ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

VISIONS OF THE DIVINE: BACICCO’S FRESCOES AT THE GESÙ IN ROME

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Bacicco’s Triumph of the Name of Jesus (1676-1679) decorating the nave vault of the Gesù in Rome is a stunning exemplar of illusionistic Baroque ceiling painting. Its composition centers on the blazing letters IHS representing the Name of Jesus in the form of the Jesuit monogram that attracts the Blessed and repels the Damned. Its imagery has been widely accepted as a celebration of the Church Triumphant. My dissertation reexamines the meaning of the Triumph based on textual and visual evidence in conjunction with a consideration of its site in the mother church of the Society of Jesus, which reveals a conscious glorification of the Jesuit founder, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, even though he is not represented in the composition. Through an analysis of devotional and emblematic literature from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I show that the allegorical and symbolic imagery of the Triumph, with its allusions to Ignatius, would have been understood by devout and erudite audiences at the Gesù.

My dissertation further investigates the substitution of Joshua Stopping the Sun projected for the apse with Bacicco’s Adoration of the Mystic Lamb (1680-1683), in light of the original commission, the change in theme, and the relationship to the Triumph of both subjects. This shift in subject has been relegated to a mere passing mention and otherwise overlooked in scholarship on the frescoes. Based on a previously ignored connection
between Ignatius and the Old Testament general Joshua, and on consideration of contemporary exigencies faced by the Society, I argue that the Jesuits’ decision to replace the subject of Joshua was to avoid antagonizing the reigning pope Innocent XI.

Previously unpublished letters authored by the Jesuit Lazzerro Sorba betray the precarious position in which Father General Oliva and the Jesuits found themselves during the reign of Innocent XI and support my claim. Finally, an analysis of the circumstances leading up to this change in subject demonstrates that Baciccio’s frescoes in the Gesù were not conceived as a unified program as has been accepted in scholarship, and they are more accurately characterized as a cycle.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While I was studying Italian at the Università per Stranieri in Perugia, a close friend recognized my intense fascination for the city of Rome and persuaded me to apply for graduate study in art history. I chose Rutgers because of the strength of its faculty in Italian art. To compensate for my lack of a formal background in art history, I had to take a combination of survey, undergraduate, and graduate courses during my first two years of graduate study. I would like to acknowledge Angela F. Howard and Marilyn S. Kushner for their advice and encouragement during those demanding initial years. I would also like to thank Joan Marter who, as Graduate Program Director, sought funding for me when I most needed it, as in subsequent years did John F. Kenfield III and Susan Sidlauskas. Geralyn Colvil and Cathy Pizzi went out of their way to make my experience in the department a pleasant one, and I cherish their thoughtfulness. I thank also Marilyn Symmes at the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, where I spent an exceptionally productive year as a Graduate Assistant.

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For Aisha and Catherine
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<td>ARSI</td>
<td><em>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASR</td>
<td><em>Archivio di Stato di Roma</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASV</td>
<td><em>Archivio Segreto Vaticano</em></td>
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Chapter 1: Introduction

[Ignatius devoted himself] to the Glory of Eternal God and to the exaltation of the Holy Church: combating under the most glorious sign of the beneficial Name of Jesus: and, what is most important, joining the ranks and animating himself in exact imitation of that most perfect exemplar of every justice, that is the Word Incarnate, the Only Lord, and Redeemer of the world.

(Bernardino Stefonio, “Modello della Theotesia in cui si fonda il sacro panegirico del B.N.P. Ignatio.”)\(^1\)

An early seventeenth-century panegyric to Ignatius of Loyola that predates the saint’s canonization, written by the Jesuit professor of humanities and rhetoric Bernardino Stefonio, exalts Ignatius and compares his persona with Christ. This was characteristic of a concentrated effort made by the Jesuits to strengthen the cause of sainthood for their founder.\(^2\) The emphasis placed by the Jesuits on Ignatius’ devotion to the Holy Name found expression in a wide range of biographical accounts, images, and laudatory texts such as the panegyric cited above. But the most prominent representation of the Name of Jesus in relation to the Jesuit founder occurred, I will argue in the chapters that follow, in the spectacular *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* executed from 1676 to 1679 by Giovanni Battista Gaulli (1639-1709), better known as Baciccio, in the nave vault of the Jesuit mother church (Figure 1; Figure 2).\(^3\) Although Baciccio did not portray

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1 “[Ignazio impiegò tutto allargandosi alla] gloria dell'eterno Iddio, et ad'essaltatione di Santa Chiesa: militando sotto la gloriosissima insegna del salutifero nome di Giesù: et quel che più importa, arrolandosi et animandosi all'esatta imitazione del perfettissimo essemplare di ogni giustitia, dico l'incarnato Verbo unico maestro, e Redentor del mondo.” BNC.VEII, *Ges. 176 (41)*, c. 394v. [For unpaginated documents such as this panegyric, I have followed the Italian convention of numbering; thus, “c.” for “cartulato” followed by the number assigned to the sheet of paper, followed by “r” or “v” indicating whether the text cited appears on the “recto” or “verso” side of the sheet.]

2 The manuscript of this panegyric to Ignatius is undated, and a later annotation above the title attributes its authorship to Stefonio. References to Ignatius as “B.N.P.” (“Beato Nostro Padre”) suggest the panegyric was composed prior to Ignatius’ canonization in 1622 but after 1609, when he was beatified. Stefonio died in 1620, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the text.

3 The artist was born in Genoa, and he was known affectionately as “Baciccia,” which was the Genoese diminutive of his middle name. He moved to Rome at a young age to avoid the plague that claimed the lives of his parents and all his siblings. He settled in Rome, where he was called “Baciccio,” which is a
Ignatius among the numerous figures rapt in adoration of the Holy Name, he evoked the Jesuit founder by a range of visual and textual references in the composition. My dissertation examines this unusual indirect celebration of Ignatius in the lavish frescoes commissioned to decorate the Society’s mother church in the late-seventeenth century. I argue that the glorification of Ignatius was originally intended to be considerably more conspicuous, but unforeseen papal opposition towards the Society led the Jesuits to tone down the self-celebratory nature of the decorations.

Opposition from the pope and others within the Catholic church had marked the early history of the Society, and periods of papal disfavor were interspersed with others of great approval that culminated in the canonizations of Ignatius and Francis Xavier in 1622. The non-Italian origins of the Society’s founding members, the special allegiance the professed Jesuits bore to the Pope, and papal dispensations to members of the Order, such as exemption from choir, had garnered the Jesuits the mistrust and animosity of their variant of the Genoese. The principal early sources of Baciccio’s life are the accounts in compilations of artists’s lives by the biographers Lione Pascoli and Carlo Giuseppe Ratti: Lione Pascoli, *Vite de’ pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni*, ed. Alessandro Marabottoni (Perugia: Electa Editori Umbri, 1992); and Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, *Storia de’ pittori scultori et architetti e de’ forestieri che in Genova operarono; secondo il manoscritto del 1762*, ed. Maurizia Migliorini (Genoa: Istituto di Storia dell’Arte, 1997).

4 In an article on “Jesuit Ceiling Decoration” published in 1947, Ebria Feinblatt states that Ignatius numbers among the “exalted adorers,” although she did not identify him. Feinblatt also made an interesting argument that the circular arrangement of the adoring figures surrounding the sunburst in the nave indicated that the Gesù ceiling was the “only work among the baroque church frescoes which corresponds to, if it does not indeed typify, a philosophy, namely Neoplatonism, the current identified with Plotinus, from whom Dionysos the Pseudo-Areopagite derived the transcendental conceptions that were so congenial to the Society, which found in those hierarchical gradations a parallel to its own system of military rank.” Ebria Feinblatt, “Jesuit Ceiling Decoration,” *Art Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (1947): 243.

Feinblatt’s observations have passed without comment, and although my dissertation argues Ignatius is evoked in the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, my argument is based on allegorical evocations rather than a physical likeness.

5 For the Jesuits’ loyalties to the pope concerning their mission of ministry, and for the origins of opposition they faced from within the Catholic Church including at times even from the popes, see O’Malley, “The Papacy and the Popes” in *The First Jesuits*, 296-310.

6 The proceedings of the concistory leading up to the canonization of saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier in 1622 have been documented in a publication commemorating the third centenary of the event. Society of Jesus (Spanish-Roman Committee for Third Centennial Honors), *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), hereafter referred to as *Canonizzazione di Loiola e Saverio*. 
contemporaries and of several pontiffs from the very inception of their Order in 1540. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, the Society’s unparalleled successes in the fields of education and missionary activities had positioned it indisputably at the vanguard of contemporary New Reform Orders. In 1672, when the eleventh Father General of the Society of Jesus Gian Paolo Oliva (r. 1664-1681), commissioned decorations for the large interior vaults of the Gesù, he and the Society were held in high regard by the reigning pope Clement X Altieri, whose family palace stood just across the street from their mother church.\(^7\) The decorations Oliva commissioned from Baciccio were extremely lavish, more in keeping with trends in the papal court than those that would have been desired by Ignatius.

**The Society of Jesus and its Mother Church**

Born into the aristocratic Basque Oñaz-Loyola family that was loyal to the crown of Castile, Ignatius was originally called Iñigo López de Loyola.\(^8\) He served as a courtier before undergoing an intense spiritual conversion in 1521 while convalescing from battle wounds. He travelled to the Holy Land and also undertook to educate himself in order better to serve God.\(^9\) Drawing on his experiences, he developed the *Spiritual Exercises*, which outlined his worldview that God’s plan of salvation for human beings could be realized by guiding exercitants to use their freedom wisely, and which paid particular

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\(^9\) Ignatius’ spiritual conversion was particularly influenced by two books he read during his convalescence: a Spanish version of Jacopo da Varazze’s *Flos Sanctorum*, which was a thirteenth-century compilation of Lives of the Saints, and a Spanish translation of the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi*. Ibid., 43.
attention to their creation by God and redemption by Christ. Determined to devote himself to a life of ministry, Ignig set out to obtain formal education and enrolled at the University of Paris between 1528 and 1536, where he came to be called “Ignatius.” There he became the leader of a small but extremely pious group of men who worshipped together and discussed the very essence of their religion. This encounter marked the start of a long and fruitful association that culminated in the establishment of the Society of Jesus. Inspired by Ignatius, his companions also performed the Spiritual Exercises, and in 1534 the group took common vows to serve the Church and papacy, hoping to devote their lives to serving God through ministry in the Holy Land, failing which they would offer their services to the Pope. They decided to identify their informal group as the “Company of Jesus” for they had no superior other than Christ.

The Companions were unable to journey to the Holy Land, so in 1538 they travelled to Rome. While awaiting papal approval and a passage to Palestine, they earned a considerable reputation for their work in the city’s slums and their high degree of

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10 The term “Spiritual Exercises” is used to refer to a method of contemplative prayer developed by Ignatius as well as to the handbook that derived from his notes and experiences, which is intended for the use of spiritual directors guiding exercitants, or practitioners, in making the exercises. For a critical commentary on the Spiritual Exercises, see George E. Ganss, S.J., The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius: A Translation and Commentary by George E. Ganss, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992).

Ganss’ method of using italics when referring to the handbook (“Spiritual Exercises”) and Roman type when referring to the practice of exercitants in a retreat (“Spiritual Exercises”) is helpful; yet, Ganss has acknowledged it also has its limitations as he has explained in a section entitled “Editorial Note on the Term ‘Spiritual Exercises,’ ” 221-222.

11 Ignatius’ original companions, including those he met in Paris and those who joined them in Venice in 1537, were: the Spaniards Francis Xavier, who went as a missionary to India in 1540 and died in China in 1552; Diego Lainez, who succeeded Ignatius as Father General of the Jesuits on the former’s demise in 1558; Alfonso Salmerón, and Nicolás Bobadilla; the Portuguese Simão Rodríguez; the Savoyards Pierre Favre and Claude le Jay; as well as the Frenchmen Paschase Bröet and Jean Codure. See John W. O’Malley, S.J., The First Jesuits (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993) for a history of the birth of the Society of Jesus and for Ignatius’ role in conjunction with those of the early Companions.

12 Ignatius and these colleagues are usually called “Companions” and their informal association “Company” especially in reference to the period preceding the official approval of the Society of Jesus.

education. This was an asset of the Jesuits that became all the more important following concerns addressed at the Council of Trent over the proliferation of ill-prepared clergy. After much debate and prayer, the Companions drew up a charter seeking papal approval to found a new order. Overcoming strong opposition from the papal court over dispensations concerning the chanting of Liturgical Hours and their direct answerability to the Pope, the Society of Jesus was officially instituted by Pope Paul III Farnese (r. 1534-49) with the papal bull Regimini militantis ecclesiae of September 27, 1540.¹⁴

The Companions did not have rights to a church until 1540, when Pietro Codacio da Lodi, the first Italian to join them, obtained the parochial benefice of a small church in Rome called Santa Maria della Strada. Ignatius had envisioned a role for the Society’s churches that was distinct from that of parish churches, and to this end he petitioned Pope Paul III Farnese to have the parochial status and benefices of Santa Maria della Strada transferred to the nearby church of San Marco in 1542.¹⁵ Ignatius selected the church of Santa Maria della Strada because he saw the potential in its strategic location, near the intersection of the Via Papale and the Via Lata. It was eventually demolished to construct a more spacious church, in which the Jesuits could preach to larger audiences.¹⁶ When

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¹⁴ In 1534 itself, the Companions had met with opposition within the Catholic Church based on what appeared to be contradictory terms desired by them, such as the desire to form a religious order, of which there were already too many, and the renunciation of choral prayer that, detractors argued, meant that the group could not even be considered a true religious order in the strict sense. Michael A. Mullett, The Catholic Reformation (New York: Routledge, 1999), 89.

¹⁵ So shocking was the abolishment of choir, which until then had been deemed an essential feature of communal priestly life, that papal authority twice forced the Jesuits to temporarily return to the practice. H. Outram Evennett, The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation: The Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History Given in the University of Cambridge in May 1951, by the Late H. Outram Evennett, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge, London: Cambridge U.P., 1968), 74-75.


Ignatius died in 1556, his project for the church was still at an incipient stage but the framework had been set for the unique role he envisioned for the Order’s mother church.

Construction of the church began in 1568 during the generalship of Francis Borgia (r. 1565-72), with the patronage of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, whose lavish art commissions had earned him the sobriquet “Il Gran Cardinale.” Farnese selected Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola to design the church, and together they were responsible for several of its features: the absence of side aisles; the vaulted masonry nave; and the orientation of the church so that its façade faces west. Through the elimination of side aisles Vignola’s groundplan achieved a twofold result, for the nave accommodated large congregations and afforded them an unobstructed view of the high altar (Figure 3). In 1570, however, Farnese selected the Lombard architect Giacomo della Porta to design the façade and take over construction (Figure 4). The church was consecrated in 1584, when its high altar was dedicated to God, the Name of Jesus, and the Virgin. Cardinal Farnese also held patronage rights to the chapel of the high altar. He planned to decorate its apse vault with mosaics but died in 1589 after commissioning a high altarpiece depicting the Circumcision of Christ from Girolamo Muziano (Figure 5). Muziano’s

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altarpiece was installed after Farnese’s death, and the Farnese heirs, who inherited the rights to the high altar of the church, neither lived in Rome nor wished to spend lavish sums on its decoration. Consequently the semidome of the apse framing the high altar remained unadorned long after those in other contemporary New Reform Order mother churches had been decorated. The Gesù’s dome and nave vault were also not decorated until the late seventeenth century.21

Called the Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all’Argentina, the church came to be known simply as “Il Gesù,” or, in English, “the Gesù.” From the outset, quotidian parochial activities in the service of lay worshippers from the surrounding neighborhood were never the primary concern at the Gesù. Preaching to large congregations, though, was an important component of the Society’s mission, and the innovative ground-plan of the Gesù offered a large, unhindered interior space that created a sense of unity between the congregation and clergy. New Reform Order churches built in Rome as well as Jesuit churches built across Europe and the New World adopted the Gesù’s ground-plan (or variations thereof) because of its great success.

As the mother church of the Society of Jesus, the Gesù had an important representational function that distinguished it from all other Jesuit churches. It was used primarily for preaching, hearing confessions, and celebrating large masses and other religious ceremonies such as the Quarant’ore, or Devotion of the Forty Hours. The Gesù was often visited by the pope and his court. Andrea Sacchi’s painting of Urban VIII’s papal retinue at the Gesù is an important document of the plain, white-washed interior

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21 The dome may have been slated for decoration around 1583 when the pendentives were decorated with the figures of the Four Doctors of the Church, two of which are visible in Sacchi’s painting (Figure 6). The documentation concerning the original decorations of the pendentives, as seen in Sacchi’s painting, was published in Pecchiai, Il Gesù di Roma, 76.
vaults as they appeared prior to Baciccio’s interventions (Figure 6). The presence of the pope and his entourage in the Gesù during the centenary celebrations of the Society on October 2, 1639 attests to the importance of the Society of Jesus as well as its mother church in seventeenth-century Rome.

In addition to Jesuits and members of the papal court, the church was visited by a diverse audience consisting of lay brothers, novices, local worshippers, pilgrims who arrived to venerate the relics of Ignatius and other saints, members of several congregations and sodalities that assembled within the church premises, celebrants of the Quarant’ore devotions, and artists. Such visitors to the Gesù were certain to have compared the decorations at the Gesù with those adorning other churches. It follows that the decorations in the church were intended to address and even impress a diverse range of spectators. Its late seventeenth-century decorations, also, I will argue in the chapters that follow, differentiated it from other churches and must be understood in this special representative context.

Even though the simple whitewashed vaults of the Gesù were in keeping with Ignatius’ desire for simplicity, in 1672 Father General Oliva commissioned Baciccio to decorate the main ceilings of the Gesù. Baciccio’s masterpiece, the Triumph of the Name of Jesus, was executed from 1676 to 1679, and its composition forms the focus of the second chapter of this dissertation. The sumptuousness of Baciccio’s frescoes is difficult to reconcile with the kind of simplicity that Ignatius would have desired and that Oliva advocated. The wording of a circular formulated by him on July 14, 1668, suggests

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22 The lavishness of the Triumph and the rest of Baciccio’s decorations results from Oliva’s vision for the decoration of the Society’s mother church. The original whitewashed stucco of the Gesù’s ceilings (as seen in Andrea Sacchi and Jan Miel’s painting of the church interior (Figure 6) was better aligned with Ignatius’ own decidedly austere taste.
that simplicity in decor was a requirement in buildings other than churches, but that in the case of churches and “buildings of importance,” modifications, and embellishments, were subject to deliberations in order to be approved:

On the subject of our churches and our foundations or buildings of importance, so that any modifications can be made to projects approved here [in Rome], in the future all projects must be examined by experts where you are, and sent in duplicate, so that one will be conserved here in the archive, the other will be returned, furnished with approval, and, in the case that changes are necessary it will be conserved there with great care, and no one will be permitted to discard that which was already done, as has been written to me more than once. As for the rest, the construction of our foundations should be adapted to our religious customs they should be simple, salubrious, “functional,” and they should not evidence in any of their parts the desire to dazzle, neither in their materials, nor in their style. They should be the subject of edification and be made neither for pageantry nor to be admired.23

The decorations Oliva commissioned for the Gesù should, therefore, be considered in the category of modifications that were to be deliberated upon in order to be approved. In this case, the embellishment was appropriate to the important representational role of the Jesuit mother church, and the Father General surely had the final authority to approve or disapprove a project. This interpretation of the circular would account for the lavishness and scope of the commission in terms of time, expense, and scale.24

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23 Evonne A. Levy, “A Canonical Work of an Uncanonical Era: Re-reading the Chapel of St. Ignatius (1695-99) in the Gesù of Rome” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1993), 152. A distinction is to be made between Ignatius’ own conception of the Society’s mission and the the function of its mother church, and the Society’s later conception, after the founder’s demise, of its mission, priorities, and aims. In this regard, the wording of the circular cited by Levy shows Oliva’s efforts towards maintaining austerity. And, yet, the lavishly of the decorations he commissioned for the Gesù indicate his aims differed considerably from those of Ignatius and the early Companions.

24 Baciccio worked at the Gesù from 1672 to 1685 over a period of thirteen years. His initial contract was for a sum of 14,000 scudi, but changes were made to it and he was paid a considerably larger sum by the time he completed the commission. The enormous scale of the project may be understood by means of a few basic dimensions: the diameter of the dome, which is the same as the width of the nave, apse, and transepts, is 16 meters, and the height of the summit of the nave vault is approximately 30 meters. For the dimensions, see Dionisi, Il Gesù di Roma, 3rd ed., revised and updated by Gualberto Giachi, S.J. (Rome: Edizioni ADP, 2005), 31; and for Baciccio’s earning from the Gesù commission, see Jacopo Curzietti, Giovan Battista Gaulli: La decorazione della chiesa del SS. Nome di Gesù (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2011), 69-71.
Oliva’s contract with Baciccio called on the artist to decorate (with fresco, gilded stucco, and sculpture) the dome, pendentives, and vaults of the nave and the left as well as right transept chapels, but it excluded the tribune vault. However, two important unforeseen and unrelated changes occurred concerning the areas he was to decorate. First, an amendment made to Baciccio’s contract in July 1674 released him from the obligation to decorate the vault of the right transept chapel dedicated to Francis Xavier; as per the wishes of the patron of the chapel, its vault was decorated by Giovanni Andrea Carlone (Figure 7). Second, in 1679, the decoration of the tribune vault, which was originally excluded from his contract, was also entrusted to Baciccio. As such, from 1672 to 1675 Baciccio worked on the dome, painting a Vision of Paradise populated by God the Father, Christ, and the Virgin surrounded by Ignatius and various Jesuit and other saints (Figure 8). Next, he painted the four pendentives with groups of four figures each. Starting most probably in the southeast pendentive to the left of the high altar and continuing counterclockwise, he painted the Four Prophets Who Foretold the Coming of Christ (Figure 9), the Four Lawgivers of Israel (Figure 10), the Four Evangelists (Figure 11), and the Four Doctors of the Latin Church (Figure 12). And from 1676 to 1679, he


26 The strong-willed Negroni pointedly ignored all Jesuit concerns regarding the rift in overall stylistic unity that would result if the right transept vault were to be decorated by any artist other than Baciccio. Consequently, Oliva released Baciccio from his contractual obligation to fresco the vault of the right transept, even as the artist was paid in full, explicitly stating that Negroni’s decision to have the chapel decorated by other hands was a personal one and not due to any lack of initiative on Baciccio’s part. Ibid., 151.

The fresco commissioned by Negroni for the vault of the right transept chapel falls outside the scope of this study because of the patron’s insistence on decorating the chapel as per a program and in a style that represent a break from the frescoes executed by Baciccio. Negroni appointed Luca Berettini, the nephew of Pietro da Cortona, to oversee the decorations and he commissioned the altarpiece from Carlo Maratta and the vault fresco from Carlone. Filippo Trevisani, “Giovanni Battista Negroni committente dell’altare di S. Francesco Saverio al Gesù di Roma, Storia dell’arte 38-40 (1980): 361-370. (Negroni’s first name appears as “Giovanni Battista” in the title of Trevisani’s article even though he relies on sources that list Negroni’s first name as “Gianfrancesco.”)
executed the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* in the great vault of the nave (Figure 1). Then from 1680 to 1683, before decorating the vault of the right transept chapel, which was the only remaining area mentioned in the contract, Baciccio executed the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* in the tribune vault and the *Conferral of the Name of Jesus* in the presbytery arch (Figure 13). Finally, from 1683 to 1685, he represented *Saint Ignatius in Glory* in the vault of the left transept chapel, which was dedicated to the Jesuit founder (Figure 14). In sum, when Baciccio concluded his work at the Gesù, the terms of the original contract had changed, and he had decorated the semidome of the apse but not the vaulted ceiling of the right transept chapel.

**Historiography**

The early biographies of Baciccio are replete with anecdotal details of his career but devoid of more than basic references to his work at the Gesù, which was his largest and grandest commission executed over a period of thirteen years. A member of the Academy of St. Luke since 1662, Baciccio held the office of *principe* in 1674, by which time he had worked two years at the Gesù. In Nicola Pio’s 1724 manuscript biographies of artists, the author recorded Baciccio’s year of birth as 1639 and underscored the artist’s apprenticeship to Bernini who was so impressed by Baciccio’s artistic ability that he reportedly assisted all of Baciccio’s commissions in Rome.27 Although Pio listed Baciccio’s interventions in the Gesù, he did not name or describe the subjects of the frescoes. He praised especially the artist’s mastery and self-assurance, and noted that the

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The dates of birth and/or death of Nicola Pio, an obscure late 17th century biographer and an early source on Baciccio, are not known. In an article on the portraits with which Pio intended to illustrate his compilation, Anthony Clark observed that multiple references in Pio’s biographies to the reigning pope Innocent XIII (r. May 8, 1721-Mar. 7, 1724) serve to date the manuscript to the period 1721-1724. Anthony Clark, “The Portraits of Artists Drawn for Nicola Pio, *Master Drawings* 5 (1967): 7.
artist’s grand funeral was attended by all the Academicians. Even though Pio’s account is bereft of any critical insights into Baciccio’s work at the Gesù, it is important because it underscores his stature as an academician among his fellow artists.

Lione Pascoli’s 1730 biography of Baciccio, who died in 1709, is based on information gleaned from various sources who knew the artist first-hand. Pascoli’s biography of the artist focuses primarily on his irascible temperament and is replete with anecdotes about Baciccio’s impetuosity including misunderstandings over payments for his work by Father General Oliva. Pascoli’s detailed account includes the tragic circumstances of Baciccio’s parents and siblings falling victim to the plague in Genoa, whereupon the young artist left his native city penniless to seek his fortune in Rome where Bernini’s appreciation and promotion of his artistic gifts led to various introductions and commissions.

Given the numerous detailed anecdotes included in Pascoli’s biography, it is truly surprising that he neither describes nor discusses Baciccio’s Gesù frescoes beyond saying that when unveiled, all of Rome rushed to see the great work, and that despite considerable criticism over the amount paid, the vast majority of visitors accorded his work high praise, concurring that it was to Baciccio only that any similar commissions ought to be first offered. According to Pascoli such was the overall appreciation of Baciccio’s work at the Gesù that the Theatines wanted him to decorate the vaults of Sant’Andrea della Valle but the artist declined out of respect for the work of

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28 Pascoli, *Vite*.
29 Ibid., 277.
Domenichino and Lanfranco.\textsuperscript{30} While this anecdote is likely an exaggeration, it is indicative of the overall positive reception accorded to the Gesù frescoes.

Carlo Giuseppe Ratti’s 1762 biography listing Baciccio’s date of birth as May 8, 1639 is the most reliable, if favourably biased, factual source from among the early biographies, for the author’s information derives from a meeting with the artist’s son Giulio Gaulli. Of Genoese origin like Baciccio himself, Ratti’s overall positive account of Baciccio may well be inflected by the author’s desire to record for posterity the greatness of Genoese artists and their contributions. Much of the information on Baciccio’s life repeats that found in Pascoli’s earlier work, but Ratti also describes the composition of the Gesù’s nave vault as “the Holy Name of Jesus adored by angels and humans, with demons fleeing,” while describing the composition of the dome as “Paradise” and that of the tribune as the “Immaculate Lamb.”\textsuperscript{31} These descriptions, with minor variations, form the basis for the titles used by modern scholars when referring to Baciccio’s frescoes at the Gesù.\textsuperscript{32}

In stating that Baciccio worked at the Gesù for fifteen years (instead of thirteen), Ratti repeats an error also found in Pascoli’s account, while noting, as does Pascoli, that the criticism leveled at Baciccio’s frescoes, though significant, was far outweighed by the great acclaim the frescoes received from the vast majority of visitors to the church. Given that Ratti’s work is informed by Baciccio’s son and also postdates that of the more objective Pascoli, it may be inferred that apart from a few factual errors the information

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 277-278.
\textsuperscript{31} Ratti 1762, 79.
\textsuperscript{32} The following are the titles (derived ultimately from Ratti’s biography) that I use in this study: *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* (nave vault); *Vision of Paradise* (dome); and *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* (semidome of the apse), as well as *Saint Ignatius in Glory* (left transept vault).
that is recorded by both biographers is fairly accurate. Subsequent biographers from the eighteenth century and later, such as Antoine-Joseph Désallier d’Argenville and James Burgess, based their information on the manuscripts and publications of Pio, Pascoli, and Ratti, and so do not provide any new information.\(^{33}\)

More than the biographers themselves, it is from journal entries made by visitors and descriptions in early guidebooks to the Gesù that we get crucial information regarding Baciccio’s Gesù interventions and their reception. I discuss the relevant accounts in individual chapters but single out here two accounts for the critical information they provide: the Perugian Abbot Filippo Titi’s late seventeenth-century handbook to major Roman monuments; and the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger’s travel notes from his second trip to Rome in 1687-88.\(^{34}\) Titi provided the information that the stucco figures of the Gesù nave ceiling were executed by Antonio Raggi, Leonardo Reti, and others according to Baciccio’s designs.\(^{35}\) Further, Titi identified two of the figures in the drum as Temperance and Justice, and went on to describe the Chapel of Saint Ignatius, including the relief scenes with episodes from the Life of Ignatius that I refer to in Chapter Two in a discussion of Ignatian hagiography. Tessin noted that Baciccio told him the idea to paint a pronounced shadow across the nave vault was suggested by Bernini. This assertion underscores the close working relationship between Baciccio and Bernini at the Gesù, which, I argue in Chapter Two,


\(^{35}\) Titi’s original handbook was first published in 1674 while Baciccio was in the early stages of work at the Gesù, but the demand for this guide was so great that it was reprinted or updated several times: 1675, 1686, 1708, 1721, and 1763. The modern critical edition comparing the original guidebook with subsequent editions is Filippo Titi, *Studio di pittura, scultura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma*, ed. Bruno Contardi and Serena Romano (Florence: Centro Di, 1987).
also resulted in Baciccio’s incorporation of a Bernini-esque concetto that evokes the persona of Ignatius in the focal point of the nave composition.

My analysis of Baciccio’s frescoes is greatly indebted to the significant modern corpus of scholarly work devoted to the building and decoration of the church of the Gesù, publications on the oeuvre of Baciccio, and scholarship devoted specifically to Baciccio’s frescoes at the Gesù. Almost sixty years ago, Pio Pecchiai painstakingly documented the construction and decoration of the Church of the Gesù from its inception in the sixteenth-century to its completion in the nineteenth century in Il Gesù di Roma.36 His scholarly narrative was the result of an extensive study and compilation of archival records, primarily correspondence and payments, with a section of one chapter devoted to Baciccio’s work at the Gesù. Pecchiai was the first scholar to address in detail the complicated correspondence leading up to the present decoration of the tribune area, highlighting its importance to the patron, Oliva, who wished to have St. Ignatius’ relics translated to the high altar. Pecchiai’s work is indispensable to any study of the Gesù because of its overarching scope and its comprehensive documentation of crucial primary sources; yet he, too, makes no more than a passing mention of the fact that the tribune vault had originally been commissioned from Giacomo Cortese.

Howard Hibbard’s 1972 article “Ut Pictura Sermones” presented a comprehensive analysis of the painted decoration of the Gesù carried out in the sixteenth century.37 Hibbard recounted the numerous changes in the dedications and decorations of the lateral chapels of the Gesù, and argued that an underlying Christological program

36 Pecchiai, Il Gesù di Roma.
related the original chapel decorations to each other thematically. Hibbard argued for a coherent program with calculated inter-relationships between the decorations of the chapels flanking the nave, and one in which the main themes of the chapels were fixed by the Jesuits. He also related the painted decorations to the Three Colloquies of Ignatius’ *Spiritual Exercises*, suggesting that imagery in each of the three pairs of Chapels facing each other across the nave evoked devotion by exercitants to Mary, Christ, and God the Father, respectively. Since much of the original imagery was replaced with the change in patronage of the chapels, Hibbard’s meticulous documentation of the original imagery of the side chapels is enormously helpful, but his application of the framework of the Spiritual Exercises devised by Ignatius is not fully convincing even though it has been embraced by art historical scholarship.\(^38\) Hibbard’s argument for a thematic unity among the sixteenth-century decorations of the chapels strongly influenced similar readings of Baciccio’s seventeenth-century frescoes by scholars such as Marcello Fagiolo and Jacopo Curzietti whose works I discuss further on.

Only a few scholars have addressed Baciccio’s Gesù frescoes *per se*, but even they have not considered the precise meaning of their imagery in the historical context of their placement in the mother church of the Jesuit order. Scholarship on Baciccio’s Gesù frescoes has focused primarily on his preparatory works. Most publications are exhibition catalogs and articles that focus on identifying, analyzing, and dating the *bozzetti* and drawings. Major catalogs from recent years that focus on the dates and style of the artist’s drawings and paintings include Francesco Petrucci’s excellent monograph, *Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709)*, which is discussed further on; *Giovan Battista

\(^{38}\) See the section in Chapter Four on practitioners of the Spiritual Exercises as audiences in the Gesù for the shortcomings of Hibbard’s approach.
Although several shorter articles have addressed specific preparatory drawings, they did not shed new light on the meaning of the frescoes. All these publications served to expand and systematize the corpus of Baciccio drawings. Though they do not offer any new interpretations of the frescoes, they serve as a fundamental point of departure for any analysis of the genesis and iconography of Baciccio’s frescoes.

Several longer studies specifically concerning the fresco program at the Gesù are fundamental modern texts from which I initiated my critical study of Baciccio’s Gesù frescoes. The earliest is Karolina Lanckarońska’s dissertation in Polish that was written in 1935 and provides a stylistic analysis of Gaulli’s frescoes in the context of Roman Baroque art. Lanckarońska’s work is also the first systematic iconographic study of this commission, and her identifications of the painted as well as stucco figures inform all subsequent scholarship. In her analysis, Lanckarońska situates the imagery of the nave fresco firmly in the context of the celebratory mode of the Church Triumphant. Most importantly, Lanckarońska published (simultaneously with Pietro Tacchi Venturi) the original contract drawn up between Father General Oliva and Baciccio for 14,000 scudi.

This document, so vital to understanding the genesis of Baciccio’s cycle, has been

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40 For a critical study of Baciccio’s draftsmanship and bibliography on the subject, see Petrucci, Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709), 74-89.
42 Lanckarońska, Dekoracja Kościoła “Il Gesù,” 13-15; Tacchi Venturi, “Convenzioni.” In this study, I cite the contract as “Tacchi Venturi, ‘Convenzioni’” only because the latter in Italian is more accessible than the former in Polish.
underutilized, and in Chapter Three I highlight the fact that Oliva’s contract with Baciccio excluded any mention of the apse vault, a crucial absence that has gone surprisingly unremarked in scholarship.

The next publication to analyze Baciccio’s Gesù frescoes was Robert Enggass’ monograph The Paintings of Baciccio: Giovanni Battista Gaulli, 1639-1709, which was written in 1964 and still remains the most comprehensive modern study of the artist’s stylistic development.43 Enggass devoted a chapter of his monograph to the Gesù frescoes which he situated within both Gaulli’s artistic oeuvre and the context of the Counter-Reformation. Though Enggass identified the Jesuit saints in the dome, he contended that the figures in the nave were mostly “prototypes rather than specific individuals” and he identified several of the types through their attributes as detailed in sources such as Cesare Ripa’s Iconologia.

Enggass characterized Baciccio’s nave fresco as “still more triumphal and equally martial” as several other contemporary commissions in Rome celebrating the triumphant Catholic Church (Ecclesia Triumphans). Notable among these works were Bernini’s Cathedra Petri in St. Peter’s, Giacinto Brandi’s frescoed Fall of the Rebel Angels in San Carlo al Corso, Domenico Maria Canuti and Enrico Haffner’s ceiling fresco of the Apotheosis of St. Dominic in S. Domenico e S. Sisto, and Giovanni Coli and Filippo Gherardi’s vault fresco in the Great Gallery of Palazzo Colonna commemorating Marcantonio Colonna leading the Catholic League to victory over the Turks. Referencing a letter by Andrea Pozzo wherein Pozzo explained the iconography of his illusionistic ceiling fresco in the church of Sant’Ignazio, Enggass posited Baciccio’s use of radiant

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light as a generative and propulsive agent. Essentially, Enggass’ reading associated the triumphal aspect of the Gesù nave squarely with the ascendancy of the Catholic Church. This broad interpretation mirrors that in Lanckarońska’s earlier study of the frescoes. Even though it is not incorrect, this interpretation is overly generalized, and I seek to redress it in the chapter that follows.

A third scholar, Marc S. Weil, authored an informative article entitled “The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions” in 1974.44 Weil connected the composition of the nave vault fresco in the Gesù to the apparati (stage-sets) used in popular contemporary celebrations known as L’Orazione delle Quarant’ore (Devotion of the Forty Hours).45 In doing so he identified both an important link between ecclesiastical decoration and contemporary liturgical practice at the Gesù, and possible sources for the subjects of the nave vault and the semidome of the apse. Weil devoted a short but extremely insightful analysis of the Triumph, in which he recognized that the “basic meaning” of the fresco centers on the Name of Jesus, which is the source of the names of the Society and of its mother church, and that this meaning outweighs any celebration of the Church Triumphant.46 He also noted that the sacristy vault of the Gesù is decorated with a monumental fresco celebrating the Eucharist, which he connected to the nave vault—an aspect that I expand upon in the next chapter in relation to Ignatius’ promulgation of the practice of frequent communion. Weil’s article has been an invaluable resource because of his insightful analysis and his exhaustive documentation

45 The devotion of the Quarant’ore focused on the exposition of the Eucharist for a period of forty hours, and it was an important component of liturgical celebrations in Rome. The Eucharist was the centerpiece of elaborate stage-sets, or “apparati,” and the celebrations in the Gesù were among the most important in the city. See Weil, “Devotion of the Forty Hours,” 218-227.
of the *apparati* used during the *Quarant’ore* celebrations in the Gesù. He lists *apparati* built on the themes of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* and the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* at the Gesù, noting only that their subjects related to those considered, and in the case of the latter used, for the apse. In Chapter Three I present an analysis of the connections of these *apparati* to the eponymous frescoes.

Two recent publications on Baciccio are especially relevant to my study. The first, Francesco Petrucci’s 2009 monograph *Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli, 1639-1709*, documents the artist’s work and career.\(^{47}\) Petrucci meticulously catalogued and illustrated almost every preparatory study by Baciccio for the Gesù. In critical synthetic descriptions of the frescoes, which precede his presentation of the preparatory drawings and oil sketches, he presented a narrative of the recorded early reception of the frescoes. In addition, he included an especially useful appendix with transcriptions of documents pertaining to Baciccio’s Jesuit commissions, primarily those at the Gesù.\(^{48}\) The monograph is indispensable to any scholarly study of Baciccio’s oeuvre, even if it does not present any new insights into the meanings of artist’s frescoes in the Gesù.\(^{49}\)

The second recent publication, Jacopo Curzietti’s *Giovanni Battista Gaulli: La decorazione della Chiesa del SS. Nome di Gesù*, has made several important new contributions to scholarship on Baciccio’s work in the Gesù.\(^{50}\) The author’s discovery of Baciccio’s accounts at the Monte di Pietà and the Banco di Santo Spirito indicate that

\(^{47}\) Petrucci, *Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709).*
\(^{48}\) Ibid., 685-87.
Baciccio’s expenses were considerably lower than the sum recorded in Tessin’s notes on his conversation with the artist. Curzietti also addressed the relatively neglected sculptural cycle designed by Baciccio, highlighting the significance of the large sculpted personifications that flank the windows above the cornice that line the nave and tribune. Further, he has elaborated on the role of Antonio Raggi and the workshop of sculptors who produced these stucco figures that were designed by Baciccio. His archival discoveries of payment records provide documentary evidence substantiating and expanding upon Filippo Titi’s attributions of various elements of the stucco decorations to Leonardo Reti and Antonio Raggi. In an extraordinarily useful series of appendixes, Curzietti has transcribed payments to Baciccio, letters concerning the decoration of the apse, and new documents like a report authored by an anonymous Jesuit presenting his opinion on the subject of the Mystic Lamb as the theme for the apse. Although several of these documents have been either cited or published by Pecchiai or Enggass, Curzietti’s methodical grouping of documents first by type and then by date is very helpful and convenient to use in a critical examination of the genesis of Baciccio’s fresco cycle.

Concerning the meaning of the frescoes, Cortese’s argument regarding the change in subject in the fresco of the apse is less compelling than his interpretation of the theme of the fresco in the nave. He posits that the change in subject matter of the tribune vault fresco following Cortese’s death reflected Oliva’s desire to stylistically and conceptually harmonize the decoration of the apse with the frescoes already executed by Baciccio so that they constituted a coherent “program.” This, he suggested, stemmed from the fact

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51 Ibid. 69-71.
52 Curzietti, Decorazione della chiesa del Gesù, 35.
that Baciccio’s *forte* differed from that of Cortese. Curzietti also related the prominent allusion to the Host in the nave fresco to the third Jesuit Father General Francis Borgia, who had been canonized in 1671 and who had a special devotion to the Host. While this argument is tenable, in the chapter that follows I propose an alternate iconographic reading that relates the imagery of the nave fresco far more directly to the first Jesuit Father General and founder of the Order, Ignatius of Loyola.

Several doctoral dissertations in art history as well as other disciplines have greatly informed my study though they do not specifically address Baciccio’s frescoes at the Gesù: Michael W. Maher, S.J., researched the activities of six Congregations active in the Gesù during the period 1593-1773; Evonne A. Levy studied the Chapel of Saint Ignatius at the Gesù; and Anna C. Knaap reconstructed the scope of Rubens’ (now lost) cycle of paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp. My own study has benefited enormously from the findings in each of these three studies. Maher’s dissertation has been an indispensable guide to the structure, activities, and aims of the Jesuit Order, as well as the significance of the Gesù’s unique representational status as the Order’s mother church. Levy presented a detailed critical analysis of the complicated circumstances leading up to the final translation of Ignatius’ remains to the right transept chapel in the Gesù, which was eventually dedicated to him. Her examination of the development of the iconography and the cult of Ignatius, and especially the conscious

53 Ibid.
55 I was fortunate enough to meet with Michael W. Maher, S.J., in the Jesuit archives during an early stage of my research, and I am greatly indebted to him for his suggestion that I immediately read Oliva’s sermons and the *Imago primi saeculi*. Consulting both these sources at that stage itself led me to direct my research in a manner that shaped much of this dissertation. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to Brian Mac Cuarta, S.J., the director of the Jesuit Archives, who introduced me to Fr. Maher while he was in Rome.
associations of Ignatius’ person with fire and radiance in the imagery of the chapel, were of special interest to my own investigation. Although Levy’s study was focused on the decorations of the chapel and she did not address the Triumph, her findings provided the starting point to my own investigation of allusions to Ignatius in the nave vault fresco.\textsuperscript{56} Knaap demonstrated that the various components of the interior decorations at the Jesuit church in Antwerp were conceived to be read and received in relation to each other. Her approach to the study of Rubens’ paintings for the Jesuit church in Antwerp helped me formulate my argument in Chapter Four on the way in which erudite audiences would have perceived the imagery in the Triumph and how this kind of reception distinguishes the Triumph from its counterparts in Baciccio’s cycle.

So appealing is the concept of an overarch ing program to art historical scholarship that the individual frescoes Baciccio executed in the Gesù are implicitly accepted as components of a unified program. Two explicit arguments were made in this regard: the first by Marcello Fagiolo in a short article written in 1980, and the second by Gualberto Giachi, S.J., in a book published in 2000.\textsuperscript{57} Fagiolo called The Triumph of the Name of Jesus “a monumental sermon in paint” based on the theme of Salvation, and he posited the arrangement of the zones of the nave, dome, and apse as a unified program formulated by Oliva in which the three areas corresponded to a Biblical past, present, and future, respectively. However, Fagiolo’s reasoning was intuitive at best, and he offered

\textsuperscript{56} Chapters Three and Four of her book Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque e also present important contributions to the iconography of Ignatius. Evonne Levy, Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

no factual evidence for this proposition.\footnote{Consider, for example, his ingenious reasoning that the nave vault, dome, and apse represent different zones (defined as a Biblical Past, Present, and Future) because the same individual never appears in more than one zone, and that the apse area must represent the future (an Apocalypse without pessimism, to be precise) since there is a total absence of evil and the presbytery arch contains an Angelic Concert as a prelude. Fagiolo, “Strutture del Trionfo Gesuitico: Baciccio e Pozzo” 353-357.} Despite this, his unsubstantiated interpretation was taken up and expanded by Giachi, a former rector of the Gesù, who adapted Fagiolo’s reading to twenty-first century spiritual needs.\footnote{I reason that Fagiolo’s argument for a unified scheme is necessarily false because it neglects to take into consideration the change in subject matter in the semidome of the apse. Oliva’s determination to have Giacomo Cortese fresco Joshua stopping the Sun in the apse clearly proves that the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb executed by Baciccio after the deaths of Cortese and Oliva just cannot be considered part of a unified program ideated from the very start.} However, in Chapter Four I show that this line of reasoning is flawed because the unforeseen change in subject matter of the apse fresco effectively annuls any possibility that Baciccio’s Gesù frescoes were conceived as a unified thematic program.

In his book, \textit{Una parabola di luce: Lettura pasquale dei restaurati affreschi del Baciccio}, published in time for the Jubilee year 2000, Giachi ventured a theological reading of Baciccio’s frescoes to offer an interpretation suited to the present millennium. He built on Fagiolo’s proposition to advance a reading of the frescoes in keeping with Catholic doctrine. While acknowledging his debt to Fagiolo’s propositions, Giachi categorically admitted that his own was a subjective approach in tune with Jesuit meditations, and he stated emphatically in his introduction that he was not attempting an art historical interpretation of the frescoes.\footnote{Giachi, \textit{Parabola di luce}, 7.} Jean-Paul Hernández, S.J.’s book, \textit{Il corpo del Nome: I simboli e lo spirito della Chiesa Madre dei Gesuiti}, which appeared in 2010, presented a coherent scholarly Christocentric interpretation of the significance of the Name of Jesus in the decorations of the Gesù.\footnote{Jean-Paul Hernández, \textit{Il corpo del Nome: I simboli e lo spirito della Chiesa Madre dei Gesuiti} (Bologna: Pardes Edizioni, 2010).} His analysis of the \textit{Triumph}, which I
discuss in detail in Chapter Two, was a theological interpretation that explained the otherwise puzzling appearance of the Ark of the Covenant beneath the titular banderole of the *Triumph* (Figure 15).\(^{62}\) Hernández did not address if and how this relief might have related to the subject of *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, and this is an issue I discuss in Chapter Three.

Among the most important publications to address and redress misconceptions on the oft-cited term “Jesuit style” stemmed from a critical academic examination of the relationship between the Jesuits and the arts undertaken in a symposium held in 1969 at Fordham University. The symposium resulted in a seminal publication entitled *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, which was edited by Rudolf Wittkower and Irma Jaffe and appeared in 1972.\(^{63}\) The papers in this volume played a crucial role in dispelling the inaccurate but wide-spread notion of a uniform Jesuit style, and they also initiated a scholarly reappraisal of the circumstances in which the Jesuits made or even accepted specific artistic choices. Francis Haskell argued for what he termed a “style Oliva,” which underscored the Father General’s role as an engaged patron who knew what he wanted from his commissions.

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In 2005, John W. O’Malley, S.J., and Gauvin A. Bailey edited a volume entitled *The Jesuits and the Arts: 1540-1773*. Several essays in it underscored the practical and primarily functional aspects of the Jesuits’ earlier artistic commissions. Bailey’s essay on the imagery of the chapels, “Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting Under the Jesuits and its Legacy Throughout Catholic Europe, 1565-1773,” argues for a reading of the images in relation to each other across space. His assertion that Baciccio’s spectacular *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* celebrates the Jesuit Order and its achievements as much as the Catholic Church is in keeping with my own interpretation, but his essay does not offer any elaboration on how this is achieved apart from the use of the Jesuit monogram to represent the Holy Name. In Chapter Two, I expand on this observation and explicitly demonstrate how the imagery of the *Triumph* celebrates the Society by evoking its founder.

