la habia el labio alto hinchado y el bajo apretado con el yeso, y las ventanas de las narizes apretado con el mismo yeso y torcido un poco, y los ojos cerrados. Para enmendar estas cosas hizo el Hermano un medio cuerpo con la cabeza, perfeccionando lo que digo.”

¹⁰ Beltrán was a well-known sculptor held in high esteem by the artists of Philip II’s court: Archivo Provincial Histórico de Toledo de la Compañía de Jesús, C-209, 2 vols, 2:739: Cristóbal Castro, *Historia del Colegio Complutense de la Compañía de Jesús*, 1600. “todos los pintores, escultores y retradores del Rey...Felipe 2º que le trataban y respetaban [Domingo Beltrán]”. On the relationship between Beltrán and Ribadeneyra, see Alfonso Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos, “La iconografía de San Ignacio de Loyola y los ciclos pintados de su vida en España e Hispanoamérica,” *Cuadernos Ignacianos* 5 (2004): 41. For further information on the sculptor, there is Alfonso Rodríguez Gutiérrez de Ceballos, “Nuevos datos documentales sobre el escultor Domingo Beltrán,” *Archivo español de arte* 32, no. 128 (October-December 1959): 281-94.

¹¹ AHN, Osuna, leg. 13, no. 6, n.p.: Tomás de Borja to Carlos de Borja, Fifth Duke of Gandia, Rome, 2 October 1572. “Procuré de hazelle retratar antes que espirasse, porque no era justo falte la

from this case, death masks and the ensuing images were uncommon in sixteenth-century Spain making Beltrán's work all the more eccentric.¹² The wax mask by Beltrán, however, is lost and with it any chance to examine its profile and so-called improvements.

The mask was then used by Alonso Sánchez Coello (1531-88) who Ribadeneyra had solicited for the second phase of his project.¹³ **[Figure 6]** Beltrán had satisfied Ribadeneyra with his first mask, while Sánchez Coello had to paint many iterations as Ribadeneyra hovered over the painter. Also present was Gaspar de Quiroga – the Archbishop of Toledo, the head of Spanish Catholicism, and Ribadeneyra's friend – who voiced his opinions freely and frequently. Having the fastidious Ribadeneyra constantly intervening would have made anyone anxious, but the added presence of the representative of all Spanish Catholics could have caused Sánchez Coello's hands to shake. The painter, however, had developed an immunity to finicky patrons as the painter of Philip II's court, which made the Jesuit and archbishop seem docile in comparison. With every rejection came another portrait until Quiroga finally leapt from his seat and exclaimed: "Aha! That's it! That's it!"¹⁴ Ribadeneyra clearly agreed with his friend's

memoria de un tan gran sancto varón, pues en el mesmo aspecto se parecía la santidad del alma. Hízelle enbalsamar y despositar en medio de los dos Generales." On the death mask, see Borja Franco Llopis, "Màscara mortuòria de Sant Francesc de Borja," in *Sant Francesc de Borja Gran D'Espanya: Art i espiritualitat en la cultura hispànica dels segles XVI i XVII*, eds. Ximo Company and Joan Aliaga (Gandia: Casa de la Cultura Marqués de González de Quiros, 2011), 294-96.

¹² Francisco Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), 97-99. On the tradition of death-masks, see Jane Schuyler, "Death Masks in Quattrocento Florence," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 5, no. 4 (Summer 1986): 1-6; Urte Krass, "A Case of Corporate Identity: The Multiplied Face of Saint Antonino of Florence," *Representations* 131, no. 1 (Summer 2015): 1-21.

¹³ Alonso Sánchez Coello, *St. Ignatius*, 1585, oil on canvas, size unrecorded, formerly at Jesuit College, Madrid, now destroyed.

¹⁴ López, *Relación*, FN 3: 244. "Ya dixé cómo se llevó al cardenal de Toledo a que le viesse y dicesse su parecer, como quien tanto le conoció y trató. Yo fui el que llevé el retrato. Acabóse, como queda dicho; y acabado, torné a llevarle para que el cardenal le viesse. Estava el cardenal sentado en su

assessment giving us the definitive portrait of Ignatius. Although he had followed the same procedure as Conte, Ribadeneyra also imposed his firsthand knowledge onto the production leaving Beltrán and Sánchez Coello at the mercy of Ribadeneyra's quest for a "true portrait" (*verdadero retrato*).

Lifelike precision was Ribadeneyra's objective for the portrait of Ignatius. Hiring Beltrán kept the mask tradition among the Jesuits. Sánchez Coello, however, was not a Jesuit, but an adroit portrait-painter who excelled at representations of male saints as recounted by José de Sigüenza (1544-1606) in his history of El Escorial, the monastic palace built by Philip II. Sigüenza described its images of male saints by Sánchez Coello as "filled with good" (*harto buenos*), while he "missed so much" with those of women.¹⁵ Aesthetically, the series was a success in Sigüenza's estimation. And Sánchez Coello's skill with male saints can be found elsewhere, such as in his *Three Saints*, which contained large scale (one meter) and proficient representations of Bernard of Clairvaux, Sebastian, and Francis of Assisi.¹⁶ **[Figure 7]** The court-painter exhibited a specific

silla, y el P. Ribadeneyra a junto a él en otra. Entré con el retrato descubierto en la mano; y como el cardenal le vio, levantóse de la silla, quitóse el bonete, y hizo una grande y profunda inclinación con todo el cuerpo, y dixo estas palabras, que me acuerdo muy bien de ellas: – Ha! éste sí, éste sí – ; aludiendo a lo que primero avía dicho, antes que se acabasse.” On the friendship of Quiroga and Ribadeneyra, see Henar Pizzaro Llorente, “Gaspar de Quiroga y Pedro de Ribadeneyra: Chronohistoria de una amistad,” in *Los jesuitas. Religión, política y educación (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, eds. José Martínez Millan et al., 3 vols. (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2012), 1:123-54.

¹⁵ José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Madrid: Bailly, Bailliére e Hijos, 1907-09), 2:595. “De Alonso Sanchez, aquel gran hombre de retratos, estan algunos quadros de estos altares menores. San Estevan y san Lorenço en vno, san Vicente y san Iorge en otro, harto buenos; otros ay de santa Catalina y santa Ines, y de otras virgines en que no acertó tanto.” There were eight images with pairs of saints by Sánchez Coello: Benedict and Bernard; Justus and Pastor; Lawrence and Stephen; Vincent and George; Paul the Simple and Anthony the Great; Jerome and Augustine; Basil of Caesarea and Athanasius of Alexandria; Catharine and Agnes. Other painters produced forty images for the basilica's altars. For the inventory, see Manuel Rincón Álvarez, *Claves para comprender el Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2007), 289.

¹⁶ Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Tres santos*, 1582, oil on wood, 280 x 170 cm, MPM.

aptitude for painting male saints, which made him particularly suited for Ribadeneyra's search for a true portrait of Ignatius.

The paintings at El Escorial and *Three Saints* did not exemplify Sánchez Coello's ability with facial features. His *Self-Portrait*, however, was a stunning example of physiognomy where the painter surrounded himself with shade through his use of a dark background and black clothes to isolate his pale face on the canvas. **[Figure 8]** He maintained proportion without omitting his flaws, such as his uneven beard and asymmetrical eyes.¹⁷ Ribadeneyra had found a painter in Sánchez Coello who could depict the sanctity and features of Ignatius to his liking. This choice caused some panic in Rome when Acquaviva learned of the portrait's cost as found in a dispatch, which he never sent to Ribadeneyra on the matter.¹⁸ The Superior's fears were justified since Sánchez Coello's portraits in the 1580s could cost 100 ducats, a large sum when compared to the monthly salary of a skilled laborer in Madrid of thirty ducats.¹⁹

What was more important to Acquaviva, however, was the portrait's accuracy, he worried that Ribadeneyra would produce a flattering portrait.²⁰ Acquaviva's concern denoted the limits of experience due to subjectivity. The procedure from 1556 did not

¹⁷ Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Autrorretrato*, c. 1570, oil on wood, 41 x 32.5 cm, MPM.

¹⁸ ARSI, Tolet. 3, 47 recto: Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Rome, 2 December 1585.

¹⁹ Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Cuatro pinturas desconocidas de Sánchez Coello," *Archivo español de Arte* 90 (1950): 159. In 1579, he would get sixty ducats for his paintings, whereas toward the end of life, he commanded an annual salary, as the *retratador del rey*, of 460 ducats. Information about the life, career and wages of Sánchez Coello can be found in Stephanie Breuer-Hermann, "Alonso Sánchez Coello: Vida y obra," in *Alonso Sánchez Coello y el retrato en la corte de Felipe II*, ed. Santiago Saavedra (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1990), 13-35, especially 26, 33. On wages in general, I obtained the figure from John H. Elliott, *Spain, Europe, and the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 133.

²⁰ ARSI, Tolet. 3, 43 recto: Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Rome, 7 October 1585.

allege objectivity but it avoided the pitfalls of involving Jesuits in the image's fabrication especially those close to Ignatius. Ribadeneyra's interference and Beltrán's involvement easily could have resulted in an idealized depiction of Ignatius when compared to Conte, at least in Acquaviva's perception. Ribadeneyra and Acquaviva both sought true portraits of Ignatius, where holiness could be seen through facial features, but the assumptions of what constituted truthfulness varied considerably.

Acquaviva feared Ribadeneyra's rapport with Ignatius would clash with that of others, resulting in conflicts over whether the portrait by Sánchez Coello was a true likeness. The issue surfaced when replicas were produced by the painter's studio in 1586 for Jesuits in Portugal. Ribadeneyra and Quiroga left the studio, their absence filled by Philip II. Although the king was more passive than the Jesuit and archbishop, he was a nuisance nonetheless as he repeatedly inundated the painter with questions and entreaties. Upon completion of the copy, Philip looked at the portrait and remarked: "I knew Father Ignatius, and this is his face, although when I saw him, he had more of a beard."²¹ Physiognomic accuracy was possible with the help of death masks, evident in Philip's ability to recognize Ignatius's face. Philip, however, had encountered Ignatius differently than Ribadeneyra – and rightfully so – resulting in visual discrepancies. Empiricism was limited due to its inherent subjectivity: the major pitfall of Ribadeneyra when compared to Conte.

²¹ López, *Relación*, FN 3: 245. "Muy bueno está, mucho se le parece. Yo conocí al P. Ignacio, éste es su rostro; aunque quando yo le conocí traía más barba." See also Parker, 214-15.

True portraits were only one part of Ribadeneyra's visual project. He also commissioned another painter, a hack named Juan de Mesa, to produce a cycle on the life of Ignatius. This series of sixteen paintings was to include individual paintings of scenes from the founder's life, including the apparition of Christ at La Storta, the ten original companions, and the entrance of Francisco de Borja into the Society of Jesus. Each canvas was immense, measuring 3.45 square meters (the extant quantity is only 0.53 square meters).²² The objective of Mesa's cycle was to produce what one scholar named saints-images (*Heiligenbildern*), devotional representations that illustrate the exemplarity of a saint without belaboring accuracy, a quality that Ribadeneyra had previously insisted upon with Sánchez Coello.²³ With Mesa, Ribadeneyra had wanted a comprehensive collection of paintings that conveyed Ignatius's progress from worldly to holy. Useful for this purpose were supernatural signs, which Mesa included, such as his depiction of when Peter healed Ignatius in 1522. The cycle was the first to display miracles. Yet the full extent to which Mesa painted miracles is unknown since only a fragment of one of the paintings has survived, which depicts Peter's intervention.²⁴ **[Figure 9]** Apart from what has already been presented, Ribadeneyra mentioned nothing about Mesa or the cycle, surprisingly compared to the well-documented partnership of Ribadeneyra and Sánchez Coello.

²² Ribadeneyra and López, 142. On the proposed size of each painting, I obtained my figure from Ceballos, "La iconografía de San Ignacio de Loyola," 43.

²³ On the divide between *true portraits* and *saint-images*, albeit overstated and focused on Filippo Neri: Claudia Gerken, "Vom Porträt zum Heiligenbild. Filippo Neri als 'Vivum Exemplar' und die Legitimation seines Bildkultes," *Rahmen-Diskurse Kultbilder im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (2004): 221-50.

²⁴ Juan de Mesa, Fragment of *La herida de San Ignacio en el castillo de Pamplona*, c. 1580-c. 1600, oil on canvas, 75 x 68 cm, Biblioteca Balmes, Barcelona. Ribadeneyra's secretary, López, left only a cursory description of the paintings.

Yet why leave such an important responsibility in the hands of an amateur? Ribadeneyra had heard about a man from Toledo named Juan de Mesa involved in an Ignatian miracle. Mesa had testified in a local inquiry held in July 1584 and anything that occurred in Ribadeneyra's hometown, miracles included, did not pass unnoticed. In this case, a landlord named Vega had a stomach ailment causing excruciating pain, a condition so rare that physicians could do nothing. Juan de Mesa came to visit Vega carrying a piece of leather allegedly worn by Ignatius. Sensing a possibility to aid the landlord, Mesa flanked Vega's abdomen with the leather attached with a small piece of canvas (*pendacito de lienzo*). Moments ago, Vega was in anguish, but now his stomach was healed prompting him to declare in gratitude: "O Lord, Juan de Mesa, and whoever has used me, whoever has removed from me the pain and the sickness."²⁵ Mesa served as the intermediary so that Ignatius could cure Vega from his ailment. With the same hands and if the same person, Mesa could paint the cycle of the Jesuit founder's life irrespective of his talent with a paintbrush.

With these two different projects, a true portrait and saints-images, Ribadeneyra had two objectives in mind. The first attempted to create an accurate representation of Ignatius through the use of a death mask and Ribadeneyra's firsthand knowledge: a procedure that perpetuated and challenged the Roman style. But to recall Acquaviva's concerns about flattering portraits suggested another direction, namely, one without

²⁵ APGCG, no. 10, fol. 67-71: *Miraculum quod Toleti contigit*, Toledo, 13-14 July 1584. Compare with Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2:860. "Habiendo hecho primero oracion, puso a la dicha enferma en el lado del dolor un pedacito de lienzo dueña escosia, y otro de cuero, que el santo padre Ignacio solia traer sobre el estomago, y el dicho Juan de Mesa traía consigo por su devocion: y al punto que esto hizo, quedó sana y buena la enferma, y dijo: Ay Señor, Juan de Mesa, y que me ha hecho, que me ha quitado el dolor, y el enfermedad."

restraint and precision, whether physiognomic or historical. The relaxing of Ribadeneyra's fastidiousness allowed for Mesa, someone who may have participated in a miracle of Ignatius, to paint the devotional cycle where death masks and accuracy had no importance when compared to the exceptional nature of Ignatius's life, one in which Peter cured the Jesuit founder. With the completion of Sánchez Coello's portrait, Ribadeneyra had the definitive likeness of Ignatius, a codification of the iconography, but the production of saints-images had only begun, a genre that would also prove agreeable to print.

The Coming of the Engraving

A burgeoning print culture began in Paris, a location previously removed from the efforts to craft true portraits or saints-images of Ignatius. Although the birthplace of the Society of Jesus, Paris was a precarious place for the organization since religious wars and regime changes had consumed France for decades. But in 1590, the twilight of the Huguenot-Catholic conflict, a Flemish engraver in Paris produced two complementary prints of Ignatius in profile. Thomas de Leu, the print's maker, started his career in Antwerp before moving to Paris in the late 1570s where he built an engraving empire. His specialties were portraits of French monarchs and nobles making his prints of Ignatius exceptions to his typical portfolio of aristocrats and kings, princes and queens.²⁶

²⁶ Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1986), 47; Andrée Jouan, "Thomas de Leu et le portrait français de la fin du XVI siècle," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1961): 204-12.

Leu's first print of Ignatius (Print A) contained a portrait and three miniatures depicting Peter's cure of Ignatius, Ignatius's death, and the IHS.²⁷ [Figures 10 and 11] The engraver excised adornments leaving only the conversion and death of Ignatius, his likeness in prayer, and the devotion to the Blessed Name of Jesus. Such a minimalist work also included something hitherto downplayed in the iconography: supernatural interventions. Leu, like Mesa, had taken to representing Peter's intercession after the battle in Pamplona. With this miniature, the hesitancy over miracles within the visual culture had started to recede. Although small compared to the portrait which predominated the engraving, a space had opened for the miracles to appear in print.

Leu also made another rendition (Print B) that included twelve episodes and four icons, which developed the contents of Print A further.²⁸ [Figure 12] With greater parameters open to Leu, Print B could be more liberal with the otherworldly aspects of Ignatius, including visions, a Marian apparition, and his control of nature. The latter, according to Ribadeneyra was an example of Ignatius's charity, which involved entering the Seine in the dead of winter to convert an unidentified young man. The man was a noted philanderer with a voracious sexual appetite who regularly crossed the Seine whenever he needed to stir the hissing cauldrons of lust. But one night in the middle of winter, cold enough to turn the living dead, Ignatius walked into the Seine and stopped when the water reached his neck. The submerged Ignatius saw the rake and interrupted

²⁷ Thomas de Leu, *Ignatius Loyola*, Paris, 1590, engraving, 17.7 x 11.3 cm, BNE, IH/4459/7, hereafter known as Print A. Leu had based his portrait on an earlier print by Johann Sadeler, whose works Leu tended to copy and an Flemish engraver active in Cologne: Johann Sadeler (I) and Gerard van Groeningen, *Ignatius Loyola*, Cologne, 1580, engraving, 16.9 x 11.2 cm, RM, RP-P-OB-5499.

²⁸ Thomas de Leu, *Ignatius Loyola*, Paris, 1590, engraving, 25.1 x 19.2 cm, AV, Hofbibliothek 137, fol. 112, 82, hereafter known as Print B.

his nocturnal trip chastising the young man for his lecherous ways. Ignatius remained unharmed and his ability to withstand the freezing water convinced the licentious man to abandon his wanton life for one of piety.²⁹ Such signs, while not quite miracles, were perceived as augurs bestowed by God. Resistance to icy water by a saint is found in other sacred histories, such as the twelfth-century *First Life of Bernard [of Clairvaux]* by William of St.-Thierry. In it, William told of Bernard's avoidance of sexual temptation by jumping into icy water from which he emerged without harm.³⁰ God had granted Ignatius, as he had with Bernard, the ability to overcome nature to achieve some exemplary end. When there was lust, its cure was a cold shower.

The wretch's conversion and other miniatures in Print B yielded a tentative inventory of the supernatural experiences of Ignatius. These moments promulgated the blessedness of Ignatius, such as his exit from the Seine fully thawed, portents rife in the iconography and lives of saints. Representing miracles in 1590, however, was premature. Leu had to restrain himself for reasons similar to Ribadeneyra prior to the publication of the *Flos sanctorum*. Yet the engravings by Leu marked a shift in the visual culture that embraced the otherworldly abilities of Ignatius afforded to him by God. Not all prints from the time did so, such as one similar to Leu's from Ingolstadt, an important Jesuit center in Bavaria. This print from 1590 omitted, bar visions, supernatural events

²⁹ Leu, *Ignatius Loyola* (Print B). "Paris: quedam a turpitudine reuocat." Ribadeneyra, *De actis Patris Nostri Ignatii* in *FN* 2:356. Ribadeneyra later included the episode in his life of Ignatius: Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* (1586), 340 recto.

³⁰ William of St.-Thierry, *S. Bernardi vita et res gestae* in *PL* 185:230.

altogether.³¹ Visionaries were less controversial than thaumaturges, since those capable of receiving heavenly messages also possessed other sanctified qualities, ones readily applied to Ignatius in the prints from Ingolstadt and Paris.³² While visions were agreeable to the German engraver and Leu, the former, however, took no risks with anything possibly construed as a miracle.

Leu effectively combined true portraits and saints-images in both of his prints. True portraits prioritized facial features in detail since a visage had the power to convey the holiness of a religious person. Sánchez Coello was a practitioner of the style, which then migrated into the prints by Leu. But the French engraver also included scenes from the life of Ignatius in an attempt to enumerate the fortuitous signs given to Ignatius by God. Mesa, with the cycle commissioned by Ribadeneyra, attempted to fulfill this criterion of saints-images, despite differences in scale between Mesa's large canvases and Leu's compact prints. These engravings combined the traits of true portraits with saints-images but as he did so he sacrificed physiognomy and detail for exemplarity. Leu made no statement about his familiarity with the visual culture in Madrid established by Ribadeneyra, yet the iconographical similarities between the two representations suggested a borderless enterprise, one open to other formats and indifferent to political boundaries.

³¹ König-Nordhoff, 248. On visual culture, the Jesuits, and Ingolstadt, see Kirstin Noreen, "Replicating the Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore: The *Mater ter admirabilis* and the Jesuits of Ingolstadt," *Visual Resources* 24, no. 1 (2008): 22-24.

³² Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 116-17. Ribadeneyra, in his *Tratado de Tribulación*, had urged caution of 'imaginary visions', illusionary messages misconstrued as those from God. Obviously, Ribadeneyra interpreted Ignatius's vision as 'true'. See also Andrew Keitt, "The Miraculous Body of Evidence: Visionary Experience, Medical Discourse, and the Inquisition in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 77-96.

The Flemish Engraving Diaspora

Pieter later Pedro Perret (c. 1555-1625), another Flemish transplant, was another engraver well-acquainted with the paintings by Sánchez Coello and Mesa. Perret, like Leu, came from Antwerp where he started his career before moving to Rome and then Paris. The two engravers for a brief spell worked in Paris concurrently. Leu stayed, while Perret crossed the Pyrenees and set up shop in Madrid becoming the court engraver (*grabador de cámara*) in 1595.³³ To produce his engraved portrait, Perret used an etching by Sánchez Coello drawn prior to his death in 1588.³⁴ And like the painter, Perret described his print as a true portrait (*vera effigies*). But he changed the medium and did away with death masks, which had been so integral to previous efforts at an accurate likeness of Ignatius.

Ribadeneyra no longer commissioned images since he was now preoccupied with collecting Ignatius's miracles for the *Flos sanctorum*. Instead, Perret got the order from Philip II, who had harassed Sánchez Coello in 1586 and now supported the cause for Ignatius's canonization. The resulting print had a portrait and a scene from the life of Ignatius in each corner, which, when taken together, followed a standard, albeit truncated, narrative, which was also found in the engravings by Leu: Peter's cure, a Marian

³³ A summation of the work on Perret includes Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the 'Privilegio' in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 230-32; Matilde López Serrano, "El grabador Pedro Perret," in *El Escorial, 1563-1963*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Patrimonio Nacional, 1963), 2: 696; Antonio Gallego Gallego, *Historia del grabado en España* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1979), 121-26; Mark MacDonald, "Pedro Perret and Pedro de Villafraanca y Malagón. Printmakers to the Spanish Habsburgs," *Melbourne Art Journal* 4 (2000): 37-38, 40.

³⁴ König-Nordhoff, 171-72.

apparition, the Vision at La Storta, and the approval of the Society of Jesus by Paul III.³⁵

[Figure 13]

And as Leu had done, Perret drew attention to Ignatius's otherworldly experiences and did so by modifying the etching by Sánchez Coello. Ignatius's eyes looked to the sky, a visual cue taken from Sánchez Coello, at the christogram – a variant of Leu's Ignatius who stared intently at a crucifix. Perret also made Ignatius speak, not as a ventriloquist would, but with a small caption that read: "Alas, how vile the earth seems when I look at the heavens."³⁶ This saying, immersed in the language of worldly renunciation common among saints, would feature in the canonization testimonies from 1605 as reported by the Jesuit Procurator General.³⁷ Apart from this instance, the exclamation appeared nowhere else. But God spoke to Ignatius, illuminating the founder in light, while revealing the stain of original sin on humanity and all that it touched.

Close to Ignatius was a wash of light that originated from beyond the frame and formed a halo around his head. Implicit to divine communication was a reputation of sanctity made visible with halos. During the Middle Ages, to borrow one scholar's quip, halos canonized many saints with a brush-stroke rather than ecclesiastical procedure.³⁸ But by the end of the sixteenth century, halos preoccupied the CSR since it, and not an artist's flourish, determined sanctity. Inclusion of a halo prior to beatification resulted in

³⁵ Pedro Perret, *Retrato de San Ignacio de Loyola*, Madrid, 1597, engraving, 16 x 22 cm, BNE, IH/4459/3.

³⁶ Perret, *Ignatius Loyola*. "Heu qua[m] sordet terra cu[m] caelu[m] aspicio."

³⁷ Lorenzo de' Paoli, Remissorial Testimony, Rome, 1605 in *MI Scripta* 2:561. "Heu, quam sordet tellus, cum caelum aspicio."

³⁸ Vauchez, 88. On halos in early modern Spain and Italy, see Covarrubias, fol. 241, 316 recto; and Federico Borromeo, *Sacred Painting. Museum*, trans. Kenneth S. Rothwell, Jr. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 109.

a sharp rebuke. Aware of the iconographical importance of a halo, Perret included one in his print regardless of any official proclamation of Ignatius's sainthood. Haphazard insertion of halos into images, as we will see, would become a contentious issue a few years later. In Spain, however, Perret received no reprimand for this addition, which he rarely did in his other engravings. For example, in a portrait of the Jesuit theologian Alfonso Salmerón, Perret had him appear without a halo, despite the print's similarity with that of Ignatius, such as the exclamation and upwards gaze at the IHS.³⁹ **[Figure 14]** In this portrait of Salmerón, Perret omitted any crowning sign of sanctity or divine illumination. Saints and saints alone, even those uncanonized such as Ignatius, could exhibit luminesce since they occupied a state between this world and the next.

While reliant on Sánchez Coello's portrait of Ignatius as a template, Perret's inclusion of a mystical utterance and halo appeared more saints-image than true portrait. True portraits' obsession with accuracy through the use of death masks and first-hand experiences had been relegated in favor of signposts, which illustrated the supernatural gifts of Ignatius, such as halos. But true portraits were not so rigid to exclude halos on occasion. Jean Bourdichon's portrait of Francesco de Paola, for instance, had used a death mask to obtain a realistic impression of the deceased saint. In the resulting true portrait (*vray pourtrait*), Bourdichon included a halo, something amiss in a genre that insisted on realism. Alleged true likenesses of the saints were porous in execution since truth was unstable, especially when reliant on faulty sense data or religious experiences.

³⁹ Pedro Perret, *Retrato de Alfonso Salmerón*, Madrid?, c. 1585- c. 1600, engraving, 21.8 x 15.5 cm, BNE, ER/121 (16).

Empirical and revelatory vision challenged what constituted a true portrait through its use of techniques typically associated with saints-images. Transcendence rather than corporeality became the definitive interest of the print culture as espoused in the transitional engravings by Perret and Leu.

The Villamena Incident

Miracles, however, evaded the two engravers in Paris and Madrid, whereas Francesco Villamena (1564-1624) created just the opposite. He was a prolific engraver in seventeenth-century Rome whose vast corpus included portraits of Cesare Baronio, the famous sacred historian, and several Jesuits, including Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), Francis Xavier, and Christopher Clavius (1538-1612).⁴⁰ These portraits contained miniatures as seen in his likeness of Bellarmino, where Villamena had the Jesuit Cardinal sit at his desk under the watchful eyes of a painting of Ignatius that hung on the wall behind him.⁴¹ **[Figure 15]**

For his engravings, Villamena relied on the techniques of true portraits and saints-images, ones espoused by Perret and Leu that found their way into his print of Ignatius from 1600. The portrait had certain vestiges of Perret, such as the haloed Ignatius bathed in heavenly light, and certain novelties, including Ignatius genuflecting. The portrait, placed in the center, predominated the engraving leaving a perimeter, which Villamena

⁴⁰ Recent contributions on Villamena include: Franca Trinchieri Camiz, "The Roman 'studio' of Francesco Villamena," *Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1097 (August 1994): 506-16; Maurizio Berri and Lee Bimm, "Villamena Pittore? Un contributo al dibattito alla luce di nuove scoperte," *Bollettino d'arte* 120 (April-June 2002): 79-92. One promising, recent, but currently inaccessible dissertation is Christopher Blair Etheridge, "Francesco Villamena and the Art of Engraving in CounterReformation Rome" (PhD. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007). An inventory of his engravings is Dorothea Kühn-Hattenhauer, "Das grafische Oeuvre des Francesco Villamena" (PhD. Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1979).

⁴¹ Francesco Villamena, *Portrait of Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino*, Rome, 1604, engraving, 34.5 x 22 cm, British Museum, Prints and Drawings, 1876, 0708.116.

filled with twenty-nine miniatures depicting the life and miracles of Ignatius. Villamena would use this layout in some of his other works, such as a later engraving of Pascal Baylon, a Spanish Franciscan beatified in 1618.⁴² The miniatures were less interested in the life of Ignatius since Villamena used twenty-six miniatures to depict the supernatural, including visions and apparitions supplemented now with cures and exorcisms. The seventeenth century opened with a concerted effort to collect the miracles of Ignatius on various fronts: first with Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum* and then Villamena's engraving. In sum, there was a concerted project to compile the miraculous efficacy of Ignatius with the aid of print culture.

And fourteen miniatures illustrated the miracles of Ignatius, a figure that accounts for miracles from his lifetime, such as Peter's healing (miniature 1) and the conversion of Isaac (17), and those post-mortem, previously unknown outside of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius, according to Villamena's roster, performed one resuscitation (6), one act of retribution (25), one act of patronage (28), two exorcisms (22; 24), and five healings (7; 8; 9; 10; 23). Another two miniatures (11; 29) depicted simultaneously exorcisms and cures in the little space available in an already manic broadsheet.⁴³ **[Figure 16]** Villamena and Ribadeneyra had much of the same content suggestive of an information network between Madrid and Rome. Any believable miracles, as judged by the Jesuit curia in Rome, were forwarded to Villamena for inclusion in his engraving. The

⁴² König-Nordhoff, 31-32. Other engravers in Rome, active in the early seventeenth century, used a similar layout: Ruth S. Noyes, "On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the *Beati Moderni* in Rome, ca. 1600," *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011): 807-09, 823-25.

⁴³ Francesco Villamena, *Life and Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, Rome, 1600, engraving, 42 x 55.5 cm, AV, Italienisch I 41, fol. 42.

exorcisms, conversion, and healings in the print were present in Ribadeneyta's *Flos sanctorum*, which was discussed in Chapter Two. But scenes from three of the miniatures (6; 25; 28) never made an appearance anywhere in Ribadeneyra's sacred histories.

According to the first miniature (6), Ignatius resurrected an unnamed man who hanged himself out of desperation. Suicide was unforgiveable, a refutation of God's power to grant and end life, and with a noose, the man guaranteed his eternal damnation. Ignatius prayed for him. The man awoke and received from Ignatius an opportunity for his salvation. Once the man confessed to his sins and was absolved, he expired with a soul cleansed of the stain of suicide.⁴⁴ This miracle was unique. Unlike the case of Lazarus when Christ resurrected the man to live out a joyous life, the suicide was only revived to say confession.⁴⁵ Nor was it similar to the resurrections performed by other saints, such as that of a boy done by Elizabeth of Hungary shortly after her death in 1231.⁴⁶ Never before had a saint freed a suicide from an eternity in hell. Suicide, despite its status as anathema, occupied an uncertain place within early modern society: there were times when suicide was perceived as honorable and justified, although not condoned.⁴⁷ Such ambivalence paired with the miracle's novelty could prove problematic to the CSR and their ongoing revision of legitimate forms of saintly intercession. In spite

⁴⁴ Villamena, *Ignatius Loyola*. "Quendam qui se prae desperatione suspendeat ad dolendum de peccatis suscitatur."

⁴⁵ John 11:1-44.

⁴⁶ *Miracle Dispositions from the First Papal Commission (1233) in The Life and Afterlife of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, ed. and trans. Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 104-05. For the trend more broadly, see Vauchez, 467-68.

⁴⁷ For the tradition assessment of suicide in the period, see Georges Minois, *History of Suicide: Voluntary Death in Western Culture*, trans. Lydia S. Cochrane (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 7-9, 117-120. A more nuanced analysis is Elizabeth G. Dickenson and James M. Boyden, "Ambivalence toward Suicide in Golden Age Spain," in *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jeffrey R. Watt (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 109-14.

of these potential problems, Villamena followed the conventions of saints-images in his miniatures, wherein any miracle was worthy of inclusion, despite its eccentricity, lack of credibility, or absence from the extant historical record.

Another example was the retribution levelled against a man who had defamed Ignatius (25). The slanderer in question was burnt alive. Punishments for disobeying God were rife in the Old Testament, such as when Onan refused to procreate with his brother's widow, which was his duty in a levirate marriage. For failing to ejaculate within Tamar, God killed Onan.⁴⁸ God normally withheld this power from his saints, except in this case involving Ignatius. The defamer, like a coward, aimed his sword at Ignatius's back, an act repaid with divine wrath. Visible in the miniature's background is a shadowy figure in a small doorway engulfed in flames.⁴⁹

Ignatius was miraculously protected, he, in turn, protected women in labor. A miniature (28) depicted an illumined Ignatius hovering above an expecting mother held down by two women. The midwife reached into the mother's dress, ready to deliver the child.⁵⁰ Patronage for women in labor was already handled by several saints, most notably, Margaret of Antioch.⁵¹ Ignatius overstepping his bounds was less an appeal to women and more to the regularity of infant mortality. Ignatius helped to reverse what

⁴⁸ Genesis 38: 8-10.

⁴⁹ Villamena, *Ignatius Loyola*. "Quidam incendiū[m] illi p[er] iniuriam imprecatur subito ipse incendio extinguitur. Duorū[m] mortem ei intentantium unus, repente obrigescit, alter diuina uoce terretur."

⁵⁰ Villamena, *Ignatius Loyola*. "Multas in partu a uite discrimine, in ultor a pestilentia et grauibus morbis tentationibusq[ue]; eripit."

⁵¹ Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500-1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 229.

often was a fatal condition for mother and child, no different than his other miracles involving near-death experiences.

Ignatius, according to Villamena, had diversified his miraculous portfolio. The founder now could heal the sick and remove demons, which were vital to the development of a saint's cult. Resurrections, while rare, were also a celebrated part of a saint's repertoire of miracles. Obstetric patronage and retribution, however, were novelties for the incipient cult of Ignatius that helped to broaden veneration of him beyond the Society of Jesus. 'Popular religion' relied extensively on saints whose effects reverberated in quotidian life. When a saint's efficacy waned, people transferred their devotion to another and more willing patron. And amenable to this type of devotion were saints-images, a genre free itself of the strictures of true portraits. The result were useful inventories of a potential saint's *métiers*. Although Villamena's Latin captions were opaque to most, anybody could follow the narrative through the likenesses. With this engraving, Villamena spoke to a market wanting images of Ignatius that appealed to popular devotion with its sensationalist miracles, such as the revival of the hanged man. Despite these variances, however, Villamena could not alienate those familiar with the life and miracles of Ignatius, hence his continued reliance on the database maintained by the Jesuits. Villamena favored the visual strategies of saints-images, while maintaining the standard iconography and narrative found in the true portraits and histories. To circulate such attributes, whether in this engraving or the *Flos sanctorum*, would disseminate the miraculous fortitude of Ignatius in print.

Prior to the publication of this visual register of miracles, Villamena had to obtain ecclesiastic approval, which required a sketch of the proposed engraving. He intended to have the portrait of Ignatius surrounded by thirty-three miniatures. Since the final product had twenty-nine miniatures, Villamena had made some modifications, such as his subsequent deletion of two miniatures (29; 32) that illustrated the resurrection of a dead infant and a posthumous apparition.⁵² [Figure 17] He had also omitted certain content intended for the censors, including the conversion of Isaac the Jew and the slanderer's incineration. Villamena's self-censorship removed anything perceived as overly problematic. It worked. The Master of the Sacred Palace, the Pope's official theologian, and a representative for the Cardinal Vicar of Rome granted their approval.⁵³ With this drawing from 1598 or 1599, Villamena followed the correct procedure for authorization, despite withholding content. He had received permission to start production of an engraving illustrating the miracles of Ignatius.

⁵² APGCG, no. 10, 281 recto: Attributed to Francesco Villamena, *Preliminary Drawing of the Life and Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, Rome, 1598/9, drawing on paper, 29.21 x 43.18 cm.

⁵³ Paolo de Curtis was a Theatine, the bishop of Ravello, and the Vicegerent of the Diocese of Rome, who in early 1600 became the Bishop of Isernia and then left his position as Vicegerent. Since his signature on the drawing identified him as the bishop of Ravello (*ep[iscopu]s Ravellen[is]*) alone, the drawing predated 1600 in which he decreed "let it be printed, engraved, and seen" (*imprim[atur] et excudat[ur] et videbat[ur]*). Giovanni Maria Guanzelli was a Dominican friar and the Master of the Sacred Palace, active in that capacity from 1598 to 1607, who signed off on the drawing "let it be printed and engraved" (*imprim[atur] et cudat[ur]*). Thus, Villamena produced the drawing in 1598 or 1599 for approval by Curtis and Guanzelli based on their titles. I relied on an immensely helpful inventory of ecclesiastics during Clement VIII's papacy to date the drawing: Klaus Jaitner, "Der Hof Clemens' VIII (1592-1605): Eine Prosopographie," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 84 (2004): 251, 265. Anything printed in Rome needed, since 1542, the approval of the Master of the Sacred Palace and the Cardinal Vicar of Rome. Witcombe, 71. The best overview is Gigliola Fragnito, "In questo vasto mare de libri prohibiti et sospesi tra tanti scogli di varietà et controversie": La censura ecclesiastica tra la fine del Cinquecento e i primi del Seicento," in *Censura ecclesiastica e cultura politica in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, ed. Cristina Stango (Florence: Olschki, 2001), 1-35.

But Villamena's maneuvers through official channels were for naught. By 1600, when Villamena printed the engraving, new men occupied the offices that had sanctioned his representation and the newcomers could reverse the approval granted to Villamena. A second audit never happened since Pope Clement VIII was furious about Villamena's print and the engraver's audacity to label Ignatius as Blessed (*Beatus*) and to include unauthenticated miracles. Ignatius, at that time, was not beatified. If the CSR had found sufficient evidence of a person's virtuousness and miracle-working, then it would proclaim, in a beatification ceremony, the candidate as Blessed, after which representations could use this title and include a halo. While Perret had done both with impunity in 1597, three years later, when Villamena attempted to do the same, these inclusions proved quarrelsome. The CSR had not examined the miracles of Ignatius by 1600 and his beatification was not immediately forthcoming, making Villamena's engraving appear presumptuous to Clement, despite receiving permission for its manufacture.

Premature claims of a 'Blessed Ignatius' by Villamena angered a pope already hostile to the canonization, who then directed his wrath toward the Society of Jesus. Haphazard designations of Blessed were common and done by devotees indifferent to official proclamations of sainthood. Advocates for Carlo Borromeo and Filippo Neri, for example, could not wait for these two saints to be titled Blessed, an impatience that infiltrated the visual culture. In response, the Pope gently warned the proponents of Neri and Borromeo. With the Jesuits, however, Clement was vicious, making his enmity

toward the Order and the canonization of Ignatius clear.⁵⁴ The aftermath was a ban of any depiction of miracles by Jesuits not yet beatified or canonized.⁵⁵ Clement made one allowance, any of Villamena's prints in circulation would not be recalled, but the engraver was not allowed to produce additional prints of Ignatius and his miracles.⁵⁶

As a result, Acquaviva in 1601 sent a notice to the Provincial of Rome ordering him to stop printing "images of Our Blessed Father Ignatius with miracles" (*immagini del N[ostro] B[enedetto] P[adre] Ignatio con miracoli*).⁵⁷ Mindful of the complications caused by Clement's decree, Acquaviva warned the Jesuits to avoid using such language despite his own use of 'Our Blessed Father' in the letter to the Roman Provincial. Jesuits believed in Ignatius's sanctity, but they had to wait for confirmation. The Superior realized that antagonizing the pope would further impede an already interrupted procedure. After the Villamena Incident, Jesuits navigated through extremely choppy waters in an attempt to avoid further agitating Clement.

Acquaviva also had to struggle with dissent toward his decrees from Jesuits in Zaragoza, Valladolid, and Rome. In a 1602 letter from the Spanish nuncio, Iberian Jesuits thought that Ignatius had been beatified and went on an image-making spree, including altars and "portraits sold publically [said to have] the pope's permission."⁵⁸ The nuncio

⁵⁴ Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 128; Noyes, 823.

⁵⁵ Noyes, 815.

⁵⁶ Levy, 128-29.

⁵⁷ Claudio Acquaviva to Bernardo Confalonieri, Rome, 6 June 1601 reproduced in König-Nordhoff, 189. The original can be found at ARSI, Epp. NN. 81, fol. 53.

⁵⁸ Domenico di Ginnasio to Pietro Aldobrandini, Valladolid, 6 August 1602 reproduced in Noyes, 838. "mi hanno detto che sia beatificato dal N[ostro] S[ignor]e et che in Roma sia fatto il medesimo, et che si vendino li ritratti del detto P[ad]re pubblici con permiss[ion]e di N[ostro] S[igno]re." The original can be found at Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreto Stato Spagna 55, 312 recto.

subsequently received a response from Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, Clement's nephew who reported the pope's surprise at the actions of the Spanish Jesuits since no beatification had occurred. Roman Jesuits were also complicit since they too, according to Aldobrandini, indulged in "excessive cultic manifestations [which] His Holiness expressed his disapproval and ordered them to rectify this". Among the transgressions was a small printed book wherein Ignatius was "interpolated among the saints."⁵⁹ Clement had warned the Jesuits about producing other images of Ignatius after the Villamena Incident, but Roman and Spanish confreres ignored this directive and that of Acquaviva. Clement scolded the Order again and told them never to repeat this error.

The Jesuits' disregard for papal authority derived from what was perceived as an illegitimate charge. For Bellarmino, another subject of Villamena's portraits, making cultic images was a nonissue. In a treatise produced shortly after the Villamena Incident, Bellarmino contended no decree prohibited works about the lives, visions, and miracles of saints granted that they edified the faithful. Bellarmino continued by defending the invocation of a holy person for aid. If a petition resulted in a miracle, then an image of that miracle could be placed in close proximity, which corresponded, in Bellarmino's opinion, with long-standing tradition. The institutional Church, however, was responsible for authenticating the miracles performed through images or relics.⁶⁰ Villamena's engraving of Ignatius, following Bellarmino's ideas about sacred images, did not

⁵⁹ Pietro Aldobrandini to Domenico di Ginnasio, Rome, 8 October 1602 reproduced and translated in Noyes, 842. The original can be found at Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreto Stato Spagna 330, fol. 126.

