

FROM GOA TO GLOBAL: DEVOTIONAL IMAGES AND THE CULT OF FRANCIS XAVIER IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WORLD

DESDE GOA A LA GLOBALIDAD: IMÁGENES DEVOCIONALES Y EL CULTO A SAN FRANCISCO JAVIER EN EL MUNDO DEL SIGLO XVII

Jonathan E. Greenwood¹

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Abstract

The scholarship on the cult of the Jesuit missionary of Asia, Francis Xavier (1506–1552), has focused primarily on India, Portugal, and the Italian Peninsula. Yet the veneration of Xavier through images was global in scope. This article assesses the full extent of his cult by considering the spaces and places of likenesses of Xavier first in Goa and then its worldwide expansion during and after his canonization cause. How and where did the devout interact with these images throughout the early modern world? The result reveals the broader geography of the cult of the new «Apostle of the East» in places overlooked in the field of research by examining the quotidian use of devotional objects that prefaces and postdates Xavier's canonization in 1622.

Keywords

Francis Xavier; Devotional Images; Early Modern World; Cult of the Saints; Society of Jesus

Resumen

La literatura especializada sobre el culto de Francisco Javier (1506–1552), el misionero jesuita de Asia, se ha concentrado en India, Portugal, y la península itálica. Sin embargo, su veneración a través de imágenes se dio a escala global. Este artículo evalúa el alcance total de su culto considerando los espacios y lugares de las representaciones javerianas partiendo de Goa y su expansión mundial durante y después del proceso de canonización del jesuita. ¿Cómo y dónde se relacionaron

1. Independent scholar; jegreenwood@gmail.com. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4558-6207>

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los devotos con estas imágenes en el mundo del siglo XVII? El resultado de este análisis revela la extensión geográfica del culto del nuevo «Apóstol de las Indias» en lugares antes eludidos por los estudios especializados, a través del examen del uso cotidiano de los objetos devocionales, que antecede y sucede a la canonización de Francisco Javier en 1622.

Palabras clave

Francisco Javier; Imágenes devocionales; El mundo del siglo XVII; culto a los santos; Compañía de Jesús

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0. INTRODUCTION

Once canonized in March 1622, the Jesuits Francis Xavier (1506–1552) and Ignatius Loyola (c. 1491–1556) had their sainthoods feted upon as reported in newssheets published around this time. Hailing from the Navarrese nobility, Xavier was the second acolyte of Ignatius when both were students at the University of Paris. Ignatius formed the Society of Jesus in 1534 with Xavier among the initial companions. Not long after the order received papal confirmation in 1540, Xavier left Rome for Lisbon at the behest of King John III, who wanted the Society to evangelize his Asian domains. Between his arrival in Goa in 1542 and his death a decade later, the Jesuit travelled throughout southeast Asia to establish the Society in this vast territorial expanse². John III later spearheaded processes during the mid-1550s to assess the exemplarity of Xavier, although the cause did not advance much further³. Despite the dearth of canonizations between 1523 and 1588, Xavier was highly regarded as seen in the popularity of published compilations of his letters that circulated in French (1545), Spanish (1552), and Italian (1552) translations during his lifetime and posthumous Latin and Portuguese editions among others⁴. Reproductions of letters in manuscript and print served as edifying reading for Jesuits and was widespread within the religious order⁵.

Decades later, the new Vice-Regent of Bohemia, Prince Karl of Liechtenstein, took a leading role in organizing the celebrations in Prague. Acting on behalf of Ferdinand II, who was renowned for his devotion to Jesuit saints, the recently appointed Karl could now do something festive⁶. At the foot of the Charles Bridge over the Vltava is the Jesuit Church of the Blessed Saviour where a triumphal arch was installed in 1622 (Image 1). Measuring 50 by 100 Roman feet (148 by 296 metres), the elaborate, yet temporary octagonal structure featured pyramids, Ionic columns, and a myriad of sculptures. On the lower level, separated by the arch's gateway, are statues of the founder Ignatius and the famed missionary Xavier, who is shown with a caption from 1 Corinthians 16:9, which correlated Paul's difficulties in ministry with Xavier's since «there are many who oppose me» («Ostium mihi apertum est magnum»)⁷. The arch's next level had personifications of the four continents topped with representations of Japan, China, the Moluccas, and Ceylon bearing the Blessed Name of Jesus (IHS). Although unseeable in this print, a sculpture had Xavier carrying an Indian on his shoulder, which was meant to laud his evangelization of Asia⁸. The ephemeral structure in Prague projected Xavier as the Apostle

2. O'Malley, 1993: 29–30, 76–77.

3. Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, (2020): 197–203.

4. Sommervogel, 1960, 8:1326–1329.

5. Nelles, 2019: 46–47.

6. Ferdinand is best known as the Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1619–1637). His reign as the King of Bohemia (r. 1617–1619; 1620–1637) was interrupted by the coronation of Frederick to appease the Protestant nobility. After the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620, the Catholic Ferdinand retook control of Bohemia.

7. A Roman foot is equal to 0.296 metres. On Ferdinand's affinity for Jesuit saints, see Bireley, 2014: 166. Ducreux, (2022): 54–55, 67, 73–75.