My investigation into the decoration of the tribune vault suggests the change in subject was a response to contemporary exigencies. My conclusions owe much to those modern studies that have reevaluated the meaning of the oft-used and previously much-misunderstood phrase “*modo nostro*” that appeared regularly in correspondence amongst the Jesuits. Gauvin A. Bailey’s excellent article “*Le style jésuite n’existe pas*: Jesuit Corporate Culture and the Visual Arts” showed that the term “*modo nostro*” used by the Jesuits was a reference to their practical way of responding to local exigencies. He

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convincingly argued that the term did not allude to a rigorous and sinister stylistic agenda as had been argued in earlier scholarship. As had been argued in earlier scholarship. Although the unpublished documents I relate to the change of subject in the apse in Chapter Three do not employ this term, my analysis of the Jesuit order as a practical entity whose decisions privileged functionality over the imposition of a style, theme, or subject, is consistent with Bailey’s argument in this article.

The scholarly literature on emblematic imagery and images of Ignatius that were produced in the Jesuit sphere has also informed my investigation of the Triumph. These studies have been enormously stimulating and helpful to my analysis of images in the Gesù, but I found it surprising that the Triumph has not been included in such studies. The first book I consulted, and one to which I keep returning, is Ursula König-Nordhoff’s Ignatius von Loyola: Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie in Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600. König-Nordhoff has catalogued a formidable number of early images of Ignatius to show how the Society strove towards building a cult around its founder as a means to promote the cause for his canonization. Although the quality and sizes of many of the illustrations leave a lot to be desired, their presentation in thematic categories such as “vera effigies” (or “True portraits”), profile portraits, canonization pictures, and so on is helpful in identifying commonalities and differences within and across these types.

In conclusion, with regard to early modern Jesuit emblem books and current scholarship on the Jesuit emblematic tradition that stimulated my analysis of the

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Triumph, I will limit myself here to mentioning only the most relevant works that I have not only consulted but also cited. Two of these are seventeenth-century emblem books: the *Imago primi saeculi* published by the Society of Jesus in Antwerp in 1640; and a book on Ignatian emblems entitled “*Ignatius insignium*” and authored by Carlo Bovio in 1655. The specific modern authors whose work I have relied on to arrive at conclusions of my own include first and foremost Peter M. Daly, and G. Richard Dimler, S.J., who have both published extensively on seventeenth-century emblematic imagery. The *Companion to Emblem Studies* edited by Daly, which appeared in 2008 and included Dimler’s essay on “The Jesuit Emblem,” presents a collection of essays that provide an essential introduction to emblems in the early modern period.69 Lydia Salviucci Insolera’s authoritative book on the *Imago primi saeculi*, Karel Porteman’s publication on the “affixiones,” as exhibitions of emblematic imagery composed by students in Jesuit institutions were called, and Louise Rice’s essay on Jesuit thesis prints, are specific works that I utilize to make my argument in the final chapter of this dissertation.70

The publications on the most recent restorations undertaken from 1994 to 1999 to restore Baciccio’s frescoes are important sources on the technical condition of the paintings and their consequent legibility. Several of the scholarly studies that address Baciccio’s frescoes at the Gesù in some depth were carried out prior to these efforts and so were unable to benefit from the extensive restorations carried out in preparation for the

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Jubilee Year celebrated in 2000.  
Maria Pia D’Orazio’s article, “Restauri in corso agli affreschi del Gaulli 1672-1685,” which was published in 1996 even as the restorations were in progress, outlines the extent and nature of the damage suffered in different areas of the frescoes. Two observations D’Orazio makes in her article are important to my study: first, Baciccio’s frescoes did not exhibit signs of any prior restoration efforts; and second, the technical evidence suggested that the damage to the frescoes was reversible (which has been confirmed by the clarity of the frescoes as visible today after the renovations). For the purpose of this study, the imagery of the restored frescoes as seen today may reasonably be assumed to be in near-original condition apart from, perhaps, over-cleaning that led, in some cases, to a loss in details.

Chapter Outline

The aim of my dissertation is twofold. In the first place, my examination of Baciccio’s frescoes at the Gesù seeks to challenge the general scholarly consensus that the Triumph of the Name of Jesus adorning the nave vault is mainly a celebration of the Church Triumphant. Secondly, it addresses the hitherto unstudied change in subject matter of the apse fresco to dismiss the contention that the Mystic Lamb forms part of a unified thematic program that Oliva commissioned from Baciccio. In Chapter Two, I analyze the composition of the Triumph and argue that its interpretation as an expression of the Church Triumphant is a gross oversimplification. I argue that the Triumph’s composition was conceived more specifically as an exaltation of the Holy Name that also

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73 In Chapter Two, I discuss one such instance, wherein the heart pierced by nails Baciccio painted below the IHS in the Triumph is no longer easily visible to the naked eye, but it is clearly visible in an early copy of the composition and in photographs taken with a telephoto lens (Figure 2).
included an unusual allegorical encomium to the Jesuit founder, for he did not appear in it. My interpretation is based on a formal analysis of numerous motifs related to the Jesuit founder that appear in the *Triumph*. It is also based on an examination of several sources that have not previously been considered in connection with the *Triumph*, such as the cover page of the Bull of the Jesuit founder’s canonization, textual accounts from his biographies, and the texts of various sermons delivered by Oliva to the professed Jesuits.

It is my contention that even sources bereft of imagery contributed in painting a vivid picture of Ignatius’ life, qualities, and deeds. Given the sheer volume of such sources and their wide diffusion among important sections of the audiences in the Gesù, they must be taken into consideration to fully appreciate the manner in which the *Triumph’s* allusions to Ignatius function. I expand this argument in the fourth and final chapter, in which I address the reception of the frescoes, and primarily that of the *Triumph*.

Chapter Three addresses the decoration of the apse vault. Although Baciccio executed an *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* in the semidome of the apse, his original contract with Oliva had excluded this area, for it was to have been frescoed by another artist with a representation of *Joshua Stopping the Sun*. Studies of the frescoes thus far have relegated the unexecuted *Joshua Stopping the Sun* to a mere passing mention that overlooks completely the special significance the figure of the Old Testament general had for the Jesuits. I suggest that the subject of *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, the importance of which has not been recognized in scholarship on the apse or even on the hagiography of Ignatius, was selected by Oliva based on a historical likening of Ignatius to the Old Testament general. In this chapter, I examine factors that plausibly led Oliva to exclude the apse vault from his contract with Baciccio while still incorporating imagery from the
Book of Joshua in the nave vault, semidome of the apse, and northeast pendentive, which were contracted to the artist. My examination reveals as false the generally accepted scholarly contention that the *Mystic Lamb* and the *Triumph* form part of a unified program, and I suggest the term “cycle” be used instead to describe the ensemble of Baciccio’s frescoes at the Gesù.

The subject chosen for the decoration of the semidome of the apse is crucial to an analysis of the cycle of frescoes executed by Baciccio, for it adorned the high altar constituting the spatial and liturgical focus of the church’s interior. It is, therefore, not surprising that Oliva had excluded this area from Baciccio’s contract and reserved it expressly for decoration by the lay Jesuit artist Giacomo Cortese. Although Cortese’s demise explains why the commission for the apse fresco passed to Baciccio, another matter has remained unexplained. Early biographies of Cortese, a painter famed for his realistic battle-scenes, noted that he had been tasked by Oliva to decorate the tribune vault with a scene of *Joshua Stopping the Sun*. However, Cortese died before the Jesuits could obtain the necessary permission and sums required for the decoration of the tribune from the Farnese heir Ranuccio II. It was only in 1679, well after Cortese’s demise and as the *Triumph* was nearing completion, that Ranuccio finally committed a sum of 3,000 *scudi* towards the decoration of the nave vault. At the same time, he also acceded to the Jesuits’ request for permission for Baciccio to execute the fresco. Inexplicably, though, Baciccio frescoed the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* (Figure 13) in the semidome of the apse, a subject markedly different from the one Oliva had originally commissioned from Cortese. Scholarship on the Gesù frescoes has overlooked the reason why the subject for the Gesù apse was changed, which forms the crux of the third chapter of this dissertation.
To my knowledge, no documentary or visual sources survive to explain the reason for the change in subject matter at the Gesù apse, which likely hindered previous scholarship on Baciccio’s Gesù frescoes. The conclusions I present regarding the subject of the apse fresco have been deduced from contemporary historical events affecting the Society of Jesus through the 1670s that plausibly informed the radical change in subject matter at the focal point of its mother church. My exploration of this subject will, I hope, open up new avenues of inquiry and discussion of Baciccio’s monumental fresco cycle at the Gesù.

In the fourth and final chapter, I consider the reception of Baciccio’s cycle of frescoes in the Gesù, relating the Triumph to its counterparts in the vault of the left transept chapel, the semidome of the apse, the vault of the presbytery arch, the dome, and the pendentives. The emblematic component of the Triumph, I argue, differentiates it from the rest of the areas frescoed by Baciccio in the Gesù and also makes it unique among decorations of the nave ceilings in contemporary New Reform Order mother churches. Ignatius of Loyola was allegorically glorified in the composition of the Triumph just as he was to have been glorified in Joshua Stopping the Sun. The projected monumental representation of Joshua in the apse of the Gesù would have constituted, I argue in Chapter Two, a prominent visual and spatial association between the figures of the Old Testament general and the Jesuit founder. Knowledge of this association would have greatly enabled informed viewers to identify the allusions to Ignatius in the Triumph. In this regard, I apply conclusions derived from scholarship on emblematic imagery to argue that audiences for emblematic literature were attuned to interpreting
imgery such as that of the *Triumph* in a manner that would have led them to perceive its allusions to Ignatius.

The assertion that Ignatius was glorified in the *Triumph* raises the questions as to whether a non-figural glorification would even have been noticed and, if so, by whom? The first question I answer in the third chapter, where I argue that with the eschewal of *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, the most obvious link to Ignatius was lost. With the loss of this crucial visual prompt linking the two figures, it was no longer as easy to perceive the remaining allusions to the Jesuit founder in the *Triumph*. The second question I answer in the final chapter by broadly dividing audiences at the Gesù into two categories of spectators: the erudite who were often schooled in Jesuit institutions and were capable of recognizing the emblematic components of the *Triumph*, and others such as devout worshippers and pilgrims who were usually either illiterate or only semi-literate. Through an application of earlier scholarship on Jesuit emblematic imagery that has never been considered in relation to the *Triumph*, I demonstrate that erudite viewers would have perceived, interpreted, and delighted in the numerous allegorical references to Ignatius that enrich the complex composition of the nave vault. My investigation, especially in this final chapter, draws on previous scholarship to expand significantly the discussion on Baciccio’s Gesu frescoes and the iconography of Ignatius by re-evaluating the meaning of the nave fresco for the Society of Jesus. As a whole, this dissertation also re-examines the relationship between the various parts of Baciccio’s fresco cycle, and it posits a reason for the change in subject matter that occurred in the apse.
Chapter 2: Baciccio's *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* and Ignatian Imagery

Premise

The contract Baciccio signed on August 21, 1672, with Oliva for the decoration of vaults of the Gesù spelled out the general terms of the commission, but surprisingly it did not specify any subject. The document stipulated only that Baciccio was to produce designs that would be subject to approval by the Father General or his delegate. The contract further specified that all the painting was to be executed by the artist himself whereas the gilding work was to be overseen by him. It also clarified that the area to be decorated encompassed the vast curvature of the nave vault and extended past the windows lining its sides, and down to the great cornice that runs along the interior of the church.

Even though the subject of the nave was not addressed in the contract, it is highly unlikely that Baciccio, a young artist in the early stages of his career, would have been given free reign by the Jesuits to design from scratch this vast and prominent area of their mother church without any guidance from them. I aim to show in this chapter that the composition of the *Triumph* executed by Baciccio was extremely rich in biblical, theological, devotional, and symbolic allusions, and that his Jesuit patrons must have provided him with a considerable amount of imagery and perhaps even textual sources and guidance for him to formulate and execute such a complex work of art.

In July 1676, Baciccio began work on the nave vault, decorating it with a mélange of fresco, sculpture, and architectural decoration to create the *Triumph of the Name of*

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74 Tacchi Venturi, "Convenzioni."
75 Ibid., 149.
Jesus, which was unveiled on December 31, 1679 (Figure 16). His brilliant illusionistic formulation calls for a detailed description because of its size, complex subject matter, and intricate composition. So large, striking, and prominently situated is the composition that the gaze of every viewer entering the church is immediately drawn up towards it. The frescoed portion spreads across a vast pictorial field comprising, but not limited to, the flatter central portion of the nave vault framed by an imposing gilded stucco frame. A modified rectangle, the frame’s short sides are replaced almost entirely by semicircular exedras that enlarge the central fresco field. Large three-dimensional white stucco angels placed symmetrically along the edges of the massive frame appear to hold its architectonic structure aloft. Beyond the frame, the surface of the nave vault is profusely decorated with decorative gilded stucco motifs such as rosettes whose repetitive patterns provide a rich but unified backdrop to the captivating irregular masses of frescoed figures spilling across the frame and onto them.

The composition as a whole is oriented to the gaze of visitors entering the church (although several portions require viewers to move across the nave and turn to view them correctly). At first glance, the central portion of the church’s roof seems to have dematerialized, providing the viewer with a glimpse of a clear blue sky dominated by a blazing sunburst. The radiant letters IHS within the sunburst are instantly and easily legible, but the rest of the frescoed composition is so complex and detailed that it demands considerable time and an active involvement on the part of the viewer to decipher it further. A multitude of figures surrounds the IHS-inscribed sunburst, and it is only through closer examination that the rest of the schema becomes apparent.\footnote{The Triumph is so densely packed with figures that viewers are able to recognize individual figures within it only upon investing the time required for very close observation. While a familiarity with the}
solid frame encloses a fresco field replete with painted figures that transgress it, though most of them seem to be floating upwards. Around the IHS-inscribed sunburst, countless ethereal *putti* float while groups of pious men and women reverentially seated on cloudbanks are arrayed along a semicircle to the left, right, and below it. The semicircular placement of the cloudbanks echoes the form of the sunburst, magnifying its visual reach by extending well beyond the confines of the stucco frame. The gazes and reverential postures of the figures seated on the cloudbanks condition and reinforce the instinctive upward gaze of viewers towards the sunburst as they enter the church.

At the far end of the vault, a dark, prominent mass of contorted, interlinked figures appears to be falling precipitously out of the skies and into the church. The triangular disposition of this mass of figures and the positioning of the figures, painted for the most part below the stucco frame, effectively separate it from the groups of cloud-borne figures above. This triangular grouping also reinforces a top-to-bottom reading of the nave composition, just as it heightens the illusion of the figures being in the midst of a free-fall as they hurtle inexorably downwards. These figures are easily perceived as demonic because of their deformed, subhuman bodies, hideous faces, contorted postures, and agonized expressions. As they occupy the space towards and below the lower edge of the frame, which delineates the view of the sky, these demonic figures appear to be lower than the rest of the painted figures, and their downward precipitation seems to result from the unbearably strong light emitted by the IHS and sunburst.

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Bible and Ignatian iconography would have greatly enhanced viewers’ appreciation and understanding of it, even a cursory examination revealed the basic theme and the masterful illusionism of the composition. In Chapter Four, I demonstrate that learned viewers well-versed in the Scriptures and accustomed to as well as appreciative of heraldic and emblematic imagery would have been eager to study the imagery closely and would also have interpreted it in a considerably more profound manner.
In contrast to Baciccio’s smaller, brightly lit, and comparatively generic-looking beatific figures on the cloudbanks surrounding the IHS, his demonic figures are larger, darker, and more individualized. Their contorted flailing postures and averted gazes differentiate them from their stably-positioned counterparts reverently contemplating the IHS in orderly groups above. Because of their highly activated forms and dramatic mid-air positioning, the demonic figures appear closest to the viewer entering the church even though they are actually positioned the farthest away. This group of figures, above all others at the Gesù, attests to Baciccio’s absolute command over drawing and painting. The utter confidence of line in the foreshortening and placement of these figures is a testament to his exemplary draftsmanship, just as the dramatic use of shading and highlighting in the vivid colors used for their corporeal bodies is a testament to his acknowledged mastery of color. In large part because of this group of figures, such is the immediacy of the composition as a whole that rather than simply seeing a painted scene, viewers seem to experience movement. Once viewers have absorbed and processed the three main parts of the composition, which are the bright IHS within the sunburst, the cloud-borne figures gazing at and drawn towards it, and the tangled mass of figures repelled by its force, their overall perception is that of watching as the skies open up and the fiery letters IHS set into motion all the surrounding figures.

The letters IHS constitute the Holy Name and are surmounted by a cross to form the Jesuit monogram, which is the focal point of Baciccio’s design (Figure 2). The attention of visitors entering the church is immediately drawn towards the monogram because of its light colors and prominent central position. The fiery colors of the sunburst mark it out from the darker surrounding forms, and its position towards the top and center
of the fresco field intuitively suggests a top to bottom reading of the nave. Thematically, the monogram appears to radiate and emit a supernaturally brilliant light that animates the figures around it. On bright days, the composition benefits from sunlight pouring in through the windows lining the nave as well as the large window located above the church’s entrance portal. The façade window directs an abundance of natural light towards the upper part of the compositional field where it enhances the illusion of the monogram’s radiance. \(^{77}\) Because of the greater concentration of windows around the entrance of the nave, the upper half of the nave vault composition comprising the painted monogram and the stucco banderole above it are the most brightly lit parts of the entire church interior. Even without the natural light, the focal position and eye-catching illusionistic luminescence of the monogram distinguish it from all other elements of the composition and the surrounding space. Consequently, in addition to being the thematic and visual focus of the nave vault, the radiant monogram is also the most prominent element of the entire church interior.

Above the curved top edge of the frame, the façade window also illuminates a twirling white stucco banderole inscribed with “\[In nomine\] Iesu omne genuflect[tatur, caelestium t]errest[rium et infernorum]” in gilded letters and seemingly held aloft by two pairs of white stucco angels modeled in the round and attached to the ceiling (Figure 17). The extreme angling of the angels’ bodies and the folds of their garments echo the animated twirling of the banderole. These four angels are further linked to the banderole because they are also white against the rich gilded stucco background. (Six similar angels

\(^{77}\) The orientation of the composition to the gaze of visitors entering the church is in keeping with the monumental ceiling decorations in other churches such as the Chiesa Nuova and San Carlo al Corso. Baciccio’s composition, however, is unique among nave frescoes for the way it capitalizes, in line with numerous compositions planned by his mentor Bernini, on natural light entering the church through the central window of the entrance portal.
are diametrically disposed and attached to the ceiling at regular intervals along the enormous gilded frame of the fresco field.) A gilded relief panel of figures bearing the Ark of the Covenant is partially visible beneath the banderole (Figure 15). The narrative relief panel is framed along its long sides by large, centered double shells in gilded stucco and at its corners by the two pairs of stucco angels. Beyond the narrative panel’s short curved edges, a frame of curved gilded rosettes reprises the rosettes of the prominent nave ribs. Flanking each curved side of the Ark relief are decorative stucco panels depicting devotional motifs. The left panel depicts a host exuding a radiant burst of light poised above a chalice adored by two kneeling putti (Figure 18); the right panel depicts a heart engulfed in flames adored, likewise, by two kneeling putti (Figure 19). To the sides of the central fresco field and the banderole areas, the entire nave vault curves down towards large windows in arched niches (Figure 16). Each window is flanked by a large white stucco figure and is surmounted by an aedicule topped by a pair of white stucco putti. The stucco figures lining the nave windows represent geographical regions and personifications that extend the theme of the Triumph of the Name of Jesus spatially down towards the windows and thematically across the geographical regions represented.

The early biographers are surprisingly silent on the meaning of the Triumph of the Name of Jesus. For the most part, they address only the artistic merits of the composition and only occasionally, if at all, do they refer to its subject. As noted above, even the

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78 Surprisingly, these two panels are not oriented to the gaze of the viewer entering the church; each panel is separately oriented to the gaze of a viewer positioned at the long side of the nave opposite to it. I explore this issue further in Chapter Four, in which I argue that the different orientations of these panels functioned as prompts for erudite spectators interested in details of the composition to move around and position themselves so as to obtain a frontal view instead of a lateral view of the panels.

79 The identifications of the figures are to be found in Curzietti, Decorazione della chiesa del Gesù, 132-147.
contract signed by Baciccio was silent on the subject of the frescoes he was to design and execute. The artist’s early biographers referred to the nave fresco either as an “Adoration of the Holy Name,” or some variant thereof, or they described it in an equally cursory manner.

In contrast, contemporary avvisi and correspondence record lively evaluations that were either scathing or favorable. An avviso dating to August 12, 1679, records a preliminary unveiling of the Triumph that was attended by eight or nine cardinals and several artists. Apparently, the biting consensus at the time was that “it would all have been beautiful had the figures been less disproportionate, and by another hand.” Despite this negative reception, when the Triumph was definitively unveiled at the end of the year, the positive reception it received prompted Oliva to write, in a letter dated January 7, 1680, and inform the Rector of the Collegio at Parma that: “the great vault of our church has finally been unveiled …and to such unexpected acclamation that …[Duke Ranuccio Farnese] has probably already heard of it.” Oliva’s jubilation was well-founded, for an avviso dated January 6, 1680, also records the successful unveiling of the fresco with the observation that: “On the Feast of the Circumcision, the nave vault of the Church of the Gesù was unveiled, which, even if its painting could not escape some

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81 “Si e finalmente scoperto il voltone di questa nostra chiesa con tale concorso, e con si inaudita acclamatione che io non oso di darne parte a V.R. perche non sicuro, che da piu parti ne sara giunto costa il ragguaglio.” Epp. NN. II Epist. ad diversos 1673-1681, fo. 221v., cited in Tacchi Venturi, “Convenzioni,” 153 (note 6).
critical censure, was in every aspect, for its beauty and the richness of its gilding, considered one of the most beautiful and sumptuous marvels of Rome.\textsuperscript{82}

Considering the emotional appraisals in the contemporary sources, the relative silence on the subject of the \textit{Triumph} from the artist’s early biographers is surprising. For instance, the short biography of Baciccio in Nicola Pio’s 1724 manuscript on the \textit{Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects} includes but a brief note on the Gesù. Pio states only that: “in the church of the Gesù [he] painted the tribune of the high altar, and with great[er] mastery and immediacy [his work] appears in the pendentives, the dome, and the great central vault of the church, as [it does] also [in] the great painting of Saint Ignatius for the new, famous, and very rich chapel dedicated to the saint.”\textsuperscript{83}

Lione Pascoli’s “Life of Gio. Battista Gaulli” of 1730 does not describe the Gesù frescoes at all; it provides only anecdotal details about informal changes made to Baciccio’s contract once the artist began work and realized the scale of the project would exceed the contractual remuneration.\textsuperscript{84} According to Pascoli, Oliva took the opinion of several knowledgeable friends, and especially Bernini, who personally guaranteed

\textsuperscript{82} BAV Ms. Barb. lat. 6389; published in Rossi, “Roma ignorata,” in. \textit{Roma} 19 (1941): 393. My translation of Rossi’s transcription, which reads: “\textit{Roma 6 gennaio 1680. Con l’occasione della Festa della Circoncisione si è scoperta la volta della Chiesa del Giesù, la quale benché rispetto alla pittura non habbia potuto sfuggire qualche censura de critici, viene in ogni modo per la sua vaghezza e ricchezza d’oro considerata, come una delle più belle, e sontuose meraviglie di Roma, ch’è accorsa con grand’influenza in questi giorni à vederla.}


\textsuperscript{84} Pascoli, \textit{Vite}, 277.
Baciccio’s work, which led Oliva to select the young Genoese artist for the Gesù commission.\footnote{Pascoli, \textit{Vite}, 276-77.}

Providing some critical insight, the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin, who met Baciccio at his workshop while on his second visit to Rome in 1687-88, was perhaps the most impartial and informed of the early sources on the \textit{Triumph}. Because he was a foreigner, Tessin’s observations were unlikely to have been colored by any personal interests, rivalry, or local politics, and his record of a meeting with Baciccio has been instrumental in establishing the young artist’s stylistic debt to Bernini. Tessin was forthright about his own high regard for the composition of the \textit{Triumph}. He singled out for praise Baciccio’s skillful drawing, vivid coloring, and execution of the overall composition, noting that: “I do not believe that there exists in Rome an[other] artist who, following Bernini’s style in a large vault for a large work, could successfully blend with more intelligence painting with its various colors [and] architecture with its various planes in white and gold.”\footnote{Beatrice Canestro Chiovenda, “Cristina di Svezia, il Bernini, il Gaulli e il libro di appunti di Nicodemo Tessin d.y. (1687-1688), \textit{Commentari: Rivista di critica e storia dell’arte} 1-3 (1966): 176. My translation is from Canestro Chiovenda’s article in Italian, which reads: “io non credo che esista in Roma un artista che, seguendo il gusto del Bernini in una grande volta di una grande opera, possa riuscire a fondere con miglior intelligenza la pittura con i suoi colori, con l’architettura con i suoi diversi piani in bianco e oro.”} Yet, though Tessin’s notes indicate his esteem for the technical virtuosity of the \textit{Triumph} in terms of the drawing, color, composition, style, and even the labor involved, they make no reference to the subject depicted.

Another important source worth examining is the Genoese biographer Carlo Giuseppe Ratti’s account of Baciccio’s life and works, which is based on information that
derives directly from the artist’s son, the advocate Giulio Gaulli.\textsuperscript{87} Two eighteenth-century editions of Ratti’s biographies include a \textit{Life} of Baciccio: a 1762 manuscript edition and a subsequent 1797 edition.\textsuperscript{88} Neither of the two accounts is completely accurate or fully objective; however, a comparison of both provides useful information on the subject and reception of the Gesù frescoes.\textsuperscript{89} In the earlier manuscript edition, the subject of the nave vault is described summarily as “the Holy Name of Jesus adored by angels and terrestrials, and [there are also depicted] the demons who flee [from the Holy Name].”\textsuperscript{90} Ratti’s 1797 edition, however, contains a significant elaboration on the theme of the nave vault which suggests that the manuscript was subsequently expanded to explain better the subject depicted. The 1797 edition states:

\begin{quote}
In the great central vault he [Baciccio] represented the sky, the earth, and hell in humiliation before the sacrosanct Name of Jesus: and all this in a great frame borne by stucco relief angels based on his designs and [modeled] by the celebrated sculptors Antonio Raggi and Lionardo Reti. Within the same frame is a Glory of Paradise with hierarchies of angels in the act of adoration. To the sides of the frame, in beautifully positioned groups [placed] on clouds, [there are] in beautiful reverential and humble attitudes saints of various types, Orders, and offices, who also contemplate the adorable Name. And below the frame as well as beyond it, innumerable
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{87} Because of the author’s own Genoese roots and the warm friendship he shared with Baciccio’s son Giulio (which is acknowledged in the opening lines of the \textit{Vita} in both editions), Ratti’s account is highly admiring in tone. An understandable Genoese bias notwithstanding, his account is reasonably fair, for while recording the high praise accorded Baciccio for his work at the Gesù, Ratti also acknowledges that Baciccio’s frescoes were at the same time also subject to considerable criticism.

\textsuperscript{88} Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, \textit{Storia de' pittori scultori et architetti e de' forestieri che in Genova operarono; secondo il manoscritto del 1762}, ed. Maurizia Migliorini (Genoa: Istituto di Storia dell’Arte, 1997); and Raffaello Soprani and Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, \textit{Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti genovesi}, vol. 2. (1797); hereafter cited as Ratti 1762 and Ratti 1797, respectively.

\textsuperscript{89} Both editions include obvious errors, embellishments, and \textit{topoi}. For instance, despite Ratti’s close friendship with Giulio Gaulli, both editions are incorrect in stating that Baciccio worked at the Gesù for fifteen years; he is documented as having worked there for a period of thirteen years, from 1672 to 1685.

\textsuperscript{90} My translation (I interpret the passage as grouping the angels and terrestrials together as those adoring the Holy Name of Jesus, while the demons, excluded from this group, flee). The original reads: “L'argomento di questa grand'opera nel volto di mezzo è il Nome santo di Gesù dagli a[n]gioli adorato e da' terrestri e li demoni che si fuggono [ ... ].” Ratti, 1762, 79 (c. 68v in the manuscript).

Whereas Ratti’s account explicitly describes the subject of the \textit{Triumph}, it makes no mention of its titular inscription. Though the composition plainly derives from the text of Saint Paul’s letter to the Philippians (Philippians 2:10) that is displayed across the stucco banderole above the central fresco, neither of Ratti’s accounts refers to the Biblical verse.\footnote{The abbott Filippo Titi did, however, record the inscription (“In nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur”) while cursorily identifying it as the theme of the composition. Titi, \textit{Studio di pittura, scultura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma}, 102.} The exclusion of any mention of the verse from Ratti’s expanded account suggests that for lay viewers, including even the biographer himself, and the artist’s son Giulio Gaulli, who was the source of the information in the biography, the subject depicted on the nave vault was most easily understood as a straightforward exposition of the imagery rather than through knowledge of the specific Biblical source from which it derived.

The spectacular illusionism of the composition has assured it a place in every survey text. Modern scholarship on the \textit{Triumph of the Name of Jesus} has investigated its composition and subject to a considerable extent, and the work is generally accepted in art historical scholarship as a masterpiece of illusionistic Baroque ceiling painting that is an unequivocal expression of the Catholic Church Triumphant. However, though the term “expression of the Church Triumphant” allows art historians to describe and situate this
monument within the broader framework of Baroque painting and the history of the Catholic Church, its precision is questionable. Art historically, this term is misleading and borders on inaccuracy in its application to the Triumph because it shifts the focus away from any specific meaning the monument held for its patrons and situates it instead within a sweeping historical narrative. Interpreting the Triumph of the Name of Jesus as a generic representation of the Church Triumphant in the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation overlooks the specific meaning this monument carried for the Jesuits and its specific location in the most prominent area of their mother church. I will argue in this chapter that the Triumph is more than just a celebration of the Holy Name, and that it includes a prominent self-celebratory component.

The unsurpassed results obtained by the Society of Jesus in its mission of proselytization across the globe by the time the Triumph was executed in the 1670s are largely responsible for the generic association of the Triumph with the concept of Ecclesia Triumphans. In addition to its missionary achievements in converting vast numbers to Catholicism in the New World, Asia, and Africa, the Society had continued to play a crucial role in promulgating the Catholic faith within Europe in the aftermath of Luther’s Protestant Reformation. The Society was assured a preeminent place within the history and structure of the Catholic Church because of its achievements, and its fame and reach far exceeded that of its contemporary New Reform Orders when Oliva commissioned Baciccio to decorate the Gesù. Consequently, modern art historical scholarship has linked the theme of the Triumph to the Church Triumphant to such an extent that it has completely overshadowed the glorification of the Society itself. This over-simplified interpretation is inadequate because it disregards the Triumph’s
celebration of the Society of Jesus and its founder, Ignatius of Loyola, in the Jesuit mother church.  

Robert Enggass, author of the first authoritative monograph on Baciccio, devoted an entire section of his chapter on Baciccio’s Gesù frescoes to an interpretation of the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* as an expression of the Church Triumphant, and this interpretation is universally accepted in art historical scholarship.  

Pointing out the similarity of the *Triumph*’s composition to El Greco’s *Dream of Philip II*, which has been convincingly identified by Anthony Blunt as an allegory of the Holy League against the Turks, Enggass associated the Gesù nave vault with the Catholic Church’s battle against Heresy (Figure 20).  

Maintaining that the Gesù’s combination of an *Adoration of the Name of Christ* with a *Fall of the Rebel Angels* implicitly recalls the Catholic Church’s victories over heretics such as the Lutherans. Enggass argued that “[t]he subject [of the *Adoration of the Name of Jesus* at the Gesù] itself is not new. For the Cappella degli Angeli at the Gesù, Federico Zuccari painted about 1590 an *Angels Adoring the Name of Christ* which shows the figures kneeling beneath the *divine radiance which emanates from the monogram* [emphasis mine].” However, Enggass’ observation and interpretation are problematic, for as opposed to the IHS surmounted by a cross in Baciccio’s fresco, the Holy Name is expressed in a vastly different manner in Zuccari’s painting where it takes the form of an amalgamation of the symbols “Alpha” and

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93 While the theme of the *Church Triumphant* is certainly appropriate to the imagery of the Gesù nave, it is far from sufficient to explain it in a substantive manner.
95 El Greco’s *Dream of Philip II* is the most prominent of several works featuring an IHS-inscribed sunburst in glory. For El Greco’s two paintings of the *Adoration of the Name of Jesus*, of which the *Dream* is one version, see Gabriele Finaldi’s catalog entries in *El Greco* (London: National Gallery, 2009), 126-129 (catalog nos. 22 and 23).
96 Enggass, *Painting of Baciccio*, 44.
“Omega” (Figure 21). Enggass’ broad interpretation essentially disregards the significance in Baciccio’s *Triumph* of the form of the Holy Name—the Jesuit monogram—and the importance of its location to its patron, the Society of Jesus, whose founder Ignatius of Loyola was responsible for naming the Society after Jesus and for the adoption of its monogram.

In a departure from Enggass, Gauvin A. Bailey recognized the significance of the *Triumph*’s self-glorifying Jesuit monogram stating that “[t]he *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* represents the first large-scale public celebration of the Society itself in Rome, employing a kind of imagery that previously had only been used in private zones such as the novitiate of Sant’Andrea. It explicitly celebrates not only the identity of the Society of Jesus but also the Jesuits’ worldwide missionary enterprise.” Bailey’s article, however, addresses the broader theme of Jesuit-commissioned paintings from the early days of the Society through to its suppression in 1773 and, therefore, does not delve further into the manner and extent of the *Triumph*’s celebration for the Society in the 1670s. Other art historical interpretations of the *Triumph* are essentially in keeping with Enggass and Bailey’s contentions. Two recent books on Baciccio’s Gesù decorations, however,

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97 In the ceiling coffers of the Jesuit church in Antwerp, Rubens’ canvas with an IHS had appeared along with a pendant bearing the monogram MRA (“Maria”). Rubens’ early seventeenth-century IHS-canvas was destroyed by fire but is known through prints. The Antwerp ceiling also included the combination, of which the Gesù nave is reminiscent, featuring the *Adoration of the Name of Jesus* with a *Fall of the Rebel Angels*. Giachi, *Parabola di luce*, 34. At the Jesuit church at Genoa, the IHS appears in the lantern of the dome. Neither of these depictions of the IHS approached the prominence and monumentality of Baciccio’s composition for the nave of the Roman Gesù.

98 Bailey, “Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting Under the Jesuits,” 189.

99 Levy, too, singled out the imagery of the Gesù nave as “the first major public appearance in Rome of a type of triumphal imagery that specifically exalts the Society,” but her assessment of the Holy Name’s connection to the Society is limited to the observation that it celebrates the dedication of the church and the name of the Order. Evonne Levy, “‘A Noble Medley and Concert of Materials and Artefice’: Jesuit Church Interiors in Rome, 1567-1700,” in *Saint Site and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius Rome and Jesuit Urbanism*, ed. Thomas M. Lucas, S.J., (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990), 53.
diverge enough to merit individual appraisal: Jean-Paul Hernández, S.J., presents a convincing Christological interpretation of the frescoes, and Jacopo Curzietti links them to the canonization celebrations of the third Jesuit Father General, Francis Borgia, although he too maintains that its primary theme is the Church Triumphant. I address Hernández’s and Curzietti’s interpretations in the relevant sections of this chapter, where I argue that the prominent central placement and monumentalization of the Jesuit monogram glorified, in tandem with the Name of Jesus, the Society of Jesus and its founder Saint Ignatius of Loyola. It is my contention that while individual motifs of this rich composition may be applicable to Jesuits other than Ignatius of Loyola, all of the motifs as an ensemble could only evoke the Jesuit founder and his deeds in the name of Christ.

Relatively untested in large-scale frescoes, Baciccio had been selected by Oliva above three of his more renowned contemporaries largely on the strength of his mentor Bernini’s recommendation, as well as the Jesuit Father General’s appreciation of the young artist’s frescoes for the pendentives in the church of Sant’Agnese in Agone and the ceiling of Santa Marta in the Collegio Romano. The large scale of the Gesù vault, the brilliant illusionism, the complex fusion of media in its decoration, and the existence of drawings related to the Gesù dome by Bernini’s hand, indicate that Bernini did assist his protégé Baciccio in designing the Gesù nave. Just as the composition of the Triumph

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100 Hernández, Il corpo del Nome; and Curzietti, Decorazione della chiesa del Gesù: 17-25 (“Canonization of Francis Borgia”); 96-107 (“Ecclesia Triumphans”).
101 The other artists Oliva considered for the Gesù commission were Giacinto Brandi, Ciro Ferri, and Carlo Maratta.
102 Bernini’s unofficial involvement in the design of the Gesù nave vault is universally accepted by art historians. Circumstantial biographical evidence from Tessin, whom Baciccio reportedly told that it was Bernini’s idea to incorporate the swath of illusionistic shadow falling on the Damned, as well as by Baciccio’s biographers, supports this notion. Robert Enggass has analyzed the stylistic aspect of the
profited from Baciccio’s consultations with Bernini, its complex and coherent symbolism must have resulted from the younger artist’s consultations with his mentor as well as with Oliva or other theologians, though no evidence for this has come to light as yet.\textsuperscript{103} Enggass has argued convincingly that Baciccio lacked the experience and originality to visualize and execute such an imaginative large-scale composition without artistic guidance from Bernini himself.\textsuperscript{104} It is equally improbable that Baciccio could have conceived of and executed a complex Christocentric composition that abounds in references to the Old and New Testaments and to the Jesuit founder without counsel from Jesuit theologians.\textsuperscript{105} Baciccio likely consulted with them right from the early stages, and would have received at the very least broad thematic guidelines regarding the biblical texts and episodes on which to base the nave composition. Thus, despite the contract’s silence on a subject for the nave vault and its call for designs to be created by Baciccio, it is reasonable to assume that the design for the \textit{Triumph of the Name of Jesus} was influenced by his discussions with Bernini and that the subject of the composition was based on texts and episodes selected for him by the Jesuits.

\textsuperscript{103} Enggass analyzed the protégé-mentor relationship between Baciccio and Bernini that was recorded by Baciccio’s biographers, and he correlated it to contemporary \textit{avvisi} to argue convincingly that “the key to the nature and degree of Bernini’s contribution [was, in essence, the] ‘invention’ [in various aspects of the Gesù compositions]” and that “[i]n the broader aspects of design … Baciccio lacked creative originality … [which] Bernini supplied.” Enggass, “Bernini, Gaulli, and the Frescoes of the Gesù,” 305.

\textsuperscript{104} The fusion of the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and an illusionism conceptually based on a focal burst of light benefitting from a source of natural light (often hidden in Bernini’s compositions) are key features of Bernini’s \textit{Cathedra Petri} (ca. 1660) in the tribune of St. Peter’s and the Cornaro Chapel in S. Maria della Vittoria (1647-51), which are utilized by Baciccio in the Gesù \textit{Triumph}.

\textsuperscript{105} In this respect, see Chapter Four for an analysis of iconographic changes made to an early drawing by Baciccio of the \textit{Four Prophets Who Foretold the Coming of Christ} (Museum Kunst Palast Dusseldorf, inv. \textit{KA [FP] 1876} for the Northeast pendentive) to the considerably more complex iconography of the final fresco. (This case-study argues that Baciccio’s own conception of themes with which he was provided was substantially enriched by subsequent suggestions from theologians.)
A stunning, illusionistic, *tour de force* in paint and stucco, the *Triumph* infuses into one magnificent composition several conventional iconographic motifs, such as brilliant sunlight representing divine power, saintly figures in adoration of divinity, cloud-enveloped angels and *putti*, and demonic figures expelled from a divine realm. Its stunning focal point, the Name of Jesus represented by the letters IHS surmounted by a cross, takes the form of the Jesuit monogram to glorify Christ while also celebrating the Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius of Loyola.

Ignatius’ absence from the composition is surprising, especially given the fresco’s prominent location in the mother church of the Society he founded. This omission appears even more glaring when the *Triumph* is compared with Pietro da Cortona’s *Vision of Saint Philip Neri* (1664-65), which decorates the nave vault of Santa Maria in Vallicella, better known as the Chiesa Nuova. The Chiesa Nuova was the mother church of the Oratorians, the most contemporaneous and similar to the Society of Jesus of all the New Reform Orders. In this fresco, the Oratorian founder Philip Neri is prominent in the lower foreground, bearing witness to the miraculous apparition of the Madonna saving the church from collapse (Figure 22). One would expect the Jesuit founder to be prominently included in a similar manner among those who adore the Holy Name in the nave vault of the Jesuit mother church. I argue in Chapter Three that Ignatius’ absence from the *Triumph* resulted from Oliva’s desire for the Jesuit founder’s glorification in the semidome of the Gesù apse through a fresco allegorically associating him with the Old Testament general Joshua, to which the nave fresco composition was intended to be complementary. Oliva intended the apse fresco to depict *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, a subject closely linked to episodes from the Book of Joshua depicted in relief panels of the
nave vault that would have provided an unequivocal thematic connection between the two frescoes.

However, Oliva’s plans for the Gesù apse did not come to fruition and the Joshua fresco was never executed. Consequently, the prominent allegorical glorification of Ignatius and the apse’s connection to the nave were lost. The goal of this chapter is to analyze the iconography of the nave ceiling decoration, specifically the hagiographic links to Ignatius, by going beyond the eye-catching frescoed imagery to focus on the inscription and images executed in stucco, specifically the inscribed banderole and the gilded relief panels in its proximity (Figure 17).\footnote{The gilded relief panels consist of a central narrative relief panel. This single narrative relief panel includes two episodes from the Book of Joshua, and its reliefs are obscured by a white stucco banderole inscribed with gilded lettering that weaves across it. The narrative relief panel and the banderole superimposed upon it are flanked by two other gilded relief panels depicting the Eucharistic Host (at left) and a flaming heart (at right).} Whereas the inscription of the banderole provides the theme of the vault decorations and the imagery on the relief panels has been identified, their significant links to Ignatius have not been adequately explored. This omission in the case of the relief panels is due to their smaller size and monochrome coloring. Centered across the top of the fresco field, the sole narrative relief panel depicts two episodes from the Book of Joshua: the \textit{Transport of the Ark} and the \textit{Fall of Jericho}. The reliefs on this panel are rather obscured by a prominent, animated white stucco banderole inscribed with gilt lettering that weaves across it. This panel and the banderole superimposed upon it are flanked by two other gilded relief panels depicting the Eucharistic Host (at left) and a flaming heart (at right). While these two side panels are clearly visible because the banderole does not obstruct them, the devotional motifs on them tend to get lost as they merge into the profuse gilded decorations of the vault. Despite the small size and relative inconspicuousness of these three relief panels,
their prominent positions above the fresco field and their close juxtaposition with the titular banderole attest to the importance of interpreting their imagery in tandem with that of the more easily legible frescoed area. I seek to demonstrate that each of these stuccoed elements, along with other elements frescoed in the Triumph, was associated with Ignatius and that when considered together this ensemble of motifs was meant not only to evoke the Jesuit founder but to cast him as a champion of the faith in the likeness of Joshua.

Allusions to Ignatius

Even though Philippians 2:10, the Biblical verse on which the Triumph is based, finds little mention in the early sources and is only cursorily addressed in modern scholarship, this verse is key to interpreting the meaning of the composition in relation to its location at the Jesuit mother church. The Jesuit founder’s figural absence from Bacicco’s Triumph notwithstanding, the composition abounds in references to him, and Philippians 2:10 is a crucial but lone textual allusion among them. Displayed across the banderole crowning the nave vault, it is the most obvious reference to Ignatius because it is the antiphon of the votive mass in his honor.107 In addition, the narrative stucco reliefs visible behind the banderole constitute another, albeit indirect, reference to Ignatius. The reliefs depict events related to the Old Testament general Joshua, to whom Ignatius had been likened by Pope Gregory XV during his canonization proceedings. Flanking the banderole are gilded stucco reliefs of two devotional motifs that were closely related to Ignatius: the Eucharistic Host (at left) and a heart engulfed in flames (at right). The great

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107 Levy, and subsequently Bailey, connected the publication of the Mass of Ignatius to the titular inscription of the Triumph, but neither pursued the connection any further. Levy surmised that “the impetus for the Gesù nave decoration may have been the approval (1673) and the new edition (1675) of Ignatius’ mass proper.” Levy, “Giovanni Battista Gaulli, Adoration of the Name of Jesus [Galleria Spada bozzetto, Inv. 137],” in Saint Site and Sacred Strategy, 195 (Cat. No. 122); Bailey acknowledged in passing the possibility that “the appearance of this edition may directly have inspired Bacicco.” Bailey, “Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting Under the Jesuits,” 188-189.
fresco below the banderole includes several other visual allusions to Ignatius. In keeping with established Jesuit hagiography, the fiery brilliance of the sunburst evokes Ignatius through the etymological connection between his name and the element of fire (ignis in Latin), while the monogram IHS (representing the name of Jesus that was adopted by Ignatius as the Society’s emblem) was closely linked to Ignatius in his role as founder of the Society of Jesus. Finally, the cascading figures of the Damned evoke images of demons and possessed humans exorcised by Ignatius. Though some of these motifs, notably the Eucharistic Host and the heart engulfed in flames, were also associated with Jesuits other than Ignatius, their initial association within the Society of Jesus was to Ignatius. More importantly, when considered as a whole, this ensemble of motifs could refer only to Ignatius and not to any other Jesuit saint.

Depending on viewers’ individual backgrounds, the extent to which they could associate each of these motifs with Ignatius would have differed. Motifs such as fire, the Eucharistic Host, and the monogram IHS (which represented the Name of Jesus), were easily associated with Ignatius’ person since they were drawn from established Ignatian iconography that was widely diffused through printed images. In contrast, only viewers well-versed with Ignatius’ life and achievements and details of his canonization would have been aware of Ignatius’ connection to Joshua or to the titular verse, Philippians 2:10. Pilgrims and visitors who were specially devoted to Ignatius, as well as all literate viewers familiar with the texts of biographical accounts, would have been familiar to varying degrees with the motifs related to scenes and accounts of Ignatius’ life recorded in numerous biographies and works of art. The most erudite viewers, as I argue in the final chapter, were the most conversant with the multivalence of the imagery found in
Jesuit and other emblem books. When such viewers were also well-versed in the scriptures, they were undoubtedly the best equipped to interpret in a profound manner the symbolism of the attributes, postures, and positions of the figures in adoration of the Holy Name in relation to the text of Philippians 2:10.

**The Jesuit Monogram IHS and the Name of Jesus**

By incorporating the Jesuit monogram rather than the Christogram “XP” (“Chi Rho”) or even the letters “XPI” (“Chi Rho Iota,” the initial letters of ‘Christ’ in Greek: ΧΠΙΣΤΟΣ) to denote the Holy Name in the *Triumph*, Oliva did far more than represent the Name of Jesus. The monumental Jesuit monogram representing the Name of Jesus in the *Triumph* implicitly refers to the Society of Jesus, its mission, and its founder, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, who was responsible for forming and naming the Society as well as selecting its monogram.

Ignatius was closely associated with the name ‘Jesus’ because of three key events in his life: the vision at Manresa, the vision at La Storta, and his last utterance. Virgilio Nolarci’s biography of Ignatius, written in 1680, records that before the Society was founded. Ignatius and his followers were often asked who they were and what their group was called. Following Ignatius’ vision at Manresa which led to Ignatius and his followers grouping under the banner of Jesus as their leader, they would reply that “[b]eing companions united solely by love of Jesus, and only for the glory of Jesus, they [Ignatius and his companions] should be called the Company of Jesus.”

In 1537 as Ignatius was making his way to Rome, he had another vision of God the Father and Christ bearing the

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108 I am grateful to Michael W. Maher, S.J., John W. O’Malley, S.J., Benjamin Paul, and Betsy Rosasco for critiquing a presentation I made on the relationship between Ignatius, the Holy Name, and fire, which helped me better formulate my arguments on the allusions to Ignatius in this chapter.

cross, in which God reassured him of his calling with the words “I will be favorable to you in Rome.” This episode, which was celebrated in countless images as the Vision at La Storta, convinced Ignatius to name the Order he eventually founded after Jesus. As a result, unlike many other religious orders that are named after their founders (and whose members are also identified similarly, such as the Franciscans and the Dominicans), the Order founded by Ignatius was recognized as the “Society of Jesus” (and its members were known simply as “Jesuits” rather than “Ignatians”).

Another crucial event inextricably linking Ignatius with the name “Jesus” was the saint’s deathbed invocation of Jesus on July 31, 1556, when he is said to have uttered Jesus with his last breath, an act that was even recorded in his Bull of Canonization. In images destined for mass-circulation, this scene was clearly illustrated and labeled. The first official biography of Ignatius, by P. Pedro de Ribadeneyra records Ignatius “calling Jesus with tongue and heart… [as he] rendered his soul to God.”

