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A la luz de Roma

Santos y santidad
en el barroco iberoamericano

Fernando Quiles García
José Jaime García Bernal
Paolo Broggio
Marcello Fagiolo Dell'Arco
eds.



Universo Barroco Iberoamericano



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Santos y santidad
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Volumen II. España, espejo de santos



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Local roots of the universal representation of the triumph: the aesthetic invention of the sacred during the canonisation of the first Jesuit saints (1622)*

Raíces locales de la representación del triunfo: la invención estética de lo sagrado durante la canonización de los primeros santos jesuitas (1622)

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Abstract

From 1622 until 1624, the Jesuit colleges and houses scattered across the entire world celebrated the canonisation of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. For the most part, they chose to ignore the General's recommendation for moderation: they opted for some particularly spectacular celebrations in which the decorations rivalled those of Rome in their ingenuity and sumptuousness. This contribution aims at highlighting the ways the Jesuits skilfully incorporated elements of local festive culture as well as new ceremonial practices into their celebrations in order to trigger pleasure through surprise, this recourse to recreational means being part of an entire arsenal of conversion and teaching tactics. Through the analysis of the case of the commemorations orchestrated by the Jesuits in Antwerp in 1622, at the precise moment they are inaugurating their

Resumen

Entre 1622 y 1624 los colegios y casas jesuitas repartidos por todo el mundo celebraron la canonización de Ignacio de Loyola y Francisco Javier. La mayor parte de ellos ignoraron la recomendación del General de guardar moderación y optaron por solemnizar los actos litúrgicos con espectaculares celebraciones cuyas decoraciones rivalizaron con las de Roma en ingenio y suntuosidad. Esta contribución pretende destacar los caminos que siguieron los Jesuitas para incorporar tanto las tradiciones de la cultura festiva local como las prácticas del nuevo ceremonial en sus celebraciones a fin de provocar placer a través de la sorpresa; este método basado en la recreación de significados formó parte de todo un arsenal de recursos pedagógicos destinado a la conversión y la pastoral. El caso de las conmemoraciones organizadas por los Jesuitas en Amberes en 1622 que coincidieron con

* This article presents some of the results from the research project "Culture du Spectacle Baroque", funded by the Belgian Scientific Policy Office (Belspo) and directed by Ralph Dekoninck, Annick Delfosse, Maarten Delbeke and Koen Vermeir. The presentation and results of the project are published on the website: <https://cipl-cloud24.segi.ulg.ac.be/public> (still under construction). The research focused on the analysis of the religious celebrations and more precisely the solemnities organised for the canonisation of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier in 1622. The website features a database, a glossary and a world map of these solemnities.

new church, we seek in particular to capture the way in which this case exemplifies the desire to create an event that mixes the ephemeral with the perennial as a way to celebrate sanctity with a great deal of artistic support.

Keywords: canonisation, Jesuits, festivals, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Antwerp.

la inauguración de su nueva iglesia, ejemplifica el deseo de crear un acontecimiento que combinase lo efímero y lo perenne como vía para celebrar la santidad mediante el despliegue de un potente dispositivo escénico y artístico.

Palabras clave: canonización, Jesuitas, fiestas, Ignacio de Loyola, Francisco Javier, Amberes.

1622: A global canonisation

It is a well-known story: during the course of the year 1621, thanks to the tenacity of the Spanish lobby in Rome, the Sacred Congregation of Rites decided to canonise Isidore the Labourer, who was beatified two years earlier and venerated in Madrid. The canonisation ceremony at St Peter's was set for 12 March 1622. However, in the meantime, other canonisation processes were underway. Gregory XV, despite the reticence of Spain, decided to proclaim the canonisation of four other new saints on the same day as Isidore.¹ The decision was confirmed in January 1622 by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, who saw it as a way to prevent the multiplication of costs that would result from the multiplication of ceremonies. And so, it was on 12 March 1622, in St Peter's Basilica, that Pope Gregory XV declared not only the canonisation of Isidore the Labourer, but also of the Carmelite Theresa of Avila, the Oratorian Philip Neri and the Jesuits Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. Spain may not have been very keen on this quintuple canonisation, but certain mischievous individuals put the following sarcastic words in the mouth of the Pasquino, one of the talking statues of Rome: "Oggi il Papa ha canonizzato quattro spagnoli e un santo", highlighting the highly political nature of these canonisations, which seemed to celebrate the triumph of the Catholic monarchy.² Nevertheless, this event was also a triumph for the Jesuits. Although Spain had had several months to prepare the grandiose celebration of the canonisation of Isidore, the Society of Jesus – like the two other religious communities honoured

1. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5910, f.19v, Ludovisi to Guidi di Bagno, 23 ottobre 1621.