⁶⁰ Roberto Bellarmino, *An liceat circa imagines eorum qui habentur pro sanctis antequam sint canonizati depingere miracula aut uisiones, quae leguntur in eorum uita*, Rome, 1602-03 reproduced in Noyes, 828-830. The original can be found at Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. H.14, fols. 362-63.

undermine the Church's ability to verify miracles as none of the miniatures depicted cures and exorcisms performed by an image or a relic. Since no claim of material efficacy was made in the engraving, the work was unproblematic. Villamena's problem came from the stylistic assumptions of saints-images, which included miracles and halos, the stuff of the tradition as claimed by Bellarmino. These changes to the visual culture clashed with how the CSR determined sainthood. Halos, titles of Blessed, and miracles were now the source of heated contention. But Jesuits in Spain and Italy were undeterred since they continued to produce and venerate likenesses of Ignatius and his miracles, regardless of the cease and desist letters sent by Clement.

Varieties of Miraculous Images

In Spain, Ignatius worked sixteen miracles as reported in a 1603 *Memorial* (*Memoria*). He did so through visitations, relics, and images in the Andalusian towns of Baeza and Úbeda, communities ten kilometers apart within the diocese of Jaén. Of the sixteen miracles, ten were worked through representations of Ignatius: seven images on and off altars (*imágenes o imágenes en el altar*); two engravings (*estampas*); and one medallion (*medalla*).⁶¹ What the *Memorial* lacked in substantive description was compensated by the volume of miraculous likenesses.

The rarest type were the medallions, which entered into circulation during the early seventeenth century. Produced in a Roman style, these bronze coins featured a profile of Ignatius on the obverse with a text-laden reverse, including the IHS, his date of

⁶¹ APGCG, no. 10, fols. 499-501: *Memoria de los milagros que en Baeca y Ubeda a sido n[uest]ro s[eñ]or sezvido de obrar por intercesion*, 1603.

death, and his role as the founder of the Society of Jesus.⁶² Although sparse in ornamentation, medallions made from malleable bronze made it possible to mint inexpensive, tiny, mass-produced, and light-weight objects ideal for quotidian devotion. But miraculous medallions were unusual with only two known examples. After the discovery of a medallion of the Virgin near Peñalver, Guadalajara in 1566, Mary performed a bundle of miracles through her likeness. Another, as reported by an Irish Jesuit, involved an elderly woman healed by a wax medallion in 1604.⁶³ Miraculous medallions, such as the one from Baeza, were curiosities in the early seventeenth century, making its appearance exceptional due to its rarity.

Equally uncommon were the two miraculous prints reported in Úbeda, which shared the iconography and content found to date in the print culture. One of the few reported cases of thaumaturgical engravings were those distributed at the Marian shrine in Guadalupe, Extremadura, which, when placed upon an injury, would heal the infirm as recorded in a 1597 history of shrine.⁶⁴ Javier Portús and Jesusa Vega have contested the conjecture of prints' inability to perform miracles. The two scholars, for example, have found accounts of engravings of Ignatius performing an exorcism and cures from plague, erysipelas, lacerations, and dropsy. But Portús and Vega relied on a life from 1633 for this information.⁶⁵ The writer of the *Memorial*, meanwhile, would have referred to

⁶² Jordi Roca, *Numismática Ignaciana* (Rome: IHSI, 2006), 24, 171. The medallions were made from bronze, 50 mm long, and weighed 45.8 grams.

⁶³ Christian, *Local Religion*, 88; Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 162.

⁶⁴ Christian, *Local Religion*, 100.

⁶⁵ Javier Portús and Jesusa Vega, *La estampa religiosa en la España del Antiguo Régimen* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1998), 230-47, 514-15, 519-26. Another exception is Lisa Pon,

Ribadeneyra who made mention of a miraculous engraving from Modena in the *Flos sanctorum* (as discussed in Chapter Two). The unnamed writer of the *Memorial* told of a transition in print culture since engravings no longer simply represented miracles, but became objects capable of freeing the possessed and healing the sick.

Miraculous images, in contrast, abounded in early modern Catholicism and the seven described in the *Memorial* were divided between Úbeda (one standalone) and Baeza (six, three of which were on altars). The writer of the *Memorial* omitted the specific locations where these miracles transpired, such as at the foot of an altar within a Jesuit college or in the bedroom of a local home. By 1603, when the inventory was compiled, the Jesuits ran two colleges in Baeza, one named for Ignatius, and another in Úbeda.⁶⁶ These representations had to follow the stylistic conventions found in Andalusia at this time, such as the 1595 painting by Alonso Vázquez housed at the Cathedral of Seville. Vázquez was active in Seville since 1590, where he finished his apprenticeship, before leaving for Mexico in 1603. On an immense canvas, Vázquez painted Ignatius during a vision of Christ, a work that shared many of the iconographical characteristics found in Perret's print, such as the upward glancing Ignatius and the presence of both a halo and the IHS.⁶⁷ **[Figure 18]** The miraculous images in Baeza and Úbeda likely had

A Printed Icon: Forlì's Madonna of the Fire (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). On engravings in Andalusia in general, Gallego Gallego, 211-27

⁶⁶ Jesuits arrived in Baeza in 1571. In the late sixteenth-century, they built two more colleges, one in Úbeda in 1594 and two years later in Baeza, the one named after Ignatius.

⁶⁷ Alonso Vázquez, *Aparición de Cristo a San Ignacio de Loyola*, 1595, oil on canvas, 254 x 194 cm, Catedral de Sevilla, Sacristía mayor. On the artist, see Juan Miguel Serrera, *Alonso Vázquez en México* (Mexico: Pinacoteca Virreinal de San Diego, 1991).

similar appearances to the representations of Ignatius, which were entrenched in the visual culture of Andalusia and Spain more broadly.

The painting by Vázquez was never placed upon an altar, unlike others that constituted altarpieces, such as the one by Juan de Roelas at the Iglesia de Anunciación in Seville. Roelas was another Flemish transplant to Spain, who worked in Valladolid, Seville, and then Madrid. The centerpiece of his altarpiece was a large painting of Ignatius from 1604 or 1605, which followed Vázquez closely with a genuflecting Ignatius looking to the sky, his head adorned with a halo, and a prominent IHS. Roelas also introduced idiosyncrasies to his representation of Ignatius. The founder pointed to the Holy Family as he kneeled at his feet. Beside him was his namesake, Ignatius of Antioch, a first-century bishop and martyr; the Ignatian pair looked at a christogram in the distance.⁶⁸ **[Figure 19]** Altarpieces dominated churches and compelled the attention of a churchgoer, while others, such as Vazquez's painting, had a subdued place in a sacristy, which was behind or adjacent to the main altar. The miraculous images in Úbeda and Baeza shared the iconography found in the paintings by Vázquez and Roelas and probably had similar placement within the chapels of the Jesuit colleges in each town, assuming that some of the miracles had occurred there. These chapels in the Andalusian countryside were restrained in their ornamentation when compared to the grandiose churches of Seville, which were the homes of the paintings by Vázquez and Roelas.

⁶⁸ Juan de Roelas, *La Circuncisión*, 1604/5, oil on canvas, 574 x 335 cm, Iglesia de Anunciación, Seville. An interpretation of this image is found in José Fernández López, "La Circuncisión," in *Juan de Roelas, h. 1570-1625*, eds. Enrique Valdivieso González and Ignacio Cano Rivero (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, 2008), 117-19.

But here in two small towns in Andalusia was where, as the *Memorial* alleged, Ignatius performed miracles through his likeness. Clement's condemnations, true portraits, and saints-images were irrelevant since miracles were the priority of the *Memorial's* unknown author. Exorcisms and cures caught the attention of the unidentified writer who recorded the means through which the miracles occurred and not their iconography and location within Baeza and Úbeda. This inventory of miracles was sent to Rome with the hope that these local manifestations would be among the miracles forwarded to the CSR for authentication. But the document likely received little more than a fleeting glance by Jesuit administrators who declined to submit the miracles from Baeza and Úbeda for review. Despite never making it into the canonization process, the miraculous images in the *Memorial* were an example of the transitions taking place within the visual culture wherein miracles were represented and representations became miraculous.

The CSR, ignorant of the events in Úbeda and Baeza, determined that Ignatius had worked eight post-mortem miracles through images. And all but one had occurred in Gandia, where Ignatius, through these objects, had cured dropsy, blindness, fevers, paralysis, shriveled limbs, and an infant with febrile seizures.⁶⁹ The number of miracles from Gandia had started at twenty-five – through relics, images, or otherwise – contained in broadsheets compiled by the Jesuit rector in Gandia, Miguel Julián, who then sent

⁶⁹ APGCG, no. 3, 113 recto, 119 recto, 123 recto, 125 recto, 129 recto, 133 recto, 135 recto: *Summarium Miraculorum B.P. Ignatii tam in vita quam post-mortem tam quae sunt in Rotulo quam extra Rotulu[m] tam ex processit Remissorialibus Compulsoriali quam informatiuis*, 1611-15.

them to Ribadeneyra in Madrid and the Jesuit curia in Rome.⁷⁰ Ribadeneyra would include many of these miracles in his *Flos sanctorum*, while copies of the newsheet were sent to the CSR for review. That entity then authenticated each of the twenty-five miracles concluding that seven warranted official recognition, all of them through images, all of them evidence of the sanctity of Ignatius. An inquiry ensued in the small city to authenticate the miraculous likenesses collected by Julián.

Yet the visual culture of Gandia took its cues from nearby Valencia, a place renowned for its sacred images according to a local rector.⁷¹ Its Archbishop, Juan de Ribera, had extensive involvement in the efforts to canonize Ignatius, as he reported to Ribadeneyra, including presiding over the verification of a miraculous image.⁷² This representation and those in Gandia had to resemble the portrait painted by Juan de Sariñena in 1606, which is housed at the Jesuits' Corpus Christi College in Valencia. A work indebted to Sánchez Coello and Perret, Sariñena enveloped Ignatius in darkness making his hands and haloed head the focal point of the canvas. The IHS, a regular feature of the iconography, floated above Ignatius, his eyes looking at it while in prayer.⁷³

[Figure 20] Sariñena's portrait gestured to the true portrait tradition with its fixation on

⁷⁰ Miguel Julián, *Relación de diez milagros que nuestro Señor ha obrado en Gandia* (s.l.: s.n., 1601), fols. 1-2; ídem, *Relación de otros milagros que nuestro Señor ha obrado en Gandia por intercession del B. Padre Ignacio* (s.l.: s.n., s.a.), fols. 1-4.

⁷¹ Jaime Prades, *Historia de la adoración y uso de las santas imágenes, y de la imagen de la fuente de la salud* (Valencia: Felipe Mey, 1597), 290-92, 304, 447-50.

⁷² Pedro de Ribadeneyra to Juan de Ribera, Madrid, 20 December 1606, in *M Rib* 2:236-38; Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568-1614* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 213 n. 1. Thanks to Borja Franco Llopis for sharing with me his knowledge of the visual culture of Valencia.

⁷³ Juan de Sariñena, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 1606, oil on canvas, 66.8 x 52.5 cm, Real Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christi, Valencia. Information on this painting derived from Fernando Benito Doménech, *Juan Sariñena (1545-1619): Pintor de la Contrarreforma en Valencia* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007), 118-19.

physiognomy and its reliance on the likenesses by Sánchez Coello and Perret. Despite the growth of a print culture dedicated to disseminating the miracles of Ignatius in Madrid and Andalusia, Gandia remained dedicated to representations of the painted and sculpted variety, a constituent of the Archdiocese of Valencia's religious landscape abundant with miraculous images.

The outstanding miracle-working likeness, as determined by the CSR, had exorcised two virgins named Anna and Columba in Modena. Ribadeneyra, as we have seen, had provided an extensive account of this miracle in the *Flos sanctorum*. But Ribadeneyra claimed that there were five unnamed women purged of demons by an engraving of Ignatius. The historian erred when reporting the news from Modena of the exorcisms of Anna and Columba. According to the CSR's documents, nothing could be done to help the women. A local physician testified that the possessed duo were beyond medical aid, while two Jesuits, Geronimo Fontana and Girolamo Bondinari gathered objects that could be useful in ridding the virgins of the demons.⁷⁴ Relics of Agatha and Geminiano were useless despite the saints' renown against evil spirits. Geminiano, the patron saint of Modena no less, did nothing for Anna and Columba. Only the image of Ignatius worked, although the Jesuits of Modena had also asked for his relics to be dispatched from Rome in case it did not work.⁷⁵ The testimonies taken in Modena, however, provided no description of the miraculous object, as was the case in Andalusia and Gandia, but Modena and its environs lacked the visual culture that produced

⁷⁴ *Interrogatoria in causa canonizationis B.P. Ignatii*, 1 verso-2 recto, 280 verso. The Modena inquiry began on 19 December 1606 and ended 8 January 1607.

⁷⁵ *Summariium Miraculorum B.P. Ignatii*, fol. 79, 84 verso.

representations of Ignatius. When Fontana and Bondinari had asked Rome for relics, the two could have asked, at an earlier time, for whatever likeness was available, which predated the Villamena Incident. The first person to commission paintings of Ignatius was Cesare d'Este (r. 1597-1628), the Duke of Modena and Reggio, who waited until after the canonization due to political instability.⁷⁶

Miraculous images in Gandia and Modena provided a strong case for Ignatius's beatification, which was granted in 1609. But these cases were a minority of the alleged cures and exorcisms worked through a likeness of Ignatius, such as the images, engravings and medallion from Baeza and Úbeda. The lack of description in the documents about a miraculous representation's size, iconography, and maker was not the result of slipshod record-keeping, but of a perception that made few distinctions between material goods that briefly suspended nature to cure the afflicted. In Modena, the local Jesuits accumulated whatever could reverse Anna and Columba's condition. In that case, an image of Ignatius was the third choice after two traditionally effective remedies – relics of and invocations to patron saints. The Jesuits in Modena regarded option three as a futile gesture since they asked Rome for a contingency, some relics of Ignatius, to assist in the two exorcisms. Miracles occurred wherever God willed, through whatever means, and whichever intermediary he selected. Ignatius had interceded enough to be named Blessed officially. And now, no representation of his miracles could receive censure as Villamena experienced in 1600. With these strictures lifted, engravers in Rome, Antwerp,

⁷⁶ Francesco Barocelli, "La devozione e l'immagine. San Bartolomeo, la chiesa dei Gesuiti di Modena," in *L'arte degli Estensi: La pittura del Seicento e del Settecento a Modena e Reggio* (Modena: Edizione Panini, 1986), 52.

and Paris produced compilations of images that recounted the life and miracles of Ignatius without fear of prosecution.

Miracles in Print – Rome

Shortly after the beatification, an illustrated life of Ignatius, comprised of eighty-one engravings, surfaced in Rome. It was the creation of local Jesuits Nicholas Lancicius, assistant to the historian Niccolò Orlandini, and Filippo Rinaldi, the Rector of the German College.⁷⁷ The two wrote a series of captions that told the familiar narrative of Ignatius from soldier to founder to thaumaturge. Images were the intended accompaniment for the aphorisms by Lancicius and Rinaldi for which the Jesuits hired two Flemish expatriates in Rome, Jean-Baptiste Barbé and a young Peter-Paul Rubens.⁷⁸ Barbé and Rubens came from Antwerp, where Barbé had established his name before moving to Rome, while Rubens had yet to gain a reputation. Since Rubens had returned to Antwerp in 1609 with Barbé following shortly after, they must have completed the illustrations for the life in 1605 or 1606, when the two artists resided in Rome. Lancicius and Rinaldi wanted a compilation ready for the beatification, which they assumed was certain. Once Ignatius was blessed, they could rush the life to the presses without delay. This measured diligence was a holdover from the Villamena Incident wherein prints of Ignatius, made in Rome, landed the Society of Jesus in trouble, which jeopardized the Order's efforts to canonize their founder.

⁷⁷ Orlandini (1554-1606) was a Jesuit historian and correspondent with Ribadeneyra. He began the *Historiae Societatis Iesu*, an intended total history of the Society of Jesus, but only finished the first volume on Ignatius's time as superior before his death. Subsequent Jesuits continued this project covering the generalship of Ignatius's successors.

⁷⁸ König-Nordhoff, 118-21; O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate*, 259-60, 285-86.

Upon the beatification, the illustrated tome could be printed and circulated with impunity. Its contents drew on earlier prints, first by including portraits of Ignatius resembling those by Leu and Perret, and then depicting them in a style indebted to Villamena the life, death, and miracles of the Jesuit founder. Lancicius, as Orlandini's assistant, would be familiar with the details of Ignatius's life. But Orlandini ignored the founder's miracles requiring Lancicius to seek out another source for this lacuna. To this end, he and Rinaldi used Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*.

Thirteen engravings depicted eleven miracles, Peter's healing, and the conversion of the Parisian wretch. While the CSR would recognize thirty-five miracles as true, Barbé and Rubens illustrated only a fraction of this number since they had to rely on inventories available before 1606, such as the *Flos sanctorum* by Ribadeneyra and Villamena's broadsheet. Villamena and Barbé-cum-Rubens had nearly identical content, although presented differently. Barbé and Rubens had a haloed Ignatius performing cures and exorcisms within large engravings (28.6 x 22.2 cm), while Villamena, whose complete work was slightly larger (34.5 x 21.2 cm), relied on miniatures devoid of halos. Barbé and Rubens retained the idiosyncratic miracles found in Villamena, such as the conversion of Isaac, the hanged man's resuscitation, and the incineration of Ignatius's detractor.⁷⁹ **[Figures 21-23]** Healing miracles were predominant in the Barbé-Rubens collaboration with eight, including the intercession of Peter, compared to the two exorcisms, which betray a continued unease over a miracle that is difficult to verify.

⁷⁹ Jean-Baptiste Barbé and Peter-Paul Rubens, *Vita Beati P[atris] Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome: s.n., 1609), 34, 37, 66.

Tumors, consumption, epilepsy, and demons had no chance against Ignatius or so the engravings claimed.

The illustrated life also acted as a manual on the correct use of sacred images and histories. Engraving four, for example, included the reading of the *Life of Christ* and a flos sanctorum, which were said to initiate the conversion of Ignatius.⁸⁰ [Figure 24] But the use of likenesses appeared frequently in the prints with four showcasing Ignatius's reliance on religious representations. One of the most compelling examples involved Ignatius venerating a small statue of Mary and the Christ-Child with prayers so potent that radiant light bathed Ignatius who then levitated, never taking his eyes off the statue.⁸¹ This occurrence, according to the engraving's caption, resulted from praying to this likeness of Mary and Christ. With sacred images and histories, Jesuits could allegedly achieve, like Ignatius, some bond with the supernatural, as seen in this set of engravings. The scholarship on Jesuit art has examined extensively the use of representations to achieve so-called interior illumination, directives first outlined by Ignatius before subsequent revision by Nadal and Acquaviva.⁸² Images were not distractions, but devices to secure a devotee's attention. Through extended and repeated spiritual exercises, a person would rely less and less on tangible representations and more on abstract images produced by the imagination, which were then stored in the mind and constantly revised

⁸⁰ Barbé and Rubens (1609), 4.

⁸¹ Barbé and Rubens (1609), 35.

⁸² The literature is vast, but essential are Walter S. Melion, "Artifice, Memory, and *Reformatio* in Hieronymus Natalis's *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia*," *Renaissance and Reformation* 22 (1988): 5-34; Pierre-Antoine Fabre, *Ignace de Loyola, le lieu de l'image: Le problème de la composition de lieu dans les pratiques spirituelles et artistiques jésuites de la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1992); Ralph Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem: Statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2005).

by memory. The process was ongoing and required persistent “exercise of perfection and Christian virtue.”⁸³ And books, such as the illustrated life, were the means to this end, a work immersed in a print culture obsessed with Ignatius’s miracles that wove Ribadeneyra’s sacred histories into the Flemish monopoly of engravings.

Miracles in Print – Antwerp

Itinerant Flemish engravers in Paris, Madrid, and Rome were largely responsible for the pictorial interpretations of Ignatius’s sanctity, but in 1610, a team in Antwerp created a local illustrated life to complement the Roman tome by Barbé and Rubens. The set of fifteen prints by five engravers claimed to have used Ribadeneyra as their source material. As for visual referents, at least according to the current scholarship, the team relied extensively on the painted cycle by Juan de Mesa, using it as the basis for thirteen of the fifteen prints.⁸⁴ Using the Spanish painter as a means to illustrate the life of Ignatius, the final two engravings were outliers when compared to the likenesses. In the penultimate print, its unidentified maker produced a map of Jesuit Rome so that the devout could take a celebrity tour: the traveler could wander in Ignatius’s footsteps from Il Gesù to the Collegio Romano followed by stops at the Professed House and the colleges for the various missions (English, German, and Maronite).⁸⁵ **[Figure 25]** The

⁸³ The phrase came from the *Ejercicio de perfección* (1606) by Alfonso Rodríguez printed initially in Seville and part of a broader project initiated by Acquaviva to produce a corpus of Jesuit spiritual literature: Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, trans. Michael B. Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 250-51.

⁸⁴ König-Nordhoff, 265; Walter S. Melion, “‘In sensus cadentem imaginem’: Varieties of the Spiritual Image in Theodoor Galle’s *Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola* of 1610,” in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 63-107.

⁸⁵ Unknown engraver, *Map of Jesuit Rome*, 1610, engraving, 35 x 45 cm, RM, RP-P-1963-289.

pilgrim to Rome could supplement the standard fare, such as visiting the seven churches, with tastes of the places where Ignatius lived, worked, and died.

The final engraving concluded with nine miniatures depicting the miracles of Ignatius by Johann (II) Collaert (ca. 1561-c.1620), a scion from an engraving dynasty in Antwerp. He severed any earlier connection to Mesa's cycle. Instead, the Flemish engraver followed Villamena closely, as five of the nine miniatures were near copies from those in the Roman print. Scenes A, B, C, D, and F from the Antwerp collection corresponded respectively with miniatures 23, 11, 9, 28, and 25 from Villamena's engraving. Collaert duplicated the captions and included some of the more eccentric content, such as the slanderer's incineration and Ignatius's patronage of pregnant women.⁸⁶ **[Figure 26]** Collaert sought to illustrate a choice example for each type of miracle, such as in Scene E, where a haloed Ignatius, awash in divine light, manifested atop a large throng of people, some in prayer, others on crutches, and a select few who have cast aside their supports: a compact telling of the stages of miraculous healing. Someone ill venerated a saint. After saying prayers, the infirmity disappeared right away. Cures in the engraving, contained in other scenes, were preeminent given the central location of Scene E and its larger size when compared to its companions. Collaert omitted altogether ailments difficult to represent, such as blindness.

He then dedicated the remaining space to three miracles underrepresented in the visual culture to date: a rescue from shipwreck (G), a resurrection in the New World (H),

⁸⁶ Johann (II) Collaert, *Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, 1610, engraving, 35 x 45 cm, RM, RP-P-1963-292.

and a cure from scrofula (I). Scene G depicted a ship with broken masts, adrift in choppy waters, while maneuvering precariously toward dangerous rocks. In the background, a fully intact caravel sailed in the distance, a striking contrast to the ship apparently beyond hope. On board the crippled vessel, there was no panic, no chaos, all hands were on deck appealing to Ignatius. Most of the crew were on their knees, a few stood and hoarsely cried out his name, while one person held a painting of Ignatius with both hands over his head. The scene was clear – image veneration resulted in saintly rescue from calamity. Collaert, however, provided no particulars about this scene, although Jesuits had enumerated many instances of maritime rescues since Ignatius’s lifetime.⁸⁷ While the Roman series of engravings functioned as a manual for image veneration, it never depicted a miracle-working representation of Ignatius. The Antwerp series of engravings was the first to depict the ability of images of the Jesuit founder to save the devout, while tied to the visual culture developed by Ribadeneyra and Villamena.

Miraculous images of Ignatius were also the means to cure unusual diseases, such as scrofula. In scene I, a group of devotees had made a makeshift chapel within a cavern in Manresa near Barcelona. At the chapel’s center lay an altar on which a painting of Ignatius rested overlooking the congregation in prayer.⁸⁸ Scrofula caused, among other things, noticeable inflammation on the neck. The six people in the chapel had their necks

⁸⁷ Collaert. “In mari faeda tempestate iactatos a praesenti naufragio eripit.” For the tradition of shipwrecks in the Society of Jesus, see Chapter One. Ribadeneyra had talked about a maritime miracle that occurred in the Caribbean off the coast of Jamaica: Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 2:867-68. The transcripts from an inquiry held in Bogotá were transcribed in the following article: Francisco de Borja Medina, “San Ignacio de Loyola en la fundación de la provincial del Nuevo Reino y Quito: la tempestad calmada,” *Theologica Xaveriana* 152 (2004): 607-28.

⁸⁸ Collaert. “Multi scrophis strumisque incurabiles oleo lampadis, quae in oppido Manresae in specu ardet, ubi se poenitentijs maceravit, sanantur.”

obscured by clothing, limbs, and shadows to hide their affliction. It was also a condition rarely treated by saints since the disease, better known as the King's Evil, was a specialty of monarchs in medieval Britain, France, and Spain.⁸⁹ Where Collaert acquired his information is impossible to determine, although news of miracles occurring in Manresa were abundant. A local Jesuit in 1603 talked about caves from the area with no mention of an improvised chapel or any cure from scrofula as found in scene I.⁹⁰ By 1607, when the CSR questioned witnesses about the miracles of Ignatius, a Minorcan surgeon and a Valencian physician spoke of a cavernous chapel in Manresa, which contained likenesses that healed petitioners.⁹¹ In this idiosyncratic scene, Collaert attempted to represent Ignatius's ability to cure, through his likeness, a condition normally treated by kings. An immense shift had taken place in Collaert's engraving, which acknowledged the ability for images of Ignatius to be miraculous also, something hitherto absent from the visual culture about Ignatius.

Another change was the global expansion of Ignatius's miracles, as depicted in Scene H, which illustrated a resurrection in the Indies. An indigenous woman, infant in arms, knelt before a Spaniard standing with his aide-de-camp and servant. The scene's caption explained that the infant had died, but then an apparition of Ignatius intervened

⁸⁹ Fabián Alejandro Campagne, "Entre el milagro y el pacto diabólico: Saludadores y reyes taumaturgos en la España moderna," in *Ciencia, poder e ideología: el saber y el hacer en la evolución de la medicina española (siglos XIV-XVIII)*, ed. María Estela González de Fauve (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2001), 271-79. The essential work on this subject remains Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (Oxford: Routledge, 1973).

⁹⁰ APGCG, no. 7, fol. 4: Diego de Tонера to Claudio Acquaviva, Manresa, 2 April 1603.

⁹¹ These medical interpretations of miracles are the focus of chapter four.

and restored the child to life.⁹² As discussed previously, Ignatius had become a patron of difficult births and infant mortality. Now, his patronage and ability to perform miracles reached beyond Europe with the cures of children becoming common fare in the New World, which will be explored in a later chapter. Collaert had exclusive access to reports of miracles, ones not present in Ribadeneyra's collection, from the Iberian world, which were excluded from the official roster assembled by the CSR.

The outlier miracles found in scenes G, H, and I were absent from the register compiled by the CSR. These miracles challenged the cult of Ignatius in several ways. One made the miraculous potency of Ignatius transcend Europe since he could avert nautical disaster on an unknown sea and revive a dead child in the Indies. Another made the association explicit between the veneration of images and the performance of miracles, cases of which circulated, such as those in Andalusia, Gandia, and Modena. Collaert made it quite clear that Ignatius worked miracles in a number of contexts – in his lifetime, in blinding apparitions, and through his likeness. Finally, Ignatius performed a type of healing, scrofula, that traditionally was the exclusive domain of kings, including the saint-monarchs Louis IX of France (1214-70) or his English counterpart Edward the Confessor (1003-66). In addition to the standbys included in Scenes A through F, Collaert diversified Ignatius's miraculous portfolio in its breadth and scope. Exorcisms, cures and their ilk predominated the miracles attributed to Ignatius, common in canonizations and saints' cults, while leaving Europe and crossing oceans to intercede on

⁹² Collaert. "Infantem mulieris Indae filium mortuum vitae restituit"

behalf of one of his supplicants. Nothing, according to Collaert's engraving, could resist the blessedness of Ignatius.

Conclusion

Unsanctioned copies of Collaert's engraving, made in Paris and elsewhere, soon flooded the market.⁹³ [Figures 27 and 28] Such reproductions became rampant as the print culture expanded to meet the needs of the burgeoning cult of Ignatius. One of these pirate-engravers was Petrus Firens. Flemish by birth, French by habitation, Firens, as purported by one scholar, had a good reputation for his craftsmanship.⁹⁴ His engravings of Ignatius, however, were not among his better works due to his habit of plagiarizing prints already in circulation. This bad habit began in Antwerp where Firens misappropriated Villamena's engraving shortly after the original appeared in 1600. Firens took the twenty-nine miniatures prepared by Villemana, reduced them to fifteen, and gently effaced some of the more egregious miracles depicted by Villamena, such as the retribution of Ignatius's defamer, the patronage of women in labor, and of course, many of the cures and exorcisms, leaving five miracles intact. The result was milquetoast, a butchered facsimile of the censored engraving.⁹⁵ [Figure 29] With likenesses of Ignatius,

⁹³ Jean Leclerc, *The Miracles of Ignatius*, Paris, 1612, engraving, 14.8 x 18.7 cm, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inventar-Nr. 9815 D. König-Nordhoff discussed an engraving that transformed Collaert's print into a broadsheet sized 34.2 x 23.7 cm. I have found a similar engraving, except it has retained a border with German captions for each scene. See König-Nordhoff, 274; *Kurtze Verzeichnuss dess Lebens B. Patris Ignatii de Loyola*, Augsburg, engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (4).

⁹⁴ Paul Begheyn, "An Unknown Illustrated Life of Ignatius of Loyola by Petrus Firens (about 1609)," *AHSI* 149 (2006): 138.

⁹⁵ P F attributed to Petrus Firens, *Life and Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, s.a., engraving, 35.2 x 26.3 cm, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung.

Villamena was a proficient engraver with a keen eye for detail; Firens, however, was incompetent and farsighted.

Any lack of ability did not impede Firens from trying again in 1609, when he decided to produce a series of engravings on the life and miracles of Ignatius, akin to those made recently in Rome and Antwerp. The resulting collection of engravings, this time printed in Paris, contained twenty-nine scenes with nary an original inclusion. Old habits remained since he cloned Villamena's miniatures again. This time, however, he added captions in French, Spanish, and Latin, an attempt to appeal to the widest possible audience. He also inserted twelve miracles compared to the five from his 1600 facsimile of Villamena. Miracles considered controversial in 1600, including the conversion of Isaac, the encounter with the Parisian rake, and the many healings and exorcisms essential to Ignatius's saintly reputation, were normalized after the beatification in 1609. The Society of Jesus, while cautious, could celebrate miracles and enshrine them in images once verified by the CSR. Firens exemplified changes to the representations of a miracle-working Ignatius. The Flemish engraver active in Paris plagiarized Villamena and made his print accessible to French, Spanish, and Latin readers.

What had started as an Iberian reaction to a Roman style, spearheaded by Ribadeneyra, became a Flemish enterprise in Madrid, Rome, Paris, and Antwerp. Ribadeneyra had hired Sánchez Coello and Mesa to produce respectively a true portrait and a saints-image of Ignatius, likenesses then copied for other Jesuit institutions. This predilection for reproduction carried over into the flourishing print culture radiating from Paris, Madrid, and Rome and manned by Flemish engravers. But Villamena in Rome was

the first to depict miracles of Ignatius resulting in a virulent response from the pope. A Roman style remained, although Villamena made no reference to the original portrait by Conte.

By the beatification of 1609, Flemish artisans, such as Barbé and Rubens, controlled the production of prints depicting the miracles of Ignatius. Antwerp became the locus of this print culture, one supported by the immense presence of the Society of Jesus there.⁹⁶ With that came increased control of the iconography by Flemish engravers, especially those in Antwerp. By 1610, Flemish engravers and painters produced much of the images, at least in print, of the Jesuit founder. Even then, however, the image-makers always referred to the mainstays of the iconographical tradition, including Sánchez Coello, Mesa, Perret, and Villamena. Antwerp stood alongside Rome and to a lesser extent Paris as the vital sites of printed images of Ignatius.

That, however, did not mean a lack of painted representations of the miracles, such as that by Rubens for the Jesuit church in Antwerp from 1618 and its subsequent replicas.⁹⁷ **[Figure 30]** Nor did the miraculous images, as depicted by Collaert within his engraving, cease. Although details are spotty, a letter by the Rector of the Jesuit college in Antequera, the self-proclaimed heart of Andalusia, recounted a miracle that had occurred during a morning procession on 24 February 1619. The processors carried an

⁹⁶ Jeffrey Muller, "Communication visuelle et confessionnalisation à Anvers au temps de la Contre-Réforme," *XVII^e siècle* 60 (2008): 461-64.

⁹⁷ Peter Paul Rubens, *Miracles of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, 1617/8, oil on canvas, 535 x 395 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Willibard Sauerländer produced a helpful, albeit unconvincing interpretation in his examination of Rubens's 'Catholic' oeuvre: Willibard Sauerländer, *The Catholic Rubens: Saints and Martyrs*, trans. David Dollenmayer (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2014), 82-90.

image of Ignatius and when they entered into the college, the image supposedly cured three sick persons immediately.⁹⁸ Print culture, which was centered in Flanders had taken over the depiction of the miracles of Ignatius. Paintings and sculptures, however, remained the objects through which Ignatius, by the grace of God, worked his miracles. That preponderance did not stop prints from performing similar feats as recorded in Úbeda, also in Andalusia, and Modena. The responsibility for assessing these miraculous images was placed in the hands of the CSR who compelled medical practitioners, the focus of the next chapter, to verify these cases. And nowhere was the broader transition in the print culture more evident in another engraving by one of Collaert's colleagues from the 1610 series named Theodoor Galle (1571-1633). He took Mesa's portrait of Ribadeneyra alongside an image of Ignatius from the chapter's start and transformed it into a mechanically reproduced object.⁹⁹ **[Figure 31]** What was painted was now printed. And both had become miraculous.

⁹⁸ APGCG, no. 24, n.p.: Juan de Casarrubios, *Capitolo d'una lettera*, c. 1620. Casarrubios was the Rector of the Jesuit College in Antequera, Andalusia, which is close to Málaga, Granada, Cordoba, and Seville.

⁹⁹ Theodoor Galle, *Portrait of Pedro de Ribadeneyra*, Antwerp, early seventeenth century, engraving, 17.6 x 12.2 cm, RM, RP-P-OB-6845.

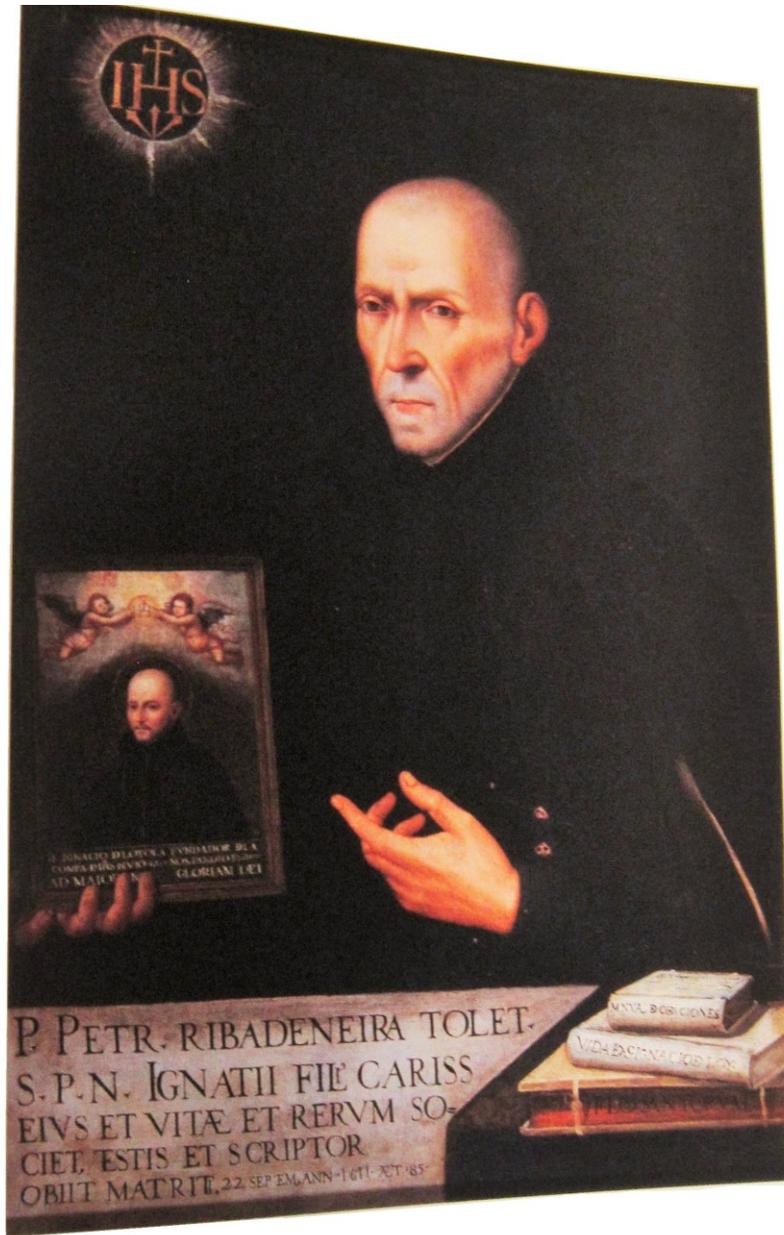


Figure 2: Attributed to Juan de Mesa, Retrato de Pedro de Ribadeneira, c. 1611, oil on canvas, 94 x 67.5 cm, Real Academia Española, Madrid. Source: Maria Kusche, Retratos y retratadores: Alonso Sánchez Coello y sus competidores Sofonisba Anguissola, Jorge de la Rúa y Rolán Moys. Madrid: Fundación de apoyo a la Historia del arte Hispánico, 2003. Figure 423.



Figure 3: Jacopino del Conte, Ignatius of Loyola, 1556, oil on canvas, 46 x 35 cm, Curia Generalizia, Rome. Source: Digital Photo from Felipe Pereda.



Figure 4: Jacopo Bellini, Saint Bernardino of Siena, ca. 1450-55, tempera and gold on wood, 34.3 x 24.8 cm, MMA, L.2015.45.1.



Figure 5: Michael Lasne after Jean Bourdichon, *Vray pourtrait de S. François de Paule*, 1644, engraving, 21.2 x 15.2 cm, British Museum, Prints and Drawings, 1869,0612.339.



Figure 6: Alonso Sánchez Coello, *St. Ignatius*, 1585, oil on canvas, size unrecorded, formerly at Jesuit College, Madrid, now destroyed. Source: Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004. Figure 28.



Figure 7: Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Tres santos*, 1582, oil on wood, 280 x 170 cm, MPM.



Figure 8: Alonso Sánchez Coello, *Autrorretrato*, c. 1570, oil on wood, 41 x 32.5 cm, MPM.

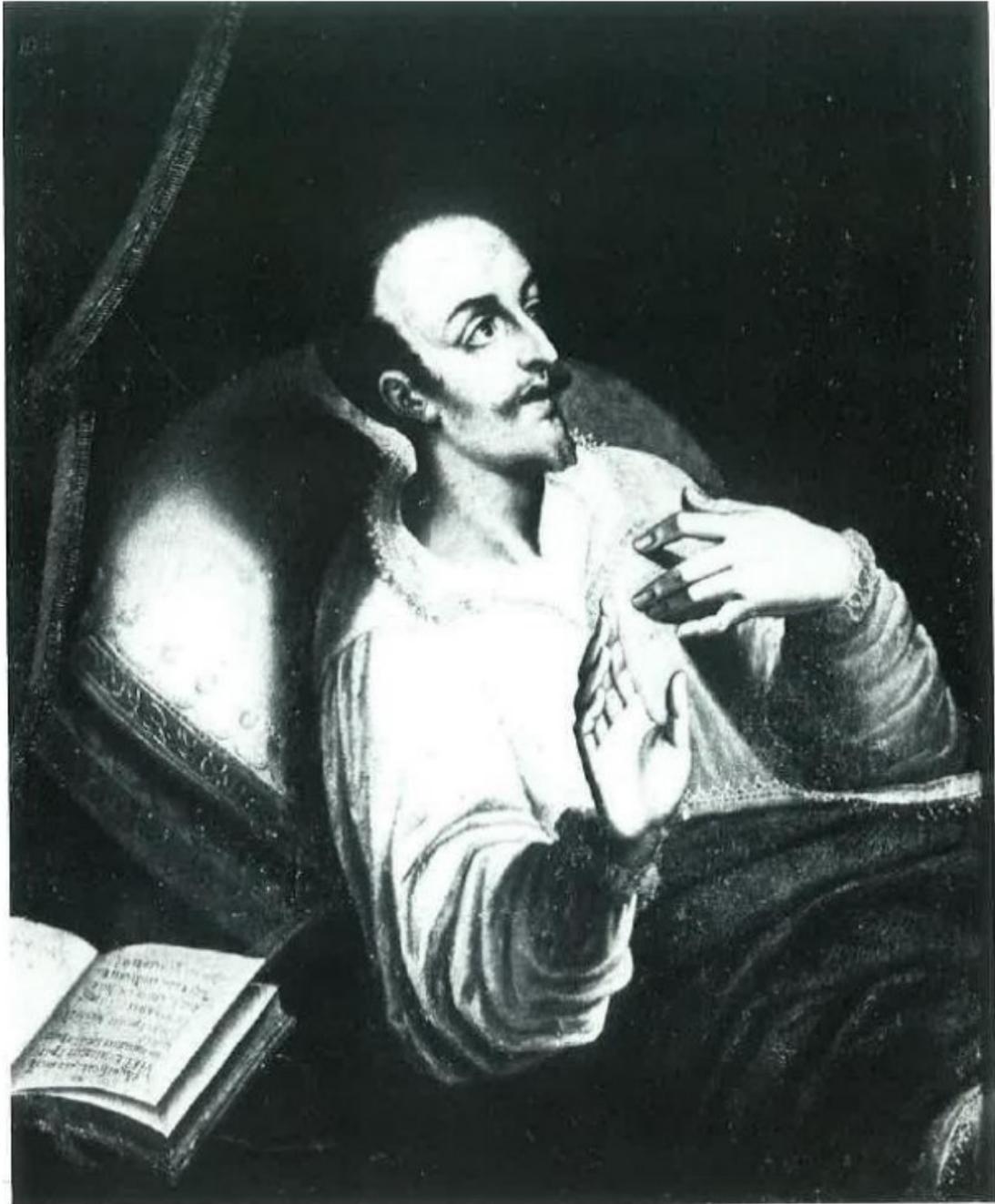


Figure 9: Juan de Mesa, Fragment of La herida de San Ignacio en el castillo de Pamplona, c. 1580-c. 1600, oil on canvas, 75 x 68 cm, Biblioteca Balmes, Barcelona. Source: Ursula König-Nordhoff, Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600. Berlin: Mann, 1982. Illustration 58.