Ironically, this name, initially an epithet used to designate Ignatius and his companions and embraced by them as a badge of honor, was viewed as an example of their arrogance by several popes who held the Jesuits in disfavor, including Paul IV, Sixtus V, and Clement VIII. Sixtus V even went as far as trying to have the Society’s name changed, but this initiative was interrupted by his death in 1590. The criticism elicited by the Society’s name in the decades following its inception only reinforced the connection between Ignatius, the Jesuits, and the Holy Name, and it made Ignatius’ choice of the monogram IHS as the symbol of the Society exceedingly apt.

Citing Ignatius’ deathbed evocation of the name of Jesus is recorded on page 6 (including the cover page) of his Bull of Canonization with the words: “Ac post multos labores, IESUM appellans, in eadem Urbe piê obdormivit in Comino, pridie Kalen. Augusti anni eiusdem Domini millesimo quingentisimi sexti.”

The propagandistic nature of images of Ignatius’ deathbed scene is evident when comparing images meant for public circulation with the simple grisaille scene frescoed in the corridor of the Casa Professa. The mass-circulated prints include prominent images of Ignatius articulating the word “IESOUS,” the Name of Jesus, as he breathes his last (Figure 23, Figure 24), while the Casa Professa grisaille omits the articulation and replaces it with a simpler representation of the saint’s passing (Figure 25). Evidently, the information in the printed images and accounts was addressed to laypersons, while the grisaille in the Casa Professsa was addressed to an audience so well-versed with Ignatius’ life and deeds that there was no need for any explicit reminder of his devotion to the Holy Name.

Thomas de Leu’s Paris engraving of 1590, where the scene of Ignatius’ death is placed alongside an image of the Jesuit monogram whose caption records the fact that Ignatius named the Society, Evonne Levy notes that “[i]n early engravings Ignatius’ choice of the name of Jesus following his vision at La Storta, an event that marked the unofficial beginning of the Society, is juxtaposed to his utterance of the Name during his passage from this life… Thus the early hagiography of the saint stressed that in Ignatius’ death, as in his life, his devotion to the name of Jesus was at the center of his spiritual life” (Figure 23).\textsuperscript{114} The mass circulation of these images meant that numerous devotees of Ignatius were aware of Ignatius’ close association with the Name of Jesus, which was frequently represented by means of the monogram IHS.\textsuperscript{115}

Following his vision at La Storta, Ignatius initially named his informal group of followers the “Company of Jesus” because its members were companions who recognized no superior apart from Christ. Upon papal approval in 1540, the group of companions was officially recognized in the Bull Regimini Ecclesiae militantis as the “Societatis Jesu” or “Society of Jesus.” The fundamental importance of the Name of Jesus to the Jesuits’ mission of proselytization is stated in the opening lines of the Formula of the Institute, which stress the founder’s desire for the Society’s name to reflect that its activities were undertaken for the greater glory of God and in obedience to the Pope:

\textsuperscript{114} Levy, “Chapel of St. Ignatius,” 32-33. Levy adds that “[i]n the first decades in which prints of Ignatius were produced, beginning in the 1590s, the Vision at La Storta was not clearly associated with the choice of the Name for the Society. However, as de Leu’s engraving makes clear, the ubiquitous appearance of the IHS above Ignatius’ head suggests that the name he chose for the Society was inseparable from his sanctity.” Ibid., note 6.

\textsuperscript{115} In contrast to the importance given in the illustrated biographical sheets to Ignatius’ articulation of the name “Jesus” as he died is the account of the Imago Primi Saeculi, which does not mention it at all. (This is not surprising since its audience, Jesuits and others well-versed in the Society’s history, were undoubtedly aware of Ignatius’ devotion to the Holy Name.)
Whoever desires to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the Cross in our Society, which we desire to be designated by the Name of Jesus, and to serve the Lord alone and the Church, his spouse, under the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on earth, should, after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, poverty and obedience, keep what follows in mind. He is a member of a Society founded chiefly for this purpose: to strive especially for the defence and propagation of the faith and for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine. Moreover, he should show himself ready to reconcile the estranged ... and indeed, to perform any other works of charity, according to what will seem expedient for the glory of God and the common good.\textsuperscript{116}

The \textit{Formula}’s emphasis on propagating the faith is personified in the stucco figures flanking the Gesù nave windows, which represent diverse peoples from across the globe.\textsuperscript{117} When viewed in conjunction with the stucco personifications, the frescoed monogram of the nave vault emphatically proclaims the Society’s identity as well as its extremely successful mission of proselytization. Sermons by Oliva, which I discuss in a later section of this chapter, highlight the apostolic ministry of the Jesuits by referring to the Society’s name, Ignatius’ authorship of its monogram, and Ignatius’ desire that the Jesuits emulate Jesus in every way while spreading the faith. Ignatius was less concerned with proselytization than was portrayed in posthumous hagiography, and a sermon Oliva delivered to the Jesuits on the Feast of Ignatius is worth citing here itself because it evidences the value placed by the Society on proselytization in the seventeenth century.

\textsuperscript{116} Originally composed by Ignatius, the Jesuit \textit{Formula} was reformulated and incorporated into the 1550 papal bull \textit{Exposit Debitum}. (I am thankful to Gregory Waldrop, S.J., for the clarification that the original bull recognizing the Society doesn’t mention “defense,” and that this further specification came about as the Jesuits found themselves increasingly in Protestant lands where their “propagation” of the faith took place within a larger context of sectarian polemic.)

\textsuperscript{117} See Curzietti for an analysis and images of these figures which also include personifications of Pontifical Dignity, Imperial Power, and the kingdoms of France and Spain. Curzietti, \textit{Decorazione della chiesa del Gesù}: 132-147.

For the emphasis given to proselytization in the revised \textit{Formula} of 1550, see O’Malley, \textit{The First Jesuits}, 14-16, and 84-86.
In it, Oliva’s closing exhortation to his fellow Jesuits is that they emulate the sanctification of the wicked and conversion of infidels practiced by their founder.118

Following papal approval of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius adopted as the Jesuit emblem the monogram IHS, which is composed of the first three letters, in Latin, of Jesus’ name in Greek (ΙΗΣΥΟΣ). The letters IHS eventually came to be inextricably linked with Ignatius and the Society, but prior to this they had been closely associated with the Franciscan saint Bernardino of Siena because of his extraordinarily successful efforts to popularize the cult of the Holy Name across the Italian peninsula.119 In particular, Bernardino’s practice of displaying a tablet depicting the trigram IHS to the large crowds at his numerous sermons resulted in the diffusion and proliferation of the image and the cult.120 So popular were his sermons that though most attendees were illiterate, the letters IHS became an instantly recognizable symbol of the Name of Jesus.121 In 1427, Bernardino had even established a confraternity of the Holy Name at

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118 BNC.VEII Ges.1744, “Sermone detto la vigilia di S Ignatio nella Chiesa del Giesu a’ Padri e a’ Fratelli della Compagnia. Sint lumbi vestri precinti, et lucerna ardentis in manibus vestris. Luca 12,” c. 234r-c. 246r. The final line of the sermon reads: “Così sia, accioche in noi viva Ignatio, che rimirato santificava malvagi e convertiva infedeli,” (c246r). (For an explanation of the system I use to cite manuscripts of Oliva’s sermons, see the note under “Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, Vittorio Emanuele II (BNC.VEII)” in the bibliography.)

119 An especially gifted preacher, Saint Bernardino of Siena (Massa Maritima 1380-L’Aquila 1444) was the most important of the Observant Franciscans whom he joined in 1403. He supported Martin V’s consolidation of the Observants and Conventuals (around 1430) and opposed but was unable to prevent the subsequent division of the two factions of the order. In 1438, he was named Vicar-General of the Franciscan Observants by the general of the order. From the late 14th to the late 15th centuries, piazzas in the Italian peninsula were home to numerous fervent sermons delivered by Observant Franciscans. In addition to Bernardino himself, the trigram also came to be closely associated with his fellow Observant and follower, John of Capistrano. (In addition to these Franciscans, the German Dominican mystic Henry Suso who was beatified in the nineteenth century, was also closely associated with the trigram IHS.)

120 The cult of the adoration of the Name of Jesus was invented and promoted by Bernardino, and it received papal sanction in 1427 as well as 1432 and quickly spread throughout Italy. Carl Brandon Strehlke, Entry on The Ascension of Saint Bernardino da Siena (catalog no. 46) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition catalog Painting in Renaissance Siena, ed. Keith Christiansen, Laurence B. Kanter, and Carl Brandon Strehlke (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988), 268.

121 The monogram composed by Bernardino comprises the letters IHS surrounded by 12 sunrays, each symbolizing one apostle. To focus attention on the “Name of Jesus,” Bernardino commissioned and encouraged the production of tablets depicting the trigram, which were displayed during sermons. The
Santa Maria della Strada which was later demolished to build the Gesù. Whether or not this played a role in Ignatius’ choice for the Society’s emblem, the site of the Gesù was directly linked to the Holy Name in the form of the letters IHS even before the Society of Jesus came into existence and certainly by the time Ignatius adapted Bernardino’s already popular trigram into the Jesuit monogram.

While the Jesuit monogram as conceived by Ignatius understandably constituted the letters IHS as indispensable components, neither the cross above nor the nails below were considered essential. The seal of the Jesuit Father General used to stamp documents by Ignatius, and subsequently by his successors, included a cross above and the crescent moon flanked by two stars in lieu of the three nails beneath the IHS (Figure 26). The first seal of the Society of Jesus, which was reproduced on the title page of the first printed edition of Saint Ignatius’ *Spiritual Exercises*, excluded the cross above the IHS (Figure 27). The spectacular representation of the Jesuit monogram in the *Triumph* includes both the cross above the letters as well as the three nails below. The nails pierce a heart—a devotional detail that is almost impossible to discern with the naked eye today but that must have been quite easily evident when painted because it appears within the focal area of the composition and because it is also very clearly delineated in an

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122 Bailey, “Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting Under the Jesuits,” 189.
123 I am indebted to Jean-Paul Hernández, S.J., for pointing out that the monogram of the Holy Name was far from an exclusively Catholic symbol in the early modern period, and that Calvin used it, with Greek letters instead of Latin, in the coat of arms of the city of Geneva (Figure 31).
The Jesuits’ phenomenal reach across Europe and beyond led to a greater diffusion of the monogram; apart from Ignatius’ own identification with the Holy Name, it cemented the close identification of the name ‘Jesus’ and the monogram IHS with the Society as an entity and also with every Jesuit. By the late seventeenth century the prominent emblazonment of the monogram IHS across the façade of the order’s numerous churches, schools, and other buildings across the Old and New World would almost invariably evoke the Society even for those with only casual knowledge of the Jesuits. And for devotees familiar with accounts of Ignatius’ life, the Jesuit monogram constituted a symbol of Ignatian devotion.

The Jesuit founder’s devotion to Jesus and the Holy Name, which led to his adoption of the monogram IHS as the Society’s emblem went well beyond any incidental connections to Bernardino of Siena. Indeed, Oliva’s sermons to the Jesuits unequivocally attribute creation of the Jesuit monogram to Ignatius. In an undated sermon delivered on the Feast of Saint Ignatius in the Casa Professa, Oliva referred to Ignatius’ creation of the ‘impresa,’ or sign, of the Society, which the Father General describes as being “made up of three letters [that are] built upon three nails, and surmounted by a long and large

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126 As I state in Chapter Three with regard to the scholarly consensus on the lighter palette used by Baciccio in the Gesù apse fresco, an over-cleaning of the frescoes may be responsible for the diminished visibility of areas painted in lighter colors. The illegibility to the naked eye today of the heart pierced by thorns below the central IHS in the nave is otherwise inexplicable given the relative legibility of the rest of the composition.

127 Because of the monogram’s status as an emblem of the Society as an entity, it came to be used as an attribute for Jesuits in general even though Ignatius was the first of them to be closely identified with it. (Just as the monogram’s appearance on Jesuit edifices, tomes, and other assets was a stamp of their collective identity, the depiction of the monogram in connection with a Jesuit was a stamp of his membership in the Society, which explains the proliferation of images of Jesuit saints other than Ignatius with the IHS as an attribute.)

128 Soon after its adoption as the Society’s symbol, the monogram became a de facto signifier of membership in the Society, as evidenced by its appearance in countless images with Jesuit saints other than Ignatius.

129 While the monogram primarily represented Ignatius’ own devotion to the Name of Jesus, it also provided a means for devotees to model their devotion in a similar fashion.
He personifies this by saying, “[It is] as if [Christ] were saying to us: ‘Here is the Emblem of the Institute [the Society of Jesus] to which you belong: here is the Seal that I assign to you.’”\(^{130}\) Shortly afterwards in the same sermon, Oliva underscored the relevance of the Society’s name, monogram, and mission—this time in relation to Ignatius—saying:

[W]e are apostles to all creation, where eternal providence has so largely cast us, if we look at our symbol, composed by the Blessed Father [Ignatius; emphasis mine] as much with instruments of suffering as with letters of wisdom. Understand, Venerable Fathers, that our emblem may be composed of letters, but [these letters appear] in the midst of metal scaffolding. Gird up your loins [Galatians 6:14] This will be the theme of my sermon… to understand… the practice of mortification that valorizes zeal in those [among us] who profess to save souls in imitation of Christ.\(^{131}\)

Thus, in expounding on the significance of the monogram in relation to the Order’s apostolic mission, Oliva stressed Ignatius’ authorship of it. Further into the sermon, he underscored yet again the fact that the Name of Jesus is expressed in “nostra insegna,” or the Jesuit monogram.\(^{132}\) And in yet another undated sermon addressed to the Jesuits at the Casa Professa, this time on the Feast of the Circumcision, Oliva’s exhortation “Company of Jesus, if you wish to be worthy of the name, [the name] that is envied by all who profess to save souls [emphasis mine], let your priests know that their

\(^{130}\) BNC. VEII, Ges. 1744, c. 15 r.-c. 39r: “Sermone 63, detto nella Casa Professa, la vigilia di S Ignatio. Sint lumbi vestri precinti. Luc. 12; Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in Cruce, Galat. 6.” c. 16 r.

The original in Italian reads: “onde ristrinse l’impresa della Compagnia in tre lettere, fondate in tre chiodi, e sopraffatte da lunga e larga croce. Come se à noi dicesse: ecco la Divisa dell’Istituto, che segue: ecco il Sigillo, che io a voi assegno.”

\(^{131}\) Ibid., c. 19r.


\(^{132}\) Ibid., c. 33r.
zeal ought to be like the zeal of he who redeemed all mankind…” singles out the prestige attached to the name of the Society. Oliva’s emphasis on Ignatius’ authorship of the Society’s monogram and his characterization of the Society’s symbol as one that is the envy of the Jesuits’ contemporaries reveals that the prominent and focal IHS in the Triumph he commissioned from Baciccio must be interpreted as a celebration of the name of the Society that evokes its founder just as much as it is a celebration of the Name of Jesus.

Ignatius’ identification with the Name of Jesus through the Jesuit monogram extended well beyond the strictly Jesuit audience whom Oliva addressed in the sermons quoted above. A wide range of texts and images produced and circulated across Europe had reprised and diffused this association over more than a century following Ignatius’ death in 1556. Some representative images and texts highlighting this association include: the title page of the account of the feast celebrated in the Jesuit College of Granada in 1610 to mark the occasion of Ignatius’ beatification, which depicts Ignatius holding aloft and gazing at the Jesuit monogram in a large, bright sunburst atop a monstrance-like chalice (Figure 30); and the frontispiece of Daniele Bartoli, S.J.’s 1659 history of the Society of Jesus (many elements of which are reprised in the Gesù nave vault), which

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133. BNC.VII, Ges.1744, c. 198 r.-c. 217r: “Sermone detta nella casa professa la vigilia della circoncisione: Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus. Quod vocatum est ab angelo, priusquam in utero conceiperetur. Luc. 2,” c. 200r.

The original in Italian reads: “Compagnia di Giesù, se no[n] vuoi dimeritare titolo, à tè invidiato da quanti professano cultura di anime, intima à tuoi sacerdoti, che il loro zelo sia come fu il zelo di chi ricomperò tutte l’anime del Genere umano.”

Oliva had begun the same sermon with the explicit reminder that “we [the Society of Jesus] among all the Orders of the Church, are [the only ones to be] given the title “Company of Jesus” by the pontiffs, [because of] our zeal, similar to that of the Redeemer in willingness, indifference, and discomfort. These are the three themes I will address in my sermon, on examining the quality of Jesus’ zeal.” The text in Italian reads: “noi, fra tutte le religioni della Chiesa, siamo da’ sommi Pontefici intitolati Compagni di Giesù, dee il nostro zelo assimiglianti al zelo del Redentore, nella Pronetza, nella indifferenza, e ne’ Disagi. Questi saranno le tre considerazioni del mio Discorso, esaminata che havremo la qualità del zelo di Giesù” Ibid. c. 198r.
depicts Ignatius seated on clouds while surrounded by putti and holding aloft a prominent IHS-inscribed sun that casts light across a large globe flanked by personifications of the continents (Figure 44). Ignatius’ great love of Christ and his devotion to Christ’s Passion is recounted in the twelfth chapter of Luigi Carnoli, S.J.’s biography of 1680. Under the pseudonym “Virgilio Nolarci,” Carnoli recorded Ignatius’ love of Jesus and the intimate identification of the Jesuit founder’s person with the Holy Name: “Since Saint Ignatius was seized with loving Jesus; to follow him closely; to imitate him in life: and this was his design: and even now is his sign. Because of which he was seen all glorious with a circle of gold on his breast, in the midst of which shone, in letters seemingly sculpted in light, the name of Jesus.” Given the diffusion of numerous such images and accounts of Ignatius’ identification with the Holy Name, even non-Jesuits who were devotees of Ignatius would have associated the IHS in the nave vault with the person of the Jesuit founder.

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134 Virgilio Nolarci is the pseudonym of the Jesuit Luigi Carnoli. His biography of Ignatius was first printed in 1680 while Baciccio was executing the Mystic Lamb in the Gesù. Virgilio Nolarci [Luigi Carnoli, S.J., pseud.], Compendio della Vita di S. Ignatio di Loiola: Raccolto con fedeltà, e con brevità da quanto n’hanno provatamente stampato in un secolo gravi Autori. Per opera di Don Virgilio Nolarci (Venice: Combi, e La Noù, 1680).

Later the same year, a revised and expanded version was also published: Virgilio Nolarci [Luigi Carnoli, S.J., pseud.], Compendio della Vita di S. Ignatio di Loiola: Raccolto con fedeltà, e con brevità da quanto n’hanno provatamente stampato in un secolo gravi Autori. Per opera di Don Virgilio Nolarci; E con maggior diligenza corretto in questa nuova impressione (Venice: Combi, e La Noù, 1680).

In the citations that follow, I distinguish between the two editions published in 1680 by referring to the first as “Nolarci, Vita di S. Ignatio, 1680[a]” and the second as “Nolarci, Vita di S. Ignatio, 1680[b].” More editions followed, in 1682, 1687 and 1701 (the last two characterizing Ignatius as “Patriarca” in their titles), attesting to a constant demand for the volume.

135 Original text: “Perche S. Ignatio si prese ad amar Gesù; a seguirlo da preso; ad imitarlo al vivo: e questo fu il suo disegno: è anche adesso la sua insegna. Onde si lasciò veder tutto gloria con un cerchio d’oro sul petto 1 [De Ponte in Vita Marina .. lib.4.c.3]; in mezzo del quale a caratteri di luce scolpito risplendeva il nome di Giesù. Appariva pure spessissimo ad una persona gran serva di Dio; con rivelarle molte cose venture: vedendolo questa sempre co’l petto aperto; e formatogli a letter d’oro nel cuore il nome di Giesù.” Nolarci, Vita di S. Ignatio (Venice: Combi e La Noù, 1680[a]), 182.
The Gesù was consecrated and its high altar dedicated to God, the glorious Name of Jesus, and Mary, the Blessed Virgin Mother of God, on November 25, 1584. The subject of the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, therefore, reprises the dedication of the Society of Jesus’ mother church just as much as it does the dedication of the Society itself. Understandably, biblical passages concerning the name of Jesus are especially important to the Society; yet, they take on additional significance in all its churches, such as the Gesù that are dedicated to the Holy Name.

The conferral of the name “Jesus” on the occasion of the Christ Child’s circumcision is recounted in Luke 2.21: “After eight days had passed [following the birth of the Christ Child], it was time to circumcise the child; and he was called Jesus, the name given by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.” The key phrase “…vocatum est nomen eius Iesus,” “…He was named Jesus,” appears in the fresco decorating the presbytery arch of the Gesù—an appropriate location because it framed Girolamo Muziano’s *Circumcision of Christ* on the high altarpiece (Figure 32; Figure 5). The canon required that the dedication or *titulus* of the church be prominently displayed either through an inscription on the altar or by means of the subject of the high altarpiece; a prominent inscription (“SS. NOMINI IESU SACRUM”) and the theme of Muziano’s high altarpiece fulfill this requirement at the Gesù high altar. With their

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137 This phrase also encircles the Jesuit monogram in the rooms of Saint Ignatius adjoining the Gesù that is attributed to Giovanni Battista Fiammeri, who was active in the late-sixteenth century. The form of the monogram in Fiammeri’s composition, enclosed in a sunburst and with a cross above and three nails piercing a heart below, is echoed in the *Triumph*.

138 Muziano’s altarpiece was replaced in 1842 by Alessandro Capalti’s painting on the same theme. I am grateful to Gregory Waldrop, S.J., for pointing out the adherence of Muziano’s high altarpiece to the canonical norm.
emphasis on the Name of Jesus, Baciccio’s frescoes reinforce the dedication of the church and while the verse of Luke 2.21 depicted on the presbytery arch recounting the naming of the Christ Child carries special significance for the name approved for the Society, the representation of Philippians 2:10 in the nave vault celebrating the universal reverence of the Name of Jesus is especially relevant to the Society’s apostolic mission.

**Philippians 2:10 “In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur ...”**

On January 21, 1673, the papal Congregation of Sacred Rites approved a new edition of the *Missa Sancti Ignatii*, the votive mass in honor of Ignatius, for celebration on the saint’s feast day of July 31 that year (Figure 33). Published in 1675, just one year before Baciccio began decorating the nave vault, the antiphon of the mass, *In nomine Gesù omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum* (“In the Name of Jesus, every knee shall bend, in the skies, on earth, and in the nether regions”), taken from St. Paul’s letter to the Philippians is the titulus of the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. These words underscore Ignatius’ devotion to the Name of Jesus, and, as noted by Levy, they are inscribed prominently on the twirling stucco banderole surmounting the nave fresco. But the inscription on the *Triumph* banderole was not the first appearance of Philippians 2:10 in the Gesù or in relation to Ignatius. This very verse had already been inscribed along the base of the dome, which Baciccio completed in time for Easter.

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140 The cover page of the mass, which was only formally approved in 1673 and published for the Universal Church in 1675, is illustrated in the entry for the Ignatian Mass by Thomas J. Lucas, S.J. in the catalog *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy*, 182 (Cat. No. 112).

Although Lucas noted only the relation of the communion antiphon of the mass to Pozzo’s composition for the nave vault of Sant’Ignazio and did not address the connection between the antiphon of the mass and the Triumph. Levy considered the connection in passing, noting that “the impetus for the Gesù nave decoration may have been the approval (1673) and the new edition (1675) of Ignatius’ mass proper.” Levy, “Giovanni Battista Gaulli, *Adoration of the Name of Jesus* [Galleriaa, Inv. 137],” in *Saint Site and Sacred Strategy*, 195 (Cat. No. 122).

141 Ibid.
in 1675 (Figure 34).\textsuperscript{142} Baciccio’s \textit{Vision of Paradise} in the drum is populated by numerous figures dominated by God the Father, Christ, and the Virgin, who are surrounded by numerous Old Testament figures and saints including Ignatius, other Jesuits and non-Jesuits, and countless putti (Figure 8).\textsuperscript{143} Ignatius’ figure is neither more prominent than the others nor is it immediately visible on approaching the dome and high altar; the figures visible at first are those of God the Father flanked by Christ and the Virgin, and Adam and Eve positioned below Christ (Figure 35). Since the dome fresco was unveiled just a few months before the publication of the Mass of Ignatius for the Universal Church, all who were familiar with its contents surely associated the verse inscribed along the base of the drum with the person of Ignatius.\textsuperscript{144} Consequently, the multitude of figures in the dome notwithstanding, the inscription running along its base effectively recalled the Jesuit founder’s devotion to the Holy Name even before Baciccio began work on the nave vault.

Whereas the Mass of Ignatius itself contains no figural depiction of Ignatius, its opening verse, “\textit{In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur},” had already been visually associated with the person of Saint Ignatius in what is perhaps the most important document concerning Ignatius’ role as founder of the Society of Jesus: the Bull of his Canonization, which was published in 1626. The unrecognized connection between the composition of the \textit{Triumph} and the cover page of the Bull is best explained through a

\textsuperscript{142} The drum inscription derives from Philippians 2:9-10: “\textit{Donavit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum.” Even though the drum inscription is routinely recorded in scholarship discussing the decoration of the church, the significance of the repetition of Philippians 2:10 in the nave has not been addressed.

\textsuperscript{143} I discuss the frescoed figures in the dome in Chapter Four.

\textsuperscript{144} Even though the entire inscription is not easily legible from the crossing, the phrases visible on walking towards the altar (“\textit{Donavit illi nomen...}” and “\textit{…et infernorum}”) are more than adequate to identify the verses in question.
formal analysis of the cover page, where a twirling banderole similar to that of the nave is inscribed with the words “omne genu flectatur” and held aloft by a pair of angels surmounting an architectural framework (Figure 41). A bust-length profile portrait of Ignatius appears within an architectural frame topped by a pediment. An angel to each side of the pediment flanks a shield displaying the Jesuit monogram framed by the sun, and simultaneously holds up one end of the inscribed banderole. The Name of Jesus in the form of the Jesuit monogram is placed within a sunburst and appears prominently above Ignatius’ bust and the inscribed banderole on the Bull’s cover page. The selection of Philippians 2:10 for the banderole appearing above Ignatius’ portrait on the Bull’s cover page closely linked the Jesuit founder’s person to the verse, and the verse’s appearance in a banderole inscription was adapted by Baciccio into the stucco banderole of the Triumph.

Baciccio seems to have adapted several compositional elements of the Bull’s cover page to design the considerably more complex schematic framework of the nave vault (Figure 42). In the nave vault, just as on the Bull’s cover page, the monogram of Christ doubles as the Society’s insignia and is placed within a prominent sunburst. In both compositions, paired angels flanking an architectonic frame hold aloft a twirling banderole inscribed with the phrase “omne genu flectatur.” In the significantly larger nave vault, though, in keeping with the dedication of the church, the resplendent Name of Jesus replaces Ignatius as the focal point of the composition, and it is surrounded by an abundance of subordinate figures. However, the Triumph’s prominent inscribed banderole and the monumental representation of the Jesuit monogram framed by a sunburst constitute self-conscious references to text and visual motifs from the Bull of
Canonization as well as the opening verse of the Mass of Ignatius. Visitors to the Jesuit mother church who were cognizant of the contents of the Bull of Canonization and the votive mass would have readily related this imagery, and the inscriptions of the nave and dome, in particular, to Ignatius.¹⁴⁵ The connection of the Bull of Canonization and the Mass of Ignatius, both of which officially recognized Ignatius’ sanctity, to the banderole’s prominent placement in the Gesù nave vault is fundamental to understanding the Triumph’s evocation of the Jesuit founder.

**The Old Testament Figure of Joshua**

Perhaps the most complicated and indirect allusion to Ignatius in the Triumph occurs through another allusion—to the person of Joshua, the Old Testament successor to Moses—in the sole narrative relief panel adorning the nave vault. The narrative panel is visible beneath the Gesù nave banderole and depicts two episodes: the *Transport of the Ark* (at left) and the *Fall of Jericho* (at right) (Figure 15). Both scenes are related to the siege of Jericho that occurred as the Israelites journeyed to the Promised Land under the auspices of the Lord. To ensure victory, the Lord commanded Joshua and the Israelites to “march around the city [Jericho], all the warriors circling the city once. Thus you shall do for six days, with seven priests bearing seven trumpets of rams’ horns before the ark. On the seventh day you shall march around the city seven times, the priests blowing the trumpets. When they make a long blast with the ram’s horn, as soon as you hear the sound of the trumpet, then all the people shall shout with a great shout; and the wall of

¹⁴⁵ Even though most visitors would have been clueless about this association, those aware of it—and especially the Jesuit priests, novices (and maybe even the lay Jesuits) and all the seminarians at the Collegio Romano—would have easily linked the inscribed verse to Ignatius.
the city [Jericho] will fall down flat, and all the people shall charge straight ahead.”

Although the swirls of the inscribed banderole obscure details of the *Transport of the Ark*, a close-up view reveals the presence of the Israelite army through numerous spears visible in the upper left background as well as trumpets blown by priests positioned immediately behind the Ark. It is, however, the inclusion of the spears representing soldiers and the trumpets being blown by the priests carrying the ark that link the *Transport of the Ark* episode to the *Fall of Jericho* led by Joshua, which is denoted by the crumbling city walls at right. Had the Gesù apse been decorated as per Oliva’s initial plans with a fresco of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* (which occurred during the Israelites’ battle with the Amorites soon after the conquest of Jericho), the nave’s narrative relief, depicting episodes taken from the Book of Joshua, would have functioned as a crucial thematic link between the decorations of the nave and apse vaults.

Through the depiction of the Ark of the Covenant and its connection to Joshua, the relief panel is also connected to the Name of Jesus. The ark’s connection to Joshua in the narrative relief provides an etymological connection to the monogram IHS, for “Joshua” is the Hebrew equivalent of “Jesus.” Theologically, the ark’s connection to the Holy Name is based on its function, which differs significantly within the various books of the Old Testament. In Deuteronomy, for example, it is a “demythologized ark” that is no more than a container for the tablets of the Law, whereas in other books, including the

146 Joshua 6:3-5.
147 The description of the actual fall of Jericho is brief: “So the people shouted, and the trumpets were blown. As soon as the people heard the sound of the trumpets, they raised a great shout, and the wall fell down flat; so the people charged straight ahead into the city and captured it.” Joshua 6:20.
148 The nave sunburst may even have been meant to be interpreted as an artistic conceit related to the sun standing still at Joshua’s bidding in the apse.
Book of Joshua, it is much more than a mere receptacle. In such instances, it is considered the “Footstool of the Lord,” or a throne upon which the Lord’s presence is manifest, even though He is invisible. As Jean-Paul Hernández, S.J., has noted, the juxtaposition of the ark with the banderole celebrating the glory of the Name of Jesus is theologically significant and crucial to reading the nave fresco because the Name of Jesus is to be understood through the lens of the meaning of the Name of the Lord in the Old Testament. Through this juxtaposition, the Name of Jesus referred to on the banderole and symbolized by the IHS within the sunburst is equated with the tetragram YHWH, which represents the Name of the Lord, whose invisible manifestation is symbolized by the ark. Thus, in addition to linking the Name of the Lord to the Name of Jesus, the

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Even though it does not refer to the Name of the Lord in connection with the Ark, Deuteronomy 12:10-11 (“When you cross over the Jordan and live in the land that the LORD your God is allotting to you, and when he gives you rest from your enemies all around you so that you live in safety, then you shall bring everything that I command you to the place that the LORD your God will choose as a dwelling for his name: your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and your donations, and all your choice votive gifts that you vow to the LORD.”) is of especial interest because it implicitly relates the Holy Name with the Promised Land where it will be worshipped.

150 Hernández rightly points out that the prominent gilded double shell motifs above and below the Ark represent the Resurrection. He interprets their prominent framing of the ark and the superimposition of Philippians 2:10 over the ark as theological links between the Old and New Testaments. These juxtapositions, he argues, symbolize the Lord’s promise in the Old Testament coming to fruition in the New Testament, for the conferral of the Holy Name “that is above every Name” is an allusion to the Resurrection represented by the double shells. Further, the “[Holy] Name” (Philippians 2:9) is to be understood as an allusion to the Name of the Lord from the Old Testament because the tetragram YHWH denoting the “Name of the Lord” was housed in the Ark of the Covenant. The superimposition of the banderole referring to the name “Jesus” (articulated in Philippians 2:10) over the ark is, thus, the crucial thematic link between the Old and New Testaments, and it is key to interpreting the Triumph. Equally crucial in this respect is Hernández’s observation that Philippians 2:10 echoes and fulfills the promise attributed by Isaiah to YHWH: “Before me every knee shall bend” (Isaiah 45:23). Hernández, Il corpo del Nome, 32; 89-91; 92-96 (for the Name of Jesus, the Name of the Lord, “Jesus” as the Name of God, and the Eucharist as “Name”); and 97 (for an analysis of Old and New Testament verses on genuflection before the Lord).

151 Hernández, Il corpo del Nome, 89-91. Hernández interprets the panels flanking the narrative relief as a sacrificial fire atop an ancient altar (at left) and the Eucharistic Host (at right), to argue that the nave vault ensemble is to be interpreted in terms of the Eucharistic Body and Name. However, the panel to the left is not a sacrificial fire, but a heart engulfed in flames. (The precise fiery motif depicted on the panel does not detract from Hernández’s overall argument).
narrative relief panel, by virtue of its relation to Joshua, would have linked the decoration of the nave to the unexecuted *Joshua Stopping the Sun* Oliva had planned for the apse.

The association between the name “Jesus” and the Hebrew “Joshua” is more complex than it appears because for the Jesuits it also encompassed a crucial Ignatian connection. The Jesuit founder had been explicitly likened to Joshua by Pope Gregory XV during his canonization in 1622. At the outset of the proceedings, the pope observed that the Apostolic See had good reason to honor the Jesuit founder for his religious zeal, declaring that “…it appears to us that the eulogy the Sacred Scriptures apply to Joshua may well be applied to Blessed Ignatius: ‘He became, as his name implies, a great savior of God’s elect, to take vengeance on the enemies that rose against them, so that he might give Israel its inheritance.’”152 The figure of Joshua, therefore, carried extraordinarily special meaning for the Jesuits, who had commissioned the Genoese artist Giovanni Andrea Carlone, a close collaborator of Baciccio, to fresco the crossing vault and pendentives of their church in Perugia with imposing scenes from the life of Joshua as recently as 1666-67. The Perugian fresco cycle featuring Joshua and, I argue in Chapter Three, the relief panel with scenes from the book of Joshua in the *Triumph*, as well as the unexecuted fresco projected for the apse in the Roman Gesù, were all commissioned with the intention of capitalizing on Pope Gregory XV’s proclamation at Ignatius’ canonization.

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My translation of Pope Gregory’s words from the transcription in Italian that accompanies the text in Latin. The original in Latin reads: “[n]obis profecto videtur accommodari posse beato Ignatio illud praecomium quod de Josue Scriptura commemorare: <<Fuit magnus secundum nomen suum, maximus in salute electorum Dei expugnare insurgentes hostes, ut consequeretur hereditatem Israel>>. (Eccl., XLVI, 1-2).” (The passage Gregory XV used for the cause of Francis Xavier’s contemporaneous canonization equated the Apostle to the Indies with the Old Testament prophet Isaiah.)
Notwithstanding Gregory XV’s likening of Ignatius to Joshua in his roles as a soldier of the Lord, the role of Ignatius and the Jesuits as *milites Christi*, or soldiers in the service of Christ, in propagating and defending the faith was controversial within the Catholic Church. Even in the earliest days of the Society’s existence, Ignatius’ act of explicitly naming the Order as the “Society of Jesus,” instead of a more conventional name after Christ’s role as Savior or Redeemer, had attracted considerable animosity from within the Catholic Church. In addition, the Jesuits’ central mission of ministry and their fourth vow of obedience to the Pope in matters of mission effectively placed Jesuits under direct papal control—and thus beyond the authority of bishops and other ecclesiastics who resented the Jesuits’ name, their special status, and what was perceived as their resulting arrogance.\(^{153}\) The Jesuits, on the other hand, took great pride in their name and identity, which is precisely what prompted Oliva to use the close associations of Ignatius with Joshua as well as the Name of Jesus to link the Gesù apse and nave decorations. Given the prominent likening of Ignatius to Joshua by Gregory XV, the Gesù decorations were meant to capitalize on the fact that Joshua’s leadership of the Israelites under the protection of the Lord was a charged metaphor of Ignatius’ successful generalship of the Society of Jesus in the Name of Jesus. This association through the *Triumph*’s narrative relief was, however, ultimately lost because Oliva’s plans to decorate the Gesù apse with a monumental fresco of Joshua did not come to fruition.

**The Element of Fire and its Manifestation in Radiance and Flames**

\(^{153}\) For the relationship between the Jesuits and the pope based on the special fourth vow, and for the Jesuits’ arguments, following Ignatius’ demise and determined by their interests, to relate themselves closely and directly with the papacy, see O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 298-306.
Another prominent but indirect allusion to Ignatius in the *Triumph* occurs in the sunburst surrounding the Jesuit monogram. The etymological relationship between the Latin nouns “Ignatius” and “ignis” gave rise to numerous hagiographic images and texts that played on the relationship between the Jesuit founder’s name and the element of fire. In images and captions, flames (the visible aspect of fire) and sunrays most directly expressed Ignatius’ association with fire.\(^{154}\) Even his actions in propagating the Catholic faith were described in terms of setting fire to impoverished souls or setting them alight with religious fervor—actions for which the sun’s rays provided a convenient metaphor that translated extraordinarily well into images. And in addition to the association of his person with fire, the phrase “Ite, accendite inflammate omnia,” with which Ignatius reportedly sent the early Companions on their missions, represented his conception of the Jesuit mission of proselytization as the transmission of a divine fire, as may be seen in a plate from Nolarci’s biography of 1680, where the rays emanate from the IHS emblazoned across Ignatius’ chest (Figure 43). Such associations with fire found expression in numerous innovative texts and images recording Ignatius’ life, especially those describing his saintly qualities, miraculous deeds, and propagation of the faith.\(^{155}\) The frontispiece of the second edition of Daniello Bartoli’s *Della vita e dell’Istituto di S. Ignatio, Fondatore della Compagnia di Giesù*, published in 1659, provides a typical representation of such imagery wherein a cloud-borne Ignatius holds aloft a glowing IHS-inscribed sunburst whose bright rays reach across to the four corners of the earth and thus

\(^{154}\) Levy has discussed narrative cycles of Ignatius created in Rome before 1695, all of which are replete with fire imagery. Levy, “Chapel of St. Ignatius,” 244-257. (*The Triumph* is not included in her discussion, which focuses on narrative cycles where Ignatius appears in figural form.)

\(^{155}\) This imagery was particularly effective because the Jesuit monogram so closely associated with Ignatius was frequently depicted framed by a sunburst. Both fire and sun imagery were adapted and used in connection with the Society of Jesus as an entity and in connection with Jesuit saints other than Ignatius.
allude to the global apostolic mission of the Society (Figure 44).¹⁵⁶ Such texts and illustrations proliferated, often overlapping with others closely identifying the Jesuit monogram with Ignatius’ person; Ignatius came to be identified with fire—whether its visible manifestation in flames or sunrays or its invisible properties such as radiance or ardor—just as closely as he was identified with the Name of Jesus.

In my opinion, textual and graphic sources reveal that Ignatius’ person was also associated with fire through at least two of its invisible features: radiance and ardor. The supernatural radiance attributed to Ignatius’ visage was considered a sign of his sanctity, which was expressed through large haloes, prominent aureoles, or even a glowing face, especially in copies of his “vera effigies” or “true portrait.” And his religious ardor, often described as a burning, all-consuming love of Christ, was often expressed by means of rays piercing his heart or through the devotional motif of a flaming heart, which I discuss separately further on, that appears prominently to the right of the Triumph banderole (Figure 19). Ignatius’ close association with fire and radiance, especially by means of a sunburst emanating from the Holy Name, provides an important, if indirect, visual reference to the Jesuit founder’s person in the Triumph. Especially when considered in conjunction with the appearance of verses from Philippians 2:10 as well as the two narrative reliefs taken from the Book of Joshua, the IHS-inscribed sunburst of the Triumph offered discerning viewers an additional metaphorical link to the Jesuit founder.

The most prominent occasion at which Ignatius was related to fire was at the concistory of his canonization in 1622. Among the cardinals voting at the concistory,

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several made speeches playing on the verbal associations between the name “Ignatius” and the word “ignis,” as well as on the Jesuit founder’s qualities of religious ardor, burning zeal, and the divine glow of his face. Two specific responses to Gregory XV’s proclamation in favor of canonizing Ignatius best illustrate the rhetorical likening of Ignatius with the element of fire and its properties (radiance, light, and ardor) prevalent in the highest echelons of the Catholic Church. Cardinal Stefano Pignattelli succinctly related Ignatius’ name, person, and deeds to fire as he argued in favor of the canonization, addressing the pope with the words: “Father Ignatius, O Holy Father, miraculously lit up with the fire of unfeigned charity, which both the name of Ignatius indicates, and to which all his life’s actions attest.” In a considerably more complex analogy, Cardinal Cesare Gherardi was equally explicit in his identification of Ignatius with fire. Indeed, he went considerably further to pointedly identify Ignatius with Christ himself:

Our God [Christ], O Blessed Father [Gregory XV], who, because fire is consuming, had come to earth to send [forth] the flame, has committed Ignatius to his Church. For if everything that fire invades turns into fire, then indeed the [daily] life of the Society of Ignatius was that of the Society of Jesus for no other reason, than that Jesus had turned Ignatius into himself. His [Ignatius’] doctrines, by means of devout and learned piety, warm[ly nurture] the Catholic progeny [and] burn the heretics. It is the fiery column, which, while the sun of Catholic truth set for Luther, first appeared as soon as (that sun) first shone in the Indian desert. Its progenitor, Ignatius, if you consider [these] miracles, shines: [speaking about] virtues; although he seems to have perished, to his world, that is to heaven, he flew up.

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157 My translation. The original in Latin reads: “Igne charitatis non fictae mirifice exarsit, Pater Beatissime, Pater Ignatius, quod et Ignatii nomen indicat et eius vitae actiones omnes testantur.” Canonizzazione di Loiola e Saverio, 47.

158 My translation. The original in Latin reads: “…qui, ut ignis consumens est, ignem missurus in mundum venerat, Ignatiam Ecclesiae suae dedit. Nam, si cuncta quae ignis invaserit vertuntur in ignem, perfecto Societatis Ignati non alia ratione dicta fuit Societatis Iesu, nisi quod Iesus Ignatum in se verterat. Huius pia et docta soboles pietate catholicos fovet, doctrina urit haereticos. Haece est ignea columna, quae ubi Luthero catholicae veritatis sol occidit, tunc primum apparuit, mox in Indico deserto praeluxit. Huius
Cardinal Gherardi’s parallels between Ignatius, fire, and Christ stem ultimately from Luke 12:49: “I came to cast fire into the Earth, and how I wish it were already kindled!” This verse quoting Christ’s words was used profusely by the Jesuits in sermons, texts, and images related to Ignatius. Not surprisingly, it was also included as the communion antiphon of the votive mass celebrated in the saint’s honor and as the titular verse for Andrea Pozzo’s nave ceiling fresco glorifying the Jesuit founder in the Jesuit collegiate church of Sant’Ignazio, which was dedicated to him. The verse of Luke 12.49 lent itself so potently to fire imagery in the Ignatian context that it cemented the saint’s association with fire even in contexts, in which this verse does not appear.

The first public cycle associating Ignatius with fire was executed ca. 1647-49 by the Jesuit artist Pierre de Lattre in the sacristy of Sant’Ignazio, the Jesuit Collegiate Church in Rome. Its centerpiece, the monumental Miracle of the Flame on the sacristy vault, depicts a miraculous fire that appeared over Ignatius’ head as he celebrated mass (Figure 45). This miracle reportedly took place in one of the rooms used by Saint Ignatius that adjoined the Gesù. This scene also appears in the Vita of 1609 bearing the inscription: “When he offers the sacred Host to God as he celebrates Mass, a huge flame

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160 In tracing the genesis of imagery relating Ignatius with the element of fire, Levy observes that “[t]he first public cycle of Ignatian images that appeared in Rome after the canonization was a group of four oil paintings in the sacristy of the new church of S. Ignazio… The central [fresco] scene, appropriate for the location, represents the Miracle of the Flame… an episode in which a flame appears over Ignatius’ head as he performed the mass…. Four stucco reliefs in the sacristy vault elaborate the theme of fire through emblems. Quoting lines from the Old Testament which include the word “ignis,” these emblems mark the first known appearance of the widespread association in printed sources of Ignatius’ name— and nature—with fire [italics mine]: hence the centrality of the miracle of the fire, as an episode which associated Ignatius concretely, through a divine sign, to his name’s association with fire (ignis).” Levy, “Chapel of St. Ignatius,” 244-245.

161 The inscription “Qui a sant’Ignazio, all’ora della orazione commune, in forma di fiamma sul capo diocese lo Spirito Santo” seems to identify the second of the Rooms of Ignatius adjoining the Gesù as the locus of this miracle. Pecchiai, Il Gesù di Roma, 307.
is seen to break forth above his head.” (Figure 46).\footnote{The inscription in Latin reads: “Sacram hostiam Deo dum offert supra missam celebrantis caput, ignens emicare flamma conspicatur.” Translation from John W. O'Malley, S.J. and James P. M. Walsh, S.J., \textit{Constructing a Saint Through Images: The 1609 Illustrated Biography of Ignatius of Loyola}. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2008), plate 69.} Devotees of Ignatius would have been aware of Ignatius’ relation to fire primarily through illustrations and descriptions of this miraculous episode in Ignatius’ various biographies commissioned by the Jesuits.\footnote{See, for instance the description in Nolarci: “Una volta celebrando era giunto al Memento; e'l P. Nicolò Lanoi gli vide posato sul capo un globo di fuoco: e correndo, per ismorzarlo; avvetti, ch'il Santo rapito in eccesso di mente con soavità piangeva; e non pativa dal fuoco; dal che conobbe; com'era cosa divina.” Nolarci, \textit{Vita di S. Ignatio}, 1680[a]), 187.} Disembodied flames also appeared above Ignatius’ head in other contexts such as an engraving that purportedly records a portrait from life (Figure 47) and images of Ignatius before the Virgin Mary (Figure 48; Figure 49). The attribute of disembodied flames above Ignatius’ head in other contexts likely derived from and recalled the seminal episode of the \textit{Miracle of the Flame}, whose image was most widely diffused through the \textit{Vita} of 1609 and whose most prominent depiction adorned the vault of the sacristy in the church of Sant’Ignazio in Rome.

Apart from the \textit{Miracle of the Flame} depicted on its sacristy vault, the church of Sant’Ignazio houses another even more prominent fresco in which the Ignatius/\textit{ignis} theme builds to a climax in terms of monumentality and public visibility. Frescoed three decades after the \textit{Miracle of the Flame}, Pozzo’s \textit{Allegory of the Jesuit Missionary Enterprise} decorating the nave vault of Sant’Ignazio was executed from around 1687 to 1690, in the decade immediately following Baciccio’s \textit{Triumph} (Figure 50). The \textit{Allegory} is the most monumental Ignatian composition based on Luke 12.49, and it represents the apogee of portrayals of Ignatius spreading the fire of Christ. An overview of Pozzo’s composition at Sant’Ignazio reveals just how closely Ignatius’ person was related to fire
and to Christ in Luke 12.49 by the Jesuits. The artist himself explained the iconography of his composition in a letter that is also useful for deciphering that of the Gesù Triumph. Although God the Father and Christ appear at the geometric center of the composition, they are obscured because of their apparent placement higher up in the heavens than Ignatius who reflects light emanating from them to the four corners of the earth. Functioning as a vital and vibrant conduit channeling Christ’s message and grace to mankind across the four corners of the earth, Ignatius’ figure is, in terms of color, size, and definition, significantly more legible than that of Christ himself (Figure 51). Ignatius’ prominence is justified because his position is nearer to the viewer than that of Christ. Thematically, though, the inclusion of the verses of Luke 12.49 on prominent fictive shields along the short edges of the nave vault makes it clear that the light reflected through Ignatius’ person to reach across to the personifications of the four continents originates in Christ. Christ’s geometric centrality notwithstanding, a grid superimposed onto the composition reveals the effective centrality accorded the Jesuit founder and his agency in Pozzo’s composition (Figure 52). In a virtuoso expression of the Ignatius/ignis theme based on Luke 12.49, Pozzo’s composition thus highlights Ignatius’ vital role in spreading the fire of Christ.164

Images relating Ignatius’ person and character to fire went far beyond mere associations with flames (Figure 53), and even textual metaphors were innovatively translated into images. For instance, Ignatius’ heart burning with desire for Christ, his

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164 See Chapter Three for criticisms and ramifications of the Jesuits’ associations of Ignatius with fire and Christ that may have been an additional factor leading Oliva to avoid any explicit imagery depicting Ignatius on the Gesù nave. Other factors that explain Ignatius’ absence from the Triumph in comparison to his overt glorification at Sant’Ignazio are the explicit dedication of the church to the Jesuit founder, and because Pozzo’s fresco was executed after the reign of Pope Innocent XI, whose antipathy to the Jesuits, I argue in Chapter Three, led them to eschew overt glorification of Ignatius at their mother church.
fervent propagation of the faith, and the glowing sanctity of his visage, were all intangible qualities that found expression in images. In addition, the phrase “Ite accendite omnia” (“Go, set all [souls] on fire”), used in the frontispiece of Bartoli’s 1659 biography, was attributed to Ignatius as the message with which he sent the early Companions out on their proselytizing missions. Even in purely textual usage, this metaphorical phrase embodied the fiery qualities associated with Ignatius, such as ardor and zeal.