2. On the pro-Spanish dimension of 1622 canonizations, see DANDELET, Th. J., *Spanish Rome (1500-1700)*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2001, 180-187; CAFFIERO, M., "Istituzioni, forme e usi del sacro", in Ciucci, G., ed., *Roma moderna*, Roma, Laterza, 2002, págs. 143-148; Gotor, M., "La canonizzazione dei santi spagnoli nella Roma barocca", in HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, C. J., ed., *Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea en la edad moderna (congreso internacional celebrado en la real academia de España en Roma, del 8 al 12 de mayo de 2007)*, Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2013, vol. 2, págs. 621-639.

with a new saint – had to organise the festivities in great haste. The Collegio Romano was covered in lights, the façade of the Church of the Gesù was adorned with temporary decorations and its interior was richly decorated, fireworks were launched, and a play was put on for the public by the pupils. The Society celebrated its new saints in Rome.³

Three days before the canonisation, the General of the Society of Jesus had sent all provincial priests of the order a memorandum reserving Rome's right – "essendoci il corpo del santo (Ignazio) e il capo della Compagnia"⁴ – to celebrate the news saints with "qualche dimostrazione quasi a nome commune de la Religione". However, he forbade any other Jesuit house from engaging in any form of exuberant and ostentatious celebration on the grounds that this would flout their vow of modesty. But this call for moderation can probably be better explained by the fact that pompous events previously organised for the beatification of Ignatius and Francis Xavier landed the Society had landed the Society in hot water with Rome. The General therefore reserved the "head" the task of honouring the two new saints on behalf of the entire "body", the "centre" the duty of exalting their names in the name of the "periphery". On 12th March, he took up his quill once again to officially announce the canonisation to all provinces. The news arrived quickly at the Jesuit colleges and houses of Europe, but more slowly beyond. During the following spring and summer, and in some cases as late as 1624, the Jesuit colleges and houses scattered across the entire world celebrated the news of the canonisation and, for the most part, chose to ignore the General's order: they opted for some particularly spectacular celebrations in which the decorations rivalled those of Rome in their ingenuity and sumptuousness.

3. Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI), Post. Gen., 21A, *Relazione delle feste fatte in Roma in occasione della canonizzazione del S.P. Ignazio e Francesco Saverio cavata da un libretto di memorie del F. Antonio Presutto*; *Relation des principales cérémonies observées à Rome à la canonization des saints, cette présente année mil six cens vingt-deux*, Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy, 1622; *Argomento dell'apoteosi o consagracione de' santi Ignatio Loyola e Francesco Saverio rappresentata nel collegio romano, nelle feste della loro canonizatione*, Roma, Alessandro Zannetti, 1622; *Relazione della solenne processione fatta in Roma. nella trasportatione de' stendardi de' gloriosi santi Isidoro de Madrid, Ignatio Loyola, Francesco Xaverio, Teresia de Gesu, et Filippo Neri Fiorentino*, Roma, Giacomo Mascardi, 1622; *Saggio delle feste che si apparecchiano nel Collegio Romano in honore de' santi Ignatio et Francesco da n. s. Gregorio XV canonizati. All'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo duca di Venosa*, Roma, Alessandro Zannetti, 1622.

4. Rome, ARSI, Instit. 122, f. 89v (Muzio Vitelleschi to all the provincials, 9 March 1622).

Being masters of speech, preachers accustomed to conquering their audience and seducing the soul as well as masterful interpreters of local political issues, the Jesuits skilfully incorporated elements of local festive culture as well as new ceremonial practices into their celebrations: they therefore gave themselves the opportunity to promote the cult of their first saints while consolidating the entrenchment of the order in a wide variety of contexts. They then related this to Rome in handwritten accounts, sometimes going into great detail. They also published printed accounts which circulated inside as well as outside the order.

The local founts of triumph: the role of books and texts

The wave of festivities that spread feverishly through Europe and more discretely through the rest of the world reveals, through the varied typology of handwritten and printed accounts produced for the occasion, the diverse cultural framework and socio-economic context in which the Society had taken root.