8. Pötzl-Malikova, 2010: 1244–1250.

of Asia through Pauline associations and constant references to places within the continent. He also initiated and inspired the global evangelization as practiced by the Jesuits.



IMAGE 1: JACOB HÜBEL AFTER GIOVANNI BATTISTA CARLONE, FESTGERÜST IN PRAG 1622 (ALBERTINA, VIENNA, DG2018/174). © Albertina. URL: [https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=search=/record/objectnumbersearch=\[DG2018/174\]&showtype=record](https://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=search=/record/objectnumbersearch=[DG2018/174]&showtype=record) (accessed March 2, 2023)

The triumphal arch conveyed the transoceanic nature of the cult of Xavier, which prompts the following questions. What need did the Society have to disseminate Xaverian iconography? How did the development of representations and its subsequent circulation and adaption operate? And how did the devout interact with these images throughout the early modern world? The famed missionary was

important not only as an early companion of Ignatius but as an idealization of the operation of the increasingly global missions. Numbering 1500 Jesuits by the passing of Ignatius in 1556, the generalship of Claudio Acquaviva (r. 1581–1615) saw immense growth with approximately 8500 and 13000 members as reported in 1600 and 1616 respectively⁹. This expansion was prevalent in the worldwide missions overseen by the Society, which regarded Xavier as a model to emulate. One Italian Jesuit in his request to go to Asia claimed that paintings of Ignatius and Xavier inspired him to become a missionary and sacrifice himself for Christ¹⁰. Moreover, the calls to pursue the canonization of the two formative Jesuits in 1594 and 1608 prompted the production of cultic images, which commemorated and promulgated the renown of Xavier as an affiliate of Ignatius, an exemplary missionary, and a saintly man.¹¹ These representations satisfied the need for Jesuit models and for the pursuit of the canonization of Xavier, which often overlapped with the cause for the founder Ignatius. As Jesuits travelled across the world to establish colleges and missions, devotional objects, including relics, Agnus Dei, and images, accompanied the priests that formed the basis of local observances¹². Transport was also communal with likenesses of Xavier being brought to homes to petition the candidate for sainthood to heal the infirm. Circulation, adaptation, and veneration of images of Xavier operated through nodal points centred around Jesuit institutions, such as the colleges. Pathways, however, often overlapped making for an unclear delineation of the movement of these likenesses.

The visual culture for Xavier was global amid and after the process of canonization. While the field has emphasized the Lusophone world, scholars working on Xavier have become myopic and unable to look past certain aspects of the cult and iconography, including the tomb of the missionary in Goa, his relics, and the 1619 cycle of his life at the Professed House in Lisbon by André Reinoso¹³. Instead, this piece resituates Xavier in the Americas, Africa, and other locales in Europe and Asia through the annual letters of the Society of Jesus, which recount the events in the global missions, and accounts of the celebrations to honour Xavier. The article is organized by the configuration of the images starting with standalone representations of Xavier before moving toward illustrations pairing the Asian missionary with Ignatius and then other blessed and saints from the Society. The result will reveal the broader geography of the cultic images of Francis Xavier during and following his canonization cause. It also situates the transoceanic networks of devotional objects made possible by the movement of Jesuits across the early modern world.

9. Alden, 1996: 17.

10. Russell, 2022: 46–47, 62, 70.

11. Padberg, O'Keefe & McCarthy, 1994: 212, 218.

12. Županov, 2017. Coello de la Rosa, (2018). Vu Thanh, (2018). Greenwood, (2022). Nelles, 2023.

13. Osswald, (2002). García Gutiérrez, 2005. Županov, 2005: 35–86. Fernández Gracia, ed., 2006. Osswald, 2007. Torres Olleta, 2009. Gupta, 2014. Brockey, (2015). Ortega Menthaka, 2018: 181–198. Montenegro, ed., 2020. Miller, (2022).

1. UNACCOMPANIED IMAGES OF XAVIER

Xavier's indelible association with Asia meant that devotional likenesses emerged initially from there. The most famous example is the now-lost Goan portrait of Xavier produced in Goa at the behest of the Jesuit Visitor Alessandro Valignano. In a letter from December 1583, Valignano spoke about the preparation of the image based on those that had known Xavier when alive, a strategy pursued elsewhere for the preparation of biographies of the exemplary missionary a few years prior. Two painted portraits were made locally with one sent to Acquaviva in Rome, while the other stayed in Goa. Xavier in these paintings grabbed his cassock at chest height and raised his eyes to heaven¹⁴. The pose and configuration would then manifest in later prints that accompanied the lives of Xavier published in Rome (1596) and Lisbon (1600)¹⁵. Iterations could also be found in two Roman engravings produced for the Jubilee Year of 1600¹⁶. Whether these engravings were copies of the Goan portrait cannot be known, but the iconography had some standardization during the late sixteenth century as seen here. The painting was also a gesture of reciprocity. Valignano ended his missive by thanking the Superior General for the images of the first three holders of that office: Ignatius (r. 1540–1556), Diego Laínez (r. 1558–1565), and Francis Borgia (r. 1565–1572). Could another of the recently deceased fourth Superior General Everard Mercurian (r. 1573–1580) be sent to Goa? This portrait of Xavier formed the basis of material exchange between Europe and Asia that conjoined the centre and the mission field. Likenesses of the Xavier underlaid a culture of exchange reliant on devotional objects.