In the early images, such as those in several plates from the Vita of 1609, captions such as the phrase used in Bartoli’s frontispiece explained these associations. Eventually, the great diffusion of literature and images linking Ignatius with fire and its qualities lessened the need for captions. By the time Baciccio executed the Triumph, Ignatius’ person was so closely associated with the element of fire that it would have been implicitly understood by knowledgeable viewers even in images bereft of the motif of flames, captions, or tituli explicitly portraying or referencing fire. Consequently, for visitors to the Gesù who were cognizant of Ignatius’ likening to Joshua, his association with Philippians 2:10, and his renowned devotion to the Holy Name, the fiery radiance of the IHS-inscribed sunburst would have constituted an additional, and more instinctively perceived, fire-related visual motif evoking his persona and his role in spreading the fire of Christ.

Apart from ardor, Ignatius was also associated with another intangible property of fire: radiance, which was expressed with the aid of captions and graphically represented

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165 In Chapter Four, I address three bas-reliefs panels in the Gesù that included fire imagery in connection with Ignatius. These are all images bereft of text, and they would have been understood by all viewers familiar with Ignatius’ life and deeds, regardless of their literacy levels.
by rays of light, the glow of an aureole, or some other form of noticeable luminescence such as that emanating from the *Triumph*’s sunburst. Reportedly, Ignatius’ face shone with an other-worldly light in much the same way that the Jesuit monogram seems to emanate light in the *Triumph*, and his biographies are replete with accounts of this divine glow. Unlike regular haloes representing sanctity, the supernatural radiance emanating from Ignatius’ visage, while considered a generic attribute signifying his sanctity, was also an attribute specific to the Jesuit founder’s person: Ignatius’ face glows even in portraits devoid of a halo. A halo for Ignatius often served a dual purpose: it signified Ignatius’ sanctity (just as it did for all other saintly persons) and it signified the supernatural radiance of his face that differentiated him from other saints. An analysis of the records and representations of Ignatius’ supernatural radiance indicates that well-informed viewers would have intuitively associated radiance and the IHS within the *Triumph* sunburst with him, even though the sunburst did not evoke him *per se*.

At the 1622 concistory in which Gregory XV’s likened Ignatius to Joshua, the Jesuit founder’s person was explicitly related to fire and divine light, and his visage was described as supernaturally radiant by several cardinals; Cardinal Domenico Ginnasi, for instance, stated that a very great light was accorded to Blessed Ignatius from God. This same light, Ginnasi continued, was seen to shine more greatly in the foundation of the Society, from which so many eminent doctors, martyrs, and confessors had sprung to preach the faith of Christ, the true light from which all light issued, across the entire
world, and this itself was reason enough for the cardinal to consider the Jesuit founder worthy of sainthood.\textsuperscript{166}

Even Ignatius’ Bull of Canonization issued in 1626, four years after the concistory reported that the Oratorian founder Philip Neri and the Dutch Jesuit Olivier Mannaerts had witnessed the miraculous radiance of the Jesuit founder’s visage.\textsuperscript{167} The official 1609 biography of Ignatius devoted a plate each to Alexander Petronius and Philip Neri’s recognition of Ignatius’ divine radiance (Figure 54; Figure 55), which had figured so prominently in the concistory and the Bull of his canonization: it was also represented in Plate 35 (Figure 56) and Plate 76 (Figure 57). The miraculous radiance of their founder’s face seems to have provided the Jesuits with a veneer of justification for portrayals of Ignatius with a halo representing radiance and sanctity prior to his canonization.\textsuperscript{168} However, once this radiance was officially established in 1622 through the canonization proceedings and text, it became an accepted attribute that was often conflated with his halo. The radiance in Baciccio’s composition emanates from the Jesuit monogram, which

\textsuperscript{166} The text of Ginnasi’s speech reads: “Beato Ignatio lux maxima fuit a Deo. Nam, omissis quae de eius vita laudabili et miraculis probata dicuntur, in fundatione Societatis ei magis lucere visa est, cum ex ipsa tot doctores eximii, martyres, confessores orientur, per quos fides Christi in universum mundum praedicatur, verum lumen, quod ex luce lucet. Haec mihi sola ratio sufficiens videtur, ut Deo carus servus iudicetur.”\textit{Canonizzazione di Loiola e Saverio}, 39.

\textsuperscript{167} The relevant passage is: “Excellentum vero [famuli fui?] sanctitatem comprobati voluit etiam Altissimus supernaturali splendore vultus, quem dum viveret aliquando viderunt B. Philippus Nerius, & quondam Oliverius Manareus Flander, eiusdem Societatis religiosus; ac testimonio miraculorum quorum plura etsi ab eo vivente facta in processibus recensentur, insigniora tamen post eus felicem dormitionem.” \textit{Bulla Canonizationis S. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Jesu Fundatoris} (Rome: Typographia Rev. Camerarum Apostolicae, 1626), 7.

\textsuperscript{168} Prior to Ignatius’ beatification and canonization, the Jesuits had been chastised by Clement VIII for their portrayals of Ignatius as a saint. Irked at devotional cults that were forming without papal approval around figures like Ignatius and Philip Neri, Clement VIII had noted that: “Father Ignatius is thus shown such veneration that no more could be shown [even if he were already canonized]. This is despite the fact that we have told the Father General of the Jesuits that I forbid it; however, they wish to continue without our permission.” Simon Ditchfield, ”‘Coping with the \textit{beati moderni}’: Canonization Procedure in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent.” in \textit{Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006}, ed. Thomas M. McCooog, S.J. (Rome: IHSI, 2010), 424-25.

The appearance of prominent haloes for Ignatius prior to his canonization in the \textit{Vita} of 1609 may be accounted for by the fact that Clement VIII had by then been succeeded by Paul V (who approved Ignatius’ beatification).
represents the Society founded by Ignatius, and the rays of the sunburst, figuratively the means by which the light of Christ spreads across the world in the *Triumph*, evoke Ignatius’ role in propagating the faith by founding the Society.

The importance of Philip Neri’s recognition of Ignatius’ radiance in validating Jesuit accounts of their founder’s miraculous radiance cannot be overstated because of the Oratorian founder’s great influence on the people of Rome. Though he was a Florentine by birth, Neri endeared himself to the Roman populace and earned the sobriquet “Apostle of Rome” because of his warm personality, his making worship attractive by including music of good quality, and his making the sacrament of Penance gentle rather than admonitory.169 At the canonization proceedings of Ignatius and Neri, Mannaerts, a student of Ignatius who had met the Oratorian founder, testified that Neri had “once seen the countenance of the holy father Ignatius flooded with a supernatural brightness, and that it was therefore his opinion that no creation of the painter could represent him as he was in reality.”170 Further, Antonio Gallonio, secretary and nurse to Philip Neri was present at the Oratorian founder’s deathbed, and testified that Neri often stated he recognized saintly men by their faces, and that the pious late Father Ignatius’ face used to shine.171 Neri’s recognition of the radiance of Ignatius’ visage was also recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum*.172 Plate 73 of the *Vita* of 1609 depicted their meeting using a different size and type of halo for each saint and to mark Ignatius out


170 Mannaerts’ accounts was corroborated by many others. Levy, “Chapel of St. Ignatius,” 269.

171 Ibid.

prominently; it included the caption: “Often Blessed Philip Neri sees his [Ignatius’] face glowing with a remarkable light—as he would say, a clear indication of sanctity” (Figure 55).173 Tellingly, the halo circling Ignatius’ head is significantly larger than the one that circles the profile of Philip Neri. In essence, the episode of the saints’ meeting provided the Jesuits license to produce explicit images depicting Ignatius as a source of radiating supernatural light that was greater in intensity than a standard halo.

Reportedly, the Oratorian founder also acknowledged that Ignatius had introduced him to interior prayer.174 The Jesuits’ efforts to document Neri’s spiritual debt to the Jesuit founder in the decades after the canonization demonstrates the importance accorded by the Society to Neri’s characterization of Ignatius, especially its implicit contention that Ignatius was more of a spiritual mentor than a mere colleague to the Apostle of Rome.175 Indeed, the weight of Philip Neri’s reported recognition of Ignatius’ spiritual radiance led to the commissioning of numerous prominent Jesuit-sponsored images depicting the hagiographic Meeting of Ignatius and Philip Neri which were powerful reminders of Ignatius’ supernatural radiance and the respect of his contemporaries.176 Two such depictions were commissioned for the Gesù and the Casa Professa a few years following the unveiling of Baciccio’s Triumph. The first of these, was painted by Andrea Pozzo ca. 1681-82 in a centrally located grisaille fresco panel in

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173 Translation from O’Malley, S.J. and Walsh, S.J., 1609 Illustrated Biography of Ignatius, plate 73.
175 The Jesuit historian Famiano Strada [active ca. (1572-1649) documents an account of the Jesuit Father Gabriel Venusti’s visit to the Chiesa Nuova, where Venusti and other Jesuits were contemplating a recently-installed (unnamed) painting when they were approached by Philip Neri. Philip Neri asked them to which order they belonged, and upon learning that Venusti and his companions were Jesuits, he reportedly stated: “You are the offspring of a great Father; [and] I am grateful to him; [Maestro] Ignatius introduced me to [the practice of] interior prayer.” See Appendix 2 for full text of Famiano Strada’s letter.
176 In this respect, see Levy’s analysis of the differing ways in which the Oratorians interpreted the event (understandably, the Oratorians emphasized St. Philip Neri’s miraculous act of “seeing” over his recognition of Ignatius’ radiance). Levy, “Chapel of St. Ignatius,” 269-270.
the Casa Professa adjoining the Gesù (Figure 58).\textsuperscript{177} The second, a gilded bronze panel representing the \textit{Meeting of Ignatius and Philip Neri} is one of seven reliefs depicting miracles from Ignatius’ life that were commissioned in the 1680s for the altar to Ignatius at the Gesù. This panel was given prominence over the others through its positioning, for it is the first panel visible as one approaches the altar from the nave. The Gesù altar panel’s highlighting of Ignatius’ other-worldly radiance was especially effective on local visitors as it recalled that the saintly Philip Neri whose memory was still very much alive and cherished among the Roman populace, esteemed and revered the Jesuit founder.\textsuperscript{178}

While the sunburst of the \textit{Triumph} is not an attribute of Ignatius \textit{per se}, the supernatural radiance with which it glows is an attribute that evokes his person. In images representing the Jesuit founder’s “\textit{vera effigies}” or “true portrait,” his glowing face was usually expressed by means of an extra-large halo or aureole that represented the miraculous light exuded by his person, specifically the radiance emanating from his face that had been corroborated by no one less than Philip Neri. One early portrait of Ignatius thought to have been a faithful representation from life deserves specific mention because it was described as depicting him “\textit{sine pileo et cum radiis},” or “without headwear and with rays” (Figure 60). This portrait provides a rare pre-canonization depiction of Ignatius with his head surrounded by light emanating from his glowing face rather than from a halo.\textsuperscript{179} It is also reproduced in a portrait entitled “Effigie di S. Ignazio Lojola, La

\textsuperscript{177} Although visible to only a select few, the inclusion of this meeting in Pozzo’s decorations attests to the importance accorded it by the Jesuits. The \textit{grisaille} panel is interesting because of its lack of haloes—likely an indication that the professed Jesuits did not need the kind of indications of Ignatius’ supernatural radiance and sanctity in the manner addressed to non-Jesuit audiences.

\textsuperscript{178} Giachi identified the figure in liturgical vestment ecstatically facing the “Eucharistic” light emanating from the central monogram as St. Philip Neri (Figure 59). Giachi, \textit{Parabola di luce}, 37.

\textsuperscript{179} In 1598, the Belgian vice provincial Olivier Mannaerts, who had known Ignatius and was not satisfied with the resemblance of Ignatius’ portraits, corresponded with Father General Claudio Acquaviva in an attempt to create a suitable prototype of Ignatius to be used in the service of a campaign for the Jesuit
più simigliante” (Figure 61). A true portrait included in the 1701 edition of Nolarci’s 1680 biography depicted Ignatius with a halo and disembodied flames as decorative motifs (Figure 47). The extraordinary manner in which Ignatius came to be associated with ardor, radiance, light, and fire (as evidenced by the numerous texts and images based on these elements) may be attributed to Jesuit efforts to document and establish the glow of his visage and the sanctity of his person, qualities that may well be evoked, even if only tangentially, by the glow of the Triumph’s sunburst.180

The Sacrament of the Eucharist

The resemblance of the IHS-inscribed sunburst in the Triumph to a monstrance is a powerful allusion to the mystery of the Eucharist comprising Christ’s sacrifice, the real presence of Christ, and a sacramental summation of Catholicism’s central tenets. Because of the sunburst’s resemblance to the Eucharistic host, the message conveyed through its focal position—it is the most immediately visible and prominent element noticed by all who enter the Gesù—is especially important.181 The liturgy of the Eucharist was one of the main points of contention between Catholics and Protestants: the Catholics supported the doctrine of Transubstantiation which holds that the consecrated host is, in essence, the founder’s future canonization. It is in this respect that Acquaviva, expressing dissatisfaction with the extant images, asked Mannaerts for a report on the portrait of Ignatius “sine pileo et cum radiis” painted in Flanders. Pfeiffer, “Iconography of the Society of Jesus,” 206-208.

180 To be precise, the glow of the sunburst is undoubtedly a manifestation of the glory of the Holy Name, and not an allusion to Ignatius. My contention concerning the allusion to Ignatius through the sunburst is that its radiance—apart from emanating from the Holy Name—evokes the supernatural glow of Ignatius’ face. The reference to Ignatius is made, therefore, implicitly through the quality of the sunburst’s radiance rather than directly by means of either the sunburst, light, or rays thereof.

true Body of Christ, albeit cloaked beneath the appearance of the bread’s material form, whereas the Protestants hold the consecration of the host to be symbolic of the presence of Christ. The pivotal role played by the Jesuits in defending Catholic doctrine and spreading the faith not just across Europe, but across the globe, as far as Africa, Asia, and the Americas, resulted in proselytization on an unprecedented scale that bolstered the position of the Catholic Church with regard to that of the Protestants. This phase of Catholic primacy is symbolically associated with the concept of *Ecclesia Triumphans*, or the Church Triumphant. Following the Council of Trent, the Devotion of the Forty Hours (which was known as the “Quarant’ore” and centered on adoring the consecrated host for forty hours) was introduced to and popularized in Rome by the New Reform Orders, including the Jesuits. The Jesuits, however, distinguished themselves from other contemporary Orders because of the unrivalled scope and success of their proselytization across Europe and beyond during the century leading up to Baciccio’s Gesù decorations, and they proclaimed Ignatius as the forerunner among reformers advocating frequent communion. The early sources do not refer to the sunburst in terms of historically charged Catholic symbolism, and modern scholarship has, for the most part, limited itself to noting its resemblance to the Eucharistic monstrance, which has led to a retrospective interpretation of the *Triumph* as primarily an expression of the Catholic Church Triumphant in the aftermath of the Council of Trent.

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182 Enggass’ application of the concept of *Ecclesia Triumphans*, or the Church Triumphant, to the *Triumph* remains the most authoritative discussion on the subject. (The relevant section of his monograph of 1964 cited earlier is updated as “La Chiesa trionfante e l’affresco della volta del Gesù” in *Ariccia 1999*, 27-39.).

183 Of note is Curzietti’s contention that the sunburst’s resemblance to the Eucharistic wafer is to be related to the canonization in 1671 of Francis Borgia, the third Jesuit Father General who held a special devotion to the Eucharist. (In Chapter Four, I discuss Hernández’s pertinent application of Ignatius’ *Spiritual Exercises* by means of the “composition of place,” enabling the viewer to insert himself or herself among the genuflecting figures of the celestial court.)
However, an examination of the sunburst’s association with the practice of the Eucharistic rite (rather than the appearance of the Eucharistic Host and monstrance) leads to an important Ignatian connection. Specifically, it recalls the roles played by Ignatius of Loyola, the Society of Jesus, and even the site of the Gesù, in the re-popularization of the liturgy of the Eucharist.

In the middle ages, the practice of communion had fallen into such disuse that the Fourth Lateran Council, held in 1215, set the minimum requirement for the faithful—under pain of excommunication—to once a year.\textsuperscript{184} Despite the fact that theologians called for frequent communion, even members of religious orders and saints took communion rarely.\textsuperscript{185} Well into the sixteenth century, the reception of communion was usually an annual event for the majority of the faithful. But the practice was revived because of the efforts of reformers such as Ignatius and others including Catherine of Siena, Vincent Ferrer, and even Savonarola, who advocated, often successfully, a return to frequent reception.\textsuperscript{186} The reformers’ concerns were addressed by the Council of Trent in its assertions that communion “ought to be more frequent [than once a year],” and that “at each Mass the faithful who are present, should communicate.”\textsuperscript{187} Following much debate, in 1551, the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent affirmed the real presence

\textsuperscript{185} The “Poor Clares, by rule, communicated six times a year; the Dominicanesses, fifteen times; the Third Order of St. Dominic, four times. Even saints received the host rarely: St. Louis six times a year, St. Elizabeth only three times. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{186} Ignatius and the Jesuits, thus, part of a larger movement calling for frequent communion, “but by sheer force of their numbers and international character they became its most most effective spokemen.” O’Malley, \textit{The First Jesuits}, 152-153.
of Christ “extra usum” even after the end of the liturgy and after communion. The Jesuits were especially known for the advocacy of frequent communion in their churches, and by the time Baciccio decorated the Gesù nave, frequent communion had become the norm across the Catholic world. Oliva’s obvious pride in the Society’s role in bringing about this change in practice is evident in a sermon he delivered to the Jesuits on the Feast of the Circumcision, stating that “in our temples the frequent use of the Sacraments has been practiced (as even the Supreme Pontiffs have declared).” The significance of the sunburst’s resemblance to the Eucharistic wafer at the Gesù is thus twofold. It represents first and foremost the practice of communion given a new dimension by the Catholic Church and so vigorously promulgated by the Jesuits and their contemporaries. But when coupled with the representation of Christ’s name by means of the Jesuit monogram, the sunburst’s prominent placement in the nave of the Jesuit mother church alludes to the specific efforts and successes of Ignatius and the Jesuits in reviving the practice of frequent communion.

By the late seventeenth century, the Eucharistic monstrance was visually associated with multiple saints, including several Jesuits, among whom it was intrinsically linked to Ignatius because of his extraordinary efforts to revive the practice of frequent communion. The caption of a profile portrait of the Jesuit founder in adoration of the Eucharist credits him with the reintroduction of frequent communion

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188 Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli considered the display of the consecrated Host an empty spectacle, but the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent (1551) ratified the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated Host not just at the moment of communion but even afterwards. Hernández, *Il corpo del Nome*, 91-92.

189 BNC.VEII Ges.1744, c. 198r-c. 217r. “Sermone detta nella casa professa la vigilia della circoncisione. Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus. Quod vocatum est ab angelo, priusquam in utero conciperetur. Luc. 2,” c. 207v.

The original in Italian reads: “nelle nostre sole Case si paraticavano: la frequenza de’ Sacram[enti] (come si son degni di dichiarare i sommi Pontefici).”
Numerous images of Ignatius attest to his close identification with the practice of communion through the inclusion of a prominent monstrance that is usually inscribed with an equally prominent IHS on the wafer, as in the altarpiece of the Jesuit Church in Munich (Figure 63). Pietro Maffei’s three-volume biography published in 1585 dedicates an entire chapter to Ignatius’ successful efforts in this respect. While Maffei’s early biography detailing in Latin Ignatius’ endeavors may not have been widely accessible while Oliva was having the Gesù decorated, Carnoli’s 1680 biography of Ignatius published shortly after Baciccio decorated the nave was accessible to a wider audience of readers because it was written in Italian. Carnoli underscored Ignatius’ achievements in reinstating the practice of frequent communion with an anecdote about a group of pious women in Manresa, Spain, who made communion every week. At the time, Carnoli recounted, Ignatius’ fervent drive to increase communion was so well known and the womens’ adoption of the practice he advocated was so singular that it resulted in their being referred to as “Ignighe” or “Ignatie,” after Ignatius’ given Spanish name of Iñigo. Oliva referenced the Society’s crucial role in this development in a sermon he delivered on the Feast of the Circumcision as he reminded the Jesuits that “[it

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190 The caption reads: “S. Ignatij fundat Soc IESU frequens usus ven. Eucharistiae introductus”
(This print is possibly the one listed but not illustrated in Hollstein’s Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700, Vol. 10, 39, no. 12 as “ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA; Herman Weyen exc.” If so, the artist was Conrad Lauwers who died in 1685, which would be the terminus ante quem for the production of this image.)


192 Nolarci, Vita di S. Ignatio, 1680[a]), 185.
was] in our own [churches] that frequent communion was practiced—as the pontiffs themselves have declared.”

Carnoli further elaborated on Ignatius’ pivotal role in establishing the practice of frequent communion by referencing two important events. First, at that time yearly communion was still the norm, and Ignatius and the Jesuits found themselves being criticized even by prelates for advocating the practice more often. In response, Ignatius commissioned a defense for frequent communion, which was published in Rome and Valenza. Subsequently, the sixteenth-century Archbishop (and later Saint) Thomas of Villanova discussed this matter at a congregation of theologians. Following the theological discussion, the practice of weekly (every eight days, to be precise) communion was approved. Second, the Oratorian Cardinal Cesare Baronio while delivering a sermon at the Gesù in 1604, referred to the Jesuit mother church as “Sant’Anastasia,” using the Greek for “Resurrection,” because he claimed the sacraments of Penitence and Communion, both long dead, had been reinstated in it. Baronio’s designation of (the site of) the Gesù as the locus of the restoration was no embellishment—even the concluding lines of the official notice of consecration of the

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193 BNC.VEI Ges.1744, c. 198r-c. 217r. *Sermone detta nella casa professa la vigilia della circoncisione. Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus. Quod vocatum est ab angelo, priusquam in utero conciperetur. Luc. 2,* c. 207v.

The original in Italian reads: “nelle nostre sole Case si paraticavano: la frequenza de’ Sacram[en]ti (come si son degnati di dichiarare i sommi Pontefici).”

194 Nolarci, *Vita di S. Ignatio* [1680a], 186.

195 Ibid.

Regardless of whether this statement was actually made by Baronio, the claim is an exaggeration because the Gesù was built only after Ignatius had passed away, so it was the earlier church of Santa Maria della Strada that would have been the actual site of the rebirth of frequent communion.
Gesù proclaim the connection between the (site of the) recently erected church and the restoration of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist.†

In addition to the Eucharistic wafer itself, the form of the sunburst reprises the focal points of numerous contemporary ephemeral stage-sets constructed to celebrate the consecrated host during the annual Devotion of the Forty Hours, called the “Quarant’ore (Figure 64; Figure 65).” As the name of the devotion suggests, it comprised an adoration of the Eucharist in select churches for a period of forty hours, marking the time that Christ’s body lay in the tomb. While the Gesù was one of several Roman churches that celebrated the Quarant’ore with elaborate theatrical decorations exalting the Eucharist, it was unique among them as the only one boasting a monumental permanent fresco celebrating the Eucharistic rite. Agostino Ciampelli’s Adoration of the Eucharist (1600-03) frescoed on the ceiling of the Gesù sacristy is an important iconographic precedent to the church’s nave vault fresco, but its relation to Baciccio’s nave composition has been addressed in detail only by Weil, who related it to Clement VIII’s policies (Figure 66). Dating to the early 1600s, well before the canonization or even beatification of Ignatius, this ceiling fresco surely provided a monumental thematic source for the allusion to the Eucharistic Host in Baciccio’s Triumph. Apart from assuring the Gesù and the Jesuits primacy amongst the other churches celebrating the Quarant’ore, Ciampelli’s Gesù

†“Idem vero S.mus dominus noster Gregorius Papa XIII omnibus Christifidelibus utriusque sexus vere poenitentibus et confessis, ac S.mae Eucharistiae Sacramento reiectis [emphasis mine], qui Ecclesiam hanc, tam hodierno et per octavam, quam quotannis anniversario huiusmodi consecrationis die, quarta videlicet Dominica mensis Novembris, devote visitaverint et ibi pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, Sanctaeque Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione, pias ad Deum preces effuderint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino, in perpetuum concessit atque elargitus est.” Pecchiai, Il Gesù di Roma, 350.

197 Weil’s article remains the most thorough discussion of the devotion in seventeenth-century Rome and in the premises of the Gesù, as well as its relationship to Baciccio’s Triumph and Ciampelli’s Adoration of the Eucharist. Weil, “Devotion of the Forty Hours.”
sacristy fresco, located just next door to the *Triumph*, also provided Baciccio with a monumental iconographic precedent for the sunburst of the nave.\(^{198}\)

The existence of the Gesù sacristy vault fresco—because of its subject, early date, monumentality, and permanence of its medium—underscores its relevance not just to the composition of Baciccio’s *Triumph*, but also to the Society’s own history and that of its mother church. In the *Triumph* itself, apart from the allusion via a strong resemblance to the sunburst, the Eucharistic monstrance is simply but explicitly depicted in the gilded bas-relief stucco panel to the left of the titular banderole (Figure 18). Its power is evoked by one specific figure in the *Triumph*, that of Saint. Longinus, who appears on a cloudbank to the right of the resplendent monogram in a Roman centurion’s uniform including a helmet and lance (Figure 67). His identity as a pagan Roman soldier who converted to Christianity following the shedding of Christ’s blood at the Crucifixion, recalls the power of the Eucharistic rite championed by Ignatius, for the lance placed beside him refers to the piercing of Jesus’ side while he hung on the cross. Along with the power of the Eucharist, Longinus’ conversion and his presence further recalls the Jesuits’ mission of proselytizing. While the figure of Longinus is in no way marked out from the numerous other *Elect*, and the sunburst does not explicitly depict a monstrance (even if it resembles one), the stucco relief panel of the monstrance, and its significant position beside the banderole inscribed with the antiphon from the Mass of Ignatius, underscores the Jesuit founder’s role in reviving as well as diffusing the rite of the Eucharist (Figure 17).

\(^{198}\) The resemblance of the Gesù sunburst to the Eucharistic wafer has led Curzietti to relate the entire nave composition to the 1671 canonization of Saint Francis Borgia, for the third Jesuit Father General was especially devoted to the Eucharist. While Curzietti’s thesis is tenable, I argue that the depiction of the Eucharistic host coupled with other iconographic elements primarily served to evoke Ignatius at the Gesù.
The Motif of the Flaming Heart

Immediately to the right of the titular banderole, a bas-relief panel mirroring that of the Eucharistic monstrance depicts a heart engulfed in flames (Figure 19). Like the monstrance and the banderole inscription with which it is aligned, the motif of the heart in flames is also associated with Ignatius; this is apparent in a print by Philippe de Mallery, in which Ignatius and Francis Xavier kneel before Christ, to whom Ignatius offers a flaming heart (Figure 68).199 The sacred or flaming heart, a heart engulfed in flames and often encircled by a crown of thorns, is a devotional motif representing an ardent love of Christ through an identification with his suffering. Originally an attribute of Saint Francis of Assisi, it was commonly associated with Ignatius and several other Jesuit as well as non-Jesuit saints in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.200 A metaphorical connection links Ignatius with this devotional motif by means of an association with Saint Ignatius of Antioch. While a student at Paris, Ignatius, born Iñigo López de Loyola, had adopted the name “Ignatius.” Although there is no evidence to suggest that Ignatius of Loyola considered Ignatius of Antioch his name saint, his choice of the name “Ignatius” was fortuitous for the Jesuits.201 Literature produced by the Society consciously likened the founder to his namesake Ignatius, the early Christian

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199 The demonic figures depicted at Ignatius’ feet are discussed in the following section.

201 “Ignazio” is actually the Italian variant of the Spanish “Ignacio;” it has no connection to “Iñigo.” While acknowledging that the reason why the Jesuit founder adopted the name “Ignatius” is unknown, Dalmases hazards a guess that he might have been “moved by his devotion, which he did profess, to St. Ignatius the martyr bishop of Antioch,” but Dalmases provides no evidence of this devotion. Dalmases, Ignatius of Loyola, 3-4.
martyr who had been the Bishop of Antioch and who was said to have carried Christ within his heart. Such was the Bishop of Antioch’s devotion, that when he was thrown to and torn apart by lions, the Holy Name was revealed to be inscribed on his heart and he was, therefore, referred to by the epithet “Theophorus” or “Bearer of Christ.” Tellingly, the *Imago Primi Saeculi* describes Ignatius’ heart aflame as he passed away. The image of the flaming heart provided an apt visual motif to represent the Bishop of Antioch’s heart metaphorically aflame with love for Christ, and it was used by the Jesuits to link their founder with his namesake. Indeed, the Jesuits’ conscious efforts to underscore an association between Ignatius of Loyola and Ignatius of Antioch, both of whom had a special devotion to the Holy Name, is celebrated in Baciccio’s dome fresco, where the two saints are placed together in the same group (Figure 36).

The Bishop of Antioch’s heart consumed with love for Christ and his carrying the Name of Jesus within it were transposed onto descriptions and illustrations of the Jesuit founder. One such instance occurs in an episode from the life of Ignatius of Antioch, most likely made for the Jesuits (Figure 69), in which the Name of Jesus inscribed on the

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203 In addition to the two saints’ common first names and their great devotion to the Holy Name right up to their last moments, both were associated with the city of Rome and, more importantly, both were active proponents of the primacy of the papacy. Ignatius of Antioch, who was martyred in Rome, was a prolific writer whose letters are especially important to the Catholic Church because they are the first documents to coherently argue for the primacy of the papacy. Ignatius of Loyola’s own support of the institution of the papacy is most evident in the first line of the *Formula of the Institute* and in the special fourth vow to the supreme pontiff concerning matters of mission that was taken by all professed members of the Society.

204 Giachi, *Parabola di luce*, 32. Note, however, that Petrucci disagrees with Giachi and identifies this figure as Saint Nicholas of Myra. Petrucci, *Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709)*, 206. Yet, the juxtaposition of this figure with that of Ignatius of Loyola is a strong argument favoring its identification with Ignatius of Antioch.

For an analysis of the *Vision of Paradise* in the dome and the identification of selected figures, including that of Ignatius of Antioch, see Chapter Four.
martyr’s heart even takes the form of the Jesuit monogram! And in text, Nolarci’s 1680 biography of Ignatius describes the Jesuit founder’s devotion to the Name of Jesus as well as its appearance seemingly sculpted into his own heart as follows: “Because Saint Ignatius took it upon himself to love Jesus, to follow him, and to imitate him in life: and this became his design, and is even now his insignia [which] allowed [one] to see [him] full of glory with a circle of gold upon his chest, in the midst of which in resplendent sculpted letters shone the Name of Jesus.” This imagery derived from Ignatius of Antioch’s descriptions also came to be closely identified with Ignatius of Loyola. At the Jesuit founder’s canonization in 1622, Cardinal Giulio Savelli referred to the Holy Name, stating Ignatius of Loyola wore it profoundly inscribed on his heart, and that the Jesuit founder wished for the Jesuits, too, to take on the Name and live it in their words and deeds. The motif of the flaming heart, so appropriate to an ardent love of Christ, thus illustrated Ignatius of Loyola own love of Christ as well as the all-consuming devotion of

205 Since the copperplate for a version of this engraving by Hieronymous Wierix is in the Dutch Jesuit collection, it may reasonably be inferred that it was a Jesuit commission. Hollstein’s Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700, Vol. 65 (“The Wierix Family, Part VII”), Compiled by Zsuzsanna Van Ruyven-Zeman in collaboration with Marjolein Leesberg; ed. Jan Van Der Stock and Marjolein Leesberg (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2004), p. 83, cat. No. 1489.

206 Nolarci 1680a, 182. The original in Italian reads: “Perche S. Ignazio si prese ad amar Gesù; a seguirlo da presso; ad imitarlo al vivo: e questo fu il suo disegno: è anche adesso la sua insegna. Onde si lasciò veder tutto gloria con un cerchio d’oro sul petto 1 [De Ponte in Vita Marina .. lib.4.c.3]; in mezzo del quale a caratteri di luce scolpito risplendeva il nome di Gesù. Appariva pure spessissimo ad una persona gran serva di Dio; con rivelarle molte cose venture: vedendolo questa sempre co'l petto aperto; e formatogli a letter d'oro nel cuore il nome di Gesù.”

207 Canonizzazione di Loiola e Saverio, 40. The text in Latin reads: “Beatum Ignatium, magnum fructuosissimae in christianae republica Societatis fundatorem, religiosissimum cultorem huius sanctae Sedis, cui se suosque solenni voto perpetuis obedientiae vinculis mancipavit, clarum ob res gestas celsiores manu mortali, qui ecclesiastici agri vineam asperis, sibi tamen suavissimis, laboribus coluit, floriosis, sudoribus irrigavit atque a pullulentibus haereticorum spinis pro vinibus expurgatam heroicis virtutum exemplis et sanctissimis institutionibus foecundavit, quique, cum induisset Iesum Christum eiusque nomen corde altius insculptum gestaret ac totum undique Iesum factis dictisque spiraret, eiusdem etiam Sanctissimi Nominis charactere egregiam, quam instituit, familiae voluit esse condecoratam iussisque ipsius filios non minus Iesu dare quam ab eo nomen accipere, ut essent, hoc etiam nomine, Domino nostro Iesu mutuis nexibus obligati; hunc, inquam, terrena sorte longe maiorem, dignissimum censeo, cui a Sanctitate Vestra caelestes tandem honores decernantur, ut ita in dies magis magisque militanti Ecclesiae caelestium bellatorum auxiliariis numerus augeatur.”
his namesake Ignatius of Antioch, whose heart metaphorically burned with love for Christ. Similarly, when the flaming heart associated with Ignatius of Loyola included an IHS, it also evoked his namesake’s carrying the Holy Name within his heart.

Apart from Ignatius of Loyola and Ignatius of Antioch, the flaming heart is associated with several other Jesuit and other saints. Yet, considering that the primary Ark relief and the words “Omne genu flectatur” prominently inscribed across the twirling banderole refer specifically to Ignatius, but not to other Jesuit saints, it is my contention that the stucco relief panels flanking the Ark relief should be associated primarily with Ignatius.\textsuperscript{208} Thus, viewers cognizant of the link between Ignatius of Loyola and Ignatius of Antioch, and of the allusions to the Jesuit founder through the banderole, ark reliefs, and the gilded relief of the Eucharistic monstrance, would have easily found unmistakable references to the Jesuit founder in the prominent linear alignment of decorative elements above the IHS-inscribed sunburst.

**The Demonic Figures in the Damned**

A final iconographic motif related to Ignatius in the nave fresco appears in the grotesque forms of the Damned that spill out of the bottom of the frame, seemingly repelled by the radiance of the sunburst (Figure 70). This group of figures so closely related to the theme of the Fall of the Rebel Angels is commonly considered an allegorical representation of heretics in general, and it evokes an obvious parallel drawn

\textsuperscript{208} While these motifs have not been specifically addressed by scholars, it can be argued that the choice of these reliefs may be related to Francis Borgia, who had a special devotion to, both, the Eucharist and the flaming heart. If so, it would be in line with Curzetti’s argument that the composition of the nave fresco as a whole celebrates attributes of the recently canonized Jesuit saint (Borgia was canonized in 1671). However, this argument does not hold in the case of the reliefs from the Book of Joshua and the verse from Philippians 2:10. It is also worth noting the frequent associations of the flaming heart and Eucharist motifs with other Jesuit saints, such as Francis Xavier and Alonso Rodriguez.
between Ignatius and Luther.\footnote{Heresy, at the lower right corner of the triangular mass of the Damned holds a book in hand and is only one among several vices represented in the Damned (Figure 70). Yet, the mass of the Damned recalls heretics in general, and John Rupert Martin’s observation (in connection with Rubens’ ceiling painting depicting Saint Athanasius triumphant over the arch-heretic Arius in the Jesuit church of Antwerp) on the way in which vanquished figures represented heretics is highly pertinent here, too: “It was a recurrent theme with Jesuit writers that, whenever heresies sprang up, champions were divinely appointed to combat them, and that this continued to be true in modern times no less than the past. Thus Suarez explained: ‘When Arius rose up against the Church, God called up Athanasius against him… And we see that [the Jesuit Order] arose at the very time that Luther stirred up war against the Church.’ The fact that the painting of St. Athanasius overcoming Arius stood directly beneath The Fall of the Rebel Angels made its meaning even plainer. John Rupert Martin, The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp. Part 1 of Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1968), 202-203.} Several of the Damned, such as Avarice and Simony, are Vices personified. They are easily identifiable through attributes illustrated and described in emblem books such as those authored by Cesare Ripa and Andrea Alciati: for Simony a woman in a black veil holding a church model in one hand and a bag in the other, and in the case of Avarice, a female figure holding in her fist a bag drawn tightly and with an emaciated wolf by her side (Figure 71).\footnote{Petrucci, Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709), 224-225.} Essentially, the writhing forms of Baciccio’s Damned derive from a range of faithless figures vanquished through divine intervention.\footnote{As opposed to the forms of soldiers defeated in battle who are merely human in nature, the forms I refer to as the “vanquished” represent an element of spiritual defeat, from the Damned of the Last Judgment to the demons taking over the possessed. The possessed humans are the only figures in these groups who no longer rank among the “vanquished” once they are exorcised, but whose forms—represented at the precise moment of their exorcisms—still replicate those of the “Damned.” For a classification of the various types of figures and poses that relate to images and descriptions of Ignatius as an exorcist, and specifically the types of demonic figures alluded to by the forms and attitudes of the Damned, see Appendix 3: Categories of Demonic Figures.} Chief among such vanquished figures are: personifications of vices and sins (defeated by personifications of virtues or the virtuous), possessed humans and demons (exorcised by the pious filled with the grace of Christ); rebel angels (overcome by the archangel/s); and the Damned (judged by Christ in the Last Judgment). Baciccio was certainly familiar with numerous prominent representations of these various types in Rome and elsewhere. At the Gesù itself, two such types were already represented: personifications of Heresy and Ignorance are trampled by paired façade sculptures of
Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier, respectively, (Figure 72; Figure 73), and the rebel angels are chased out of heaven in Federico Zuccari’s *Fall of the Rebel Angels* on the right wall of the Cappella degli Angeli (Figure 74). On his study trip to Parma, Baciccio surely saw Correggio’s *Fall of the Rebel Angels* in the church of San Giovanni Evangelista (Figure 75), just as in Rome he certainly knew Michelangelo’s *Last Judgment* at the Sistine Chapel (Figure 76). It is likely, too, that Oliva made available to Baciccio copies of Rubens’ *Fall of the Rebel Angels* and *Miracles of Ignatius of Loyola* from the Jesuit church in Antwerp (Figure 78). Artistic precedents such as these certainly informed Baciccio’s conception of the Damned in the *Triumph*, but the stunning illusionism of his figures coupled with the seamless fusion of media in the nave vault greatly differentiate Baciccio’s figures in the *Triumph* from any of their predecessors.

Interestingly, the Damned are the only figures whose postures do not conform literally to the text of Philippians 2:10, and it is precisely this departure from the textual description that accounts for much of the illusionism in the composition. Philippians 2:10, “In the Name of Jesus, every knee shall bend, in Heaven, on Earth, and under the Earth,” indicates that the knees of all beings—whether heavenly, terrestrial, or infernal—shall bend before the Name of Jesus. Yet, unlike their heavenly and earthly counterparts,

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212 The personifications are loosely in accordance with Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* published in 1593. *Heresy*, a female figure with dry, bare, pendulous breasts signifying the impossibility of nourishing eternal works, is trampled by Ignatius, while a figure perhaps representing *Ignorance* (Ripa lists blindness and a wreath of poppies around head as attributes, but this figure has no attributes other than what appears to be a turban), is trampled by Francis Xavier.

213 A catastrophic fire in 1718 destroyed Rubens’ ceiling paintings, including the *Fall of the Rebel Angels*. Bailey characterizes the altarpiece depicting Ignatius performing an exorcism, which is preserved in Vienna, “critical” because it “represents one of the most important moments in the creation of Ignatian imagery in early baroque Europe.” He notes also that a copy of the composition of Rubens’ *Damned* may have been provided to Baciccio by the Jesuits, and that the falling angels in a painting of Archangel Michael were likely similar to the postures of flailing demonic figures that the artist portrayed in the ceiling of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (Figure 77). Bailey, “Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting Under the Jesuits,” 163.
the figures of the Damned do not kneel before the Holy Name; rather, they flail uncontrollably as they plunge downwards. This deviation from the textual description of the infernal figures may be accounted for as artistic license that allowed Baciccio to inject visceral illusionism into the composition. Thus, instead of genuflecting, the Damned are positioned below the great stucco frame, grouped into a contorted mass apparently plummeting into the very space occupied by viewers. The dramatic midair placement of the figures and the unbridled dynamism of their flailing forms visually unify the nave vault with the church interior and impart to the entire composition a sense of climactic immediacy. The vivid portrayal of the attempts of the Damned to shield their eyes suggests that they are repelled primarily by the blinding radiance of the light rather than by the heat of the rays emitted by the monogram or the sunburst framing it.

Consequently, Baciccio’s pointed deviation from Philippians 2:10 to depict the Damned as agonized, tormented, and dramatically contorted figures crashing downwards instead of kneeling reverentially like the beatific Elect forcefully underscores the potency and effect of the Name of Jesus in relation to those who reject it.

Baciccio’s reinterpretation of the postures of the Damned is, however, more than a mere illusionistic device, for the figures recall numerous representations and descriptions of demons defeated by Ignatius. A more Jesuit-centric explanation for the artist’s pointed departure from the textual source may be found in biographical accounts and images that portray Ignatius as the scourge of heretics and an accomplished exorcist, a fact of which Oliva was well aware. Oliva ended one of his sermons addressed to the

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214 For the various categories of demonic figures seen with representations of Ignatius, see Appendix 3: Categories of Demonic Figures.

215 Oliva even ended one of his sermons with words that reference Ignatius’ sanctification of the wicked in terms similar to the description of an exorcism: “Così sia, accioche in noi viva Ignatio, che rimirato
Jesuits gathered at the Gesù on the vigil of the Feast of Ignatius with an exhortation to emulate the Jesuit founder whom he characterized as one who sanctified the nefarious and converted infidels. The sanctification of the nefarious carried within it, I posit, a connotation of battling demons. The figures of the Damned evoke Ignatius’ acts of exorcism and his formidable reputation as an exorcist, which were well-publicized in Jesuit-produced literature and images. For example, in a trilingual sheet dating to the sixteenth century that includes captions in Latin, Dutch, and French, an exorcism performed by Ignatius in given pride of place as the central panel aligned just below his full-length portrait, which includes an IHS-inscribed sunburst (Figure 79). The caption of a print depicting two exorcism scenes above a bust-length portrait of Ignatius holding an IHS-inscribed sunburst pointedly sums up his reputation as an exorcist through a cartouche inscribed “Ignatius de Loyola Daemoniorum Terror” (Figure 80). Two plates from the official biography of 1609 illustrate Ignatius’ formidable reputation as an exorcist. First, Plate 46 depicts Ignatius surrounded by people including two possessed persons identifiable because of their outflung arms and twisted bodies as two dark demons flee into the background to his right. Recording the frequency with which he performed exorcisms rather than a specific incident, the captions states simply: “Often he frees many possessed persons by the sign of the cross” (Figure 81). The second exorcism-related image appears in plate 75 of the official biography of 1609. In what is perhaps the most powerful expression of Ignatius’ prowess in exorcising demons, his figure is absent from the composition (Figure 82). The caption of the plate, “Fathers of the College of Loreto, when they had an infestation of ghostly spectres, have recourse by letter to his
prayers; and when his reply comes and is read in public, on the spot they are freed from the terrors of the demons [Daemonum terroribus liberantur]," records the exorcism brought about by Ignatius while physically absent from the scene of the exorcism and, therefore, not depicted in the image, which makes it especially relevant to the Triumph’s evocation of the Jesuit founder. The Triumph resonates with a message similar to that conveyed by the plate—that the Jesuit founder’s physical presence was not required to create terror in demonic beings and cause them to flee.

In the decade following completion of the Triumph, the Gesù and the casa professa were enriched with further representations of Ignatius performing exorcisms. Baciccio himself had already designed a relief stucco (executed by Leonardo Retti) of Ignatius performing an exorcism that is located at the top of the left wall of the chapel (Figure 83). Soon after Baciccio finished work at the Gesù, Andrea Pozzo began painting a monumental cycle of scenes from Ignatius’ life in the corridor of the casa professa, including a scene of Ignatius Exorcising the Possessed (Figure 84). Then in the 1690s, two larger than life-size sculptural groups were added to the altar of the chapel dedicated to Ignatius at the Gesù. The two groups, Théodon’s Faith Overcoming Idolatory (Figure 85) at left and Pierre Legros’ Religion Overcoming Heresy (Figure 86) at right, flank the central altarpiece depicting Ignatius (Figure 87). The large-scale vanquished personifications of Idolatory and Heresy recall the personifications trampled by Ignatius and Francis Xavier on the Gesù façade, but here both relate solely to the deeds of Ignatius, who is represented by a monumental silver sculpture in the central niche of the altar.\footnote{In Chapter Four, I discuss briefly a thesis print presented in Paris on the occasion of Ignatius’ canonization, which portrays flailing personifications in postures similar to those of the Damned falling out}
closely recall those of Baciccio’s Damned; indeed, they seem to be sculpted versions of their frescoed counterparts. Thus in addition to printed and painted images, the Gesù and the casa professa offered several monumental representations of demonic figures vanquished because of Ignatius: on the church’s façade, in the chapel dedicated to the saint, and in the corridor outside the rooms in which he had lived. The formal similarities between the tortured figures of the possessed or the vices in relation to Ignatius and the postures and forms of the Damned in relation to the IHS-inscribed sunburst could not have escaped visitors to the Gesù and, especially, devotees of the Jesuit founder and others aware of his reputation as an exorcist and as a nemesis of Heresy.

Conclusions on the Imagery

Despite all the allusions to Ignatius in the Triumph through its inscription and imagery, he is neither named nor depicted within the composition, and there are several reasons for this. First, the Gesù is not dedicated to the Jesuit founder, who in any case would have been averse to any personal glorification. Second, he was primarily to have been evoked by means of the (unexecuted) Joshua Stopping the Sun fresco desired by Oliva at the Gesù apse. In other words, the nave composition was not conceived of with...
an evocation of Ignatius as its main purpose, and with the loss of the originally-planned allusion to Ignatius through the Joshua narrative scene at the apse, the ancillary evocation in the nave was also lost. This ancillary evocation was based primarily on the row of decorations arrayed above the fresco and comprising the titular banderole, the Joshua-related reliefs beneath the banderole, and the two gilded relief panels of the Eucharistic monstrance and the flaming heart that flank it. But the most prominent and visible, if indirect, allusion to Ignatius was through the fiery IHS-inscribed sunburst, as evidenced by a 1634 printed portrait reproduction from a French cycle of Founders of Religious Orders that establishes Ignatius’ close identification with fire and the monogram IHS well beyond the Jesuit sphere (Figure 88). In it, the fiery monogram juxtaposed with Ignatius’ face represents how closely and to what extent both the element of fire and the Holy Name were associated with the Jesuit founder. The effectiveness of these associations is further evidenced by the substantial criticisms directed at the Jesuits’ from within the Catholic church and even beyond for their presumptuousness because such associations implied a likening of Ignatius to Christ. These circumstances explain why a more direct evocation of the Jesuit founder in the Triumph was intentionally avoided in the nave. Indeed, an eighteenth-century satirical print mocks precisely the Jesuits’ audacious likening of their founder to Christ because of his association with fire (Figure 89).