Of course, we can easily identify common traits among these sources, which are strewn with repetitive phrases and generally follow the same narrative thread, both in terms of the chronological scan – the sequence of events and the high points of the celebrations: the announcement, the vigil, the day of the celebration with the solemn mass and the procession, and the rest of the octave – and in terms of the description of the most important places – the solemn procession through the city, the Jesuit college courtyard and the church. Furthermore, these accounts are generally rather modest in form and rarely illustrated. Indeed, only the accounts from Douai, in *Provincia Gallo-Belgica*, and from Pont-à-Mousson, in *Provincia Campaniae*, are embellished with rudimentary engravings and vignettes integrated into the text.⁵ This scarcity of illustrations could probably be explained by the financial precariousness of the colleges, which – having invested a large proportion of the funds raised through private or public sponsors in the festivities themselves – were often forced to publish humble booklets, which had to be put into circulation quickly.

5. It is not impossible to still find engravings preserved in heritage collections whose link to the event has yet to be found, in the same way as the out-of-text plates depicting the chariots on parade in Milan, in *Provincia Mediolanensis*.

But these accounts are characterized by certain distinctive features that signalled tendencies typical of a given cultural context. In the voluminous tomes printed in Spain, for example, one will notice the special status granted to the poetic compositions created for the occasion by the masters and pupils or to the transcription of the theatrical librettos: one will not find this anywhere else.

One should also note the variety of languages used: in the Spanish, Italian and French Assistancies, the vernacular language was preferred. Considering the priests' acute awareness of the different audiences and different readers, the choice of language for these accounts was certainly not a trivial matter, and it satisfied needs with regard to dissemination, retelling and representation. In certain cases, such as in Rennes, Brittany, Armorican (Breton) appeared in the inscriptions on display during the festivities.⁶ On the other side of the Atlantic, as pointed out by Ignacio Arellano, the pupils of the college of St Gregory in Mexico recited in Spanish and Nahuatl during celebrations organised at the college.⁷ In the Belgian provinces, however, the printed accounts were published in Latin, and the detailed handwritten Latin accounts sent to Rome were never translated into the vernacular language, as was the case elsewhere. This local particularity can most likely be ascribed to the desire to demonstrate the supremacy of Jesuit teaching: the authors used a complex and inventive language that was both highly innovative (on account of the numerous neologisms intended to reflect new material realities) and highly archaic (since it was meant to showcase their perfect mastery of ancient culture). Moreover, the use of Latin may also be explained by their desire to become part of a literary tradition of the celebratory book, which – in the Southern Low Countries – preferred the Latin language. Finally, it should also be noted that, in order to justify this practice, priests in *Provincia Gallo-Belgica* opted for Latin because their accounts were primarily intended for the rest of the Order, as indicated by the ex-libris of rare surviving copies distributed to colleges throughout Europe. Indeed, one should not forget that the Belgian provinces were among the most dynamic actors within the large, collective publishing enterprise of the Order, which demanded the use of Latin.

6. *Celebrité de la canonisation de saint Ignace de Loyola fondateur de la Compagnie de Jesus et de saint François Xavier de la mesme Compagnie, faite à Rennes*, Rennes, P. l'Oyselet, 1623.

7. ARELLANO, I., "Elementos teatrales y parateatrales en fiestas hagiográficas barrocas (Las fiestas jesuitas)", *Revista chilena de literatura*, 85, 2013, págs. 101-125.

Finally, as for the other provinces of the German Assistancy, these ceremonies were not converted into print. Instead, we know of them thanks to the laconic descriptions featured in the *Litterae Annuae*. But the number of theatrical productions most likely put on for this occasion confirms the importance of the theatre activity organised in the Jesuit colleges of these regions, as Jean-Marie Valentin has already clearly shown in his works.⁸

The local rooting of a universal triumph: the festive apparatus

In the accounts of the celebrations, it is possible to find elements that reveal the cultural “grafting” of the priests in the local context and the way in which they used local languages and resources. One will also notice the priests’ desire to follow local career paths, to stop “at the usual places”⁹ and to respect the order of precedence in the processions “as per the customs of the land”.¹⁰ In the city of Tournai, where people were not sure how to celebrate the news of the canonisation, the Magistrate – who funded the festivities – suggested replicating the celebrations traditionally organised “for the arrival and inauguration of the highest princes” for the new saints.¹¹ In Brussels, too, the Magistrate had triumphal arches built, like those erected some years before for Albert and Isabella during their Joyous Entry into the city.¹²

Everywhere, old and well-known local models were copied to honour the new saints. Everywhere, the forms of celebration were adapted to the needs of the public. The Jesuits thus drew inspiration from existing devices, theatrical procedures and iconographic schemas

8. VALENTIN, J.-M., *Les Jésuites et le théâtre (1554-1680). Contribution à l'histoire culturelle du monde catholique dans le Saint-Empire romain germanique*, Paris, Desjonquières, 2001.