Annual letters reference representations of Xavier, especially within reports of miracles. Martín Fernández in the Mexican annual letter for 1602 enumerated a swarm of miracles performed by images of Ignatius in the region around Guadiana (now Victoria de Durango) in Nueva Vizcaya, a northern region of the Viceroyalty of New Spain¹⁷. Buried within his narrative, however, was an intercession attributed to a likeness of Xavier, who aided an Indigenous woman with severe birth pangs. She asked for a priest to come since the infant, still in her womb, was lifeless. A Jesuit arrived with an image in tow and told the expecting mother to entrust herself to his confrère. She did and exclaimed, «Holy Father Francis Xavier, help me» («*santísimo padre Francisco Xavier, ayudadme*»). A boy was then born alive and well, receiving his intercessor's name¹⁸. In Guadiana, a child was named Francisco Javier, whereas none of the other miraculés that same year became Ignacio, despite the founder's status as a global obstetric patron.

Images of both Jesuits arrived in northern New Spain where they worked miracles. The representation of Xavier was portable, one easy enough for a Jesuit

14. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (hereafter ARSI), *Japonica Sinica* 9-II, 231: Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 31 December 1583.

15. Torsellino, 1596. Lucena, 1600.

16. Torres Olleta, 2009: 104–108.

17. Fernández, 1991: 165, 180–186.

18. Fernández, 1991: 165–166.

father to carry to the Indigenous woman's residence. Two years later, a church for the Society's residence in Guadiana was finished and named after Xavier rather than the prolific local thaumaturge Ignatius¹⁹. This branding is especially surprising since Xavier, let alone a likeness of him is hardly ever mentioned in the annual letters of the Mexican Province that predate the canonization. A robust cult would only emerge later in the century with Xavier becoming the patron of Nueva Vizcaya in 1668²⁰. Decades earlier, his cult status was such that a boy and then a church in a peripheral region bore his name. Nor were standalone representations of Xavier limited to New Spain. Near the College of Santiago del Estero in what is now northern Argentina, a Basque gentleman was very much devoted to his *paisano*. The affinity was such that the gentleman in 1613 had a large painting of Xavier in his house and gave another to the Jesuit church in the town²¹.

Individual depictions of the famed missionary were wanted for the festivities celebrating his beatification in 1619. This tendency can be found in Africa, where the Society was active in large-scale missions in the Kongo, Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia along with minor ones in Cabo Verde (1604-1642) and Sierra Leone (1604-1617)²². When a brief from Rome announcing the beatification arrived in Santiago de Cabo Verde (now Cidade Velha), the Jesuit superior was overjoyed. Along with the observances at the Society's church, the response was an artillery salvo from the fort and the docked ships. Books on the Jesuit became a hot commodity and were read with great fervour. Unfortunately, many of the devotees were inconsolable since images were unavailable²³. Though the locals of Santiago de Cabo Verde prepared to observe the feast of Xavier (December 3), they lacked a representation of the saint for this purpose.

Luanda, Angola had a similar problem. The still unfinished Igreja de Jesus, the Jesuits' church in Luanda, housed a reliquary containing the relics of Ignatius and Xavier²⁴. A letter from September 1620 noted, «This entire land has been very devoted to the Society, and especially Our Blessed Father Ignatius, and is now starting to be [devoted] to Blessed Father Francis» («Esta terra toda hé mui deuota da Companhia, e principalmente de N.B.P Ignacio, e agora o começa a ser do B.P. Francisco»)²⁵. Luandenses' devotion to Xavier amplified once the news of the beatification arrived. This shift overlapped with the change of heart exhibited by Governor Luís Mendes de Vasconcellos (r. 1617-1621) toward the Society, whose previous hostility evaporated due to the popularity of the Jesuit saints in Europe. This regard forced him to reassess his relations with the religious order²⁶. He responded by immersing himself in the local festivities for the beatification of Xavier, which included the Governor's commissioning of images of the now blessed

19. González Rodríguez, 1980: 363.
 20. Arcelus Iroz & Ruiz Gomar, 2006: 142.
 21. Torres, 1927: 428.
 22. Mkenda, 2019: 429.
 23. Gonçalves, (2000): 304-305.
 24. Mkenda, 2019: 429
 25. Vogado, 1955: 512.
 26. Alencastro, 2018: 85.

Jesuit. Mendes de Vasconcellos wanted to craft a banner, a portrait of the saint, and other paintings. To that end, the Governor brought a great, but unnamed painter to Angola to prepare the images. We know that the flag contained the IHS to honour the Society²⁷. The account writer commented that «a statue of the saint, the most perfect and realized work, both in its sculpture and its painting, has a height of eight [Portuguese] palms» («imagem do sancto de uulto obra mui perfeita e acabada, asim na escultura como na pintura, teria de altura outo palmos»)²⁸. Described as an *imagem do vulto*, it was about 1.8 meters tall and had Xavier adopt the same pose as found in the sixteenth-century depictions. The sculpture, based on the description, was painted as well²⁹.

