



'TO SEE  
ALL THINGS  
NEW'

From the Conversion to Canonisation  
of Saint Ignatius of Loyola



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Gallery of Temporary Exhibition  
of the Museum of São Roque/Santa casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa



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'The Professed House of S. Roque, as the head of all the other Houses of the Province, wanted to begin the festivities, taking it upon itself to celebrate with particular devotion the day of S. Ignacio...'

Jorge Cabral; André Gomes (attrib.) – *Relação Geral das Festas que fez a religião da Companhia de Jesus na Província de Portugal, na Canonização dos Gloriosos Santo Inácio de Loyola seu fundador e São Francisco Xavier Apóstolo da Índia Oriental no ano de 1622.*

Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1623, p. 4 v.



# The celebration of the canonisation of Saint Ignatius of Loyola in Portugal (1622)

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The festivities for the canonisation of Ignatius of Loyola, celebrated in the Province of Portugal in 1622 and held in conjunction with those of Francis Xavier, necessitate an in depth study and reflection on what came before them, as well as the cross-referencing of ideas, and answers to questions related to the programmes chosen to materialise these ceremonies.

What acts directly preceded the celebrations of the canonisation of two of the founders of the Society of Jesus in Portugal? Which were the models followed in Rome and Madrid? Were the festivities in Lisbon a model for the others in Portugal? Can these ceremonies be seen as the fulfilment of a rite of passage into the sacred sphere, which a formidable *Theatrum sacrum*, where the relics of the saint were present, tried to recreate? What were the material culture elements of the Assistancy in Portugal particular to these feasts?

As some of these aspects have not yet been properly clarified for the Portuguese case, it is worth looking at them in comparison with the celebrations of the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola in Portugal and the other manuscript, printed, and iconographic sources of the ceremonies in Rome and Madrid.

The text will also reflect on the weight the main founder of the Society of Jesus had in 1622, not only because this is the 5th centenary of his *Conversion* and the 4th centenary of his Canonisation, but also because Ignatius has not previously received the attention that Francis Xavier has had, due to the greater devotion Xavier has enjoyed in the Portuguese sphere.

## **Act one: episodes leading up to the festivities**

### **Scene I: Lisbon in 1610**

The initial question about possible ceremonies preceding the one under consideration allows the formulation of an answer based on the model established for the celebrations

of the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola. This example not only was adopted in the subsequent festival for being chronologically close to the event, but also inaugurated a paradigm for this type of festivity within the Society of Jesus.

Ignatius of Loyola was beatified on the 27th of July 1609, in Rome, by Pope Paul V (1550-1621), but the celebrations in the province of Portugal were not held until the end of that year and the beginning of the following one. Lisbon, Coimbra, Porto, Évora, Braga, Bragança, Porto, Portalegre, Vila Viçosa, Faro, the islands of Madeira, Terceira, and São Miguel, and Cape Verde and Luanda were the places chosen for this purpose<sup>1</sup>.

The city of Lisbon is a good example of the event's celebrations. It was not the first place where they occurred. Indeed, it was intended as the last, 'so that as head .... it would bring them to conclusion with a crown of honour and glory, that would be acknowledged throughout the centuries for as long as the memory of the love, liberality, and kindness with which, by becoming Ignatius's servant, it dedicated itself to his service.' Thus, the remaining locations in the country were rehearsals for the great performance that would take place in the 'Queen of the Seas and Oceans'.

Cristóvão de Moura e Távora, Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo (1538-1613), represented the monarch as Viceroy of Portugal. In the religious sphere, Miguel de Castro (1536-1625) served as representative of the Metropolitan Archdiocese.

Besides the role played by these leading figures, the celebrations also counted on the participation of: Jorge de Mascarenhas (1597- ca. 1652), Earl of Castelo Novo, who would become Viceroy of Brazil; the Duke of Aveiro, through the loan of pieces from his estate and his taking charge of some of the games played; Manuel de Moura Corte Real (1590-1651), Earl of Lumiares; and the Earl of Atouguia. The latter was a judge in one of the contests held at the College of Santo Antão-o-Novo. Among the audience were the Earls of Redondo with their children, and other leading figures who are not named in the narrative.

Throughout the extensive description, other ecclesiastics are mentioned: Jerónimo Dias (1547-1624), provincial of the Society of Jesus; Luís Pereira [de Miranda] (1558-1610), bishop of Cape Verde; Jerónimo de Gouveia, bishop of Ceuta; and António de Mascarenhas, dean of the Royal Chapel.

Finally, as far as the identification of all the protagonists is concerned, the participation of Damião de Aguiar (1535-1618), a high-ranking magistrate of the State apparatus, should be noted. He was 'desembargador do Paço' ('Lord Justice of appeal'), 'Chanceler-mor' ('Lord Chancellor') and 'Corregedor do Crime da Corte' (a high judge whose area of responsibility moved with the person of the King or the royal court of appeal), and took part in the celebrations judging the explanation of two riddles, which had become a tradition in the colleges of the Society of Jesus.

As for the solemnities, their main stages were the Professed House of São Roque and the College of Santo Antão-o-Novo, which worked as a back-up structure. The fact it was an educational institution, which fostered literary challenges, poetic contests, games, and other didactic activities, was the reason why this building was used to hold this type of event, also functioning as a building site for the construction of ephemeral machines and floats.

Regarding the most significant moments of this celebration, some artistic expressions and activities deserve a closer look. One of them is the decoration of the interiors of the Church of São Roque. The space was entirely dressed in textiles and the main altarpiece was covered in antique brocade pieces from the Royal Treasury, which was opened exceptionally for the occasion. It should be noted that it had only previously been opened when Filipe I (1527-1598) came to Portugal for the courts of Tomar in 1581, which highlights the deference shown in Portugal to the event of the beatification.

From the same treasure, implements were also used that had belonged to princess Maria (1521-1577), who had offered to them to King Sebastião (1554-1578).

The most prominent pieces were the cloths depicting the Battle of Tunis, which were set up in the courtyard of the royal chapel, as well as a set of unspecified ornaments said to be of 'El Rey Dom Manoel' ('King Manuel') because they were associated with the first riches to have come from India and comparable, according to the narrator, to those that the sovereign had sent to Pope Leo X (1475-1521) in an embassy headed by Tristão da Cunha (ca. 1460-ca. 1540).

In the arches between the chapels of the church's nave and the crossing, silver and canvas banners were hung, as well as escutcheons of wax on wood, each with four golden seraphim and white flowers, also in wax. Such media served a propagandistic purpose, as they had letters, which all together formed phrases referring to Ignatius of Loyola. The situation was also conducive to the opening of the house's major treasure – the shrines – which contained the collection of relics donated by João de Borja (1533-1606). Indeed, one of the highlights of the beatification's celebration was the procession, which, although far from the one held when the said donation was incorporated, had as high point the display of a relic of Saint Ignatius: a bone, which was placed in a reliquary in the shape of an arm, in gold and silver.<sup>2</sup>

In its turn, the exterior of the church received a faux façade, set up in painted fabric over a wooden structure, where the first coat of arms of Portugal referring to King Afonso Henriques were depicted. In front of the Professed House, the war and destruction of Troy was depicted, almost as an allegory of the failure of the battle of Pamplona where, on the 20th of May 1521, the young Iñigo López de Oñaz y Loyola tried to protect Navarre against the French invaders and was seriously wounded.

A painted wooden theatre was built in the courtyard, as a walled structure with towers and battlements, recreating Priam's castle. For added effect of the staging, the famous wooden horse was also recreated, which was pushed on four wheels made of angelin. However, the horse would not go through the gates of Santa Catarina, and 'it was necessary to build a piece of wall wide enough for it to fit'<sup>3</sup>. This was not a unique occurrence and happened again at other times and places, which proves that these were the first steps in the organisation of such a considerable event, due to the clear lack of experience in this field.

It was also this feast that saw the most persistent exhibition of the allegories of the *Four Parts of the World*, the greatest expression of the various parts of the globe reached



*View of the Church of São Roque in Lisbon*  
Lisbon, Santa Casa da Misericórdia

by the Society of Jesus. Four ambassadors, from Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Europe, transported in four richly decorated brigantines, took part in the festival at São Roque to praise the new Blessed. Four triumphal floats left from Santo Antão-o-Novo heading for Terreiro do Paço, accompanied by a procession of spear carriers, who were joined by yet other representations of brigantines with allegories of the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Europe<sup>4</sup>.