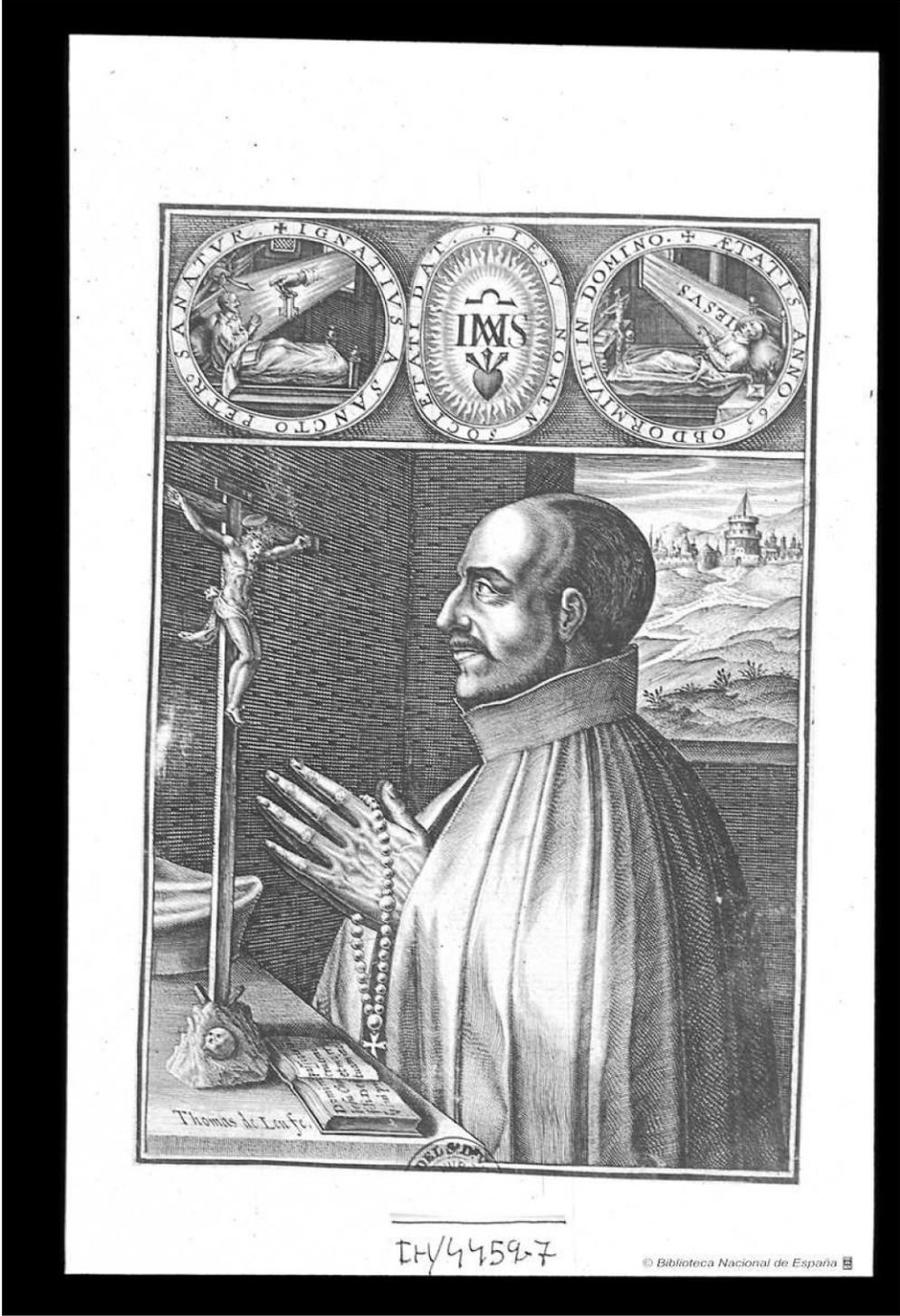


Figure 10: Thomas de Leu, *Ignatius Loyola*, Paris, 1590, engraving, 17.7 x 11.3 cm, BNE, IH/4459/7. Source: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.



Figure 11: Johann Sadeler (I) and Gerard van Groeningen, *Ignatius Loyola*, Cologne, 1580, engraving, 16.9 x 11.2 cm, RM, RP-P-OB-5499.



Figure 12: Thomas de Leu, *Ignatius Loyola*, Paris, 1590, engraving, 25.1 x 19.2 cm, AV, Hofbibliothek 137, fol. 112, 82.

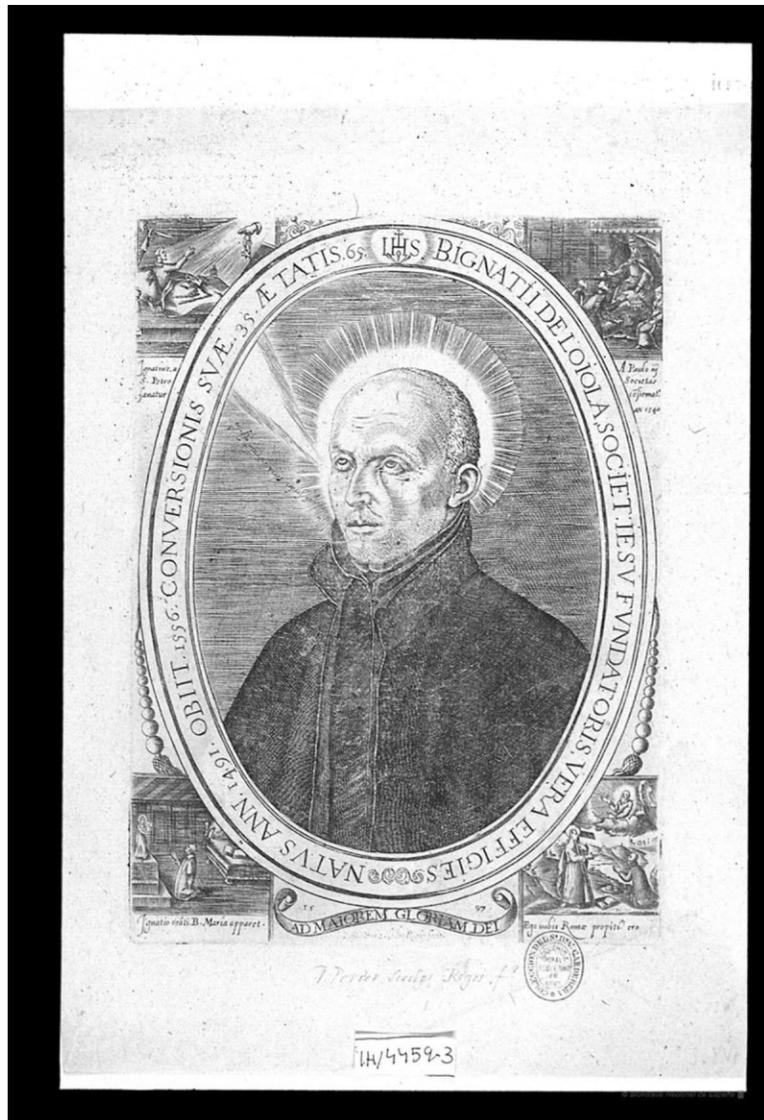


Figure 13: Pedro Perret, *Retrato de San Ignacio de Loyola*, Madrid, 1597, engraving, 16 x 22 cm, BNE, IH/4459/3. Source: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.

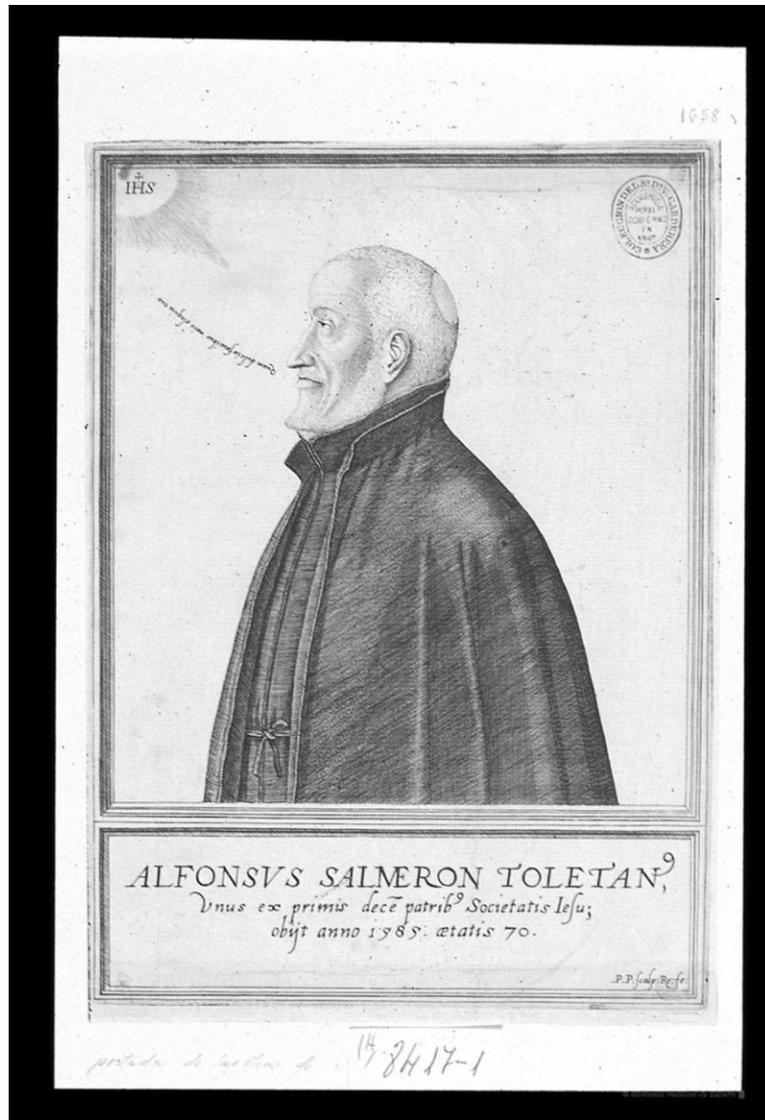


Figure 14: Pedro Perret, *Retrato de Alfonso Salmerón*, Madrid?, c. 1585- c. 1600, engraving, 21.8 x 15.5 cm, BNE, ER/121 (16). Source: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.



Figure 15: Francesco Villamena, Portrait of Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, Rome, 1604, engraving, 34.5 x 22 cm, British Museum, Prints and Drawings, 1876, 0708.116.



Figure 16: Francesco Villamena, *Life and Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, Rome, 1600, engraving, 42 x 55.5 cm, AV, Italienisch I 41, fol. 42.

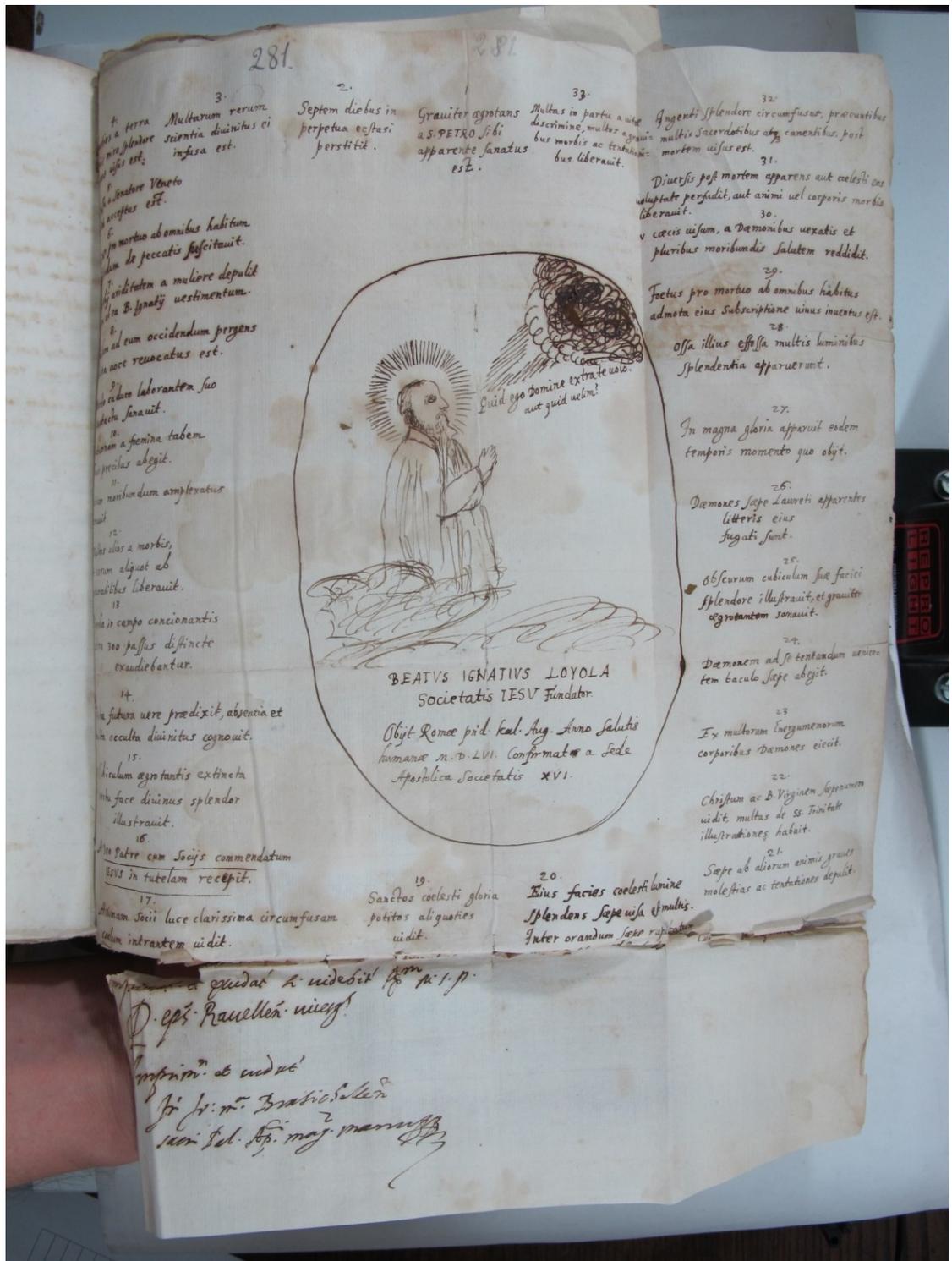


Figure 17: Attributed to Francesco Villamena, *Preliminary Drawing of the Life and Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, Rome, 1598/9, drawing on paper, 29.21 x 43.18 cm. Source: APGCG, no. 10, 281 recto, Imagining Services, ARSI.



Figure 18: Alonso Vázquez, Aparición de Cristo a San Ignacio de Loyola, 1595, oil on canvas, 254 x 194 cm, Catedral de Sevilla, Sacristía mayor. Source: Patrimonio Mueble de Andalucía.



Figure 19: Juan de Roelas, *La Circuncisión*, 1604/5, oil on canvas, 574 x 335 cm, Iglesia de Anunciación, Seville. Source: Web Gallery of Art.

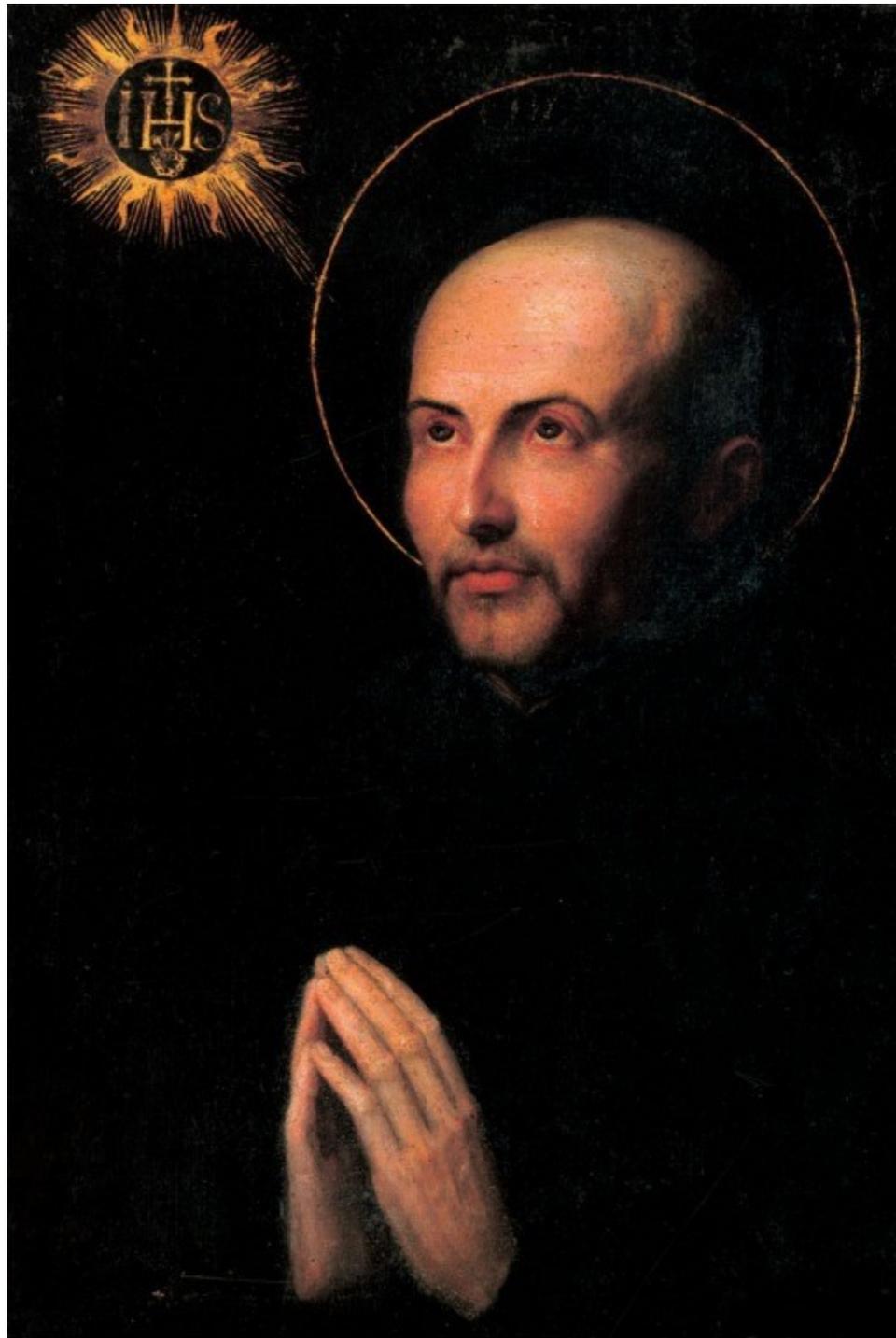


Figure 20: Juan de Sariñena, Ignatius of Loyola, 1606, oil on canvas, 66.8 x 52.5 cm, Real Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christi, Valencia. Source: San Francisco de Borja Grande de España: Arte y espiritualidad en la cultura hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII. Catarroja: Afers, 2010. Figure 16.



Figure 21: Jean-Baptiste Barbé and Peter-Paul Rubens, *Vita Beati P[atris] Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome: s.n., 1609), 34. Source: Imagining Services, ARSI.



Figure 22: Jean-Baptiste Barbé and Peter-Paul Rubens, *Vita Beati P[atris] Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome: s.n., 1609), 37. Source: Imagining Services, ARSI.



Figure 23: Jean-Baptiste Barbé and Peter-Paul Rubens, *Vita Beati P[atris] Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome: s.n., 1609), 66. Source: Imagining Services, ARSI.



Figure 24: Jean-Baptiste Barbé and Peter-Paul Rubens, *Vita Beati P[atris] Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome: s.n., 1609), 4. Source: Imagining Services, ARSI.



Figure 25: Unknown engraver, *Map of Jesuit Rome*, 1610, engraving, 35 x 45 cm, RM, RP-P-1963-289.



Figure 26: Johann (II) Collaert, *Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, 1610, engraving, 35 x 45 cm, RM, RP-P-1963-292.



Figure 27: Jean Leclerc, *The Miracles of Ignatius*, Paris, 1612, engraving, 14.8 x 18.7 cm, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inventar-Nr. 9815 D.



Figure 28: Kurtze Verzeichnuss dess Lebens B. Patris Ignatii de Loyola, Augsburg, engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (4). Source : Gallica.



Figure 29: P F attributed to Petrus Firens, *Life and Miracles of Ignatius Loyola*, s.a., engraving, 35.2 x 26.3 cm, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung.



Figure 30: Peter Paul Rubens, *Miracles of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, 1617/8, oil on canvas, 535 x 395 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

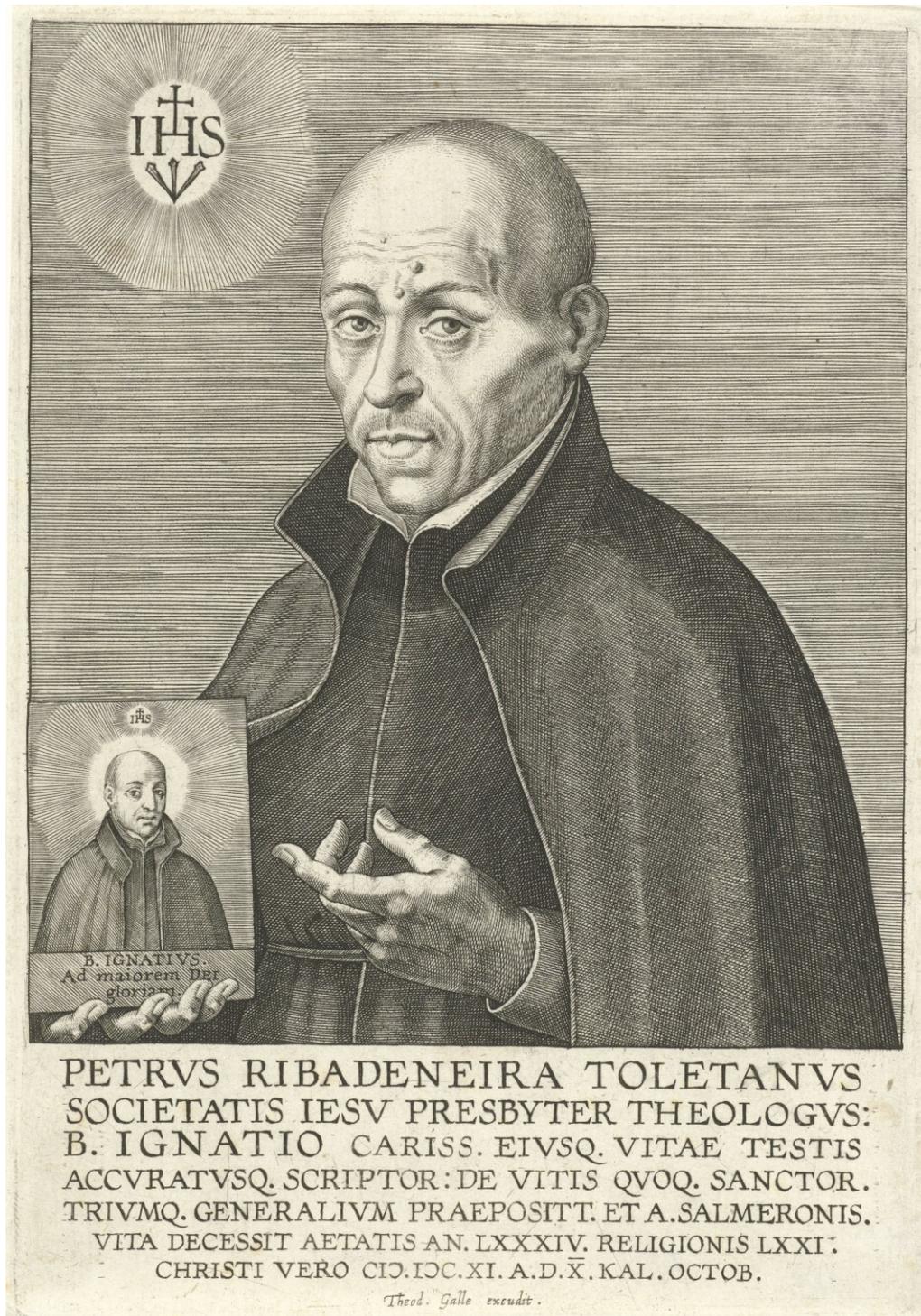


Figure 31: Theodoor Galle, *Portrait of Pedro de Ribadeneyra*, Antwerp, early seventeenth century, engraving, 17.6 x 12.2 cm, RM, RP-P-OB-6845.

CHAPTER 4: PRACTITIONER, HEAL THYSELF

A newsheet from Seville brought together a glut of material to celebrate the beatification of Ignatius, such as an engraving indebted to the iconography as discussed in the previous chapter.¹ It also had panegyrics dedicated to the Jesuit founder. One of them, a “Hymn for Saint Ignatius Loyola” by Juan de Robles Ribadeneyra (no relation to Pedro de Ribadeneyra), proclaimed:

O lamp and glory of the world!
Iberia, the nation and great-grandfather of Ignatius.
Clearly, his illustrious life
Is the medicine that treats what’s worldly
Through a disregard for the Fallen.²

Ignatius and his exemplary life, according to Robles, could remedy Original Sin and help to transcend the things of this world. Robles saw Ignatius’s worthy example as a tonic for all who wished to alleviate the baseness of humanity.

By the time the newsheet was published, the CSR, with the aid of medical practitioners, had examined instances when Ignatius healed bodies as opposed to the spiritual sickness mentioned by Robles. Physicians and surgeons, apothecaries and midwives had witnessed instances of supernatural healing. In order to authenticate a cure as a miracle, the CSR first needed to find the patient incurable, which they did with help from practitioners, who enumerated every possible treatment. Once these options were exhausted, a practitioner could say natural remedies were ineffective. The CSR then

¹ Francisco de Herrera, *Vera effigies Ignatii de Loiola*, 24 x 30 cm, frontispiece of *Relación de la fiesta que se hizo en Sevilla a la Beatificación del Glorioso S[ancto] Ignacio fundador de la Compañía de Jesús* (Seville: Luis Estupiñan, 1610).

² Juan de Robles Ribadeneyra, *Hymnis pro S[ancto] Ignatio*, in *Relación en Sevilla a la Beatificación*, 26 verso. “Orbis O lampas, decus atq[ue]; Iberae / Gentis Ignati[i], proaquisq[ue]; clare, / Clarior vita, medicina sec[u]llis / Missa caducis.”

wanted to ascertain the rate with which the infirm was healed. Miracles were instantaneous, whereas gradual cures, known as graces, were inadmissible as evidence of sanctity. Medical practitioners, the focus of this chapter, thus experienced and interpreted miracles as the CSR sorted through the ‘authentic’ cures by the Jesuit founder.

After its foundation, the CSR relied increasingly on physicians to authenticate miracles, but the scholarship has paid little attention to the period prior to the papacy of Urban VIII (1623-44). During this pontificate, notable physicians, including Angelo Vittori (1547-c. 1640), wrote at length about the cures performed by Counter-Reformation saints, Ignatius, Xavier, Diego de Alcalá, and Filippo Neri among them.³ In fact, that initial period (1588-1623), when the procedure for Ignatius took place, furnished the basis of the restructurings of canonizations by Urban and subsequent popes.

Physicians provided the CSR with a lay, but learned opinion about the patient’s condition and any of the attempted treatments. This information was vital for a case of sainthood since a miracle, according to the CSR’s criteria, only occurred after each and every natural recourse had been attempted. In his assessment, a physician used his experiences with patients combined with an extensive reliance on the medical corpus of Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna.⁴ But early modern medicine underwent a shift from textual tradition to knowledge through perception indicative of an *a posteriori*

³ Nancy G. Siraisi, “*Historiae*, Natural History, Roman Antiquity, and Some Roman Physicians,” in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 325-54. See the introduction for the scholarship on canonizations during Urban’s papacy. Also useful is Jacalyn Duffin, *Medical Miracles: Doctors, Saints, and Healing in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴ Francesco Antonelli, *De inquisitione medico-legali super miraculis in causis beatificationis et canonizationis* (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1962), 1-13.

epistemology. While theoretical medicine based on classical authorities remained firmly entrenched, especially among physicians, an incipient empiricism began to take root. Sense data increasingly superseded canonical tradition, which allowed for the inclusion of alternate disciplines, such as surgery, pharmacology, and midwifery. As practitioners helped the nascent CSR distinguish true miracles from false ones, the process was marked by clashes between observation, tradition, and medical expertise. Embedded within these changes was contact with the Jesuit information network, which disseminated news of miracles.

The chapter starts with a brief overview of medicine's place within canonizations from the Middle Ages into the early seventeenth century. We then meet the practitioners involved in Ignatius's canonization and how they interpreted his miracles based on experience and expertise. This procedure provides a rare opportunity to explore medicine's encounter with the miraculous since the procedure involved surgeons, midwives, and pharmacists in addition to the usual physicians. Many of these practitioners show familiarity with the Order's news matrix, which circulated reports of miracles. This is especially evident in their appraisal of miraculous images, which forced practitioners to reconcile observation with written accounts and medical tradition. What emerged from the assessment of miracles was an epistemology more inductive than deductive. I do not wish to contend that physicians were not empirical, quite the opposite,

as recent scholarship has made clear.⁵ Although not as wide a chasm as once thought, a gap did exist between learned tradition and empiricism.

Medicine, Miracles, and Sanctity

Physicians first appeared in canonization procedures during the thirteenth century. Highly educated and well versed in healing, physicians were uniquely qualified to assess cures.⁶ Joseph Ziegler has tracked the manner in which the late medieval Church relied upon physicians to provide evidence of miraculous cures. But, as Ziegler discovered, the Church's reliance on them was neither widespread nor systematic, a curious outlier among more typical witnesses, such as the clergy. A physician interpreted a would-be saint's cure according to his medical expertise, which determined if the intercession had surpassed the limits of nature.⁷

The reliance on physicians persisted into the sixteenth century, but the means with which a physician appraised divine efficacy changed. The dissection of corpses, for example, became commonplace. We see this in the examinations of Chiara da Montefalco (c. 1268-1308) and Elena Duglioli (1472-1520), two women with reputations for sanctity in Italy. In her fourteenth-century autopsy, Chiara's heart, once dissected, had signs of Christ's Passion, including a crucifix and a gouge like the Wound of Destiny. Authorities, however, suspected the nuns from Chiara's order of deception and stopped the canonization from proceeding. The sixteenth-century procedure for Elena, like that

⁵ Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi, "Introduction," in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 1-40.

⁶ Vauchez, 469-70; Antonelli, 21-30.

⁷ Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries," *Social History of Medicine* 12, no. 2 (August 1999): 191-225.

for Chiara, ground to a halt due to the ambiguous results of her dissections by a horde of physicians (no mention if surgeons were involved). Her body remained incorrupt after death, while her breasts filled with a white substance that reeked of rancid butter. Yet no consensus was ever reached. According to a contemporary observer of Elena's procedure, "medical men...have recourse to the works of nature" making them the "enemies of miracles."⁸ The inconclusive coroners' reports made this candidate appear too enigmatic to become a saint. Although Chiara's heart had uncanny marks, the suspicions of the pathologists dissuaded their initial finding of a miraculous body. Necropsy was used to decide if, according to medical opinion, cadavers, including Chiara's and Elena's, were miraculous.

Jesuits also had an autopsy performed on Ignatius shortly after his death in 1556. After the death mask was cast, as recounted in Chapter Three, the physicians Alessandro Petronio and Realdo Columbo opened Ignatius to find evidence of his sanctity akin to what was done for Chiara da Montefalco and Elena Duglioli. Unlike with the holy women, however, there was no ambiguity; Petronio and Columbo agreed there was no doubt that Ignatius's innards had superseded nature. An average person, according to the two physicians, would have died from organ failure years before. But somehow, Ignatius

⁸ Katharine Park, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone Books, 2006), 39-60, 161-78. Quotation on page 176. "Li medici, che sempre nimicano li miraculi, et all'opra di natura confugono"

continued to live in spite of his unnamed condition. Columbo thus concluded that the body was miraculous.⁹

Petronio, meanwhile, would witness more than Ignatius's extraordinary organs since the Jesuit founder healed the physician months after the autopsy. Back in 1555, Ignatius, despite his blessed body, was a near fatality due to medical malpractice, which was rectified by Petronio, "Rome's premier physician." Ignatius had come down with an unnamed illness for which he was examined by a house doctor who prescribed 'hot treatments', which included swaddling Ignatius in blankets and giving the founder strong wine. This remedy worsened Ignatius's sickness to the point where death seemed imminent. In a panic, the Jesuit fathers called for a second opinion. Petronio arrived and realized the misdiagnosis. As a result, Ignatius recovered shortly thereafter.¹⁰ The next year, Petronio caught a nondescript illness, which left him only the strength to clasp his hands in prayer. His only self-prescribed treatment was the avoidance of light and drafts. And while his trade could find a corpse miraculous, it offered him nothing to reverse his present plight. But along came a blinding light, an apparition of Ignatius no less, who healed Petronio on the spot. What had cured the physician was not medicine, but the

⁹ Realdo Columbo, *De re anatomica* (Paris: André Wechel, 1562), 491. The best discussion of this autopsy in the scholarship is Elisa Andretta, *Roma medica: Anatomie d'un système médical au XVIe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011), 545-55.

¹⁰ Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, *Memoriale*, 1555 in *FN* 1:547-48 (entry for 26 January), 608 (entry for 17 February). Gonçalves da Câmara described Petronio as "principal medico de Roma." On Petronio's reputation in Rome, see Andretta, 141, 224.

supernatural powers of the Jesuit founder as Petronio claimed when called to testify by the CSR in 1593.¹¹

This sort of miraculous encounters with saints were not the norm for physicians, but Petronio's cure shows us some of the interactions between medicine and miracles during the sixteenth century. One was the involvement with supernatural interventions, although few physicians experienced the healing of the kind underwent by Petronio. Practitioners observed changes to patients after each round of therapy, first with natural means and subsequently by the intercession of saints. Another exchange involved cutting open a body to find innards that endured when they should not have, such as Petronio and Columbo's autopsy of Ignatius. Dissection became part of the Counter-Reformation process to determine sanctity as seen with Ignatius.

Another change ushered by the recently formed CSR allowed other medical practitioners to participate in canonization procedures. For instance, that for Carlo Borromeo relied on the testimony of physicians, surgeons, barbers, apothecaries, and even nondescript "healers" (*guaritori*).¹² The process for Filippo Neri involved an autopsy performed by a physician, an apothecary, and a surgeon.¹³ The prevalence of

¹¹ APGCG, no. 10, 65 verso-66 recto: Testimony of Alessandro Petronio, 1593; *Summarium Miraculorum B.P. Ignatii*, fols. 57-58.

¹² Nancy G. Siraisi, "La comunicazione del sapere anatomico ai confini tra diritto e agiografia: due casi del secolo XVI," in *Le forme della comunicazione scientifica*, eds. Massimo Galuzzi et al. (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1998), 420, 425-35; Angelo Turchini, *La fabbrica di un santo: Il processo di canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo e la Controriforma* (Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1984), 120-25.

¹³ Testimony of Alessandro Alluminati, Rome, 2 September 1595 in *Il primo processo per san Filippo Neri: nel Codice vaticano latino 3798 e in altri esemplari dell'Archivio dell'Oratorio di Roma*, eds. Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, Nello Vian, and Carlo Gasbarri, 4 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 1957-63), 1:148; Testimony of Angelo Vittori (medico), Rome, 4 September 1595 in *Il primo processo per san Filippo Neri*, 1:152-54; Testimony of Giuseppe Zerla (medico e chirurgo), Rome, 16 April 1599 in *Il primo processo per san Filippo Neri* 2:220-22.

medical practitioners in canonization trials during the CSR period, however, was inconsistent. For example, only one surgeon assessed a miracle of Francis Xavier, while a single physician was questioned during the process for Teresa of Ávila.¹⁴ Still, a certain expansion of acceptable practitioners did occur as seen in the procedures for Neri, Borromeo, and Xavier.

But this toleration applied to men only. Midwives, most notably, remained underrepresented even in cases for female saints, such as Teresa of Ávila and Francesca Romana. The procedure for Ignatius was thus an exception to the rule with its diverse array of male and female specialists convened to assess his miracles due to, I suspect, the increased link between Ignatius and obstetrics. Physicians were the most numerous with seventeen present, which was followed by the nine surgeons, four midwives, and two apothecaries (see Table 2).¹⁵ These thirty-two men and women were only a drip in the pan, about 6.5% of the 491 witnesses. In other canonizations from this period, physicians, according to Paolo Parigi, made up just 5 to 7% of the witnesses subpoenaed by the CSR, a figure that does not account for surgeons, apothecaries, and midwives.¹⁶ Although comparable to other canonizations during the Counter-Reformation in its reliance of practitioners, Ignatius's was unlike any of its peers due to the presence of medical men and women on the stand.

¹⁴ Testimony of Marcos Fernandes, Cochin, 22 September 1614 in *MX* 2:528. Also buried within the testimonies for that canonization was a second-hand report of a physician who confirmed that Xavier performed a miraculous cure of a paralytic in Travancore: Testimony of Domingo Gomes, Travacore, 7 October 1616 in *MX* 2:609. The testimony of the physician present at the canonization inquires for Teresa of Ávila is: Testimony of Don Antonio de Aquiar, Burgos, 1610 in *Procesos de beatificación y canonización de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, ed. Silverio de Santa Teresa, 3 vols. (Burgos: El Monte Carmelo, 1934-35), 3: 420-29.

¹⁵ *Summarium Depositionum*, 2 recto-6 recto, 7 verso-20 recto, 22 recto-24 verso.

¹⁶ Parigi, 54.

Table 2: Number and Type of Medical Practitioners in the Canonization of Ignatius

Type of Practitioner	Total Number	Inquiry Site	Amount
Physician	17	Modena	1
		Rome	1
		Minorca	1
		Majorca	2
		Gandia	2
		Valencia	3
		Toledo	3
		Barcelona	4
Surgeon	9	Burgos	1
		Majorca	1
		Gandia	2
		Barcelona	2
		Minorca	3
Apothecary	2	Minorca	1
		Toledo	1
Midwife	4	Rome	1
		Barcelona	2
		Majorca	2

Medical Practitioners of Ignatius's Procedure

Physicians were required by law to have doctorates in medicine. In Castile, doctors must have graduated from the universities of Salamanca, Valladolid, Alcalá de Henares, or the Collegio di Spagna at the University of Bologna. The other kingdoms, in contrast, allowed for physicians to have completed their doctorates at the universities of Valencia, Barcelona, and Zaragoza.¹⁷ Although the *Institutiones medicae* (*Medical Institutes*) by Luis Mercado (c. 1525-c. 1611) became the definitive medical textbook in Spain for a decade and a half (1594-1617), many professors of medicine preferred the

¹⁷ Katharine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 245-48.

traditional curriculum of Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna.¹⁸ This trio remained the foundation of medical study, but by the seventeenth century, they had been modified and reinterpreted extensively. Mercado did not discuss supernatural remedies in his *Institutes*, but Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna did in their writings.¹⁹ Learned medicine, as found in Mercado's *Institutes*, had a predilection for naturalistic explanations.

Some of the physicians at the Ignatian hearings had additional qualifications, which placed them among a learned elite. Juan Andrés Núñez from Valencia, for example, also had a doctorate in canon and civil law (*Juris Utriusque Doctor*). Two were professors at the Universities of Valencia and Barcelona. One was the Protomédico of Catalonia, one of many that monitored all medical practice across the Spanish Monarchy. This appointed officer even had to supervise unconventional healers full of spiritual fervor and lacking in accreditation.²⁰ Another was the Chief Physician of Modena who looked after the ruling duke. The canonization's close ties with the Spanish court are immediately apparent with presence of two of its physicians. Juan Gómez de Sanabria took care of the Royal Household (*Cámara de la Casa Real*) with some time spent as

¹⁸ As a response to this resistance toward Mercado's *Institutes*, Philip III in 1617 retired the textbook from the medical curriculum. Philip did so only after Mercado's death in 1611. *Los códigos españoles concordados y anotados*, 12 vols., 2nd ed. (Madrid: Antonio de San Martín, 1872-73), 9:60. "que en las Universidades los Cathedraticos lean la doctrina de Galeno, Hippocrates, y Avicena, como se solia hacer antiguamente." A useful overview of medical regulation in Spain is Michele Clouse, *Medicine, Government, and Public Health in Philip II's Spain* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011).

¹⁹ For examples, see Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters, Places*, trans. W.H.S. Jones (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923), 127-29; Susan P. Mattern, *The Prince of Medicine: Galen in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 79-80; Avicenna, *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine*, trans. Oskar Cameron Gruner (New York: AMS Press, 1973), 132, 151.