Given the representational status of the Jesuit mother church and the decorations of contemporary mother churches, the theme of the Triumph of the Name of Jesus is highly unusual for the nave because it is bereft not just of any prominent figural depiction of Ignatius, but also those of Christ, God the Father, and the Virgin (to all of whom the church is dedicated and all of whom appear prominently in the dome). However, this kind
of layered multivalent composition, which demands the viewer’s active involvement was quite common to the Jesuit spiritual and educational sphere.\textsuperscript{218} Based on the triumphal imagery of the focal monogram IHS, scholars have interpreted its composition as an allegorical celebration of the Catholic Church Triumphant or even of the Society of Jesus. However, the celebration of the Society has been interpreted only cursorily; given the Jesuits’ special devotion to the monogram of the Holy Name and the multiple evocations of Ignatius, beginning with the monumental IHS within the dazzling sunburst that dominates the Gesù nave, this composition emphatically glorifies—in addition to the broader Catholic Church—Christ and the Jesuit Order through references to its founder. But the \textit{Triumph} goes further than the associations in early Jesuit hagiography of Ignatius’ person with radiance and fire (\textit{ignis}), and Ignatius’ own special devotion to Christ, the Name of Jesus, and the monogram IHS. Aligned prominently above the great fresco are four other major elements of the \textit{Triumph} that allude to Ignatius’ life and deeds in the service of Christ and the Church: the inscription on the banderole (recalling the glory of the Name of Jesus \textit{and} the Bull of canonization as well as the votive mass approved in honor of Ignatius); the narrative relief of the Ark of the Covenant (recalling Ignatius’ likening, most prominently by Pope Gregory XV at the 1622 canonization, to the Old Testament general Joshua); the stucco relief of the Eucharistic Host (recalling Ignatius’ significant role and successful efforts in increasing the frequency of Communion); and the stucco relief of the flaming heart (recalling Ignatius’ love of Christ and his special devotion to the Name of Jesus through the association with Saint Ignatius.

\textsuperscript{218} In Chapter Four, I compare the nave decorations of the Jesuit mother church with those in contemporary New Reform Order mother churches in Rome, as well as other Jesuit churches in Italy and Antwerp and argue that viewers trained in the Jesuit ambit were spiritually and academically conditioned to make associative connections that would have facilitated their recognition of the references to Ignatius.
of Antioch, who is juxtaposed with the Jesuit founder in the Gesù dome). In addition to these four elements, Ignatius is also evoked through the close identification of the Name of Jesus and the Jesuit monogram with his person as well as by the figures of the Damned (who recall the numerous exorcisms performed by Ignatius in the name of Christ).  

Thus, rather than a generic glorification of the broad Church Triumphant in its victory over heretics, Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* is a complex monumental allegorical celebration comprising multiple visual references of specific relevance to the Society of Jesus because it alludes to the person, deeds, and achievements of its founder, Saint Ignatius of Loyola. Whereas the composition appears to be a straightforward glorification of the Name of Jesus and the Church Triumphant to general viewers, informed viewers would recognize in it a multi-layered paean celebrating the Jesuit founder’s deeds in the service of Christ. First and foremost, by means of the monumental representation of the Jesuit monogram—visible immediately to all who enter the Jesuit mother church—the *Triumph* celebrates Christ, for whom Ignatius named the Society. Simultaneously, through a range of iconographic motifs relating to the saint, Baciccio’s ingenious composition celebrates the achievements of Ignatius and the Order he founded. The fiery radiance effectively alludes to Ignatius while the monumental IHS that is the focal point of the composition undoubtedly symbolizes Christ, but just as surely symbolizes Ignatius’s achievements without naming or picturing him. Instead, the

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219 As may be seen in a bust-length print portrait of Francis Xavier that co-opts the prominent Jesuit motif of fire so closely linked to Ignatius as well as that of the flaming heart, many of these motifs eventually came to be associated with other Jesuits, too, but the primary association was to Ignatius (Figure 90). Some of the motifs I have examined in the *Triumph* may apply equally appropriately to Jesuits other than Ignatius when considered individually (e.g., Francis Borgia’s special devotion to the Eucharist), but when these motifs are considered as a group, they are applicable exclusively to Ignatius.

220 The references to Ignatius through the *Triumph*’s titular verse, Philippians 2:10, and the references to Joshua are applicable specifically to Ignatius and not to other Jesuits.
ensemble of motifs emphasizes the mission of the Society he founded, and above all its devotion to Christ, to whom Ignatius and all Jesuits devoted their lives and works.
Chapter 3: Baciccio’s *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* and Giacomo Cortese’s unexecuted *Joshua Stopping the Sun* for the apse of the Gesù

Father General Oliva’s initial contract with Baciccio had required the young artist to decorate the dome, nave vault, and left as well as right transept chapel vaults of the Gesù, but it excluded any mention of the tribune vault that Oliva had expressly reserved for the lay Jesuit artist Giacomo Cortese. Oliva’s original plans for the Gesù apse comprised two important elements that would remain unexecuted: the translation of Ignatius’ remains to the high altar, and the decoration of the tribune vault with a fresco of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* by Cortese. Since the Farnese family held the patronage rights to the Gesù apse and high altar, Oliva required the approval of Ranuccio II Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, to execute his plans. Unfortunately for Oliva, Ranuccio did not reside in Rome and, unlike his illustrious ancestor the great Cardinal Alessandro Farnese whose generous patronage had funded the construction of the Gesù, he shirked approving or funding any extensive embellishments to the tribune. Consequently, over most of the 1670s, Oliva and his representatives in Parma were hard-pressed to get either Ranuccio’s approval for their plans or any firm commitment from him for funds to decorate the Gesù tribune, and their hopes to dedicate the high altar to Ignatius in time for the Holy Year of 1675 were dashed because of Ranuccio’s dilatoriness. A letter from Andrea Garimberti, a Jesuit professor of rhetoric and theology in Modena, to Lodovico

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221 The Farnese held double patronage rights at the Gesù: they were patrons of the church, which is why the Farnese court of arms appears on the façade, and they held patronage rights for the chapel of the high altar.
222 In 1587 the cardinal commissioned a scene of the *Circumcision of Christ* from his court painter Girolamo Muziano for 500 scudi. But Farnese died in 1589 before the altarpiece was completed and installed and before he could begin decorating the apse as he desired with mosaics and a magnificent altar. Pecchiari, *Il Gesù di Roma*, 81, 86-87. (In the nineteenth century, Muziano’s painting was replaced with a version of the same subject by Alessandro Capalti.)
Bompiani, the Rector of the Collegio Romano, dated as late as July 6, 1675, shows that even as late as mid-1675 both these hopes were alive.\textsuperscript{223} However, as of November 1679, when Ranuccio finally provided the funds and permission needed by the Jesuits to embellish the tribune, the left transept chapel had already been dedicated to Ignatius.\textsuperscript{224} Cortese had passed away by then, so the Jesuits asked for and received Ranuccio’s permission for Baciccio to execute the apse fresco. Baciccio, whose \textit{Triumph of the Name of Jesus} was officially unveiled a month later on December 31, 1679, frescoed the tribune vault with his \textit{Adoration of the Mystic Lamb}. By the time it was unveiled on July 30, 1683, Oliva too had passed away (Figure 13).\textsuperscript{225} The Jesuits’ decision to dedicate the left transept chapel to Ignatius instead of translating his remains to the high altar may be attributed to Ranuccio’s unwillingness over the years to bear the expenses of embellishing the apse area in a manner befitting the status of the Jesuit founder. Yet, Ranuccio’s miserliness does not explain why the subject of \textit{Joshua Stopping the Sun} originally desired by Oliva was replaced by the \textit{Adoration of the Mystic Lamb} in the apse.

In this chapter, I argue that the figure of Joshua in \textit{Joshua Stopping the Sun} was meant to honor the Jesuit founder Ignatius of Loyola by evoking him through allegorical means. Oliva’s desire for a representation of Joshua in the tribune vault was, thus, initially connected to his plans for the translation of Ignatius’ remains to the high altar. But Ranuccio’s reluctance to underwrite any appropriate decoration of the high altar led the Jesuits to dedicate the left transept chapel instead of the apse to their founder. Without Ignatius’ relics housed beneath the apse fresco, the cultic significance of the allusion to


\textsuperscript{224} As far as I am aware, no conclusive documentary evidence has come to light regarding the precise date on which the definitive decision was taken to abandon the plan to dedicate the high altar to Ignatius.

\textsuperscript{225} Oliva died on November 26, 1681.
Ignatius through the figure of Joshua would have considerably diminished, but even that does not explain why the subject was changed. Considering Ignatius’ role as the founder of the Society of Jesus, any allusion to him in the mother church of the Order would not have been lost simply because his remains were not present at the altar beneath. On the contrary, I posit that the very potency of the allegorical evocation of Ignatius afforded by the figure of Joshua—regardless of whether the altar beneath was dedicated to the Jesuit founder—led to the change in subject from *Joshua Stopping the Sun* to the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* at the Gesù apse. I will argue that by 1679, when Ranuccio acceded to the Jesuits’ request for Baciccio to fresco the Gesù tribune vault, Oliva and the Society had fallen out of favor with the reigning pope Innocent XI. In eschewing a prominent representation of Joshua in the apse fresco, the Jesuits sought to avoid any confrontation with the pope or others who might have considered it arrogant self-aggrandization because of its pointed allusion to their founder. Specifically, I posit that the unprecedented papal animosity faced by the Society during Oliva’s final years explains the Jesuits’ otherwise puzzling decision to forego the prominent self-celebratory Joshua fresco in favor of the more generic *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* in the tribune vault of their mother church.

Although the Gesù apse was excluded from Oliva’s original contract with Baciccio and the subject eventually executed, an *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, was not the one Oliva originally desired, scholarship on Baciccio’s Gesù frescoes routinely considers the *Mystic Lamb* as an intrinsic part of Baciccio’s cycle as executed and
interprets it accordingly.\textsuperscript{226} There has been no attempt to explain the special meaning the Old Testament figure of Joshua held for the Jesuits or the significance of representing this specific figure in the focal tribune vault of the Jesuit mother church, or even to explain why this subject was eventually eschewed in favor of \textit{The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb}.\textsuperscript{227} Exactly why a large-scale representation of Joshua would have been considered inappropriate at the Gesù is best understood through an examination of its intended site in the apse of the Jesuit mother church and the special significance the figure of Joshua carried for the Jesuits.

The focus on the tribune area in the layout of the church reveals the importance of the subject chosen to decorate the semidome above it. Vignola’s highly innovative and hugely influential ground-plan for the Gesù unified the church’s interior to concentrate focus on the high altar. This was achieved through the adoption of a layout based on a longitudinal cross with shallow side chapels, and by the elimination of side aisles, all of

\textsuperscript{226} Levy has suggested in passing that the choice of the \textit{duplex intercessio} theme for the Gesù dome “may have seemed part of a more unified program had it served as the prelude to \textit{Joshua Stopping the Sun}, the theme originally planned for the semidome of the apse […] Joshua (from whose Hebrew name Jesus’ name can be transliterated), stopped the sun, like Christ who puts off the day of judgment to save souls. With the nave representing the \textit{Adoration of the Name of Jesus} and he high altar the giving of the name (\textit{Circumcision}), a whole program would have unrolled through the church centering on the saving power of the name of Jesus, of Jesus himself, and of the Old Testament predecessor to his name.” Levy, “Giovanni Battista Gaulli, \textit{Musical Angels} [Pinacoteca Vaticana, Inv. 752],” in \textit{Saint Site and Sacred Strategy}, 194 (Cat. No. 121).

While I agree that \textit{Joshua Stopping the Sun} was thematically better connected than the \textit{Adoration of the Mystic Lamb} to the \textit{Vision of Paradise} and the \textit{Triumph}, I argue in this chapter that hagiographic associations between the figures of Ignatius and Joshua drove the Jesuits to select \textit{Joshua Stopping the Sun} for the apse vault of their mother church.

\textsuperscript{227} I have found provocative and also vexing Francis Haskell’s authoritative declaration in \textit{Patrons and Painters} that Oliva’s project for Cortese to fresco the tribune vault of the Gesù with a representation of \textit{Joshua Stopping the Sun} was meant to be the focal point of decorations in the church. I found it provocative because it led me to question why the subject was changed to the \textit{Adoration of the Mystic Lamb} (and I present my findings and conclusions in this chapter). It was, at the same time, vexing because Haskell provided no sources for his assertion. Furthermore, other scholars, such as Weil, for instance, cite precisely this unsubstantiated statement made in passing by Haskell when they refer to Cortese’s unexecuted \textit{Joshua Stopping the Sun} for the Gesù apse. Francis Haskell, \textit{Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 79; and Weil, “Devotion of the Forty Hours,” 240 (note 63).
which directed attention towards the apse (Figure 3). Because of the nave’s length and the absences of side aisles, the church could accommodate large congregations, to whom it offered an unobstructed view of the high altar. While smaller masses could be celebrated simultaneously in the church’s many side chapels, the attention of the larger congregations was unequivocally directed towards the high altar. The shallow depth of the Gesù’s transept arms served to further focus attention on the apse end and specifically on the high altar that constitutes the spatial, visual, and liturgical focus of the church’s interior. It is, therefore, extremely significant that the conspicuous tribune vault framing the high altar was the only area excluded from Oliva’s original 1671 contract with Baciccio and reserved by the Father General for a representation of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* by Cortese.

**Joshua Stopping the Sun**

Prominent representations of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* were few in Rome. In non-Jesuit contexts they appeared only as components of larger cycles depicting Biblical scenes. The earliest prominent representation of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* in Rome appeared in a mosaic panel, dating to the fifth century CE, along the clerestory of the nave in Santa Maria Maggiore. Joshua is portrayed in the center as a bearded figure

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228 Also, since the miracle in question took place during the Battle of the Amorites, this theme sometimes formed one half of paired paintings with the *Battle of the Amalecites* (also fought by Joshua) constituting the other half. Giacomo Cortese as well as Nicholas Poussin authored pendant paintings of the *Battle of the Amalecites* and the *Battle of the Amorites*. Cortese’s pendant paintings are in the Louvre, while those painted by Poussin are in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, and the Pushkin Museum, Moscow (See Jacques Thullier, *L’opera completa di Poussin* (Milan: Rizzoli Editore, 1974), cat. n. 11 and cat. n. 12, respectively).

I discuss Giacomo Cortese’s oil paintings of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* further on.
standing upon a mound before his army (Figure 91). Armored and helmeted, he holds up his lance with his left hand while gesturing towards the sun with his right hand. This rather static composition is a literal illustration of the miraculous episode, as evidenced by the appearance of the moon in the upper left corner, next to the sun.

Of greater relevance to the Gesù commission in terms of date, medium, style, and scale are two large frescoes dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both frescoes appear in cycles that were important papal commissions, and they are located in the Vatican Logge and the Quirinal Palace, respectively. The earlier of the two cycles was commissioned by Pope Leo X Medici for the Vatican loggia and executed by Raphael’s workshop. Unveiled in 1519, it included four scenes related to Joshua’s leadership of the Israelites, all of which decorate the tenth of the loggia’s thirteen vaults. One of these four scenes was Perino del Vaga’s Joshua Stopping the Sun (Figure 92). Joshua is depicted prominently as a clean-shaven general on horseback in the upper right side of the composition. Warriors on foot arrayed across the foreground engage in a fierce battle. Both Joshua’s arms are outstretched to form an arc that contrasts with, and yet conforms to, the curved upper edge of the lunette-like panel. His right arm points to the sun, but in a typically mannered fashion his head turns rather inexplicably to face the opposite direction. I believe Joshua’s averted gaze does not detract from the miracle depicted because his gaze follows his left hand whose pointing gesture is a quotation of Adam’s

229 The panel forms part of a larger Old Testament cycle lining the clerestory in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore. Although the panel is small, the glittering of the mosaic tesserae enhances the visibility and legibility of the composition.
230 Joshua 10:12 (discussed in more detail later in the chapter), states that the sun and moon both stood miraculously still at Joshua’s command “Sun, stand still at Gibeon, and Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.”
231 See Nicole Dacos, Le logge di Raffaello: L’antico, la Bibbia, la bottega, la fortuna (Milano: Jaca Book, 2008) for the Vatican fresco cycle. The four scenes from the Book of Joshua in the cycle are: The Crossing of the Jordan with the Ark (in which Joshua appears on horseback, in the upper right side of the panel raising his hands up in prayer as he looks towards the sun); The Fall of Jericho; Joshua Stopping the Sun; and The Allotment of the Promised Land.
hand in Michelangelo’s fresco illustrating the *Creation of Adam* on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (Figure 93). This unusual positioning allowed Joshua’s profile, along with his outstretched left arm, to cleverly function as quotations that link the figures of Joshua and Adam, both of whom are interpreted as typological precursors to Christ. Perino’s portrayal of Joshua on horseback while all other soldiers are on foot established his authority even if it was not part of the narrative, and therefore is an important precedent for subsequent depictions of Joshua on horseback.232

More than a century later, in 1655, Alexander VII commissioned a grand fresco cycle of Old and New Testament scenes for a large room, called the *Galleria di Alessandro VII*, in the Quirinal Palace.233 The cycle was designed by Pietro da Cortona and executed by his workshop, and it included a panel of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* that was painted by Guglielmo Cortese, the brother of Giacomo Cortese (Figure 94). The scene is generically identified as a “Battle of Joshua” in most of the early sources and as the “Battle of the Amorites” in most modern scholarship; Salvagnini, however, identifies the episode precisely as *Joshua Stopping the Sun*.234 Guglielmo’s battle-scene spreads, frieze-like, across a long panel filled with soldiers in heated hand-to-hand combat. A bearded Joshua appears on horseback in the rear center—not quite as prominent as one would expect—with his head turned to his left. His gaze follows his outstretched left arm

232 Joshua’s commanding gesture is reminiscent of Marcus Aurelius’ bronze equestrian sculpture that was, at the time, believed to portray Emperor Constantine.

233 The *galleria* was subsequently divided into three rooms. For the Quirinal fresco cycle, see Laura Laureati and Ludovica Trezzani, *Il patrimonio artistico del Quirinale: Pittura antica; La decorazione murale*, 2 vols. (Roma: Editoriale Lavoro, 1993).

towards the upper right of the panel where the lower portion of the orb of the sun is marked out against the empty sky, revealing that the subject of the panel is Joshua Stopping the Sun. Guglielmo’s depiction of Joshua as a bearded general on horseback and wearing a distinctive plumed helmet and a billowing cape is, as we shall see, quite similar to depictions by his brother Giacomo.\(^{235}\)

In the scenes making up larger cycles, the meanings of the individual panels illustrating episodes from the Book of Joshua were subordinated to the overarching themes of the cycles. Understandably, the figure of Joshua was meant to be viewed and interpreted in tandem and at par with the other equally imposing exemplary Biblical figures (such as Moses and David) who appeared in the other panels of the same cycle. Thus, it should be borne in mind that even though the Vatican and Quirinal panels depicting Joshua were imposing in scale, location, and composition, their emphasis on the figure of Joshua was relatively limited.

In contrast, as a large-scale independent fresco of Joshua Stopping the Sun in the Gesù apse, Giacomo Cortese’s composition would have deviated significantly from portrayals of the same theme in larger cycles, for it would have imbued the figure of Joshua with distinctive meaning. Oliva’s plan to embellish the tribune vault of the Gesù with a monumental composition celebrating Joshua was an ingenious means to celebrate the dedication of the Society of Jesus, and of its mother church, to the Holy Name because “Joshua” is the Hebrew equivalent of the name “Jesus.” The Old Testament figure of Joshua is considered a precursor to Jesus, and his leading of the Israelites into

\(^{235}\) In terms of composition, too, both Giacomo and Guglielmo Cortese’s battle-scenes tend to be replete with figures of soldiers and horses to such a degree that the battle itself is privileged over any human protagonist. Thus, Guglielmo’s relatively minor emphasis on the figure of Joshua is also a characteristic of Giacomo’s paintings of Joshua Stopping the Sun.
the Promised Land is interpreted as foreshadowing Christ’s redemption of humanity.\textsuperscript{236} The river Jordan is an important symbolic link between the figures of Joshua and Jesus, for the Israelites led by Joshua crossed the Jordan to enter the Promised Land in fulfillment of Moses’ mission, and Christ’s baptism in the Jordan marks the ritualistic beginning of his mission to redeem humanity. The narrative episodes from the Book of Joshua discussed in the previous chapter reference the Israelites’ journey into the Promised Land and, had the Gesù apse been frescoed with \textit{Joshua Stopping the Sun}, they would have served to thematically link the nave and apse compositions.

Even though the relationship with the person and name of Christ made the figure of Joshua especially apt for inclusion in the Jesuit mother church, another more Jesuit-centric reason surely clinched Oliva’s decision to represent \textit{Joshua Stopping the Sun} in the apse. On the occasion of the Jesuit founder’s 1622 canonization, Pope Gregory XV had explicitly likened Ignatius to Joshua. When Oliva’s choice of subject for the apse and the importance of the apse area are considered in light of the association made by the pope, an unusual and unaddressed issue concerning the Father General’s 1671 contract with Baciccio becomes perfectly understandable. They explain Oliva’s exclusion of the prominent tribune vault from Baciccio’s contract and his desire to have this prominent area of the church decorated with a scene representing Joshua. The likening of Ignatius to Joshua also reveals that the representation of the Old Testament general in the apse was meant to relate to Ignatius’ relics, which Oliva hoped to have translated to the high altar beneath. In addition to glorifying Christ and the Holy Name, the representation of \textit{Joshua

**Stopping the Sun** in the Gesù apse would have, therefore, also simultaneously honored the Jesuit founder.

A synopsis of the Book of Joshua provides the backdrop to the Ignatius-Joshua analogy, and a visual analysis of the *Triumph*’s central stucco relief panel depicting episodes taken from it demonstrates why the connection to Joshua is not easily discernible in the nave. Essentially, the Book of Joshua describes the “conquest” of Canaan under Joshua’s generalship and its subsequent allotment to the Israelites. The book comprises two main divisions, the conquests (1.1-12.24) and the allotment of the land (13.1-24.33), each of which has two subdivisions. Apart from the apse fresco, Oliva’s master-plan for the Gesù vault decorations included two other scenes related to Joshua, the *Transport of the Ark* across the Jordan and the *Fall of Jericho*, both of which preceded his miraculous stopping of the sun (Figure 15). Both these scenes are part of the nave ceiling decoration where they appear in a single stucco relief panel beneath the titular banderole. However, despite their prominent location, these scenes are not immediately identifiable with Joshua for several reasons: two separate episodes comprising numerous figures are packed into a single panel that is considerably smaller and less visually prominent than the immense frescoed *Triumph*; being monochrome the stucco episodes are quite simply overshadowed by the profusion of gilded stucco decorations to either side as well as by the spectacular colors and size of Baciccio’s fresco below them; Joshua himself does not appear in the stucco panel which makes the connection to him implicit rather than explicit; the stucco relief figures are partially obscured by the superimposed inscribed banderole weaving across it, whose large and

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prominent gilded lettering attracts viewer attention; and because the monumental Joshua Stopping the Sun at the apse, on which the stucco episodes were predicated, was never executed. Consequently, the significance of the nave stucco episodes in relation to the figure of Joshua was considerably diminished, if not completely lost.\textsuperscript{238}

The precise verses relating the miracle of Joshua Stopping the Sun planned for the Gesù apse are Joshua 10:12-14:

\begin{quote}
On the day when the LORD gave the Amorites over to the Israelites, Joshua spoke to the LORD; and he said in the sight of Israel,

“Sun, stand still at Gibeon, and Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.”

And the sun stood still, and the moon stopped, until the nation took vengeance on their enemies.

Is this not written in the Book of Jashar? The sun stopped in midheaven, and did not hurry to set for about a whole day. There has been no day like it before or since when the LORD heeded a human voice; for the LORD fought for Israel.
\end{quote}

This emphasis on a miracle brought about by Joshua through the grace of the Lord during battle would have been an apt metaphor for Ignatius’ founding and generalship of the Society of Jesus because of the fresco’s site in the Society’s mother church. Ignatius’ founding of the Society of Jesus was characterized as his greatest miracle in Pietro de Ribadeneira’s widely disseminated early biography of Ignatius.\textsuperscript{239} As Simon Ditchfield notes, Ribadeneyra’s account was not focused on miracles per se, and in Book V of the 1587 edition, Chapter 13, entitled “On miracles,” is an "elaboration of the central idea that the Society and its stunning progress against heresy in the Old World and savagery in

\textsuperscript{238} Hernández is the only scholar to analyze the narrative reliefs of the Triumph in detail. He relates the contents of the Ark to the IHS in the Triumph, convincingly arguing that this relationship is crucial to interpreting the meaning of the vault decoration, but even he does not address the connection of the scenes to Oliva’s original project for the apse. Hernández, Il corpo del Nome, 89-91.

\textsuperscript{239} The early date of Ribadeneyra’s biography, which predates Ignatius’ canonization, accounts for the lack of other more canonical miracles. Other miracles were, in fact, soon attributed to Ignatius and included in subsequent biographies, but Ribadeneyra’s characterization of the foundation of the Society as a miracle had by then been thoroughly cemented into Ignatian hagiography.
the New are the true miracles arising out of their founder’s divine inspiration.”

Ribadeneyra’s influential characterization of Ignatius’ foundation of the Society of Jesus as a miracle thus provided the framework for a self-referential Jesuit-focused parallel to the miracle wrought by Joshua. The calculated portrayal of the Jesuit founder as a soldier prior to his religious vocation further linked him to Joshua. The Formula of the Society, essentially a charter authored by Ignatius in consultation with the early Companions, had set out his vision for the Society’s structure and its objectives using crusade-evoking terminology. The Formula explicitly laid out the hierarchy of the Society as an organization situated within the Catholic Church governed by the Supreme Pontiff, and it called upon those desirous of “[serving] as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in our Society” to enroll in order to serve “the Lord alone and the Church his Spouse, under the Roman pontiff, the vicar of Christ on earth.” Indeed, the Formula’s adaptation into the 1540 bull Regimini militantis ecclesiae, “To the Government of the Church Militant,” with which Pope Paul III formally instituted the Society of Jesus, cemented the identity of the Jesuits as miles Christi, or soldiers of Christ. Ignatius’ generalship of the Society of Jesus, whose missionary activities so successfully propagated the Name of Christ across the known world, was likened to

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240 Ditchfield, ‘Coping with the beati moderni,” 422.
241 Regarding the widespread influence of Ribadeneyra’s biography, O’Malley notes that it “became canonical, due in large part to the popular demand for it. The book was almost instantaneously an international best-seller. During Ribadeneira’s lifetime, the Spanish text was republished six more times beginning in 1584, the year that it first appeared. Ribadeneira’s own Latin translation of it was published in 1586 in Madrid, republished in Antwerp in 1587, in Rome in 1589.” O’Malley, S.J. and Walsh, S.J., 1609 Illustrated Biography of Ignatius, 15.
242 For a historical appraisal of Ignatius’s renunciation of his life as a courtier, as opposed to posthumous hagiographic portrayals of him as a soldier, which formed the basis for a characterization of the Jesuit founder and the Society in militant terms, see Dalmases, Ignatius of Loyola, 24-48.
243 The Society of Jesus was formally approved in 1550 by Pope Julius III with the bull Exposcit debitum. Ignatius, and the early Society’s efforts were focused on the “cure of souls.” The characterization of the Jesuit founder and the Jesuits as soldiers of Christ is more a hagiographical construct than an accurate historical record.
Joshua’s stewardship of the Ark of the Covenant preserving the spirit of the Lord for the people of Israel. The planned portrayal of Joshua engaged in battle furnished Oliva and the Jesuits with an excellent means of exalting the Name of Jesus while also evoking their own founder who had served as the first Father General of the Society he had envisioned as an army of Christian knights.

Since the name “Joshua” is the Hebrew equivalent of “Jesus,” the identification of Joshua with Jesus relates at the most obvious level to the Jesuit mother church’s dedication to the Holy Name of Jesus. Representations of the Name of Jesus in the form of the monogram IHS abound in the Gesù’s decorations, appearing most conspicuously on the façade, in the nave vault, and above the high altar. The figure of Joshua in the apse fresco would have added another theological layer to the Gesù’s association with the Holy Name because of its direct spatial relationship with the high altarpiece of Girolamo Muziano’s *Circumcision of Christ*, for the Christ-child’s circumcision and his naming occurred on the same day. The Feast of the Circumcision, celebrated originally on January 1, numbered among the most important Jesuit celebrations precisely because it marks the day the name “Jesus” was conferred on the Christ child. Devout laypersons worshipping regularly at Jesuit churches would have made this connection with ease, but another more subtle connection between Joshua and Jesus would have been apparent only to theologians well-versed with the writings of Saint Jerome. The saint is represented among the Doctors of the Church on the Gesù’s Southwest pendentive, and his writings are an important theological source expounding

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244 Hibbard, “*Ut picturae sermones*,” 31.
on Joshua as a prefiguration of Jesus. While even less erudite devotees might have made the association between Joshua’s name and the Holy Name, the theologically erudite would have also interpreted his figure as a prefiguration of Jesus.

As discussed in my previous chapter, the significance of the Holy Name is heightened when it reflects the dedication of a church. An understanding of the thematic importance of the Holy Name in Jesuit churches dedicated to the Holy Name, and especially in the Gesù, is essential to appreciating the charged symbolism Joshua Stopping the Sun would have held at the Jesuit mother church. By the time Oliva commissioned the Gesù frescoes in the seventeenth century, the monogram of the Holy Name had come to be closely and widely identified with the Jesuits because of the name of their Order and because of the extent to which it had spread across Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

While representations of the Holy Name in the form of the IHS surmounted by a cross proliferate in all Jesuit churches and are far from exclusive to the Gesù, there is a crucial difference in the monogram’s self-referential significance depending on the dedication and role of each Jesuit church. Even when they do not specifically take the form of the Jesuit monogram (as in non-Jesuit contexts), the letters IHS represent the name of Jesus no matter where they appear in a Christian context. However, when used in the Jesuit context, the letters IHS constitute the Jesuit monogram which represents the Holy Name as well as the Society of Jesus itself. Thus, when the Name of Jesus appears in any Jesuit church in the form of the monogram IHS (as opposed to an alternative depiction as in the form of the monogram Chi Ro), it is twice as self-referential in terms

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of the Order to which the church belongs since it is also the insignia of the Society of Jesus.

The monogram IHS takes on an additional layer of meaning in churches dedicated to the Holy Name, such as the Gesù, because it also represents the dedication of the church. The same holds true for representations of Joshua when interpreted as a prefiguration of the Holy Name. In contrast to the numerous representations of the Holy Name by means of the monogram IHS in every Jesuit church, allusions to the Name of Jesus by means of the figure of Joshua are rarer and are usually found in churches that, like the Roman Gesù, are also dedicated to the Holy Name. Joshua’s connection to the Name of Jesus is implicit in the Gesù Nuovo in Naples and in the Gesù in Perugia (Figure 95), two Jesuit churches dedicated to the Holy Name with seventeenth-century representations of Joshua in a central area.\(^{246}\) At Naples, Joshua appears in one among many compositions exalting the Holy Name, and in Perugia, a prominent inscription exalting the Holy Name wraps around the church’s entire cornice.\(^{247}\) The Neapolitan representation, a single relatively small panel depicting *Joshua Stopping the Sun* that numbers among eight smaller scenes flanking the two central scenes of the nave vault, is nowhere near as prominent as the representations in Perugia where the figure of Joshua appears several times and dominates the vaulting, but it is flanked by numerous images and inscriptions in a program glorifying the Holy Name.\(^{248}\)

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\(^{246}\) I have not yet identified other examples of representations of Joshua in Jesuit churches.

\(^{247}\) Photography is not permitted in the Gesù Nuovo in Naples, and I have not found images of the Joshua panel in its nave vault. The composite inscription in the Gesù in Perugia includes Philippians 2:10 among other verses exalting the Holy Name.

\(^{248}\) The Gesù Nuovo is dedicated to the Name of Jesus and the Immaculate Conception of Mary. The frescoes lining the vault between the entrance and the dome were executed by Belisario Corenzio and Paolo de Matteis during 1636-38. The most comprehensive analysis of the decorative program of the Gesù Nuovo is Maria Ann Conelli, “The Gesù Nuovo in Naples: Politics, Property and Religion.” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1992).
of Joshua in these two churches is the same as in every Jesuit church dedicated to the Name of Jesus: Joshua relates to the Holy Name through its equivalence to the name “Jesus,” and it foreshadows the figure of Christ. As in all Jesuit churches dedicated to the Holy Name, the figure of Joshua symbolizes the name and figure of Jesus and also simultaneously evokes the name of the Society.

However, the Joshua fresco in the Gesù would have differed from those in other Jesuit churches dedicated to the Holy Name in two important ways because of the church’s unique status and history. First, a prominent representation of Joshua in its apse would have been charged with a heightened significance as subtle as it is fundamental, and that relates to the role of the church. Not only was the Roman Gesù more prominent and accessible than other Jesuit churches because of its central location, but as the Society’s mother church, the edifice itself functioned as a prominent symbol of the Society named for Jesus. Given the associations between the names and figures of Joshua and Jesus, a monumental Joshua in the Gesù would have alluded (as in all Jesuit churches) to the Name of Jesus, to the dedication of the church to the Holy Name, and to the Society that is named for Jesus. And since the Jesuit mother church is a symbol of the

The Perugian cycle was executed by Giovanni Andrea Carlone, who received the commission in 1666 and completed it in 1667 (he executed the frescoes in the right transept chapel of the Roman Gesù in the following decade), and it includes a large central panel depicting *Joshua Stopping the Sun*. (A fire in 1989 destroyed many of the frescoes including those in the nave vault, but the surviving scenes towards the apse end are still impressive in their size and monumentality). For Carlone’s contract and the document recording completion of the frescoes, see Richard Bösel, *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien (1540-1773). Die Baudenkmäler der Römischen und der Neapolitanischen Ordensprovenz* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 1: 134; and for a description of the scenes (but no analysis), see Giuseppe Santagata, S.J., *La chiesa del Gesù in Perugia* (Perugia: Tipografia Perugina già V. Santucci, 1934). The Perugian cycle is fascinating because of the unique monumentality of its scenes. It must have been vetted by Oliva and the Jesuits in Rome and I suspect it might even have been viewed by them as a testing ground for Cortese’s composition in the apse of the Roman Gesù.
Society of Jesus, any prominent depiction of Joshua triumphant in battle within it would have also referenced the *Society* itself.

Second, the history of the building’s site also differentiates it from other Jesuit churches dedicated to the Holy Name and, by extension, from representations of Joshua in them (as, for instance, in Perugia). Since the mother church’s location in the midst of Rome had been carefully selected by Ignatius, its site was historically linked with the Jesuit founder and his plans for the Society. Consequently, any monumental figuration of Joshua in the Gesù would have been associated not just with Ignatius’ person (as would be the case in the Neapolitan and Perugian Gesù), but also, even if only tangentially, with his selection of the physical site of the Society’s mother church and the site of his tomb in Rome. Oliva’s choice of the Joshua subject for the Gesù apse was a thematic *concetto*, or conceit, that alluded to the Society’s founder and the history of its mother church in addition to the name bestowed on the Christ Child (and its associations) and the dedication of the church.

**The Ignatius-Joshua Connection**

The explicit likening of the Jesuit founder to the Old Testament general went beyond any general connections to make the figure of Joshua uniquely suited for inclusion in the Gesù. The most prominent instance of Ignatius’ likening to Joshua had occurred on the occasion of Ignatius’ canonization in 1622. As discussed in Chapter Two, at the outset of the ballot to canonize the Jesuit founder, Gregory XV had acclaimed Ignatius by stating that: “… the eulogy in the sacred scriptures on Joshua may well be applied to B[lessed]. Ignatius: <<He became, as his name implies, a great savior of God’s...”

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elect, to take vengeance on the enemies that rose against them, so that he might give Israel its inheritance.>>. (Eccl., XLVI, 1-2).” Implicit in Gregory XV’s equation of Ignatius with Joshua was a characterization of the Jesuit founder as a champion of the Catholic faith in the combat against heresy that, as I have argued in the previous chapter, found expression in Baciccio’s *Triumph*.

The two episodes from the Book of Joshua that appear in the central narrative relief panel of the *Triumph* find thematic and visual echoes in Baciccio’s frescoed *Triumph*: the Ark of the Covenant representing the Name and Presence of the Lord is echoed by the blazing monogram representing the Holy Name and Christ, and the crushed inhabitants of Jericho are echoed by the tormented figures of the *Damned*. These echoes are pointed evocations of Gregory XV’s words equating Ignatius and Joshua. The *Triumph* depicts the Holy Name in the form of the Jesuit monogram that was adopted by Ignatius, spreading the redemptive light of Christ across the world by attracting the *Elect* and simultaneously repelling the *Damned*. The Name of Christ to which the Elect are drawn is metaphorically related, in my opinion, to the Israelites’ “inheritance,” or their arrival under Joshua’s leadership into the Promised Land, which is illustrated by the *Transport of the Ark*. Similarly, the damnation of those who reject Christ must, in turn, be related to the *Fall of Jericho*, which represents the “vengeance on the enemies.” In this manner, the *Triumph*’s allusions to Ignatius’ achievements in the service of Christ echo Joshua’s leadership of the Israelites under the auspices of the Lord. When the episodes from the Book of Joshua and the frescoed figures of the *Triumph* are interpreted in


The eulogy referred to by Gregory XV appears in the Apocryphal Book of Sirach (46.1-8).
conjunction with the antiphon of the Mass of Ignatius, inscribed across the banderole undulating across the reliefs, they link Ignatius with Joshua. The ensemble of the *Triumph* brilliantly illustrates the Ignatius-Joshua parallel derived from Gregory XV’s eulogy at Ignatius’ canonization, though neither of them is depicted in the composition. It follows that Cortese’s unexecuted *Joshua Stopping the Sun* would have been informed by the same Ignatius-Joshua parallel as in the nave fresco and reliefs, and that the parallel would have been clearer and more conspicuous had the high altar been dedicated to Ignatius and housed his relics.

Whereas Gregory XV’s likening of Ignatius to Joshua at the 1622 canonization process was the most prominent instance of the comparison that prompted Oliva’s initial choice of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* at the Gesù apse, it was not the first. In a portrait page created for, although not used in, the official 1609 illustrated biography of Ignatius, Ignatius wears a *biretta* on his head, and an abbreviated caption below his bust-length portrait reads: “Take good care to observe the commandment and instruction the servant of the LORD commanded you, to love the LORD your God, to hold fast to him, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul. *Josh. 22*” (Figure 96). 251 This caption is proof that an explicit Ignatius/Joshua association had been made by Jesuit hagiographers as early as 1609, or three years prior to Gregory XV’s proclamation at Ignatius’ canonization.

The inscription of the unused trial plate paraphrased and edited an Old Testament characterization of Joshua and adapted it to Ignatius. The inscription in its entirety read as follows (I have struck out the sections from Joshua 22:5 that were excised from the

251 The precise verse, which is not mentioned in the trial plate, is *Joshua* 22:5.
caption used in the alternative portrait page): “Take good care to observe the commandment and instruction that Moses, the servant of the LORD commanded you, to love the LORD your God, to walk in all his ways, to keep his commandments, and to hold fast to him, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul. Josh. 22.” These final excisions made for a concise caption that focused attention primarily on the connection between Ignatius and Joshua.

The fact that Ignatius’ portrait with the caption derived from Joshua was considered for inclusion in Ignatius’ official biography evidences the importance the Jesuits accorded the Ignatius-Joshua connection. Although eventually replaced by another portrait (Figure 97), the very existence of the unused portrait with the caption from the Book of Joshua suggests two things: first, that the Society originally commissioned a portrait page associating Ignatius with Joshua, and second, that the Ignatius-Joshua connection predated Gregory XV’s canonization proclamation at least to 1609, if not considerably earlier. Despite the validation of the Jesuits’ allegorical association of Ignatius with Joshua through Gregory XV’s explicit pronouncement, the association was still prone to criticism well into the seventeenth century. The Jesuits’ decision to commission and then discard the design of the portrait page associating Ignatius with

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252 The caption used for the portrait page was: “In omni opera dedit confessionem Sancto, et ab extremis terrae adduxit fratres suos munus Domino. Ecclesiasticus 47[:9], Isaiah 66[:20].” Walsh has translated it as: “In every work he gave witness to the Holy One and from the ends of the earth he brought his brothers as a gift to the Lord,” while noting that the quotation from Isaiah is approximate and seemingly composed of verses 66:20, 41:9, and 43:6. O’Malley, S.J. and Walsh, S.J., 1609 Illustrated Biography of Ignatius, portrait page.

253 Why the portrait page with the caption derived from the Book of Joshua was not used in Ignatius’ official biography is not known. Perhaps this was because the connection to Joshua might have been deemed too presumptuous. The unused portrait page was addressed briefly in an article by König-Nordhoff, who did not offer any reasons for the selection of the caption from the Book of Joshua or for the eventual rejection of the plate on which it is inscribed. Ursula König-Nordhoff, “Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Vita Beati P. Ignatii Lloioiae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris. Romae 1609 und 1622, Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu 45 (1976): 306-317.
Joshua ca. 1609 suggests their ambivalence about the appropriateness of glorifying their founder through the potent comparison with a precursor to Jesus. This ambivalence seems to have persisted for more than fifty years and, in the 1670s, even impacted the subject with which the Gesù apse was eventually decorated.

The 1671 Quarant’ore apparato depicting Joshua Stopping the Sun

In 1671, the subject of Joshua Stopping the Sun was selected as the theme for the Quarant’ore apparato dedicated to Pope Clement X in the Gesù. Giovanni Maria Mariani is credited as the creator of this apparato and it is tempting to assume that its composition may have related to the one Oliva commissioned from Cortese for the apse vault. An invaluable description of the apparato from the commemorative pamphlet informs us that the stage-set filled the entire height of the tribune and that its illustrations were seamlessly divided into two levels. The upper part, encompassing the area from the top of the vault down till the great cornice, depicted a splendid blazing Sacrament in Glory accompanied by God the Father, the Holy Spirit, and cherubs and seraphim in adoration. The lower part depicted a continuous narrative with two episodes from the Book of Joshua: in the background, a landscape with priests transporting the Ark across the River Jordan whose waters had stopped flowing; and, in the foreground, the city of Gibeon. The pamphlet describes an imposing battle-scene “seventy palmi in height” that used perspective to delineate, in the background, the Army of the Lord engaged in a savage battle illustrated on canvases with terrible beauty. Simultaneously, one also saw

254 Weil has addressed the subject of this apparato but in a dismissive manner, hypothesizing only that “Oliva probably was attracted to the subject because the name Jesus is a transliteration of the Greek translation of the Hebrew name Joshua.” Weil, “Devotion of the Forty Hours,” 240.
255 For the full transcription of the pamphlet (Figure 110), see Appendix 4 (“Relatione of the Apparato of 1671”).
the Sun standing still at Joshua’s command while five enemy kings fled for their lives. In the foreground, Joshua accompanied by cavalry, commanded the sun while a page held his helmet and another steadied his startled horse, and a large number of spectators marveled at the stopping of the sun and the victory brought about with the assistance of the Lord.

The depiction of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* in the lower level of the stage-set does not preclude the possibility of the scene being adapted to the semidome of the apse in Cortese’s composition. After all, the scene of the *Transport of the Ark* was eventually adapted to the central gilded relief surmounting the fresco of the *Triumph*. The singular portrayal of Joshua without his helmet (which is carried by a page) as he commands the sun to stand still is especially puzzling, for it differs from all other representations of the episode. Keeping in mind the charged significance of the figure of Joshua in the Jesuit context, I believe the timing of the subject for the 1671 *apparato* was of greater importance than its composition. It provided Oliva with the means to gauge public reception of the theme of *Joshua Stopping the Sun*; the composition was, I suggest, but a secondary matter because the Father General had full trust in Cortese’s capabilities.256

**Giacomo Cortese and the Commission for *Joshua Stopping the Sun in the Apse***

The exclusion of the Gesù apse from Baciccio’s original contract reveals the importance Oliva accorded its decoration as well as the artist whom he chose for the commission. While Baciccio was selected by Oliva from a pool of artists and his contract

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256 Salvagnini cites a letter penned by Cortese in 1663, in which the artist mentions he was at the Gesù working on the *Quarant’ore apparato* (“a lavorare per le Quarantore che si fanno li ultimi tre giorni di Carnovalle”). Francesco Alberto Salvagnini, *I pittori borgognoni Cortese (Courtois) e la loro casa in Piazza di Spagna* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1937), 109. There is no evidence linking Cortese to the *apparato* used in 1671, but he would have been aware of it.
was vague in terms of subject matter, stipulating only that the Jesuits had to finally approve the artist’s composition, Oliva hand-picked Cortese to decorate the apse and provided him with the precise subject for it, on the basis of his formidable reputation as a painter of battle-scenes. The artist was born Jacques Courtois in Saint-Hippolyte, France, and his family emigrated to Italy while he was a child.\(^{257}\) He worked as a painter before entering the Society of Jesus in 1657 with the name “Giacomo Cortesi.”\(^{258}\) In a document addressed to Oliva, Cortese took his final vows on February 2, 1668, a little more than four years prior to Oliva’s contract with Baciccio.\(^{259}\) The Father General’s motivation in electing to have the Gesù apse decorated by Cortese seems to have sprung from a special appreciation of the artist’s famed realistic depictions of battle scenes for which he had

\(^{257}\) Cortese’s father, the artist Jean-Pierre Courtois, emigrated to Italy with family that included three young sons, all of whom would grow up to become painters. In references to the eldest son Giacomo (born “Jacques Courtois”), early sources as well as modern scholars vary in their use of “(Jacques) Courtois” and “Giacomo/Jacopo Cortese (or “Cortesi”),” and even “Il Borgognone or “Il Borgogonne delle battaglie.” These last two appellations are especially problematic because they are often also used for Giacomo Cortese’s brother Guglielmo Cortese (born “Guillaume Courtois”), who also painted numerous battle scenes. Francesco Alberto Salvagnini’s invaluable monograph is the only in-depth study of the lives and careers of Giacomo Cortese as well as his brothers Guglielmo and Giovanni Francesco (born “Jean-François” and later in life called “Antonio” on becoming a Capuchin monk). Salvagnini, *I pittori borgognoni Cortese.*

\(^{258}\) I refer to the Jesuit artist as “Giacomo Cortese,” for this is the modern version of his birth name “Jacques Courtois,” and it is the version used by Salvagnini. Salvagnini addresses the use of the variant “Cortesi,” but himself uses “Cortese,” which I follow. (“Cortesi” seems to have been adopted by Giacomo Cortese on his entrance into the Society of Jesus. However, it is used in reference to him primarily by others; Salvagnini has shown that the artist himself was more fluent in French than in Italian even after living in Italy for decades, and that he even misspelled “Giacomo” as “Gacomo” not once but twice in the document addressed to Oliva in which he took the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience!). Salvagnini, *I pittori borgognoni Cortese.* 42-43, 111-113.

\(^{259}\) According to the Jesuit biographer Giuseppe Antonio Patrignani, on entering the society, Cortese renounced completely his activity as an artist, and he returned to it only in obedience to a directive from Oliva. Although seemingly a topos, it is plausible that Cortese gave up painting on entering the Society of Jesus, for unlike other painters who commonly brought along the tools of their trade on entering the Society, not a single item pertaining to Cortese’s profession as an artist was recorded among the list of his belongings drawn up on his admittance to the Society. Pietro Tacchi Venturi, “Giacomo Cortesi detto il Borgognone (1621-1675): Note storiche,” *L’arte: rivista di storia dell’arte medievale e moderna* 13 (1910): 218. (Even if Cortese had indeed given up painting, he returned to it soon enough. His biographers record Oliva’s efforts to ensure he was allowed to continue painting secular subjects for non-Jesuit patrons).
earned the sobriquet “Il gesuita delle battaglie” or “The Jesuit Battle Painter.” In a self-portrait painted at the request of Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, the artist portrayed himself with a battle-scene resembling the episode of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* visible in the distant background (Figure 98). Cortese’s *forte* made him the ideal choice to execute *Joshua Stopping the Sun*—a miracle that took place during the Israelites’ Battle with the Amorites.