Along with the float of the Americas went, in the words of the narrator, 'uerdadeiros Brasis, e verdadeiros Indios' ('real Brazilians, and real Indians'), and representatives of other provinces, without any criteria or geographical order, namely: Mexico, Newfoundland, the Philippines, Paria (Bolivia), Peru, and Florida. The float of the African continent was accompanied by eight pygmies and by actors, whose iconographic attributes made reference, some to cities, some to kingdoms, and yet some to specific regions, the main of which were: Tunis, Numidia, Mauritania, São Tomé, Cape Verde, Carthage, the Kingdom

of Prester John, and Egypt. In its turn, Asia had figures representing Persia, Japan, Tartary, Asia Minor, and India, which were territories already known and described by Jesuit missionaries. At the end came Europe. Here, several people from the Spanish nation were most prominently represented. Despite the performance of these elements, they were followed by the main Provinces of the Society of Jesus in Europe<sup>5</sup>. In addition to Spain, there came Sicily, Greece, 'Germania', Russia, England, Ireland, France, Bohemia and, finally, the city of Lisbon and the Province of Portugal.

The whole process surrounding the realisation of this act can be seen as one of the first steps towards the consolidation of a solution which, as will be seen below, established, in Portugal, a type of festival which was different from other liturgical feasts, of which *Corpus Christi* was one of the most significant.

### Scene II: Rome in 1622

To look for the models followed by the Portuguese festivities – the second question of this article – the various celebrations upheld in Rome should be examined<sup>6</sup>. The first and most important of all took place inside the Basilica of Saint Peter on the 13th of March 1622, and consisted in the proclamation of the five new saints, four Spanish and one Italian: Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Teresa of Avila, Isidore *the Farmer*, and Philip Neri. It was



Ercole Graziani (attrib.)  
*Canonisation of Saints Ignatius of Loyola,  
Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, Teresa of Avila, and  
Isidore the Farmer, 17th century*  
Chalk and graphite  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art – LACMA, Inv.  
58.28.2

followed by a spectacular procession. The festivals that followed that of the Holy See took place independently, in spaces linked to the nations and religious orders of each of the new saints<sup>7</sup>.

There are a number of sources and elements regarding the first joint action: an account by the painter, playwright, and polygrapher Giovanni Briccio (1579-1645)<sup>8</sup>; the *Memoria* by Giacinto Gigli (1594-1671)<sup>9</sup>; an engraving by Johann Friedrich Greuter (1564-1638)<sup>10</sup>; and more recently, knowledge about who were the artists active in the production of this great Roman event<sup>11</sup>. Immediately striking is the importance of machines, lamps, and the concept of dressing interiors.

Inside the Basilica of Saint Peter, special attention was paid to the area of the crossing, where a structure known as the 'theatre' was built, initially designed by Paolo Guidotti (1560-1629), known as *Cavalier Borghese*. Contemporary sources point out its size and say that 'the space was, in length, more than a hundred steps [long], and the width of the room alone [was] sixty-six steps, and [it was] fifty spans high'<sup>12</sup>. This note not only allowed the reconstruction of the volume of this object, but also provided a better understanding of the work its completion entailed, which must have mobilised a considerable number of artists and craftsmen. The structure had three entrances, one on its façade facing the church door to the east, and the other two on the sides, and was adorned with Corinthian elements, made many months in advance<sup>13</sup>.

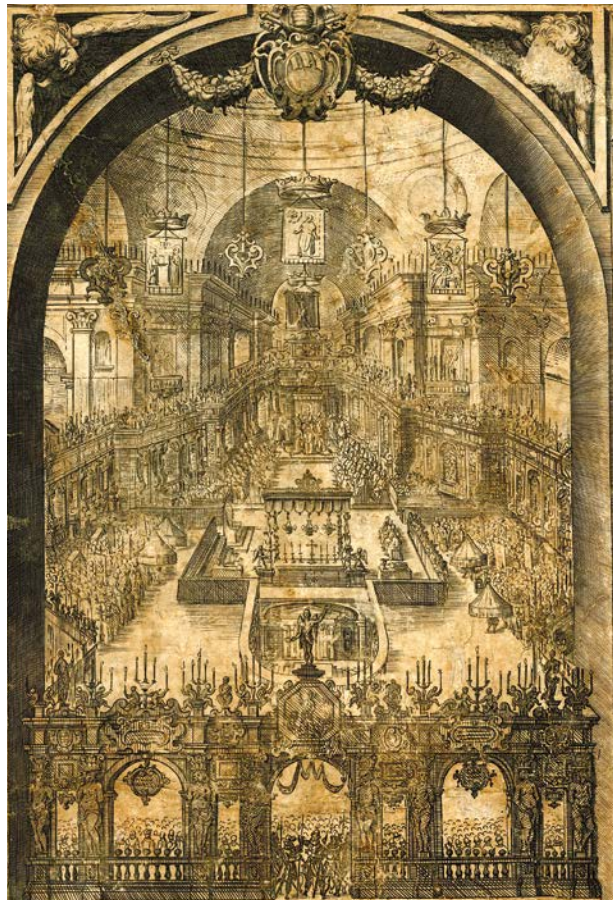
This 'theatre' also had many elaborate arches, simulating gold and white and coloured stones, around which were several boxes for the convenience of the people watching; paintings of the miracles of Saint Isidore; various inscriptions and statues; and a large number of lit torches around its cornice. Today it would be unthinkable to recreate this structure, bringing torches together with various inflammable materials, such as the paints mentioned. However, at the time the event appears to have been quite successful, and it was not the last one resorting to such substances and set up in this location. The similarity with the 'theatre' structure by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680)<sup>14</sup> prepared for the canonisation of Isabella of Aragon (1282-1325), in 1625, or the one set up for the canonisation of the Carmelite Andrea Corsini (1301-1374) in 1629, both equally in Saint Peter's at the Vatican, should be noted<sup>15</sup>.

In addition to the description of the main structure, there is reference to four very large crowns raised in the air, from which four flags or banners were hung, in a very light red silk fabric, with pleats, fringes and other trimmings. The first, hanging at the head of the church, towards the Pope's chair, had the image of Saint Isidore. The second, on the right, had representations of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier; next to it hung that of Saint Teresa of Avila; and above the entrance, that of Saint Philip Neri. Although this information is rather descriptive, it is fundamental to understand the trope of the procession, addressed below, organised around the handing of these pieces to the churches of the nations or orders of the saints.

As for the procession, it began in the Basilica of Saint Peter on the 13th of March and included banners with the four saints. The procession, which aimed to take each of the

banners to their respective churches, crossed the Ponte Sant'Angelo and then continued, through Banchi and Monte Giordano, to the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, where it left the banner of Saint Philip Neri. The procession then headed for the church of Saint James, of the Spanish nation, in Piazza Navona, where the second flag, with the figure of Saint Isidore, remained. Thirdly, it headed towards the church of the Santissimo Nome di Gesù ('Most Holy Name of Jesus'), where the flags with Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier were handed over. Finally, the procession headed towards Ponte Sisto, in the direction of Trastevere, ending at the church of Santa Maria della Scalla of the Discalced Carmelite Fathers, where they left the fifth banner, representing Saint Teresa of Avila<sup>16</sup>.

The procession was organised in a specific order. First came the friars of Saint John Calybite, followed by the Fathers of Redemption, those of Saint Hadrian, those of Saint Humphrey, the Minims, the Capuchins, those of the Third Order, and many others. This apparatus also mobilised cardinals, wearing the richest priestly vestments and white damask mitres, and, after them, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and prelates of the Roman court, as well as ambassadors and many other illustrious people.



Johann Friedrich Greuter  
(ca. 1590-1662)  
*Details of the canonisation of Ignatius  
of Loyola and Francis Xavier*  
Engraving, 1623  
Rome, Archivio della Congregazione  
dell'Oratorio di San Filippo Neri, Codice  
Iconografico del Santo, Tav. XXXVI, 4

The ornaments exalted some of these powers, that of the Pope, that of the Catholic King, and those of some cardinals. Saint Peter's Square was full of carriages with Swiss guards and cavalymen, which also suggested the weight of these authorities.