²⁰ José Danón Bretós, "Protomédicos y Protomedicato en Cataluña," *Dynamis* 16 (1996): 205-17; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 20-21. For more on other unlicensed healers, see Campagne, 250-70.

protomédico (1601-03), while Matías Vázquez oversaw the palaces of Fuente el Sol (Valladolid) and Buenavista (Madrid). The Duke of Lerma – the favorite of King Philip III – subsequently appointed Vázquez as court physician in 1608.²¹

Compared to physicians who preferred to stay in larger communities, a surgeon, bar unlicensed healers, was frequently the lone medical practitioner in town, which forced him to treat conditions beyond his expertise. Starting with ad-hoc experimentation, surgeons would gradually acquire a repertoire of treatments refined through trial and error. Surgeons provided many services, including removing urinary stones, setting bones, and resolving vision problems.²²

The improvisational attitude toward treatment made surgeons prone to mockery. The Flemish painters Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450-1516) and Jan Sanders van Hemessen (c. 1500-c. 1566), for example, depicted surgeons as quacks. Bosch's surgeon wears a funnel hat, since knowledge exited his mind, which denoted charlatanism. As he performs a trepanation, the practitioner extracts a floral bulb and not the alleged stone of madness, which was said to cause psychosis. With these details, Bosch argues that the surgeon and his treatments were shams.²³ Meanwhile, Hemessen's surgeon completes a similar procedure, this time with a stone. The procedure remains disingenuous since the

²¹ Juan Manuel Jiménez Muñoz, *Médicos y cirujanos en 'Quitaciones de Corte' (1435-1715)* (Valladolid: Ediciones de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1977), 50-51; José Martínez Millán et al., *La monarquía de Felipe III: la Casa del Rey*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE, Instituto de Cultura, 2008), 2:289, 671.

²² Covarrubias, 286 recto. "el Medico que cura de heridas, o llagas." See also, Rafael Muñoz Garrido, "Empíricos sanitarios españoles de los siglos XVI y XVII," *Cuadernos de historia de la medicina española* 6 (1967): 101; Luis Martín Santos, *Barberos y cirujanos de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000), 11-13, 29-33.

²³ Hieronymus Bosch, *Extracting the Stone of Madness*, 1500-10, oil on panel, 48.5 x 34.5 cm, MPM. I relied on a helpful interpretation of Bosch's painting: Matthijs IJssink and Jos Koldeweij, *Hieronymus Bosch: Visions of Genius* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 48, 50.

practitioner inserted the object into the patient's head. Much like Bosch, Hemessen sought to illustrate a surgeon as a money-hungry charlatan with fake stones at the ready and customers on hand willing to receive these dubious treatments.²⁴

The Spanish poet and writer Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645) took said scorn to another level in his *Dreams (Sueños)* and its vision of death. After some bedtime reading, Quevedo fell asleep and imagined the land of the dead, one inhabited by physicians atop mules, world-weary due to the regularity with which they had to look at their patients' chamber-pots (*orinales*) and toilets (*servicios*).²⁵ Following this pathetic procession were surgeons carrying the tools of their trade, including catheters (*cauterios*), scissors (*tixerás*), and knives (*nauajas*). As the surgeons marched, they chanted "Cut, pull, open, saw, tear, prod, pierce, take chunks out (*axigota*), slice, remove the flesh, and burn."²⁶ The surgeons' cry made Quevedo fearful and compelled him to flee. While satiric and abrasive, Quevedo's venom toward surgeons points to a prevailing mistrust toward them. Butchery, as seen in the surgeons' song, was not an uncommon accusation levelled against these practitioners. Ignatius, for example, recalled his post-battle surgery in Pamplona as such. But he and most others would not place surgeons among the residents of hell as Quevedo had done.

As a result of this bad press, the surgeons who testified in Ignatius's canonization procedure had a predilection to advertise their citizenship. A citizen (*civis*) was seen as

²⁴ Jan Sanders van Hemessen, *The Surgeon*, 1550-55, oil on panel, 100 x 141 cm, MPM.

²⁵ Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, *Sueños, y discursos de verdades descubridoras de abusos, vicios, y engaños, en todos los oficios, y estados del Mundo* (Valencia: Juan Bautista Marçal, 1628), fol. 69.

²⁶ Quevedo, 71 recto. "Corta, arranca, abre, asierra, despedaçá, pica, punça, axigota, rebana, descarna, y abrasa."

more trustworthy since he had roots and established connections, while an inhabitant (*habitor*) was a “residing foreigner” who agreed to follow the practices and traditions of their adopted home.²⁷ If an individual was neither citizen nor inhabitant, the person aroused mistrust in local populations, which was disagreeable to a medical practitioner’s opportunities to ply his trade. Since a surgeon occupied an ambiguous place in medical hierarchies and society more generally, professional mistrust would destroy his practice. Thus, any legitimization strategy available to a surgeon was deployed, including identifying oneself as a citizen or inhabitant. Locals could be trusted, which explains the constant declarations of citizenship and inhabitancy by surgeons eager to broadcast this status. Strong ties to the community also lent an air of believability and trustworthiness, desirable qualities when giving testimony at local inquiries.

Another maligned group from Quevedo’s dreams of the underworld were the apothecaries whose shops were “the armories of physicians.”²⁸ Apothecaries lacked the same prestige and esteem shown to physicians and even surgeons. For this reason, just two apothecaries served as witnesses. Onofre Dries, aged sixty-five, was a citizen of Minorca and as seen with surgeons, declarations of citizenship made this witness more credible during the tribunal. The other apothecary, Juan Bautista Salazar y Carsedo, was

²⁷ Guido Alfani, “Immigrants and Formalisation of Social Ties in Early Modern Italy: Ivrea in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Spiritual Kinship in Europe, 1500-1900*, eds. Guido Alfani and Vincent Gourdon (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 51.

²⁸ Quevedo, 69 verso-70 recto. “No ay gente mas fiera que estos Boticarios, son armeros de los Doctores, ellos les dan armas.” See also, Covarrubias, 149 recto, 466 recto.

described in the documents as a forty-six year old *pharmacopola* from Toledo, which was a term for someone willing to concoct both poisons and cures.²⁹

An apothecary's shop was a hive of activity. Patients sought cheap and effective remedies for both internal and external ailments. In one pharmaceutical treatise from 1592, apothecaries were said to dispense opiates, aromatic powders, salves, and oils among other topical treatments.³⁰ The shop was open to other practitioners who peddled their expertise – physicians and surgeons offered their services there to all walk-ins. It was also a meeting place for people from all walks of life. Even painters and sculptors were frequent visitors since the apothecary always carried pigments and wax in stock. The shop was alive with chatter: complaints about wars, blasphemous outbursts, and gossip could be found within.

Apothecaries were also spice merchants in key stops for the trade, including Venice, Seville, Lisbon, and Antwerp. Due to considerable overlap between herbalists, pharmacists, and spice merchants, medical authorities, such as protomédicos, frequently lumped them together. Unlike a typical spice merchant, however, apothecaries intermittently attracted Inquisitorial attention due to allegations that these shops held covert meetings of religious dissidents. Another accusation levelled against the trade was sorcery: it was suspected that the manipulation of substances to make medicine was

²⁹ Covarrubias, 398 recto. “quod tam pro toxico, quam pro salutisero medicamento accipi potest”

³⁰ Antonio Castell, *Theorica y practica de boticarios en que se trata de la arte y forma como se han de componer las Confecciones ansi interiores como exteriores* (Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas, 1592), sig. ¶ 2 recto.

really a foray into the demonic arts. Apothecaries' shops functioned as centers of quotidian and occult information in addition to dispensing heresy and healing.³¹

As the prestige of the medical practitioner decreased, so did their presence as witnesses. The procedure called on seventeen physicians, nine surgeons, and finally two apothecaries. If physicians were the baseline, then the number is halved and then quartered as the professional standing declined. While surgeons and apothecaries helped to assess the miracles of Ignatius, they were marginalized, especially the apothecaries, when compared to physicians.

But changes in the population of practitioners became more complicated with the presence of four midwives, double the number of apothecaries. Male practitioners inhabited a hierarchy based on practice, which isolated their female counterparts who remained subject to gender norms associated with midwifery. Primarily known for delivering children, midwives also dispensed remedies to ease pregnancy, help with breastfeeding, and correct fertility issues, including erectile dysfunction.³² Yet these practitioners were considered untrustworthy as seen in a Castilian proverb from the time: "My midwives wish unto me illness because I tell them the truth."³³ They were often accused of bringing curses unto their detractors after which came accusations of witchcraft. Trials for this crime frequently listed midwives as coven attendees, guilty of

³¹ Filippo de Vivo, "Pharmacies as Centres of Communication in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (September 2007): 507-08, 511-17; Gianna Pomata, *Contracting the Cure: Patients, Healers, and the Law in Early Modern Bologna*, trans. Gianna Pomata, Rosemarie Foy, and Anna Taraboletti-Segre (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 67-68.

³² Damián Carbón, *Libro del arte de las comadres o madrinas y del regimento de las preñadas y paridas y de los niños* (Palma de Mallorca: Hernando de Cansoles, 1541), 10 verso-11 verso, fol. 47, fol. 95-96.

³³ Covarrubias, 226 recto. "Mal me quieren mis comadres, porque les digo las verdades."

infanticide.³⁴ Unlike the other medical practitioners, early modern society scorned these female practitioners because of their sex, association with sorcery, and lack of formal education.

The midwives called to testify in Ignatius's canonization ranged in age from fifty-five to sixty-six and were present at the tribunals held in Majorca, Barcelona, and Rome. This contingent helps, in part, to explain Ignatius's patronage of expectant mothers and their children found in the visual culture. Independent of a midwife's capacity to deliver babies, pregnancy-related mortality was high often ending in the death(s) of mother and child. According to one scholar, it took two live births to produce a child that lived to adulthood.³⁵ In such an anxious situation, any help, practical or divine, was appreciated.

Practitioners and Miracles: A Majorcan Case Study

The hearings held in Majorca are unique since they had physicians, a surgeon, and two midwives as witnesses. Within this microcosm, we can get a sense of how medical expertise clashed during the procedure to assess Ignatius's miracles. The Majorcan inquiries are especially rich since its practitioners provided lengthier responses to questions. Even though the procedure in Barcelona had a better sample of witnesses – four physicians, two surgeons, and two midwives – these testimonies lacked the meatiness of the responses from Majorca. These documentary discrepancies could be the work of the Majorcan transcriber, who felt no need to excise statements unlike his counterpart in Barcelona. The transcript from Majorca, with responses presumably in

³⁴ Roper, 122, 141; Tausiet, 166-68. See also David Harley, "Historians as Demonologists: The Myth of the Midwife-Witch," *Social History of Medicine* 3 (1990): 1-26.

³⁵ Vicente Pérez Moreda, *Las crisis de mortalidad en la España interior* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1980), 164.

Catalan, was then translated into Latin to ensure consistency. Since the CSR held hearings in Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries, canonization documents needed to be monolingual and in the Church's official language. While it is possible that a surgeon may have been able to testify in Latin, the physician could certainly have done so. But without the original transcripts, the extent to which statements were translated or modified is also uncertain, a problem endemic in this type of source.

The CSR's question seventeen pointedly asked: what is a miracle? With such an obvious question comes the hope of easily charting how medicine understood miracles. Unfortunately, the responses to this specific inquiry are stock and curt, treating it as a necessary formality, offering little more than mentioning miracles as "supernatural" and beyond "the scope of nature," "human remedy," and "the art of medicine."³⁶ One would expect that something so extraordinary would warrant some elaboration, some first-hand observation about the alleged miracle. Representatives of the CSR, however, perceived any excessive enthusiasm as unreliable. Nor was this suspicion exclusive to them alone. The English empiricist and natural philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626), for example, warned against accepting reports of miracles too readily for if they prove credulous, they become "old wiues fables, impostures of the Cleargie, illusions of spirits, and badges of Antichrist, to the great scandall and detriment of Religion."³⁷ The CSR wanted to avoid validating fraudulent miracles, which repudiated the cult of saints.

³⁶ *Summarium Depositionum*, fol. 283, 285 verso.

³⁷ Francis Bacon, *The Tvvo Bookes of the Proficience and Aduancement of Learning, Divine and Humane* (London: Henry Tomes, 1605), 21 verso.

Subsequent questions, fortunately, accumulated witnesses' observations. Number nineteen asked for a case history, which consisted of the cure's rate, illness, duration, prescribed medicines, and patient information. Speed was especially important since miraculous cures were instantaneous. If the healing appeared to be a grace, as explained previously, it would be removed from consideration immediately. In addition, the witness had to explain how the administered treatment failed the patient and if others were present to corroborate the practitioner's statement. Question twenty then sought a diagnosis for the cure. The witness had to confirm the cure's status as beyond nature and provide a probable cause.³⁸ Practitioners could fail to cure their patients, but some other natural means could reverse the condition. At this point, assuming that questions nineteen and twenty received satisfactory answers, all natural explanations were exhausted meaning that the cure was a miracle. With these questions, medical practitioners volunteered their experiences and interpretations of cures attributed to Ignatius.

The first of our witnesses was the physician José Simón Pisa who described a miracle as "a thing, otherwise unobtainable by human remedy that occurs due to the intercession of any saint by the hand of God."³⁹ His case involved a patient that suffered from cancer. Pisa could not cure the man, even after two years of trying. The cancer-ridden man then went into a chapel dedicated to Ignatius and stayed there for nine days praying. His persistence evidently paid off since after a week and a half of petitions, the

³⁸ *Remissorial Scroll on the Canonization of Ignatius*, 2:526-27.

³⁹ *Summarium Depositionum*, 281 verso "Miraculum est rem que consequitur de manu Dei ex intercessione alicuius sancti non reperiendo remedium humanum"

cancer left him immediately.⁴⁰ Pisa claimed in his response to question nineteen to have seen an unnamed curate place a representation of Ignatius near the incurable man which then removed the cancer. The object, in Pisa's estimation, overcame the evil of an incurable condition which was, upon reflection, a miracle.⁴¹

Pisa provided his diagnosis and prognosis of the patient after which he described the cancer's remission. The CSR got its necessary information when verifying miracles, namely the incurability of the patient and the likelihood that the cure was impossible by natural means. Thus, the cancer's remission was a miracle. What had cured the patient was a representation of Ignatius, which likely was something handheld, like a print or medallion. Pisa offered where the miracle took place and by what means which was, in this case, a representation dispensed by a curate. This case of cancer provides us an instance of practitioners interpreting images as a means to treat the hopeless. Pisa not only unsuccessfully treated the patient, but he saw someone use a likeness of Ignatius to treat cancer. And Pisa made an assessment based on his experiences as the attending physician and attendee at the chapel of St. Ignatius. Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna had no place in Pisa's interpretation of a miraculous cure.

The problem with Pisa's conclusions was the speed in which the cancer went into remission. Pisa testified that his patient went to the chapel of St. Ignatius to pray for nine days, during which time, the curate provided the petitioner with a likeness of the Jesuit founder. Although Pisa attributed the cure to the image, the CSR would have found the

⁴⁰ *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, fol. 200-02.

⁴¹ *Summarium Depositionum*, 342 verso. "n[ost]ro curata est quod apponendo figuram P[atris] Ignatii cito curata est propter quod et quia ego vincibam[?] illud malum pro incurabili intelligo fuisse apud supernaturalis et reputai per miraculo."

time spent in prayer suspect. Praying to a saint was not the problem. But what if, after more than a week in accosting the heavens, the cure was cumulative? That was a grace and not a miracle. Thus, the CSR had no way of knowing what removed the cancer since the representation or the prayers could have worked this change. Since the healing was so ambiguous, it comes as no surprise that the CSR did not find this intervention to be miraculous.

Once the CSR vetoed a miracle, attention shifted elsewhere since there were no shortage of miracles to sift through, such as a case of scrofula. On this matter, the CSR called the surgeon Guillermo Gensol to explain his failure to treat the condition, which he also failed to do throughout his testimony. Gensol's charge had suffered for thirty years with scrofula, which Ignatius effaced in an instant.⁴² According to Gensol, a miracle was "healing, as a result of the intercession of some saints, some sicknesses that physicians and men cannot cure."⁴³ When he defined miracles, Gensol understood them as beyond the abilities of men, itself an uncontroversial claim, yet he singled out physicians for reasons unknown. The comment could be read as a jeer at the ineffectiveness of physicians, representative of longtime acrimony between physicians and surgeons in Majorca, hostility that made its way into Gensol's testimony.⁴⁴

⁴² *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, fols. 202-05.

⁴³ *Summarium Depositionum*, 281 verso. "Miraculum est curatio aliquas infirmitates ex intercessione aliquorum sanctorum quas medici nec homines curare possunt"

⁴⁴ Antonio Contreras Mas, "La formación de los profesionales sanitarios en Mallorca (XIII-XVIII)," *Estudis Baleàrics* 11 (1983): 38-40, 44-45. By the late sixteenth century, the capital Palma de Majorca had a college of surgeons and the university in the same city that trained physicians.

Further into his questioning, Gensol acknowledged that he knew and had heard of Ignatius performing many miracles. No-one, however, had recorded them.⁴⁵ News circulated in Majorca by way of an oral culture as suggested by Gensol. The island's literacy rate was marginal, a sign of reliance on unwritten exchanges supplemented with other networks, such as visual culture which, as we have seen in the last chapter, was effective at illustrating the miracles of Ignatius.⁴⁶ Gensol had failed to substantiate the cure based on experience, instead, relying more on hearsay. In fact, Gensol talked more about the many miracles of Ignatius in Majorca than the case of the scrofulous man, which he was said to have treated! Surgical treatises from the time associated scrofula with edema and abscesses. To treat the condition required the consumption of wine with some water, broths, and meat, while avoiding legumes, cheese, unleavened bread, and fruit.⁴⁷ Gensol makes no mention of any treatment prescribed to his patient. His expertise was thus irrelevant in this case, but his answers suggest the means in which news of miracles circulated during the process to canonize Ignatius. Unsurprisingly, Gensol's miracle was also dismissed.

Next to testify, three weeks after Pisa and Gensol, were the midwives Mariana Cubelles and Francisca Mualeijo.⁴⁸ Cubelles, aged fifty-five, had her testimony on two miracles combined in the records where she explained that "I understand a miracle is that which does not appear to be human remedies, [instead] God works [a miracle] himself or

⁴⁵ *Summarium Depositionum*, 301 verso.

⁴⁶ Onofre Vaquer Bennasar, *Una sociedad del antiguo régimen: Felanitx y Mallorca en el siglo XVI*, 2 vols. (Majorca: Sociedad, Instituciones, Vida Cotidiana, 1988), 2: 823.

⁴⁷ Andrés de León, *Tratados de medicina, cirugía y anatomía* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1605), fol. 166-67; Guy de Chauliac, *Cirurgia*, trans. Juan Calvo (Valencia: Pedro Patricio, 1596), 236, 241.

⁴⁸ Cubelles testified on 23 May 1607, while Mualeijo appeared on 30 May.

through the intercession of some saints.”⁴⁹ The use of the first-person in canonization responses was abnormal compared to the usual detached statements. Here, she defined miracles based on her reckoning and her atypical response is an admission that supplemented tradition.

In the two miracles that she encountered, Cubelles performed two difficult deliveries. These pregnancies would have been fatal had Ignatius not relieved the birth-pangs of the women under her care.⁵⁰ No remedy was available, Cubelles claimed, in either case. She and the attending physicians had exhausted all possibilities and hoping for a cure was also futile. Based on her experience, she disqualified all options except one: the compassion of God as performed by the intercession of Ignatius.⁵¹ Cubelles used her obstetric expertise based on years of experience to determine the ineffectiveness of the treatments proffered by her and the other practitioners. She could then conclude that she had seen a saint’s work and nothing else. While fully aware of what constituted a miracle which she had defined previously, her responses to subsequent questions avoided the word. As the CSR examined miracles, if a witness hastily described a cure as a miracle, their testimony was discredited. Cubelles was aware of this pitfall and avoided premature designations of the events under examination.

What is unusual was the CSR’s decision not to call the attending physicians to the stand in the cases involving Cubelles. The aforementioned Pisa, for example, had no involvement. Diego Julia, the other physician called to testify in Majorca, had assessed a

⁴⁹ *Summarium Depositionum*, 283 recto. “Intelligo miraculum est id quod no possit aperari remedia humana et illud facit Deus per se aut ad intercessionem aliquorum sanctorum.”

⁵⁰ *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, fol. 215-19.

⁵¹ *Summarium Depositionum*, 359 verso.

cure of an older woman with excessive fluid in her eyes, which he attributed to a relic of Ignatius.⁵² This omission of physicians from the hearings could be a sign that the CSR did not take the miraculous deliveries seriously and merely wanted to show due diligence. The miracle under review was rejected by the CSR ultimately. But Cubelles could have also magnified the severity of the births by claiming her need for physicians. Midwives would only call a physician if the birth was especially difficult.⁵³ If she and the doctors could not complete the pregnancy, it made Ignatius's intervention all the more impressive. These are the best explanations that I can provide without any additional evidence.

Like Cubelles, Mualeijo exhibited a sensitivity to whom performed miracles, which she understood as “a remedy by God with help from some of his saints and it transcends nature with means unobtainable on earth.”⁵⁴ Saints assisted God in the performance of miracles as conduits. Despite the tendency of formulaic responses, Mualeijo and Cubelles exhibited a certain knowledge that midwives purportedly lacked with statements surpassing in depth and detail those of Pisa and Gensol. In Mualeijo's case, she had experienced not only a woman suffering from extreme labor pains but also a breech birth, which is when an infant exits feet or buttocks first. To make matters worse, the child had also died in the womb. Understandably despondent, the mother called for the aid of Ignatius to which he responded immediately. The dead child passed through

⁵² *Summarium Depositionum*, 343 verso, 359 recto.

⁵³ María Cruz de Carlos Varona, “Representar el nacimiento: imágenes y cultura material de un espacio de sociabilidad femenina en la España altomoderna,” *Goya* 319-20 (2007): 234.

⁵⁴ *Summarium Depositionum*, 283 verso. “Miraculum est id quod supernatura Deo mediantibus aliquibus sanctis de eo quod in terra remedium non reperitur.”

safely and alive.⁵⁵ Midwives' encounters with breech births were infrequent, despite the high rate of infant mortality. Mualijo's response used her experience to contend that mother and child could not have been helped by a human remedy. But she also provides some doubt since she blames herself for fumbling the delivery.⁵⁶ Ignatius corrected Mualijo's professed mistake as he rescued mother and child.

Witnesses then had to observe the occurrence and confirm it as a true rather than a fabricated account or something acquired from idle talk. Cubelles and Mualijo contended that their testimonies were true in which they found that Ignatius performed these works through his holiness.⁵⁷ The forceful testimonies of Cubelles and Mualijo was born of the problematic status of midwives due to parochialism shown to their profession and sex. Midwives, not the physician Pisa, not the surgeon Gensol, had interpreted these unworldly cures with sense data. But the strategies employed by Cubelles and Mualijo were ultimately unsuccessful in convincing the CSR that they had encountered miracles, although for reasons very different from Pisa and Gensol. Pisa was too ambiguous in his recollections since the CSR could not decide if the cure was a miracle, a grace, or a natural remedy. Gensol, meanwhile, focused more on the rumors of Ignatius's miracles rather than outlining how he attempted to treat scrofula. The Majorcan microcosm illustrated the witnesses' relationship with an information network of sorts and their interpretation of miracles via an incipient empiricism.

⁵⁵ *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, fol. 223-25.

⁵⁶ *Summarium Depositionum*, 360 recto. "quod super uis dixi pro re miraculosa teneo quia ille sunt res que uix habent remedia in terra et erant ambae parturientes ni magno periculi uitio et incontinenti allata reliquia partu erunt."

⁵⁷ *Summarium Depositionum*, 377 verso-378 recto.

The Power of Images

Now, we move onto how miraculous images of Ignatius were perceived across the Mediterranean. Miracles by these objects were abundant in the inquiries convened by the CSR to determine the Jesuit founder's sanctity. Chapter Three looked at the reports of miraculous likenesses from Baeza, Úbeda, and Gandia. But in the following five cases, an apothecary from Minorca joined surgeons in Burgos and Minorca as well as physicians from Valencia and Gandia to assess miraculous images through firsthand experience.

Let us remain in the Balearics a while longer to consider the Minorcan surgeon, Juan Maris, who claimed to have encountered an image of Ignatius that had healed a woman from scrofula, a second case in the canonization proceedings, when he and the physicians could do nothing for the patient.⁵⁸ Maris explains that the likeness was outside of Manresa in Viladordis. The local church (St. Paul's) and hospital-cum-church (St. Lucy's), as Maris testified, housed images of Ignatius as did a nearby cave with a makeshift shrine.⁵⁹ The Minorcan surgeon was emphatic that the occurrence, which he witnessed, was something impossible in nature. In his opinion, a representation could cure.⁶⁰ Empirical evidence was so important to the CSR that it tracked Maris down in Minorca to testify about a miraculous representation in Manresa.⁶¹ Viladordis is some 300 kilometers from Minorca, which included the boat-ride from Barcelona to the island.

⁵⁸ *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, 321 verso-324 verso.

⁵⁹ *Summarium Depositionum*, 272 recto.

⁶⁰ *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, 350 recto, 367 verso.

⁶¹ Viladordis is sixty-five kilometers from Barcelona. To get from there to Minorca requires a trip by boat.

But caves containing likenesses of Ignatius were also present in Minorca as reported by a local apothecary named Onofre Dries. He recalled the agony of a young woman that had lasted twelve years, who was then healed by one of these objects.⁶² Little detail about the ailment comes from Dries, although he admitted that he could do nothing for the woman. The cave, where she went to pray for help, had existed for forty years, and it laid claim to a regular stream of miracles.⁶³ Later in his testimony, Dries claimed that many persons acquired images and waxen models of Ignatius through which they were healed.⁶⁴ Reports of Ignatius's miracles circulated through firsthand experience, as was the case with the surgeon Maris, and gossip as seen here and in the statement of the Majorcan surgeon Gensol. Apothecary shops, as we have seen, were like a newscast, informative yet sensationalistic. Since medical practitioners were common sights at these shops, it is logical to assume that Dries in Minorca and Gensol in Majorca could hear about chapel-like caverns and the myriad of miraculous representations.

Across the Balearic Sea is Valencia, where the CSR questioned Miguel Judela, a physician privy to four miracles performed by images of Ignatius. According to Judela, Ignatius lifted a person's fever caused by a parotid tumor, a growth in the salivary glands typically accompanied by severe pain.⁶⁵ Hippocrates explained that fever accompanied the growth resulting in delirium, blindness, and diarrhea. Even with the abscess drained,

⁶² *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, 344 recto.

⁶³ *Summarium Depositionum*, 271 verso.

⁶⁴ *Summarium Depositionum*, 350 recto.

⁶⁵ *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, fol. 234-36.

the condition could still be fatal if the fever did not dissipate.⁶⁶ And according to Judela's testimony, Ignatius did not stop with the fever and tumor. He then transformed a different woman's right arm from a withered mess into a healthy limb as well as healing yet another woman's unspecified rupture.⁶⁷ In addition to these cures, Ignatius helped a twelve year old girl overcome an unknown condition (*scarnatia*).⁶⁸

In all of these cases, Judela found that the cases were incurable naturally, yet he failed to indicate what he did to treat his patients. Common treatments for parotid tumors included leeches and bloodletting since it allows the venomous matter to escape from the body.⁶⁹ By providing information such as this, Judela could claim the incurability of the patient. He did not, which compromised his assertions unless the transcriber had thought the information irrelevant.

Later in his testimony, Judela started to speak of Manresa as the surgeon Maris had done. The physician tells of silver votives hung there to commemorate the cures worked by Ignatius.⁷⁰ In fact, Judela focuses more on the likenesses that assisted in healing his four patients rather than his own attempts to cure them. The images were the treatments for parotid tumors, ruptures, a withered arm, and *scarnatia*. His expertise took a back seat in these four cases since his observations predominated his testimony with no reference to the medical authorities of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna. Physicians

⁶⁶ Hippocrates, *Epidemics* 1.10 in *Hippocratic Writings*, trans. J Chadwick et al. (London: Penguin, 1983), 109; Hippocrates, *Prognosis* in *Hippocratic Writings*, 180.

⁶⁷ *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, fol. 239-42.

⁶⁸ *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, fol. 237-38.

⁶⁹ América Molina del Villar, "Las prácticas sanitarias y médicas en la ciudad de México, 1736-1739: La influencia de los tratados de peste europeos," *Estudios del hombre* 20 (2005): 51

⁷⁰ *Summarium Depositionum*, 258 recto.

tended to gloss over their failed treatments, unlike the other practitioners who gave more detailed explanations of their attempts to cure a patient, especially the midwives.

Although 400 kilometers from Valencia, Manresa had great import as a site of miraculous healing done through representations of Ignatius. This association was born of Ignatius's time spent there. Shortly after his conversion (March 1522-February 1523), he cloistered himself in a "hole" (*agujero*) to pray and do penance, which he pursued with such severity that he almost died from starvation and fever.⁷¹ Devotees made a cave, believed to be Ignatius's "hole", into a shrine home to devotional images, which cured the infirm beyond the help of the human hands. Despite the miracle's rejection by the CSR, this image-based cure found its way into the visual culture that emanated from Antwerp in the illustrated life of Ignatius produced there, which required getting information from a number of intermediaries before its arrival in the Low Countries.

Gandia also had a glut of miraculous images as mentioned in Chapter Three and reported by the local physician Francisco José Vinjoles. He claimed that a representation cured a fever, which was one of Ignatius's specialties. Fevers were a highly complex condition that statured all facets of early modern life making its prominence among the medical miracles hardly surprising.⁷² Apparently, as Vinjoles recalled, the Jesuit college in his hometown had accumulated votives with drawings illustrating miracles done by Ignatius. The college had become a local shrine where people came to pray to Ignatius so

⁷¹ *Recitation*, [24], [32]. Ribadeneyra and the illustrated lives had made no claim that Ignatius was cave-dweller while in Manresa. A modern shrine in Manresa is said to be in the cave inhabited by Ignatius.

⁷² Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Naples et ses saintes à l'âge baroque, 1540-1750* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994), 353; Covarrubias, 403 recto; Iain M. Lonie, "Fever Pathology in the Sixteenth Century: Tradition and Innovation," in *Theories of Fever from Antiquity to Enlightenment*, eds. W.F. Bynum and V. Nutton (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1981), 20-22, 25-26.

that he could dispense a supernatural remedy.⁷³ Vinjoles concluded that there was plenty of talk around Gandia about Ignatius performing miracles.⁷⁴

The cases thus far provide a sense of the ways apothecaries, surgeons, and physicians interpreted miraculous images based on personal experience. Gandia and Manresa seemed to have had the lion's share of these objects, which found its way into print culture with newssheets, Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*, and the illustrated life from Antwerp. But for reasons unknown, perhaps fear of damaging their reputation, these practitioners only elaborated on the cases at hand – the patient, the condition, and the means with which they were cured. The all-important admission of incurability is absent from each of their statements, unlike some of the other testimonies that we have seen. But experience filtered through medical training was paramount to understanding representations of Ignatius as a viable treatment. These testimonies, even when it was not pertinent, also contain descriptions of an information network wherein news of miraculous objects circulated extensively.

Diagnosing Miraculous Images

Once the first round of witnesses had testified, the CSR then consulted additional physicians who could cite canonization precedent and medical authorities. Legalistic arguments, rather than firsthand experience, emerged during this final phase. The Majorcan physician Juan Pisa – José Simón's brother – provided a final verification for what became Majorca's only official miracle, which involved a blind widow regaining

⁷³ *Summarium Depositionum*, 263 recto.

⁷⁴ *Summarium Depositionum*, 316 recto.

her sight thanks to a relic placed on her eyes.⁷⁵ And unlike his brother, Juan did not testify during the Majorcan inquiries. Instead, Juan Pisa was called after the fact.

To start, Juan Pisa cited precedent from the canonization inquiries of Raymundo de Peñaforte, Carlo Borromeo, and Francesca Romana. Francisco Peña (1540-1612), a member of the Sacred Roman Rota, compiled summaries of the canonization procedures of these saints.⁷⁶ Raymundo, for instance, had revived a young girl – three or four years old – who died from a fever and dysentery. Her father was a physician who could do nothing to save his daughter, but Raymundo intervened and resurrected the dead child.⁷⁷ In his summation for Borromeo, Peña lists two cases of fevers cured by the saint.⁷⁸

Anything more about these intercessions go unmentioned, but they provided examples, which would substantiate Juan’s subsequent invocation of Hippocrates. Juan cited one of the *Aphorisms* which explains that the “loss of appetite is bad for long-standing cases of dysentery and particular when the disease is accompanied by fever.”⁷⁹ Looking at the aforementioned examples from earlier canonizations, an image of

⁷⁵ Juan testified after the inquiry stage. Documentation about the case and his involvement can be found in the following: APGCG, no. 2, n.p.: *De sanctitate vite et miraculis B[eati] Ignatii Loiolae Fundatoris Societatis Iesu*, before 1622; *Summarium Miraculorum Ignatii*, 139 recto-144 recto; APGCG, no. 7, fols. 542-44: *Summarium Nonnullorum miraculorum que ex legitimo Processu Remissoriali de vitae integritatis sancti et miraculis P[atris] Ignatii Loyolae*, before 1609. Juan also assessed another case involving Ignatius lifting the fever of an elderly Majorcan laborer.

⁷⁶ The Rota was responsible for adjudicating difficult cases for the Holy See. On Peña, see Jaitner, 257. I cannot presently access Peña’s report on Francesca’s canonization: Francisco Peña, *Relatione summaria della vita, santità, miracoli, et atti della canonizzazione di santa Francesca romana o De Pontiani* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1608).

⁷⁷ Francisco Peña, *Relacion sumaria de la vida: milagros i actos de la canonización de S[an] Raymundo de Peñafort* (Rome: Niccolò Mucio, 1600), 26 verso. “Tenia vn Dotor en Medicina vna hija de tres, o quatro años llamada Margarita, la cual despues de vna larga enfermedad de calentura, i fluxo sin poderla ayudar su padre con medicinas, murio.”

⁷⁸ Francisco Peña, *Relatione sommaria della vita, santità, miracolo, & atti dalla canonizzazione di S[an] Carlo Borromeo* (Rome: Stamperia della Camera Apostolica, 1610), 51, 56-57.

⁷⁹ *De sanctitate vitae et miraculis*, n.p.; Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* 6.3 in *Hippocratic Writings*, 228.

Borromeo, applied to the patient, had cured the gout caused by fever, while Raymundo had healed a girl's dysentery and fever. Pisa pieced together a legalistic justification for this miracle through his knowledge of other canonizations and the medical corpus. And nowhere in his deduction was sense data.

Something similar happened with Quinzio Buongiovanni, the protomédico for the Kingdom of Naples.⁸⁰ An incident occurred in Barcelona sometime in June 1599 when Ignatius lifted the severity and pain from a tumor on the hand of Juana de Aragón. Medical practitioners could do nothing for Juana. But an unspecified image of Ignatius instantly cured Juana as confirmed by her mother and brother who were present. Juana was a Pignatelli, a prominent family in the Spanish-controlled viceroyalties of Catalonia, Sicily, and Naples. And her brother's testimony held immense weight since he just so happened to be the current Viceroy of Catalonia (r. 1603-11).⁸¹

So what was Buongiovanni's learned assessment? He, like Pisa, cited Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*, chapter and verse. Accordingly, the healing of Juana was an instance when "cures may be affected by opposites."⁸² The image of Ignatius contrasted with the swelling on Juana's hand. Hippocrates and Buongiovanni, however, were careful to state that 'opposites' benefited cures conditionally. There was no guarantee of healing. Yet the tumor on Juana's hand receded due to some quality found in the image. In Buongiovanni's opinion, the likeness induced the shrinkage of Juana's hand. He,

⁸⁰ On the office of the protomédico in Naples, essential is David Gentilcore, "'All that Pertains to Medicine: *Protomedici* and *Protomedicati* in Early Modern Italy,'" *Medical History* 38 (1994): 121-42; idem, "Il Regio Protomedicato nella Napoli spagnola," *Dynamis* 26 (1996): 219-36.

⁸¹ *De sanctitate vitae et miraculis*, n.p.; *Summarium Depositionum*, 11 verso-17 recto.

⁸² Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* 2.22 in *Hippocratic Writings*, 210.

however, was not the attending physician in Juana's case and felt no need to observe the miracle first-hand. Buongiovanni preferred textual authority over perception here and in other cases in Naples.⁸³ As protomédico, Buongiovanni would likely have heard about the miracle through official channels. Unlike Juan Pisa, however, Buongiovanni did not reference previous canonizations to support his argument. He concluded that the miraculous image of Ignatius to be the tumor's inverse with only Hippocrates to support his claim.

Two years after the cure of Juana de Aragón, Gandia had its own miraculous representation as we have seen. In this case, Magdalena Talavera suffered from dropsy, which was contemporaneously described as "a sickness of the aqueous humor" that results in excessive thirst and a watery dullness to the flesh.⁸⁴ Yet upon contact with an image of Ignatius, Magdalena was cured. This case had two physicians give testimony at the local procedure. One was Miguel Xep, who had diagnosed Magdalena with dropsy, the excessive accumulation of watery fluid in the body. But Xep was problematic on two counts. First was his failure to mention of any miraculous object in his testimony.⁸⁵ The more controversial, however, was his status as a "recent convert to Catholicism" (*nouiter ad fidem Catholicam conuersus*), a designation that the documents took pains to indicate.

⁸³ Martin Mulsow, "Antiquarianism and Idolatry," in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Gianna Pomata and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 190, 192. On medical practitioners interpreting miracles in Naples, see Sallmann, 357-58.

⁸⁴ Covarrubias, fol. 469. "enfermedad de humor aquoso" Covarrubias also cites specifically from Horace, *Odes* 2.2. "Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops / Nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi / Fugerit venis, & aquosus albo / Corpore langor."

⁸⁵ *Summarium Depositionum*, 285 verso, 313 recto, 362 verso, 380 recto.

Xep was born a Muslim in Xàtiva, not far from Gandia, and had earned his doctorate at the University of Valencia. He had lost his medical license temporarily after an alleged incident of preaching from the Qur'an in public.⁸⁶ Moriscos observed Friday as the day of worship and its rituals included sermons from the Qur'an, which had led to Xep's suspension.⁸⁷ His continued dalliances with Islam make his appearance at the local inquiry in 1607 astonishing, especially in light of the morisco expulsion two years later. The remark about his conversion likely served to assuage the concerns of religious authorities about this physician. Xep had the distinct honor of personally witnessing an Ignatian miracle, which was far more pressing than his morisco past. Xep the physician and recent convert was an exceptional presence at an inquiry held in Valencia given that its Viceroy and Archbishop, Juan de Ribera, himself a firm supporter of Ignatius's canonization, organized the forced removal of moriscos from the kingdom shortly thereafter.

The CSR solved the Xep dilemma with a subpoena sent to Miguel Fernando for him to assess Magdalena's case. In contrast to Xep, little is known about Fernando. But like Buongiovanni, Fernando drew from the medical curriculum to assess the image's miraculous properties. Magdalena's case was especially serious in his estimation. An

⁸⁶ Amparo Felipo Orts, Francisca Miralles Vives, and Francisco Javier Peris Felipo, *Estudiantes y probanzas de cursos en la Universidad de Valencia (1561-1707)* (Valencia: Universtiat València, 2013), 239; Ana Labarta, "Notas sobre algunos traductores de árabe en la Inquisición valenciana (1565-1609)," *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 21 (1981-82): 118-119. On the issue of medical education and the moriscos, especially in Valencia, indispensable is Luis García Ballester, *Los moriscos y la medicina: un capítulo de la medicina y la ciencia marginadas en la España del siglo XVI* (Barcelona: Labor Universitaria, 1984), 60-81.

⁸⁷ Ehlers, 31-32, 134-35.

overabundance of fluid in the body, according to the *Aphorisms*, always proves fatal.⁸⁸ While the treatment of Xep failed to cure Magdalena, her touching of an image of Ignatius proved successful. Why? Just as a plant takes its nourishment from the ground, according to Hippocrates, bodily humors will act in a similar fashion. Anything that touches the body, granted that the substance is intended for healing, can remedy an ailment.⁸⁹ Something must occupy the image that can infuse a supplicant with its curative properties. In this case, Magdalena's dropsy dissipated as a result of contact with an object full of divine presence changing the image substantially. But in terms of appearance, the image underwent no alteration. This miracle-working image facilitated corporeal change but experienced no tangible transformation.

The propensity for miraculous images in Valencia provides another case. This time, however, the attending practitioner could provide his interpretation. On 29 September 1603, the governor Fernando Pretel de Mendoza lay dying. His physician Juan Andrés Núñez could do nothing to save the distraught man. An image of Ignatius snatched Mendoza from death.⁹⁰ What had caused this patient's condition was ambiguous. Núñez in his final interpretation cited Galen and Hippocrates as Buongiovanni and Fernando had. Mendoza, according to Núñez's references, had an incessant fever.⁹¹ Yet the references fail to explain the image's metamorphosis from devotional object to curative agent.

⁸⁸ Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* 7.55 in *Hippocratic Writings*, 235.

⁸⁹ Hippocrates, *De morbis* 4.34 in idem, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Emile Littré, 10 vols. (Paris: Baillière, 1839-61), 7:545-49.

⁹⁰ *De sanctitate vite et miraculis B. Ignatii*, n.p.; *Summarium Depositionum*, 7 verso-9 verso.

⁹¹ Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* 4.46 in *Hippocratic Writings*, 219. Núñez also cited from Hippocrates's *Tractatus de febrium* 5.8 and Galen's *In Hippocratis Aphorismos* 7.14.

Miraculous images required divine presence to cure. Analogues can be found in the doctrines of Incarnation and transubstantiation, wherein the divinity of Christ is made tangible. There are thus two collaborative changes evident in these cases. One is the transformation of the image's substance. While a communion wafer becomes the Body of Christ, the wafer's observable properties remain constant. The images depicting Ignatius operated in a similar fashion. The lack of description about these miraculous images suggests a disinterest in ruminating over their accidents. Only substantial transformation concerned the CSR. Any sacred matter associated with Ignatius could house the presence that resulted in the cures of Juana, Magdalena, and Fernando Pretel making the image's attributes of little consequence. Substance trumped accidents in the determination of miracles. And the CSR had to determine if Ignatius was an appropriate intercessor for God to work miracles. The image ostensibly did not change, but transformed in a way unknowable to the senses.

In contrast to the first type, the second could be observed. Occupying this category are the cures from a tumor, dropsy, and a fever. What actuated the cure was the application of images infused with presence. Transformation was instantaneous. Fernando Pretel snatched at an image, whereas Magdalena opted for a touch. In Juana's case, the image counteracted the growth on her hand, presumably by direct contact. Miraculous cures were spontaneous. The accidents obviously changed since the fever abated, the dropsy lifted, and the tumor dissipated. The three miracles were allopathic: they cured illnesses by their opposite. Buongiovanni described Juana's case precisely as such.