The Angolan image had its idiosyncrasies as seen in the embellishment of Xavier's cassock (*loba*) with gold chains, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and fine pearls³⁰. Such embellishments can also be found in Nuevo Reino de Granada, a province that formed the northern reaches of the Viceroyalty of Peru. The Jesuit church in the capital Santafé de Bogotá (modern Bogotá, Colombia) amid its 1621 celebrations held a tabernacle featuring «a rich cult image of Saint Francis adorned with luxurious pearls and jewels that are worth more than forty ducados» («una rica imagen de culto del santo Francisco adornada de perlas y ricas joyas que lo apreciaron en mas de 40 ducados»)³¹. Beyond the financial aspect, pearls, normally worn by women as necklaces and earrings, were associated with Malacca in Southeast Asia³². Pearls carried associations of wealth in the Americas as well. Close to Santafé was the port city of Cartagena de Indias, which was an especially robust site of pearl fishing³³. Cartagena also connected Santafé and Luanda with documented exchanges of emeralds during the seventeenth century³⁴. The decorations conjoined materially the Asian peregrinations of Xavier with South America.

The heavy adornment of the likenesses from Luanda and Santafé is reminiscent of Revelation 21, which described the building materials for the walls of the New Jerusalem. The book mentioned specifically the foundations partially made from emeralds (verse 19), while each of the twelve gates was fashioned from a single pearl (verse 21). The expense of decorating a devotional image in this fashion had a basis in Scripture to describe the New Jerusalem outside of Europe. These representations also projected wealth and imperial strength. Uniting Angola and Nuevo Reino de Granada was the transatlantic slave trade, wherein the wealth exhibited in the images of Xavier was the dividends of slavery. Governor Mendes de Vasconcellos, for example, had overseen and benefited from an expansion of the slave exports from Luanda. He even offered a slave as a prize for a poetry contest held during

27. *Relação das festas que a Residencia de amgolla*, 1994: 26–27.

28. *Relação das festas que a Residencia de amgolla*, 1994: 32.

29. A Latin-Portuguese dictionary from the same era had the following entry: «Statua, ae. A imagem de vulto». Cardoso, 1619: 217r. A Portuguese palm is equal to twenty-two centimetres. Barreiros, 1838: 13.

30. *Relação das festas que a Residencia de amgolla*, 1994: 32.

31. «Anua de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino de Granada del año 19, 20 y 21», 2015: 521.

32. Covarrubias, 1611: 585r.

33. Warsh, 2018: 128–162.

34. Lane, 2010: 93–124.

the celebrations for Xavier's beatification³⁵. The money used to fashion religious representations came from trading in commodities and human suffering.

2. IGNATIUS AND XAVIER TOGETHER

By the early seventeenth century, the images of Ignatius and Xavier existed in pairs. In 1600, likenesses of the two in tandem could be found in the church of the Florentine college, San Giovannino, which predated the later paintings by Francesco Curradi produced for the canonizations of 1622³⁶. Another example hailed from Manila. The Jesuit Provincial discussed in 1603 the decoration of the Church of Santa Ana, which had upgraded recently from a wooden to a stone structure based on Il Gesù, the Jesuit mother church in Rome³⁷. An altarpiece had been needed and, despite delays blamed on Chinese workers, its images were now complete. Anne, the patroness and namesake of the church, and the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child could be seen along with the martyr-virgins Catherine of Alexandria and Ursula³⁸. An upper arch had Ignatius experiencing a vision of the Holy Trinity, while flanked by the Apostles Peter and Paul. Above that was a depiction of Ignatius and Xavier together clutching «a Saviour holding in hand a white standard» («un salvador con un estandarte blanco en la mano»)³⁹. Representations of the Resurrection have Christ holding a triumphal cross that flies a white banner to symbolize the Son of God's victory over death⁴⁰. Appearing as well on the Santa Ana altarpiece were angels, the Evangelists, and four Doctors of the Church, who traditionally were the theologians Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Jerome.

The addition of the Jesuits was part of an ongoing visual programme for the church. The statues of Peter and Paul had long flanked the altar. Recent earthquakes (1599, 1600, and 1601) made changes necessary. The original image of Anne had to be replaced, which was the work of Chinese artisans as were the panels depicting the Virgin, the Christ Child, Catherine, and Ursula⁴¹. These same craftsmen probably fashioned the likenesses of the Jesuits as well based on the Provincial's complaints about the delays. Also of note is the production of these images amid the Sangley Rebellion in Manila. Sangleyes – persons of Chinese extraction – revolted in October 1603, which ended quickly and violently at the hands of a combined Spanish, Japanese, and Indigenous force⁴². Jesuit saints featured in the uprising as well with

35. Wheat, 2016: 80–81. Alencastro, 2018: 85–86.

36. *Litterae annuae MDC*, 28–29. On the decorations of the church, essential reading is Bailey, 2002: 150–163.