In the specific case of the celebrations in the space of the Society of Jesus, cartouches with scenes from the life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier were placed on the façade of the church of the Gesù. This church was central, not least because it was the place where Ignatius of Loyola was buried, as can be seen in the engraving '*Domvs Ac Pietatis Opera, Qvæ B. P. Ignativs Romæ Facienda, Qvæq. Societas Svæ Cvræ Habet.*'<sup>17</sup>. It became truly hagiographic, displaying, on the right-hand side of the façade, stories painted in chiaroscuro and, on the left-hand side, stories in colour. Half of these paintings referred to the biography of Ignatius of Loyola and the other half to the life story of Francis Xavier. Although the reason for this visual option is unknown, it was carefully thought out, since both the cartouches and the festoons and inscriptions that completed the pictorial component respected the design of the façade, having been placed between columns and pilasters and giving a new perspective to the whole.

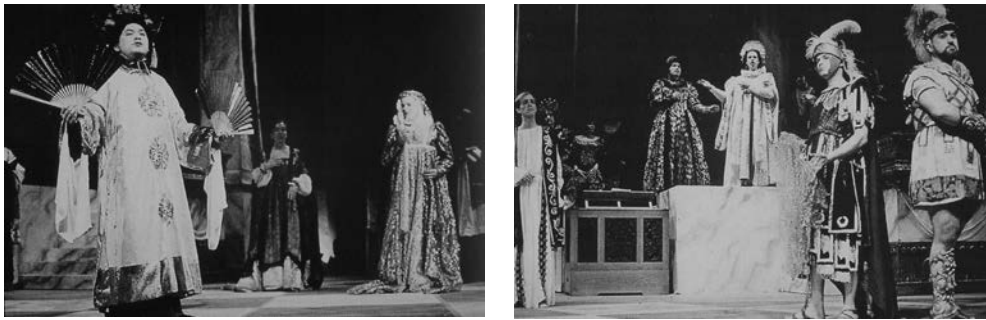
According to Giacinto Gigli, the interior of the church was graced by the placement of an image of Ignatius of Loyola on an altar, which also received a structure with five paintings depicting his life. Next to this altar, another one was built, made of wood, similar to the first, with columns and paintings, and there a portrait of Francis Xavier was placed, as well as five other paintings depicting scenes from his life.

In addition to these pictorial features, the frieze of the church's cornice was enhanced with more than a hundred paintings portraying *Martyrs* of the Society, and with several christograms on wooden shields, carved, painted, and gilded, placed between each. Among these martyrs were several Portuguese, which denotes the weight that these missionaries had in Rome. These included Gonçalo Silveira (1521-1561), who was the first Superior of the Professed House of São Roque, the *Forty Martyrs of Brazil*, 38 of whom were Portuguese<sup>18</sup>, and the Blessed Francisco Aranha (1551-1583), whose face was painted by Brother Manuel Henriques (1593-1654)<sup>19</sup>.

The decoration of the walls was subsidiary to this iconographic element, but, in some instances, was itself revealing of the power of the Society of Jesus. The mural draperies of the church of the Gesù were almost entirely covered with gold brocades and silk fabrics, from the floor up to the cornice, where some twenty-four paintings depicting the miracles of both saints stood out. On the architrave, above the columns of the high altar, hung three paintings with the portraits of Saint Teresa of Avila, Saint Isidore, and Saint Philip Neri, as a sign of courtesy to the jointly canonised peers of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier.

In addition to these compositions in fabric, it should be noted that the priests of the Society of Jesus had already lent the Basilica of Saint Peter a set of tapestries with stories from the *New Testament*, belonging to the aforementioned church of the Gesù. The use of textiles other than tapestries in no way reduced the final effect and the impact the dressing of the walls had on those who observed them up close.

There is no explicit mention of the musical component of the feast, although there certainly will have been chiming of bells and the usual chanting and charamelas. Moreover, it was on this occasion that Johannes Hieronimus Kapsberger (ca. 1580-1651) was commissioned to write the opera *Apotheosis sive consecratio SS. Ignatii and Francisci Xaverii*, composed of five acts<sup>20</sup>. This opera was presented in the great hall of the Roman College, from which performance survives the programme *Ritratto, & argomento Dell'apoteose, O consagracione De ' Santi Ignatio Loiola, E Francesco Saverio. Rappresentata nel Collegio Romano, nelle feste della loro Canonizatione, l'anno M. DC. XXII*<sup>21</sup>, by Mathaeus Greteur. This includes the pictorial representation of three moments of the performance and of two plaster sculptures of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier, which were preserved in the villa Mondragone in Frascati<sup>22</sup>. This performance was enacted again in 1991 at Boston College, of which some photographic records are preserved.



Frames from the 1991 staging of the *Apotheosis or Consecration of Saints Ignatius [of Loyola] and Francis Xavier*  
Boston, Jesuit Institute, Boston College

### Scene III: Madrid in 1622

Pursuing the search for possible sources that explain the success of the celebrations of the double canonisation of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier in Portugal, particularly in Lisbon, attention should now be paid to what happened in Madrid, the capital of the nation that gave birth to these two new saints, and also to Saint Teresa of Avila and, especially, Saint Isidore, the patron saint of that city.

In the account narrated by Fernando de Monforte y Herrera (17th century), the king followed all the events and distributed his visits among the various religious houses that were responsible for the festivities for the four Spanish saints<sup>23</sup>.

The Colegio Imperial in Madrid was the stage for the Jesuits' festivities. Given the expected visit by the monarch, the decoration of the space and surrounding areas must have been especially scrupulous. Apart from the leading role played by the students, the congregation of the Immaculate Conception, based at the College, was also responsible for a significant part of the organisation of the festivities. Prominent roles were also



Adriaen and Jan II Collaert, Theodor (1571-1633) and Cornelis Galle (the Elder) (1576-1650) and Carel van Mallery (1571-1635?)

*Frontispiece of the work of Pedro de Ribadeneyra – Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu fundatoris ad viuum expressa ex ea quam, Antuerpiae: [s. n], MDCX [1610] Engraving*

Lisbon, Província Portuguesa da Companhia de Jesus | Brotéria

played by the main elements of the 'Colegio', the religious sphere and the State apparatus, in addition to representatives of the kingdom of Navarre and the lords of Guipuzcoa.

The new saints were placed on the high altar, and in much of the ornamentation of the church and the exterior featured double-headed eagles, an animal symbolically associated with the Habsburgs. There were banners embroidered with scenes under the subject of *Roman Emperors*. Interspersed with these textile pieces, were many pieces of silver, bouquets, among which the cardboard escutcheons with dedications to saints and hymns stood out.

However, much of the festivities took place in the streets of Madrid, with a great number of parades, cavalcades and processions described. Apropos one of these processions, the author of the account describes the precedence applied, justifying the fact that the Society of Jesus came last because it was 'modern religion'.

As in Rome, a procession paraded pennants and banners bearing representations of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier on Milan canvas with a white background and variegated embroidery. In addition to these images, the banners also bore the family arms of each saint, intertwined with those of the monarch. As shall be seen, this aspect seems to have been part of a programme that was applied in multiple places.

In one of the elevations of the College, an large altar was built, consecrated to the five saints, full of urns and reliquaries. From the set, the representation of a large pelican, made of feathers, stood out, possibly an automaton, wounded in the chest and stained with painted blood.

At the door of the courtyard of the schools, a large platform was set up, with a plethora of silver decorations, and an enormous castle was erected, in memory of the one in Pamplona, where the miracle of the *Conversion* of Saint Ignatius took place, following the battle defending Navarre. The structure displayed a strong heraldic component. Coats of arms of the Habsburgs, the Guipuzcoa, and several mottoes marked a propagandistic discourse, along with a multitude of half-bodies of saints and other reliquaries, arranged among Doric-inspired triglyphs, opened in the shape of a window.

One of the figures that stood out in the ensemble was an image of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, placed at the door of the military structure, commissioned by the inquisitor-general Andres Pacheco (1550-1626). As is known, the Immaculate Conception was one of the greatest devotions of Filipe II of Portugal (1598-1621), who ordered the Municipal Senate of Lisbon to have open signs carved in stone on the main gates to the city, referring to the dogma of the conception of the Virgin free of original sin<sup>24</sup>.

The list of activities that took place during those days included 'quadrilha' dances and parades of 'gigantones' (human shaped giant dolls with heads in papier mâché). Still, the two highlights were undoubtedly the procession and the Triumph, which resembled a *Roman pompa triumphalis*. The procession was attended by the kings, who were seated in a canopied podium. From the Triumph parade, the floats, under the theme of the *Four Parts of the World* stood out. Although other notable allegories had existed, this particular subject was famous in Spain, as evidenced by the *Autos Sacramentales* by Tirso de Molina (1578-1648), whose publication reinforced the theme's importance within the theatrical production of the *Siglo de Oro*<sup>25</sup>, with significant impact on the author of the account of the present event.