9. *Lettre historique de la célébrité faite à Besançon en l'honneur des saints Ignace de Loyola, fondateur de la Compagnie de IESUS, et François Xavier de la mesme Compagnie, apostre des Indes Orientales, du Japon etc. Canonisé le 12 mars 1622 par notre saint Pere Gregoire XV*, Besançon, N. de Moingesse, pág. 6.

10. DE GHRYZE, M., *Honor S. Ignatio de Loiola Societatis Iesu Fundatori et S. Francisco Xaverio Indiarum Apostolo per Gregorium XV inter Divos relatis habitus a Patribus Domus Professæ et Collegii Soc[i]etatis] Iesu Antuerpiæ 24 Iulii 1622*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1622, pág. 39.

11. Rome, ARSI., Gall.-Belg., vol. 32, f.7-12, *Litterae Annuae Provinciae Gallo-Belgicae, anno 1622*.

12. *Sanctorum Ignatii et Xaverii in Divos relatorum triumphus Bruxellæ ab Aula et Urbe celebratus*, Brussels, J. Pepermann, [1622], pág. 32.

used for large civil festivities.¹³ And so, the victorious representations of Ignatius and Xavier on the chariots or in the theatres were grafted onto the mythological models used for royal and princely entries, featuring for example the Mount Parnassus with Apollo and his muses, a theme which had been depicted in Brussels.¹⁴ In Bahia, in 1622, the priests inserted a dance of twelve Indian children between the chariots.¹⁵ One could also mention the attempts to integrate civic ceremonies such as “La plantation du Mai” or initiation-type ceremonies such as the Lunade in Tulle into the canonisation celebrations in towns in the French Assistancy.¹⁶ In addition, music by local composers was played in the church, as in Avignon, where the music was a “deft invention of M. Intermet” according to the account,¹⁷ and in Maastricht, where the account indicates that the mass was sung “to the sound of familiar and unusual music – from Brussels, no less”,¹⁸ as well as in the rest of the Southern Low Countries, where local musicians were hired to honour the saints.¹⁹

This adaptation to the local context in all likelihood stems from a well-known pastoral strategy of the Society of Jesus. Nevertheless, one should not forget that the priests also wanted to offer up something new during the festivities, and in particular during the processions, the spectacular climax of the celebrations, during which the Society revealed themselves to the public upon leaving the confines of their college. These processions played their part in offering a form of recre-

13. On this topic, see the “acculturation processes” in the celebrations orchestrated by the Jesuits: EMS, G. et HEERING, C., “Les fêtes en Lorraine. Entre traditions, récupérations, innovations”, in SPICA, A.-E., ed., *Fêtes en Lorraine, XVI^e-XVII^e siècle : des images de mémoire et d'histoire*, Metz, Centre de Recherche Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire (CRULH, 55), 2015, págs. 133-152.

14. Ignatius was equated with the Greek god in an emblematic theatrical representation by the college of Brussels to signify the renaissance of the Humanities due to the pedagogical activity of the Society as explained by the Latin inscription: “S. Ignatio Novo literarum Instauratori”. *Sanctorum Ignatii et Xaverii, op. cit.*, 27 seqq.

15. Rome, ARSI, Bras. 8-II, Conrado Arizzi, *Breve relazione della festa che s'ha fatto in questa città della Bahia nella canonizzazione de nostri padri Ignazio et Francisco Xavier alli 27 di Novembre dell'anno 1622, Bahia, 14 January 1623*, f. 321-4v.

16. For the Lunade in Tulle and the canonisation celebrations, see De Marco, R., *Le langage des fêtes jésuites dans les pays de langue française, de la première édition de la Ratio Studiorum de 1586 jusqu'à la fin du généralat de Muzio Vitelleschi (1645)*, Université de Bourgogne-Franche-Comté, Unpublished PhD thesis, 2014.

17. *La célébrité des devoirs honorables rendu dans la ville d'Avignon dès le 23 jusques au 31 de juillet 1622*, Avignon, 1622, págs. 45-46.