Conclusion

The presence of surgeons, midwives, and apothecaries challenges the traditional monopoly of physicians in canonizations. Midwives especially ignored the medical corpus in favor of a nascent empiricism in their assessment of miracles examined by the CSR. While theoretical medicine continued to have a role in the determination of miracles, it had to compete with the rationalization of different medical trades, something especially espoused by female practitioners. Although surgeons and apothecaries feature throughout the procedure, it is the different epistemologies used by physicians and midwives that compel us to reconsider the importance of observation in relation to sanctity. Sure, likenesses of saints and rituals were an integral part of lived experience of the holy, but that had to contend with ever increasing perceptions of practitioners from different perspectives as to what constitute supernatural healing. This is further probed by looking at the miracles of Ignatius away from Europe where firsthand experience usually outflanked the importance of written authority in understanding a saint's efficacy to reverse sickness. What enabled the dissemination of such empiricism was the Jesuits' information network, part of its 'sacred economy', which we have seen in practice here with the news of miracles at Manresa. The next chapter examines these exchanges within a global context.



Figure 32: Francisco de Herrera, *Vera effigies Ignatii de Loiola*, 24 x 30 cm, frontispiece of *Relación de la fiesta que se hizo en Sevilla a la Beatificación del Glorioso [santo] Ignacio fundador de la Compañía de Jesús* (Seville: Luis Estupiñan, 1610).



Figure 33: Hieronymus Bosch, *Extracting the Stone of Madness*, 1500-10, oil on panel, 48.5 x 34.5 cm, MPM.



Figure 34: Jan Sanders van Hemessen, *The Surgeon*, 1550-55, oil on panel, 100 x 141 cm, MPM.

CHAPTER 5: THE TRANSMIGRATION OF MIRACLES

In 1619, Miguel de los Santos, a poet living in Madrid, printed his epic poem on the life and death of Ignatius. As was typical for the genre, Santos made Ignatius a hero worthy of pagan antiquity with feats peerless, a Christian paragon among the sinfulness and baseness plaguing the city of man. Virgil had Aeneas, Homer had Odysseus, and Santos had Ignatius. Santos, however, lacked the skill of the Greco-Roman poets, let alone the reserve exhibited by Ribadeneyra in his *Life of Ignatius* (which Santos cited).¹ After the epic's finale, which featured Ignatius dying well and his "divine body" (*cuero divino*), came a series of romances, short ballads derived or inspired by longer works, each relating to Ignatius's accomplishments, although it is uncertain if Santos composed or simply collected the romances.

One of the romances illustrated the increasingly global cult of Ignatius, or at least its perception in Madrid at the early seventeenth century. Together with references to the devotion of kings, peasants, and churchmen to the Jesuit, it included among his followers, a number of Portuguese seamen singing sweet songs to honor his memory as they sailed the oceans. And more unusually, there were Jews and Muslims who sang the praises of the Jesuit founder. Santos also included Amerindians and Africans among Ignatius's devotees. The former celebrated by playing their tambourines, whereas the latter shook rattles. Santos's reference to these percussion instruments seems to have labeled these

¹ Miguel de los Santos Díez, *Vida y muerte santa del Glorioso Patriarca San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Bernardino de Guzman, 1619), 2 recto.

two group as primitives, an idea expressed elsewhere in the romance.² But by including these peoples among the diverse array of other individuals honoring Ignatius, Santos was also highlighting the global character of Ignatius's following.

This chapter explores the global nature of this cult with specific reference to the use of miracles, medicine, and sacred representations of Ignatius in different parts of the broader Iberian world, specifically New Spain, Peru, as well as the Moluccan Islands. Widely separated by both time and space, the Moluccan Islands, New Spain, and Peru are rarely cross-examined together with reference to the cult of Ignatius and Jesuit expansion as the propensity of most scholars is either to focus on Spanish America or Asia, treating the both as separate entities. This separation is artificial, given the importance of the Manila Galleon, which, starting in 1565, established a direct connection between Acapulco and Manila, serving as a conduit that carried books, merchandise, silver, and ideas to Asia with silks, tapestries, jewels, and other precious objects in return.³ There was also the Keichō Embassy (1613-20), a diplomatic mission that went from Japan to the Vatican via New Spain, Spain, and then back again. It was the first to cross the Pacific since an earlier embassy (1582-90) took the traditional route through India to

² *Romance a S. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Jesús* in Santos, 114 verso-115 recto.

³ A sampling of the scholarship includes Lothar Knauth, *Confrontación transpácifica. El Japón y el Nuevo Mundo Hispanico, 1542-1639* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1972); Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, *Extremo Oriente y Perú en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992); Birgit Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila, 1571-1644* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015). From a different regional perspective (China-Mexico-Germany), see Clossey. There is also the recent catalogue of an exhibit held at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which features Asian influence on the arts of the Americas and vice versa – with several screens depicting the arrival of the Portuguese and the Jesuits in Japan: *Made in the Americas: The New World Discovers Asia*, ed. Dennis Carr (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2015).

Lisbon and then Rome.⁴ Both the Galleon and these embassies helped to globalize ideas and objects relating to the Jesuits or what I refer here as the order's 'sacred economy,' a topic this chapter will address.

Key to understanding the spread of this 'sacred economy' is the interaction between religious cultures of different types. Scholars who have addressed this issue generally do so from the perspective of syncretism and *metissage*. Syncretism occurs when contrapositive entities, such as Catholicism and a non-Christian religion, come into contact and subsequently evolve into something new.⁵ Implicit to this process is the assumed relationship based on antagonism between religions resulting in dialectic (religion 1+religion 2=synthetic religion). *Metissage* is something quite different. As popularized by Serge Gruzinski, *metissage* questions the extent to which two perfectly-formed religions converge and create a new belief system, which is essentially the definition of syncretism. In contrast, *metissage* rests on the idea that cultures, whether religious or political, tend to remain aloof from one another – sometimes indefinitely – even though they were in close proximity with one another. They meet in what are defined as contact zones that facilitate both communication and miscommunication. Material and intellectual hybrids eventually formed, but not in a balanced fashion. With these concepts in mind, I apply them to what I call a 'sacred economy,' which contain

⁴ Indispensable on the embassies is Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais. España y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Alianza, 1991).

⁵ Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (New York; London: Routledge, 2002). Classic interpretations of syncretism are Robert Ricard, *La « conquête spirituelle » du Mexique: Essai sur l'apostolat et les méthodes missionnaires des Ordres Mendicants en Nouvelle-Espagne de 1523-24 à 1572* (Paris : Institut d'Ethnologie, 1933); John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed., rev. ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1970).

contact zones from *metissage* that constantly exchanged spiritual commodities, such as religious representations and concepts. When scholars use ‘sacred economy’, they can sometimes privilege monetary transactions, which are not my concern. Instead, I choose to focus on the instable bartering in the Pacific Rim of objects intended to convey sanctity and miracles. Economy in my usage relies on the archaic understanding of house management, which is then interpolated onto the Jesuits and their global information network.⁶

Using the idea of ‘sacred economy’, the chapter examines the distribution and circulation of Ribadeneyra's *Life of Ignatius* within the globalized Iberian world. The trajectory of the *Life* is relatively easy to trace, as sources are quite abundant. That of the *Flos sanctorum* is harder to follow as records are relatively few until the end of the seventeenth century, which lies outside the chronological scope of this inquiry. For this reason, emphasis here will be on the *Life*. What remains to be examined is the visual culture, part of the Jesuit ‘sacred economy’, within which were miraculous images, such as the one that healed El Discreto, an indigenous convert in Nueva Vizcaya and discussed in an earlier chapter.⁷ The New World adapted representations of Ignatius, subsequently creating new ones that incorporated disparate visual elements, such as those enumerated

⁶ Clossey, 216-37. See also Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 3-4; A. Katie Harris, “Gift, Sale, and Theft: Juan de Ribera and the Sacred Economy of Relics in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014), 197-99.

⁷ See the start of the dissertation’s introduction for this account.

in Chapter Three.⁸ Accompanying the ever-changing iconography were miraculous images, although this phenomena was limited to New Spain, despite the active production of likenesses depicting Ignatius in Japan and Peru. The ‘sacred economy’ challenged miracles resulting in mutable hybrids reified in sacred histories, religious images, and medical knowledge across the Pacific.

Ribadeneyra in the Iberian World: The *Life of Ignatius*

By Ribadeneyra’s death in 1611, his place within the Jesuit information network in Europe was well-established. The *Life of Ignatius* circulated in Latin, Castilian, Italian, English, and French, while his *Flos sanctorum* was translated shortly thereafter into French, Italian, and decades later, into English and Dutch. In Chapter Two, I addressed changes in the writing of sacred history but did not examine the fate of Ribadeneyra’s writings outside of Europe. Ribadeneyra’s histories, especially the *Life of Ignatius*, circulated across continents.

Despite the scarcity of the *Life of Ignatius* in the 1570s – the initial printing in 1572 was limited to 500 – Jesuits in the Americas were eager to obtain copies of the book. Awaiting transport from Seville to New Spain in 1574, the Mexican provincial Juan de la Plaza wrote to Everard Mercurian, the order’s superior in Rome requesting that he sent him copies of Ribadeneyra’s book.⁹ In response, Mercurian asked Plaza to be patient, as available copies of the *Life* were in short supply, but he still managed to forward a few

⁸ See the Smithsonian exhibit on the Portuguese world that incorporated such objects: *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2007).

⁹ Juan de la Plaza to Everard Mercurian, Seville, 22 May 1574 in *MM* 1: 108.

copies to Seville. However, he never managed to send Plaza any more.¹⁰ As a result when Plaza finally managed to board a ship bound for America, he did so with only a handful of copies of the *Life*. Ribadeneyra had originally intended the *Life* as a kind of vademecum for Jesuits, but the book remained a coveted rarity, especially in New Spain until the 1580s, when new editions were printed in both Latin (1586) and Castilian (1583, 1584, 1586).

Evidence for the continued scarcity comes from a letter written in April 1587 by the Peruvian provincial, Juan Ordoñez, while awaiting passage from Seville to Peru via the annual flota. As he bided his time, Ordoñez wrote to Rome asking for no fewer than 230 copies of the *Life*, whether in Castilian or Latin. He also indicated that, after having distributed them among the fathers in Peru, he would forward any remaining copies to New Spain.¹¹ The size of Ordoñez's request – 230 copies of the *Life* – reflects the new availability of the book in both Italy and Spain. Why he asked the Superior to forward him copies from Rome instead of purchasing them directly from a bookseller in Seville remains a mystery, although it was probably a question of money as opposed to a question of supply, as it is unlikely that any Seville bookseller had such a large stock of the book at hand. If Acquaviva gave Ordoñez what he asked for and shipped the books to Seville, he could have stored them aboard the ship. Looking at the goods carried by the West Indies Fleet (*Flotas de Indias*), an average ship had six large containers designated

¹⁰ Everard Mercurian to Juan de la Plaza, Rome, 28 June 1574 in *MM* 1: 114.

¹¹ Juan Ordoñez to Claudio Acquaviva, Seville, 24 April 1587 in *MP* 4: 197-98.

for carrying books. Ordoñez could transport them all within one of the containers easily bringing Ribadeneyra's *Life* in bulk to the expanding Jesuit enterprise.¹²

Despite the early shortage copies, by 1599 the annual letter of the Mexican Province indicates that the number copies of *Life* were such that Jesuits there finally had ready access to Ribadeneyra's account of the 'blessed virtues' of Father Ignatius. The letter indicates that the Professed House in Mexico City housed a small library, at least half of which comprised the works of Ribadeneyra, the *Life* among them. The same letter also suggests that teachers at the College, in addition to reading the *Life*, were regularly receiving information from Rome about new miracles associated with Ignatius.¹³ The annual letter of 1602 offers additional examples of the extent to which the *Life*, together with news of Ignatius's miracles, continued to influence the devotional practices of the Jesuits and the students at the College. The unnamed letter-writer stated that Ignatius performed miracles in Mexico, manifestations to be included among local cults, such as the famous Lady of Guadalupe. This writer described the way in which God worked through Ignatius to perform miracles as "a living altarpiece of such a father [God]."¹⁴

The preoccupation with Ignatius in Mexico City would compel local Jesuits to commission domestic works, such as the *Life of Master and Father Ignatius Loyola (Vida de padre maestro Ignacio de Loyola)* by Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez (1587?-1650?).

¹² Pérez-Mallaina, 67; Axelle Guillausseau, "Los relatos de milagros de Ignacio de Loyola: un ejemplo de la renovación de las prácticas hagiográficas a finales del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII," *Criticón* 99 (2007): 29-30. Ribadeneyra's book appeared in quattro and octavo. If the book's size is quattro, then 157 books could fit. If octavo, the number increased to 238. Book sizes varied considerably and these values are approximations.

¹³ Francisco Vázquez, *Carta anua de la Provincia de México*, México, 23 September 1599 in *MM* 6: 601.

¹⁴ *Carta anua de la Provincia de Mexico desde Abril de 1600 hasta el de 1602*, México, April 1602 in *MM* 7:592. "vivo retablo de tal padre."

Although known in Spain as a poet and playwright, Belmonte spent his early life in Mexico before leaving for Seville in 1616. His *Life of Ignatius*, however, is rare with only a single copy known to survive.¹⁵ It is unknown if Belmonte in writing his *Life* drew on Ribadeneyra, but the poet made his interests clear in a dedication to the Jesuits of New Spain:

So many miracles, what a heroic and penitential life, like that of the heavenly man [Ignatius] who my humble verses celebrate. [My verses] rest upon shoulders that can handle the weight that makes his life known to the world for its benefit, especially the members of his Order.¹⁶

In the ensuing work of 472 *coplas real*, stanzas of ten octosyllabic lines, Belmonte abandoned miracles in favor of meditating on Ignatius's pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The poem's concluding book changed direction to celebrate the martyrs of the Society of Jesus beginning with Antonio Criminali, a missionary along the Fishery Coast of India who became the first Jesuit to be killed in 1549. Despite Belmonte's de-emphasis, the poet at least acknowledged an abundance of miracles in New Spain performed by Ignatius.

Miracles were also happening in Peru, notably in Lima, the viceregal capital and the city in which the Order had been established since 1568. The provincial's annual letter for 1607 offered an account of one miracle attributed to Ignatius that had occurred on Thursday, November 8, 1607 at precisely 5 PM. It was then that a Dominican friar

¹⁵ William A. Kincaid, "Life and Works of Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez (1587?-1650?)," *Revue hispanique* 74 (1928): 1-11, 241-42.

¹⁶ Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez, *Vida de padre maestro Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Jesus* (Mexico City: Jerónimo Balli by Cornelio Adrián César, 1609?), sig. § iii recto. "Tantos milagros, tan eroica y penitente vida, como la del varón celestial que mis humildes versos celebrant q[ue] ombros la pudieran sustenar, para hazerla pública al mundo, en prouecho del, como los de su escojida Relijion"

named Álvaro de Molina had an extraordinary experience. Having seen better days, Fray Álvaro was a paralytic whose confreres had to shuttle him about in a chair attached to a sled. For reasons left unexplained, Fray Álvaro had been reading Ribadeneyra's *Life of Ignatius* when Ignatius performed a miracle: the paralyzed Dominican was suddenly healed! Apparently inspired by what he had read about Ignatius in the *Life*, he stood up and began to walk.¹⁷ A printed life of Ignatius had enlivened his dead limbs.

In his role as the Protomédico of Peru, Íñigo de Romero had to investigate the miracle. Romero had to determine if Fray Álvaro's paralysis was real, and if so, was it irreversible. Romero began his report, written a month after the cure, with his hesitancy to assess a miracle, since he believed in these works of God, yet his medical training compelled him to suppress his piety. He then cited Galen's *On the Movement of Muscles* (*De motu musculorum*) to show his expertise in cases of paralysis with a writing on muscular contraction. Although predominantly in Castilian, Romero interspersed his report with Latin quotations when citing medical authorities, such as his reference to Galen. With this section of the *Movement of Muscles*, Romero might have suspected Fray Álvaro's condition as voluntary, a state achieved by sitting with his legs flexed.¹⁸ But it was now time to "to examine a marvellous case that occurred in Lima where, with all

¹⁷ *Litterae annuae Societatis Iesu 1607* (Mainz: Johann Albin, 1618), 164-65.

¹⁸ APGCG, no. 7, 365 recto: Íñigo de Romero to unknown recipient, Lima, 23 December 1607. "Qui de dubiis prompte pronuntiat, temerarius est; et qui evidentibus fidem abrogat, sensus est expertus." The quotation is from the Latin translation of *De motu musculorum* II.5, although Romero reversed the sentence order and omitted some words: Galen, *Opera omnia*, eds. Karl Gottlob Kühn and Friedrich Wilhelm Assmann, 20 vols. (Leipzig: C. Knobloch, 1821-33) 4:443.

seriousness, a miracle occurred [and] with the favor of God, we can learn the truth helped by his divine grace.”¹⁹

Romero then provided a summary of the cure, which included much of the same details down to the time of the cure of Fray Álvaro. It is hardly surprising that there were discrepancies in the details. For one, Romero had no interest in which life was read by the Dominican friar since it appeared to be part of his daily devotions, such as prayers and the matins with latter being nightly services that ended at dawn. More significantly was the time spent enumerating the futile efforts of physicians when treating Fray Álvaro. Despite relying on increasingly stronger remedies, “they bore little fruit” (*deben el poco fruto*). The physicians then went for the most powerful of them all (*un remedio poderosissimo*): anointment (*unciones*). Although Romero did not go into further detail about this form of treatment, he associated it with the “French disease” (*morbo gallico*) better known as syphilis.²⁰ Fray Álvaro could have received Extreme Unction, part of the last rites wherein a priest would rub a patient with oil while reciting prayers, a ritual done when death seemed near. Seeing as physicians were present and Romero made reference to syphilis, another treatment would have involved either a salve made from mercury or drink made from guaiacum, a flowering plant native to the Americas.²¹ Since Fray Álvaro was anointed, physicians would have used mercury – the topical, rather than the ingestible, treatment. I suspect that Fray Álvaro received a combination of spiritual and

¹⁹ Romero to Unknown, 365 recto. “assi para examinar un caso maravilloso que en esta ciudad de los Reyes sucedió con gravedad milagro...con el fauor de nuestro Senor. Y ayudados de su divina gracia liquidaremos la verdad.”

²⁰ Romero to Unknown, fol. 365.

²¹ Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race, and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 111-12.

medical remedies in his course of treatment since both would exhaust any possible recourse to cure his paralysis, something required for Romero to conclude that the condition was incurable and hence, open to be a miracle.

With all options considered, Romero determined that the reversal of paralysis was preternatural, a middle ground between nature and the supernatural, which he backed by invoking Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna. He quoted presumably one of these authorities without supplying a reference, in contrast to his earlier citation of Galen. The cure was “by nature, the most troublesome suffered [that underwent] sudden changes” (*molestissime fert natura repentinos mutationes*).²² Although I am unsure who Romero quotes, he states that Fray Álvaro underwent an unexpected transformation, which was another requirement for miracles. Despite the ‘preternatural’ status, a cautious declaration in this instance, Romero found the ‘marvellous case’ to be a miracle after his meticulous sorting of all possible causes and remedies. His procedure drew on medical tradition combined with his observations of the paralysis. With his assessment complete, the Protomédico found a printed object to have performed a miracle, although he did not identify the book as one by Ribadeneyra.

The Protomédico sent his report to the Order in Rome as they continued the case for Ignatius’s canonization, although the letter excluded the intended recipient. Papal authorities do not appear to have taken notice of or even recorded the event. But there is evidence that news of the miracle circulated in Spain via a news-sheet or *relación* that was printed in Barcelona in 1609. It reproduced verbatim a letter recounting the details of

²² Romero to Unknown, 368 recto.

the miracle that was written by a certain Rodrigo de Cabredo, a Jesuit in Lima, and dated 29 November 1607.²³ Cabredo had originally written this letter for the benefit another Peruvian Jesuit, Alonso Messia, and it eventually arrived in Barcelona via the Jesuit information network that specialized in the dissemination of news relating to the order and on which, Barcelona, together with such other ports cities as Lisbon and Seville, served as a hub.²⁴

While the newssheet from Barcelona survives, a comparable work, also by Cabredo, from Lima and also printed in 1609, is lost. Its contents, however, are known to a certain extent by its title that describes it as a “History of a famous miracle that God performed in Lima through the intercession of Saint Ignatius Loyola on November 8, 1607 for a Dominican nun.”²⁵ Fray Álvaro was not a woman and I suspect that the unnamed printer in Lima made a mistake when setting the title resulting in ‘Dominican nun’ (*religiosa dominicana*) instead of ‘Dominican priest’ (*religioso dominicano*). Cabredo would not have made this error due to his familiarity with this miracle. It is also too unlikely for another affiliate of the Dominicans to have a spiritual encounter with Ignatius the same day as Fray Álvaro. Beyond this superficial knowledge, there is nothing else known about this ‘history’ produced in Lima.

²³ Rodrigo de Cabredo, *Copia de una carta del Padre Rodrigo de la Compañía de Jesus, para el padre Alonso Messia Procurador general por la Provincia del Peru* (Barcelona: Sebastián Mathevad y Lorenzo Déu, 1609). My thanks to Richard L. Kagan and Joan-Pau Rubiés for their help in acquiring this document.

²⁴ Paul Nelles, “Chancillería en colegio: la producción y circulación de papeles jesuitas en el siglo XVI,” *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna XIII* (2014): 61-63.

²⁵ Rodrigo de Cabredo, *Historia del insigne milagro que hizo Dios en la ciudad de Lima, por la invocación de S[an] Ignacio de Loyola, a 8 de noviembre de 1607, en una religiosa dominicana* (Lima: s.n., 1609). Knowledge of this lost work comes from José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima (1584-1824)*, 4 vols. (Santiago de Chile: La casa de José Toribio Medina, 1904-07), 1: 113.

Following the publication of the newssheet in Barcelona and the history in Lima, this same information network spread news of Fray Álvaro's miraculous cure spread further afield. In 1610, a Basque printer in Pamplona, produced a pirated edition of Ribadeneyra's biography from the *Flos sanctorum* that was intended mainly for local consumption and in honor of this Basque 'saint'. Its small size (*vincesimo-quarto*) indicates that it was a book intended primarily for private devotion and travel. In addition to Ignatius's life, it reproduced the entire Barcelona relación together with some additional commentary.²⁶ Did this edition, as with the collection of Ignatius's miracles that Ribadeneyra had published, become an object of devotion in its own right?

Nothing to my knowledge from this decade can answer this question. The best evidence comes from a letter between two Basque men from August 24, 1628. One was a gentleman at the Spanish court in Madrid who penned the letter to his friend and relative, a priest in Seville. The gentleman recalled the devotion to Ignatius in his and the priest's homeland. He identified the Sanctuary of Loyola in Azpeitia as "miraculous" (*milagroso*), "one of the most celebrated of Spain" (*uno de los mas celebres Santuarios de nuestra España*), and "growing with new wonders" (*crecer con nuevas maravillas*).²⁷ Azpeitia preoccupied the letter-writer who enumerated various commemorations of Ignatius,

²⁶ Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vida y milagros del Glorioso Patriarca Ignacio de Loyola, Fundador de la Compañía de Jesus* (Pamplona: Carlos de Labayen, 1610), fols. 175-79.

²⁷ *Capitulo de una carta que un cavallero residente en la Corte, escrivio a Sevilla a un Sacerdote su amigo y deudo, ambos naturales de Vizcaya, en razon de la devocion, que aquella nacion tiene al glorioso Patriarca San Ignacio fundador de la Compañía de Jesus* (s.l.: s.n., 1628?), 1 recto, 2 recto. My thanks to the generosity of Doña Asunción Miralles de Imperial y Pasqual del Pobil at the Real Academia de Historia for providing me with this document.

which included sculptures, paintings, and medallions.²⁸ While the gentleman made no mention of any specific miracle, he reminded his friend that

Loyola was where Saint Ignatius, famous Patriarch, founder of such a distinguished order, and ornament of our nation, was born for the greater good of the Church; now your worship will have read in lives [*historias*] about the saint, the great favor or a deluge of favors that heaven gave him to heal the wounded.²⁹

The priest in Seville could learn about the cures performed by Ignatius by consulting lives, although the gentleman made no recommendations, whether Ribadeneyra or the edition from Pamplona. This exchange between the displaced Basques suggest a desire to read about Ignatius and his miracles. Unlike the case of Fray Álvaro, nobody from the Basque Country venerated the life as a sacred object. But the Basque Country was devoted to Ignatius so much so that they lobbied for him to become its patron saint, a protracted process that started in 1610.³⁰ At the very least, the Basque Country formed another node in the Jesuit information network spreading news about Ignatius's miracles.

If the Barcelona newssheet and the life printed in Pamplona disseminated reports about miracles in Europe, other sources indicate that this same network was functioning in Asia starting at a relatively early date, although focused more on Francis Xavier, another Basque Jesuit and the 'Apostle of the East'. Evidence for this comes from Asia within letters that enumerated Ribadeneyra's errors when depicting the miracles of

²⁸ *Capítulo de una carta que un cavallero residente en la Corte*, 1 verso-2 recto.

²⁹ *Capítulo de una carta que un cavallero residente en la Corte*, 1 recto. "donde nacio para tanto bien de la Iglesia, el insigne Patriarca S[an] Ignacio, fundador de tan illustre familia, y ornamento de nuestra nacion; ya v[uestra] m[erced] avra leydo en historias de el santo, aquel gran favor, o lluvia de favores, que el cielo le hizo, quando a sanarle de las heridas"

³⁰ APGCG, no. 23, doc. 3, n.p.: Pedro Manso Zuñiga to Unknown Recipient, San Sebastián, 4 February 1610. The process moved forward in the 1640s, but petered out until the early 1680s.

Xavier. The Visitor of the Asian missions Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606) was the first to raise doubts about the miracles of Xavier mentioned in the *Life of Ignatius*. As Visitor, an office held since 1573, Valignano inspected all of the missions “between Mozambique and Miyako.”³¹

Despite the incessant travel, Valignano in December 1575 had assembled a conclave at Goa that decided to examine thoroughly the life of Xavier. Later the same month in Chorão, Valignano found that Ribadeneyra’s treatment of Xavier needed greater verification since “he had not as yet found that he had worked any miracles with the exception of some predictions, which seemed to be prophecies.”³² It is impossible to know if Ribadeneyra intentionally distorted the reports on Xavier’s miracles. There is also no evidence of any acrimony between Valignano and Ribadeneyra. But Valignano’s criticisms convey the problems of the information network wherein faulty accounts circulated as freely as more reliable ones. Whoever intended to use the incoming news was responsible for determining its reliability especially when it involved something as controversial as supernatural manifestations. The ‘false’ miracles of Xavier in question were four resurrections in Japan and India. Ribadeneyra had acquired his evidence from a

³¹ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 30, 74. Macau became the base of operations for the Visitors after Valignano. In 1590, the number of missions had expanded so much that Valignano’s purview was limited to those in East Asia.

³² Alessandro Valignano to Everard Mercurian, Charão, 30 December 1575 in *DI* 10:385-86. “perché fin ora non retruovo ch’egli habbia fatto nessuno miracolo, tirando alcune cose che predisse, che parvero veramente profettie.” I use the translation provided in William R. Pinch, “The Corpse and Cult of Francis Xavier, 1552-1623,” in *Engaging South Asian Religions: Boundaries, Appropriations, and Resistances*, eds. Mathew N. Schmalz and Peter Gottschalk (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2011), 120.

manuscript by a Portuguese Jesuit in Japan known for its exaggerations.³³ Despite efforts to quell misinformation, it would continue to bother Valignano since this manuscript was printed in Europe five times between 1571 and 1583. The Jesuits' news network was so effective that it made discrediting misrepresentations difficult.

As a result of these ongoing headaches about the miracles of Xavier, Valignano had tasked Manuel Teixeira (1536-90) to write a proper biography for Xavier. Teixeira was a Portuguese Jesuit from Braganza who had joined the Society of Jesus in 1551. He arrived at Goa later the same year where he spent most of his life with some time spent in Vasai (1561, 1577-78), Macau (1563-67), and Cochin (1569-74).³⁴ To write his *Life of Blessed Father Francis Xavier (Vida del bienaventurado padre Francisco Xavier)*, a work he finished writing in 1580, Teixeira drew from the same problematic information network drawing on letters, records from Asian inquiries, and oral accounts. He also had the advantage of first-hand experience, including a brief meeting with Xavier in Goa. Most of the encounters, however, were post-mortem. Teixeira had inspected the body of Xavier before its translation to Goa, even going so far as to touch it. Upon its arrival in Goa, Teixeira was also present at the body's medical examination by two physicians, which they determined was miraculous. Teixeira agreed, but that did not extend to Xavier's resurrections as told by Ribadeneyra. Twice in his *Life*, Teixeira maintained that there was nothing conclusive about Xavier's raising the dead.³⁵ With Ribadeneyra's claims challenged, Teixeira's *Life* then became part of the information network. First it

³³ Pinch, 120.

³⁴ Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 2: 637.

³⁵ Pinch, 120-21.

was sent to the Jesuit Curia in Rome for review and then translation into Italian. Asked for additional content in 1581, Teixeira complied and by 1583, the *Life* was ready for publication.

Even after he finished his *Life*, Teixeira continued to pursue the issue of the resurrections prompting him to contact Ribadeneyra. Writing in 1584, Teixeira penned a long letter enumerating every problem with the *Life*, including the misrepresentation of the people of Morotai Island as barbarians.³⁶ But the brunt of the letter dissected Ribadeneyra's account of the life and miracles of Xavier. The problematic resurrections formed the locus of Teixeira's critique especially one at Cape Comorin along the Fishery Coast in southeast India. Since he had never been to the Fishery Coast, Teixeira contacted a confrere there to make inquiries. As Teixeira related to Ribadeneyra, "The Father [Henrique] Henriques of the Society of Jesus, who has spent about forty years on the Fishery Coast, told me that he asked the rector on the order of holy obedience and [the rector] could not say anything with surety about the occurrence [i.e. the resurrection] in question."³⁷ Whenever Teixeira needed answers, he relied on the epistolary network of the Society of Jesus. With it, Teixeira could compare Ribadeneyra's claims with local knowledge despite Henriques being a thousand kilometers away. Once Henriques finished his investigation, he could then respond to Teixeira in Goa who subsequently forwarded the evidence to Ribadeneyra in Madrid. In instances when Teixeira was unable to use his personal experience to assess miracles, such as those listed in Ribadeneyra's

³⁶ Manuel Teixeira to Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Goa, 8 December 1584 in *DI* 13:569.

³⁷ Teixeira to Ribadeneyra in *DI* 13: 572. "Ho Padre Amriquez da Companhia, que há 40 e tantos annos que está na Pescaria, me dise que de preposito o imquirira por ordem da sancta obediencia, e que não achara cousa que com certeza se pudese isto afirmar."

Life of Ignatius, he obtained first-hand accounts from others whenever possible as he did with the aid of Henriques.

Despite the care shown to the evidence of Xavier's sanctity, Teixeira's *Life* went unpublished since Valignano rejected the manuscript. While in Cochin in 1585, Valignano wrote to Acquaviva imploring the Superior to prevent Teixeira's life of Xavier from being printed.³⁸ Although reliant on Teixeira in his writings, Valignano rejected the empirical interpretation of Xavier's miracles, despite the two voicing similar complaints about Ribadeneyra's *Life of Ignatius*. What differentiated Valignano and Teixeira was each's encounters with Xavier. The well-travelled Valignano mastered the workings of the Asian missions, but lacked any bond with Xavier during the saint's lifetime. The Visitor also had no posthumous encounters with the transported corpse and alleged miracles of Xavier. Teixeira, on the other hand, had met Xavier and oversaw the examination of his miraculous body. Despite these discrepancies in firsthand knowledge of Xavier, Valignano and Teixeira engaged with the Jesuit information network to investigate the alleged resurrections, a conflict born of the Asian reception to Ribadeneyra's *Life*.

What underpinned the system of communication was empiricism and formed a vital component of the 'sacred economy'. With such a global enterprise, the dispersal of news based on observation allowed for management of the Order by Provincials,

³⁸ Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Cochin, 16 January 1585 in *DI* 13:818. "Y porque el dicho Padre [Teixeira] dize en esta carta que V[uestra] P[aterinidad] le escrevió, quería que se imprimiesse la Vida que él compuso del P[adr]e Maestro Francisco [Javier], me pareció bien advertir a V[uestra] P[aterinidad] que por amor de N[uestro] Señor no se corra con tanta priessa en imprimir lo que de aquí se escribe y particularmente tratándose de historias y vidas de santos, porque en la verdad parece que es necesaria mucha consideración en imprimirse semejantes cosas."

Assistants, Visitors, and the Superior. As shown, an active network exchanging accounts of miracles, a direct response to Ribadeneyra's *Life*, spanned the globe. Mexican Jesuits devoured the *Life of Ignatius* as well as news of cures and exorcisms from Europe. They subsequently reported domestic phenomena performed by the 'living altarpiece of God', although what these miracles were went unmentioned. While in Lima, the cure of Fray Álvaro started with a copy of the *Life* functioning as a miraculous object followed by the reports of the Protomédico and a local Jesuit with the latter subsequently printed in Barcelona and Pamplona. Even though Xavier was not the focal point of the *Life of Ignatius*, his miracles and Ribadeneyra's (mis)representation of them extended the network to India. The 'sacred economy' had two functions: one disseminated tales of miracles by Jesuit exemplars throughout the world, especially Ignatius and Xavier; the other provided the means to transport devotional objects, such as the *Life* by Ribadeneyra and sacred likenesses of Ignatius. This system was not limited to Spain and the Indies since many other Jesuits contested the statements made in the *Life*, including Olivier Manare in Brussels, Antonio Marta in the Moluccan Islands, and Cristóvão de Gouveia in Brazil.³⁹ But these other Jesuits had no interest in miracles.

Miracles in the Pacific Rim

While Xavier was the primary Jesuit intercessor in Southeast Asia, Ignatius was also active there as well as in the Americas working miracles along the Pacific Rim. As

³⁹ Olivier Manare, *Notae in libros de vita B.P.N. Ignatii*, Brussels, 24 February 1600 in *FN* 4:989-94; Cristóvão de Gouveia to Claudio Acquaviva, most likely Bahia, 1583-86 in *FN* 4:978-79. Marta was so irked by Ribadeneyra's portrayal of Morotai Island that he sent Acquaviva several letters on the matter: Antonio Marta to Claudio Acquaviva, Ambon, 15 April 1592 in *DM* 2:325; Marta to Acquaviva, Ambon, 15 May 1592 in *DM* 2: 330; Marta to Acquaviva, Cebu, 5 December 1593 in *DM* 2: 391. Acquaviva felt that the issue was insignificant and did not forward Marta's objections to Ribadeneyra.

we have seen with the case of Fray Alvaro, Ignatius had performed a miracle in Peru. But it was hardly his only miraculous intervention. Other reports of miracles were sent to Europe from various missions, such as those alleged by the Provincial Juan Sebastián de la Parra (1546-1622) in a letter from March 1611. Parra and other Jesuit Provincials were responsible for producing annual reports (*litterae annuae*) that enumerated the noteworthy events at each institution within their jurisdiction. These letters would then be copied for dissemination within the province; they were then sent to Europe going first to the Assistancy and then Rome. In the case of Parra's letter, it would have travelled from Lima to several place in Spain and would have arrived at the Jesuit Curia eventually. All throughout this process, Jesuits would make facsimiles before forwarding the news to the next destination. These letters formed a significant part of the information network, a supplement to the lives and newssheets already in circulation that enumerated reports of miracles.

In his annual dispatch to Rome, Parra had presented what was happening within his province – arrivals, deaths, missions and so on – arranged by institution. His letter started with a brief preface of things that warranted mention, but did not fit anywhere else, such as the Jesuit population of a province. It was here that Parra reported

This year, the province has had celebrations on the new [feast] day of our Blessed Father [Ignatius] and miracles that our Father has done through his holy intercession. Which cannot be discussed briefly nor ignored without great fault to the relief that I am certain will accrue among us [i.e. the Jesuits] from hearing them.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ ARSI, Peru 13, 74 recto: Juan Sebastián de la Parra, *Carta Annua de la Provincia del Peru de 1610*, Lima, March 1611. “este ano ha auído en esta prouincia las fiestas de nueua día de nuestro B[ienaventurado] Padre y milagros que nuestro P[adr]e se ha seruido de hazer por su santa intercession que

The Jesuits of Peru celebrated the newly minted feast day (July 31) of Ignatius a year after his beatification, part of which recognized his miracles. Parra, however, did not identify the miracles in question or where they happened, although he wished to accumulate testimonies of the alleged intercession. The results of these inquiries are unknown as they are never mentioned again. In his annual letter of the following year, Parra avoided the subject entirely.⁴¹ Despite the scantiness of details, the Provincial thought it necessary to spread the news about the miracles of Ignatius in Peru inserting this information into the global network of the Order that built upon the notable cure of Fray Álvaro.

Unlike the miracles alleged by Parra in Peru, others were identified and recounted at greater length, such as one in the Moluccan Islands. In a letter of 24 November 1613, Manuel Barradas, a Portuguese Jesuit, recounted to Acquaviva what happened in the archipelago where ships passed as they travelled between India and Manila. Barradas concluded his letter with a miracle attributed to both Ignatius and Xavier, an account that he read in circulating letters. An unnamed Spanish ship sailed from Manila via the Moluccan Islands loaded with supplies. The wily Dutch lay in wait with several armed ships of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) ready to pounce on the lone vessel placing it in jeopardy. The leader of the Spaniards, Cristóbal de Azcueta Menchaca, went to a shrine onboard and prayed to Ignatius and Xavier asking them to aid him against the Dutch threat. According to Barradas, the ship managed to avoid a Dutch attack due to the

ni se pueden declarar en breue ni dexarse sin faltar mucho al consuelo que tengo por cierto reuniran todos los nuestros en oyr las.”

⁴¹ ARSI, Peru 13, fols. 97-114: Juan Sebastián de la Parra, *Annua de la Prouincia del Peru del ano de 1611*, Lima, 30 April 1612.

miraculous intervention of both Xavier and Ignatius who provided favorable winds for escape. As he prayed, Azcueta Menchaca had made a vow to purchase an altar decorated with painted panels. At this point, Barradas ended this account and his letter with no word on whether Azcueta Menchaca fulfilled his promise.⁴²

Barradas penned his letter from Cochin in southeast India, the second most important city in the Portuguese eastern empire after Goa. His move there was practical since the Moluccan Islands constantly shifted between Iberian and Dutch control. Cochin was also a key node in the Jesuit information network. To gather the material for his letter, Barradas, as he explained to Acquaviva, looked to private correspondence readily available in Cochin, although his sources go unmentioned. Barradas had to cobble together this dispatch as a substitute for the annual letter at the orders of his Provincial.⁴³ But news of this miracle did not go any further. Barradas's letter or any other information about this maritime rescue is absent from the documents related to the canonization of Ignatius.

The miracle of Ignatius in the Moluccan Islands was an expression of the ongoing conflict between Spain and the Dutch Republic. The VOC in its initial four fleets (1603-07) laid siege to many Asian ports where the Society of Jesus had established themselves, including the Moluccan Islands, which entered Dutch control in 1607. Despite the signing of the Twelve Year Truce (1609-21) two years later, when the two adversaries agreed to cease hostilities, the Dutch refused to relinquish control of the Moluccan Islands as

⁴² Manuel Barradas to Claudio Acquaviva, Cochin, 24 November 1613 in *DM* 3:259.

⁴³ Barradas to Acquaviva in *DM* 3:257.

demanded by Spain. The Islands were too lucrative with its supply of spices.⁴⁴ Ibero-Dutch tensions found expression in Jesuit correspondence. In a letter from 1601, Antonio Pereira told of a miraculous escape from the Dutch in the Moluccan Islands, but he failed to provide any additional information.⁴⁵ Nor was the perceived Dutch threat limited to the western Pacific since five well-armed Dutch ships attacked a Spanish flotilla at the Straits of Magellan as it travelled to Panama. Writing in Lima in 1616, Diego Baez briefly recalled this skirmish where he was present with the ensuing getaway nothing short of a miracle.⁴⁶ The intervention of Ignatius in the Moluccan Islands was familiar since Jesuits perceived any avoidance of the hostile Dutch as an instance of divine intercession. While there was a constant portrayal of Dutch mariners as evil, the rescue by Ignatius and Xavier was something unprecedented in the reports from Southeast Asia.

Barradas too expressed his hostility to the Dutch earlier in his letter when he reported the Spanish capture of some of the enemies' warships in the region and, as he briefly related, ten Protestant passengers converted to Catholicism.⁴⁷ With this episode, Barradas contrasted the legitimacy of Catholicism against heresy, commonly understood as contagion, transmitted here by Dutch ships. For reasons unknown, he singled out an Anabaptist and a surgeon among the captives. Anabaptists, proponents of adult baptism, challenged the most basic of Catholic sacraments resulting in a string of perceived

⁴⁴ Alden, 161-62; Robert Parthesius, *Dutch Ships in Tropical Waters: The Development of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Shipping Network in Asia, 1595-1660* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 36; Antolín Abad Pérez and Cayetano Sánchez Fuertes, "La descalcez franciscana en España, Hispanoamérica y Extremo Oriente: síntesis histórica, geográfica y bibliográfica," *Archivo ibero-americano* 59, no. 234 (1994): 733-35.

⁴⁵ ARSI, Goa 15, 32 recto: Antonio Pereira to Joan Álvarez, Tidorla, 13 February 1601.

⁴⁶ AHN, Clero, Jesuitas, leg. 121, no. 1, doc. 13: Diego Baez to Marcello Vitelleschi, Lima, 25 May 1616.