America, sporting a crocodile, was surrounded by Indians, Araucanians, Brazilians (at the time under Habsburg sovereignty), and Mexicans, all of whom could be distinguished by their costumes. Asia had a cortège of Persians, Indians, Chinese and Tartars. Strangely enough, it was accompanied by an armadillo, a mammal from the New World, possibly due to some confusion on the part of those organising the event, or a mistake on the part of the narrator. Yet, besides this animal, the account states that the main allegory was mounted on an 'abada'<sup>26</sup>.

Africa's procession was made up of Moors with their turbans, and black people, although it was not possible to determine to which region of the continent they belonged; it culminated in three elephants covered in silver.

Finally, Europe, paraded alongside Turks, Germans, French and, above all, Spaniards, on horseback. Thus ended the earthly representation and the celestial performance began, with Andromeda, Cassiopeia, and other constellations and stars.

Equally erudite was the performance headed by Apollo, god of poetry and the sun, where twelve hagiographic works referring to the two saints, symbolised by the twelve signs of the zodiac, were presented. The choice of Apollo was not accidental, but rather a reference to the episode in which Ignatius of Loyola tells Francis Xavier *Ite, inflamate omnia* (Go, and inflame the world) or to the sun that surrounds the Christogram of the Society of Jesus, established in the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* by Jerónimo Nadal (1507-1580), with engravings by Hieronymus Wierix (1553-1619), published in 1593<sup>27</sup>.

Among the various processions, the Triumph, and the aforementioned play, there was the staging of a play alluding to the symbolic destruction of Luther and his followers, in which Saint Ignatius fought a dragon laden with pyrotechnic devices, who bellowed until it burst into flames.

Finally, it should be noted that one of the days of the celebration was conducted by the Portuguese nation, with the mass officiated by bishop Francisco de Bragança (?-1634)<sup>28</sup>. Many noblemen and representatives of different religious orders were present, and the monarchs watched the performance of a dialogue especially written by Lope de Vega (1562-1635) for this occasion. This performative act centred on the representations of Guipuzcoa, Navarre and the 'East Indies', which formed the 'conquering' Spain, and achievements of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. The exhibition led to a literary competition, which was attended by the young Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681), who, like Lope de Vega, had studied with the Jesuits. This playwright won two awards. One in the novel category, with the poem "Con el cabello erizado", and another in a cinquain competition, with the text "Tirana la idolatría"<sup>29</sup>.

## Second act: episodes of the celebrations in portugal

### Scene I: places and times

As in the previous events, news of the double canonisation of the founders of the Society of Jesus reached the Jesuit Province of Portugal relatively early, via copies of the Apostolic Bulls received between 14 April and the first days of June 1622 in the main houses of the order in Lisbon, Coimbra, Évora, Braga, Bragança, Vila Viçosa, Porto, Portalegre, São Fins de Friestas, Funchal, and Terceira<sup>30</sup>.

With the exception of the College of Coimbra, where celebrations took place between the 12th and the 19th of June due to the school calendar and the need to fit them before the summer break, most of the celebrations took place around the 31st of July, the Day of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, which supports the idea of his centrality in this joint feast. This corroborates the idea that the festivities in Lisbon were indeed not the model for the all the celebrations, as by this time they were still in preparation.

In its turn, the festival in Porto was the last to take place. This was apparently due to the fact that the new church was still being completed, postponing the celebration to the week between the 15th and the 23rd of October 1622. Indeed, it is nowadays known that this church grew gradually between 1614 and 1625<sup>31</sup>, meaning that by the time the event was held it may not have been yet finished, although it will have had the necessary structures to accommodate mass and the explanation of riddles and dialogues. This idea is, in fact, confirmed in an excerpt of the account of the festival, whose importance justifies its reproduction here, in spite of its length:

"As to the crossing and chancel, they are completely finished; only the body of the Church does not have as yet more than one chapel on each side, and then the choir, which was arranged as well as possible; nonetheless, it is still able to accommodate many people, and is 58 spans long, measured from where the crossing ends. The latter is 93 spans long and 37,5 wide; it is closed by a vault so beautiful and well decorated, it looks like one single piece; serving as keystone was the Holy Name of Jesus set in a remarkably large stone escutcheon. The rays and lettering are golden, [as well as] the escutcheon in places, which lends greater beauty [to it all]<sup>32</sup>

The celebrations started in all the houses as soon as the news were received, with masses and pyrotechnic machines. The more complex programmes, which included the construction of theatres, machines for the procession, and other apparatus for the Triumphs, were left for later dates, apparently to allow for a more refined organisation of the space, devices, and costumes to be used.

The first of the festivals was that of Coimbra, and although it preceded the one in Lisbon, it did not necessarily provide a model for the rest of the country. Although there was no time to make specially designed pieces for the event, the Jesuits dressed up the church of the College of Jesus with the best materials and objects in their possession. An example of this effort is the use of 'panos de armar' (embroidered fabric hangings) with scenes from the story of Troy, a theme already employed in Lisbon's celebrations of the beatification, in the recreation of Priam's castle and the large machine simulating the famous horse.

Panels of the life of Saint Ignatius were also used, which, given the short time for the preparations, must have been reused from another occasion. Reusing materials was not unprecedented. The account of the celebrations of the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola in Lisbon, for example, tells that the Municipal Senate had at one point put out a public call for the 'armações' (rich textile furnishings) to be cleaned, so that all the festive trappings usually employed on other solemn occasions could also be used on that one.

In Porto, the church was decorated with textiles from China lent by Diogo Lopes de Sousa (ca. 1595-1640), Earl of Miranda and Governor of that city<sup>33</sup>. In Lisbon, the church of São Roque was adorned with 'panos de armar' with the coat of arms of the Távora family, loaned by Leonor Coutinho (ca. 1585-1648), Countess of Vidigueira, which she had inherited from her parents and grandparents<sup>34</sup>.

Coimbra displayed the said 'panos de armar' telling the story of the fall of Troy, as well as others bearing the coat of arms of the Duke of Caminha, who at the time was Miguel Luís de Meneses (ca. 1565-1637), a descendant of the marquises of Vila Real, from whose treasury had come all those textile pieces. Such loans were not new, as the festival for the beatification of Saint Ignatius in Lisbon and the celebration of his canonisation in Rome amply demonstrate. On the first occasion, implements were loaned by the Royal Treasury to the church of São Roque; on the second, the Society of Jesus lent some tapestries to the Basilica of Saint Peter in the Vatican.

The use of painted textile panels or banners seems to have been well accepted in Portugal, as had happened in Rome and Madrid. Concrete proof of the use of this model is the description, in the account of the festival in Vila Viçosa, of a great pole with a large sphere being raised, from which hung a two-pointed banner painted in various colours, with the two Patriarchs painted on it<sup>35</sup>. Attention should be paid to the narrator's comment that in that festival the panels and flags were usually 'carried following the model of the Corpus Christi procession in Lisbon'<sup>36</sup>.

In Braga and Terceira, identical structures were erected, respectively in the field of Santiago and near the College of Angra do Heroísmo, with a banner bearing the image of the two Jesuit saints and a flag with the full-body image of Saint Ignatius of Loyola<sup>37</sup>. At the College of São Lourenço, in Porto, a different solution was found. White taffeta banners were hung in the middle of the vaulted ceiling, displaying paintings of the two saints<sup>38</sup>, with the usual flags bearing their portraits hanging in the Rua Nova, in front of the school.<sup>39</sup>

In the case of the festivities in Bragança, the means found to show the image of the newly-canonised was again pictorial, displayed on a banner topped by a globe and a cross<sup>40</sup>.

The variety of contributory sources that reveal the face of Ignatius of Loyola – from the *post-mortem* mask, seen by few, to the engravings of Pedro de Ribadeneira's works, which reached countless people – explain the ease with which these copies were produced<sup>41</sup>.

## Scene II: contents

As for the various subjects employed in the festivities, those in Lisbon paid special attention to the *Martyrs*. In the courtyard of the lodge of São Roque, several panels were set up displaying portraits of martyrs of the Society, with data relating to the place of birth and martyrdom of each<sup>42</sup>. In the representation of the *Four parts of the world* a martyrdom was staged, as a reference to all those who had lost their lives in the service of the Society. In a 'sea of mock waves, through which heads and arms of the Martyred Saints that were thrown in the sea could be seen'<sup>43</sup>.