18. Rome, ARSI, FB50 II, 82, *Historia Collegii Societatis Jesu Trajecti 1565-1624*, f. 539v.

19. DRÈZE, C., *Les jésuites et la musique dans les provinces gallo- et flandro-belges (2^e moitié du XVI^e siècle-1773)*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Unpublished PhD thesis, 2011.

ation to the spectators: the dance steps,²⁰ the tapestries,²¹ the paintings unveiled in the streets and in the churches for the occasion, the fireworks, etc., were offered to the participants, who had come to “have fun” or “keep themselves busy”.²² The trumpets and flutes which sounded in response had to be a “pleasure to the ears”, whereas the splendour and variety of the materials used and the skill applied – as well as the ingenuity of the machinery – to work these materials had to provide “pleasure” to the eyes. This “pleasure” was constantly sustained by the element of surprise: the splendid and opulent devices and decorations – overflowing with materials, colours, lights and ornaments – offered to the spectators were also intended to surprise them, to astonish them... The sources describe the spectators as being “amazed” and “awestruck”. They also show that the organisers painstakingly sought never to bore their devout audience with overly repetitive procedures that risked tiring or overwhelming them.²³ One regularly finds the words “sated”, “satisfied” and “satiety” in the accounts to describe many of the states that a spectator attending the procession or cortège could not achieve. This element of surprise, this way of arousing curiosity, this recourse to recreational means, are quite obviously all part of an entire arsenal of conversion and teaching tactics. Since, if the celebrations of 1622 were a chance for the Jesuits to introduce a cult of their own saints and to consolidate their presence within a local context, they were also a golden opportunity for the priests to fulfil their holy duties. The

20. “A Pyrrhichios of little shepherds in splendid costumes and dancing to the rhythm entertained everyone so much that they were forced to repeat it the following day.” *Celebrité de la canonisation de saint Ignace de Loyola fondateur de la Compagnie de Jesus et de saint François Xavier de la mesme Compagnie, faite à Rennes*, Rennes, Pierre l’Oyselet, 1623, pág. 60 (our translation)..

21. “But the walls of the jeu de pomme and lower court entertained the eye marvellously – both with the beautiful tapestry, on which the posters were arranged, and with the compositions written on sheets of paper bordered by festoons and foliage – and so uniformly that they all appeared to be of the same colour and on the same mould.” Cavalier, P., *Les devotions et allegresses spirituelles faictes à Tulle, dans le College de la Compagnie de Jesus. En la celebrité de la canonization des bienheureux peres, saint Ignace, et François Xavier...*, Tulle, F. Alvitte, 1622, 33 (our translation).

22. “The pyramid erected in the middle of the lower court, and showing four emblematic paintings in proportion as well as several beautiful compositions with which it was invested, provided onlookers with several days of entertainment and exercise.” *Ibid.*, 33 (our translation).

23. “No spectator left this theatre sated or weary of the divine honours or the apotheosis”; “Surely no visitor could have tired of watching”; In Reims: “The next day, it was ordered that the large courtyard of the college, which was set aside for the posters, all devoted to the saints, be made worthy of admiration, as was the case, by hordes upon hordes of people, who were forced to surrender to the crowd and draw back, having hardly satisfied their eyes at all.” *Recit de ce qui s’est passé à Reims en la celebrité de la canonization des saints Ignace de Loyola et François Xavier*, Reims, N. Constant, 1622, pág. 11(our translation).

accounts insist on the effectiveness of the festive apparatus, which served to bolster a long-running pastoral project in style. All of these theatrics were a way to attract followers and anyone curious enough, so that they could then offer them confession, hear their confessions and launch into preaching campaigns. This is what a small Jesuit community that had recently become established in Dunkirk concluded in their account: "By way of this solemn celebration, we have finally been endowed with a significant increase in the citizens' devotion to the new saints and their affection towards the Society. This is evidenced by the greater daily influx of worshippers into our chapel, the frequent candle offerings and the money spent on improving the procession".²⁴

The artistic epiphany of triumph: the case of the Jesuit church in Antwerp

By virtue of the emphasis it places on the description of the decor of the Jesuit church, the account of the celebrations that took place in Antwerp are fairly unique, but it also beautifully reveals the new aesthetics of this *Imago Triumphi* of the Society's universal efforts. In Antwerp, the ceremonies coincided with the inauguration of the church of St Ignatius (now St Charles Borromeo), the construction of which had started seven years earlier and which was consecrated on 21 September 1621, ten months before the celebration of the canonisation.