⁴⁷ Barradas to Acquaviva in *DM* 3:258.

heresies. But contrary to Barradas's perceptions, Anabaptists were not a coherent confession in the Dutch Republic, a religious community rife in doctrinal disagreement.⁴⁸ Although his condemnation of heretics is unsurprising, the inclusion of the surgeon is opaque. Each VOC vessel carried one of these medical practitioners, but there is little else to explain the relevance of this particular convert.⁴⁹ This Spanish victory tapped into continued Iberian hostilities to the Dutch Republic and the VOC in the Moluccan Islands, despite the signing of the Twelve-Year Truce. It also explains why Barradas had perceived the rescue of Azcueta Menchaca's vessel as miraculous, one of many instances when God saved 'true Christians' against the attacks of heretics. All of the above was helped by the intercession of the flagship saints of the Jesuits: Ignatius and Xavier.

Azcueta Menchaca (fl. 1590-1612) was the central figure involved in the miracle. He was the captain of the ship rescued by Ignatius and Xavier as well as a regular traveller between India and the Philippines, first as a skipper, a subordinate to the chief of staff (*sargento mayor*), and then as governor of the Moluccan Islands (1610-12). He perceived himself primarily as a foe to the Ternateans and the Dutch according to a letter he sent to the Governor of the Philippines that is found among the papers of Mexican Viceroy Luis de Velasco the Younger (r. 1590-95; 1607-11) whose jurisdiction included the Asian islands.⁵⁰ The Ternateans were the inhabitants of Ternate, one of the Moluccan Islands known for its rich caches of cloves and occupied by the VOC who attacked

⁴⁸ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 395-98.

⁴⁹ Iris Bruijn, *Ship's Surgeons of the Dutch East India Company: Commerce and the Progress of Medicine in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2009), 59-60.

⁵⁰ AGI, México 28, no. 2, [1] recto – [7] recto: Cristóbal de Azcueta Menchaca to Juan de Silva, s.l., 23 April 1610.

Azcueta Menchaca and his ships on a regular basis. For Azcueta Menchaca, the dangers of sailing in the archipelago had become routine, a sentiment evident in his letter to the Filipino Governor and its constant mention of the Dutch menace.

Jesuits spoke about Azcueta Menchaca regularly in correspondence sent to Philip III. The Visitor Diego García, while in Manila, reported in 1601 that the “Captain has served for many years with distinction.”⁵¹ Two years later, the Spanish king heard more about the Captain courtesy of Provincial Gregorio López, when he reported on the uprising of the Chinese-Sangleys (*Sangleyes Chinos*) and indigenous populations of Philippines. López described Azcueta Menchaca as “a first-rate soldier. On this occasion [i.e. the uprising], he greatly overran the Chinese-Sangleys, accomplishing two famous victories with more than five-thousand enemy deaths without the loss of a single Spaniard.”⁵² Azcueta Menchaca was on the Jesuits’ radar, a known quantity perceived as the vanquisher of insurgents in the Philippines and doing so against considerable odds as López reported on the Chinese-Sangleys rebellion. That victory, despite the lack of Spanish fatalities, was not miraculous, unlike the time when Ignatius and Xavier saved the esteemed Azcueta Menchaca from a grim fate.

Barradas claimed to have taken this account from circulating letters prompting one to expect to find some letter or report providing another perspective about the

⁵¹ AGI, Filipinas 84, no. 95, [1] verso: Diego García to Philip III, Manila, 8 July 1601. “El Capitan Christoual Ascueta Menchaca ha muchos años que sirue y es benemerito.”

⁵² AGI, Filipinas 84, no. 117, [1] verso: Gregorio López to Philip III, Manila, 10 December 1603. “...el cap[ita]n y sargento mayor Christobal Ascueta Menchaca que siempre ha sido escogido soldado, en esta ocasion de los sangleyes chinos se auenta[en]te alcançado dos insignes victorias, con muerte de mas de cinco mil enemigos sin perder español ning[un]o.” See also the brief account on Azcueta Menchaca against the Sangleys printed in Europe: Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid: Alonso Martín, 1609), 332.

maritime miracle, especially by Azcueta Menchaca. But that was not the case. The last document by the Captain dates from 1612, when his tenure as the governor of the Moluccan Islands ended. After that date, he disappears from the written record. To make matters even more complicated, Barradas omitted potentially useful information from his brief account of a miracle, including the date, the location, and the ship's name. These absences paired with the silence of Azcueta Menchaca on the matter make it near impossible to confirm anything from Barradas's recollection, an issue further complicated by the Jesuit's refusal to volunteer his source or ever speak of the miracle again in his subsequent correspondence. These problematic gaps aside, Barradas's knowledge of this rescue came from the Jesuit information network, which had to have had some relationship with Spanish maritime routes that transported spices and news, although the full extent cannot be determined. Even when details were scarce and confirmation was near impossible, Barradas followed a predominant practice of the Order. Whenever anything of interest surfaced, they forwarded the news to their confreres as Barradas did here and as Parra had done in Peru, akin to the earlier efforts to publicize the case of Fray Álvaro. Jesuits typically used annual letters, like the one by Parra, to achieve this end, although procedure was malleable depending on circumstance as was the case with Barradas when forced to relocate to southern India and subsequently pen a hurried dispatch. The miracles in Peru and the Moluccan Islands relied on an organized network for the dispersal of news. This system of letters, newssheets, and lives formed only a fraction of the 'sacred economy'.

Images of Ignatius in the Pacific Rim

Visual culture was another integral piece of the ‘sacred economy’ allowing for the global coverage of miracles. Azcueta Menchaca, it should be noted, made a vow to Ignatius and Xavier to commission a painted altarpiece dedicated to them if he survived his brush with the Dutch. Miracles and sacred images, the focus of this section, went hand-in-hand since both were vital to saints’ reputations as seen in the promise made by Azcueta Menchaca. Something similar can be seen in the nearby Philippines. As a rector of a Jesuit college in Manila reported in 1603, the cult of Ignatius grew stronger daily as seen in the increased number of likenesses throughout the city. In the infirmary at the Order’s college there, the Jesuits placed images of the Jesuit founder behind every bed and a select few of the residents acquired engravings as well. Miracles were not far off either since António Ferreira, the Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Cebu, survived a fall from a high window with no pain or broken limbs, which he attributed to the grace of God acting through Ignatius.⁵³ Later in 1606, the Jesuit Provincial reported that the number of representations of Ignatius and Xavier increased in the Philippines and they surfaced in the Visayas, far away from Manila, such as at the Tinago residence in Samar. When going to Panay Island, Jesuits travelled with images of these saints.⁵⁴ What cannot be known is the appearance and origins of the likenesses mentioned in these letters, but Manila was the hub that connected the Americas to the rest of Asia, a multicultural city housing a number of visual traditions.

⁵³ Juan de Ribera, *Lettera annua della viceprouincia delle Filippine* (Venice: Giambattista Ciotti, 1605), 11-12.

⁵⁴ *Litterae annuae Societatis Iesu 1607*, 295, 332. See also René B. Javellana, *Wood and Stone for God’s Greater Glory: Jesuit Art and Architecture in the Philippines* (Manila: Ateneo of Manila University Press, 1991), 20-25, 28-32.

Here and elsewhere in the Pacific Rim, Jesuits imported images that followed the iconography of Ignatius, which, as examined in Chapter Three, developed in Spain and Italy before Flemish engravers became the foremost fashioners of his likeness. Prints, paintings, and sculptures of Ignatius did travel from Europe to the four corners of the earth. So did some of their makers, among them Alonso Vázquez, an artist from Seville who we have met previously and responsible for at least one large canvas depicting Ignatius in his hometown. Vázquez later migrated to Mexico. Although active there, many of his American paintings have not survived, paintings where he may have revisited Ignatius.

Far more common, however, were works by local painters and sculptors who contended with European visual culture and indigenous practices of image-making. The result was a clash between different iconographies and artistic techniques when producing American and Asian representations of Ignatius. One of the earliest came from Peru, where Pedro de Vargas (b. 1553) produced in 1595 a triptych containing the Virgin and Child surrounded by saints, a group that included Ignatius. Originally from Cordoba in Andalusia, a region known for its likenesses of Ignatius – miraculous and otherwise – Vargas was a Jesuit painter and gilder (*pintor y dorador*) who received much of his training in Peru from his confrere Bernardo Bitti. Both painters wandered throughout the viceroyalty painting, going from Quito to Potosí and everywhere in between. Scholars have placed Bitti and Vargas among the so-called Cuzco School of Painting, a loose classification to describe painters active along the Pacific coast in the Viceroyalty of Peru. A lack of perspective and an exclusive focus on religious figures were the defining

characteristics of this style, which exhibited the convergence of European and Amerindian artistic traditions.⁵⁵

The triptych by Vargas was a compressed collection of several devotions, a quality agreeable for this folding object used in private veneration and improvised altars. Virgin and Child predominated the center panel and were surrounded by small likenesses, going clockwise, of Gregory the Great, Jerome, Ignatius, Stanislaus Kostka (1550-68), Francisco de Borja, Xavier, and Augustine.⁵⁶ **[Figure 35]** The layout was unusual, wherein a number of disparate portraits converged in a single compact work, although the format seemed agreeable to Peruvian tastes as recorded in a 1609 account of Jesuit images from Cuzco.⁵⁷ Yet the triptych followed the iconographical conventions found in Europe, such as pairing Ignatius with Xavier.⁵⁸ Another was Vargas's duplication of the portrait by Leu, a 1590 print that portrayed Ignatius staring at a crucifix while in prayer.⁵⁹ Vargas, all at once, was conversant in the iconographical conventions from Europe, yet he used a configuration distinct to Peru. With its familiar iconography and

⁵⁵ Juan de Plaza, *Report by the Jesuit Visitor*, Cuzco, 12 December 1576 in *MP* 2:131; Pedro de Vargas to Claudio Acquaviva, Cuzco, 18 January 1585 in *MP* 3:507-09. On the Cuzco school and Bitti more broadly, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Jesuit Art Patronage before 1580," in *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture 1573-1580*, ed. Thomas McCoog (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004), 777-79.

⁵⁶ Pedro de Vargas, *Virgen con el Niño Jesús y jesuitas*, c. 1595, wooden triptych with painted panels, 24.5 x 31 cm, Museo Casa de Murillo, La Paz, Bolivia. He included Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory since the *Spiritual Exercises* celebrated these saints for their promulgation of "positive theology [that] moved the heart to love and serve God in all things" (*doctrina positiva...el mouer los afectos para en todo amar y servir a Dios Nuestro Señor*): *SE*, [363].

⁵⁷ *Relación de las fiestas que en la ciudad del Cuzco se hizieron por la beatificación del bienaventurado Padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Jesús* (Lima: Francisco del Canto, 1610), 1.

⁵⁸ König-Nordhoff, 222-26.

⁵⁹ This reliance on European engravings in viceregal art is explored at length in the recent essay collection: *De Amberes al Cusco: el grabado europeo como fuente del arte virreinal*, eds. Cécile Michaud and José Torres della Pina (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2009).

overabundance of Jesuit saints, the triptych was the centerpiece of the makeshift chapels at Jesuit colleges along the Pacific coast, an object as itinerant as Vargas. He also disregarded European conventions with his bestowal of halos to each of his celebrated confreres, a decoration reserved for officially minted saints.

In his other paintings, Vargas followed a similar layout where the Jesuits gazed upon the Virgin, but he distinguished with halos the saints of the Society of Jesus from its more mundane members. Vargas twice painted representations of the Immaculate Conception, large canvases that incorporated two Jesuits praying at Mary's feet. One featured Kostka and presumably Luigi Gonzaga with heads shrouded in light, a flourish done prior to the beatification of both in 1605, the *terminus a quo* for halos.⁶⁰ **[Figure 36]** In his other painting, Vargas had the heads of the noted theologians Francisco Suárez (1548-1617) and Gabriel Vásquez (1549-1604) deprived of halos. Rivals, yes. Esteemed for their learnedness, no doubt. But the two theologians were never saints.⁶¹ **[Figure 37]** Vargas, therefore, was aware of the association between sanctity and halos when he painted Jesuits, even when these saints had yet to receive any official recognition from Rome, as was the case when he produced his triptych in 1595. With his miniature portraits, Vargas fashioned an idiosyncratic devotional object that promulgated the cults of the saints from his Order, which embraced Ignatius.

⁶⁰ Pedro de Vargas, *Inmaculada with Stanislaus Kostka and Luigi Gonzaga*, c. 17th century, tempera on canvas, 200 x 180 cm, Museo Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito.

⁶¹ Pedro de Vargas, *Inmaculada with Francisco Suárez and Gabriel Vásquez*, c. 17th century, oil on canvas, 141 x 180 cm, Museo Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito. My thanks to Richard Kagan for bringing these images by Vargas to my attention.

Japanese representations of Ignatius followed a layout similar to the triptych by Vargas. Both representations had the Virgin with the Christ-Child as the focal point that was then surrounded by Ignatius, Xavier, and other saints. In the two extant Japanese paintings on paper, Mother and Son topped the center panel surrounded by painted curtains, a visual illusion that resembles an alcove for a cultic image. Underneath Mother and Son was another scene in which Ignatius and Xavier looked up the IHS and the Blessed Sacrament (a wafer resting atop a chalice) accompanied by a caption that read “Praised be the Most Holy Sacrament” (*Lowadoseiaosantissmosacrame[n]to*), a phrase found frequently in the devotional objects of Portuguese Asia, such as an Indian communion table inlaid with ivory as well as tiny medallions made in Portugal and then transported to Japan.⁶² And in the Japanese paintings of Ignatius, their perimeters contained scenes of the fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary, which related the life and death of Christ. The Mysteries were ubiquitous with rosary prayer when a string of beads is used to contemplate key moments from the Gospels. Reciting the rosary is an important Catholic ritual, which became increasingly reliant on images during the sixteenth century as was the case with these Japanese likenesses. What had been a devotional guide then became a multifunction representation that incorporated Ignatius and Xavier for the benefit of local Christians much like Vargas did for his Peruvian triptych.

In the Ibaraki, the larger of the two paintings, its painter gave Ignatius a thin nimbus.⁶³ **[Figure 38]** Although this sign of sanctity proved controversial in Counter-

⁶² Levenson, 256, 328.

⁶³ *The Madonna with the Infant Jesus and Her Fifteen Mysteries*, c. 17th century, colors on paper, 81.6 x 64.8 cm, Ibaraki Municipal Cultural Properties Depository, Ibaraki.

Reformation Europe, it was not the case in Japan, where halos featured frequently in religious art. Examples of which include a large portrait of Xavier whose unknown painter encircled the Jesuit's head with one and a painted altarpiece in which Dominic, Lawrence, and Katherine of Alexandria wore them.⁶⁴ **[Figure 39]** Such ornamentation was also endemic to likenesses of the Buddha, the figurehead of Japan's predominant religion. Contrary to Christian understandings of halos as indicators of blessedness, a Buddhist halo, according to a historian of Japanese art, was an "extracranial protuberance [and a] supernatural feature of buddahood [that symbolized] transcendent wisdom."⁶⁵ Halos were fixtures in the iconographical traditions of European Catholicism and Japanese Buddhism that illustrated the exemplar's relationship with the supernatural. Ignatius was not a European Buddha, but had some otherworldly powers as suggested by the nimbus surrounding his head.

In contrast to the Ibaraki, the second other image, the Kyoto, did away with the halos although otherwise the two paintings were nearly identical. What replaced the halos were two likenesses, one of Matthias as he stood behind Ignatius, and another that paired Xavier with Lucy.⁶⁶ **[Figure 40]** As we have seen with Vargas's triptych, Ignatius was rarely matched with anyone apart from Xavier. Instead of Kostka, Borja, and doctors of the Church as was done in the triptych, the unknown Japanese artist coupled Ignatius

⁶⁴ *Francisco Xavier*, c. 17th century, 61 x 48.7 cm, Kōbe City Museum, Kōbe. See Grace A.H. Vlam, "The Portrait of St. Francis Xavier in Kobe," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42, no.1 (1979): 48-60; Joseph F. Loh, "When Worlds Collide: Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens," (PhD. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2013), 213-14.

⁶⁵ Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representation of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 100-06.

⁶⁶ *The Madonna with the Infant Jesus and Her Fifteen Mysteries*, c. 1585-1614, oil on Japanese colors on paper, mounted on a hanging scroll, 75 x 63 cm, Kyōto University Museum, Kyōto.

with the biblical figure Matthias. After the apostles had cast lots, Matthias replaced Judas Iscariot as an apostle due to the original disciple's betrayal of Jesus to the Sanhedrin.⁶⁷ But representations of Matthias were rare in the Iberian world during the sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁶⁸ This paucity did not preclude interest for the saint in Japan since a local *flos sanctorum*, the work of two converts that became Jesuits, included a rumination about the feast of Matthias.⁶⁹ Pairing Matthias and Ignatius, while idiosyncratic enough, is all the more astonishing due to infrequency in which devotional objects contained likenesses of this apostle.

Matthias in the Kyoto image is in profile and looks upon the chalice and host. The painter dressed Matthias in early seventeenth European clothing as can be seen in examples from the time, including a portrait of Japanese diplomat to Europe Hasekura Tsunenaga (1571-1622) painted in Madrid and a folding map with small representations of forty nationalities, which contained Europeans.⁷⁰ **[Figure 41]** The unidentified artist of the Kyoto maintained the apostle's iconography as a robed and axe-wielding man evident in the painting of Matthias (1610-12) by Peter Paul Rubens.⁷¹ **[Figure 42]** The small Japanese image of Matthias is at once familiar and alien. Western conventions are visible in the symbols associated with the saint, but he appears to be someone in a game of

⁶⁷ Acts 1: 21-26.

⁶⁸ Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols. (Paris : Presses universitaires de France, 1955-59), 3:925-26. Outside Europe, the number decreases further since there are only two known likenesses, one from Lima, the other from Cuzco, made during the seventeenth century: Héctor H. Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires: Fundación Tarea, 1992-98), 2:590.

⁶⁹ Yōhō-ken Paolo and Hōin Vicente, *Sanctos no gosageveono no uchi nuigai*, 2 vols. (Cazzusa: Japanese College of the Society of Jesus, 1591), 1:150-63.

⁷⁰ *Hasekura Tsunenaga*, Madrid, 1615, oil on canvas, 80.8 x 64.5 cm, Sendai City Museum, Miyagi; *World Map and representations of forty nationalities*, 17th century, colors on paper, 116.7 x 348.9 cm, Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo. See the facsimile of the latter in Levenson, 18-19.

⁷¹ Peter Paul Rubens, *Saint Matthias*, Madrid, 1610-12, oil on board, 107.2 x 82.5 cm, MPM.

charades as a Spaniard or Portuguese man acting as Matthias. The axe provided a helpful clue to the Japanese players as they tried to guess correctly who he impersonated despite his doublet as well as the *au courant* beard and hairstyle. For a European, this depiction was a jarring contrast to the standard Matthias as a grizzly man in a humble robe. Instead, the Japanese painter had few prompts to rely on and had to guess, like the charades player, with the knowledge at hand. With Ignatius, however, the painter had the resources available to execute a proper likeness that follows the Jesuit's iconography to the letter. The Ibaraki appears lifelike, while the Kyoto does not, resulting in a bloated Ignatius. The Kyoto painter thus improvised on a theme, although the extent of which varied between the saints contained within his representation. While Ignatius followed the standard iconography more or less, the artist transformed Matthias into an early modern European playing pretend.

The association between Matthias and Ignatius appears odd since Jesuits never made any association between the two saints. Maffei and Ribadeneyra, the primary authorities on the life of Ignatius, never imagined the Jesuit founder as some modern Matthias. Even when Ribadeneyra recounted in his *Flos sanctorum* the life of Matthias, he stuck closely to the Bible. Ribadeneyra was emphatic that God had selected Matthias as the new apostle, an idea repeated several times in the three-page entry. Besides the Biblical narrative, Ribadeneyra briefly discussed the location of Matthias's relics, which he believed to be split between Trier in Germany and Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.⁷² The only plausible explanation derives from their shared status as counterbalances to

⁷² Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum* (1599-1601), 1:351-53.

perceived attacks on Christianity. Ribadeneyra, for instance, envisioned Ignatius as a foil for Luther said to be born the same year (not quite). The Jesuit founder inherited a role as a defender of the faith. Ribadeneyra pitted Peter with Simon Magus, Athanasius with Arius, Augustine against Mani and Pelagius and so on culminating with Ignatius at odds with Luther.⁷³ Matthias fulfilled a similar role as the replacement of Judas, although the latter was not a heretic and no writer ever made this association. This explanation is provisional since I can only deduce why Ignatius was paired with Matthias. The apostle rarely appeared in sacred images, yet alone one from Japan containing Ignatius and Xavier.

The likenesses from the Pacific Rim reveal that the ‘sacred economy’ provided the means for the local artists to be at once conversant with European representations of Ignatius while working within home-grown visual traditions of Asia and the Americas. Dissemination of the iconography was done through the Jesuit information network that brought the materials needed to depict Ignatius. In the case of Vargas in Peru, his illustration of Ignatius is near identical to a French engraving suggestive of a possible source. In the Filipino examples, the Jesuit Provincial there referred to a number of images of the Jesuit founder in circulation, which included prints. Even though there is no certain source of the Ibaraki and Kyoto paintings, they displayed a fluency with the iconography established in Europe despite the slight discrepancies between them. The

⁷³ Ribadeneyra, *Vida de Ignacio* (1586), 115 verso. Ignatius was born in 1491, while Luther’s birthdate was 1483.

same means with which to distribute news about the miracles of Ignatius was also used to transport objects and knowledge about the proper representation of the Order's founder.

That said, the images from Japan and Peru exhibit local idiosyncrasies that contrast sharply with the visual culture established in Europe. With his triptych, Vargas packaged cults that were never conjoined anywhere else, such as bringing together the Virgin and Child with the Church Doctors and the first group of Jesuit saints. Vargas also gave these holy men and woman halos, the controversial detail in likenesses since the establishment of the CSR, and something not to be taken lightly. When applied to Jesuits, he broke away from the European traditions, despite the triptych's immersion in the iconography of the saints. The medley of devotions was pragmatic since the triptych functioned as a portable altar. For someone as itinerant as Vargas, a multifunctional object was indispensable for improvised preaching, which was accompanied by the spread of the cult of Ignatius.

A similar practicality is readily apparent in the Ibaraki and Kyoto paintings since they functioned as guides for reciting the rosary, accompaniments to communion, as well as devotional images of Mary, Jesus, and saints. The Japanese painters had some knowledge of the iconographical practice of pairing Ignatius with Xavier, but in a way divorced from the debates between the true likenesses and saint-images of Ignatius. Although obscured in the representation of Ignatius, the imperfect dissemination of information is readily apparent in the Kyoto's inclusion of the apostle Matthias depicted according to Japanese perceptions of Europeans. Meanwhile, the Ibaraki persisted in its use of halos in the images of Ignatius found in Japan and Peru. Despite these differences,

the two Japanese paintings had nearly identical content, iconography, layout, coloring, and size meaning that the artists, assuming they are different people, acquired knowledge of the standard iconography of Ignatius through likenesses at hand aided by the information network. The Order used the ‘sacred economy’ to provide its members with the authoritative means to portray Ignatius and to do so from the four corners of the globe. Yet it allowed some latitude so that the likenesses could operate within the visual traditions of where the Jesuits were stationed. The Jesuit ‘sacred economy’ was thus able to spread news of Ignatius’s miracles and representations of him.

The Outpost of Miraculous Images: New Spain

The two components of the ‘sacred economy’ converged in New Spain, which had a glut of miraculous images. As we have already seen, Jesuits in Mexico received from Rome reports of miracles worked by Ignatius in 1599 and by 1602, the annual letter by the Mexican Provincial Francisco Váez declared that Ignatius interceded in New Spain also. These letters in addition to showing the familiarity with which Jesuits in the viceroyalty also conveyed the familiarity of the fathers with Ribadeneyra’s *Life of Ignatius*. Absent, however, are any mention of likenesses brought to or made in Mexico.

But another letter from 1602 by Acquaviva points to the movement of sacred images between center and periphery. The Superior wrote to Diego López de Mesa (1543-1615) to respond to three letters, unfortunately lost, by this rector of the professed house in Mexico City.⁷⁴ López de Mesa had sent presents to Acquaviva, specifically “two portraits of our Blessed Father [Ignatius] and Father Xavier, which are very good and I

⁷⁴ Claudio Acquaviva to Diego López de Mesa, Rome, 15 April 1602 in *MM* 7: 511.

appreciate them so much (and the stones as well).” Acquaviva was thankful for such generosity telling López de Mesa that “the Lord will reward you with abundant gifts.”⁷⁵ The provenance of these two portraits are unknown, but it should be noted that López de Mesa arrived in Mexico in 1570 and stayed there until his death in 1615 making it unlikely that the images bounced between Europe and Mexico. As for the stones, they were bezoars (*piedras bezaares*), stone-like substances obtained from animal stomachs that cured anyone from poisoning (although a French surgeon had proven the limitations of bezoars or ‘pierres d’Espagne’ in a 1567 experiment with ghastly results). These rocks were considered miraculous by some, including the sceptical Jesuit historian and natural philosopher José de Acosta who was disinclined to see miracles.⁷⁶ Acquaviva not only received a likeness of Ignatius from the Americas but also an object thought to be capable of miracles. Although the supernatural and visual were spoken of in the same breath, they remained, for the time being, separate.

That did not last long since the annual letter for that year pulled out the stops as it mentioned miracle after miracle in the viceroyalty. Unlike some of the other dispatches of this type that omitted any detail about the cures and exorcisms done by Ignatius, the letter-writer Martín Fernández (1548-1620) made sure that was no longer the case. The

⁷⁵ Acquaviva to López de Mesa in *MM* 7:512. “Agradezco a V.R. los dos retratos de nuestro beato padre [Ignacio] y del padre Xavier, que son muy Buenos, y como tales los estimo. Y las piedras también. El Señor se lo pague con sus copiosos dones.” Biographical details about López de Mesa come from Francisco Zambrano, *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, 16 vols. (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1961-77), 8:689-715.

⁷⁶ José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville: Juan de León, 1590), 296-99. On Paré’s experiment, wherein a condemned man had to drink poison along with the bezoar that belonged to King Charles IX of France (r. 1560-74). The result was an agonizing death for the condemned man due to the ineffectiveness of the bezoar. On the experiment, see Ambroise Paré, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Joseph François Malgaigne, 3 vols. (Paris: J.B. Baillière, 1840-41), 3: 341-42.

miracles as related by Fernández included three from Oaxaca in what is now southern Mexico, two more at the mission to the Tepehuanes, an ethnic group with populations in the north and the west, and sixteen in Guadiana. Fernández was not the Provincial but the Rector at the Jesuit College in Mexico City tasked with compiling the various news arriving from across the province.⁷⁷ The resulting letter of some thirty-one folios was abnormal for its length since such an undertaking would be too taxing for an already busy Provincial. Instead, he tasked someone else to compile what became a miracle-heavy letter.

In Oaxaca, Amerindians and Spaniards alike revered Ignatius who, as the letter recounted, assisted two for the former and one for the latter. The Spaniard in this case was from the Basque Country, a place, as we have seen, that had a strong cult for Ignatius, a local saint gone global. As for his compatriot in Oaxaca, he had had a serious sickness for some time that physicians concluded was terminal. “At this time, [the ill man] heard talk of the marvels of Our Lord worked through Our Blessed Father Ignatius and asking for his image and it was given to him. Instantaneously, the ill man returned to full health, which has not gone away.”⁷⁸ Here is one of the earlier examples of a miraculous likeness of Ignatius performing a miracle in the New World. Fernández checked the major boxes in the determination of a miracle. Physicians deemed the Basque man incurable. The cure was immediate. Other aspects of the cure were extraneous for an annual letter that only

⁷⁷ Zambrano, 6:608-09.

⁷⁸ Martín Fernández, *Carta anua de la Provincia de México*, Mexico, 5 de Mayo 1603 in *MM* 8: 126. “Oyó dezir en esta ocasión las maravillas que nuestro Señor obrava por nuestro b[ienaventurado], y pidiendo una ymagen suya, y encomendándose a ella, repentinamente alcanço entera salud, que hasta oy le dura.”

provided brief descriptions of an event in question. We never learn the man's name, his ailment, the duration of his illness, the date, or the means with which he had heard about Ignatius's marvels. Fernández, however, included what was important for this contribution to the Jesuit information network. Ignatius healed a fellow Basque whose condition was hopeless, but rapidly overturned by saintly intervention. Even more compelling was its reliance on a representation of Ignatius signalling the start of New Spain's fixation with the miraculous images of the Jesuit founder.

Yet images did not monopolize miracles since the Amerindians were cured with the aid of relics. According to Fernández, the same relics of Ignatius had worked two different miracles. One was a generic case of a sick man knocking a death's door. Nearing the end, he confessed his sins and placed his trust in Ignatius as the man held onto the unspecified relics. And that evening, he felt good and healthy. He would live to see another day! Thankful for this intercession, the Amerindian walked into a local church and lit a wax candle in honor of Ignatius.⁷⁹ Omitted were the physicians and the incurability, although the absence of the former could speak of a reluctance towards European medicine. Instead, Fernández opted for a formulaic account of a miracle that lacks the enthusiasm found in the case of the Basque man.

The other Amerindian miracle in Oaxaca, while lacking the vim of the cure of Ignatius's compatriot, was far more sensational since it involved infanticide. A man bludgeoned his pregnant wife with a stick killing the unborn child (*criatura*). The mother found herself in danger since the five-day-old stillborn could not be removed. At the

⁷⁹ Fernández in *MM* 8:127.

point of death, she called a Jesuit (*uno de los nuestros*) to hear her confession. The Jesuit father arrived and got the woman ready to die well (*dispuesto a bien morir*). She then asked him for a saint's relic, any would suffice. The Jesuit father, of course, had one belonging to Ignatius that he gave to her. A few hours later and without any other remedy, she was able to expel the unborn child, which restored her health.⁸⁰ This grisly episode is another instance of Ignatius saving an expecting mother. But unlike the European cases where the infant is delivered and the mother is healed, as seen in Chapters Three and Four, Fernández recounted a miracle where only the mother lives. Although Ignatius's relics could save the mother after the infanticide, he could not resurrect the child. Infanticide and abortions in viceregal Mexico, according to one scholar, were common yet illegal. Women were able to conceal these unwanted pregnancies, which were abetted by secular and ecclesiastical courts' disinterest in prosecution for these crimes.⁸¹ Although a severe case, Fernández's indifference stems from a blasé attitude toward infanticide especially when compared to the cure of the Basque man. The rescued mother, however, gave yet another example of the cures performed by the relics of Ignatius, which supplemented the one done with his likeness.

We learn of another miraculous image found among the Tepehuanes of northwestern New Spain. Ignatius healed two Spaniards, father and daughter, in the region. The Spaniard was "honest [but] very unwell due to head pains and fever, which affected him very much." Like the Basque man in Oaxaca, he heard mention of the

⁸⁰ Fernández in *MM* 8:126-27.

⁸¹ Nora E. Jaffary, "Reconceiving Motherhood: Infanticide and Abortion in Colonial Mexico," *Journal of Family History* 37, no. 1 (2012): 9.

marvels of God. This time, however, he noted that God worked these marvels “by means of images of blessed father Ignatius.” He then asked for one, which he placed on his headboard and within three or four days, the man was healthy and free from all pains. This man remained in good health and openly acknowledged that God with the aid of Ignatius had lifted his suffering.⁸² Here Fernández seemingly followed a rubric for his report of a miraculous image. Both the Spaniard and the Basque man knew of the marvels attributed to Ignatius by hearsay, but the specifics go unmentioned, say if it was a chat about the *Life* or a sermon by a Jesuit. The next step was to surrender oneself fully to Ignatius. For the Basque man, he was “giving himself to his image of Ignatius” (*encomendándose a ella* [that is *la imagen*]), while his counterpart in Tepahuane country “gave himself truly to Ignatius” (*se encomendó muy de veras a él*).

But this account had details that greatly undermined its perception as a miracle since it did not involve medical practitioners nor was it instantaneous. Fernández was not even sure whether it took three or four days to cure the Spaniard. Even when reported miracles had little chance for further inspection, their believability depended on the inclusion of certain identifiers. Although the two miraculous images in Oaxaca and among the Tepehuanes shared many characteristics, the latter lacks the evidence that substantiates the intercession by Ignatius. Despite this pitfall, the cures of these Spaniards

⁸² Fernández in *MM* 8: 165. “Estando un español honrrado muy achacoso del dolores de calentura y de cabeza, que le aflijían mucho, oyendo decir las maravillas que Dios, nuestro señor, obraba por medio de las imágenes de nuestro b[ienaventurado] padre Ignacio, pidió una, y poniéndola en la cabecera de su cama, se encomendó muy de veras a él; y, dentro de 3 o 4 días, se halló sano y libre de los dolores. Que persevera hasta oy en el debido reconocimiento a la merced que recibió de nuestro Señor, por la intercesión de nuestro glorioso padre.”

in New Spain could edify the devout and thus warranted inclusion into the annual letter that would circulate among Jesuits.

Many of the miracles performed by Ignatius amid the Tepehuane mission had become standardized, according to the accounts in circulation. For instance, the Spaniard's daughter also experienced Ignatius's intercession, albeit during pregnancy with a happier outcome than what had happened in Oaxaca. Fernández did not exclude Xavier who was said to alleviate the unbearable and painful cramps of a Tepehuane woman through his likeness held by her.⁸³ News of these miracles travelled within the 'sacred economy' that also brought relics and images, at the very least knowledge of the iconography, between the outer regions of the viceroyalty and Mexico City where Fernández arranged the information to be disseminated within the network operated by the Order across the world.

It would be tedious to inventory everything within the annual letter's conclusion, where Fernández included sixteen entries about miracles in Guadiana, which is better known today as Durango City and 900 kilometers from Mexico City. Back in the early seventeenth century, Guadiana was the capital of Nueva Vizcaya and among the places that the Tepehuanes lived and where they encountered miracles by Ignatius. Of the sixteen records, I will focus on the seven, which tell of intercession occurring through a representation. In this final part of the annual letter, Fernández found that miraculous images tended to heal children more often than not, occurring in five of the cases, ranging in age from seven months to twelve years. Fernández inconsistently listed the ethnicity of

⁸³ Fernández in *MM* 8:165-66.

those healed in Guadiana doing so twice referring to an Amerindian named Miguel and an unnamed *morena*, which was a term used to describe someone with a dark complexion. Although remote, Guadiana and Nueva Vizcaya more broadly had a large number of miraculous images that cured children.

In Guadiana, the likenesses of Ignatius healed through contact with the affected part of the body in contrast with the miracles mentioned earlier in the annual letter that tended to involve hearing news about the saint's marvels and having an image in proximity. This topical use of a representation appeared in five of the accounts. A six-year-old girl was healed from typhus (*taverdete*) and erysipelas (*yrisipula*) by applying an image to her face (*rostro*). Typhus, according to one source from the early seventeenth century, was extremely dangerous and caused, among other things, a black or orange-brown complexion. As for erysipelas, also known as Saint Anthony's fire, it is a skin rash that appears on the face and extremities due to an infection, which is then accompanied by fevers, vomiting, shaking, among other symptoms.⁸⁴ The girl condition emanated from her face compelling the attendant, who goes unmentioned, to apply the representation there as one applies a salve to inflamed skin.

Ignatius performed cures in a similar way for an eight-year-old boy suffering from fever caused by tuberculous (*calenture éthyca*); Doña Clara de Heredia, aged twelve, with severe headaches and migraines (*gravísimos dolores de xaqueca y cabeça*); the return of sight for the aboriginal boy Miguel due to a wood splinter piercing his right eye;

⁸⁴ Fernández in *MM* 8: 181-82. On typhus: Covarrubias, fol. 40. As for erysipelas, see the brief reference in Karen Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God: Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 110.

and finally the morena of an abscess that resulted in convulsions, pain, as well as a foul-smelling and bloodied mouth.⁸⁵ And the physicians proved incapable of helping their patients, which was a hallmark of these reports on miracles. As is also immediately evident, likenesses of Ignatius, when applied onto someone, treated a number of ailments that did not involve image veneration, instead, acting more like amulets, objects that prevented its owner from harm. This use of religious images veered close to what was perceived as heretical indigenous rituals done through the exploitation of Christian objects, an uneasy fusion of pre-Columbian and European religion in the Jesuit 'sacred economy' that worried the American Inquisitions.⁸⁶

Despite the overwhelming number of miracles by Ignatius through his likeness, the appearance of the images is opaque and there is no way to know if these devotional objects were imported from Europe or locally made. To get a sense of the iconography used in New Spain, one has to wait until after the beatification of Ignatius in 1609, which unsurprisingly ramped up the production of sacred images of the Jesuit saint. In an anonymous newsheet from 1610, the writer recounts the celebrations organized by Viceroy Luis de Velasco, who was briefly mentioned in relation to Captain Cristóbal de Azcueta Menchaca, the Captain whose vessel was saved from a Dutch ambush by Ignatius. Velasco was an ingrained player in the Pacific who brokered exchanges between New Spain and Asia. A man who also possessed a broad knowledge of the Americas based on his experiences as the viceroy of New Spain (r. 1590-95, 1607-11)

⁸⁵ Fernández in *MM* 8: 182, 184-85.

⁸⁶ De Mello e Souza, 131; Amos Megged, "Magic, Popular Medicine and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Mexico: The Case of Isabel de Montoya," *Social History* 19, no. 2 (May 1994): 190-91; Estenssoro Fuchs, 320-21.

and Peru (r. 1596-1604). During his second tenure in New Spain, Velasco organized evangelization efforts sending the mendicants and Augustinians to Japan and the Jesuits to Nueva Vizcaya, one of the places home to the Tepehuanes and the site of two miracles by Ignatius.⁸⁷ Amid this organization of clergy, Velasco took control of the celebrations in honor of *Blessed* Ignatius in Mexico City and commissioned two likenesses of the Jesuit founder, which the newssheet's author described in great detail.

The first of these image incorporated the distinct features of the European iconography, such as the IHS, while exhibiting an anomalous ray of light that revealed four heretics.⁸⁸ The writer, however, made no attempt to identify the band of heathens. But by looking at other representations from the same era, we see that the four figures were used to symbolize paganism, deceitfulness, calumny, and Amerindians or to personify the four continents and their nonbelievers.⁸⁹ If this was the case, the Mexican painting combined ideas indicting pre-Columbian religion, while placing indigenous beliefs alongside the religions of Asia, Europe, the Americas, and Africa that clashed with Roman Catholicism. Ignatius in this image was a leader of a supposed vanguard against professed heresy amid global expansion.

⁸⁷ AGI, México 27, no. 71, 1 recto: Luis de Velasco to the Council of the Indies, Mexico, 24 May 1609; AGI, México 28, no. 7, [3] verso: Luis de Velasco to the Council of the Indies, Mexico, 20 October 1610. On his organization of fleets to Japan via the Philippines: AGI, México 28, no. 15, fol. [1]: Luis de Velasco to the Council of the Indies, Mexico, 7 April 1611.

⁸⁸ APGCG, no. 9, 55 verso. *Relación de las fiestas que hizo la casa Professa de la Compania de Jesus de la ciudad de Mexico en la Beatificacion del s[an]to P[ad]re Ignacio y fundador de la mesma Compania*, 1610.

⁸⁹ Christine M. Boeckl, *Images of Plague and Pestilence: Iconography and Iconology* (Kirksville, MO : Truman State University Press, 2000), 128; Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde: Histoire d'une mondialisation* (Paris: Éditions de La Martinière, 2004), 166-67.

The second likeness, meanwhile, had no interest in apostates but was a large statue of Ignatius. In his right hand, he held an IHS set in letters of diamonds and valuable stones. Surrounding Ignatius were rays of gold, amber, and crystal. Not to be undone, more diamonds adorned the vestments supplemented with pearls, rubies, emeralds, topazes, and jacinth. A sculpture of Ignatius that made the “Richness of Mexico” (*Riqueza de Mexico*) glaringly, perhaps even garishly, obvious. Although the representations seems more like a walking jewelry display, the newssheet’s writer made clear that attention was paid to Ignatius’s face, which appeared “very devout, serene, serious, and slightly angered” (*el rostro mui deuoto sereno y graue y indinado un poco*).⁹⁰ Velasco revered Ignatius enough to finance a large and expensive sculpture outfitted with vast quantities and varieties of precious things, which held Biblical import as the masonry of heavenly Jerusalem.⁹¹

Although far removed from Europe, these representations followed the traditions of saint-images and true portraits as we have seen. The painting with the four heretics made no claim to lifelike accuracy as it favored visualizing the exemplarity of Ignatius, something perpetuated in the later cycle by Pedro de Pardo from 1620 who was

⁹⁰ *Relación de las fiestas...de la ciudad de Mexico*, 53 verso. “una ymagen grande de n[uest]ros s[an]to P[adr]e de estatura de ver hombre tenia en la mano derecha un Jesus leuantado cuyas letras eran de diamantes finissimos y piedras de gran valor y los rayos de puntas de oro ambar y cristal, el rostro mui deuoto sereno y graue y indinado un poco hazia el Jesus q[ue] estaua mirando, y en la mano izquierda tenia un libro abierto de los constuciones estaua el s[an]to vestido de manteo y sotana de terciopelo negro que pudo de Ramos, loazos de perlas diamantes, esmeraldas Rubies, topacios y jacintos que admiro la Riqueza de Mexico”

⁹¹ Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2005), 50.

effectively a Mexican Juan de Mesa.⁹² With the sculpture that fixated on the qualities of the founder's face and features, it evoked the works by Jacopino del Conte and Sánchez Coello. A year before Velasco's commission, another sculpture of Ignatius was made in Seville that attempted to convey the physiognomy of Ignatius with the utmost precision. This likeness was an *imagen de vestir*, a clothed frame with carved polychrome head and hands.⁹³ **[Figure 43]** It was abundant in detail and accuracy, although lacking the material riches of its counterparts in the Americas as seen in the gem-riddled statue of Ignatius. The other Mexican likeness with the four heretics brought attention to the ongoing struggles of Catholicism in a world rife with unbelievers. Mexico was rich in mines containing colored stones and abundant with peoples who resisted converting to Christianity.