37. Javellana, 1991: 192–193.

38. Chirino, 2000: 224. Relics of these saints were among the 155 that arrived from Rome in 1597 with 120 destined for Santa Ana. A Jesuit penned in 1601 a book with lives for the saints, whose relics resided in the Church of Santa Ana, with the manuscript kept at the Jesuit archives in Quezon City.

39. ARSI, *Philippinae 5*, 151v: Juan de Ribera, *Carta annua de la viceprovincia de las Islas Philippinas del mes de junio de mil y seycientos y tres hasta el de mill y seycientos y quatro*, Manila?, 1604?.

40. Schenone, 1998: 347–350; Andreopoulos, 2005: 161.

41. Javellana, 1991: 30–31.

42. Padrón, 2020: 265–271.

one Spaniard reportedly praying to Ignatius for assistance against the Sangleys⁴³. Chinese artisans fashioning devotional images of Jesuits around the time of the Rebellion was thus ironic. The Santa Ana altarpiece functioned as a gathering of devotions fusing established cults with those of the newcomers from the Society, who, at this time, had none of its members beatified, let alone canonized. It also existed within a maelstrom of upheaval in Manila during the early seventeenth century.

Danger and damage did not impede the preparation of images either. In the annual letter of the Vice-province of Transylvania for 1606, the writer mentioned that lightning had damaged the Calvary Church in Mănaștur (now a district of Cluj-Napoca, Romania) some years earlier. Much to the surprise of many locals, the Jesuits incurred the expenses to repair the damage despite the uncertain future for the Society in the region. Although the church had many images, the letter-writer said that «we erected beautiful icons of Our Most Blessed Fathers Ignatius and Xavier» («statuimus praeclaras iconas Beatissimorum Patrum Nostrorum Ignatii et Xaverii»)⁴⁴. Founded in the eleventh century by the Benedictines, Calvary Church was vacant when donated to the Society by the Prince of Transylvania in 1581. The Protestant majority, however, were not keen on the Jesuit presence in the region with the college in neighbouring Cluj-Napoca razed to the ground in 1603, which included the belligerents firing their harquebuses at images of saints⁴⁵. Despite the risks, representations of the saints continued to be displayed among which were those of Ignatius and Xavier.

The founder's beatification in 1609 provided another opportunity to have likenesses of the two Jesuits fashioned. After this news arrived in Lima, local Jesuits along with the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and other clergy led a procession with an *imagen de bulto* of Ignatius that was then placed upon the main altar beside the Gospels in one of the churches of the Society. Opposite Ignatius on the altar was Xavier⁴⁶. *Imagen de bulto* is akin to the Portuguese *imagem do vulto* since both combine sculpture with painting and are difficult to translate into English. These formats were endemic to the religious art of the early modern Iberian world. Sometimes translated simply as sculpture, the term refers to a wood carving that is then sealed, primed, and painted, akin to a polychromed statue. Sometimes additional wooden parts supplemented the base image that was then held together by several means, including glue, dowels, and leather straps. The format and its size were apt for being displayed on altars or in chapels. These sculptures were often carried in religious rituals as seen in the festivities for the beatification of Ignatius⁴⁷. Though absent from the procession and lacking any papal recognition, Xavier's import was such that he occupied, along with now blessed Ignatius, the central ritual space in a viceregal church.

43. Ribera, 1604?: 150r.

44. *Annuae litterae*, 1921: 157.

45. Argenti, 1983: 98. Keul, 2009: 150–151.

46. Medina, 1887: 6.

47. Fraser Giffords, 2007: 38, 279–280, 289–290. Chaput Manni, 2020: 118.

The annihilation of images remained part of the broader story as evident first in Transylvania and later in Japan. The banning of Christianity in 1614 resulted in the destruction of places and objects of worship used by Japanese believers⁴⁸. Antagonism was not always the case with the Daimyo Ōtomi Yoshishige petitioning Rome in 1583 to beatify Xavier so that likenesses of the Jesuit could be made⁴⁹. Thirty-odd years later, however, circumstances were very different. Ivan Vreman, writing from Macau, described a scene in the aftermath of the Siege of Osaka, when, in June 1615, the demise of the Toyotomi clan occurred as their castle was ablaze. Soldiers went among the ashes and ruins looking for dribbles of gold or silver, but what they found instead were «images printed on paper» («*imagini stampate in carta*») with the edges singed and the flames revealing saints depicted therein. The nonbelievers were so astonished that they collected these objects with reverence and diligence. A Jesuit looked at the incinerated paper and immediately recognized Ignatius and Xavier⁵⁰. Images in this format were produced domestically and imported from Europe, which were then used as templates for devotional paintings⁵¹. The famous painted scrolls from the Niccolò School are an instance of Japanese depictions of Ignatius and Xavier together⁵². Even amid the tumult, representations that coupled the two Jesuits continued to circulate, which reinforced the mutualistic relationship of the two cults, even after the interdict of 1614.