This building stuck out like a sore thumb in the artistic and ecclesiastical landscape of the Low Countries, and more generally of Northern Europe. One could even call it a Baroque manifesto that continued to haunt the *legenda nera* of the Jesuits until the 19th century. During his visit to the church in Antwerp, Hippolyte Taine stated what in his eyes were the characteristics of the "Jesuit style": "Anything Jesuit [here] seems mocking and false, evokes ideas of comfort and pleasure."²⁵ "[...] And it is curious to see, here and elsewhere, an ascetic and mystical religion such as this allow as instructive subjects [...] a display of flesh and fabric whose lustful provocations and triumphant sensuality not

24. "Ex hac solemnī festivitāte illud denique utilitatis consecuti sumus quod civium erga novos sanctos devotio et in Societatem studium plurimum incrementi accipisse cernantur. Id quotidiani ad sacellum nostrum concursus frequentiores, cerei frequentes oblatis, sumptus in exornanda supplicatione suppeditati luculenter testantur." Rome, ARSI, Flandro-Belgica, vol. 60, *Relatio celebritatis in festo SS.PP.NN. Ignatii et Xaverii a residentia Dunckerana*, f. 48r.

25. TAINE, H., *Voyage en Italie*, I, A : Rome, Paris, Editions Complexe, 1990, pág. 247.

even the Carnival of Florence could match.”²⁶ But one does not have to wait until the 19th century for this kind of reaction: the sumptuousness of the church attracted considerable criticism from the start of the 17th century, even among the order itself. Clearly, its initial impact was burnt into the collective memory.

From the outset, the printed account published with the title *Honor* conveys the Jesuits’ desire to bring together all manifestations of piety towards the saints,²⁷ and in particular towards Ignatius, whose church – which had just been erected in his honour – undoubtedly constituted the most grandiose example of this. The coincidence of the inauguration of the church – which was dubbed the “temple of marble” – with the canonisation commemorations thus exemplifies the desire to create an event that mixes the ephemeral with the perennial as a way to celebrate sanctity with a great deal of artistic support. Aside from the predictable description of the celebrations, such as the enumeration of all the equipment and temporary decorations created for the occasion, this account stands out from the other reports of the 1622 celebrations around the world in that it lauds the splendour of the new church, the description of which occupies a not insignificant place within the text – right at the start.

A striking feature of this description is that it abounds in details, to such a point that it is difficult for the reader to paint a clear mental picture of the edifice. But this is merely a rhetorical device intended to dazzle the reader in the face of so many marvels. In other words, the author wants to recreate some of the experiences and sensations of the participants and spectators during the 1622 celebrations. The text starts as follows:

“The Professed House, full of zeal, relentlessly hurried the works on this very illustrious marble temple such that Ignatius would be the first to triumph in this church, which had just been dedicated to him, the first in the world. In the view of all foreigners – and not just the Belgians – who flock

26. TAINÉ, H., *Philosophie de l'art*, Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1980, 45. See DEKONINCK, R. and HEERING, C., “La société du spectacle. Jésuites et Jansénistes face aux arts éphémères et spectaculaires”, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 50, 2014, págs. 515-30.

27. “Quaecumque itaque vel a Domo Professa, vel a Collegio tota in urbe S(ancto) IGNATIO sunt exhibitae, sicuti cum Honore S(ancti) FRANCISCI XAVERII cohaerent, ita opere ipso connectere, non alienum fore mihi persuasi.” DE GHRYZE, M., *Honor S. Ignatio de Loiola Societatis Iesu Fundatori et S. Francisco Xaverio Indiarum Apostolo per Gregorium XV inter Divos relatis habitus a Patribus Domus Professæ et Collegii Soc[ietatis] Iesu Antuerpiæ 24 Iulii 1622*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1622, pág. 4.

here in numbers for business, this structure is without contest and by far the most remarkable, be it for its art or the materials used. [...] Those who read this description right up to the end will easily understand that Ignatius triumphed in the Capitolium of Antwerp. And even if there are other cities that could prevail due to the impressiveness of their actions or the dignity of their processions, none, I believe, can rival Antwerp when it comes to the majesty of this temple.²⁸

In light of this, the Jesuit monument appears to be a monument to the, as it were, aesthetic consecration of the founder of the order's sanctity, an entire discourse built around artistic splendour and the manifestation of the sacred, a true "miracle of art", as described in the text.