In Madeira, a step was built, upon which a tree of *Martyrs of the Society* was raised, with half-bodies scattered throughout the various trunks and branches. In this structure could be seen 'Gonçalo da Silveira drowned in a towel, Francisco Aranha turned into a hedgehog of arrows, father Jorge Fernandes run through with a halberd, a cleaver stuck in the head of Saint Vicente Álvares, dyed in his own blood, and others with many kinds of martyrdoms.'<sup>44</sup> Yet, it was the College of Braga whose iconographic programme came



Cornelis Galle (1576-1650), Jean Baptiste Barbé (1578-1649)  
and Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640)  
Frontispiece of the *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fvndatoris. Romae*: [s. n.],  
1609 [1st Edition] Engraving  
Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Inv. EA-11-P

closest to that laid out in Rome. Inside the church, a frame was built with paintings of the *Martyrs of the Society of Jesus*, arranged into two orders, which, according to the narrator, were dispersed throughout the entire temple<sup>45</sup>.

It should be noted that the subject will have gained strength from the publication of the treaty *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei*, by Roberto Belarmino (1542-1621)<sup>46</sup>, in which that Jesuit cardinal presents the advantages of intensifying the cult to the martyrs and the saints, as well as from the *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales, que autres païs de la decouverte des Portugais, en l'establissement & progres de la foy Chrestienne & Catholique; Et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Iesus y ont fait, & enduré par le mesme fin*, by Pierre du Jarric, published in 1610, whose frontispiece was composed by cartouches referring to some Jesuit *Martyrs*. Indeed, the second work may even have been an important source of inspiration for the recreation of this discourse inside churches<sup>47</sup>.

Another recurrent theme in many of these festivities was the *Conversion* of Saint Ignatius, a crucial event resulting from his participation in the Battle of Pamplona. Besides being mentioned in some of the celebrations of his beatification, such as that in Évora, this episode was also re-enacted in the canonisation celebrations in Madrid, and then recreated in the same celebrations in Lisbon, where a wooden and plaster structure with four sentries was erected in the courtyard of the church of São Roque, recreating that event<sup>48</sup>.

In Évora, also in 1622, a theatre, eleven spans long, was set up in the courtyard of the University, representing the city of Pamplona<sup>49</sup>, and in Porto, a pyrotechnic structure was built to recreate the territory of Navarre and the battle against the French<sup>50</sup>.

For the procession in Évora, however, a different solution was found. There, one of the floats reproduced the same episode, recreating the rocks and caves of Monserrate and the altar to the Virgin where the knight placed his sword, in an act of detachment from the life he had led<sup>51</sup>.

The College of Funchal also came up with an original display for the same theme. The College had a triumphal arch with the Tower of Pamplona erected, with a standing Ignatius of Loyola, armed with sword and dagger, marking the area where a live play was performed.

Another theme extensively explored in the context of these celebrations was that of allegories to different geographical areas. Not only the more common representations of the *Four Continents* but also, and especially, those regions the Missionaries of the Society had reached.

As on the occasion of the beatification, in the celebrations of the canonisation in Lisbon, a Triumph was performed, and in the second Applause dedicated to the city featured Europe, Asia, America, and Africa, which provided a dance of birds, with two eagles, two peacocks, two parrots, and an emu, respectively.

The same allegories continued in a procession, enthroned, and accompanied by other identifying elements: America with an armadillo, Africa with a crocodile, Asia with an 'abada' (rhinoceros), and Europe with a 'sea bull' (manatin)<sup>52</sup>.



Cornelis Galle (1576-1650), Jean Baptiste Barbé (1578-1649)  
and Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640)  
*Battle of Pamplona in Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesv Fvndatoris. Romae: [s. n.],  
1609 [1st Edition] Engraving*  
Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Inv. EA-11-P

In Évora, this subject was used in a different way. As a triumphal procession took place, several allegorical figures came out. Among Idolatriy, on the back of a crocodile, Heresy, riding a seven-headed Hydra, and Fame mounting a dolphin, came Europe on a sea bull and

Asia on an elephant. Unfortunately, the account is not clear as to why Africa and America were left out.

The College of São Paulo in Braga organised a performance accompanied by a hymn whose theme focused on the *Triumph of the Holy Cross*, in which the new saints handed over this instrument of the Passion to Christ. In the theatrical piece, among angels, archangels, and other saints, richly dressed figurations of Asia, Africa, America, and Europe were paraded<sup>53</sup>. In addition to this performance, another festive circumstance saw several floats go out, one of which had as company the *Four Parts of the World* mounted on animals: Asia on an elephant, as in Évora, America on a peacock – an animal that was associated with Asia in the Lisbon festivities – Europe on horseback, and Africa on a lion<sup>54</sup>.

The celebrations in Vila Viçosa and Porto also resorted to these allegories. The Professed House of Vila Viçosa made use of this metaphorical resource in the procession it organised. Instead of the usual *Four Parts of the World*, its description refers the Provinces located in all the 'five parts of the world'. It is not known if the number was a mistake of the author or if it was intentional.

The procession in Porto had several floats, of which one was dedicated to the Blessed Name of Jesus. After it, came Africa paired with Asia, and Europe with America. The female figure personifying the first continent was mounted on an elephant, and Asia sat on a camel; Europe rode a bull and America a crocodile<sup>55</sup>.

The use of animal figurations, variable as it was, can be associated with cartography and the new narratives being published in the 16th century describing the diverse fauna in several territories, but also with the sources engraved by Maerten de Vos (1532-1603), Cesare Ripa (ca.1555-1622) and Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560-1618), among others.

Indeed, the Portuguese cultural context was conducive to such figurations. In Lisbon, new species of fauna and flora were frequently traded, thanks to cultural encounters with Africa, Asia, and America, which not only attracted the attention of merchants and missionaries, but also the consumption of monarchs and ecclesiastics. The rhinoceros that the sultan of Gujarat sent to King Manuel (1469-1521) and was engraved by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), and Hanno, the elephant the same monarch sent to Pope Leo X and was encapsulated by Francisco de Holanda (1517-1585), widen the range of sources of inspiration for the ephemeral production of these animals in a festive context<sup>56</sup>.

Another relevant source for this is the *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey D. Filipe II. N. S. Ao Reyno de Portvgal*, by the cosmographer João Baptista Lavanha (ca. 1550-1624), as it mentions that the *Four parts of the world* were raised in the Arc of Lisbon's merchants, which shows how popular a subject it was for ephemeral structures at the time<sup>57</sup>.

What is more, that same theme was later used in the painting of the ceiling of the church of Saint Ignatius in Rome, where the composition of the *Glorification of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, by Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), includes these representations. The same happens on the ceiling of the church of the old Jesuit college in Santarém, the current cathedral,



Giovanni Battista Gaulli (1639-1709)  
*Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier*  
Oil on canvas, ca. 1675-1685  
Toulouse, Musée des Augustins. Musée des Beaux-Arts de Toulouse, Inv. RO 417

now known to have been painted by António Simões Ribeiro (?-1755). There, the allegories of Africa, Asia, America, and Europe can be seen in the four corners of the work<sup>58</sup>.

The decorative and, simultaneously, didactical programmes applied to these celebrations also made use of emblems, epigrams, and other literary and graphic resources. In the College of São Patrício dos Irlandeses (Saint Patrick of the Irish), where the seminary for the students from that country ran, the courtyard was decorated with these riddles. In Bragança, the triumphal floats dedicated to Aloysius Gonzaga and Ignatius of Loyola also had allegorical compositions taken from *Emblematas*. It should be noted that the culture of the *Emblematas* and the *Hieroglifica* was well established in the *Ratio Studiorum* and in the *praxis* of the colleges, and that works such as the *Emblematum libellus*, by Andrea Alciato (1534), the *Empresas Morales*, by Juan de Borja (1581), the *Iconologia overo Descrittione dell'Imagini universalì*, by Cesare Ripa (1593), the *Veredictus Christianus*, by Jan David (1601), or the *Emblemas Morales*, by Sebastian de Covarrubias (1610), were to be found in the libraries of these educational institutions<sup>59</sup>.