This linkage was ongoing as seen in Vasai, the Portuguese fortress town north of contemporary Mumbai. A five-day-old baby had abdominal swelling so monstrous that the parents feared his death was imminent and called for a Jesuit to baptize the boy. The priest placed an image of Xavier on the infant. Those present, however, were so convinced that Xavier wanted Ignatius to have the glory of healing the child. The decision was thus made to transport the infant to the local church, which housed a likeness of the founder. Upon returning home, relatives noticed that the inflammation had receded and the baby soon after was fully healed⁵³. While intended as an account of a miraculous image of Ignatius, the Jesuit's first inclination was to reach for a carriable likeness of Xavier. Moreover, a juxtaposition is made between representations kept by a priest and at a church. The baby's attendees regarded the founder as a bench player, who came on mid-match. Xavier was only brought off for tactical reasons to substitute positions.

Given the popularity of Xavier in Asia, his image in the possession of a Jesuit hardly comes as a surprise. The ethnicity of the miraculé goes unmentioned in the letter, but Europeans predominated in Vasai. The Society had been in the town since 1548 and by 1560 had established a college, which was the likely home of the image of Ignatius used to cure the infant⁵⁴. Although having only an eighth of

48. Morishita, 2020: 53–63.

49. ARSI, Japonica Sinica 9-II, 195r: Ōtomi Yoshishige to Alessandro Valignano, Bungo, 4 December 1583.

50. *Lettore annue*, 1621: 75.

51. Morishita, 2020: 92–110.

52. Mochizuki, 2021: 6–9. Arimura, (2019): 25–27, 34–35.

53. *Lettore annue*, 1621: 125–126.

54. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Codice CXV/2-1, 170–171: António Bocarro, *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, c. 1635. See also Manso, (2006): 31.

the number of Jesuits in Goa, Vasai was the second most important center of the Society in the Indian subcontinent during the early seventeenth century⁵⁵. The miracle made the Society distinct from the other orders present in Vasai, especially the Dominicans, who were the most numerous⁵⁶. The petitioning of Ignatius was also contrary to the popularity of Xavier in Vasai. For starters, it was a venue in the informative process for the canonization of Xavier⁵⁷. The city named Xavier as their patron in 1631, replacing the Roman martyr and plague saint Sebastian, who had held this role since the Portuguese seizure of the city in 1534⁵⁸. Images were thus part of a priest's spiritual toolkit. While the unnamed Jesuit travelled with a likeness of Xavier, Ignatius was to remain at the college's church, a place distant from domestic illness. The iconocentric events in Vasai promulgated the spiritual supremacy of the Jesuits over the Dominicans in an urban centre in India second only to Goa.

3. A CLUSTER OF BLESSED

Though instances of images of Ignatius paired with Xavier abound, the Society also began to incorporate other luminaries independent of a canonization cause. One example is the frontispiece of the Roman illustrated life of Ignatius, a work printed in 1609 to celebrate the founder's beatification (Image 2). Topping an arch were small medallions of Ignatius, Xavier, and the blessed Stanislaus Kostka (1550–1568) and Luigi Gonzaga (1568–1591). Kostka was a Polish novice, who gained a reputation for holiness in the years after his death in Rome. Gonzaga too was a novice, albeit from a Mantuan noble family. The two had papal acknowledgement of their cults that culminated in their joint beatification in 1605⁵⁹. Also present in this frontispiece were representations of the martyrs of the Society concentrating on the confrères killed in the missions in India and England along with others in Japan, Florida, Ethiopia, and France. Interest in Jesuit martyrs during the early seventeenth century manifested in a martyrology attributed to Giovanni Camerota and prints prepared by Matthäus Greuter⁶⁰.

Something comparable is evident in the Americas with the 1615 annual letter from Nuevo Reino de Granada speaking about the decoration of the sacristy of the Jesuit church in Cartagena de Indias located on the Caribbean coast in modern Colombia. A generous gift of 2000 pesos allowed for the making of «an altar with paintings, two of our holy Father [Ignatius] and Father Francis Xavier and others of our martyrs» («un retablo con cuadros, dos de nuestro santo Padre [Ignacio] y del Padre Francisco Javier y otros de nuestros mártires»)⁶¹. The painting of the martyrs

55. Alden, 1996: 46–47

56. Bocarro, c. 1635: 170–171. Vasai was also home to Franciscan and Augustinian communities.

57. Frei, (2022): 403. Fortún Pérez de Ciriza, (2022): 221–222.

58. Da Cunha, 1876: 220.

59. *Vita Beati Ignatii Loiolae*, 1609: frontispiece.

60. Harpster, 2022.

61. Arceo, 2015: 468.



IMAGE 2: *VITA BEATI P. IGNATII LOIOLAE* (METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK 46.123), FRONTISPICE.
 © Metropolitan Museum of Art. URL: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/351957> (accessed March 2, 2023)

likely depicted many of the same found in the frontispiece of the illustrated life of Ignatius. But Xavier was part of a broader cluster of Jesuit blessed and martyrs that appeared in images on display in the churches and colleges of the Society. In 1620, for instance, devotions to Ignatius, Xavier, Kostka, Gonzaga, and Francis Borgia compelled the painting of images, which appeared in houses throughout Manila⁶². Borgia was beatified in 1624 and enlarged this assemblage of blessed.