But local Jesuits had their own representation of Ignatius that was used in celebrations as recorded by Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin (1579-1660). Chimalpahin was member of the indigenous minor nobility in Amecameca, about sixty kilometers southeast of Mexico City, before relocating to the viceregal capital when he was fifteen. He was a prolific writer of histories in Nahuatl rather than Castilian, such as his surviving annals spanning the years 1577 and 1615. This chronicle, a genre he favored, provided a rich record of life in Mexico City as well as knowledge the wider world. This cosmopolitanism made

⁹² Nuria Barahona Quintana, "Funciones de la iconografía ignaciana en el colegio-noviciado de San Francisco Xavier de Tepotzotlán: La casa profesa de la ciudad de México," in *Actas III congreso internacional del barroco americano: territorio, arte, espacio y sociedad* (Seville: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2001): 231-40.

⁹³ Juan Martínez Montañés and Francisco Pacheco, *Saint Ignatius*, c. 1610, polychromed wood and cloth, 173.5 x 70 x 55 cm, Iglesia de la Anunciación, Universidad de Sevilla.

Chimalpahin, in one scholar's estimation, a representative of Iberian globalization, which he exhibited in his account of 1610 that included mention of the assassination of French king Henri IV, the arrival of a Japanese envoy in Mexico City, and the Roman decree beatifying Ignatius.⁹⁴

The Jesuits of Mexico City responded enthusiastically to the recognition of their founder as seen in a procession of their doing, one recounted by Chimalpahin. It started with a likeness of the Blessed Sacrament wandering the streets. At its third stop, "his children [the Jesuits] brought [an image of Ignatius] out of his home, the Professed House, bearing him on a carrying platform. When he had come to meet the Sacrament, he led it, taking it into his home, the new church...now being called Saint Ignatius." The Basque obsession with Ignatius reared its head during the celebrations since the feast day "was celebrated especially by the Spaniards [in Mexico City] who are Basques, because the said [Ignatius] is their saint." To celebrate this transoceanic cult, they led the procession firing off harquebuses as they walked the streets ahead of the procession.⁹⁵

Chimalpahin never mentioned anything about Velasco in his account making it inadvisable to conflate the processional image with the works commissioned by the Viceroy. But the Jesuits did possess likenesses as the annals make abundantly clear. Ignatius was also important to the Basque, as we had seen in Europe. Wherever they found themselves, they retained this regional devotion, which was celebrated with gusto and the odd trigger-happy lapse. Compared to the newsheet of the same event, however,

⁹⁴ Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde*, 17-19, 23-32.

⁹⁵ Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, *Annals of his Time*, trans. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 165.

Chimalpahin gave no insight about the image's characteristics bar his personification of it. Not to say that Chimalpahin claimed that Ignatius returned to earth as a painting or sculpture, but the chronicler regarded the likenesses as someone, not something.

The representations in Mexico City described by the relacionista and Chimalpahin, however, provide a sense of what prevailed in New Spain, but these likenesses performed no miracles. To find the thaumaturgical images, one had to travel to rural areas and hinterlands where evangelization efforts were ongoing as we have seen in the examples provided primarily by Fernández in his annual letter of 1602. In these examples, northwestern Mexico, where Velasco directed Jesuit proselytization efforts, predominated as the region in which Ignatius interceded and so it remained into the 1610s. If we recall the 1613 cure of El Discreto in Nueva Vizcaya from an earlier chapter, a likeness of the Jesuit founder revived a Tehueco youth at death's door.

But two cases from that decade stand out since the Jesuits investigated the claims of divine efficacy wrought by an image. San Luis de la Paz, Guanajuato, in North-Central Mexico laid claim to a miracle-working likeness as did Poanas near Nombre de Dios, itself only sixty kilometers from Guadiana. These areas were the epicenter of successive waves of warfare, such as with the aforementioned Tepahuanes and Tehuecos in Nueva Vizcaya, while Guanajuato saw frequent skirmishes between Spaniards and the local Chichimecs.⁹⁶ Poanas was nearly 900 kilometers from Mexico City, while San Luis de la Paz was equidistant between these two communities. Despite the distances and potential

⁹⁶ Isauro Rionda Arreguín, *La Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia Guanajuatense, 1590-1767* (Guanajuato: Universidad De Guanajuato, 1996), 22-40.

dangers, these miraculous images compelled the Jesuit Procurator of Mexico, Gabriel de Alarcón (1563-1625), to launch an investigation, which he did in person and with the aid of the Jesuit information network. Provincial Procurators had started as the administrative, legislative, and legal arm of the Society of Jesus. But by the end of the sixteenth century, the office had assumed additional responsibilities, including the verification of miracles.⁹⁷ In addition to his judicial experience, Alarcón had a taste for sacred images before he arrived in Mexico in 1599. Seven years earlier and when he had joined the Order, he commissioned three paintings of saints Michael, Mary Magdalene, and Vincent Ferrer for the Jesuit house in Marchena, not far from Seville.⁹⁸ With these paintings and his role as Procurator, Alarcón was uniquely qualified to assess the miraculous images of Poanas and San Luis de la Paz.

The first of the miracles examined by Alarcón happened at San Luis de la Paz in early 1617. According to Alarcón, it all started with an argument between Francisco Goñi de Peralta and Isabel Velázquez de Figueroa, a married couple, over the name of their issue. The future father held Ignatius in particular esteem and favored that name, while his wife preferred Anthony after Anthony of Padua. When the Jesuits baptized the boy, he made his choice by uttering “Ignatius.” Soon after the baptism, however, Goñi de Peralta’s nose began to spew uncontrollably. Desperate, Goñi de Peralta prayed to

⁹⁷ J. Gabriel Martínez-Serna, “Procurators and the Making of the Jesuits’ Atlantic Network,” in *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830*, eds. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 181-209; Luisa Elena Alcalá, “‘De compras por Europa’: Procuradores jesuitas y cultura material en Nueva España,” *Goya* 318 (May-June 2007): 141-58.

⁹⁸ Marta P. Cacho Casal, *Francisco Pacheco y su Libro de Retratos* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2011), 82. See also *Memorial de los padres y hermanos que van a las provincias de México en Compañía del Padre Pedro Díaz, Superior, en la flota que parte a 18 de junio de 1599 años*, Mexico City, 1599 in *MM* 6:576.

Ignatius to stop the bleeding, petitions done with the aid of a medallion, petitions answered by the saint. Goñi de Peralta was saved!⁹⁹

Although this ailment seemed to pale when compared to Ignatius's usual fare as seen with the cases in Guadiana, nosebleeds were frequently terminal. Historical examples in Europe ranged from the death of Attila the Hun in the fifth century to the occasional fatality in Renaissance Florence.¹⁰⁰ Centuries later and an ocean away, numerous observers recalled waves of sickness that descended on New Spain with the virulent epidemic of 1576 known as *gran cocolizli*. Fevers and dysentery abounded as did nosebleeds, three conditions that left medical practitioners struggling to prevent mortalities.¹⁰¹ And the discharge continued to run in the rural areas of New Spain making Goñi de Peralta's plight deadly, yet quotidian. People usually relied on traditional remedies to treat nosebleeds, including bloodstones and the leaves of the elder tree. But when stones and plants failed, the ill petitioned the supernatural, which, on this occasion, prevailed.

Alarcón was not finished with reports of miracles. Shortly after the cure of Goñi de Peralta, the Procurator dispatched a report intended for Rome and the judge of the Appellate Court of Mexico (*oidor de la Audiencia de Mexico*) Manuel de Madrid y Luna,

⁹⁹ APGCG, no. 9, fol. 138, 139 verso: *Testimonio autentico de vn milagro que N[uest]ro Señor obro en vn niño recienacido en S[an] Luis de la Paz por intercession del Bienauenturado Sanct'Ignacio Patron y fundador de la Sagrada Religion, de la Compañia de Jesús. Poniendose el nombre, dicho Niño de Sanct'Ign[aci]o y de otro milagro que obro con su P[adr]e del dicho niño, Don Fran[cis]co de Peralta de un flujo de sangre en las Indias de Nueva España, 2 August 1617.*

¹⁰⁰ Jordanes, *Romana et Getica*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin: Weidmanns, 1882), 123-24; Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 172-73.

¹⁰¹ Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence: Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, 12 vols., 11: 210 verso. See also Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 449.

a recent arrival from the Philippines and yet another agent spanning the Pacific.¹⁰² Madrid y Luna oversaw legal affairs, including indulgences, mortgages, legal separations, and probates. In the paperwork compiled by Alarcón, he organized the testimonies taken by Mateo de Soto, a curate, vicar, and ecclesiastic judge in Poanas. According to Soto, Ignatius performed a miracle on 21 January 1618 in the house of Antonio Romero de Naxara whose two-and-a-half-year-old son Miguel suffered from a constant and debilitating fever. As Miguel lay in a febrile state, Romero de Naxara obtained an image of Ignatius to give to his son. Likeness in hand, the fever lifted thanks to the devotional object, a claim made by Romero de Naxara and his wife Juana de Abendaño. After the intercession, Antonio renamed his son Miguel Ignacio to honor the Jesuit founder.¹⁰³

Fevers were prevalent in the Americas and a predominant affliction since the *gran cocoliztli* of 1576 (and its subsequent outbreaks in 1615 and 1616) along with regular problems of measles, smallpox, and typhus.¹⁰⁴ Miraculous cures for fevers were rare in the Americas, which contrasts with the frequency with which Ignatius healed the condition in Europe. The cure of Miguel Ignacio Romero de Abendaño reverted back to the more traditional use of miraculous images wherein a person would hold the object or place it within sight, say on a bedpost. The occurrence in Poanas had more in common with the miracles recounted by Fernández fifteen years earlier among the Tepehuans and

¹⁰² AGI, Filipinas 20, r. 11, no. 70, [1] verso – [2] recto: *Autos sobre haberse despedido de la Audiencia de Manuel de Madrid y Luna, oidor, nombrase procuradores para dar su residencia*, Manila, 6 June 1617.

¹⁰³ APGCG, no. 9, fol. 154-57: [Testimonies of the Miracle at Poanas], Mexico City, 22 May 1618.

¹⁰⁴ Elsa Malvido Miranda, “El arca de Noe o la caja de Pandora? Suma y recopilación de pandemias, epidemias, y endemias en Nueva España, 1519-1810,” in *Temas médicos de la Nueva España*, ed. Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña (Mexico: Instituto Cultural Domecq, 1992), 74.

in Oaxaca. Despite the proximity between Guadiana and Poanas, miracles involving the topical application of likenesses remained an idiosyncrasy of Guadiana.

The two occurrences Poanas and San Luis de la Paz involved the rebranding of a child after the saint who healed them, something unknowable in the other accounts, such as those in the annual letter by Fernández, since they largely omitted names of the people for whom Ignatius interceded. The desire of Goñi de Peralta to name his child after the Jesuit founder was realized when his son uttered that name at baptism with the same saint intervening to stop his nosebleed. Although Romero de Naxara's son was named Miguel, the reversal of the fever prompted the addition of a second name in honor of the boy's intercessor. People in New Spain, as was the case in Europe, possessed representations of their namesakes feeling a connection with them, objects found in wills and other inventories.¹⁰⁵ But Ignatius was a rare name, at least in San Luis de la Paz, where only two children named Ignatius were baptized between 1610 and 1620 at the church attended by Goñi de Peralta and Velázquez and where they were subsequently entombed. According to the parish records, the boys christened Ignatius were not the offspring of Goñi de Peralta and Velázquez, an omission that undermines the miracle's plausibility.¹⁰⁶

Despite the rarity of the name Ignatius, the Jesuit founder still interceded and did so at the expense of popular saints Michael and Anthony of Padua, who had entrenched

¹⁰⁵ Stephanie Wood, "Adopted Saints: Christian Images in Nahua Testaments of Late Colonial Toluca," *The Americas* 147, no. 3 (January 1991): 278. I have yet to consult a surviving inventory of goods belonging to Francisco Goñi de Peralta from 1622, which might include a number of sacred images: AGI, Mexico 259, no. 106: *Autos del inventario de bienes de Francisco de Goñi y Peralta, vecino de la frontera de San Luis de la Paz, tierra de Chichimecas, alcade ordinario de la Santa Hermandad y juez comisario de las minas de Sichú*, San Luis de la Paz, 30 August 1622.

¹⁰⁶ Archivo de la Parroquia de San Luis Rey, San Luis de la Paz, Guanajuato, r. 10, 35 recto, 41 recto: *Bautismos Volumen Numero 1 (Años 1590-1634)*.

cults within the devotional landscape of New Spain. Unlike the other miracles attributed to Ignatius in New Spain, those in Poanas and San Luis de la Paz superimposed a naming ritual onto those involved in the saint's intercession, either directly with Miguel Ignacio Romero de Abendaño or secondarily with Ignacio Goñi Velázquez. Central to these supernatural cures and naming conventions were representations of a saint, such as the medallion and the nondescript image at the heart of these two cases.

The miraculous images in San Luis de la Paz and Poanas fit into a larger context involving the healing of children in the hinterlands of New Spain centered in the northwest regions of the viceroyalty with the glut of these miracles in Guadiana. Nueva Vizcaya remained a frontier ready for evangelization. As noted previously, Viceroy Luis de Velasco the Younger sent the Jesuits to that region of the viceroyalty. To gain converts, missionaries tended to focus on children since they, once baptized, were especially effective at convincing the adults to convert. Miraculous healings of children, as Martha Few has shown, "provid[ed] tangible evidence of hope and a counterpoint to the prevalence of illness and epidemic disease in daily life in New Spain."¹⁰⁷ The marshalling of these heavenly signs aided in the ongoing evangelization taking place in the more remote corners of the viceroyalty, such as Nueva Vizcaya. But baptism tended to be associated with death due to the diseases brought by the missionaries. In his annual letter of 1593, for instance, Jesuit Provincial Pedro Díaz observed that "out of the many

¹⁰⁷ Martha Few, "'Our Lord Entered His Body': Miraculous Healing and Children's Bodies in New Spain," in *Religion in New Spain*, eds. Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 122.

[Amerindians] baptized, the Lord helped himself to a lot of them.”¹⁰⁸ With death looming over the ritual of baptism, it was a not taken lightly as we have seen in the heated argument between Goñi de Peralta and Velázquez over what to name their child.

Accompanying epidemics and death were reports of miraculous cures as Daniel Reff has found in his comparative analysis of disease in the writings of medieval hagiographers in Europe and Jesuits in the New World. Miracles were a defining feature of Christ’s ministry in Galilee and by including them within annual letters, Jesuits gave value to proselytization. Supernatural healing also articulated a basic Christian tenet that one could experience God’s intercession through the acceptance of Christ’s sacrifice when crucified.¹⁰⁹ In the cases from New Spain, God acted through Ignatius, one of his saints, through a number of means, such as miraculous representations. The careful compilation of these manifestations by Fernández and Alarcón were intended to promote the Jesuit enterprise in the Americas through the healing and conversion of children, the most vulnerable among the indigenous. When adults were healed, they tended to be Spaniards and not Amerindians. Jesuits saw, received, and then forwarded accounts of the remarkable interventions of Ignatius in New Spain with the aid of the Order’s information network. This means to circulate news based on observation and other dispatches was part of the ‘sacred economy’ that also disseminated sacred objects. What better way to promulgate the sanctity of Ignatius and the missions in Nueva Vizcaya

¹⁰⁸ Pedro Díaz, *Anua de la Provincia de la Nueva España de la Compañía de IHS del año de 1593*, Mexico, 31 March 1593 in *MM* 5: 100. “De los muchos que allí bapcticé, se llevó para sí nuestro Señor grandísimo número.” See also Nicholas P. Cushner, *Why Have You Come Here?: The Jesuits and the First Evangelization of Native America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 57.

¹⁰⁹ Daniel T. Reff, *Plagues, Priests, and Demons: Sacred Narratives and the Rise of Christianity in the Old World and the New* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 234-35

through his cures of children since it recalled Christ's rebuke to the apostles: "Let the little children come to me, and do not stop them; for it is to such as these that the kingdom of heaven belongs."¹¹⁰

Conclusion

In addition to healing children in New Spain, Ignatius could thwart a Dutch ambush in the Moluccan Islands, prevent injuries after falling from a great height in the Philippines, and reverse paralysis in Peru. Rome and other places across the globe heard about these miracles thanks to the Jesuit information network as the cult of Ignatius underwent global expansion. The miracles of Ignatius in the Iberian world had no bearing in the CSR's determination of his sanctity, but they contended with sense data and textual tradition. Ribadeneyra, for example, synthesized the conventions of sacred history with his intimate relationship with Ignatius through his *Life of Ignatius* and *Flos sanctorum*. In Rome and Madrid, death masks harnessed the physiognomy of the Jesuit founder to produce true likenesses, qualities subject to the brushstrokes of the painters Jacopino del Conte and Sánchez Coello (with the help of sculptor Domingo Beltrán). Yet Ribadeneyra also wanted saints-images that followed the conventions of religious representations, especially the miracles performed by a saint. Medicine then entered into this fray with the learned opinions of physicians supplemented by the insights of apothecaries, surgeons, and midwives who, especially the latter, privileged their senses at the expense of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna. On the other side of the world, the Peruvian Protomédico Íñigo de Romero attempted to comprehend the cure of Fray Álvaro with the

¹¹⁰ Matthew 19:14.

assistance of said authorities and personal experience as the top medical official in the viceroyalty. While not a medical practitioner, Procurator Alarcón in New Spain worked with witnesses as well as reports that came to his attention through the information network to compile news about the cures worked by Ignatius as had the Mexican Jesuit Fernández in his annual letter of 1603.

The information network was part of the ‘sacred economy,’ which allowed for the circulation of devotional objects, such as the *Life of Ignatius* by Ribadeneyra that prompted a volley of reactions to its infelicities. Yet an edition of the *Life* helped lift the paralysis that plagued Fray Álvaro in Lima, an occurrence publicized in Europe with the aid of print culture. But New Spain far exceeded Peru in its number of miracles, especially with the abundance of miraculous images concentrated in Nueva Vizcaya. Fortunately, contemporaries have left descriptions helpful to recreating the viceregal visual culture, such as the annals by Chimalpahin and the 1610 newsheet, which were play-by-plays of the festivities for the beatification of Ignatius. The likenesses described within these works told of a painting with Ignatius surrounded by so-called heretics, a sculpture showing off the ‘richness of Mexico,’ and an uncertain likeness wandering the streets. Denizens of the viceregal capital focused on the Jesuit founder without referring to other saints, which is dissimilar to the likenesses from Japan and Peru as we have seen. These varieties of representations from New Spain provided the template for all subsequent images in the viceroyalty, minus the gemstones, that persisted into the late eighteenth century, even amid the suppression of the Jesuits, as seen in a 1774 portrait

attributed to the Arellano family.¹¹¹ **[Figure 44]** But Mexico City lacked images that could cure the sick and dying, an absence compensated by reported miracles in Nueva Vizcaya as well as San Luis de la Paz and Oaxaca.

And this context allows us to understand the miracle of El Discreto in Nueva Vizcaya from the dissertation's introduction. The young Tehueco, amid an indigenous insurrection, had venerated an image of Ignatius who then interceded and prevented his imminent death. Prior to this fateful episode, El Discreto had compiled a *flos sanctorum* placing him alongside Pedro de Ribadeneyra and other Jesuits who put together these compilations of saints' lives in New Spain, Peru, Japan, China, and the Fishery Coast of southeastern India.¹¹² Medicine was largely absent from the account of the cure of El Discreto, but the history of northwestern Mexico from which it is taken mentioned earlier that the lands of the Tehueco were devoid of physicians and medicine making the miracle of Ignatius all the more extraordinary.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Attributed to the Arellano family, *Saint Ignatius Loyola*, c. 1774, oil on copper, 34.6 x 26.7 cm, Dr. Robert H. Lamborn Collection, 1903-904, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

¹¹² I refer here to Juan de Tovar (New Spain), Michele Ruggieri (China), Ludovico Bertonio (Peru), Yōhō-ken Paolo and Hōin Vicente (Japan), and Henrique Henriques (Fishery Coast).

¹¹³ Pérez de Ribas, 177.



Figure 35: Pedro de Vargas, Virgen con el Niño Jesús y jesuitas, c. 1595, wooden triptych with painted panels, 24.5 x 31 cm, Museo Casa de Murillo, La Paz, Bolivia. Source: LUNA.



Figure 36: Pedro de Vargas, Inmaculada with Stanislaus Kostka and Luigi Gonzaga, c. 17th century, tempera on canvas, 200 x 180 cm, Museo Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito. Source: La Compañía de Jesús en el V Centenario de San Ignacio de Loyola. Museo Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador.



Figure 37: Pedro de Vargas, *Inmaculada with Francisco Suárez and Gabriel Vásquez*, c. 17th century, oil on canvas, 141 x 180 cm, Museo Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, Quito. Source: *La Compañía de Jesús en el V Centenario de San Ignacio de Loyola. Museo Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador*.



Figure 38: *The Madonna with the Infant Jesus and Her Fifteen Mysteries*, c. 17th century, colors on paper, 81.6 x 64.8 cm, Ibaraki Municipal Cultural Properties Depository, Ibaraki. Source: Osaka Museum of History.



Figure 39: Francisco Xavier, c. 17th century, 61 x 48.7 cm, Kōbe City Museum, Kōbe.



Figure 40: *The Madonna with the Infant Jesus and Her Fifteen Mysteries*, c. 1585-1614, oil on Japanese colors on paper, mounted on a hanging scroll, 75 x 63 cm, Kyōto University Museum, Kyōto.



Figure 41: Hasekura Tsunenaga, Madrid, 1615, oil on canvas, 80.8 x 64.5 cm, Sendai City Museum, Miyagi.



Figure 42: Peter Paul Rubens, *Saint Matthias*, Madrid, 1610-12, oil on board, 107.2 x 82.5 cm, MPM.



Figure 43: Juan Martínez Montañés and Francisco Pacheco, *Saint Ignatius*, c. 1610, polychromed wood and cloth, 173.5 x 70 x 55 cm, Iglesia de la Anunciación, Universidad de Sevilla. Source: *The Sacred Made Real*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009. Catalogue Number 15.



Figure 44: Attributed to the Arellano family, *Saint Ignatius Loyola*, c. 1774, oil on copper, 34.6 x 26.7 cm, Dr. Robert H. Lamborn Collection, 1903-904, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

EPILOGUE: AFTER THE CANONIZATION

Ignatius [Loyola]: Ah! Brother Dominic, your Order is always jealous of our humble Company. You forget that time strengthens the evidence required for canonization, and that the testimony of eye-witnesses avails nothing till a century or two after their death. To canonize a Saint, two miracles at least must be proven in his behalf. But how could we prove a miracle when facts are still fresh in the minds of jealous contemporaries, such as the Brothers of your Order or those busybodies the Franciscans? It was the Order of St. Francis, you know, and their meddling stupidity, that first enkindled the persecutions in Japan, and opened to our proselytes the way of glory.¹

Perhaps more to the point, he was unable to check on the veracity of an American journalist's report that the former Jesuit Provincial and university rector [César Jérez] kept portraits of Marx and Lenin on either side of Ignatius Loyola's in his book-lined office.²

The world had seen Ignatius transition from founder to healer to blessed. João Baptista Porro, writing from Osaka in 1611, told Acquaviva of events held to recognize the beatification that had occurred two years earlier, but a prelude to the pending canonization.³ “Japan has never seen such a festival [for the beatification]” said Francisco Passio about the celebrations held in Nagasaki in 1611.⁴ The city, the next year, celebrated the occasion yet again. The canonization is coming maintained João Rodrigues

¹ Milo Mahan, *The Comedy of Canonization: In Four Scenes* (New York: Pott and Amery, 1868), 6-7.

² Gregorio C. Brillantes, *Looking for José Rizal in Madrid: Journeys, Latitudes, Perspectives, Destinations* (Quezon City: University of Philippines Press, 2004), 256. César Jérez (1936-91) was the Provincial of the Central American Province (1976-82) and the Rector of the Universidad Centroamericana in Managua, Nicaragua.

³ ARSI, Jap-Sin 15-I, 38 recto: João Baptista Porro to Claudio Acquaviva, Osaka, 20 September 1611.

⁴ ARSI, Jap-Sin 15-I, 80 verso: Francisco Passio to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagsaki, 10 October 1611. “Talia festa nunquam vidit Japonia.”

in a dispatch to Acquaviva.⁵ The letters all but stopped, however, after 1614, when retired shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (r. 1603-16) signed an edict banning Christianity in Japan, which obscures our knowledge of the reception, if any, to Ignatius's canonization.

The Japanese anticipation from the 1610s was realized in 1622 when Ignatius became a saint alongside confrere Xavier, the Oratorian founder Filippo Neri, Madrid's patron saint Isidore the Laborer, and the Spanish mystic and writer Teresa of Ávila. The Roman diarist, Giacinto Gigli (1594-1671), observed a Jesuit-led procession toward St. Peter's held the day after Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621-23) proclaimed Ignatius as saint. "[W]ith lit candles and surplices [*cotte*]: and then the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, all with surplices, and accompanied by music, raised a Standard [*Stendardo*] on which were likenesses of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier together."⁶ Surplices are white vestments, which reach to the knees, have large sleeves, and do not need to be blessed, unlike other sacred garments. As for the festivities, recalled Gigli, they continued for more than a week at Il Gesù, the Order's flagship church.⁷

Prints commemorated the occasion, such as one by an unnamed Roman engraver. His large print (37 x 52 cm) showed Gregory declaring Catholicism's five newest saints at St. Peter's. Surrounding the public proclamation were four scenes (17.6 x 14.7 cm) in which a saint's likeness appeared with eight miracles. The engraver, however, paired

⁵ ARSI, Jap-Sin 15-I, 145 recto: João Rodrigues Tsuzu to Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 10 May 1612.

⁶ Giacinto Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, ed. Manlio Barberito, 2 vols. (Rome: Colombo, 1994) 1: 99-100. "et altri Collegii de Padri Giesuiti similmente con candele accese, et con [100] cotte: et poi li Padri della Compagnia di Giesù tutti con le cotte, et con la musica era portato uno Stendardo, nel quale erano le Imagini di Santo Ignazio, et di S. Francesco insieme."

⁷ Gigli 1: 100-01.

Ignatius with Xavier, which halved the miracles on display for each. The resulting print visually indebted to Villamena's broadsheet from 1600, illustrated the founder resurrecting a suicide, aiding a tempted Jesuit, curing who is likely Alessandro Petronio, and healing an unnamed boy.⁸ [Figure 45] Even the Roman illustrated *Life of Ignatius* inserted another page in which Gregory XV announced the canonization, which Barbé and Rubens had crafted back in 1605 or 1606 at the behest of their Jesuit patrons. Wisely, however, the caption had been left blank since no one could foresee which pope would make Ignatius a saint (if at all).⁹ [Figure 46]

Jesuits sponsored local events all over the world to honor their founder and Xavier. In Mexico City and Puebla, the Order produced newsheets to record what had happened in each city. But, as mentioned hurriedly in the document from Mexico City, only Xavier performed miracles.¹⁰ Celebrating the canonization could prove embarrassing as the president of the Audiencia of Quito, Antonio de Morga, learned when he took left them earlier than expected. In a letter to King Philip IV of Spain (r. 1621-44), Morga told of the local Jesuits' displeasure with his premature departure, which offended them and, in turn, displayed conduct unbecoming for a colonial official.¹¹

⁸ Unknown, *Canonization of Five Saints*, 1622, engraving, 37 x 52 cm, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. On this engraving, see König-Nordhoff, 323-24. On the resurrection, see Chapter Three, while Chapter Four recounts the cure of Petronio.

⁹ Jean-Baptiste Barbé and Peter-Paul Rubens, *Vita Beati P[atris] Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome: s.n., 1622), 80. On Barbé and Rubens original from 1605 or 1606, see König-Nordhoff, 311-12.

¹⁰ *Relaçion de las Fiestas que se hicieron en esta ciudad de mexico en la canonisaçion del Glorioso S. ygnacio y S. françisco Jauier*, 26 November 1622 reproduced in Julio Alonso Asenjo, "Relaciones de las fiestas por la canonización de Ignacio de Loyola y Francisco Javier en México (1622) y Puebla (1623)," *TeatrEsco: Revista del Antiguo Teatro Escolar Hispánico* 2, no. 1 (2007): 54. The original is found at RAH, *Jesuitas*, t. 112, 188 recto.

¹¹ AGI, Quito 10, r. 10, n. 127, n.p.: Antonio de Morga to Philip IV, Quito, 15 April 1623.

Although the process to canonize Ignatius was tumultuous, the problems, especially during the pontificate of Clement VIII, were quickly forgotten in the revelry of Rome's recognition of not one, but two saints from the Society of Jesus. The revelry even started before the process was official, as was the case in Lisbon, where, in 1620, the Jesuits lauded the 'canonization' of Ignatius with songs.¹²

But Ignatius's sainthood also inspired mockery, especially among Protestants. The Englishman playwright, Thomas Middleton (1580-1627), used his play "A Game at Chess" (1625) to lampoon the Spanish Match, the abortive effort to marry the Spanish Infanta and the Prince of Wales in 1624. In the play's introduction, Middleton had Ignatius give a monologue, which was unflattering. The founder looked at his Order with disdain since "I thought they'd spread over the world by this time, / Couered the earths face and make darke the land / Like Egyptian Grasse-hoppers."¹³ He was less than pleased with his recent elevation to saint: "It's not five years since I was sainted by'em: / Where slept mine honour all time before? Could they be so forgetful to canonise their prosperous founder?"¹⁴ The last indignity was the CSR placing his feast on 29 February, the leap day, which only occurs every four years.¹⁵ Middleton burlesqued the Jesuits by associating them with the Plagues of Egypt from Exodus, while depicting the Order's founder as vainglorious and entitled.

¹² ARSI, Lus. 74, fol. 158: Diogo Valente to Andre Álvares, Lisbon, 3 August, 1620.

¹³ Thomas Middleton, *A game at chaess as it was acted nine days to gether at the Globe on the banks side* (London: s.n., 1625), sig. B [1] recto.

¹⁴ Middleton, sig. B [1] recto.

¹⁵ Middleton, sig. B [1] verso.

This English loathing was nothing new. John Donne (1572-1631) in *Ignatius, His Conclave* (1611) placed Ignatius in Hell with Lucifer, Mohammed, and Pope Boniface III (r. 607). Donne depicted Ignatius, “this *French-spanish* mungrell,” as a dolt, who would have thought “the words *Almagest, Zenith, and Nadir*, were Saints names, and fit to be put into the *Litanie*, and *Ora pro nobis* joyned to them; yet after hee had spent some time in hell, he had learnt somewhat of his *Jesuites*, which daily come thither.”¹⁶ As he insulted Ignatius, Donne betrayed a familiarity with the Jesuits’ activities across the globe referring, for example, to Diego de Torres Bollo’s *Brief Account*, Ribadeneyra’s bibliography of Jesuit writers, and even Clement VIII stalling the canonization and the need for Philip II to intervene on the Jesuits’ behalf.¹⁷ Although writing in 1611, Donne suspected a future pope would name Ignatius as Blessed and then bestow Xavier with sainthood since the latter “had the reputation of having done *Miracles*.” With Ignatius, however, the pope would be forced against his will to make Ignatius a saint, which heaven and hell rued, according to Donne.¹⁸ As seen in the works of Middleton and Donne, Ignatius was held in low esteem in Jacobean England. And acerbic as they were, these English writers knew their enemy, so to speak, especially Donne, who had the latest news on Jesuit writings and the details of Ignatius’s canonization.

Yet Ignatius had a cult in Britain among the recusants, English Catholics, who read about Ignatius’s miracles in the lives of Ribadeneyra translated into English. As

¹⁶ John Donne, *Ignatius his conclave or his inthronisation in a late election in hell* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1611), 7, 16, 30.

¹⁷ Donne, 26 (Ribadeneyra), 48 (Torres Bollo), 132-33 (canonization difficulties). Donne could have read Torres Bollo’s *Brief Account* in Latin or Italian, since he was fluent in these languages and Spanish.

¹⁸ Donne, 134-35.

early as 1616, Michael Walpole adapted Ribadeneyra's entry from the *Flos sanctorum* into a collection of saints' lives, which, in its prefatory letter, recounted the cure of Fray Álvaro in Lima. The contents of Walpole's translation are telling of the reach of Ribadeneyra's lives and the Order's information network.¹⁹ Walpole's efforts were not a singularity since another recusant, Edward Kinsman, produced an English *flos sanctorum* in 1623, which contained a life of Ignatius that relied heavily on Ribadeneyra.²⁰

Outside of Britain, Ribadeneyra's *Life of Ignatius* and *Flos sanctorum* never went out of print during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His treatment of the founder's life, however, was challenged first by the Jesuit curia's decision to have Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595-1658) overhaul the *Life* in the 1630s and later add to the *Flos sanctorum*.²¹ Jean Bolland (1596-1665) then undermined Ribadeneyra's reputation further by placing him among the unreliable writers of saints' lives. Bolland is the namesake for the noted Jesuit hagiographers, the Bollandists, who produced the *Lives of the Saints (Acta Sanctorum)*, a sixty-eight volume omnibus published over three centuries (1643-1940).²² Other Jesuits from the seventeenth century, such as Andrés Lucas de Arcones from Granada, modified Ribadeneyra's lives contemporaneously. Lucas de

¹⁹ W.M. [Michael Walpole] to Anne Vaux, 1 November 1615, s.l. in Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *The life of B[lessed] Father Ignatius of Loyola, authour, and founder of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Michael Walpole (s.l.: s.n., 1616), fol. Sig. A 2-[6]. The identity of W.M. is determined when the same book was reprinted in 1622: Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *The life of B[lessed] Father Ignatius of Loyola, authour, and founder of the Society of Jesus*, trans. Michael Walpole (St. Omer: Jesuit College Printer, 1622)

²⁰ Edward Kinsman, *The lives of the saints* (St. Omer: Printer at the Jesuit college, 1623), 1-20.

²¹ APGCG, no. 13 has a number of documents written by Nieremberg on subsequent revisions to the *Life of Ignatius* in the 1640s. And as recently pointed out, the Jesuits censured this *Life*: D. Scott Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid: The Literary Enterprise of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595-1658)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 42 n. 84.

²² Jan Machielsen, "Heretical Saints and Textual Discernment: The Polemical Origins of the *Acta Sanctorum* (1643-1940)," in *Angels of Light? Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 111 n. 25.

Arcones in 1633 alleged that Ribadeneyra failed to include every miracle of Ignatius, which compelled him to write a new *Life*.²³ These lives perpetuated the founder's miracles for posterity by the constant collection of them, which Ribadeneyra had initiated in the 1590s. Nor was the sustained importance of Ribadeneyra limited to Europe since the *Flos sanctorum* reportedly was translated into Guarani at the start of the eighteenth century, although this work is now lost.²⁴

And as found in an engraving within an imprint from the Guarani mission press, visual representations did not abate after the founder's canonization.²⁵ **[Figure 47]** Throughout the seventeenth century, likenesses of Ignatius appeared all over the world ranging from those in New France as noted by Samuel Champlain and Jesuit Paul Le Jeune in 1633 to the engraved calendar of saints in a Dutch adaptation of Ribadeneyra's *Flos sanctorum*.²⁶ **[Figure 48]** Images of Ignatius from the Spanish Monarchy, meanwhile, came in the traditional varieties as well as representations made from gold, tempura, cotton, and feathers.²⁷ **[Figures 49 and 50]** Beyond the standard veneration of images, Jesuits in New Spain, for instance, used a likeness of Ignatius to challenge the

²³ Andrés Lucas de Arcones, *Vida de S[an] Ignacio de Loyola, Patriarca y fundador de la Compañía de Jesús* (Granada: Antonio René de Lazcano y Bartolomé de Lorençana, 1633), sig. ¶ verso.

²⁴ José Bernardino Cerbin, *Aprovacion*, Asunción, 18 September 1700 in Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno (1705)*, trans. José Serrano (Buenos Aires: Instituto Bonaerense de Numismática y Antigüedades, 2010), n.p. This edition is a limited run facsimile of the original book.

²⁵ Juan Yaparí, *The Holy Spirit spreads the Gift of Tongues*, c. 1705, engraving in Nieremberg, *De la diferencia*, n.p.

²⁶ Samuel Champlain, *Relation du voyage du Sieur de Champlain en Canada*, 1633 in *MNF* 2: 385; Paul Le Jeune, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle-France en l'année 1633*, 1633 in *MNF* 2:473-74. Anonymous, *Saints of July*, c. 1619, 21.5 x 35.5 cm, engraving in Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Generale legende der heylighen*, trans. Heribert Rosweyde, 2 vols. (Antwerp: Hieronymus and Jan Baptist Verdussen, 1665), 2: [sig. * 4 verso].

²⁷ Anonymous, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 17th century, 49 x 41 cm, feathers, cooper, and bark on paper, Museo de América, 12335; Anonymous, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 1751-1800, 53 x 40.5 cm, gold and tempera on cotton, Museo de América, 2014/02/01.

authority of then Bishop of Puebla, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600-59), who was noted for his hostility toward the Order.²⁸ And across the Pacific, the Philippines had their own tradition of representations of Ignatius, as seen in a carved wood bust with minimal varnish applied to the finish.²⁹ **[Figure 51]**

Peruvian likenesses continued to follow the conventions of the Cuzco School, which we encountered in Chapter Five. A large painting from 1718 had Ignatius and Francisco de Borja amid a double union of Spanish and Incan elites. In this widely copied image, Don Martín García de Loyola (1549-98), the founder's nephew and the governor of Chile, married Doña Beatriz, the daughter of the Incan ruler Sayri Túpac (r. 1545-60). The couple's daughter – Ignatius's great-niece – is also present with her husband, Borja's son. Behind the Loyola-Borjas are Doña Beatriz's Incan ancestors, including her parents and her uncle, Túpac Amaru, the last indigenous monarch of the Inca (r. 1571-72). As apparent in this image, the bloodlines of Incan royalty and two prominent Jesuit superiors converged in Peru.³⁰ **[Figure 52]**

²⁸ Brading, 145. Palafox was the Bishop of Puebla (1640-55) as well as the acting Archbishop of Mexico (1640-42) and Viceroy of New Spain (1642). The Jesuits succeeded in having Palafox recalled to Spain, where he remained until his death in 1659.

²⁹ Anonymous, *Carved Wood Bust of St. Ignatius Loyola*, s.a., polychromed wood, 35.5 cm, private collection.

³⁰ Anonymous, *Union of the Descendants of the Imperial Incas with the Houses of Loyola and Borja*, 1718, Cuzco, 178 x 171 cm, Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima. Apart from the painting at the Museo Pedro de Osma, there is another in Lima as well as those in Cuzco (2), Arequipa, and Marangani, of which we have photographs. The one at Marangani was stolen in the 1970s, while the current whereabouts of one of the Cuzco canvases, which was in the private collection of Don Juan Sahuaraura Inca, is currently unknown. And although they have subtle differences, the representation of Ignatius and Borja in the six likenesses are consistent: Marie Timberlake, "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History: Jesuit and Andean Visions in Conflict in *Matrimonio de García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatriz*" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2001), 339-40, 562.

Of course, the best known representations of Ignatius are found at Il Gesù and Chiesa Sant'Ignazio in Rome. Il Gesù had a chapel dedicated to Ignatius, which by the 1670s was considered too undignified for the Order's founder. What was at stake was the lack of a popular cult for Ignatius, a problem that needed amelioration as soon as possible. All this came to naught, however, until the late 1690s, when the Jesuit Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709) produced what Evonne Levy called "a coherent and motivated redress of Ignatian cult sites."³¹ The chapel at Il Gesù underwent renovation, which included the installing bronze reliefs of his miracles, such as the healings done at his tomb.³²

But what drew the most attention was the large statue of Ignatius made of silver, carved by Pierre Legros (but designed by Pozzo), which was displayed only on feast days. Normally, a painting by Pozzo obscured the sculpture, but with a series of levers and pulleys engineered by Pozzo, the painting could be lifted to reveal the statue. The painting in question depicts Christ handing the banner of victory to Ignatius, while beneath them are four representations of the continents emphasizing the full reach of the Order. Globalization and a large likeness of Ignatius was what took center stage in the chapel.³³ **[Figure 53]** Although present as well, miracles were of secondary importance.

A few blocks away stands Chiesa Sant'Ignazio, where Pozzo completed likenesses of Ignatius as a miracle-worker bound for heaven. The thaumaturgical Ignatius

³¹ Levy, 130-33. Quotation on p. 133.

³² Levy, 165-66.

³³ Levy, 169-74. Every day at 5:30 pm, workers continue to lift Pozzo's painting to reveal the silver sculpture. An unknown painter during the eighteenth century produced a contemporary view of the chapel: Anonymous, *Presentación al público en 1698 de la capilla y el altar de San Ignacio de Loyola, obra de Andrea Pozzo, en el crucero de la Iglesia de El Gesù de Roma*, 18th century, oil on canvas, 196 x 123 cm, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 0442.

appears in the apse within a small fresco (1685-88), especially when compared to the *Glorification of Saint Ignatius* (1691-94), which occupies the church's ceiling in its entirety. In the *Glorification*, Xavier and Ignatius appear in skies that seem to extend infinitely through the technique of *trompe l'œil*. The Jesuit saints, in sum, had gone to heaven. But Pozzo also included four personifications of the continents as he also had done at Il Gesù. Again, he illustrated the transoceanic presence of the Order. With global evangelization, as Pozzo sought to illustrate, came the arrival of Ignatian spirituality, which gave its followers the means to come closer to Christ. Miracles were of secondary importance, at least at Il Gesù and Chiesa Sant'Ignazio, although other Jesuit institutions in Rome, such as the professed house, did not shy away from the founder's spiritual and bodily cures.³⁴

His continued presence was not limited to walls and ceilings of Roman churches since he continued his intercession. For instance, Catholics along the St. Mary's River in Maryland concluded the feast day of Ignatius with a cannon salute. But on 31 July 1646, Protestants camped nearby perceived this ritual as an attack. By August 1st, what was likely the town of St. Inigoes had been looted by the men "of heterodox faith."³⁵ One of the plunderers decided to add insult to injury by saying:

Away to the wicked cross with you, papists!...who take delight in saluting your poor saint by the firing of cannon. I have a cannon, too, and I will give him a salute more suitable and appropriate to so miserable a saint.³⁶

³⁴ Levy, 138-50.

³⁵ Anonymous, *Letter from Maryland*, 1670, in *Relatio itineris in Marylandiam*, ed. E.A. Dalrymple (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1874), 94-95.

³⁶ *Letter from Maryland*, 95.

The man then passed his rectal thunder, which his fellow Protestants greeted with applause.