Cortese’s preparatory work for the Gesù apse is recorded in his early biographies; however, his untimely death prevented him from beginning work on the actual fresco. No preparatory sketches for the Gesù apse have been identified, and neither do the biographical accounts provide any clues useful in a reconstruction of his compositional ideas for the apse, but the biographies reveal that Cortese had finalized his composition for the apse. Baldinucci’s account records that the artist had worked out the composition in numerous drawings and sketches, and that he had also composed a final version that he had even colored. This finalized preparatory work was in the possession of his brother Guglielmo, who was to assist him in decorating the apse. Lione Pascoli’s biography also addresses Cortese’s preparations for the commission, stating that he had executed several sketches and drawings for it. Pascoli states that on the artist’s demise on

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260 Cortese had also executed a large fresco cycle at the Oratorio della Congregazione Prima Primaria at the Collegio Romano, and Oliva is sure to have based his decision on this aspect of Cortese’s oeuvre, too.

261 A chaotic battle filled with miniscule, indistinct figures rages in the background, but one figure stands out: an armored and helmeted soldier on horseback viewed from the rear. Considering the significance of the figure of Joshua for the Jesuits, I wonder if the figure on horseback Cortese included in the lower right of his self-portrait references the subject of his commission for the Gesù apse fresco. Cortese’s inclusion of a Joshua-like figure in armor and a plumed helmet juxtaposed with his own portrait in clerical robes may contain a reference to his most important commission—one that was closely related not only to his career as an artist but also to his vocation as a Jesuit.


November 14, 1676, he “left behind no students worth recalling, even though he made use of many young men for his large works, so much so that he wished to make use of quite a few in [the commission for] the tribune of the Gesù, if death hadn’t prevented him from starting it. Already, he had [begun] with many trials and sketches, the design [which] outlined the miracle of Joshua as he stopped the sun.”264 From these accounts, it seems reasonable to accept that Giacomo Cortese had reached an advanced stage in composing the design for the apse when he passed away, and that he would have been assisted in the commission by a large number of helpers, including his brother Guglielmo.

The theme of Joshua Stopping the Sun was not a new one for Cortese as he had already executed at least two oil paintings on the subject that are now housed in the collections of the Louvre and the Galleria Spada.265 Quite unlike the frontal and central depictions of Joshua in the Vatican and Quirinal frescoes discussed earlier, Cortese’s two extant compositions of the theme are unique in their composition and in their depiction of Joshua because he is positioned off-center, to the left, and seen from the rear in both works (Figure 99; Figure 100).266 In both these paintings, Joshua is bearded, armed,

264 My translation of “Non lasciò scolari degni da rammentarsi, benchè di molti giovini si servisse nell’opere grandi, come di non pochi servir si voleva in quella della tribuna del Gesù, se la morte impedito non gli avesse il cominciarla. Giacchè fatto n’aveva dopo diversi pensieri, e schizzi, il disegno, e vi si vedeva delineato il miracolo di Giosuè nell’arresto del Sole.” Pascoli, Vite, 182.

265 Cortese also executed at least one other (now lost) pairing of Joshua Stopping the Sun for the galleria of the Palazzo Sagredo in Venice. The patron, Nicolò Sagredo, was twice Venetian Ambassador to Rome and a future Doge, who commissioned many artworks from Giacomo as well as Guglielmo Cortese. Not much is known about the painting for Sagredo other than the fact that it was part of a series of four battle-scenes from the Old Testament and resembled similar paintings by Paolo Veronese. The work is not cited in the 1738 inventory of the Sagredo Collection, for which see Christiana Mazza, I Sagredo: Committenti e Collezionisti d’Arte nella Venezia del Sei e Settecento (Venice, 2004). This unusual painting, described by Salvagnini as “sopra cuoi Dorati,” is listed in an incomplete catalog entitled “L’Oeuvre de Jacques Courtois” compiled by a certain Georges Blondeau. Salvagnini, I pittori borgognoni Cortese, 91 (and 29 for Blondeau).

266 The painting in the Louvre is a pendant to another battle-scene by Giacomo Cortese that may or may not depict Joshua; the painting in the Galleria Spada was displayed in Cardinal Fabrizio Spada’s collection as
helmeted, and astride a horse positioned towards the left foreground. He also raises his right arm with a baton (or sword) towards the sun as he commands it to stand still. In both paintings, the distinctive plumed helmet, billowing red cape, prominent foreground position, and dramatic gesture notwithstanding, no specific personal features are visible apart from a bearded face in a profil perdu. As a result, the emphasis in both these compositions by Cortese is on the miracle wrought by Joshua rather than on his person.267

It is unlikely that either of these paintings was created as a sketch for the Gesù apse. Their rectangular formats and the numerous, intricately composed figures that fill them suggest they were conceived of as works to be displayed at eye-level.268 Yet, the attributes of the plumed helmet and prominent armor that Cortese used for the figure of Joshua in both paintings are quite similar to those used by Baciccio for his figure of Joshua on the Northeast pendentive of the dome of the Gesù (Figure 10).269 Oliva is sure to have expected the representation of Joshua in the pendentive to relate closely to the representation in the apse, so the figure of Joshua in Cortese’s composition for the Gesù apse would also have been bearded and attired in a similar fashion.270 Thus, even though Cortese’s small paintings were probably unconnected to his Gesù commission, it may be

267 An interesting contrast is to be found at the Church of the Gesù at Perugia, where the vault preceding the apse was decorated by Giovanni Andrea Carlone in the 1660s with monumental narrative scenes featuring Joshua. In the Perugia frescoes, Joshua is distinctly portrayed as the central figure.
268 Even a cursory glance at Cortese’s frescoed battle-scenes for the Oratorio della Congregazione della Prima Primaria in the Collegio Romano reveals his compositions for large-scale works to be considerably different from his smaller wall paintings of battle-scenes. Even when the background is filled with numerous smaller figures, the protagonist is large and monumental—quite different from the figure of Joshua in the Louvre and Spada paintings of Joshua Stopping the Sun discussed above.
269 As I have noted earlier, the precise date of Cortese’s death is unclear since early sources present conflicting evidence; the artist passed away either on November 14, 1675, or on November 14, 1676. If the earlier date is correct, it is possible that he saw neither Baciccio’s representation of Joshua nor any sketches for it. It is more likely that Baciccio was shown Cortese’s sketches for the projected apse fresco, and that Baciccio’s figure depended on the one conceived by Cortese.
270 Carlone’s representation of Joshua in the crossing of the Gesù in Perugia also conforms to the “type” of the bearded armored general on horseback wearing a plumed helmet and billowing cape.
inferred that the type and accoutrements that characterize Joshua in them are similar to those that would characterize the figure of Joshua in the Gesù apse.

In brief, Gregory XV’s explicit 1622 likening of Ignatius to Joshua would have been known to all who were familiar with the Jesuit founder’s canonization proceedings. The Jesuits tasked with overseeing the cause of Francis Borgia’s canonization (that took place in 1671, which was the year preceding Oliva’s contract with Baciccio) certainly referenced the 1622 canonization documents. And Oliva, who had been governing the Society since 1661 and was so keen on translating Ignatius’ relics to the high altar, capitalized on the Ignatius-Joshua parallel drawn by Gregory XV. This charged hagiographic parallel was probably the impetus behind his choice of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* for the apse, while Giacomo Cortese’s prowess as a battle-painter resulted in his selection as the artist to fresco the tribune vault. Had the Gesù apse been decorated with a representation of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* as Oliva originally planned, the nave stucco reliefs of the *Transport of the Ark* and the *Fall of Jericho* from the Book of Joshua would have thematically linked the nave and the apse compositions. More importantly, had Oliva’s plans for the Gesù apse come to fruition, the narrative stucco relief with the episodes from the Book of Joshua that appear in the nave—when read in conjunction with the inscription from the Mass of Ignatius superimposed upon it—would have linked Ignatius and Joshua on an unprecedented scale in a very public and visible fashion. Consequently, the figure of Joshua—depicted as a general battling for the faith and performing a miracle under the auspices of the Lord in the apse fresco—would have allegorically evoked and celebrated Ignatius whose remains Oliva had hoped to have translated to the high altar below.
The Change in Subject

No documentary evidence has come to light explaining why Oliva’s subject of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* was substituted by the *Mystic Lamb Adored by the 24 Presbyters* executed by Baciccio during the period 1680-83 in the tribune vault of the Gesù. However, an analysis of a series of circumstances dating from the early 1670s to the early 1680s reveals a larger picture that may explain why the subject was changed. Chief among these circumstances were: Ranuccio II Farnese’s great reluctance to bear the costs of decorating the apse; the death of the artist Giacomo Cortese who was to have executed the fresco; and the death of Pope Clement X, to whom a 1671 *Quarant’ore apparato* depicting *Joshua Stopping the Sun* had been dedicated at the Gesù.271 By November 1679, however, the project to decorate the apse commenced in earnest when Oliva finally obtained from Ranuccio II his assurance of three thousand scudi as well as his permission to award the commission for the fresco to Baciccio. Although Ranuccio’s explicit and official approval for Baciccio to decorate the tribune vault marked a crucial turning point in the project, it does not shed light on why *Joshua Stopping the Sun* was replaced by the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*. In this section, I examine various factors leading up to this change, such as the death of Clement X, the election of Innocent XI, and the employment of two *Quarant’ore apparati* representing *Joshua Stopping the Sun* and the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* at the Gesù in 1671 and 1675, respectively.272

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271 The precise year of Cortese’s death is disputed, for there are contradicting early sources. Regardless of whether Cortese died in 1675 or 1676, the commission for the Gesù tribune vault was given to Baciccio only after 1679 on the Genovese artist’s successful completion of the Gesù nave decoration.

272 Unlike most other scholars, I do not believe that the death of Cortese was the deciding factor prompting the change in subject of the apse fresco. Levy is the only scholar to consider the possibility that the change in subject was not necessarily a direct outcome of Cortese’s demise. Although she did not connect the figures of Joshua and Ignatius, she suggested that “Oliva’s plan for this fresco was, if not predicated on, then strengthened by the presence of Ignatius’ relics below the altar and its presence on the high altar became more vulnerable to rejection once the translation had been ruled out.” Evonne Levy, ”The
While each of these factors impacted the decoration of the tribune vault, the decisive factor prompting the Jesuits to change the subject desired by Oliva was, I propose, the accession to the papacy of Innocent XI.

By the time Baciccio began work on the Gesù apse in 1680, about three-and-a-half years into Innocent XI’s reign, the Society of Jesus—and Father General Oliva—had unexpectedly fallen out of favor with the pope. When compared to the highly favorable relationship the Society and Oliva had established with Innocent XI’s predecessors, especially Clement X (r. 1670-76) during whose reign the Gesù fresco cycle commissioned by Oliva had commenced, a picture emerges of the Society in discomfiture with regard to Innocent XI’s papacy. Innocent’s unprecedented personal as well as official austerity and his blatant disapproval of the Jesuits’ plans for a lavish high altar at the Gesù resulted in a deep fissure between the Society and the pope. While contemporary avvisi recording Innocent XI’s absolute disapproval of ostentatious artistic decorations across Rome explain the Jesuits’ decision to opt for a simpler embellishment of the Gesù tribune area, they do not account for the change in subject. However, an analysis of unpublished letters penned by the Jesuit Lazzero Sorba, which record Innocent XI’s singular animosity towards the Jesuits and especially towards Oliva, strongly suggests that his disapproval of them was so great that they sought to avoid antagonizing him by any means, even if it meant foregoing the self-referential Joshua fresco planned for the Gesù.

The Society’s Relationship with the Papacy under Oliva’s Generalship
An overview of the major policies and artistic commissions of Innocent XI’s predecessors as well as their relationships with the Society under Oliva’s generalship provides the background to the changed situation during Innocent XI’s papacy. Oliva’s leadership of the Society of Jesus began in 1661 during the papacy of Alexander VII (r. 1655-67), when the aged Father General Goswin Nickel received papal permission to obtain Oliva’s appointment as Vicar General during the eleventh Jesuit General Congregation. As Vicar General with the right to succession, Oliva effectively governed the Society because of Nickel’s advanced years, and Oliva succeeded the aged and infirm Father General when he passed away in 1664. Oliva served as the Jesuit Father General during the reigns of Alexander VII, Clement IX, Clement X, and ultimately Innocent XI (during whose reign Oliva passed away in 1681).

Unlike Innocent XI, all his predecessors had been major patrons of the arts, and each of them was on good terms with the Society as well as with Oliva. Alexander VII was an especially magnanimous patron of the arts and a champion of the Jesuits. Among his numerous large-scale artistic commissions were Bernini’s colonnade of Saint Peter’s square, and Pietro da Cortona’s series of frescoes in the Quirinal Palace, which included a scene of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* executed by Giacomo Cortese’s brother Guglielmo. He was also responsible for ensuring the Jesuits’ return to Venice after a 50-year exile.²⁷³ Clement IX Rospigliosi, who succeeded Alexander VII, was a great lover of literature and the arts and a poet who was just as involved in literary events as matters of papal policy. Clement IX’s reign was cut short by his death in 1669, but he continued in the

tradition of his predecessors to patronize lavish literary and artistic celebrations.\textsuperscript{274} Despite his short pontificate, Clement IX knew Oliva especially well, for the two men had numbered among the Chigi pope’s closest advisors.\textsuperscript{275} Clement IX’s successor was his “maestro di Camera” Emilio Altieri who took the name Clement X. The Altieri pope and his family’s close ties to the Jesuits as well as the Gesù are discussed in detail in the next section. Another position held by Oliva is equally noteworthy with respect to his relationship with the various reigning popes. Prior to Oliva’s election as Vicar General, Innocent X Pamphili had appointed him to the post of Apostolic Preacher, an appointment he would continue to hold under the next three popes: Alexander VII, Clement IX, and Clement X. This appointment, which significantly was not continued during Innocent XI’s reign, is indicative of the great respect Oliva commanded from Innocent XI’s predecessors.

\textbf{Clement X Altieri and the Society of Jesus}

Clement X Altieri, the predecessor of Innocent XI and the last pope with whom Oliva enjoyed a mutually respectful relationship, had been elected on April 29, 1670, and crowned on July 22 of the same year. He was closely linked to the Society of Jesus and its mother church because of two crucial events that occurred within the very first year of his papacy: on April 12, 1671, Clement X canonized the third Jesuit Father General

\textsuperscript{274} Born to a noble family of Milanese origin that had settled in Pistoia, Giulio Rospigliosi studied initially at Pistoia. There he received his initial education, following which he enrolled at the Seminario Romano in Rome. He was a poet, and his poetry played an important role in the evolution of Roman musical theater, which had became a part of Roman courtly life during the reign of Urban VIII Barberini. Clement IX’s last composition, “\textit{La comica del cielo ovvero La Baltasara}” of 1668, was staged in the Palazzo Rospigliosi; it was written during his pontificate and was set to music by A.M. Abbatini while Gian Lorenzo Bernini designed the stage-set. \textit{Enciclopedia dei Papi}, vol. 3, 348-349, 356-359.

\textsuperscript{275} During the reign of Innocent X, Rospigliosi worked closely with Fabio Chigi who appointed him Secretary of State on ascending to the papacy. Alexander VII’s closest advisors were the Cardinals Sacchetti, Corrado, Borromeo, and Pallavicini, as well as Giulio Rospigliosi and Father General Oliva. Consequently, on Rospigliosi’s ascension to the papacy, he had already worked closely with Oliva. \textit{Enciclopedia dei Papi}, vol. 3, 353.
Francis Borgia, thus becoming the first pope in almost half a century to canonize a Jesuit since Gregory XV’s 1622 canonizations of Ignatius and Francis Xavier: and during the 1671 Easter celebrations, the Congregation of the Assunta commissioned a grand *Quarant’ore apparato* dedicated to the pope and depicting *Joshua Stopping the Sun* for the Gesù. Created in 1593 with an all-male membership of “priests and gentlemen,” the Congregation of the Assunta was based in the Casa Professa adjoining the Gesù. A pamphlet commemorating and describing the *apparato* published by the Congregation sheds light on Clement X’s close relationship with the Jesuits as well as the composition depicted in the *apparato*. The opening lines of the pamphlet state that the noble goal of painting is to illustrate and express the holy scriptures with lively colors and drawings but that painting alone cannot reveal their mysteries to spectators desirous of a greater understanding. Therefore, the pamphlet continues, it provides a brief description of the significance of the *apparato*, but following these introductory lines, and prior to any exposition, it devotes an entire paragraph to Clement X’s close familial ties to the patron, the Gesù-based Congregation of the Assunta. Recalling Clement X’s own participation in its activities prior to his election, as well as the participation of his brothers, the

276 By the mid-seventeenth century, membership of the Congregation of the Assunta included more well-known ecclesiastics and elite lay persons than when it started, and by the late-seventeenth century, the group was frequently referred to as the “Congregazione dei Nobili.” Maher, “Congregations at the Gesù,” 248-262.

277 The *relazione* describing the 1671 *Quarant’ore apparato* sponsored by the Congregation of the Assunta was identified and analyzed by Weil and transcribed by Curzietti (“Devotion of the Forty Hours,” 240; and Curzietti, *Decorazione della Chiesa del Gesù*, 246-247), neither of whom addressed the significance of its acknowledgments to Clement X and the Altieri family’s links to the Congregation. ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 83, c23r-c26v. See Appendix 4 (“Relazione of the Apparato of 1671”) for transcription.

278 The importance given to the links between the Altieri pope and his family members, especially his father, to the Congregation of the Assunta in the *relazione* of the 1671 *Joshua apparato* at the Gesù becomes apparent when a comparison is made with the *relazione* of the Mystic Lamb *apparato* commissioned by the same congregation for the Holy Year of 1675. Aside from a cursory acknowledgment of the pope’s “paternal bounty” (c. 98v) and Cardinal Altieri’s “singular piety” (c. 98r), the 1675 *relazione* of the Mystic Lamb *apparato* makes no effort to highlight any self-serving links between the pope and the congregation. For full text of the 1675 *relazione*, which was cited by Weil and transcribed by Curzietti (see footnote 277 for citation), see Appendix 5 (“Relazione of the apparato of 1675”).
relatione makes special mention of the pope’s deceased father Lorenzo, a founding member of “the congregation [that was] so well loved by him... that through the singular example of a permanent bequest, he wished to be linked even after his death to this work of zealous piety.” With these, the pamphlet effectively elicited the pope’s approval for the imminent depiction of the theme of its apparato, Joshua Stopping the Sun, in the tribune vault of the Gesù.

As I have discussed earlier, when Oliva initiated the decorative program for the Gesù he had intentionally excluded the apse vault from the contract he signed with Baciccio just over a year after the Joshua Stopping the Sun apparato was commissioned by the Congregation of the Assunta. And while Baciccio’s contract did not specify any subject, early sources record Oliva’s unequivocal desire for the tribune vault to be frescoed with a scene of Joshua Stopping the Sun—the same subject as that of the apparato dedicated to Clement X. It is not known whether Oliva’s choice of the Joshua theme for the Gesù tribune fresco was made prior to or following its appearance in the 1671 apparato. All we have is the description of the apparato from a pamphlet published to commemorate it that I have discussed earlier in this chapter. I posit that the subject was first chosen for the apse, and that its appearance in the apparato provided Cortese an excellent opportunity to vet the appearance of the composition. Further, it allowed Oliva to guage the reception of its theme by the pope, critics, and the general public.\(^\text{279}\) The timing and choice of Joshua Stopping the Sun for the 1671 apparato can hardly be

\(^{279}\) For a discussion of the great control exerted by the Society (and, therefore, by Oliva) over the activities of congregations active in the Gesù in the context of “canonical aggregation,” which characterized Jesuit-run congregations in the seventeenth century, see Maher, “Congregations at the Gesù,” 224-234. I suspect that the Congregation of the Assunta’s choice of Joshua Stopping the Sun for the 1671 apparato was not merely approved by Oliva, it might well have been based on a suggestion he made in his capacity as the Jesuit Father General, to which the Congregation acceded.
dismissed as coincidences; rather, they should be considered as factors in a timely and opportune prelude to Oliva’s imminent plans to decorate the Gesù apse with a fresco on the same subject.

In addition to Clement X’s canonization of Francis Borgia, the Altieri membership in the Congregation of the Assunta, and the “dedication” to Clement X of the 1671 apparato depicting Joshua, one other factor surely influenced the pontiff’s interest in and support for the decorations underway at the Gesù: the location of his own family palace just across the road from the Gesù’s main entrance. Owing to Clement X’s advanced age (he was 80 years old when elected), the Altieri were keen on completing construction of their sumptuous family palace as soon as possible. It was in the Altieri’s interests that the Gesù, because of its proximity to their family palace, be decorated in an equally splendid manner.280

As for the representation in the Gesù apse of Joshua Stopping the Sun, which was the subject of the Quarant’ore apparato dedicated to him in the first year of his papacy by the Gesù-based Congregation, of which his father was a founding member and to whom his father had left a permanent bequest, it may further be inferred that Clement X would quite whole-heartedly have approved and supported Oliva’s project. Clement X’s own lavish official and personal artistic commissions as well as his close familial and official ties to the Society and the Gesù implicitly assured Oliva and the Jesuits papal approval for their plans to embellish the church’s apse with a representation of Joshua Stopping the Sun. In brief, as the Jesuit Father General and as the Apostolic Preacher, Oliva himself and the Society as an organization had been treated with great deference.

280 See Rossi, “Roma ignorata,” Roma 18 (1940), for several avvisi detailing the scale and pace of construction of the Altieri residence.
and respect by the reigning popes, until the status quo drastically changed and they fell out of papal favor during the reign of Innocent XI.  

Innocent XI Odescalchi and the Society of Jesus

The demise of Clement X in July 1676 changed everything for the Jesuits, and the negative repercussions of the subsequent election of Cardinal Benedetto Odescalchi on papal policy and art commissioned in Rome cannot be overstated. On ascending to the papacy as Innocent XI, his immediate focus was to curtail unnecessary expenditure of the Curia in order to balance the papal budget, which he successfully did.  

Innocent XI’s personal austerity, opposition to the practice of nepotism, and utter disdain of expenditure on grand artistic commissions differentiated his papacy from that of every seventeenth-century pope who had preceded him. He neither patronized grandiose commissions nor encouraged their patronage by other ecclesiastics or religious organizations. As pope, his strict insistence on decorum and austerity was enforced through the scaling down or even cancellation of artistic commissions, carnival celebrations, and theatrical performances,

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281 Among the seventeenth-century papacies, only those of Clement VIII Aldobrandini and Innocent XI Pamphili may be categorized as faintly antagonistic towards the Society of Jesus and its methods. Clement VIII had been outraged at the Jesuits’ promotion of the cult of Ignatius through the production and dissemination of aureoled images of their founder prior to his beatification. Ditchfield, ‘Coping with the beati moderni,’ 424-425.

Since the time Oliva joined the Society, the only significant papal antagonism came from Innocent X Pamphili, who condemned the Jesuit missionaries’ acceptance of the Chinese Rites (a decade later, this controversy was temporarily settled by Alexander VII, who accepted the broader definition proposed by the Jesuits that the homage to Confucious and the cult of ancestors be considered civil and not religious ceremonies). Enciclopedia dei Papi, vol. 3, 340.

It is worth noting that Innocent X was the pope who appointed Oliva as the Apostolic Preacher and also his deathbed confessor and that his opposition to the Chinese Rites issue was not a sign of a larger mistrust of either Oliva or the Society.

282 Born and educated at Como, Benedetto Odescalchi took the name ‘Innocent’ in remembrance of Innocent X Pamphili who had raised him to the cardinalate. His personal austerity carried over into his role as Pope, wherein his focus was on three crucial issues: preventing the papal states from financial bankruptcy, disciplining the Curia (with a special focus on eliminating nepotism; he set in motion the process that would result in the official abolition of the practice during the reign of Innocent XII Pignatelli), and developing a foreign policy that would contain the Turkish offensive and also Louis XIV’s pretensions. Enciclopedia dei Papi, vol. 3, Inn XI, 373-374, 380.
as well as through the censuring of established institutions such as the Monte della Pietà and important figures such as Queen Christina of Sweden. Early in 1678, for instance, as Baciccio was half-way through executing the *Triumph*, Innocent censured Prince Borghese for displaying lascivious paintings in his private collection to visitors. And later the same year, he charged cardinals Acciaioli and Chigi to investigate and report on the sumptuous decoration sponsored by Cardinal Barberini at the Chapel of the Monte della Pietà. An anonymous *avviso* dating to 1678, when Baciccio was in the midst of executing the *Triumph*, records that Innocent’s radical efforts to curtail expenditure on extravagant artistic undertakings led to such a decrease in patronage that artists were leaving Rome *en masse* in order to earn their livelihoods elsewhere. The only two large-scale artistic commissions executed in Rome during Innocent’s reign, although not under his patronage, were the decorations at the Gesù and at San Carlo al Corso, both of which had begun before he was elected pope.

283 See Ms. Barb. 6385 published in Rossi, “Roma ignorata,” *Roma* 19 (1941): 308. (Rossi’s transcription reads: “Roma 13 agosto 1678. Si discorre, che S. S. hà habbi fatto intendere al Prencipe Borghese di non lasciar veder le pitture lascive, che sono nella sua Galleria dell'appartamento terreno per non incitar la lusurìa à quelli, che visitano le medesime.”)


286 Interestingly, the overall schema of the nave compositions in the two churches are similar in that Charles Borromeo does not appear in the nave vault of San Carlo al Corso [SS Carlo e Ambrogio] (although he is depicted in the apse fresco). Also, in the nave vault’s *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, which was completed just a few months before the *Triumph* in September 1679, the hurtling figures of the rebel angels are similar to those of the Gesù *Damned.*
Even though Innocent XI was not involved in the Gesù decorations, he was certain to have been aware of the scale and progress of the project, for in the decade prior to his election he had lived near the Gesù, where he attended the Buona morte devotions held every Friday. An avviso of February 18, 1679, reveals that a sumptuous bronze high altar planned for the Gesù apse following a large Spanish bequest incited his wrath:

Rome 18 February 1679. The Jesuit fathers received a Spanish bequest of thirty thousand scudi to build an altar entirely made of bronze at the high altar of the Gesù. Because of its large scale, the project requires the involvement of the papal bronze casters, [and] so [the Jesuit fathers] went to the Pope for permission, [and he] replied that if they had [all] that money, they ought to keep it intact and not spend it because this is no time to indulge in vanity, [because of which] the project was stalled. And so the people are reduced to extreme misery proclaiming to the stars, seeing that all avenues to earn a livelihood are closed [because] the pope neither wishes to spend, nor does he permit others to spend [see note] One hundred artists could have lived off this commission [the high altar of the Gesù] for three years.

It is important to note that Innocent XI’s ire was not reserved solely for the Jesuits—he was adamantly against ostentation by any Catholic organization or individual, as may be seen by the similarity of his actions concerning expensive artworks commissioned by those other than the Jesuits. All things considered, Innocent XI’s papacy, with its official thrust against grand artistic commissions, came at an especially inopportune moment for Oliva and the Jesuits who were in the midst of lavishly decorating their mother church.

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288 The text in italics was omitted from Rossi’s transcription cited below because Rossi seems to have limited the excerpts transcribed for publication primarily to specific events and works of art.
289 BAV Ms. Barb. lat. 6420 cited in Rossi, “Roma ignorata,” Roma 19 (1941): 161. (For my interpretation of text in italics, which was not included in Rossi’s transcription, see note above.)

The avviso reads: “Roma 18 febraro 1679. [c71v] Li PP. Giesuiti d’un heredità di Spagna hanno qui ricevuto 30 mila scudi per fabricare [a] l’Altare maggiore del Giesù una tribuna tutta di bronzo, e perche l’opera deve essere grande, e conseguentemente devono impegnare i fonditori pontificij, sono stati à dimandarne licenza dal Papa, il quale gli hà risposto che se hanno questo denaro lo tenghino così, e non lo spendano che non è tempo dà far vanità, così resta sospesa l’opera. Onde il popolo ridotto al estremo delle miserie esclamano alle stelle, vedendosi chiusi tuttu li passi per vivere, il Papa non vuol spendere, ne vuole che altri spendono [italics indicate text not published by Rossi]. In questa opera almeno per trò anni sarebbero visuti 100 artisti.”
In the case of the Society in general and Oliva in particular, the unprecedented disapproval directed at them by the pope concerning the high altar was a cause of utmost concern since it came on the heels of formal papal censure in the considerably graver matter of their missionary enterprise.\(^{290}\) A letter dating to May 1679, sent by Oliva to a papal Congregation appears to be a formal response to censure in the form of a papal brief that had been addressed to the Society with regard to its missionary activities.\(^{291}\) Innocent XI’s official confrontation with the Society regarding its missionary activities put Oliva and the professed Jesuits in the unenviable position of having to justify their actions to a congregation of cardinals appointed by the pope to whom, ironically, their own *Formula* explicitly placed them in direct obedience specifically in regard to missionary activities.\(^{292}\) Even though unrelated to artistic undertakings, this grave issue of finding themselves on the defensive towards the pope, the *de facto* representative of Christ to whom their Society was dedicated, would explain the Jesuits’ need to tread cautiously in matters concerning the highly visible apse fresco of their mother church.

\(^{290}\) An unpublished entry from the manuscript containing the excerpt cited by Rossi in the note above includes an interesting entry that is confounding because it is mostly illegible. I was not able to decipher the handwriting well enough to provide a precise translation; however, the few words that are legible in this entry dated February 18, 1679 convey quite emphatically the Pope’s supposed slighting of the Jesuits (text in bold), “*Non si possino dar pace li Padri Giesuiti del torto, che suppongono autoreli [*factseli?] dal Papa,* nel non essere iuxta [iux fa?] soli, ne m degli altri strivi [?] andato al Giesù negli ultimi giorni di carnevale è pero dovrebbero appagarsi [?] col considerare la piera [piena?] Tramontana, che con fece bondi [scriboni?] i Venti tagliava le faccie ha … [amd? ad? modum? bela?] …” BAV, Ms. Barb. lat. 6420, c. 64v.


\(^{292}\) In a sermon delivered on the Feast of Saint Ignatius (year unknown), Oliva listed the grave dangers faced by Jesuit missionaries who had been strangled and quartered in England, burnt alive in Ethiopia, buried alive in Japan, and devoured by cannibals in America. Immediately thereafter, he reassured the Jesuits by referring to the praise as well as criticism of the Society, which he compared to those heaped on Christ himself. However, the 1678 papal censure of the Society’s missionary activities was more difficult to explain since it could hardly be compared to the travails faced by Christ. See BNC.VEII, *Ges.* 1744, “Sermone LXXXV detto nella Casa Professa la vigilia di S. Ignazio. Dne*, quinque Talenta tradidisti mihi. Matth. 25. Designavit Dmy* et alios septuaginta duos, et misit illos in omnem et Locum. Luc X,” c. 327r, for excerpt pertaining to the dangers faced by Jesuit missionaries across the globe.
And the timing of this clash, occurring on the very cusp of the redecoration of the church’s apse, effectively constrained Oliva and the Jesuits to curtail its scale and, as will be argued, to revise the subject they had originally envisaged for the Gesù apse.

Innocent XI’s generally brusque manner and directives rattled ecclesiastics across the board; the Jesuits and especially Father General Oliva were among those most severely impacted. The unusually strained relationship between the two men appears to have impacted the decorations at the Gesù apse. As mentioned earlier, since Oliva’s appointment as Vicar General and eventually Father General of the Society of Jesus, he had been held in high regard by every pope preceding Innocent XI. The great respect accorded Oliva is evidenced by his appointment as Apostolic Preacher by the popes who preceded Innocent XI, but this status quo changed following Innocent XI’s election in 1676. Even after Clement X’s demise on July 22, 1676, Oliva was still highly esteemed, for he delivered a sermon on the Feast of the Assumption that year to the conclave of cardinals assembled to elect the next pope.²⁹³

Ironically for Oliva, while the unanimous vote with which Cardinal Benedetto Odescalchi was elected fell in with his sermon’s characterization of the election as a divinely ordained event, the future pope Innocent XI would be far from favorably disposed towards him or the Society he headed.²⁹⁴ Innocent XI’s great

²⁹³ BNC.VEII, Ges.1745, “Sermo Ad Em.mos Cardinales in Conclavi, pro electione Summi Pontificis, in die Assumptionis B.M.V. Anno 1676. Assumpta est Maria in Caelum, Gaudent Angeli,” c. 61r-c. 66r. See Appendix 8 (“Oliva’s sermon for the Conclave of 1676”).
²⁹⁴ The election had been dominated and initially even blocked by the two great European powers of the time: France and Spain. Both states exercised control over a similar number of cardinals, and both states wielded a veto power that they would use to prevent a candidate favored by the other from ascending to the papal throne. Thus, the squadrone volante led by Cardinals Pietro Ottoboni and D. Azzolini, albeit numbering just seven cardinals, played a decisive role that eventually culminated in the election of Cardinal
animosity towards the Jesuits—and especially towards Oliva—is documented in a series of clandestine letters penned by the Jesuit Lazzero Sorba.295

Lazzero Sorba S.J.’s Clandestine Correspondence and its Implications

The hypothesis that the subject of the Gesù apse was changed because Oliva and the Jesuits sought to avoid Innocent XI’s censure is supported by circumstantial evidence provided by the Jesuit Lazzero Sorba’s clandestine correspondence and unofficial report. Admitted to the Society of Jesus on February 20, 1655, Sorba taught rhetoric, philosophy, and theology at the College of the Maronites, and subsequently he taught the Holy Scriptures in Rome.296 The corpus of his letters housed at the Archivum Secretum Vaticanum documents internal tensions within the Society of Jesus as well as Oliva’s falling out with Innocent XI.297 The letters date to circa 1680-81 and onwards, from the time Baciccio was in the early stages of executing the apse fresco, and reveal Sorba was unhappy with the state of affairs within the Society. They suggest that his discontent might have stemmed primarily from the unfairness with which he claims to have been treated. Sorba’s disparagement of Oliva’s leadership of the Society should thus be taken with a grain of salt, for the allegations he levels against Oliva may well be exaggerations that grew out of a personal falling out between the two Jesuits. Yet, considering Innocent XI’s well-known hostility towards the Jesuits, Sorba’s anecdotal accounts of the pope’s

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295 These documents are housed at the Archivum Secretum Vaticanum in two folders called “Indice 1077 Gesuiti, 46, p. L. Sorba in difesa della CdG” and “Indice 1077 Gesuiti, 47: Lettere orig. di p. L. Sorba 1681-1687 s.d.”


297 Several letters are undated, but when the contexts and references in them are compared to letters with dates, the earliest letters may reasonably be dated to the year and a half preceding Oliva’s death, ca. 1680-1681. The earliest letters would thus be contemporaneous with Baciccio’s initial work for the Gesù apse.
harsh attitude towards the Jesuits and Oliva may be accepted as factual in essence. And while the letters do not address the Gesù decorations, their vivid accounts of the pope’s dismissive treatment of the Jesuit Father General portray a relationship vastly different from the relationships Oliva enjoyed with Innocent XI’s predecessors—each of whom had treated Oliva with deference and respect.

Sorba’s letters detailing Innocent XI’s animosity towards Oliva are addressed to a high-ranking ecclesiastic who is never named but who was evidently in Innocent XI’s confidence. They date from early 1681, a few months before Oliva’s death, to the end of the decade and through to even after the death of Innocent XI. They date from early 1681, a few months before Oliva’s death, to the end of the decade and through to even after the death of Innocent XI. Although some letters are undated and at times even unsigned, their contents place them within the same context and arc of time as those that are signed and dated. The main theme of Sorba’s letters is his harsh criticism of Oliva’s leadership, which he considers the root cause of Innocent XI’s blatant animosity towards the Jesuits. In addition to the letters, a lengthy report, entitled Ricordi al P.N.N. di quelle cose che dovrà esporre alla Santità di N. Sig.re, outlines issues he believed needed to be raised before the pope without Oliva’s knowledge. The series of letters as a whole contains constant refrains that the Society had found itself in disfavor with Innocent XI because of mismanagement within its highest ranks, and in several letters Sorba explicitly names Father General Oliva as the root cause of Innocent’s disfavor towards the Society. Sorba vociferously advocates for a specific papal bull that would change the Father General’s lifetime appointment to a

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298 Oliva died on November 26, 1681, and Innocent XI on August 11, 1689.
299 The unsigned letters may be accepted as written by Sorba since their contents and handwriting are in keeping with those in letters signed by him. When citing an undated letter, I refer to it by quoting the first line following the salutation (which I have included in the appendix at the start of each excerpt).
limited nine year appointment to rectify the situation.\textsuperscript{301} Underscoring the confidential, rebellious even, nature of these letters and the consequent need for utmost secrecy and discretion, several letters include an explicit request from Sorba that they be destroyed once read.\textsuperscript{302} In a nutshell, Sorba’s letters documenting Innocent XI’s antipathy towards the Society of Jesus, and especially towards Father General Oliva, paint a picture of the Society desperately seeking to maintain, if not regain, favor with the pope.

Sorba’s letters dating to a few months before Oliva’s passing and to the month immediately following it are particularly insightful, for they vividly portray the unease of the Society as well as its Father General in their dealings with the pope. In a letter of June 2, 1681, Sorba recounts Oliva’s awareness that the pope’s praise in public of the Society was of little import as it was restricted to unimportant matters and addressed to unimportant people.\textsuperscript{303} The extent to which the Society had lost papal favor is best illustrated by Sorba’s rather melodramatic lament in a letter of August 19, 1681, that:

> It has been said and deplored many times that despite the close ties subordinating the Society of Jesus to the Pope, the vices of a few have resulted in [the Society] being reduced to such a state, that if its sons deal with the Pope or his closest ministers in non-official matters, [and] including [even] for the holiest and highest reasons, [the Jesuits] are declared in these events almost proscribed, excommunicated, and plague-stricken. I am telling you for sure that if the Eternal Father [himself] were to be incarnated and live dressed as a Jesuit, and deal with the Pope or with his ministers in this manner, [He, too] would incur the same disdain and the same persecutions.\textsuperscript{304}

\textsuperscript{301} See Appendix 7A for excerpts from letter of May 1, 1681 and Appendix 7B for letter of May 19 (1681?).
\textsuperscript{302} See Appendix 7B, excerpt from letter of May 19 (1681?)
\textsuperscript{303} Due to time constraints I was unable to research the provenance of these letters. The provenance of the corpus should shed light on the precise identity of the person to whom Sorba addressed these letters. In addition, the provenance may reveal why the addressee chose not to destroy the correspondence.
\textsuperscript{304} For full text of letter, see Appendix 7A, Letter of August 19, 1681, c. 2r-2v.
A letter dating to a little more than a fortnight before Oliva’s passing is especially pertinent because in it Sorba asks his unnamed addressee if he can set up an appointment for Oliva with the pope. Finally, a letter dating to December 14, 1681, a few weeks after Oliva passed away, narrates the singularly favorable reception accorded the Vicar General by Innocent XI. Sorba begins the letter noting the singular consolation with which the pope met the Jesuit fathers, who claimed to have been received by the pope with signs of the same kind of benign humanity as they might have hoped for from Gregory XIII. The letters penned following Oliva’s death report improving relations between the Society and the Pope.

Sorba’s letters dating to Oliva’s final months shed light on grave external as well as internal tensions affecting the Society of Jesus as the Gesù apse was being decorated. These tensions appear to have originated with Innocent XI’s 1676 election as pope and reached a peak with the papal brief of October 10, 1678, against the Jesuits’ missionary activities. The papal brief and Oliva’s response to the congregation of cardinals investigating the issue coincided with Baciccio’s execution of the Triumph and, by November 1679, when Ranuccio II Farnese gave his approval for Baciccio to fresco the apse, the Jesuits were sure to have been highly apprehensive about their precarious relationship with the pope. And even allowing for the fact that Sorba’s observations may have been colored by personal misgivings, his letters paint an anecdotal picture of the

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305 See Appendix 7A, letter of November 10, 1681. This letter corroborates Sorba’s assertions in other (earlier) letters that Oliva had been unsuccessful in seeking an audience with a pope through others.

306 The reference to Gregory XIII (during whose reign the Gesù was consecrated) seems to be an error. Sorba probably meant to write Gregory XV (during whose reigns Ignatius and Francis Xavier were canonized). See Appendix 7B, letter of December 14, 1681.
Society and its Father General shaken and on the defensive because of the pope’s disdain towards them as the apse was being decorated. If we can accept that these letters are accurate (even if exaggerated) in their accounts of the troubled relationship Oliva, and by extension the Society, had with Innocent XI, it might explain why the Jesuits chose to forego the self-aggrandizing *Joshua Stopping the Sun* in favor of the *Mystic Lamb* at their mother church. In such a case, the change in subject matter at the Gesù apse would have been a preemptive measure to stave off any further papal disapprobation.

Above all, Sorba’s letters reveal that the relationship of the Society of Jesus led by Father General Oliva with the papacy reached its lowest point during the reign of Innocent XI. The letters portray the Society’s relationship with the papacy of Innocent XI as the very antithesis of its cordial relationships with the papacies of Alexander VII, Clement IX, and Clement X—all of whom were on exceedingly good terms with Oliva himself. How severely Innocent XI’s reign impacted the scope and scale of the Gesù decorations, especially at the apse, may be inferred from a notice dating to the feast of Saint Ignatius celebrated on July 30, 1697, during the pontificate of Innocent XII Pignatelli (r. 1691-1700). The notice records the unveiling of the lavishly renovated chapel of Saint Ignatius at the Gesù, assigning it a value of 200,000 scudi, an amount that would have been unthinkable during the reign of Innocent XI, who a decade earlier had berated and turned down the Jesuits’ request to use a 30,000 *scudi* bequest towards a lavish bronze high altar.\(^{307}\) In these circumstances of Innocent XI’s antipathy towards


The pontificate of Innocent XII Pignatelli was preceded by the short pontificate of Innocent XI’s successor Alexander VIII Ottoboni (r. 1689-91). A notice recording the death of Alexander VIII is equally
Oliva and the Society, as well as his disapproval of ostentation in any form, we have the
two most probable factors that prompted the Jesuits to substitute *Joshua Stopping the Sun*
with the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* at the Gesù apse.

**Adoration of the Mystic Lamb**

Baciccio’s *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* decorating the Gesù apse was unveiled
to the public on July 31, 1683. The Mystic Lamb is portrayed seated on an altar
elevated among clouds with its forelegs resting on the Scroll of the Seven Seals in the
upper center of the tribune vault (Figure 102). Surrounded by a blazing glow of light, the
Lamb is the focal point of the composition. The light emanates from the Lamb’s face and
marks its white form out from the numerous, densely packed, cloud-borne angels and
putti encircling it as well as from the row of bearded male figures seated on clouds lining
the lower edge of the vault. The altar under the Lamb is ablaze with torches: two of them
flank the seated lamb, five smaller torches are positioned in front of the base of the altar,
and two more torches are positioned lower down to either side, ostensibly at the very

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revelatory, for it records the amount of work artists had found—and their great earnings—during his short
pontificate following the comparatively barren (in terms of artistic output, employment, and earnings)
pontificate of Innocent XI: *Roma 3 febraro 1691 morì Aless.° 8° con gran dispiacere, e danno della Città.
Gli artisti nel breve corso del suo Pontificato tutti lavoravano, e se ne vedero i segni evidenti del loro
guadagno nel Monte della Pietà, nel quale in detto tempo furono riscossi la maggior parte delli pegni, che
vi erano, indito manifesto, che nel detto Pontificato correva del danaro [fn 3: Contrasto con la
sioccupazione e miseria del pontificato di Innocenzo XI]. From the “Giornale di Papa Alessandro 8°,” Ms.

308 An anonymous contemporary source notes that: “[f]or the feast of Saint Ignatius, the Jesuits unveiled the
apse of their church, which is very grand as it is decorated with beautiful stuccoes.” The original in Italian
reads: “Si è finalmente scoperto il voltone di questa nostra chiesa con tale concorso, e con si inaudita
acclamazione che io non oso di darne parte a V.R. perche non sicuro, che da piu parti ne sara giunto costa il
153 (note 6).

The *Mystic Lamb* fresco takes up almost the entire tribune vault; the relatively less conspicuous
area beginning just below the quarter-dome of the apse and continuing down until the great cornice is
decorated with gilded stucco elements as well as with white stucco sculptures that conform in placement,
size, and style to their counterparts in the nave vault. The view of the church’s interior vaulting is further
unified because the presbytery arch preceding the apse is decorated with a fresco (discussed separately
further on) surrounded by profuse gilded stucco decorations whose forms echo those of the nave.
edges of the base of the altar that is enveloped by clouds.\textsuperscript{309} The blazing torches are hard to distinguish from either the altar or the sunburst surrounding it, for they are all painted in similar golden-yellow hues. The bright radiance emanating from the Lamb is delimited by densely packed masses of gray clouds that fill the rest of the tribune vault. The clouds immediately surrounding the altar are inhabited with an exuberant ring of putti and angels whose foreshortened, free-floating, twisting forms are a virtuoso display of Baciccio’s draftsmanship.\textsuperscript{310} Even though they lack the monumentality and vitality of the Damned in the Triumph, the figures in the apse, and especially the angels blowing trumpets arrayed along the curved upper edge of the vault, abound in variety and exuberance.

The details of the \textit{Adoration of the Mystic Lamb} are not easy to decipher because of the extraordinary number of figures packed into it and the relatively small sizes of the figures. In addition, the lighter hues of the robes worn by the angels and elders often merge into one another as well as the clouds surrounding them. And though the entire composition is oriented to the gaze of viewers facing the apse (unlike the nave fresco which requires viewers to move around and reorient themselves to look at different parts

\textsuperscript{309} The flames seem to represent sacrificial fires that heighten the Mystic Lamb’s symbolism with regard to Christ’s sacrifice. In Baciccio’s \textit{bozzetti} housed at the De Young Museum in San Francisco (Figure 103) and the Museum Kunstpalast in Düsseldorf (inv. KA (FP) 2139) (Figure 104), these flames are given more prominence than in the final fresco. (Unfortunately, the three-dimensional \textit{bozzetto} in the Galleria dei Marmi of the Gesù is not on view, and I was unable to obtain high resolution images in color, so I am not able to take it into consideration.) The flames in the De Young \textit{bozzetto} are the most prominent because the altar against which they are set is darker in color. In the Düsseldorf \textit{bozzetto}, the series of flames encircling the altar is very sketchily depicted while the two larger fires below the altar are extremely prominent in terms of color and size. In the fresco itself, the two flanking fires are hardly distinguishable in size and color from the series of flames encircling the altar. It is only their position, slightly lower to a side and among the clouds, that sets them apart.

\textsuperscript{310} See especially the masterfully exaggerated positioning of the twisting torsos and out-flung limbs of the angels blowing trumpets above the Lamb. The angels are positioned across the segment of an arc echoing the curvature of the vault; yet, each figure is individualized to twist and float dramatically in its own way, and no two of their trumpets are aligned in the same direction.
of the composition in order to decipher it), it does not benefit from an explanatory titular inscription as the Triumph does. \(^{311}\)

The lighter color palette used by Baciccio in the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb has been attributed by early sources as well as modern scholars to the artist’s “late style.” The coloring of the Gesù apse is considered the starting point of his departure from the brighter colors typical of High Baroque painting towards the comparatively restrained hues exemplified by Maratta’s classicism in late seventeenth-century Rome. While this is self-evident when comparing it with Baciccio’s subsequent fresco at SS. Apostoli (Figure 105), three points need to be considered with regard to the lightness of the colors visible in the Gesù apse today: first, in the preparatory sketches Baciccio used a considerably richer palette; second, the apse vault was damaged by moisture; and third, it is probable that the light colors visible today may be the result of some over-cleaning during the most restorations undertaken in the 1990s. Scholars agree that the overall lighter colors of the apse fresco are characteristic of Baciccio’s “late style” when he turned towards the classicism espoused by Maratti. However, the colors used in the fresco present a problem. Enggass’ observation in 1964 itself that “the apsidal fresco has suffered heavy damage which in turn has required extensive repainting,” suggests that the original colors had deteriorated considerably. \(^{312}\)

Further, following the later restorations in the 1990s, the

\(^{311}\) Indeed, the inscription “Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus” (Luke 2:21) that appears prominently on the vault of the presbytery arch adjoining the apse vault has a more direct thematic connection to the subject of Joshua Stopping the Sun than to that of the Mystic Lamb as I discuss further on.