As for references to the canonisation of the five saints, such as occurred in the church of the Gesù in Rome or in the retable structure in one of the aisles of the college in Madrid, there is only one record in Portugal of a similar instance, and that was in Braga. In the procession promoted by the brotherhood of the Holy Cross, a tree, decorated with stones and gold pieces, was erected on one of the floats, bearing representations of the Five Wounds of Christ. From each wound sprouted a bunch of flowers, from which hung a crown, honouring each of the five saints: Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Teresa of Avila, Philip Neri, and Isidore of Madrid<sup>60</sup>.

Although there is no trace of any echoes in Portugal of the opera *Apotheosis sive consecratio SS. Ignatii et Francisci Xaverii*, the tragicomedy in five acts *Santo Inácio* was performed in Évora, which, like Kapsberger's work, told the life story of the saint<sup>61</sup>. The first act was about Ignatius's militia and the episode of the Battle of Pamplona; the second, about his *Conversion* in Monserrate and penance in Manresa<sup>62</sup>. The third part of the tragicomedy was about his studies in Paris and the *Conversion* of Francis Xavier. The fourth act concerned King João III's (1502-1557) request to the pope for permission to enlist the help of the priests of the Society of Jesus in the spiritual conquest of the East and culminated in Xavier's death. The fifth and final act dealt with the *Passing* of the Apostle of the East. All the episodes were accompanied by choirs and various instruments.

## Act Three: the great small objects

### Scene I: relics and reliquaries

Another particularly important but little mentioned aspect in the context of the veneration of Saint Ignatius, is that of his relics. This can partly answer the penultimate question of the present article, about the possible way of strengthening a relationship with the Saint, not only giving another meaning to the festivities as a ritual of passage from the

earthly to the sacred sphere, but also allowing the proliferation of cult objects that united believers to the saint. It is worth remembering that in order to speed up this cult process, the veneration of saints relics – provided they were previously approved – had been proclaimed on the 3rd of December 1563 in Trent, which was particularly significant for the Society of Jesus.

Rome held the body of the Institute's founder, and other tangible memories of his earthly existence were distributed to the various Assistancies.

The accounts of the canonisation festivals are almost silent with regard to reliquaries of the saint. However, it should be mentioned that in the procession led by the priests of the House of São Roque in Lisbon, the Bishop of Targa, accompanied by the Royal Chapel, carried under his pallium a relic of Ignatius of Loyola<sup>63</sup>. Was this the same arm-shaped reliquary as described at the beatification celebrations? It is difficult to ascertain, not least because the piece disappeared at an unknown moment in time.

Similar situations seem to have occurred in the processions in Braga and Vila Viçosa, in which the relics of Saint Ignatius of Loyola were carried by, respectively, Fr. António dos Santos, Bishop of Nicomedia (?-1641), and Father Manuel Álvares (1572-1655), confessor to Teodósio, Duke of Bragança (1568-1630)<sup>64</sup>. It is known that, in the latter case, the reliquary was also in the shape of a silver arm, following one of the most popular models within the Society since 1615, when the forearm of Francis Xavier was taken to the church of the Gesù in Rome, was divided into several relics and subsequently distributed to Jesuit houses.

Another cherished object that seems to have been exhibited on this date was the one used upon the image of Saint Ignatius that was exhibited in the procession of Coimbra: a black silk cassock with surplice and stole, with which the saint celebrated mass in life, and which was preserved as a relic in that college<sup>65</sup>. Although its fate is unknown, or if there were other relics of the same type, it too should be included in this list of devotional pieces.

These references bring new questions: What relics were these? What typologies were there, besides the silver arm? What happened to these reliquaries? How was the cassock of Saint Ignatius preserved? Are any of the first relics mentioned preserved in the patrimony of the Society of Jesus? A reliquary bust and a phial mounted in gilded bronze, formally identical to one preserved in the Sé Nova of Coimbra but containing hairs of Our Lady<sup>66</sup>?

A similar way of materialising devotion and bringing believers closer to the Saint was the practice of wearing votive medals with the representation either of his full body or his effigy, establishing a link between the wearer and the sacred domain to which the one portrayed belonged. There are reports of goldsmiths making this kind of object during the celebrations for the beatification of Ignatius of Loyola in Lisbon, for example. Some chiselled 'gold and silver figures' and others cast medals with the whole figure in small scale, so they could be worn 'in a rosary, or around the neck, or on the head'. The silk embroiderers were also ordered to increase their production, because 'some ladies will



**Reliquary-Monstrance**  
*Silver and glass, 17th century*  
Lisbon, Museu de São Roque, Santa Casa da Misericórdia, Inv. RL. 60

have their small scapulars made in black taffeta, to wear, as they usually do, around their necks<sup>67</sup>.

In the course of the joint canonisation, the practice of wearing medals and other devotional objects, such as crowns, rosaries, images, and crosses, referring to the canonisation of Saints Isidore, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Teresa of Avila, and Philip Neri, was legitimised through the Indulgences granted by Gregory XV (1554-1623)<sup>68</sup>. Those located in the convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha, in Coimbra, the ones held in various private collections, and the pendants in the collection of the Museum of São Roque show how deeply rooted this custom was in Portuguese culture<sup>69</sup>.

### **Scene II: expressions of the material culture of the portuguese assistency**

As to the final question, about the objects of material culture from the Assistency of Portugal that told these festivities apart, the account of the celebrations in the church

of São Roque noted the existence of various embroidered silks, carpets, and bedspreads, which showed 'the power, nobility, and wealth of the Kingdom of Portugal'<sup>70</sup>.

In the general description of the ceremonies in the streets of Lisbon, the fact that many windows were decorated with carpets from Persia, embroideries from China, and European silks and fabrics stands out<sup>71</sup>. The courtyard of the College of São Patrício in the same city displayed embroidered fabrics from that same region in Asia<sup>72</sup>.

Numerous figures displayed detailed costumes, among which should be noted those representing this nation in the Porto procession, wearing – in the words of the account – 'various silks and colours, of all that come to Portugal from that kingdom'<sup>73</sup>. There is a more specific record, in the fifth Applause, of a spear carrier bearing a mantle from China, covered in birds<sup>74</sup>.

The armours worn by the figures of Faith and Zeal in the Lisbon celebrations, a little more distant from the functions of the earlier types, were varnished with charon and engraved in gold. Unfortunately, it is unknown if the morion acted as a *pendant* with the breastplate, which was described as also being of Chinese manufacture<sup>75</sup>.

In Évora, at one of the exhibitions held by the priests of the College of Espírito Santo, Indian mats and a cushion 'in the Japanese style' were displayed, as well as a large silk sun hat from India, which sheltered the figure of Saint Francis Xavier<sup>76</sup>.

The festival in Braga also employed figures, such as that of Asia, which sported clothes from India with trimmings<sup>77</sup>.

The account of the festival in Vila Viçosa mentions a crucifix set in a gold pedestal, said to be very important, whose whereabouts are currently unknown<sup>78</sup>. It should be noted, however, that in this town, in what is now the church of São Bartolomeu, an Indo-Portuguese processional silver cross still remains that used to belong to the old Professed House of São João Evangelista.

## Conclusion

It is not the goal of this paper to present an exhaustive analysis of the celebrations of Ignatius of Loyola's canonisation in Portugal, nor to downplay Francis Xavier's role in them. It endeavours simply to reflect on the weight that the founder of the Society of Jesus had in 1622, in the light of a comparative analysis with the celebrations of his beatification and the celebrations of his canonisation in Rome and Madrid.

Having as starting point questions related to the transfer of programmes, some rituals and formal and decorative solutions were identified in the Holy See and in Madrid which were echoed in Lisbon, particularly in the Professed House of São Roque. From the use of painted banners indoors, where the iconography of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier was established, to the more appealing representation of the *Four Parts of the World*, and the dramatic force of the invocation of the Society's *Martyrs*, the canonisation festivals reached everyone and gave many the opportunity to stand out.

Cases such as the opening of the Royal Treasury, which had only occurred on the occasion of Filipe I's arrival at the 'cortes' in Tomar, were revealing of the power Cristóvão de Moura e Távora, the Viceroy of Portugal, had at the time. The loan of 'panos de armar' from China by Diogo Lopes de Sousa (ca. 1595-1640), the Count of Miranda and Governor of Porto is equally noteworthy<sup>79</sup>

Another of the aggregating moments, revealing of Ignatius's weight in this celebration was the staging of his *Conversion*, which resulted from his participation in the battle of Pamplona in 1521 and the subsequent abnegation of the life he had led up to that event. The failure of that fight, comparable to the conquest of Troy, became the motto for various forms of narrating the episode, from setting up ephemeral theatres with pyrotechnic features, to the performance of a tragicomedy, equally appealing to the public's senses

Although there are few contemporaneous examples expressing the material culture associated with Ignatius of Loyola, the information that can be gleaned indicates that, in the great performance that the Society of Jesus orchestrated in the main houses of the Province of Portugal, there were objects that had belonged to the Saint and were subsequently sacralised. Those objects or relics not only aided in the rite of passage from the earthly to the sacred sphere, but also inspired processions of their own. Unfortunately, very little is known about the current whereabouts of these objects.