He had not gone 200 paces from the site of his flatulence when he felt “a commotion in his bowels.”³⁷ The whole way back to camp, the pain did not cease. He eventually cried “I am burning up! I am burning up! There is a fire in my belly! There is a fire in my bowels!” With that, the officers sent the man to a surgeon, who could do nothing. The following day, the trumpeter’s “bowels began to be voided, piecemeal.”³⁸ Over three days (August 3-5), he proceeded to defecate his entire digestive system, one hunk of intestine at a time.³⁹ One of Ignatius’s miracles, as we have seen, was the incineration of a defamer during his lifetime. This time, however, the fire raged in a man’s abdomen.

The miracles, however, remained primarily in the Spanish Monarchy. A year after the canonization, a newssheet told of healing by a representation of Ignatius in Munébrega, located 100 kilometers from Zaragoza. Here, an image resided in the sacristy of a local church and worked twenty miracles. Tumors and stomach pains, for example, disappeared by venerating the image with cures of the extremities being the most predominant. Even a local physician took his infant son to be healed at the foot of the image.⁴⁰

³⁷ *Letter from Maryland*, 96.

³⁸ *Letter from Maryland*, 96.

³⁹ *Letter from Maryland*, 97.

⁴⁰ Alonso de Andrade, *Relación de algunos de los muchos milagros que ha obrado Dios nuestro Señor en Munebrega, lugar de la comunidad de Calatayud, por medio de vna imagen de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1623), 1-4.

Medical practitioners, like the physician from Munébrega, remained important actors in the reports of miracles as evident in one case from the Low Countries, portions of which were also part of the Spanish Monarchy. Seventeen kilometers from Antwerp, Lier in 1628 had a miraculous case involving a cure by Ignatius-water, effectively relic-soaked water. Present at the time was a surgeon according to a letter by Jan van Malderen, the Bishop of Antwerp, whose jurisdiction included the town of Lier.⁴¹ Three years later, Malderen wrote to Rome again since he had two physicians assess the cure from 1628, which, they concluded, was miraculous!⁴²

Even into the late eighteenth century, news of miracles arrived in Rome. Ignatius-water struck again in July 1764 when Gioacchino Tramonano was healed. Tramonano had been near death and declared incurable by the physicians in Acerra, a town fifteen kilometers northeast of Naples. But Ignatius intervened and saved the man's life.⁴³ Enthusiasm for Ignatius and Jesuits, however, was short-lived. Charles III of Spain (r. 1759-88) expelled the Order in his kingdoms, which included Acerra, in 1767. Pope Clement XIV (r. 1769-74) would then suppress the Society of Jesus altogether in 1773. Despite the dismantling of the Order, likenesses of Ignatius and editions of Ribadeneyra's lives did not cease.⁴⁴ **[Figures 54 and 55]**

⁴¹ APGCG, no. 24, d. 4, n.p.: Jan van Malderen to unknown, Antwerp, 10 February 1628.

⁴² APGCG, no. 24, d. 5, n.p.: Jan van Malderen to unknown, Antwerp, 2 January 1631.

⁴³ APGCG, no. 24, d. 30, n.p.: Giovanni Sarnatoro to unknown, Acerra, 13 January 1765. On the phenomenon more broadly, see Luis Fiter, *Testimonios históricos sobre los admirables efectos del agua de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Barcelona: Sucesos de N. Ramírez, 1885).

⁴⁴ Francisco de Goya, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, c. 1775-80, oil on canvas, 85 x 57 cm, private collection, Zaragoza; Anonymous, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 18th century, Quito, polychromed sculpture, 30.5 x 15 x 7.5 cm, Museo de América, Madrid, 06808. Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, Francisco García, and Andrés López Guerrero, *Flos sanctorum, o vidas de los santos*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Consortes Sierra, Olivér, y Martí, 1790). The suppression-era *Flos sanctorum* retained the life of Ignatius,

What stopped immediately was the collection of news related to miracles worked by Ignatius. Even after Pope Pius VII (r. 1800-23) restored the Order in 1815, miracles attributed to Ignatius were no longer a priority for the Society of Jesus. Instead, they had to contend with a constant volley of satire levelled against them, which became abundant after the restoration of the Society of Jesus. One example from the nineteenth century can be found in the Italian periodical, *The Impish Humor (Lo spirito folletto)*. In its 4 November 1880 issue, an engraving contained a series of caricatures of saints and Popes Pius IX (r. 1846-78) and Leo XIII (r. 1878-1903).⁴⁵ **[Figure 56]** Ignatius runs from a boot labelled “the French Republic” (*Republique française*), which had dissolved the Jesuits that year due to fears that the Order’s schools would foster anti-Republicanism.⁴⁶ Ignatius carries in his hand a likeness of the Blessed Heart of Jesus, a variation of the IHS that saturated representations of Jesuits. The cartoonist from *The Impish Humor* depicted Ignatius as a political subversive and just another Catholic absurdity among demented saints and popes.

In the following decades, the cult of Ignatius underwent other changes, such as those seen in the Basque Country. For starters, Ignatius had been the patron saint of the Basque Country since 1680 with a few miracles to his name.⁴⁷ Francisco Laphitz (1832-1905), a priest but not a Jesuit, produced a life of Ignatius in the language in 1867, which

miracles and all: Ribadeneyra et al., 2:386-413. See also the Mexican likeness by the Arellano family discussed in Chapter Five.

⁴⁵ Don Sancio, *Le commemorazioni della settimana – tutti i santi*, 1880, engraving on paper, 34.7 x 42 cm in *Lo spirito folletto* 1014 (4 November 1880): 354.

⁴⁶ Peter J. Bernardi, *Maurice Blondel, Social Catholicism, and Action Française: The Clash over the Church’s Role during the Modernist Era* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 2009), 94-95.

⁴⁷ *Noticia de la maravilla que ha obrado Nuestro Señor, por la intercession del Gran Patriarca S[an] Ignacio, Fundador de la Compañia de Jesus, en su santa Casa de Loyola, el dia 13 de Mayo de este presente año de 1690* (Salamanca: Lucas Pérez, 1690), [1]-[3].

relies partially on Ribadeneyra's work.⁴⁸ The cult was so important to the Basque that a non-Jesuit adapted the founder's life into a regional language. At the dawn of the twentieth century, the founder became a figurehead for Basque nationalism. Its father, Sabino Arana (1865-1903), envisioned Ignatius as "our great celestial patron" and had founded the *Basque National Party (Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea)* on 31 July 1895, which was the Jesuit's feast day.⁴⁹ This association of Basque nationalism with Ignatius's feast continued with its violent face, *Basque Country and Freedom (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna)*, which formed on the same day in 1959. Despite Rome's feeling that no popular cult of Ignatius existed, there was certainly one in the Basque Country.

Anti-Jesuit sentiment, however, also existed in Spain as seen in 1931 when religious institutions across the Peninsula were vandalized and incinerated over three days (10-13 May). And among casualties of the Burning was the Jesuit Professed House of Madrid, home to the death-mask by Beltrán and Sánchez Coello's portrait of Ignatius. A young Julio Caro Baroja (1914-95), the noted historian and anthropologist, was present at the Professed House's incineration and recalled the rioters chanting "Down with the Jesuits! The People's justice because they're Thieves!"⁵⁰ "The barbaric communist fire of

⁴⁸ Francisco Laphitz, *Bi saindu heuscaldunen bizia, San Iñazio Loiolacoarena eta San Franzizco Zabierecoarena* (Bayonne: Widow of Lamaignère, 1867), n.p. "Liburu hunen geiac bilduac izan dire Ribadeneiraren, Buhursen, Rorbakren, eta gehienic Doriñaken obretan."

⁴⁹ Antonio Elorza, *Un pueblo escogido: génesis, definición y desarrollo del nacionalismo* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001), 187. "nuestro gran patrón celestial"

⁵⁰ Julio Caro Baroja, *Introducción a una historia del anticlericalismo español* (Madrid: Ediciones ISTMO, 1980), 230. "Abajo los jesu[itas] / La justicia del pueblo / Por ladrones."

the Professed House of Madrid,” according to a Jesuit, destroyed the likenesses of Ignatius commissioned by Ribadeneyra during the 1580s.⁵¹

Death masks, in particular, were not simply curios from a bygone era since artists continued to use them. Surviving pencil etchings by Valentín Carderera (1796-1880), the court painter during Isabella II’s reign (1833-68), relied on masks housed in Rome and Loyola in the Basque Country.⁵² [Figure 57] The etchings date from the printing of Carderera’s *Spanish Iconography (Iconografía española)*, a collection of engravings published in 1855 and then 1864, although Carderera did not include an image of Ignatius within this work.

All through the chaos of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, medical practitioners remained part of the procedure to canonize saints as Jacalyn Duffin has shown. About half of the canonizations from the seventeenth century would rely on physicians, a number that jumped to ninety percent in the following century. Presently, every miracle requires the assessment of physicians from where the miracle occurred and the Medical Council (*Consulta Medica*). This Council is affiliated with the CSR’s successor, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints (CCS), on which a hundred specialists sit, all of whom are Italian Catholics. These physicians are not meant to identify these intercessions as miracles. That is for the CCS to decide. But medicine has to verify incurability, instantaneous healing, and so on.⁵³ Duffin also demonstrates the

⁵¹ Leturia, 1:464. “En mayo de [1939, la mascarilla] pereció en el bárbaro incendio comunista de la casa profesora madrileña.”

⁵² Valentín Carderera, *Retratos de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 1855, pencil on paper, 46.5 x 30 cm, BNE, DIB/15/27/37.

⁵³ Duffin, 34-35, 115.

continued presence of other practitioners in canonizations, including midwives, apothecaries, and most prevalently, surgeons, which is a field that has evolved since the seventeenth century. New expertise brought other specialists, such as dentists and physiotherapists, to provide an assessment of a proposed miracle.⁵⁴ The scope of practitioners in Ignatius's canonization prefaced the subsequent inclusion of diverse medical men and women in the ensuing centuries.

. Recent modifications, however, had streamlined the process. Pope John Paul II (r. 1978-2005), for instance, decreed in 1983 that beatification and canonization each required a miracle as evidence, akin to the claim made by the fictional Ignatius from this chapter's epigraph. Gone was the volume of cures from the CSR's initial century, which, on average, determined a saint to have performed eighteen miracles. Since the eighteenth century, the number of miracles verified by the CSR has hovered around three.⁵⁵

Then the unthinkable happened in the twenty-first century. An Argentinian Jesuit, Jorge Mario Bergoglio (b. 1936), became Pope Francis on 13 March 2013. He was the first non-European pope since Gregory III (r. 731-41), the first from the Americas, and the first Jesuit chosen to the office. Shortly after his election, Francis gave a homily at Il Gesù on the feast day of Ignatius. While one might suspect the Jesuit pope of excessive praise for Ignatius, Francis said very little regarding the founder and nothing about miracles.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Duffin, 118.

⁵⁵ Duffin, 20, 34.

⁵⁶ Pope Francis, *Homily on the Occasion of the Feast of Saint Ignatius*, Il Gesù, Rome, 31 July 2013 (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013), 3.

His ambivalence toward miracles is apparent in the canonizations during his papacy. During a press conference on board the papal plane in 2014, he was asked about the process for Pope Pius XII (r. 1939-58) to which he replied: “There is still no miracle, and without miracles it cannot proceed.” He then reminds the gathered reporters that beatification requires at least one miracle.⁵⁷ Yet as he explained in 2015 while flying from Colombo to Manila, he preferred “equivalent canonization”, which waives the need for a second miracle, a procedure first codified by Urban VIII during the seventeenth century. Francis did this first with Angela of Foligno (1248-1309) and “then I chose to do the same for persons who were great evangelizers.” Francis lists six more saints that he recognized using equivalent canonization, who were from Europe, Canada, Brazil, Sri Lanka, and present-day California. Among them were two Jesuits, Peter Faber (1506-46) and José de Anchieta (1534-97), who were active respectively in Europe and Brazil.⁵⁸

His discomfort toward miracles are even manifest in a children’s book in which Francis answers questions from across the world. A nine-year-old boy from Peru, Joaquín, asked the pope: “Why are there not as many miracles anymore?”⁵⁹ To which Francis replied – “There are miracles even now.” The pope mentions perseverance in faith and martyrdom as “great miracles.” Healings are an obvious example and Francis says no more about them. He finishes by telling Joaquín: “I’ve experienced many miracles. No they’re not the spectacular kind. I have never seen the dead come back to life. But I have

⁵⁷ Pope Francis, *Interview with Journalists during the Return Flight from the Holy Land*, Papal Flight, 26 May 2014 (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2014), 7.

⁵⁸ Pope Francis, *Press Conference onboard the Flight from Colombo to Manila*, Papal Flight, 15 January 2015 (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2015), 1-2.

⁵⁹ Pope Francis, *Dear Pope Francis: The Pope Answers Letters from Children around the World* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2016), 62.

seen many daily miracles in my life. Many.”⁶⁰ Although he acknowledges the persistence of miracles in religious life, he appears, in his reply to Joaquín, skeptical of exorcisms and disinterested in supernatural cures.

Disparate corners of the world came together visually as well. In a recent project in Italy to illustrate the saints with the aid of *manga*, a style of comics from Japan. According to Luciano Monari, the bishop of Brescia who spearhead the endeavor, the *manga* saints attempt to make Catholic examples of holiness relevant to millenials, as church attendance continues to decline in Italy. But, as Monari makes clear, such an endeavor requires research and must accord to the traditional iconography and liturgy.⁶¹ The result was a book, *What is a Saint? (Che santo è?)*, which contained many of the Counter-Reformation standbys, such as Xavier, Teresa of Ávila, Filippo Neri, Carlo Borromeo, and Francesca Romana.⁶²

Whoever could not fit into the book were put on cards. With these handheld images, the artists had a global vision, which is evident in likenesses of the ‘Mohawk saint’ Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-80, c.d. 2012) and the Japanese martyr Paulo Miki (1565-97, c.d. 1862).⁶³ **[Figures 58 and 59]** In addition, the artists involved in this project created cards for Jesuit saints, including Bellarmino (c.d. 1930), John Berchmans (1599-

⁶⁰ Francis, *Dear Pope Francis*, 63.

⁶¹ Luciano Monari to the Reader, Brescia, 2009 in Paolo Linetti et al., *Che santo è? Iconografia dei santi in stile manga* (Brescia: Studio EBI, 2009), 5-6

⁶² Linetti et al., *Che santo è?*, 89 (Borromeo), 92 (Xavier), 100 (Teresa), 109 (Neri), 125 (Francesca).

⁶³ Paolo Linetti et al., *San Paolo Miki*, 2008-09, ink on card, 5.5 x 8.5 cm, personal collection; Paolo Linetti et al., *Santa Kateri (Caterina) Tekakwitha*, c. 2012, ink on paper, 5.5 x 8.5 cm, personal collection. The phrase ‘Mohawk Saint’ comes from the work by Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

1621, c.d. 1888), and, of course, Ignatius.⁶⁴ Just as a sports card would give information and statistics about the athlete, their *manga* counterparts did the same. Ignatius's card had all the familiar content – date of birth and death, founder of the Society of Jesus, feast day, and the Jesuits' iconographical hallmark, the IHS. But it also included additions that would seem out of place prior to the canonization. For starters, the card described his “strength” (*forza*) as “discernment” (*discernimento*), the taking of the spiritual exercises with the intent to overcome desolation followed by spiritual consolation. The importance of Ignatian spirituality is apparent in his patronage (*protegge*), which is not the Basque Country, but “those taking the *Spiritual Exercises*” (*coloro che fanno gli Esercizi spirituali*).⁶⁵ [Figures 60 and 61] Ignatius's contemporary relevance rests on the cornerstone of devotional literature dating back to the Counter-Reformation.

I first encountered this saintly *manga* at Chiesa Sant'Ignazio in Rome, where, underneath Pozzo's ceiling fresco, a table was set up with the book and cards in addition to the tradition representations of Ignatius, including a postcard of the founder's death mask.⁶⁶ [Figure 62] The ‘sacred economy’ has come full circle wherein the look and life of Ignatius has transcended time and visual style. Instead of syncretism or *metisage*, this *manga* Ignatius points to the continued interactions between disparate cultures in an age of globalization. And integral to this process is observation. Seeing is believing, it seems. The likenesses and biographies of Ignatius have not ceased, but gone are his miracles,

⁶⁴ Paolo Linetti et al., *San Roberto Bellarmino*, 2008-09, ink on paper, 5.5 x 8.5 cm, personal collection; Paolo Linetti et al., *San Giovanni Berchmans*, 2008-09, ink on paper, 5.5 x 8.5 cm, personal collection

⁶⁵ Paolo Linetti et al., *Sant'Ignazio di Loyola*, 2008-09, ink on paper, 5.5 x 8.5 cm, personal collection.

⁶⁶ *Death Mask of Ignatius Loyola*, s.a., ink on paper, 10.5 x 15.5 cm, personal collection.

unless you agree with Ribadeneyra's claim from 1572. According to Ignatius's biographer, the establishment of the Society of Jesus was his greatest miracle.

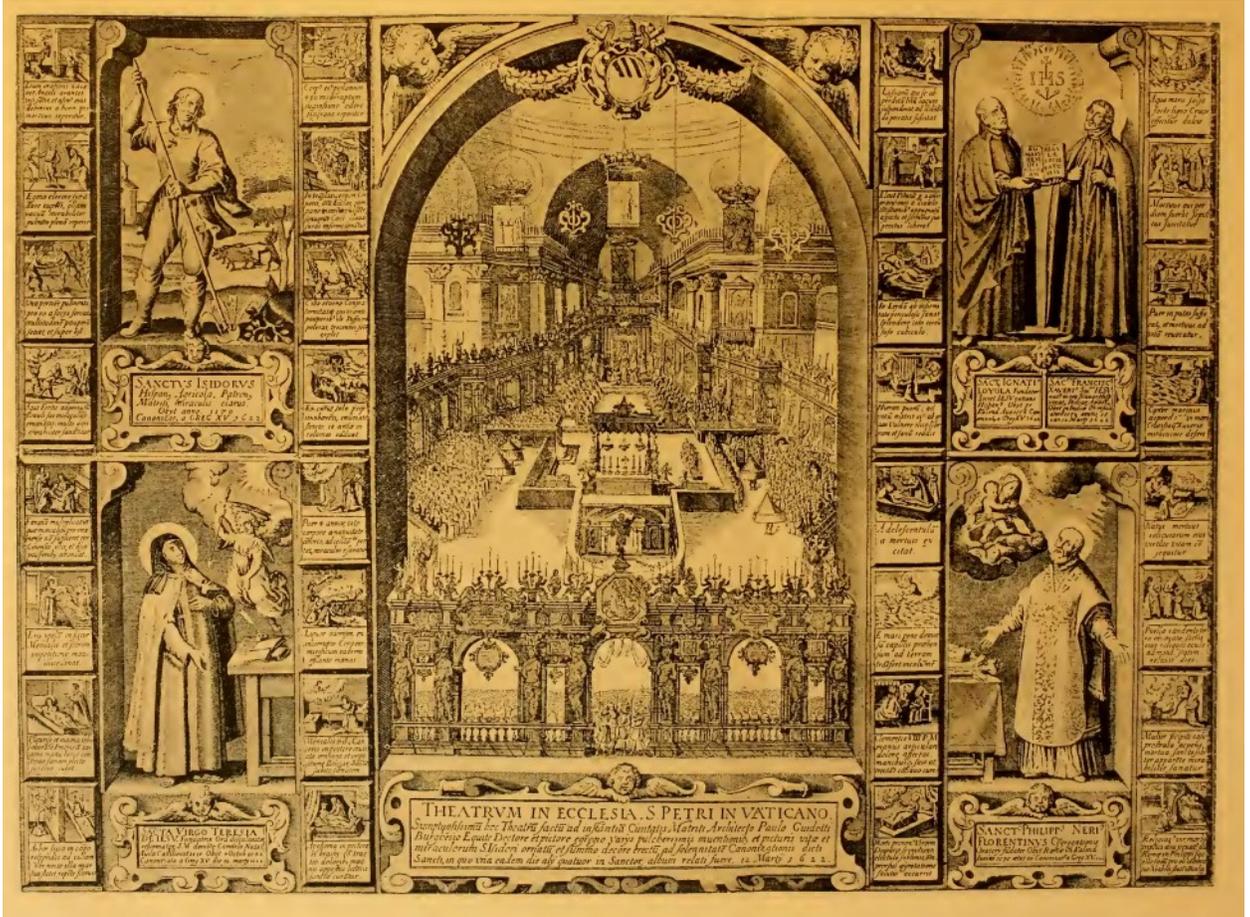


Figure 45: Unknown, *Canonization of Five Saints*, 1622, engraving, 37 x 52 cm, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Source: *La canonizzazione dei santi Ignazio di Loiola e Francesco Saverio*. Rome: Tipografia Grafia S.A.I.I.G., 1922. Figure 25.

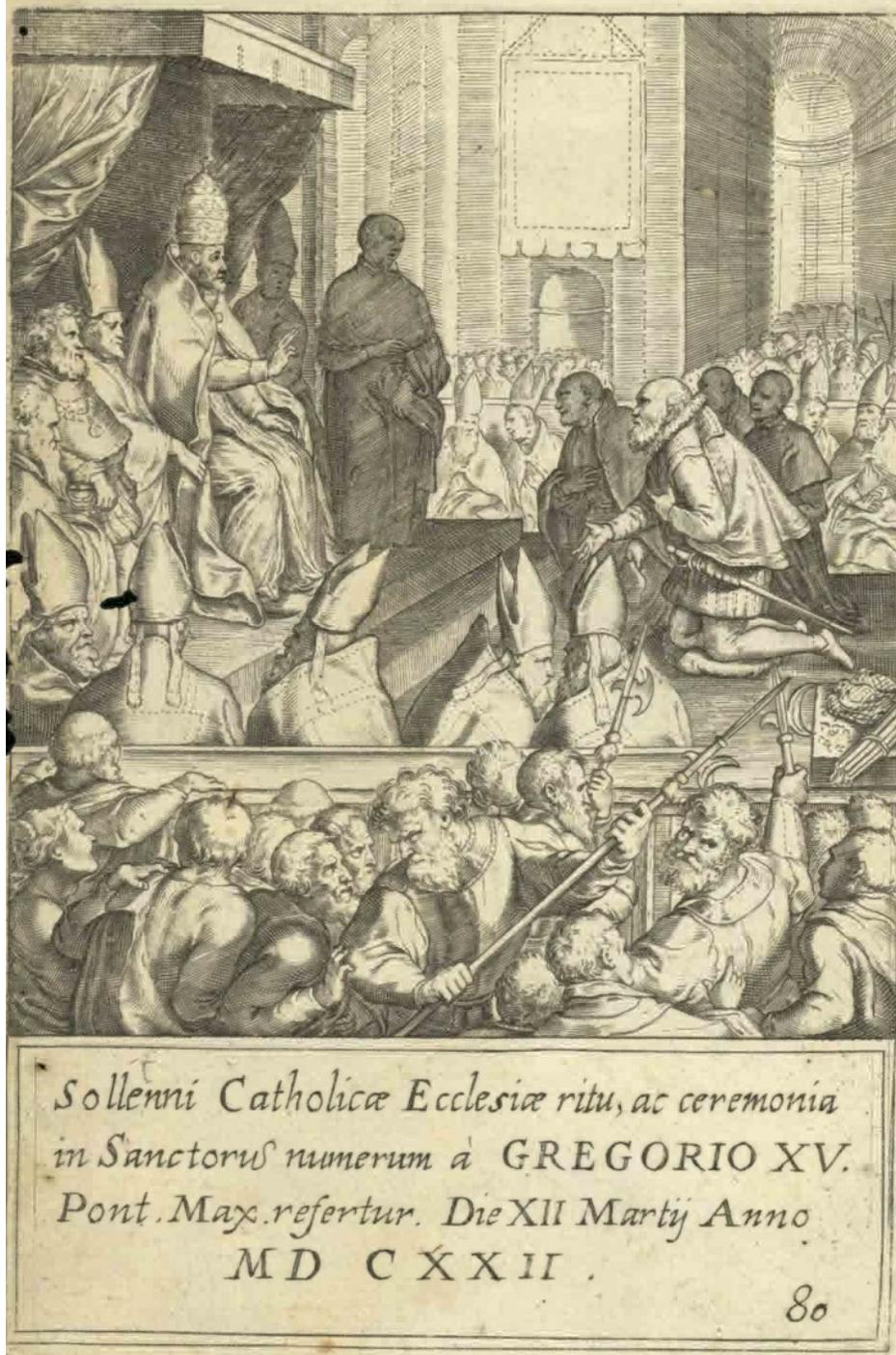


Figure 46: Jean-Baptiste Barbé and Peter-Paul Rubens, *Vita Beati P[atris] Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Rome: s.n., 1622), 80. Source: DigitalGeorgetown.

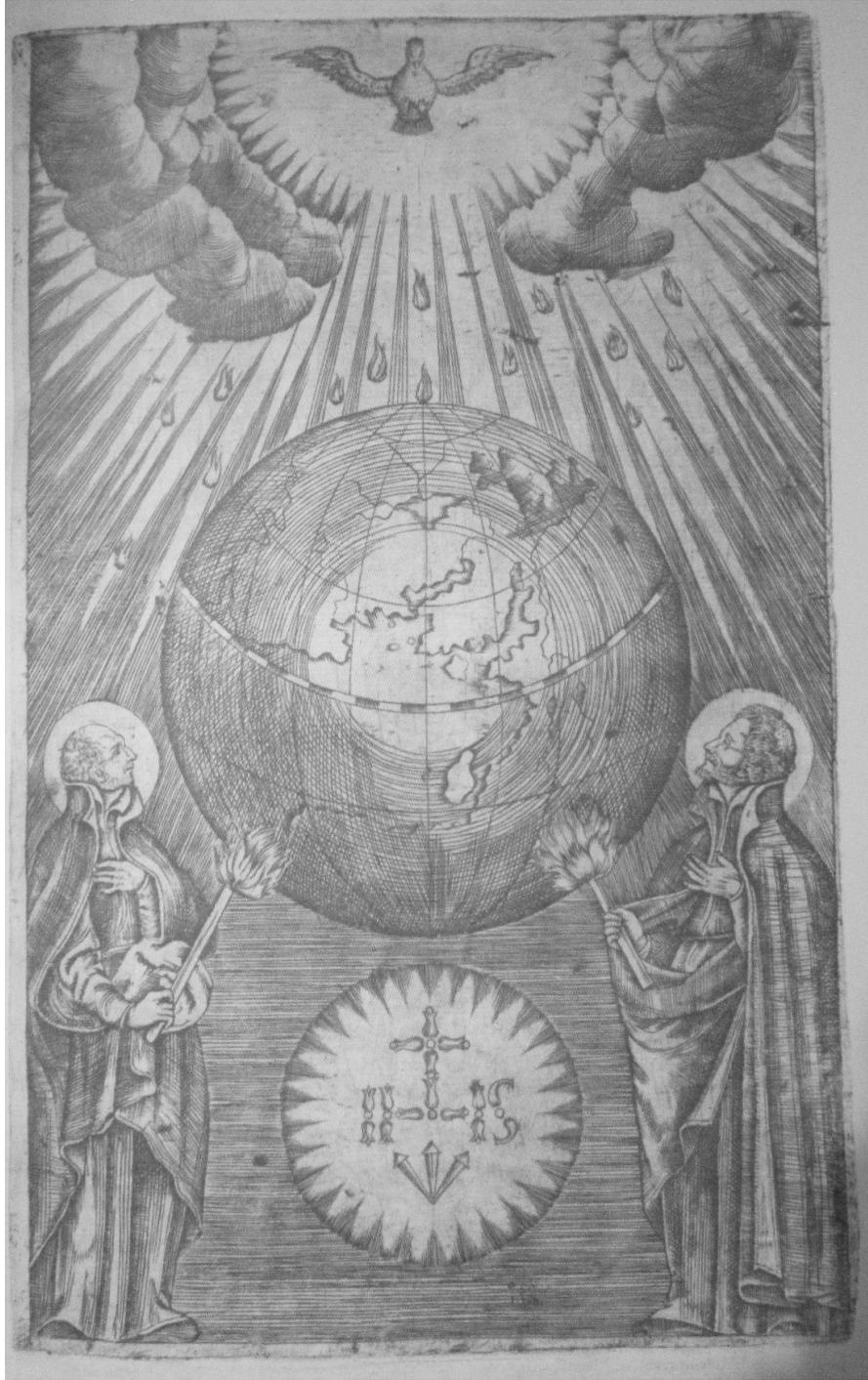


Figure 47: Juan Yaparí, *The Holy Spirit spreads the Gift of Tongues*, c. 1705, engraving in Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* (1705), trans. José Serrano (Buenos Aires: Instituto Bonaerense de Numismática y Antigüedades, 2010), n.p. Personal Photograph.



Figure 49: Anonymous, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 17th century, 49 x 41 cm, feathers, cooper, and bark on paper, Museo de América, 12335. Source: CERES.



Figure 50: Anonymous, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 1751-1800, 53 x 40.5 cm, gold and tempera on cotton, Museo de América, 2014/02/01. Source: CERES.



Figure 51: Anonymous, Carved Wood Bust of St. Ignatius Loyola, s.a., polychromed wood, 35.5 cm, private collection. Source: Skinner Inc., Boston.



Figure 52: Anonymous, *Union of the Descendants of the Imperial Incas with the Houses of Loyola and Borja*, 1718, Cuzco, 178 x 171 cm, Museo Pedro de Osma, Lima. Source: LUNA.



Figure 53: Anonymous, Presentación al público en 1698 de la capilla y el altar de San Ignacio de Loyola, obra de Andrea Pozzo, en el crucero de la Iglesia de El Gesù de Roma, 18th century, oil on canvas, 196 x 123 cm, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 0442. Source: CERES.

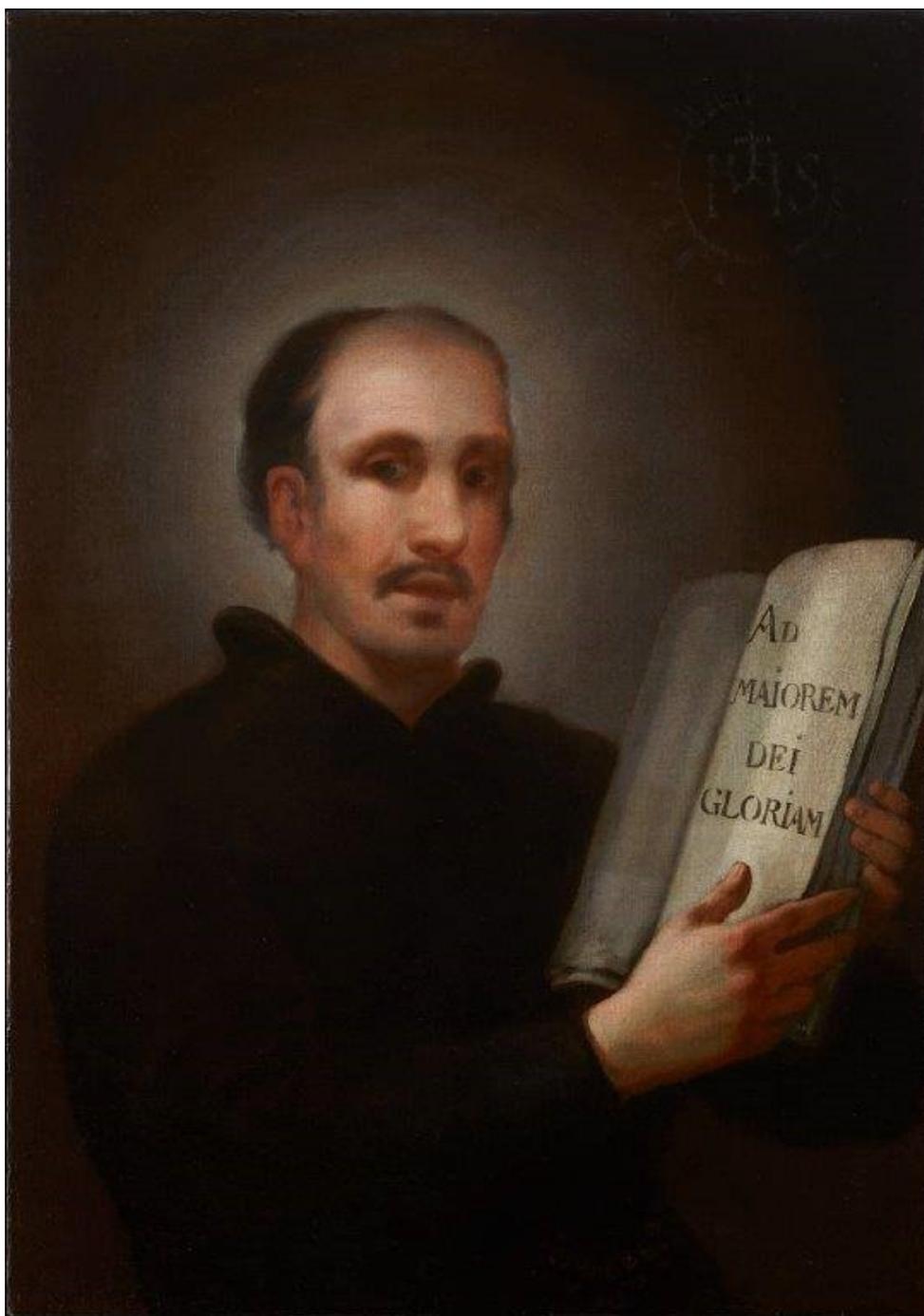


Figure 54: Francisco de Goya, San Ignacio de Loyola, c. 1775-80, oil on canvas, 85 x 57 cm, private collection, Zaragoza. Source: Juan Luis Morales y Marín. Goya: Catálogo de la pintura. Madrid: Real Academia de Nobles y Bellas Artes de San Luis, 1995. Figure 78.



Figure 55: Anonymous, San Ignacio de Loyola, 18th century, Quito, polychromed sculpture, 30.5 x 15 x 7.5 cm, Museo de América, Madrid, 06808. Source: CERES.

Le commemorazioni della settimana. - TUTTI I SANTI. - Don Sancio.



Figure 56: Don Sancio, *Le commemorazioni della settimana – tutti i santi*, 1880, engraving on paper, 34.7 x 42 cm in *Lo spirito folleto* 1014 (4 November 1880): 354. Source: Internet Culturale.

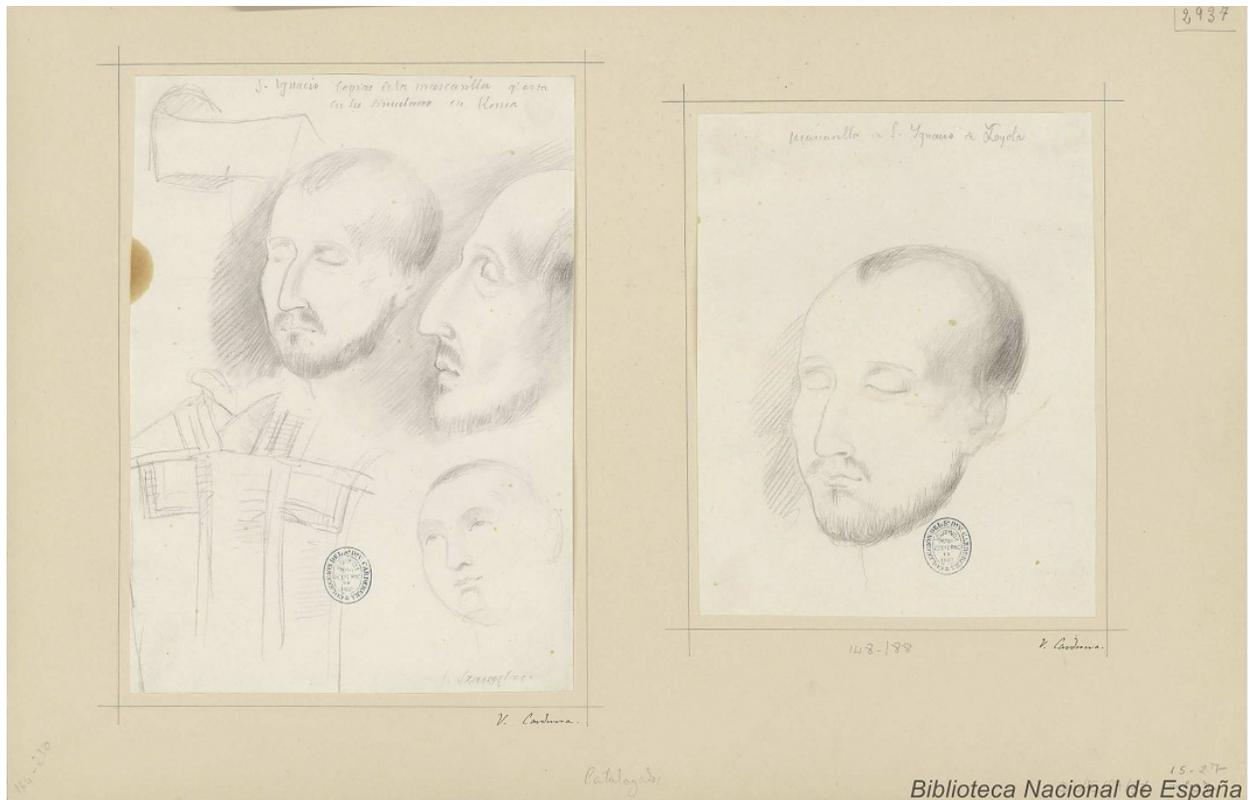


Figure 57: Valentín Cardenera, *Retratos de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 1855, pencil on paper, 46.5 x 30 cm, BNE, DIB/15/27/37. Source: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica.



Figure 58: Paolo Linetti et al., *San Paolo Miki*, 2008-09, ink on card, 5.5 x 8.5 cm, personal collection.



Figure 59: Paolo Linetti et al., *Santa Kateri (Caterina) Tekakwitha*, c. 2012, ink on paper, 5.5 x 8.5 cm, personal collection.

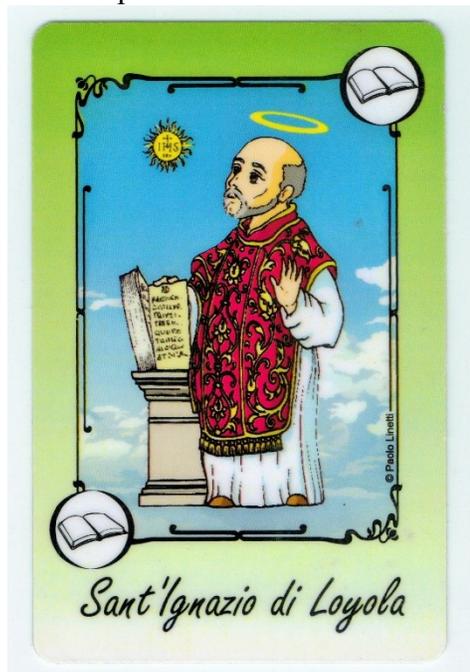


Figure 60: Paolo Linetti et al., *Sant'Ignazio di Loyola*, obverse, 2008-09, ink on paper, 5.5 x 8.5 cm, personal collection.



Figure 61: Paolo Linetti et al., *Sant'Ignazio di Loyola*, reverse, 2008-09, ink on paper, 5.5 x 8.5 cm, personal collection.

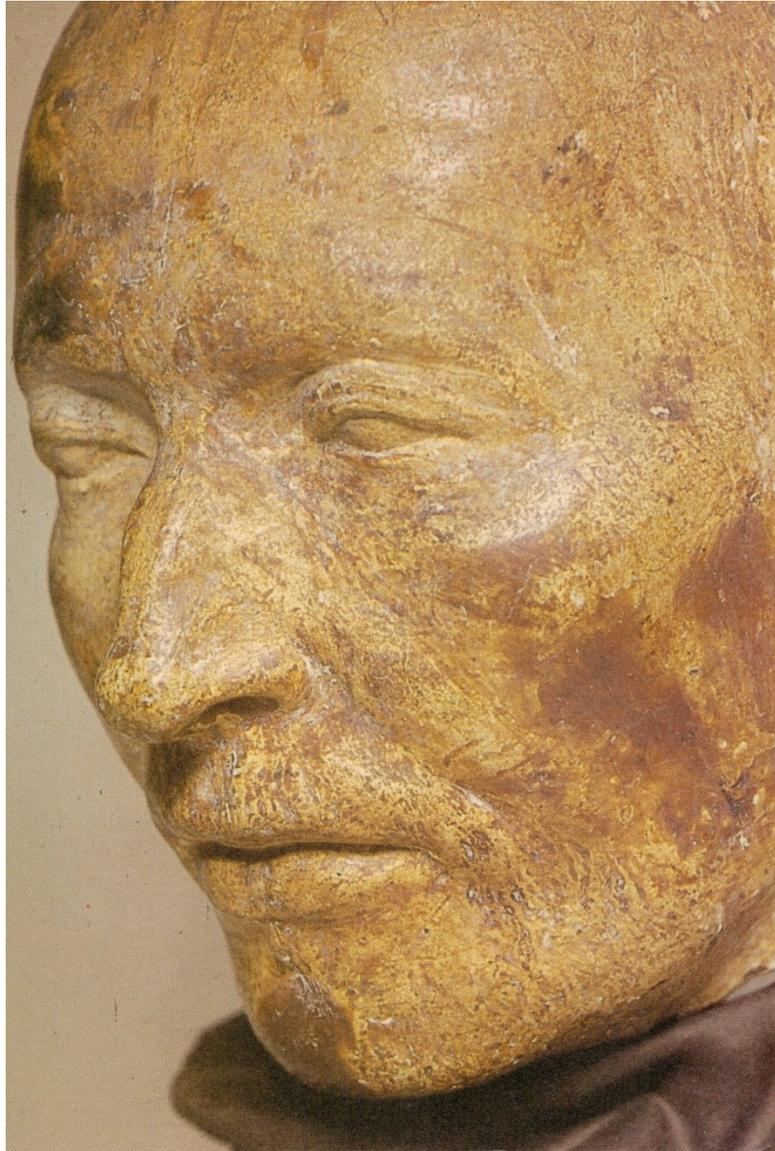


Figure 62: Death Mask of Ignatius Loyola, s.a., ink on paper, 10.5 x 15.5 cm, personal collection.

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