62. ARSI, Philippinae 6-1, 244r: Valerio de Ledesma, *Carta annua de la Prouincia de Philippinas del año de 1620*, Manila, 1 June 1621.

The same is on display elsewhere, including County Tipperary in Ireland. In 1618, an altar there had depictions of Xavier along with Gonzaga, Kostka, and Ignatius⁶³. Four years later in the same County, the town of Cashel began its celebrations for the newly minted Jesuit saints on Michaelmas, six months after their canonizations. Fathers from the Society returned to a building they had to abandon the previous year, which was to be decorated with Flemish images of each saint. Yet these representations never arrived. Thankfully, as the letter-writer indicated, «God sent them another Father from Spain who was well stocked, above all with these kinds of essential things». These «things» resided in the Chapel of Our Saints that were then supplemented by pictures of another dozen unidentified, yet famous Jesuits, whose depictions were «accurate and life-like»⁶⁴. Martyrs were probably among these depictions of these luminaries, which must have also included the beatified novices, Gonzaga and Kostka. And to recall the image production in Goa, the Society distributed representations of the Superior Generals. All these figures meant to edify the devout likely constituted the twelve images in Cashel alongside those of Xavier and Ignatius.

The distribution from either Spain or the Low Countries was made possible by the Irish colleges overseen by the Society throughout the continent, which formed part of a broader network of similar institutions run by other religious orders. The Archbishop of Cashel David Kearney (d. 1624, r. 1603–1624), whose jurisdiction included much of County Tipperary, was well known for his support for the Jesuits and his travel as seen in his two trips to Rome and Madrid (1609–1611; 1619–1624)⁶⁵. There were thus indelible links between County and continent that made the transport of images possible. In Ireland itself, priests were peripatetic due to religious persecution, which also caused the regular abandonment of churches. Even Archbishop Kearney had to be transitory and developed a web of covert safehouses and sites of worship⁶⁶. Mobility, however, allowed for the circulation of cultic objects, among which were images, some large, some small, of the exemplars of the Society with representations of Xavier at the centre of transient devotional spaces.

4. IMAGES AFTER SAINTHOOD

Although exchanges between Rome and Goa predominated at first, the networks began to expand with local negotiations ensuing and continuing decades after the canonization. The Jesuits in New France – a vast territory encompassing the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence waterways of North America – had likenesses of their saints. The small chapel for the Huron Mission contained ornaments, images of the Virgin Mary and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, along with those of Ignatius and

63. «Irish Letter of the Society of Jesus of the Year 1618», 2019: 697.

64. Bushlock, 2019: 811.

65. Bravo Lozano, 2018: 21–33. Ó hAnnracháin, 2021: 18–19, 41–44. Silke, (1961): 103, 109–110.

66. Ó hAnnracháin, 2021: 42.

Xavier⁶⁷. Representations were also among the gifts exchanged between religious communities as well. The Ursuline sisters in Québec City gave the local Jesuits presents, including candles, rosaries, a crucifix, and «two meat pies» («deux belles pièces de tourtière»), on New Year's Day 1646. The Provincial reciprocated with enamelled representations of Ignatius and Xavier⁶⁸. As seen in these American examples, the likenesses of the two Jesuits remained a package deal. The media of these devotional objects varied immensely ranging from paint and enamel to jewels and pearls. These images also had immense social import with their involvement in the naming of children, the celebration of milestones, encounters with Indigenous peoples, and gift exchanges between religious communities of men and women.

Reports of miraculous images of the Jesuit missionary did not end with his canonization. At the residence in Hangzhou, a bustling city four days from Shanghai, a catechumen in 1636 had a very young and very sick son. The father brought his boy to a Jesuit to pray for the illness to end. Apart from the petitions, the child's treatment involved a baptism, a relic of Xavier around his neck, and a vow before an image of the saint. The boy was completely healed much to the astonishment of the local physicians, who were certain of his demise. And as is typical in such narratives, the entire family underwent baptisms due to this intercession⁶⁹. Hangzhou that same year was the site of a new Jesuit establishment when a dozen Portuguese in Macau had supplied the funds to establish a college there⁷⁰. The occurrence of a miracle, such as that credited to a representation of Xavier, supplied evidence of the divine blessing given to the undertakings of the Society, especially after their banishment in 1623 and gradual return with a residence in operation by 1631⁷¹. Nor was this novel. Miracles linked with handwritten relics of Ignatius occupied a similar role for new colleges during the early seventeenth century⁷². Likenesses of Xavier seemed to manifest amid religious and political turmoil in Asia with the Sangley Rebellion in the Philippines and the banning of Christianity in Japan. China in 1636 was no different with the disintegration of the Ming Dynasty and the emergence of revolts that culminated in the declaration of the Qing that very year. Hangzhou, however, would not be taken by Qing forces until 1645⁷³.