\(^{312}\) Enggass, Painting of Baciccio, 67. The problems in analyzing the coloration of the fresco result mostly from the damage and repainting referred to by Enggass. While I accept the restorations undertaken in time for the Jubilee of 2000 have resulted in a cleaning that leaves the colors closer to those originally painted by Baciccio. I believe it is unlikely that the Lamb and the altar upon which it is seated would have been as faintly delineated as they appear today. A comparison with the extant oil sketches suggests that the lamb and altar in the final fresco would have been more prominent than they appear now. The latest restorations have revealed, however, that the robes of the figures in the apse abound in the shimmering effects of contrasting “cangiante” colors so effectively used by Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel.
colors of the apse fresco differ drastically from the range of tones Baciccio used in the three extant oil sketches for the apse. Also, since the oil sketches are painted in considerably darker colors, it is possible that the light colors visible today in the apse fresco may have resulted from over-cleaning. Consequently, I am of the opinion that the colors of the apse fresco may not have originally been as light in tone as they appear today.

The Mystic Lamb’s general schema may be understood as the Lamb seated upon an altar and surrounded by angels and putti, with the twenty-four elders seated in adoration and offering up bowls of incense along the lower edge of the vault. Although the fresco is based on the visions of John recorded in the Book of Revelation, it does not depict any specific verse; the composition is made up of an amalgamation of descriptions from various stages in John’s vision. Specifically, Baciccio’s depictions of the Lamb, the scroll with the seven seals, the angels with trumpets above the Lamb, the angel carrying the censer to the left of the altar, and the twenty-four elders along the bottom of the vault all derive from different passages in the Book of Revelation, and even then their depictions do not adhere strictly to the text. The various artistic liberties Baciccio took in composing the fresco begin with the Lamb at the focal point. In John’s account, the

313 The author of the Book of Revelation, which is also known as the “Apocalypse,” is called John, and he is traditionally associated with the apostle of the same name. However, the author’s references to the apostles as figures from the past and the fact that he does not include himself among them suggest that the attribution to the apostle John is questionable. John, the author of Revelation, reports that the visions he recorded in the book took place while he was exiled to the island of Patmos because he spoke of “the word of god and the testimony of Jesus” (Revelation 1:9), The New Oxford Annotated Bible. Augmented Third Edition with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, ed. Michael D. Coogan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), “New Testament,” 420.

The Book of Revelation is unique in the extraordinary number of times, twenty-eight in all, that it applies the title of lamb to Jesus. The most relevant of these applications to the depiction in the Gesù apse are the descriptions of the Lamb as a sacrificial victim (slain, 5:6, 12; 12:8; His saving blood 7:14; 12:11); and as enthroned and glorified (5:8, 12-13; 7:9 f; 15:3; 22:1, 3). John L. McKenzie, S.J., Dictionary of the Bible (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1965), s.v. “Lamb.”

314 Of note is the absence of any depiction in the Gesù fresco of the “four living things” that figure prominently along with the Lamb, angels, and Elders in the Book of Revelation.
opening of the seals one at a time by the Lamb is described in Chapters 6 and 7, and it is followed in Chapter 8 by the beginning of the account of trumpets blown sequentially by seven angels. But even though the blowing of the trumpets is followed by the opening of the seals, the Gesù fresco depicts the scroll with all seven seals intact and at least two of the seven angels (one in red robes at left and the other in blue robes to the right) blowing on trumpets (Figure 101). Similarly, the angel in blue and green robes carrying a large censer to the left of the altar is asynchronous, for he is described as appearing immediately after the seventh seal was opened and before any trumpets were blown (Revelation 8:1-5):

> When the Lamb opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about half an hour. And I saw the seven angels who stand before God, and seven trumpets were given to them. Another angel with a golden censer came and stood at the altar; he was given a great quantity of incense, to offer with prayers of all the saints on the golden altar that is before the throne. And the smoke of the incense with the prayers of the saints, rose before God from the hand of the angel. Then the angel took the censer and filled it with fire from the altar and threw it on the earth; and there were peals of thunder, rumblings, flashes of lightning, and an earthquake.

The Lamb, seated upon the altar with its forelegs upon the scroll with seven seals, is depicted naturalistically even though Revelation 5:6 describes it in terms replete with symbolism, “standing as if it had been slaughtered, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth.” Similarly, while the

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315 Chapters 8 through 11 contain the account of the blowing of the trumpets by all seven angels.
316 The verses Revelation 5:1-3 (“Then I saw in the right hand of the one seated on the throne a scroll written on the inside and on the back, sealed with seven seals; and I saw a mighty angel proclaiming with a loud voice, “Who is worthy to open the scroll and break its seals?” And no one in heaven or on earth or under the earth was able to open the scroll or to look into it”) are of particular interest with respect to the nave fresco, for the refrain “in heaven or on earth or under the earth” echoes the titular inscription of the Triumph. The refrain is reprinted again in Revelation 5:13 (where the sea is also included), “Then I heard every creature in heaven and on earth and under the earth and in the sea, and that is in them, singing, ‘To the one seated on the throne and to the Lamb be blessing and honor and glory and might forever and ever.’” Also related to the theme of the nave fresco are Revelation 11:16-18, which describe the twenty-four elders prostrating themselves in reverence of the Lord’s name: “Then the twenty-four elders who sit on their thrones before God fell on their faces and worshiped God, singing, ‘We give you thanks, Lord God
number and attributes of the elders derive from Revelation 5:8 (‘[…] and the twenty-four elders fell before the Lamb, each holding a harp and golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints’), the figures do not correspond precisely to this characterization. They are depicted as bearded men, many of whom have gray hair, and most, but not all, hold golden bowls of incense.\(^{317}\) Few of them have harps (and when they do, the harps are mostly carried by the accompanying \textit{putti}), and many of them have crowns placed beside them (Figure 106). Thus, even though the figures in the apse are illustrations from the Book of Revelation, they also deviate from the Book’s precise descriptions because of the difficulty in illustrating the complex symbolism of John’s vision.

Although Baciccio’s representation of the Mystic Lamb is not unique in its conflation of passages from the Book of Revelation, it is unique as a seventeenth-century apse fresco in Rome. The theme of Christ in Majesty surrounded by the Twenty-Four Elders and the Four Living Things was frequently depicted in Early Christian times, and it was often conflated with John’s vision of the Mystic Lamb with the Book of the Seven Seals.\(^{318}\) The intricate symbolism of John’s complex vision called for artists to simplify and synthesize passages in order to portray subjects like the Mystic Lamb. Consequently,


representations of the Mystic Lamb depend on the passages incorporated into the composition, and they vary quite markedly from one another.

The Mystic Lamb was commonly depicted in Early Christian apse mosaics, where the figure of the Lamb was more often than not mediated by the figure of either God the Father or Christ.\(^{319}\) The apse mosaic of Santa Prassede is the most prominent of these representations of the Mystic Lamb with the Twenty Four Elders in Rome. In it, the Lamb appears above an oversized figure of Christ in Majesty, and the Twenty-Four Elders appear in groups to either side of the composition (Figure 107).\(^{320}\) Two other representations of the Mystic Lamb bear mention, even though they are not located in apses because their dates are closer to that of Baciccio’s composition. The mid-seventeenth century mosaic decorating the dome of the Chapel of Saint Sebastian in Saint Peter’s depicts God the Father seated beside the Lamb while the Twenty-Four Elders and other figures along the base of the dome (including several women) adore them (Figure 108). And at the Gesù itself, the Mystic Lamb, without the Elders, appears above the central figure of the Virgin in Glory in the vault of the Chapel of Saint Andrew (Figure 109). Even after taking into consideration the vastly differing compositions of these and earlier representations of the Mystic Lamb, Baciccio’s fresco at the Gesù apse is singular.

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\(^{319}\) From Early Christian times, apse vaults in churches were decorated with scenes representing a celestial court in the heavenly sphere. The celestial domain was usually evoked by splendid depictions of eschatological symbols such as the Heavenly Jerusalem, monumental crosses or crucifixes that dominated the skies, the figure of Christ Enthroned, and even the Mystic Lamb.

\(^{320}\) Representations of the Lamb without the Elders are found in the apses of the churches of Santi Cosma and Damiano (below Christ); Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (below Christ); Santa Maria in Trastevere (below Christ); San Clemente (exceptionally rich in symbolism, this composition depicts the Lamb below a cross bearing the crucified Christ that is, in turn, surmounted by the “Hand of God” flanked by two further representations of the Mystic Lamb, each on an altar; the ensemble itself is surmounted by a roundel depicting a frontal bust-length image of Christ, below which the Christogram “Chi Rho” also incorporates an “Alpha” and “Omega”); and San Saba (below Christ).
because of its emphasis on the figure of the Lamb. The subject of the *Mystic Lamb Adored by the Twenty-Four Elders* itself was rare in the seventeenth-century, but it is unique as an apse fresco in which the Lamb is the unequivocal focus, for the composition does not include any figural depiction of either God, Christ, or the Virgin Mary.

As noted earlier, the subject of the Mystic Lamb had appeared prominently in Early Christian decoration, where it served to locate the scene in a celestial court because of John’s description in the Apocalypse. In the aftermath of the Council of Trent and its ratification of the cults of the Virgin and saints, however, scenes relating to their lives began featuring prominently in church decorations. Consequently, by the late seventeenth-century, church apses were increasingly decorated with scenes of the Virgin or saints in glory. The apses of all the Roman mother churches of New Reform Orders other than the Society of Jesus have a scene of either the Virgin or a saint in glory. Thus, paradoxically, even though a straightforward representation of Ignatius in glory in the Gesù apse would have been quite acceptable, the allegorical evocation to Ignatius

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321 The compositions of the dome and the apse were not conceived of in tandem, and the figures of God the Father flanked by Christ and the Virgin in the dome do not directly relate to the figure of the Mystic Lamb in the apse. Unlike in the Chiesa Nuova, where the dome resting directly on the pendentives, permits the Coronation of the Virgin in the apse to appear almost contiguous to the Trinity in the dome, the dome of the Gesù rests on a prominent drum that interrupts the spatial connection between the two frescoes. It is only by making a conscious attempt that these two frescoes may be read in conjunction with each other. For this rather strained vertical reading to work, the viewer must traverse the nave and get nearer to the dome and then consciously look up. Even then, any potential connection between the compositions of the two frescoes is interrupted by the large sculptured figure of Prudence, which must perforce be incorporated into the interpretation.

322 In Early Christian representations, the Lamb usually appeared either upon an altar or with a cruciform halo, or both. At times, the Mystic Lamb appeared as the focus of the composition, and at other times it appeared as a complementary figure, usually to that of Christ.

323 As in other forms of religious artworks commissioned by Catholics, the surge in episodes related to the lives of the Virgin and the saints resulted from the ratification of their cults following the Council of Trent (1545-63), specifically on their powers of intercession and the veneration of their relics.

324 Thus, in the apse of the Chiesa Nuova, Pietro da Cortona depicted the Assumption of the Virgin; in S. Carlo ai Catinari, Lanfranco painted a scene with a Glory of Saint Charles Borromeo; and in Sant’Andrea della Valle, Domenichino executed panels with episodes from the life of Saint Andrew.
through the person of Joshua risked being misconstrued as indecorous because of Joshua’s own likening to Christ.  

Contemporary records of the apse fresco’s unveiling do not mention its subject. Compared to the self-celebratory dimension of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* for the Jesuits, the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb by the 24 Elders* taken from Saint John’s vision at Patmos in the Book of Revelation was a more generic and even traditional subject. Its representation in the Gesù tribune vault was, therefore, unlikely to elicit disapproval from outsiders critical of the Society. The *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* was even judged unsuitable for the Gesù tribune vault precisely because of its generic nature. The anonymous Jesuit author of a contemporary manuscript expounds on the shortcomings of the subject asserting that:

There is, however, an argument to be made against the design to represent in the tribune of the Gesù the said vision [*Mystic Lamb*] consisting only of the act of opening the Book by Christ appearing with the five open wounds, and the following adoration of the twenty four Elders. And [the argument against the subject] is this: that nothing about this subject connects it specifically to the Church of the Gesù, [and] it might just as easily be painted in the Minerva or the Ara Coeli etc. So, perhaps another mystery of equally majestic appearance selected from the same Apocalypse would be more appropriate for the location, and

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325 As noted in Chapter Two, the Jesuits had faced (and continued to face) heated criticism from within as well as from beyond the Catholic Church for their use of images and descriptions portraying Ignatius as a saint and even likening him to Christ.


suitable for the Mother Church [which is] like the Capital of the entire Society of Jesus [emphasis mine].

The author of these observations then suggests an alternative subject from Chapter 3 of the Book of Revelation, specifically John’s revelations to the angel of Philadelphia, as a more appropriate theme for the Gesù tribune because of its emphasis on Christ’s name. Arguing that the “new name” referred to in Revelation 3:12 is the name “Jesus” since the Patriarchs only referred to the Savior as the Messiah or as the Christ, and “the [name] of Jesus was new and brought by the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin when he announced the Conception of the Son of God in Luke 1,” the anonymous author opines that this passage offers a more suitable alternative for the theme of the fresco than the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb. This interesting document was published by Curzietti who refers to it only in passing to conclude that the topic for the Gesù apse was the subject of heated internal debate within the Society. It seems more likely, however, that once the decision to forego Joshua Stopping the Sun was made, a few high-level Jesuits undertook pragmatic deliberations rather than a heated debate to select an

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328 Revelation 3:7-12: “And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write: These are the words of the holy one, the true one… I know you have but little power, and yet you have kept my word and have not denied my name. […] If you conquer, I will make you a pillar in the temple of my God; you will never go out of it. I will write on you the name of my god, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem that comes down from my God out of heaven, and my own new name.”


The anonymous author of the document even argues that Abbot Joachim’s words “Ordo quem designat Jesus” in his commentary on the Apocalypse written about five centuries earlier signify his belief that an Order named for Jesus would appear in the Church. Therefore, the author continues, Christ could be represented in the Gesù tribune in the act of giving his name to the angel of Philadelphia, and surrounded by the ten early Companions (“I dieci primi Padri della Compagnia”).
appropriate alternate subject with which to decorate the Gesù apse. It would appear that
they even solicited opinions from members of the Order, as the manuscript cited above
suggests, for its author ends with the words: “I offer these thoughts of mine with total
submission to the will of whoever may best judge it.”^330 The Jesuits’ decision to portray
the Mystic Lamb in the Gesù tribune demonstrates their strong desire to avoid any
allusions to the Society, including even to the Name of Jesus (apart from the inscription
of the frescoed banderole of the Presbytery arch that I address later in this section), in the
apsidal fresco. The complex symbolism of the subject, which lends itself to so much
interpretation, has led scholars to assume that the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb was
conceived as part of a unified program and to interpret it as such when, instead, it was
actually selected as a replacement for Joshua Stopping the Sun.

The 1675 Quarant’ore apparato depicting the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb

Although the theme of the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb by the 24 Elders was not
specifically linked to the dedication of the Gesù, it had a place in the tradition of the
church’s Quarant’ore celebrations, for it had twice (in 1652 and 1675), been the subject
of its apparati. The apparato of 1675 is described in a pamphlet that underscores its
sumptuousness.^331 In light of the Holy Year, the pamphlet states, no expenses were
spared to fabricate an extraordinary stage-setting “such that for years one like it had not
been seen in this city.”^332 This assertion indicates that the stage-set was significantly
more lavish than either its predecessor of 1652 on the same theme or its counterpart of

^330 Ibid.
^331 The only illustration on the pamphlet is the Society of Jesus’ monogram in a sunburst adored by two
kneeling angels (Figure 110).
^332 ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 85, c98r-c101v. For full text of the relatione (cited and addressed by Weil,
“Devotion of the Forty Hours,” 238-240, 245 (no. 22), and transcribed in Curzietti, Decorazione della
Chiesa del Gesù, 247-250), see Appendix 4 (“Relatione of the Quarant’ore apparato of 1675”).
1671 that depicted the Mystic Lamb. Weil has noted that “[t]he apparato of 1675 clearly prefigured Gaulli’s fresco of The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb in the semidome of the apse of the Gesù.”\footnote{Weil, “Devotion of the Forty Hours,” 239.} Yet, as I will discuss, the apparato did not predetermine Baciccio’s composition. The pamphlet’s description begins with details of the impressive architectural components that were scaled to the Gesù apse, and it is followed by a description of the pictorial component. As in Baciccio’s composition, the Mystic Lamb was depicted along with the Twenty-Four Elders; however, the apparato also included numerous other figures that were not reprised in the apse, most importantly God the Father and the four winged “animals” surrounding him which the pamphlet describes as “symbols of the Evangelists.”\footnote{ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 85, c. 99r-v.} The Twenty-Four Elders are described as crowned but in the act of genuflecting and removing their crowns as a sign of tribute to the Lamb. The Lamb itself is described as appearing amidst numerous clouds and angels and holding the Scroll. The pamphlet explicitly characterizes the Scroll of the Seven Seals as “the [Book of the] Apocalypse, that is written in cyphers, and enigmas, and secured with seven Seals that may only be opened and understood by [the Lamb], and that Saint Paul used to say, contains in itself all the treasures of Divine Wisdom.” The pamphlet continues (in a rather confusing manner full of convoluted subordinate clauses) that “in the breast of the Lamb, which was killed for the redemption of the world and [because of which we see it] bloodied, amid lights [the color] of silver and gold, almost as if to show its heart, the Holy Sacrament is exposed from [the Lamb’s] heart, which is [the same as] from the Love of God.” Finally, in addition to seven angels blowing trumpets (that also appear in the fresco—although not all angels in the fresco are in the act of blowing trumpets), the
pamphlet lists numerous other cloud-borne figures that do not appear in Baciccio’s composition, specifically:

saints of every type, popes, cardinals, kings, queens, martyrs, hermits, virgins, and religious figures of every order. First among these, at right, are the five saints who were canonized by Pope Gregory XV, Ignatius, Francis Xavier, Teresa, Philip Neri, and Isidore, and, at left, the other five saints recently canonized by the reigning Pope Clement X, Luigi Beltrand, Philip Benizzi, Francis Borgia, and Rosa of Peru. [These figures are followed by another row of masterfully arranged cloud-borne figures representing the peoples of the world who adore the Lamb:] Greeks, Africans, Arabs, Ethiopians, Assyrians, Jews, Persians, Chaldeans […] and people from] Brasil, Maranhão, Paraguay, Mexico, Peru, Chile, Mogor [from the Kingdom of Akbar the Moghul, in North India], Malabar, Tonkin [Vietnam], Japan, China, Tartaria, and many other countries […] and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse […] and Saint John the Evangelist in ecstasy [and with pen in hand to follow God’s command to record it all in a book[…] and [flanked by the Angel of God] the archangel Gabriel.  

The description ends with declaration that the magnificence of the apparato paled in comparison to the reverence borne by the world, and especially Rome, to the Mystic Lamb. Thus, even though the apparato of 1675 may not have influenced Baciccio’s composition in significant formal terms, it conspicuously reinforced the theme of the Mystic Lamb as a worthy subject of devotion and also related it to the achievements of the Society across the world and in Rome. In addition to the primary consideration of the pope’s approval, this aspect was an important factor that must have been taken into account during the deliberations on the subject to replace Joshua Stopping the Sun.

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335 See Appendix 5 (“Relatione of the apparato of 1675”), c. 100r-v.
336 As I have argued in the previous section of this chapter, the choice of Joshua Stopping the Sun for the apparato of 1671 was likely predetermined by Oliva’s desire to depict the same subject in the apse. On the other hand, the theme of the 1675 apparato was adopted for the apse only well after it was produced because Cortese was still alive, as were Oliva’s plans for him to fresco the apse, when this apparato was used during the Jubilee Year.
The symbolism of the Mystic Lamb links it to the Resurrection of Christ and the liturgy of the Mass.\textsuperscript{337} The description in the Book of Revelation of the Lamb as slain but standing links it to the Resurrected Christ, who triumphed over his wounds of the Crucifixion and His subsequent death. The act of consecration performed by the priest at the altar as part of the liturgy of the Mass recreates the sacrifice of Christ (whose death, like that of an innocent sacrificial lamb, served to save others) to transform the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Thus, the body and blood of Christ and the altar are evoked by the image of the Mystic Lamb on its altar-like throne. In an analysis of Jan van Eyck’s \textit{Ghent Altarpiece}, Lotte Brand Philip has argued that “the interior of the Ghent retable presents the Eternal Mass in the Heavenly Jerusalem, of which the earthly celebration of the New Covenant, the Eucharist, as performed by the Church, is but the temporal reflection.”\textsuperscript{338} Even though Baciccio’s Mystic Lamb differs considerably from that of Van Eyck, Brand Philip’s subsequent observation that the elevated position of the Lamb indicates the \textit{levatio sacramenti}, the elevation of the Host at the consecration” is equally applicable to Bacciccio’s fresco.\textsuperscript{339} Unlike the Lamb of the Ghent altarpiece, the

\textsuperscript{337} Christ was compared by Isaias to a lamb, but John the Baptist was actually the first to bestow this name upon him (“Behold the Lamb of God”). The “lamb” is a symbol derived from ancient type and prophecy as, for instance, in the Old Testament Paschal Lamb of the Jews, “without blemish, a male, of one year” (Exodus 12:5). […] To the ideas of immaculate purity, gentleness, atoning, and eucharistic sacrifice, the Baptist adds that of universality of purpose: “Who taketh away the sins of the world,” and not alone of Israel. From the Baptist the other John [author of the Book of Revelation] caught the fullness of the symbolism and repeated it in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Apocalypse in such a way as to foreshadow the splendours of the Solemn Mass—the Lamb upon the altar as upon a throne; the attendant clergy as four-and-twenty ancients seated, clothed in white vestments; the chanting of the “Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus”; the incense arising from golden censers, and the music of harps; and then, as by a sudden change, in the midst of all “a Lamb standing as if it were slain” (v, 6). Paraphrased partial synopsis from \textit{Catholic Encyclopedia Online}, s.v. “Agnus Dei (in Liturgy)” by Hugh Henry, accessed 25 Nov. 2013, http://newadvent.org/cathen/01221a.htm.


\textsuperscript{339} Brand Philip’s argument is based on the elevation of the mound of land above which the altar bearing the lamb is placed. In note 122, she acknowledges that the “hill…certainly signifies Mount Zion, and may specifically indicate the symbolic rock on which Christ built His Church.” Brand Philip, \textit{Ghent Altarpiece}, 62.
Lamb in the Gesù apse is elevated not on a hill but through its representation on an altar among clouds painted in the upper zone of the apse, and it was spatially informed by a representation of the Christ-child being circumcised in the high altarpiece below.

Conceptually and liturgically, therefore, the emphasis at the Gesù is on the connection between the Lamb and the shedding of Christ’s blood that is recreated in the Eucharistic rite during masses celebrated by the priest officiating at the high altar.  

Innocent XI’s apparent implicit approval of the theme of the Gesù apse fresco may well be linked to a decree he passed in 1679 that encouraged frequent and even daily communion.  

As discussed in Chapter Two, Ignatius fervently championed the practice of frequent communion, and his biographers had consciously associated the resurgence of the practice with the Jesuit founder as well as with the site of the Gesù. And, unlike *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, the motif of the Mystic Lamb could hardly be criticized for being Jesuit-centric, or Ignatius-centric, since it had already appeared several times in prominent Early Christian churches. While there is no way to know for sure what prompted the Jesuits to settle on this subject, its lack of any special relevance to the Jesuits or the Gesù (a point underscored in the anonymous document published by Curzietti) strongly suggests the Jesuits selected it in order to avoid antagonizing the

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340 Even though the connection between the sacrificial nature of the Lamb and the recreation of Christ’s sacrifice in the mass is made by most, if not all, scholars, two deserve special mention. First, Weil’s short but incisive analysis of the subject connects it to the subject of the *Quarant’ore apparato* of 1671 (and also to the composition of the dome, although in a rather tenuous manner). Weil, “Devotion of the Forty Hours, 239. Second, Hernández presents a detailed theological interpretation of the subject that is, for the most part, related to Baciccio’s composition. Hernández, *Il corpo del Nome*, 126-132.

And given the timing of the 1679 decree that was issued in the year preceding Baciccio’s work at the apse, it is reasonable to assume that Innocent XI’s support for frequent Communion factored into deliberations on an appropriate subject to replace *Joshua Stopping the Sun.* In settling on the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb by the 24 Elders,* the Jesuits must have concluded that it would be highly unlikely for the pope to take issue with a subject so closely associated with Communion and the liturgy of the Mass.

Even though the subject of the *Mystic Lamb* was not specifically Jesuit-centric, Baciccio’s representation is far from generic and it can be related to its location in the Gesù tribune in several ways. First and foremost, the subject is the same as that of the *Quarant’ore apparati* that had been used at the Gesù, most recently during the Jubilee Year of 1675. Second, the Twenty-Four Elders who adore the Lamb might even evoke the senior-most Jesuits housed at the adjacent Casa Professa. The Elders, also called Presbyters, may also be associated with the role of priests celebrating mass and administering the Eucharist at the high altar. Further, the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb by the Twenty-Four Elders* provides an appropriate thematic complement to the nave vault as the Elders fall down and worship the Lamb—which also represents Christ—echoing the theme of all Creation kneeling before the Holy Name in the *Triumph.* The motif of the Mystic Lamb in the Book of Revelation is extraordinarily rich in symbolism.

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342 This would even explain why the substantially grander *Triumph,* with its lavish decorations centered around the wafer-evoking IHS-inscribed sunburst in the nave vault, had not been condemned by Innocent XI.

343 With the choice of the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* for the Gesù apse, the Jesuits’ arrived at a subject that was closely linked to Innocent XI’s policies while at the same time also traditional and relevant (even if not exclusively so) to their Society, founder, and mother church.

344 I am grateful to Fr. Gregory Waldrop, S.J., for bringing this connection to my attention.
and lends itself to numerous interpretations and associations, which explains why its incorporation into Baciccio’s fresco cycle appears seamless.

**The Fresco of the Presbytery Arch**

From 1680 to 1683, along with the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* at the apse, Baciccio painted a scene with angelic musicians in the presbytery arch (Figure 13). The vault of the presbytery arch preceding the apse is neither included in the detailed list of vaults covered by Baciccio’s 1671 contract nor mentioned in any early sources or documents most likely because of its small dimensions. Its small surface area and its placement adjoining the apse vault suggest that it was considered a part of the tribune vault project originally commissioned from Cortese but eventually executed by Baciccio. Whereas the theme of the presbytery arch composition is closely linked to the dedication of the church and the high altarpiece as well as to the theme of the nave vault, the form of the composition echoes that of the nave vault (Figure 32). The thick gilded stucco cornice, a *quadro riportato* apparently supported by white stucco angels, reprises its counterpart in the nave vault. Within the frame, a group of music-making angels painted in darker shades of pastel colors is seated on clouds arrayed across the lower and side edges. Through their positions, gestures, and glances, these angelic musicians direct viewers’ attention towards another group of three free-floating angels clad in white and framed in soft sun-like light. Centrally positioned, the angels clad in white hold aloft a banderole bearing the inscription “Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus,” a phrase from Luke

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345 Enggass calls this scene an *Angelic Concert*. Enggass, *Painting of Baciccio*, 68-69. I refer to it as the *Conferral of the Name of Jesus* because the focus of the scene is not on the music-making angels but on the event recorded on the banderole even if it is not represented as a narrative.
2:21 that records the naming of the Christ Child. As in the nave, viewers of this composition are witness to an abstract heavenly scene exalting the Holy Name by means of a similar di sotto in su perspective and explained by means of a swirling banderole.

An examination of a preparatory oil sketch in the Galleria Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, reveals Baciccio’s masterful use of color and composition to link the presbytery arch fresco to its counterpart in the nave (Figure 112). While the postures of most of the figures in the fresco are largely unchanged from the preparatory sketch, the colors of the angels’ robes are significantly muted in the fresco, which overall is lighter in tone than the sketch. Whereas the sketch includes a dark blue robe for the angel holding the left edge of the banderole, in the fresco this angel, like his two companions who hold up the central portion and right edge of the banderole, wears white robes. The three upper central angels appear ethereal because of their white robes framed by soft sunlight, while their counterparts below are more corporal because of their darker clothing. The free-floating forms of the three white angels also contrast with the solidly seated angelic musicians in the darker clothing. A minor change in the posture of the angel in rust-colored robes positioned immediately below the angel bearing the left edge of the banderole greatly enhances the presbytery arch’s thematic link to the nave. In the sketch, both of this angel’s hands are on the trumpet while in the fresco the angel’s right hand is placed on his breast, a gesture that signifies the angel’s reverence of the Name of Jesus, the theme of the nave. Thus, in its composition, colors, and subject, the presbytery arch fresco is closely related to its counterpart in the nave.

Luke 2:21 in entirety reads: “After eight days had passed, it was time to circumcise the child; and he was called Jesus, the name given by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.” The phrase underlined is the translation of the banderole inscription of the Gesù presbytery arch.

Accademia di S. Luca, Inv. No. 152. I am most grateful to Dr. Angela Čipriani for providing me with a high-resolution image of the oil sketch.
Another way in which the presbytery arch fresco might be related to the *Triumph* is through an indirect evocation of Ignatius. Divine music is said to have been heard at Ignatius’ death, an event that is illustrated in an engraving by Adrian Collaert (Figure 113). And even though Ignatius’ 1609 biography does not depict divine music at Ignatius’ death, the caption of its final plate, which illustrates his passing, attests to his holiness through the miraculous elements of other-worldly light and heavenly music, specifically in relation to the translation of his mortal remains: “As his holy bones are translated, shining stars appear in the burial place, and heavenly singing is heard there too” (Figure 114). Thus, while a group of angels making music constitutes a rather common motif in ceiling frescoes, and the scroll recording the naming of Jesus held by the angels in the Gesù presbytery arch is related to the dedication of the church, the prominent placement of angelic musicians in this specific location strongly suggests the composition dates to a period when the hope of dedicating the high altar to Ignatius, and therefore housing his relics, was still alive. The angelic musicians of the presbytery arch fresco would thus derive from Oliva’s original project, for their heavenly music recalls the passing of Ignatius, whose remains were to have been translated to the high altar visible below. But by the time Baciccio painted the presbytery arch, the Jesuits had long given up on their attempts to dedicate the high altar to Ignatius, and the left transept chapel had already been dedicated to him. If this was indeed the case, then the theme of the presbytery vault composition is the only tangible remnant of Oliva’s unsuccessful attempts to have the high altar dedicated to the Jesuit founder.

**Relationship between the Mystic Lamb and the Triumph**

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348 This print is illustrated in Tacchi Venturi 1929, pl. 19.
Given that Oliva’s plans to decorate the Gesù altar and tribune in a manner glorifying the Jesuit founder were never realized, the area constituting the liturgical focus of the Jesuit mother church remained bereft not only of Ignatius’ remains but also of any references to his role in founding the Society of Jesus or in spreading the Catholic faith. Had Oliva’s project for the apse been realized, the presence of the figure of Joshua in the tribune vault coupled with the relics of Ignatius at the high altar below would have informed the reception of the Triumph, too. The ancillary allusions to Ignatius in the nave must, therefore, be understood as preludes to the much larger and more prominent, albeit allegorical and indirect, glorification of the Jesuit founder that Oliva had planned for the Gesù apse. However, since the Joshua fresco was never executed, these allusions to Ignatius were lost. Indeed, the Ignatius-centric significance of Joshua Stopping the Sun has been overlooked to such an extent that scholarly analyses of the Gesù apse frescoes have relegated the entire subject to a mere footnote or passing mention in studies of the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb, which replaced it.

Conclusions on the Replacement of Joshua Stopping the Sun with the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb

In sum, the Jesuits’ protracted and inconclusive negotiations with Ranuccio II Farnese to arrive at a mutual agreement on the artist, subject, and especially the cost of the commission to decorate the semidome of the Gesù apse spanned almost a decade. At the outset, when Oliva signed the contract for Bacicciò to decorate the remaining vaults of the Gesù in August 1671, the subject of Joshua Stopping the Sun had appeared in the Quarant’ore apparato used in the church just a few months earlier. At that time, the only obstacle to decorating the apse was the lack of Ranuccio’s approval and support. However, as the decade progressed, other setbacks followed, and Giacomo Cortese and
Pope Clement X passed away in the early second half of the decade. The period 1676-81 was crucial because of the unexpectedly conflictive relationship between the papacy and the Society of Jesus following the death of Clement X. The chill in Jesuit relations with the papacy lasted from the start of Innocent XI’s reign in October 1676 until Oliva’s generalship ended with his death in November 1681. So in the meantime, even though the Jesuits finally received Ranuccio II Farnese’s formal approval to decorate the apse in November 1679, they were wary of provoking Innocent XI’s disapproval through any perceived ostentation in the decoration. This was likely the deciding factor leading to the eschewal of *Joshua Stopping the Sun*—a subject that so obviously glorified Ignatius by equating him to Joshua who was so closely identified with Christ himself—and the consequent change in subject at the Gesù apse. The more universal subject of the *Mystic Lamb* that was frescoed instead appears to have derived from the *Quarant’ore apparato* used in the Gesù during the Holy Year of 1675. Also, by then the left transept chapel of the Gesù had already been definitively dedicated to Ignatius. Consequently, the representation of *Joshua Stopping the Sun* with its powerful allegorical allusion to the Jesuit founder no longer held the same allure as it had earlier in the decade when Oliva initially commissioned the Gesù frescoes with the intention of translating Ignatius’ remains to the high altar.
Chapter 4: The Remaining Frescoes, and Reception

The decorations of Roman churches and the celebrations that took place in them in the seventeenth century were the subject of numerous contemporary guidebooks catering to local worshippers, pilgrims, and tourists. One such guidebook entitled the “Guida angelica Per visitar le Chiese, che sono dentro e fuori di Roma tutto l’anno, e per sapere le feste, che vi si celebrano” offered information to the faithful about annual liturgical celebrations, indulgences granted, and relics housed at churches in and around Rome. The edition of the Guida angelica published in 1681 while Baciccio was decorating the Gesù apse is a unique source on regular celebrations that took place in the Jesuit mother church. Its contents were presented according to the liturgical calendar beginning chronologically on January 1 and listing annual feasts and other important devotional celebrations held in the churches of Rome. The Guida angelica’s edition of 1681 included the following references to the Gesù: January 1 (“[Feast of the] Circumcision of Our Lord Jesus Christ”); the entries for the month of January also include the information that every Friday during the year the “exposition of the Holy Eucharist [occurred at the Gesù as part of the Buona morte devotions]”); July 15 (Feast of “Saint Henry the Emperor, [whose relic is housed at the Gesù]”); July 31 (“[Feast of] Saint Ignatius, confessor and Founder of the Society of Jesus; and at the Gesù [in the rooms where he lived] that are now a chapel, a Mass is celebrated”); September 16 (“Feast at the Church of the Gesù for Saints Abondio and Abondazio, whose corps lie there”); October 3 (“[Feast of] Saint Francis Borgia”); November 2 (“the Friday after the “ottava de’

350 Guida angelica Per visitar le Chiese, che sono dentro e fuori di Roma tutto l’anno, e per sapere le feste, che vi si celebrano. Con una notitia delle indulgenze, che si acquistano, e delle reliquie, che vi sono. La notitia di tutti gli Esercitij di divotione, che vi si fanno, & altre particolarità. Aggiontovi in questa impressione molte cose memorabili, non mai più per l’adietro stampate, e diligentemente corretta. (Roma: Francesco Tizzoni, 1681). (Hereafter referred to as the Guida angelica.)
Morti,” at the Gesù [celebrations] for the deceased brothers and sisters of the buona morte; and there is a plenary indulgence for all who partake in communion on this day in this church [the Gesù] and pray for souls in Purgatory); November 25 (“On the Sunday closest to the Sunday of the Advent, is the [celebration of the] Consecration of the Churches of the Gesù and Santa Maria dell’Anima’’); December 3 (“Feast at the Gesù for Saint Francis Xavier, and [celebrations] at all churches of the Jesuit Fathers’’); and December 10 (“Feast of Saint’Abondio the martyr […] whose head is at the Gesù”).

The Guida angelica’s chronological list of annual feasts was followed by a section on various movable feasts. The Gesù as well as the Jesuits figured prominently in this section too. On every Saturday evening, for instance, litanies of the Virgin accompanied by music were chanted at the Gesù; and on every Sunday, Jesuit priests offered general Communion with plenary indulgences not only at the Gesù but also in other churches across the city. Celebrations at the Gesù during the period of Lent and Easter were especially important and often held in conjunction with larger city-wide festivities, for the guidebook noted that:

On the Sunday of the Quinquagesima [Sunday before Ash Wednesday], [there is a station of the Cross at Saint Peter’s, as well as a Quarant’ore apparatus, and at] the Church of the Gesù, [the Quarant’ore apparatus] is on view for another three days, and there are sermons and music. […]}

351 See Appendix 10 (“Excerpts Concerning the Gesù from the Guida angelica”).
352 See Appendix 10B (“Feste mobile,” 106).
353 Guida angelica, 71. See Appendix 10.

Every Thursday during Lent, there are music and sermons at the Church of the Gesù in the afternoon, where the Holy Sacrament is exhibited. […]

*Processions taken out during the week of Corpus Domini*

[…] Thursday at [the churches of] S. Lorenzo in Damaso, the Gesù, S. Marco, S. Andrea delle Fratte, at the Madonna of Monferrato, and S. Biagio in Strada Giulia; and during the day in Saint Peter’s, S. Giacomo de’ Spagnoli, and at S. Lorenzo in Lucina and other churches. […]

The *Guida angelica* thus aids in contextualizing visits to churches by the devout who lived in or visited Rome. It is likely that users of this guidebook who might otherwise not have visited the Gesù were prompted to do so because of a reference in it. The distinction between locals who visited the Gesù on a regular basis because they lived nearby, or were involved in one of the many congregations based in the church, or had a special devotion to Ignatius, and other locals who visited the Gesù rarely or intermittently (because it was recommended in the *Guida angelica*) is important. Regular visitors can be assumed to have been more familiar with and better informed about the church’s decorations as well as with Ignatian imagery than the less frequent visitors. The numerous references to the Gesù and the activity of the Jesuits recorded in the *Guida angelica* attest to the important roles played by the Society and its mother church in religious life in Rome at the time Baciccio was executing the *Mystic Lamb* in its tribune vault.

The demand for guidebooks like the *Guida angelica* provides an indication of the large number of faithful in Rome and from abroad who were interested in participating in the major religious activities taking place in the city. A sermon Oliva delivered to the professed Jesuits on the occasion of the Feast of the Circumcision in 1676 highlights the extraordinary number of pilgrims who had visited the Gesù during the Holy Year of

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354 See Appendix 10 (“10B. Feste mobili,” 106).
1675. The Father General noted that all through the Holy Year that had just come to an end, an “immense multitude” of pilgrims and city-dwellers (“villassi”) had visited the Gesù, which he referred to as “this first Church of the Society.” His observation that pilgrims visited “at all hours [and] crowded our temple” indicates the importance of a visit to the Gesù for the residents as well as pilgrims in Rome. The decorations Oliva had commissioned from Baciccio, and especially that of the dome which was slated in the contract to be completed in time for the Holy Year, were consciously representative of the Society and were deliberately addressed to the devout, such as the Holy Year pilgrims whose visits to the Gesù took place in tandem with their visits to other Roman churches.

The Rest of the Frescoes in Relation to the Triumph of the Name of Jesus

Pilgrims, Roman worshippers, and tourists visiting the Gesù were sure to compare the church’s decorations with those they saw in other Roman churches, and contemporary avvisi attest to the impact of the lavishness and the large scale of Baciccio’s frescoes on visitors. Baciccio’s frescoes in the Gesù differ considerably from their counterparts in Rome, except for the two smallest components of the cycle, which are the frescoes decorating the vaults of the presbytery arch and the chapel of Saint Ignatius. These are similar to the imagery in frescoed vaults in other contemporary churches, for they could be fully explained using simple narrative description and minimal interpretation. Both these compositions have a clear central focus with no distracting secondary focal groups and spectators could easily grasp the meaning of the compositions on first view itself.

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355 The sermon itself is undated, but this passage dates it to the Feast of the Circumcision following a Holy Year, and 1675 was the only Holy Year during which Oliva was Father General. See Appendix 9 for excerpt quoted from BNC.VEII Ges.1744, c. 198r-c. 217r, “Sermone detta nella casa professa la vigilia della circoncisione. Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus. Quod vocatum est ab angelo, priusquam in utero conciperetur. Luc. 2.c.” 202v.
contrast, the larger frescoes decorating the dome, pendentives, nave, and apse demanded closer attention and a significantly longer period of observation for viewers to comprehend their overall compositions. The profusion of figures and the imposing scale of the frescoed areas—the lowest portions of the frescoes are more than sixteen meters above the ground—called for close scrutiny by viewers. And even then, further interpretation was required for viewers to understand the significance of the imagery if they sought to fully appreciate their meanings. In this chapter I will analyze the frescoes of the left transept vault, dome, and pendentives and contrast them with their counterparts in the mother churches of other New Reform Orders, such as the Theatines, Oratorians, and Barnabites. I will also contrast their compositions with that of the Triumph, showing that the Triumph is especially complicated to interpret because its inclusion of highly allegorical imagery challenged erudite viewers to recognize associations beyond the obvious. This intellectual component of the composition was, I propose, closely related to the mode of education imparted in Jesuit institutions during the seventeenth century. Specifically, I suggest that the Ignatian references in the Triumph would have been understood and appreciated by the educated elite who were accustomed to a study of contemporary emblematic literature and also familiar with details from the life of the Jesuit founder.

The Vaults of the Presbytery Arch and the Left Transept Chapel

Prior to addressing the singularity of the Triumph’s composition, an analysis of the factors that differentiate it from its counterparts in the cycle commissioned by Oliva is

357 As outlined in Chapter One, the fresco of the right transept vault was executed as per the wishes of Monsignor Negroni. Since the fresco diverges considerably, in terms of style and subject matter, from the frescoes executed by Baciccio, I do not address it in this study.
essential to understanding the uniqueness of its subject matter and schema. The reception of the meanings of Baciccio’s frescoes at the Gesù presents an unusual scenario, for no two compositions are equally easy to interpret. This becomes obvious on comparing the two compositions that are the smallest in size and also the easiest to interpret, *Saint Ignatius in Glory* in the vault of the left transept chapel (Figure 14), and the *Conferral of the Name of Jesus* in the vault of the presbytery arch (Figure 111). Although smaller in scale than either the vaults of the apse or nave, or the dome, both these compositions present a clear central focal image (Ignatius ascending to Heaven in the former, and the inscribed scroll borne aloft by angels in the latter), and neither composition has secondary visual elements that distract the attention of viewers from their main focus. The message in both frescoes is conveyed in a straightforward manner to viewers once they enter the church, walk across the nave, and stand beneath the dome. However, because the inscription on the scroll in the presbytery arch fresco is in Latin, the comprehension of its meaning was limited to viewers who were literate and moreover could read Latin, and its direct and obvious relationship to the altarpiece and the dedication of the church would have been lost to all other viewers. For the illiterate, no matter how devout, it could only remain an image of celebratory angels evoking a heavenly realm unless the inscription was specifically explained to them. Because of the presence of multiple secondary focal groups, the reception of the imagery used in the larger and more complex frescoes decorating the dome and its pendentives, nave vault, and tribune vault also depended considerably on the level of preparation of the viewers as well as the time they spent in interpreting the compositions.

**The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb in the Apse**
Among Baciccio’s larger frescoes, the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* in the apse is the most theologically complex. As discussed in the previous chapter, the subject of the *Mystic Lamb* is taken from the Book of Revelation, and the challenge to interpret the fresco stems primarily from the complexity of its subject matter rather than from that of its composition. Though the theme of the *Mystic Lamb* is unique for the period, it conforms to tradition as it had frequently been used to decorate apse vaults in Early Christian times. As a monumental seventeenth-century fresco, the inherent need for interpretation of the eschatological subject of the *Mystic Lamb* distinguished it significantly from the primarily narrative subjects chosen to decorate the apse vaults in contemporary New Reform Order churches: the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Chiesa Nuova (Figure 115), *Scenes from the Life of Saint Andrew* in Sant’Andrea della Valle (Figure 116), and *Saint Carlo Borromeo in Glory* in San Carlo ai Catinari (Figure 117). The inherent symbolism characterizing the Book of Revelation as a whole and the figure of the Mystic Lamb in particular meant that any representation of the Mystic Lamb called for an exposition that went beyond mere narrative description. This innate requirement of theological exposition for a more complete spiritual understanding of the subject matter differentiates the *Mystic Lamb* from its counterparts in New Reform Order churches. It also differentiates the *Mystic Lamb* from its accompanying frescoes in Baciccio’s Gesù cycle, including the *Triumph*.

**The Vision of Paradise in the Dome**

Unlike the *Mystic Lamb*, the *Vision of Paradise* depicted in the Gesù dome represents relatively simple subject matter that is in keeping with other seventeenth-century dome frescoes. Ratti’s early account, published in 1762, includes only a passing reference to it;
he notes only that “[Baciccio painted a representation of] Paradise in the dome.”\footnote{Ratti 1762, 79.}

Baciccio’s other biographers and other early sources such as the Perugian abbott Filippo Titi’s guidebook are silent when it comes to specifics on the subject and composition of the dome.\footnote{An anonymous \textit{avviso} dating to April 20, 1675 and published by Rossi refers to the newly-unveiled dome fresco in disparaging terms with the observation that the Gesù dome had been painted based on a design by Bernini and by “a certain Florentine [called] Bacicciio; and not much praise was accorded by the cognoscenti to either the invention of the former or the execution of the latter.” Ms. Barb. 6413 published in Rossi, “Roma ignorata” \textit{Roma} 19 (1941): 30.

Rossi’s transcription reads: “La cupola è stata dipinta nuovo con disegno del Cavalier Bernino, e fattura d'un tale Bacicci Fiorentino, e da molti virtuosi non viene troppo lodata l'inventione del primo, come anche il lavoro del secondo.”

The author’s mislabelling of Baciccio as a Florentine and his use of reported speech for the information on Bernini’s intervention and for the criticism of the unveiled composition suggest he was not familiar with the commission and did not have much of an interest in it. The tone of his note may be either disinterested or caustic. Either way, it attests to the interest generated in Rome on the unveiling of the dome that prompted even a relatively uninterested spectator to go and see the fresco and record what he heard about it.} Whereas the subject of the Gesù dome is traditional, the innovative placements and postures of the figures in it allow for increased legibility and a greater scope for interpretation. The placement of individual figures in calculated groups and the attributes assigned to each figure are sure to have been provided to Baciccio by the Jesuits overseeing his composition, while the activated postures of individual figures may be attributed to his artistic prowess. In other words, the Jesuits provided the content of the fresco whereas Baciccio gave it form, as revealed by an analysis of the \textit{Vision of Paradise} in the dome and the \textit{Prophets Who Foretold the Coming of Christ} in the southeast pendentive.

Worshippers entering the Gesù must walk more than half way across the nave to view the frescoed figures in the dome. The fresco is not visible immediately on entering
the church because the dome rests on a drum. The drum is lined with four large sculpted figures representing the *Cardinal Virtues* that alternate with windows. The sculpted figure of *Prudence* is immediately visible to visitors entering the church and glancing up towards the dome (Figure 118), and it is only upon walking towards the tribune and nearing the crossing that the fresco above the drum comes into view (Figure 119).