While the church represents the descriptive and narrative starting point of the account, it is the end point of the solemn procession, which establishes a link between the profane city, a place of crowds and commotion, noisy fireworks and festivities, and the sacred sanctuary. It is, so to speak, the site of the grand finale, the space where marvels and miracles become closely intertwined. But it is above all the site of confluence between the splendour of the perennial decor, whose power of metamorphosis in the sacred sanctuary is emphasised, or rather the power of consecration (in the original sense) of this space, and the magnificence of the temporary adornments, which becomes one of the main routes to revelation and celebration of sanctity during the festivities. Following on from the description of the church interior in the *Honor* is the "description of the ornaments", and how these ephemeral ornaments become grafted onto the perennial ones:

That is why, on the 23rd, in the early evening, the building having just been completed and its ornamentation finally put in place, access was granted to one and all. One could not imagine the joy the public felt when entering for the first time, the ardour with which they showered all of its parts with praise. Surely no one could have become weary of looking at it all, or of singing their praises! Because, although this majestic temple appeared

28. "Siquidem Domus Professorum nobilissimum illud suum e marmore solido templum, quod abhinc annis septem construi coeptum, omni studio urgere non desistebat, ut ea in aede primus triumpharet IGNATIVS, quae prima in orbe, eidem recens erat dedicata. Est vero hoc opus non Belgarum tantum, verum etiam externorum omnium iudicio, qui huc frequentes mercimonii causa confluunt, longe praestantissimum, sive artis, seu materiae rationem habeas. [...] Quid qui perlegerint, novo in Capitolio Antverpiae triumphasse IGNATIVM facile intelligent. Et si forte urbes aliae actionum splendore aut supplicationum dignitate exsuperent, nullam credo de templi hac majestate cum Antverpia contendere posse." *Ibid.*, págs. 7-8.

to be lacking absolutely no ornaments taken from elsewhere, the piety of the people of Antwerp did not allow them to be lacking. Quite the opposite, they wanted more, and they wanted them to be on par with the edifice as a whole and above all with the triumph of St Ignatius.²⁹

This conjunction of the perennial and the ephemeral is explicitly described as a way of intensifying the beauty: "because if, by chance, any place within the entire temple did not sparkle brightly enough with its marble, it was covered with plush linen carpet."³⁰ Fabric was, in fact, one of the most recurrent means for the festive transformation of the space. But other methods were employed to magnify this space: aside from the traditional paintings of the martyrs of the Society of Jesus and the sculpted or embroidered effigies of the saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier, the account also mentions a multitude of precious objects exhibited for the occasion, such as vases full of flowers, perfume or incense, candelabras topped with candles, chandeliers, sumptuous altar cloths embroidered with gold and silver thread, trees made of gold, monstrances, etc.

This accumulation of ornaments in the church is distinctive firstly on account of its luxurious nature, both in terms of its richness and its abundance. The description of this ornamentation, as in many other accounts of the Jesuit celebrations of 1622, is particularly concerned with the materials, their colours, their diversity and their brilliance. The impression of richness and opulence is accentuated in the accounts by frequent mentions of the value of the precious objects exhibited for the occasion, and more especially that of the liturgical ornaments clustered around the altars (altar cloths, priest vestments, silverware, etc.). Accounts of this kind are consistently attaching precise figures to this assortment of precious objects. It is as if the insistence on the price of these objects, the weight of the metals, the quality of the materials (for example the wax of the candles), the dimensions or even the exact number of elements making up the decor would somehow heighten the sense of marvel.

29. "Itaque die 23 sub vesperam, absoluta jam fabrica, ejusdemque ornatu tandem concinnato, aditus cunctis est datus. Incredibile quanto cum gaudio populus primum ingressus, quanto studio laudaret universa? certe nec spectando nec laudando satiari ullus poterat. Nam etsi templum adeo augustum, ornamentis aliunde sumptis minime indigere videretur: iis tamen ut careret, Populi Antverpiensis pietas non permisit. Imo vero ea adjicere voluit, quae operi universo, et quod maximum, S. IGNATII triumpho, responderunt." *Ibid.* págs. 14-15.

30. "Quod si quis vero locus toto in templo forsan non suo satis splenderet marmore, eum e bysso tapetia ditissima vestierunt." *Ibid.*, págs. 18-19.