The desire to materialise the devotion to the new saint also led to the production of miniatures of Saint Ignatius in gold and silver and to the casting of medals, some with the five new saints, others with his effigy alone. All this was validated by Indulgences from the Supreme Pontiff who, in an act showing his full power, bolstered the *cult* of relics and *images*, following one of the best-known designs instituted during the Council of Trent.

Finally, within the framework of material culture, it should be noted that there were objects in these festivals and houses from various parts of the Assistancy of Portugal, apparently different from those found in Rome and Madrid, except when they resulted from gifts. Objects such as textiles from China, carpets from Persia, black lacquer pieces, and other sumptuous items, whose existence is known today through correspondence and inventories, but seldom eternalised in the various accounts, due to the writers' economy of words.

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1. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Manuscritos da Livraria*, no. 486, fls. 153-164 v.: *Relação do que se fez em Lisboa na festa da beatificação do Patriarca Santo Ignacio na Casa de São Roque*. This information has been mentioned before by the author with Sílvia Ferreira in "Aplausos e triunfos em louvor de S. Francisco Xavier: as festas de beatificação nas cidades de Lisboa, Porto e Luanda". In Teresa de Freitas Morna; António Júlio Trigueiros; Maria João Pereira Coutinho (eds.) — *Missão, Espiritualidade e Arte em São Francisco Xavier: IV Centenário da Beatificação e do Ciclo Pictórico da Sacristia da Igreja de São Roque*. Lisbon: Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, 2020, pp. 160-209.

2. ANTT, *Manuscritos da Livraria*, no. 486, fls. 154 v.-155.

3. This horse was larger than life, the record stating it had 'five to six spans in diameter from feet to hands' and was carried by twenty-four men.

4. The narrative mentions, somewhat humorously, that they were 'All dressed as *foreigners*'.

5. The Society of Jesus was divided into various Assistancies (Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, and Germany) corresponding to geographical areas, which in turn administered various Provinces. The Assistancy of Portugal, for example, was in charge of the Provinces of Portugal (mainland, islands and African missions, Brazil, Goa and Malabar, and Japan). It also administered the Vice-provinces of China, and Maranhão and Grão-Pará.
6. An example of a path identical to the Portuguese one, followed between Rome and the Netherlands, can be seen in Annick Delfosse's study – "From Rome to the Southern Netherlands: Spectacular Sceneries to Celebrate the Canonization of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier". In Jennifer Mara DeSilva (ed.) – *The Sacralization of Space and Behavior in the Early Modern World: Studies and Sources*. London, New York, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016, pp. 141-159. For the parallelism drawn between Madrid and the rest of the Hispanic world, see Ignacio Arellano – "América en las fiestas Jesuitas celebraciones de San Ignacio y San Francisco Javier". *NRFH – Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, LVI, no. 1, 2008, pp. 53-86 [<https://nrfh.colmex.mx/index.php/nrfh/article/view/2384/2374>] and Miguel Gotor – "«Han canonizado a cuatro españoles y un santo». La propuesta hagiográfica del oratoriano Felipe Neri entre «el esplendor de Iberia» y «la gloriosa memoria de Enrique IV»". *Anuario De Historia De La Iglesia*, Vol. 29, 2020, pp. 261-289 [<https://revistas.unav.edu/index.php/anuario-de-historia-iglesia/article/view/39892/34202>].
7. Esther Jiménez Pablo – "La Canonización de Ignacio de Loyola (1622): Lucha de Intereses entre Roma, Madrid y París". *Chronica Nova*, 42, 2016, pp. 79-102 [<https://revistaseug.ugr.es/index.php/cnova/article/view/5016/5024>]; Martine Boiteux – "Rituale e immagini della santità nelle cerimonie di canonizzazioni romane". In Fernando Quiles García; José Jaime García Bernal; Paolo Broggio; Marcello Fagiolo (eds.) – *A la luz de Roma. Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericano: Volume I. La capital pontificia en la construcción de la santidad*. Seville, Rome: Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Roma Tre-Press, 2020, pp. 107-128.
8. Giovanni Briccio – *Relatione sommaria del solenne apparato, e cerimonia, fatta nella basilica di s. Pietro di Roma, per la canonizatione de' gloriosi santi Isidoro di Madrid, Ignatio di Lojola, Francesco Xaverio, Teresa di Giesu, e Filippo Nerio fiorentino, canonizzati della Santità di n. s. papa Gregorio XV à di 12 di marzo MDCXXII*, Rome, 1622 and *Relatione della solenne processione fatta in Roma nella trasportatione de' stendardi de' gloriosi santi Isidoro de Madrid, Ignatio Loyola e Francesco Xaverio, Teresa de Gesù et Filippo Neri fiorentino, dalla basilica di s. Pietro alle loro chiese particolari, con la descrizione dell' apparati & feste fatte in dette chiese, & altri luoghi ....*, Rome, 1622.
9. Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, Fondo Mss. Vitt. In. n. 811: *Memoria di Giacinto Gigli di alcune cose accadute nel suo tempo, cominciando dall'anno della sua età xml, che era l'anno del Signore MDCVIII e del Pontificato di Paolo papa V l'anno IIII*.
10. "Theatrum in ecclesia S. Petri in Vaticano sumptuosissimum hoc theatrum factum ad instantia Cuiusdam Matriti Architecto Paulo Guidotti Burghesio Equite Doctore et pictore egregio variis pulcherrimis inventionibus et picturis vita e et miraculorum S. Isidori ornatum et summo decore erectum ad solemnitatem Canonizationis dicti Sancti in quo una eadem die alii quatuor in Sanctorum album relati fuere. 12 Martii 1622". Two versions of this engraving are known to date, one is in the collection of the British Library, London, and the other is held by the Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma. It was first reproduced in *La Canonizzazione dei Santi Ignazio di Loiola Fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù e Francesco Saverio Apostolo dell'Oriente*. Rome: Grafia, S. A. I. Industrie Grafiche, 1922.
11. Alessandra Anselmi's research in the Archivio di Stato di Roma and in the Archivio Storico Capitolino has shown that more than seventy artists were active; see Alessandra Anselmi – "Roma celebra la monarchia spagnola: il teatro per la canonizzazione di Isidoro Agricola, Ignazio di Loyola, Francesco Saverio, Teresa di Gesù e Filippo Neri (1622)". In José Luis Colomer (ed.) – *Arte y diplomacia de la Monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Fernando Villaverde Ediciones, 2003, pp. 221-246.
12. The 'passos' ('steps') mentioned – from the Latin *passus* – are a unit of measurement equivalent to 82 cm.
13. Giovanni Briccio – *Relatione sommaria del solenne apparato, e cerimonia, fatta nella basilica di s. Pietro di Roma....*, *op. cit.*
14. Milton Pedro Dias Pacheco – "O Theatro e Aparato Solenne de Bernini: A Cerimónia de Canonização da Rainha Santa Isabel em 1625 através de uma gravura seiscentista". In António Manuel Ribeiro Rebelo; Carlota Miranda Urbano (eds.) – *Isabel, Rainha e Santa. Pervivência de um Culto Centenário*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2020, pp. 137-186.
15. Marcello Fagiolo – "Gran Teatro barocco" della santità ibero-americana, In Fernando Quiles García; José Jaime García Bernal; Paolo Broggio; Marcello Fagiolo (eds.) – *A la luz de Roma. Santos y santidad en el barroco iberoamericano: Volume I. La capital pontificia en la construcción de la santidad*. Seville, Rome: Pablo de Olavide University, Roma Tre-Press, 2020, pp. 19-42.
16. Giovanni Briccio – *Relatione della solenne processione fatta in Roma....*, *op. cit.*
17. This engraving belongs to the album of Pedro de Ribadeneyra – *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolæ Religionis Societatis Iesv Fvndatoris Ad Vivvm Expressa Ex Ea Qvam*. Antuerpiæ: [s. n], MDCX [1610].