Nowhere is the significance of miraculous images more evident than the striking case of that found in Potami, which materially and geographically manifested in disparate geographical contexts. Potami is a town located near Arena, Calabria in the far south of the Italian Peninsula. Xavier, according to an apostolic secretary's description, performed a meagre 242 miracles in the village in 1652 through a single likeness⁷⁴. Local enthusiasm for the saint was such that each occurrence was

67. Champlain, 1979: 385. The Hurons or Wyandot are an Indigenous people who once resided on lands north of Lake Ontario and southeast of Georgian Bay in modern Canada.

68. «Journal des Jésuites pour 1646», 1992: 694.

69. Gouvea, 1998: 80.

70. Clossey, 2008: 172.

71. Brockey, 2009: 60, 70, 89.

72. Greenwood, (2022): 350–351.

73. Brockey, 2009: 93–94.

74. Natoli, 1653.

recorded and then placed in a report destined for publication. Before the flurry of miraculous activity, a Jesuit writing on the mission to Potami described the community's great affection for the saint, which resulted in the production and installation of a painted image in a chapel within the parish church of Madonna delle Grazie⁷⁵. News spread rapidly from Calabria. Published initially in Italian, versions of the report in Latin, German, Polish, and Czech were available by the decade's end. Even in the remote Bohemian town of Neuhaus (now Jindřichův Hradec, Czech Republic), the local Jesuit Rector in November 1656 was already aware of the Latin translation printed earlier that year and three hundred kilometres away in the Austrian city of Graz⁷⁶. Included in some of the books were likenesses of the famous missionary, which mostly copied the Flemish prints in circulation since the late sixteenth century. A robust public existed which discussed, fashioned, and circulated materials related to representations of Xavier.

Nor was the fascination with Potami limited to Europe. A Spanish-language but imageless retelling of the Calabrian village's miraculous image was published in Mexico City in 1661 as part of a collection of Xaveriana⁷⁷. The location's fame was such that Jesuits in 1675 called the villages around Kunshan – nestled between Suzhou and Shanghai – the Chinese Potami in honour of its namesake since both places abounded with intercessions performed by the saint⁷⁸. A little more than a decade later in Santafé, the city's devotion to the Jesuit saint manifested in a reproduction of the Calabrian image at the Church of San Ignacio. Xavier performed miracles in Bogotá through this likeness based on the original from Potami at an institution named for the Jesuit founder rather than the missionary, yet another instance of the mutualism of their cults⁷⁹.

5. CONCLUSIONS

While primarily an examination of the visual culture of Xavier, it is worth reiterating that the representations of the two saints, the founder and one of his earliest acolytes, shared visual and devotional spaces. As these cases from across the early modern world have conveyed, believers often melded – not conflated – together the two Jesuit saints, in turn, amplifying the differences between the pair. This article looked for Xavier in unconventional places and sources too often overlooked. Contained therein are descriptions of miraculous images, church decorations, and

75. Paolucci, 1651, 225–226.

76. Brázda, 1900: 69. The European editions from the 1650s, which added additional miracles performed in the Italian Peninsula, are Italian (Bologna and Trent – 1654), Latin (Graz – 1656; Antwerp – 1658), German (Munich – 1658), Czech (Prague – 1658), Polish (Prague – 1659). Other iterations continued in the next decade, French (Lille – 1661), Portuguese (Coimbra – 1662), and Spanish (Pamplona – 1665). Sommervogel, 1960: 1:751–752. Cordier, 1912: 139–141.

77. Berlanga, 1661: 25–101. The Biblioteca Nacional de México that houses the Mexican edition (RSM 1661 M4BER) lists Berlanga as the author despite the absence of a titlepage, whereas the reprint from Pamplona four years later attributes the work to Mathías de Peralta Calderón.

78. Golvers, 1999: 393–394.

79. Contreras-Guerrero & Nicolo, (2018): 117–118.

celebratory representations that help to explain the spaces in which these images inhabited especially when they are no more. The arch in Prague was dismantled, the original college in Cartagena de Indias moved in the coming years, and the church in Manila was a seismic casualty.

Transportability was part of this visual culture as seen in the images brought to the infirm in Guadiana and Vasai. Palpable danger was also very real as the examples from County Tipperary, Transylvania, and Osaka showed. Nor was this image production divorced from the trade networks of the early modern period whether in precious stones, pearls, or slaves connecting Santafé, Cartagena de Indias, and Luanda. Gem-encrusted Xaviers continued to be made and displayed into the late seventeenth century as seen in the mining epicentre of Potosí in modern Bolivia. A historian of the period, when writing on the 1685 festivities for copatrons Ignatius and Xavier, spoke of the «images decorated with the most precious jewels and pearls, sideboards of silver with rich pieces of gold» (*«imágenes cuajadas de preciosísimas joyas y perlas, aparadores de plata con ricas piezas de oro»*).⁸⁰ What remained long after his canonization were representations of Xavier comprised of pearls and jewels. This panoramic tour shows just how prevalent and global the preparation, use, and even destruction of images of the so-called Apostle of Asia in the early modern world were. While the predominance of Portugal and Goa obviously cannot be effaced from our understanding of the process of his sainthood, this brief overview should force us to reconsider the places and spaces inhabited by images of Xavier.

80. Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, 1965: 326.

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