Equally, the sumptuousness of the decorations is suggested by a particular insistence on the radiance and shine of the materials. Anything that suggests light, in particular, is described in minute detail: the mentions of sumptuous fabrics (such as the brocades, the silk, the batiste, the embroidery, etc.), gems, precious stones, pearls, pyropes, objects and statues of solid silver, gilded and silvered furniture, chandeliers, candelabras, candles, torches... are impossible to count. In this church in Antwerp, this importance attached to lustre and light is manifested in the statues of the saints, the busts fashioned from silver, which were the stars of an exquisite spectacle (tabernacle veil, ebony plinths, gemstone necklaces, golden vases brimming with flowers, solid silver candelabras, lighted candles, silver chandeliers), supplemented by the luxuriance of the perennial decor of the church, and more specifically the shimmer of the gilded vault and the marble columns of the nave:

[...] in the midst of the various lamps, once the people had entered – it was evening – and once they had caught sight of the silver statues, they could not help but notice, in amazement, that this light of silver and gold seemed as if it had been plucked from the moon and stars. And one could not help but marvel at the brilliance of the gilded vault illuminated by all this light, a light which it projects from all angles onto the polished marble – and even that could be construed as some form of lighting.³¹

The radiance and shine of the materials, in conjunction with the flickering glow of the candles, had the effect of breaking up the architecture and fully enveloping the spectator in the sacred space. Transformed into lights by the incorporation of holy light, the statues of the saints suffused the church in a glow that was supposed to give the sanctuary the appearance of Heaven on Earth: “[...] with its new decoration and the numerous torches, which shone into almost every nook and cranny, the church reflected the sky [...],³² and “there was so much splendour all around, so much majesty in the ornaments, and a sense of order – pleasing above all else – and a sort of steady shine that would prompt anyone looking at it closely to pronounce the words of

31. “Ceterum inter diversa haec lumina, ut populus vespertino tempore ingressus oculos in argenteas statuas conjecit, non sine stupore fateri debuit, lucem illam argenteam et auream, stellarum ac lunae specimen quoddam exhibere. Et certe auratus tholi fornix mirum quantum splendoris ab hac luce sumpsit: quam cum in polita circumundique marmora projiceret, et illa luminaria quaedam credi poterant.” *Ibid.*, pág. 16.

32. “Novo ornatu frequentibusque passim collucentibus facibus caeli quandam speciem retulisse.” Rome, ARSI, FB50 II, 80, *Historia domus professa Societatis Jesu Antverpiae*, 1616-1624, f. 497^r-497^v.

St Fulgentius: *How beautiful must the Heavenly Jerusalem be, if earthly churches, not Rome, as he wrote, be so glorious!*³³

In the accounts of the Jesuit celebrations, the link between the material and the spiritual seems to be attributed to the ornamentation, which, by way of its resplendence, transforms the tangible riches into pure spiritual gold. But this description is nothing out of the ordinary. Indeed, among the *topoi* that punctuate these accounts of religious festivals that of the metamorphosis of the earthly world into a heavenly realm is arguably one of the most frequent. The transformative festive parure worn by the city and the sanctuary, characterised by its resplendence, its light, its richness and its diversity, as well as the visual saturation and sensory stimulation induced by the conjunction of the visual devices, but also the olfactory and acoustic devices, was supposed to bestow upon these spaces, according to the texts describing them, the appearance of the celestial paradise.

Conclusion

Mutio Vitelleschi, head of the Society, had reserved Rome the task of celebrating the first saints of the Order. But as we have seen, the entire body of the order was swept up in a wave of celebrations. And these celebrations, for different reasons, had a lasting impact on the memory of the different peoples who took part, and this is perpetuated by the written reports. The local forms of celebration, like the accounts, served the global pastoral project of the Society of Jesus, which was to edify the mind and elevate the spirit. One could say that the celebrations of 1622 constitute the very first *Imago Triumphi* of the Society's universal efforts, a worthy prelude to the sumptuous celebrations organised in 1640 for the centenary of its foundation. This first triumph of the Society was made possible thanks to an organic administrative (and intellectual) structure that was already well calibrated in 1622, but also thanks to their flexibility in adapting Roman norms to different regional contexts.

33. "Jam vero quantum ad Aram templi principem attinet, ceterasque quatuor minores, tantus ubique splendor, tanta ornamentorum erat majestas, et qui placet maxime, ordo rerum, et concinnus quidam nitor, ut eum qui curiosius intuerentur, illud S. Fulgentii usurpare possent: *Quam speciosa potest esse Ierusalem caelestis, si sic splendet, non Roma, ut ille, sed Ecclesia terrestris.*" DE GHRYZE, M., *op. cit.*, págs. 16-17.