18. On this subject, please refer to the text of Maria Cristina Osswald – “O martírio de Inácio de Azevedo e dos seus trinta e nove companheiros (1570) na hagiografia da Companhia de Jesus entre os séculos XVI e XIX”. *Cultura, Revista de História e Teoria das Ideias*, Vol. 27, 2010 [<http://journals.openedition.org/cultura/354>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/cultura.354>].
19. They were: Nuno Ribeiro, Portuguese, poisoned at Amboina (now Ambon, in the Moluccas), in August 1549; Pedro Correia, a student, and João de Sousa, a curate, both Portuguese, killed in Brazil on the 24th of December 1554; Luís Mendes, Portuguese, beheaded by Badagi near Cape Comorin in 1552; Afonso de Castro, Portuguese, crucified and beheaded near Ternate, in the Moluccas, on the 1st of January 1558; Gonçalo Silveira, Portuguese, strangled in Zimbabwe, kingdom of Monomotapa, on the 15th of March 1561; Francisco Lopes, Portuguese, beaten and thrown into the sea off the coast of Malabar, on the 29th of October 1568; the *Forty Martyrs of Brazil*, killed during their voyage from Portugal to Brazil, near the island of Palma, on the 15th of July 1570; Jorge Fernandes and Gomes de Amaral, Portuguese, killed in the 'port of Zaém', near Amboina, in the Moluccas, in 1580; António Francisco and Francisco Aranha, Portuguese, killed in Conculim on the island of Salcette, near Goa, on the 25th of July 1583; João de Abreu and Brásio Pereira, Portuguese, killed by the Dutch in Malacca, on the 29th of April 1606, and João Batista Machado de Távora, Portuguese, beheaded in Omura, Japan, on the 22nd of May 1617.
20. The autograph manuscript is in the Bibliothèque National de France (BNF), Paris, Département de la Musique, Res. F. 1075 and there is also a copy at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 16 Startseite, Musiksammlung, Signatur: Mus.Hs.16013; see T. Frank Kennedy, SJ – “Les Jésuites et la Musique”. In Giovanni Sale (ed.) – *L'Art des Jésuites*, Paris, Mengès, 2003, pp. 297-308 and “Candide and a Boat”. In John W. O'Malley, SJ; Gauvin Alexander Bailey; Steven J. Harris; T. Frank Kennedy, SJ (ed.) – *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1999, pp. 317-332.
21. Museo di Roma, Inv. GS 62: *Ritratto, & Argomento dell'Apoteose, o consagrazione de' Santi Ignatio Loiola, e Francesco Saverio. Rappresentata nel Collegio Romano, nelle feste della loro Canonizatione, l'anno M. DC. XXII*.
22. *La Canonizzazione dei Santi Ignazio di Loiola Fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù e Francesco Saverio Apostolo dell'Oriente*. Rome: Grafia, S. A. I. Industrie Grafiche, 1922.
23. Fernando de Monforte y Herrera – *Relacion de las fiestas que ha hecho el Colegio Imperial de la Compañia de Jesus de Madrid en la canonizacion de San Ignacio de Loyola, y S. Francisco Xavier*. En Madrid: Por Luis Sanchez, 1622.
24. Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, *Chancelaria Régia*, Livro 1º de D. Filipe II (Book I of King Filipe II), doc. 122, fls. 204-205 v.: [Filipe II gives permission to write invocations to the Virgin Mary on the main gates of the city].
25. Miguel Zugasti – “La Alegoría de América en el Teatro Barroco Español hasta Calderón de la Barca”. In Mercedes de los Reyes Peña; Concepción Reverte Bernal (ed.) – *América y el teatro español del siglo de oro*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1998, pp. 449-470.
26. Archaic form of referring to an Indian rhinoceros – possibly from the Malay word 'badak' – such as the one that came to Lisbon and was inherited by the kings of Portugal, and then by Filipe I, following the union of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns.
27. Hieronimo Natali – *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines: Ex ordine Evangeliorum quae toto anno in Missae sacrificio recitantur, In ordinem temporis vitae Christi digestae*. Antuerpiæ: [Excudebat Martinus Nutius], [1593].
28. This grandson of Jaime de Bragança (1478-1532) was very fond of the Society of Jesus; he was buried in the College of Coimbra and his remains were later transferred to the church of São Roque, in Lisbon.
29. Miguel Zugasti – “Un texto jesuítico del siglo XVIII: *Diálogo a San Francisco Javier entre la Navarra y la India*”. In *Congreso Internacional “Los mundos de Javier”*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2006, pp. 459-486.
30. Jorge Cabral; André Gomes (attrib.) – *Relação Geral das Festas que fez a religião da Companhia de Jesus na Província de Portugal, na Canonização dos Gloriosos Santo Inácio de Loyola seu fundador e São Francisco Xavier Apóstolo da Índia Oriental no ano de 1622*. Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1623. This subject has already been approached from multiple perspectives by several authors. A non-exhaustive list should include the following studies: Francisco Rodrigues – *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*. Tomo III, Vol. I. Porto: Livraria Apostolado da Imprensa, 1944, pp. 311-313, Adriana Latino – “Missas, aplausos e procissões: a música e o triunfo dos santos jesuítas em Portugal entre 1620 e 1737”. *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, no. 12, 2002, pp. 67-86 [<https://rpm-ns.pt/index.php/rpm/article/view/110>], Maria Cristina Osswald – “Aspectos de autoridad y poder en las ceremonias de canonización de Ignacio de Loyola y Francisco Javier en Portugal”. *Hipogrifo*, 1, 2013, pp. 43-55 [<https://www.revistahipogrifo.com/index.php/hipogrifo/article/view/3>], Maria João Pereira Coutinho; Sílvia Ferreira – “As Procissões na Lisboa Barroca. Alguns Exemplos de Celebração ao Divino”. In *Actas do Colóquio Formas e Espaços de Sociabilidade*. Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2008, pp. 1-17, Maria João Pacheco Ferreira – *Os Têxteis Chineses em Portugal nas Opções Decorativas Sacras de Aparato (séculos XVI-XVIII)*, 2 vols. Porto: PhD thesis in Portuguese Art History, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2011, Maria João Pereira Coutinho; Sílvia Ferreira – “Lisbon's Processions and Festivities Reinvented by the Society of Jesus at the Time of the Habsburgs”.

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31. xFausto Sanches Martins — *Jesuítas de Portugal: 1542-1759. Arte | Culto | Vida Quotidiana*. Porto: author's edition, 2014.

32. Jorge Cabral; André Gomes (attrib.) — *op. cit.*, p. 161.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

34. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 4.

35. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 147.

36. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 149.

37. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 215.

38. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 163.

39. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 161.

40. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 139.

41. Carlos A. Page — "Los primeros retratos de Ignacio y los inicios de la iconografía ignaciana". *IHS. Antiguos Jesuitas en Iberoamérica*, Vol. 7, no. 2, 2019, pp. 63-75 [<https://revistas.unc.edu.ar/index.php/ihs/article/view/27671>].

42. Jorge Cabral; André Gomes (attrib.) — *op. cit.*, p. 5.

43. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 23.

44. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 206.

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46. Saint Robert Bellarmine — *On the Canonization and Veneration of the Saints*. Post Falls: Mediatrix Press, 2019.

47. Pierre du Jarric — *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales, que autres pais de la decouverte des Portugais, en l'establissement & progres de la foy Chrestienne & Catholique; Et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la Compagnie de Iesus y ont faict, & enduré par le mesme fin. Depuis qu'ils y sont entrez jusqu'a l'an 1600*. Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1610. t. 1-2.

48. Jorge Cabral; André Gomes (attrib.) — *op. cit.*, p. 9.

49. This structure was 55 spans high and 60 wide. Jorge Cabral, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

50. Jorge Cabral; André Gomes (attrib.) — *op. cit.*, p. 165.

51. *Ibid.* — *op. cit.*, p. 181.

52. About the role of the College of Santo Antão-o-Novo in these celebrations, see the following opuscle, published in Spanish, which complements the description attributed to Jorge Cabral and André Gomes: *Relacion de las fiestas, que la Compañia de Iesv haze en la ciudad de Lisboa a la canonizacion de S. Inacio de Loyola su fundador, y de S. Francisco Xavier Apostol del Oriente: comiençanse en 30. de Julio, y acabanse en 7. de Agosto*. Em Lisboa: Impresso por Geraldo da Vinha, 1622.

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73. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
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