On approaching the high altar, the main focus of the dome composition is revealed as a triangular group comprising God the Father, Christ and the Virgin (Figure 120). For ease of identification, I will refer to each pie-wedge shaped quarter of the dome fresco as a “section,” identifying each in relation to the spaces they border along the ground-plan of the church. Thus, the four sections are: “apse section” for the primary focal group of God, Christ, and the Virgin bordering the apse; “left transept section” for the section aligned with the left transept chapel; “right transept section” for the section aligned with the right transept chapel; and “nave section” for the section bordering the nave (Figure 40). The preeminent apse section, the first to be seen as one approaches the altar, depicts the frontal figure of God the Father at the apex; He is framed by a *mandorla* and holds his arms wide open. Christ is depicted at the lower left and the Virgin at the lower right; both of them turn towards God the Father. Christ’s out-flung arms are also spread wide open as he gazes up at God, and his left hand points towards the Virgin’s feet trampling a fantastical writhing serpent. With her hands clasped across her breast, the Virgin also looks up towards God the Father. The orientation of the bodies and gazes of Christ and the Virgin condition the attitudes and gazes not just of the viewer, but also of the other figures in the dome, the most prominent of whom are the kneeling figures of Adam and Eve positioned below Christ (Figure 121). Adam clasps the base of a large
cross whose arms are supported by an angel dressed in blue; the angel’s upper body twists to the right and his gaze meets that of the viewer. At the summit of the dome, a dedicatory inscription honoring Cardinal Alexander Farnese, the patron of the church, appears at the foot of the lantern where the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove is painted in the center (Figure 122). Groups of stuccoed putti overlap the inscription as they seemingly hold the lantern aloft.

The focal group of the Trinity and the Virgin situates the scene in Paradise. This vision of Paradise unfolds to viewers who walk around the crossing and look up at the numerous cloud-borne figures lining the dome. The base of the dome is pierced by oval windows connected by gilded stucco garlands. Above this undulating lower edge of the dome, Jesuit and other saints as well as figures from the Old and New Testaments are grouped together on thick clouds. Above them, music-making angels sit on an intermediary stratum of clouds positioned between the base of the lantern and the base of the dome. Innumerable putti are interspersed among the angels and individualized figures all across the dome.

The figures of God, Christ, and the Virgin in the primary focal group of the dome are immediately identifiable because of their relative isolation from the closely grouped secondary figures that surround them. And despite being secondary to the main focal group, the saints and Old Testament figures clustered together in close-knit groups are easily distinguishable, and their presence enriches the overall meaning of the composition.

In the second, or left transept, section, Saint Peter in blue and yellow robes gazes at God the Father while gesturing towards Saint Ignatius who is dressed in a rich
chasuble (Figure 123). Enggass has noted that the figure of Ignatius relates iconographically to his representation in the vault of the left transept chapel.\textsuperscript{360} This is because his robes are similar to those in the transept vault and the sculpted altarpiece below; the three representations align along a vertical axis leading viewers to a visualization of the saint’s ascent into Paradise. The Jesuit founder’s namesake, Saint Ignatius of Antioch, is positioned prominently behind him in the dome fresco. The Bishop of Antioch holds a large tome, likely the *Letters* he wrote in praise of martyrdom and in support of the primacy of the papacy. He is identifiable by the exceptional richness of his liturgical vestments as well as his position, which is aligned with those of Ignatius of Loyola, whose namesake he was, and Saint Peter.\textsuperscript{361} The liturgy as well as garments used in the rites of the Eastern Church, of which Antioch and Constantinople were the two most important cities, were and still are considerably more elaborate than those used in the Latin Church.

Just as Ignatius of Loyola is positioned in a group above the left transept chapel in association with Peter, Francis Xavier, accompanied by Saint Paul, is positioned in a group within the third, or right transept, section above the chapel dedicated to him and across from the one dedicated to the Jesuit founder (Figure 124).\textsuperscript{362} To the left of the Apostle to the Indies, an aged man with a gray beard holds up a wooden model of the Ark and may therefore be identified as Noah (Figure 37). Hernández explains the significance of Noah’s juxtaposition with Francis Xavier: the wood of the Ark and the water of the Deluge prefigure the wood of the Cross and the water used in the ritual of Baptism,

\textsuperscript{360} Enggass, *Painting of Baciccio*, 70.

\textsuperscript{361} Hernández, *Il corpo del Nome*, 113. Ignatius of Antioch’s placement alongside Ignatius of Loyola and Peter might also relate to the fact that succeeded the Prince of Apostles to the Bishopric of Antioch.

\textsuperscript{362} For convincing interpretations of the pairings of Ignatius with Peter and Francis Xavier with Paul, see Enggass, *Painting of Baciccio*, 33-35; and Hernández, *Il corpo del Nome*, 112.
respectively. Francis Xavier is thus characterized as the new Noah, echoing the writings of the Church Fathers.\footnote{Hernández, \textit{Il corpo del Nome}, 115.}

Finally, the fourth, or nave, section depicts a group comprising King David playing the harp and seated on a cloud just below and to the right of Francis Borgia (Figure 125). The third Jesuit Father General, who holds up a monstrance in his left hand and gestures to it with his right hand, is strategically positioned so as to be visible to the priest celebrating mass at the high altar (Figure 38). He turns to his left, returning the gazes of a French King and a Russian Tzar. The subtext of the message is clear: Borgia, who renounced his Dukedom to join the Society and who had been recently canonized in 1671, exhorts the monarchs to forsake material conquests for the spiritual.\footnote{Ibid., 114-115.}

The numerous figures in the dome are easily distinguishable from the ground provided viewers take the time to look at them carefully. Baciccio eschewed the relief-like positioning of the saints that had been employed by Giovanni Lanfranco and Pietro da Cortona in their compositions, respectively, for the domes of Sant’Andrea della Valle, the Theatine church, and the Chiesa Nuova, the Oratorian church (Figure 126; Figure 127). The dome of San Carlo ai Catinari is decorated with gilded stucco ribs and coffers instead of pictorial imagery, and the secondary figural groups in the domes of the Chiesa Nuova and Sant’Andrea della Valle are not as legible as those of the Gesù. In Pietro da Cortona’s dome at the Chiesa Nuova, the \textit{Trinity in Glory} is surrounded by figures of saints and angels on a layer of clouds lining the base of the dome. In Lanfranco’s \textit{Virgin in Glory} in the dome of Sant’Andrea della Valle, the figures of the saints surrounding the Virgin are also disposed in a similar linear fashion. The extraordinary height of the dome
of Sant’Andrea della Valle, which is one of the highest in Rome, further diminishes the legibility of the saints surrounding the Virgin. For the most part, Lanfranco and Cortona’s figures overlapped each other in a manner resembling typical low relief panels. In contrast, individual figures in Baciccio’s secondary groups are placed at different levels and positioned along different axes. Thus, instead of overlapping each other primarily on the horizontal plane, Baciccio’s figures relate to each other vertically, horizontally, and even diagonally. This innovative positioning emphasizes the individuality of the secondary figures in the Gesù dome, thereby increasing their legibility.\textsuperscript{365}

The ease with which Baciccio’s individual figures in the dome may be identified is attested to by a rather caustic observation on the figure of Ignatius recorded in an anonymous \textit{avviso} dating to April 20, 1675: “[t]he unveiling of the painting of the Gesù dome, commissioned by the Jesuits from a young and poorly esteemed artist so they would not have to spend much, presents many defects, including the Holy Father who appears bloated, explaining he looks that way because he sees the world in such disorder; and Saint Peter pointing [out] Saint Ignatius to Him as the cause [of the world’s disorder], along with his Society.”\textsuperscript{366} In addition to recording the unveiling of the dome and criticizing the Society of Jesus as well as Baciccio’s artistic capabilities, this observation also highlights the clarity of the figures in the secondary focal groups. Though the \textit{Vision of Paradise} in the Gesù dome is thematically and compositionally similar to the

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\textsuperscript{365} The dynamic positioning of the figures must ultimately have derived from Baciccio’s interactions with Bernini.
\textsuperscript{366} Ms. \textit{Barb. lat. 6380} cited in Rossi, “Roma ignorata” \textit{Roma} 19 (1941): 30. Translation mine; Rossi’s transcription reads: “Roma 20 aprile 1675. Scopertasi la pittura del Giesù fatta fare da Giesuiti da un pittor giovane poco stimato per spendere poco, vi si osservano molti difetti, e frà gli altri il Padre Eterno, che appare in sguainato, dicendo che si mostra così, perche vede il mondo tanto in disordine, e San Pietro li addita Sant’Ignazio ne sia la cagione con la sua Compagnia.”

The acerbic tone of the author of this comment and the pejorative nature of the criticism reported by the author of the \textit{avviso} cited in footnote 359 are perhaps representative of a general undercurrent of artistic rivalries and thinly-veiled animosity directed towards the Society of Jesus.
depictions of Paradise in the domes of the Chiesa Nuova and Sant’Andrea della Valle, the considerable importance given to figures in Baciccio’s secondary focal groups differentiated his composition from them. The prominence of Baciccio’s secondary figures and the conscious associations among the figures in each group and of the groups to each other were projected with discerning viewers in mind. This kind of calculated composition wherein individual figures are easily identifiable must be understood as the product of input from the unnamed Jesuits, presumably theologians and hagiographers, who were tasked with approving Baciccio’s designs. It was also used to great effect in the frescoes adorning the pendentives and the nave.

The innovative groupings of figures in the Gesù dome are reprised in the *Triumph*, but it is in the pendentives that they crescendo. Even a brief glance at the figural groups decorating each pendentive reveals the ambitious scope of their complex groupings, for instead of following tradition and representing a single figure on each pendentive, Baciccio decorated each pendentive with a group of four figures.\(^{367}\) In terms of thematic chronology, the groups begin with the *Four Prophets Who Foretold the Coming of Christ* in the Southeast pendentive to the right of the apse and adjoining the right transept chapel (Figure 9), and continue counterclockwise to the *Four Lawgivers of Israel* in the Northeast pendentive (Figure 10), followed by the *Four Evangelists* in the Northwest pendentive (Figure 11), and ending with the *Four Doctors of the Latin Church*

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\(^{367}\) In the pendentives of Sant’Agnese in Agone too, Baciccio had executed multifigural groups; it was on seeing these pendentives, executed from ca. 1666-72, that Oliva considered the artist for the Gesù commission. Unlike each pendentive in the Gesù, which uniformly consists of a group of four related figures, each pendentive in Sant’Agnese in Agone consists of a variation from two to four principal figures. Starting from the right of the high altar and continuing counter-clockwise, the following groups of figures decorate the pendentives in Sant’Agnese in Agone: *Justice, Faith, Peace, and Truth; Prudence, Providence, and Purity; Temperance, Hope, Wisdom, and Virginity; and, finally, Fortitude and Charity*. Petrucci, *Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709)*, 440-450.
in the Southwest pendentive, which bridges the nave and the right transept chapel (Figure 12).  

The Four Pendentives

Prior to Baciccio’s interventions at the Gesù, each pendentive had been frescoed with a figure of one of the four Doctors of the Latin Church almost a century earlier in 1583. In the Southeast pendentive, Baciccio grouped the figures of the Doctors together, positioning them along its top edge (Figure 12). In the upper left corner, the ascetic Jerome appears in profile. A red mantle draped across his torso reveals his right shoulder and arm. In his right hand, he holds a stone, which alludes to his hermetic life; his left hand is clasped to his breast. Two putti positioned along the curved lower right side of the pendentive play with his attribute: a cardinal’s hat. To Jerome’s right, Augustine holds open a large tome, and a putto at his feet holds up his attribute: a flaming heart. In line with Jerome and Augustine but raised slightly higher, Ambrose in a bishop’s mitre holds a pen as he gazes towards them. At the upper right edge, raised slightly higher than even Ambrose, Gregory the Great, dressed in magnificent robes and the papal tiara that transgresses the upper frame of the pendentive to protrude over the letters of the inscription in the dome, gazes towards Jerome. The dove, which is an attribute of Gregory the Great, appears in the upper right above his left shoulder. It is probably the most stunning illusionistic element of all the pendentives because of its brilliant placement outside the frame of the pendentive and its separation from the rest of

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368 Petrucci, Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709), 210.
369 Pecchiai, Il Gesù di Roma, 76. Based on fragmentary documentation regarding the commission, Pecchiai identifies the artist responsible for the decoration as Andrea Lilio d’Ancona. Petrucci, however, pointed out that this information is contradicted by two separate early seventeenth-century sources attributing the original frescoes of the pendentive to Giovanni de’ Vecchi. Petrucci, Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709), 192.
the group. Depicted in full flight, the dove’s wings are completely spread and its left wing, like Gregory the Great’s tiara, overlaps part of the inscription in the dome. So persuasive is Baciccio’s illusionism that it appears to be suspended in time and space as it flies into the pendentive.

Continuing clockwise, the Northwest pendentive portrays the *Four Evangelists* (Figure 11). Baciccio exploited the triangular shape of the pendentive for this group. The appearance of Matthew’s attribute, the angel, as an almost-adult figure helped in this regard because it allowed him to arrange five figures across the triangle-shaped fresco field, with Matthew positioned in the lower corner and the angel next to him positioned in its center. In the upper left corner, John dominates the composition because of his expansive posture, wherein his outstretched right hand and raised head transgresses the frame, and because of the brightness of his red and green robes. To his left is the eagle, his attribute, and to his right Luke holds up his painting of the Virgin. The head of the bull, Luke’s attribute, is visible between him and John. Finally, in the upper right corner, Mark, who has brown hair and is dressed in brown robes, holds a half-open scroll in his left hand as he returns the viewer’s gaze. Surprisingly Mark’s attribute, the lion, who is positioned behind the apostle’s left shoulder, is portrayed from the rear and is barely visible. It is very difficult to distinguish the lion because the shade of brown Baciccio used for its mane is the same as the one he used for Mark’s hair and robes.370

The next pendentive, continuing clockwise, depicts the *Four Lawgivers of Israel* (Figure 10). The group is dominated by Moses, who is in the center and points to the Decalogue. In the left corner, a bearded general in a plumed helmet holds a baton of

370 It would seem that this awkward placement of the lion is the result of a late *pentimento*. 
command and can be securely identified as Joshua, the successor of Moses, because Moses looks directly at him and because his breastplate is emblazoned with the motif of the sun. The pendentives were unveiled in 1676, and Baciccio’s representation of Joshua must relate, in its characterization, to that projected by Cortese for the apse.\footnote{See my discussion of the putative relationship between Cortese’s lost sketches and Baciccio’s frescoed figure of Joshua in the previous chapter.} In the background between Joshua and Moses appears an aged figure who has been identified as the patriarch Abraham who lived until the age of 165.\footnote{Giachi identified him as Gideon. Giachi, \textit{Parabola di luce}, 17.} Finally, in the lower corner of the pendentive, the bearded muscular figure viewed from the back as he writes in a book has been identified as Aaron, the brother of Moses and High Priest of the Israelites, based on the priest’s hat carried by the \textit{putto} directly behind him.\footnote{The identifications of the last two figures are not conclusive because of the fact that the figure identified as Aaron, who was the older brother of Moses, is portrayed as a much younger man with black hair and beard that contrasts sharply with the gray hair and beard of Moses. Giachi, in fact, identifies them as Samuel (instead of Abraham) and Eli (instead of Joshua). Giachi, \textit{Parabola di luce}, 17. Lanckarońska, however, suggests he might be Melchisedech. Lanckarońska, \textit{Docoracija Kościola “Il Gesù,”} 8.}

In the Southeast pendentive (Figure 9), Daniel and Isaiah may be securely identified based on their attributes. Daniel is the most prominent of the four figures; depicted as a blond youth in richly embroidered robes positioned at the upper right corner of the pendentive, he points upwards with his right hand while his left hand rests on the head of a lion, which is his attribute. In the opposite corner, Isaiah dressed in a red tunic and with his right hand placed on the saw, the instrument of his martyrdom, gazes at Daniel. Two more figures are positioned between Isaiah and Daniel. One is gray-haired, dressed in white, and positioned in the background. The other, balding, younger, and dressed in ochre and slate-blue, is positioned prominently in the foreground with his back towards the viewer. Both of them hold books but have no other attributes. A group of
four *putti* sit on a cloud beside the younger figure’s right leg. The *putto* at lower left holds a stone in his right hand as he points to the balding prophet’s foot with his left hand. The books and the stone do not provide sufficient information to conclusively identify the two figures in the center, but Enggass’ reasonable supposition that they are the remaining two major prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, is quite tenable.\(^{374}\)

Comparison of an early drawing for the *Prophets* in the Southeast pendentive with the final fresco reveals the extent to which this composition developed in terms of the schema as well as in the individualization of the figures. Generally, Baciccio’s preparatory designs tend to be much less elaborate in terms of attributes, and it may be inferred thereby that the complexity of the final composition derives from instructions given to the artist. The drawing, now housed in the Museum Kunst Palast, Düsseldorf, depicts four male figures in heavy robes arrayed across the upper edge of the pendentive (Figure 128).\(^{375}\) Holding large books, each figure is a generic representation of an old man with graying hair and a flowing beard distinguished only in terms of position and gesture. The final composition Baciccio arrived at is markedly different; the figures of the *Prophets* in the fresco are highly individualized in terms of physical appearance and attributes, and their placement is considerably more dynamic. The four prophets differ distinctly in terms of their features, age, posture, and the color of their garments. In the upper left corner, Isaiah is represented as a bearded, brown-haired, middle-aged figure.

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\(^{374}\) Enggass, *Painting of Baciccio*, 41. Petrucci notes, however, that Enggass’ individual identifications of the two figures should be reversed because the attribute held by the *putto* was identified by Enggass as a bone which likely relates to Jeremiah’s hermetic life; consequently, the gray-haired figure in the background should be identified as Ezekiel and the balding black-haired figure in the foreground as Jeremiah. Petrucci, *Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709)*, 210.

\(^{375}\) Museum Kunst Palast Düsseldorf, Inv. No. KA [FP] 1876 (Dimensions: 373 x 250 mm., Medium: pen and brown ink with black chalk).

I am very grateful to Regina Abels, Sonja Brink, and Gunda Luyken for facilitating my consultation of this drawing and discussing the history of the collection with me.
Across from him in the upper right corner, Daniel appears as a considerably younger, beardless, blond youth whose head and raised right arm transgress the upper frame of the pendentive and left hand rests on the head of a lion. In the foreground between Isaiah and Daniel, Jeremiah is depicted as a balding bearded man with black hair who is positioned with his back to the viewer, while in the background Ezekiel is portrayed as an aged, bearded man with a full head of gray hair—the only figure who still bears some resemblance to those in the early drawing.

Whereas the activated positioning of the frescoed figures may be attributed to Baciccio with guidance from his mentor Bernini, the striking individualization of the figures and their attributes is another matter. It must have resulted from Jesuit feedback on Baciccio’s initial conception of the four prophets in the Düsseldorf drawing. Unlike at the Chiesa Nuova where the four prophets adorning each of the four pendentives of the dome are clearly labelled, Baciccio’s figures are not labelled and so require the viewer to arrive at their identities through a visual analysis.

An additional conceit may be embedded in the Southeast pendentive, for Daniel’s prominently positioned right hand singles out the word “NOMINE” or “Name” in the inscription at the base of the dome. The exaltation of the Name of the Lord is an important recurring theme in the Books of three of the prophets represented, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, but oddly not in the Book of Daniel. Baciccio’s positioning of Daniel’s right hand seems to be an artistic adaptation which molds all four prophets into a

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thematic group exalting the Holy Name, the subject of the nave fresco and an intended allusion to the person of Joshua projected originally for the apse fresco. The increased individualization of the prophets and the inclusion of attributes in the frescoed pendentive significantly enriched the imagery beyond the descriptive or narrative, for it invited viewers to analyze the composition in greater depth. The same holds true for the compositions in the dome, apse, and nave, and it stands to reason that the initial compositions conceived by Baciccio for every area were critiqued and improved upon by Jesuits well-versed not only in theology but also in iconography.\textsuperscript{378}

As may be expected, Baciccio’s grouping of four figures into each pendentive lent itself to an exponentially increased number of thematic associations compared to the norm. The interrelationships between individual figures and groups in the frescoes of the pendentives, apse, and especially the dome, that go beyond the merely narrative have been addressed and interpreted in several studies.\textsuperscript{379} When the subjects of each pendentive were related to those of the other pendentives, and even to groups or individual figures in the dome, they allowed for many additional layers of interpretation. The same holds true for the great mélange of Jesuit saints with figures from the Old and New Testaments as well as with other saints in the dome. A similar intellectual component that is based on the expectation that some viewers go beyond understanding the images through narrative to make thematic associations also characterizes the

\textsuperscript{378} I am currently preparing an analysis of a preparatory drawing (in a private collection) and three oil sketches for the \textit{Triumph} (at the Gallerie Tarantino in Paris, Galleria Spada in Rome, and the Princeton University Art Museum in New Jersey). The way in which the early composition used in the Tarantino oil sketch was eventually elaborated appears to be very similar to the way in which the composition of the Düsseldorf drawing I have examined for this case study evolved into the final fresco.

\textsuperscript{379} For the interrelationships between the figures of the dome and pendentives, see Enggass, \textit{Painting of Baciccio}, 32-37; Petrucci, \textit{Baciccio: Giovan Battista Gaulli (1639-1709)}, 203-217; and Hernández, \textit{Il corpo del Nome}, 120-124.
composition of the *Triumph*, but it has been overlooked in scholarship and merits further examination.

**The Emblematic Component of the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus***

The frescoed part of the *Triumph* covers a vast area that measures 243.71 square meters and is the main focus of the Gesù interior. Though the area of the nave towards the entrance of the church is the vantage point from which to view the entire composition, certain parts are oriented to the gaze of viewers standing with their backs to each of the longer sides of the nave. As the bright focal Jesuit monogram, the beatific figures drawn towards it, and the infernal figures repelled by it dominate attention on entering the church, viewers usually miss the numerous intricate details of the fresco, its frame, and the surrounding stuccoes. The clear and immediate message conveyed by the overall schema to all visitors as they enter the church is the salvific nature of the Holy Name. Viewers have no need to decipher ancillary details to perceive this; should they wish to discern details, the sheer number of figures along with their dynamic and illusionistic placements in mid-air initially hinder rational perception. It is only on closer examination, dependent upon the viewers’ physical movement across the nave and along its perimeter, that details in the composition become clear. The *Elect* depicted on the right side of the frame and the gilded relief panel of the Flaming Heart adjacent to it and flanking the titular banderole are rationally legible only when viewers position themselves across from them along the left side of the nave (Figure 129).

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381 The issues of orientation and visibility of such parts of the composition to Jesuits and their guests seated in the *corretti* lining the nave were brought to my attention by Gregory Waldrop, S.J., and I thank him for indicating that the reception of the *Triumph* by viewers in the *corretti* needs to be explored further.
Elect depicted on the left side of the composition and the gilded relief panel of the Eucharist are correctly aligned and legible to viewers positioned across them and with their backs to the right side of the nave (Figure 130). The narrative episodes from the Book of Joshua are discernable only on close observation as they are partially obscured by the banderole that undulates across them. The Latin inscription of the banderole would only be understood by the most erudite viewers, of whom only a fraction would have been aware that Philippians 2:10 was the antiphon of the Mass of Ignatius. The details of the nave’s decoration thus required viewers to invest time and effort in deciphering them, and demanded that they walk around to multiple points below the ceiling to observe individual areas of the composition. Though the message of the overall composition was obvious to all who entered the Gesù, the significance of the compositional details would only have been understood by a small section of visitors.

This unusual aspect of the Triumph’s design differentiates it considerably from Baciccio’s other frescoes at the Gesù and from the simpler narrative compositions in the nave vaults in other New Reform Order churches. The complexity of the Triumph was heightened because its relationship to emblematic imagery invited knowledgeable viewers to make intellectual associations between images, text, and context. In Chapter Two, I have shown how the sources for the Triumph ranged from factual, to anecdotal accounts, and illustrations from various biographies of Ignatius, devotional literature, and even the Bull of his canonization. Most visitors to the Gesù would not have been aware of these sources or even capable of making these associations on viewing the imagery of the Triumph. And yet, I will demonstrate in this section, a significant number of worshippers were trained and encouraged to make precisely these kinds of associations.
My argument is based on what is best termed as the “emblem culture” that thrived among the literati in seventeenth-century Europe and the fact that Jesuits and Jesuit novices from Rome and abroad as well as students enrolled at the Order’s Collegio Romano formed a large portion of contemporary audiences at the Gesù. An academic formation following the Ratio Studiorum, a teaching manual that provided curricular directives for Jesuit educational institutions, and a devotion to Ignatius (or at least an interest in the Jesuit founder in the case of non-Jesuits educated by Jesuits) provided these viewers with a combination of humanistic and theological training which, along with their spiritual and/or cultural interests, were essential to analyzing the composition and appreciating its intellectual depth. For viewers without such formal training, the experience was simpler, and their appreciation was limited to the devotional and aesthetic aspects of the compositions.

**Audiences at the Gesù and Reception**

Baciccio’s decorations were viewed by a wide range of audiences comprising Jesuits, ecclesiastics, and seminarians, as well as laypersons like worshippers, tourists, and artists. Depending on spectators’ individual backgrounds, the extent to which they could associate the Triumph’s allusions to Ignatius would have differed. Pilgrims and visitors who held a special devotion to Ignatius, as well as all literate viewers familiar with the texts of biographical accounts, would have been aware to varying degrees of the motifs related to Ignatius’ life from biographies and works of art. However, the awareness of Ignatius’ connection to Joshua or to the Triumph’s titular verse, Philippians 2:10, was limited to the few who were familiar with Ignatius’ life and achievements and, in addition, details of his canonization process and the text of the votive mass in his
honor. The *literati* who were conversant with the multivalence of the imagery found in Jesuit and other emblem books and who were well-versed in the scriptures were the best equipped to interpret in a profound manner the symbolism of the attributes, poses, and positions of the figures in adoration of the Holy Name in relation to the text of Philippians 2:10. Because the sources utilized in the composition are so varied, not every knowledgeable viewer can be assumed to have been cognizant of or even capable of recognizing every reference to Ignatius in the *Triumph*, but for members of congregations based in the Gesù, or others who had read biographies of Ignatius or were familiar with images from the Saint’s life, making associations between the visual motif and a quality, achievement, or deed of Ignatius would have come quite intuitively.

Some of the motifs, such as fire, the Eucharistic Host, and the monogram IHS representing the Name of Jesus drew upon established Ignatian iconography commonly seen in printed images. The wide diffusion of printed images meant that devotees familiar with images of the saint’s life would have instinctively perceived several of the *Triumph*’s allusions to Ignatius even if they were illiterate or semi-literate.

**Illiterate and Semi-Literate Audiences**

By the late seventeenth century, fire, light, and radiance had come to be closely related with Ignatius’ person. Captions explained these associations in most of the earlier printed images of the Jesuit founder, as may be seen in several plates from the 1609 *Vita*. Eventually, the metaphorical fiery qualities entered the canon of Ignatian iconography, and though explicit captions associating Ignatius with fire kept appearing, they were no

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382. The six congregations known to have met at the Gesù are: Congregazione della Gloriosissima Vergine Assunta; Natività di Maria Santissima; Congregazione della Annunciata; Congregazione della Immacolata Concezione di Maria; Sodality of the Bona Morte; Congregation of local and other diocesan priests. Maher, “Congregations at the Gesù,” 35-39.
longer essential to explicating the images they accompanied. At the Gesù, no less than three prominent bas-reliefs dating to the last quarter of the seventeenth century are bereft of *tituli* and represent three different ways in which Ignatius was associated with fire: 1) through flames, which are a manifestation of fire; 2) through the motif of a flaming heart combining flames with a property of fire, such as ardor; and 3) through a sun-like radiance. The first is seen in the white stucco relief at the top right wall of the left transept chapel dedicated to Ignatius that depicts the *Miracle of the Flame* with disembodied flames above the saint (Figure 131). The second is the bas-relief of the *Flaming Heart* to the right of the titular banderole of the nave (Figure 19). The third is a gilded bronze relief panel, the fifth of a set of seven reliefs decorating the altar of Ignatius, that portrays the saint’s supernaturally radiant face by means of an enlarged halo (Figure 132). 383

An undated list of tapestries exhibited at the Gesù demonstrates just how strongly fire-related imagery and the characterization of Ignatius as an exorcist took root in Ignatian iconography. 384 Eleven of the twelve tapestries depicted episodes from Ignatius’

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383 The relief panels depicting the *Miracle of the Flame* and the *Meeting of Saints Ignatius and Philip Neri* in the left transept chapel were executed in the decade following Baciccio’s work at the Gesù, and their iconography, explicitly referring to fire, attests to the prevalent association of the element with the Jesuit founder.

384 The undated pamphlet is preserved, slightly damaged, in ARSI *Rom. II*, c. 545 r.- c. 546v. For a transcription of the pamphlet, see Appendix 11: “Undated list of tapestries displayed in the Gesù on the feasts of the Circumcision and of Saint Ignatius.”

These tapestries are likely related to the thirteen that were commissioned during the period 1743-45 and which are listed in Dionisi, *Il Gesù di Roma*, 97-98, but there are minor discrepancies suggesting the pamphlet may predate the tapestries cited by Dionisi. The following is known: the pamphlet refers to the Chapel of Saint Francis Borgia, so it must date to the years following his canonization in 1671. Another reference to the “Chapel of the Crucifixion” suggests it might date to the mid 1670s when Oliva’s plans to translate Ignatius’ remains to the high altar were still alive. The reference to the “Chapel of Saint Charles Borromeo” is, however, quite perplexing. In addition, a reference in François Deseine’s guidebook of 1713, to two lavish tapestries in the Gesù sacristy that were displayed in the church solely on the Feast of the Circumcision and the Feast of Saint Ignatius may refer to tapestries in the undated pamphlet, for its opening line specifies the set was displayed on these two occasions every year. François Deseine, *Rome moderne, Première Ville de l’Europe […]*, Vol. 1 of 6, (Leiden: Pierre van der Aa, 1713), 233.
life, and the twelfth represented several Jesuit institutions founded in the city of Rome thanks to Ignatius, which are described as “opera di pietà” in the pamphlet. The entire set of tapestries was displayed on just two occasions a year—on January 1, which at the time was the Feast of the Circumcision, and on July 31, the Feast of Saint Ignatius. Three tapestries from the set that were displayed in the nave area deserve special mention as their iconography reflected that of the *Triumph*. In the first, which was hung above the doorway leading to the sacristy, Ignatius was represented in the act of writing the “Istituto della Compagnia di Gesù” with “a divine fire above his head that signified the divine and excellent work in which he was engaged.” The other two tapestries were hung above the interiors of the doors flanking the main entrance of the church. Over the left door, a representation of the meeting of Ignatius and Philip Neri illustrated the episode in which the Oratorian observed the Jesuit founder “radiating divine light from his entire body, a sign of his sanctity and his great soul; because of which Philip[NERI] himself used to say that no one on this earth was capable of creating a portrait of Saint Ignatius of Loyola.” Finally, in the tapestry hung above the door to the right of the main entrance, Ignatius appeared in the act of “exorcising the possessed from the infernal tyranny over their bodies … thereby converting innumerable sinners.” Devout viewers, even if illiterate and quite unaware of Ignatius’ likening to Joshua or of his association with Philippians 2:10, were sure to have been familiar with images like these and to have perceived similar motifs in the iconography of the *Triumph*. Regardless of whether the tapestries were woven before, during, or after Baciccio’s work at the Gesù, their imagery

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385 The special exhibition of scenes from Ignatius’ life on the Feast of the Circumcision underscores yet again the conceptual association of the Jesuit founder’s person with the Name “Jesus’ and his role in founding and naming the Society.

386 See Appendix 11: “Undated list of tapestries displayed in the Gesù on the feasts of the Circumcision and of Saint Ignatius.”
underscores the common associations of Ignatius with fire and with the cure of tormented souls. It is safe to conclude that for a large percentage of visitors to the Gesù, the fiery radiance of the IHS-inscribed sunburst, when coupled with the very awareness of the Jesuit founder’s renowned devotion to the Holy Name and to fire, evoked his persona and his role in spreading the fire of Christ.

**Erudite Audiences**

Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* differs from the frescoed decorations of other seventeenth-century nave ceilings because of a distinctly emblematic component in its imagery, which has not received attention in the modern literature on the Gesù. Whereas the subject matter appears to be a straightforward glorification of the Name of Jesus and the Church Triumphant, informed viewers would recognize in it a multi-layered paean celebrating the Jesuit founder’s deeds in the service of Christ. Those with the requisite academic background comprised principally the pope and his court, professed and lay Jesuits, and novices and seminarians. Especially devout artists such as Bernini and other secular *literati* who had some theological formation would also have belonged to the elite audiences capable of analyzing the thematic conceits that characterized the *Triumph*.

As the mother church of the Society of Jesus, the Gesù was no doubt frequented by numerous Jesuit instructors and their students. Students based in Rome attended the Collegio Romano or one of various Jesuit national colleges or the Jesuit novitiate of Sant’Andrea al Quirinale. The rigorous training they received in the humanities shaped them into an audience well-instructed in Latin as well as in rhetoric of allegory and hyperbole. And by virtue of their enrollment in Jesuit educational institutions, even
students who did not intend to enter the Society were sure to have been informed about
the life and deeds of Ignatius of Loyola. Considering the stress on rhetoric and
emblematics in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, professors and students from Jesuit
institutions who visited the Gesù constituted an audience that was conditioned to exercise
its intellect and demonstrate its erudition through training in the invention and
interpretation of heraldic and allegorical imagery and literature. For this kind of audience
Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* was replete with allegorical and even abstract
references to Ignatius, presenting the kind of image that they had either taught or
composed, presented, and interpreted as part of their academic curricula.

**Emblematics in the Jesuit Curriculum**

The *Ratio studiorum*, published by Father General Claudio Acquaviva in 1599,
was a teaching manual that provided curricular directives for Jesuit educational
institutions, and it included advice on incorporating emblematic images into academic
training. The Jesuits modified the humanist mode of instruction so that Christian ideals
replaced pagan ones. Thus, proficiency in the classics and in rhetoric was prized and both
subjects were formally imparted to students, who were expected to emulate and use
rhetorical conventions in the interpretation and exposition of Catholic beliefs. The
emphasis placed in the *Ratio Studiorum* on the interpretation of symbols and the
connection of imagery with rhetoric and exposition is highlighted in three specific rules:
first, the fifteenth rule for the Professor of Rhetoric (“For the sake of erudition, other and
more recondite subjects may be introduced on the weekly holidays in place of the
historical work, for example, hieroglyphics, emblems, questions of poetic technique,

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(Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005).
epigrams… and other kindred subjects, but in moderation.”); second, the tenth rule for the Teacher of Humanities (“Let choice poems written by the pupils be affixed to the walls of the schoolroom, nearly every other month … according to the custom of the region, there may be short prose selections, such as inscriptions for coats of arms … and there may be added, but not without the consent of the Rector, drawings which represent some motto or some proposed subject.”); and third, Rule 18 in the Rules for Professors of Rhetoric, which repeats in similar words the prescription on the use of academic assignments in the form of emblematic exhibitions that were known in the Flemish Jesuit provinces as “affixiones” or “open days,” during which illustrated posters created and displayed by students were judged on the basis of their conceptual clarity and expositional efficacy.\(^{388}\) In addition to providing their students a means to display their erudition, these annual public exhibitions provided Jesuit educational institutions with a means of informing the public about the quality of education being imparted. The contents of the affixiones were inspired by and modeled upon material in contemporary emblem books. The same types of visual allegories students employed during their early academic formation were also used in printed sheets known as “thesis prints” produced for their final academic defenses in Jesuit institutions. Though the affixiones and the thesis prints represent different stages of the students’ career, both are similar in their great dependence on emblematic imagery.

\(^{388}\) See Dimler, “The Jesuit Emblem,” 102-103, for a broader list assembled by Dimler of rules in which the word “emblem” occurs, of which these three are, I believe, most relevant to the reception of the Triumph; for a survey of the affixiones, see “‘Affixiones’ and emblems in the pastoral work and teaching of the Jesuits,” in Porteman, Emblematic Exhibitions (affixiones), 10-23. The practice of using emblems in the affixiones is known through the annual reports sent to Provincials who, in turn, compiled a survey that was sent to Rome. Ibid., 9.
In a study of approximately forty commemorative volumes of the *affixiones* of the Province of Flanders-Belgium, Karel Porteman has shown that these emblematic exhibitions and the study of emblems were an important part of Jesuit teaching programs. Porteman traces the origins of the Jesuit *affixiones* to Jerónimo Nadal’s guidelines for literary contests, in turn modeled on similar activities at the University of Paris. The Jesuits’ novel practice of fusing mechanical literary exercises such as memorization and rote learning of the lower forms with the conceptual activity of conceiving and explaining emblematic images became extremely popular among students. Correspondence among the superiors and provincials reveals grave concern that, just as had happened in the field of theater, the unbridled enthusiasm of the students and the expenses they lavished on the artistic production of the *affixiones* threatened to detract from their educational aims and values. Already in 1611, Father General Claudio Acquaviva had expressed his concern in this regard to the Provincial of the Belgian province, with the admonition to avoid “sumptuous” emblems and *affixiones*. But Porteman notes that in 1615, despite Aquaviva’s concerns, the Walloon provincial congregation even went on to recommend having three annual exhibitions to be held on the occasions of the Feast of the Annunciation, on Corpus Christi, and a smaller one on St. Ignatius’ Day! Of interest, too, are subsequent developments restricting the number of *affixiones* per year, their expenses, the number of works displayed, and even the intervention of instructors in the conception of the students’ works being exhibited.

The evidence reflects the enthusiasm with which students and instructors embraced

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389 The manuscript volumes commemorating the annual *affixiones* studied by Porteman are decorated with text and image. They were compiled in the Brussels College during the period 1630-1685. They are housed today at the Royal Library in Brussels. Porteman, *Emblematic Exhibitions (affixiones)*, 9.
390 Ibid., 11.
391 Ibid., 13.
activities concerning the conception, interpretation, and exposition of emblematic imagery.

One further point made by Porteman about the emblem’s relation to text and image needs to be underscored specifically in relation to the *Triumph*: the “rhetorisation” of the emblem genre by the Jesuits. Essentially, the curriculum of Jesuit colleges made the emblem “part of the rhetorical doctrine of tropes. In rhetoric tropes are words which are used in a meaning they do not possess, but onto which that meaning is transferred whenever they take the place of words which do have that meaning. … Many factors stimulated this rhetorisation. … the structure of the emblem’s argument: emblems are images intended to persuade and thus are particularly suited to the transfer of values. Moreover they affect the eye: by means of the most important of the senses the mind is reached without any diversion, in contrast to the action of words: which, so it was thought, only indirectly substitute reality” [emphasis mine].”

Porteman notes that the genre of the emblem aids in cultivating “*ingenium*” or intellectual brilliance and in reinforcing the memory because of its ability to function as a mnemonic device; the mnemonic quality of the emblem was even used to imprint on students’ memories works by Classical authors. The classroom activities requiring memorization made use of the quality of emblematic images to aid students in recalling associations related to the texts they read. The intuitive nature of a viewer’s initial perception of effective emblematic images and the associations that such images evoked or recalled precede any intellectual analysis and were, paradoxically, a means by which even illiterate and semi-literate

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392 Ibid., 22.
393 Two specific instances are known of the use of emblem exercises in teaching the Classics: first, Horace’s *Ars Poetica* in 1652; and second, Cicero’s *De oratore* in 1663. Ibid., 22.
devotees of Ignatius familiar with images of his life and deeds would have imbibed several aspects of the *Triumph’s* imagery.

The previous point may be illustrated by a colored gouache drawing of a flaming heart entitled “S. Ignatij Charitati mundus angustus” (“The world is too small for the charity of Saint Ignatius”) from the commemorative *affixio* created for Archduke Leopold William of Austria in the Province of Flanders-Belgium in 1650 (Figure 133). All images in the series are presented inside a frame in the form of a winged and burning heart, and there is a consistent theme underlying them, with each illustration conveying an encomiastic message. However, if saemi-literate or even illiterate viewers viewed an image created for a highly educated audience in an Ignatian context, they would have understood the depiction of the flaming heart with a battle-scene within it as a reference to Ignatius’ virtues.

The thesis print was another academic activity that fused rhetoric with emblems and was central to Jesuit education. Louise Rice’s study on academic defenses at the Collegio Romano has shed much light on this unique genre of engravings and its emphasis on images in relation to text. She identifies the Jesuits as promoters of the phenomenon of the thesis print emerging as a distinctive category of engraved image, which spread to other institutes of higher education. In noting that thesis prints “have no modern equivalent… the booklet or sheet was distributed to members of the audience during the defense itself; it served as a kind of program, which enabled the audience to follow the progress of the disputation, and was then taken home as a record or souvenir of the event,” Rice underscores the erudite nature of the audiences for these prints and

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394 Ibid., Catalog entry on ”The charity of Ignatius and the steadfastness of Xavier.” 114ff.
their interest in emblematic imagery.\footnote{Ibid., 148-149.} Thesis prints shared three basic components: a heraldic image, a dedicatory inscription, and the text of the conclusions that would be presented in the defense. By the 1630s, larger narrative images whose aesthetic and emblematic components often outshone the textual component were replacing the static heraldic image, usually the coat of arms of the dedicatee. As in the case of the \textit{affixiones}, the production of thesis prints also attracted censure from superiors concerned that form was being privileged over content, and that the time and expense invested in their production far outweighed their academic function. Rice addresses the sumptuousness of the images and material of the thesis prints: for example, Lorenzo Raggi’s thesis print commemorating his Philosophy defense at the Collegio Romano in 1637 was almost a metre in height (Figure 134), while “others were even larger, sometimes consisting of four, six, or even nine sheets of paper glued together. …. The wealthier students lavished huge sums of money on their theses … commissioning such ambitious designs that often preparations had to be begun a year or more in advance of the defence.”\footnote{Ibid., 153-154.} Her conclusion that the chief fascination of thesis prints lay in their rich iconography, which served primarily to transform narrative derived from classical sources into “a visual encomium extolling the student’s sponsor, and sometimes also his institution” may be applied to the reception of the \textit{Triumph}.\footnote{Ibid., 156-158.}

Although the \textit{Triumph}’s imagery does not derive from classical sources, it shares much with Rice’s characterization of the imagery of the thesis print, which, she states, tends to be intricate, recondite, witty, and playful. Thesis prints are perhaps best understood as visual entertainments, exercises in interpretation
designed to delight and instruct a learned audience. To decipher them is to enter the inverted world of Jesuit symbolism, in which pagan stories illustrate Christian precepts, female figures personify male virtues, and material objects reveal abstract truths. Heraldry is the constantly repeated theme; but it is the inventiveness, originality, and cleverness of the variations on that theme that give these images their special charm.399

My contention is that the participants in academic defenses who studied commemorative thesis prints were accustomed to interpreting emblematic images, and they would have applied this cultivated practice to analyze the composition of the Triumph. Viewers such as these would have easily perceived the Ignatian references in the Triumph’s composition.400

The extent to which affixiones and thesis prints capitalized on emblematic imagery is best illustrated by means of a synopsis of the Jesuits’ production of emblem books during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. G. Richard Dimler notes that the Jesuits were the greatest producers of emblem books in Early Modern Europe, publishing these works in all the major European vernacular languages in addition to Latin. Some statistics from Dimler’s introduction to his bibliography of Jesuit emblem books are worth quoting verbatim as evidence of the reach of Jesuit iconography:

399 Ibid., 158. Rice goes on to note that thesis prints “are essentially images of praise [of the student’s sponsor, and that] they have nothing directly to do with the [academic] conclusions [of the defense] they accompany.” To be clear, in this sense, as in their derivation from classical subjects, their imagery does not relate to that of the Triumph.
400 The imagery of a thesis print presented on the occasion of the canonization, in 1622, of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier, which falls outside the scope of Rice’s article because it was created in the College of La Flèche is worth mentioning because of its schematic resemblance to the Triumph (Figure 135). Two angels hold a crown above Ignatius’ head; the new saint is being recognized and exalted in a composition that includes numerous elements that reappeared in the Triumph with one major difference: the central figure of Ignatius was substituted with the Holy Name in the form of a blazing Jesuit monogram. In the thesis print, Ignatius, dressed in a rich chasuble holds a palm frond in his left hand and clasps his right hand to his breast. His face and his body radiate light individually, and cloudborne putti encircle the mandorla surrounding him. The saint is flanked at the bottom by two regal personifications who sit in chariots drawn by birds. The wheels of both chariots trample other personifications whose postures may be compared to those of the Damned in the Triumph, for they flail as they fall out of the skies. This thesis print suggests a propensity towards the glorification of Ignatius through the use of bright radiating light and flailing Vices, both of which are fundamental motifs found in the Triumph.
The complete Jesuit Series of Emblem Books comprises approximately 1,700 entries: about 500 first editions and a further 1,200 subsequent editions, issues, and translations. The Jesuit Jeremias Drexel was the most prolific and most published author in Europe in the seventeenth century. He wrote more than twelve emblematic books and each of these books was translated and reissued in numerous later editions. Between 1618 and 1642, 170,000 Drexel books were sold by three publishers in Munich alone… Herman Hugo’s Pia Desideria [first published 1623], which had such a strong influence on Francis Quarles [English poet and author of Emblems, first published in 1635], went through forty-four Latin editions alone. The French Jesuit Claude[-Francois] Ménestrier was prodigious in his production of emblem books both theoretical and political [for instance, L’Art des Emblèmes, 1662]. In addition, the Jesuits were theatrical producers, artificers and specialists in classical pageants who used the emblem and device in the service of their artistic productions.  

Given the stress on emblematics in the Ratio Studiorum and the prodigious production of emblem books in the Jesuit sphere, it is not surprising that the allegorical glorification of the Holy Name in the Triumph abounds in emblematic imagery.

Two seventeenth-century Jesuit emblem books stand out from the enormous number produced through the seventeenth century because of the relevance of their overarching themes to Ignatian iconography. The Imago Primi Saeculi published by the Flemish province in 1640 and Carlo Bovio’s Ignatius insignium epigrammatum et elogiorum centurii expressus, published in 1655, are unabashedly eulogistic works celebrating the Society of Jesus and its founder, respectively. Both publications were in Latin, and in both Ignatius was profusely glorified through emblems and allegorical text without being depicted in figural form. Even though the celebration of Ignatius is not the

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402 See See Thomas Lucas, S.J.’s entry on “Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu a Provincia Flandro-Belgica eiusdem Societatis repraesentata,” in Saint Site and Sacred Strategy, 140 (Cat. No. 76). The Imago primi saeculi is the focus of an in-depth study by Lydia Salviucci Insolera. Salviucci Insolera, Imago primi saeculi (1640).

As far as I am aware, there is no in-depth study of the Ignatius insignium; however, Johannes Kandler has written an insightful article analyzing the frontispiece of the work that begins with a helpful introduction to the publication. Johannes Kandler, "Rite de Passage: Observations on Liminality and Transformation in Carlo Bovio’s Ignatius Insignium, Epigrammatum et Elogiorum Centurii Expressus, Emblematic Images and Religious Texts: Studies in Honor of G. Richard Dimler, S.J.,” ed. Pedro F. Campa and Peter M. Daly, (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph’s University Press, 2010), 29-46.
main focus of the *Imago primi saeculi*, it is an important component of the work.\(^{403}\)

Dimler notes that the inclusion of 126 masterfully composed emblems in the grand volume commemorating the centennial of the Society evidences the importance and influence of the emblematic mode within the Society.\(^{404}\)

Bovio’s *Ignatius insignium* uses emblematic imagery specifically to glorify Ignatius, making it an invaluable source in understanding the emblematic component of the *Triumph*. Apart from a frontispiece depicting Ignatius as a soldier exchanging his military sword for a sword with a flame-like blade offered to him by an angel, the *Ignatius insignium* is devoid of any figural representations of the Jesuit founder.\(^{405}\) This encomiastic work had 100 chapters, with each chapter centered on a single emblem comprising an image with an interwoven motto that celebrated the Jesuit founder. Each of the 100 emblems was preceded by a short reference to the biography of Ignatius and followed by an exposition in three parts consisting of a prose commentary of variable length, an eight-verse epigram (*epigramma*), and an eloquence (*elogium*) summarizing his exemplary character.\(^{406}\) The index to the book lists the number of the emblem followed by the text referencing Ignatius’ biography. Fire and light play major roles in the

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\(^{403}\) In the section “Societas nascens,” which is the first of six making up the tome, an entire chapter is devoted to Ignatius’ status as the founder of the Society. Chapter Six, entitled “Societatis auctor eius post CHRISTUM & MARIAM auctor Ignatius,” is followed by the chapter characterizing Francis Xavier as a pillar of the Society. However, a distinction between the roles and statuses of the two Jesuit saints is implicit, for the *Imago*’s identification of Ignatius goes beyond his status as the founder of the Society. In the prologue, a pictorial conceit mirrors the text linking Ignatius to the Society (“Societatis IESU anno saeculari de Parentis sui in se amore sibi gratulatur”) with the two letters “L” in “Ignatius de Loyola” highlighted as two representations of the Roman numeral fifty; these add up to the number 100 denoting the centennial of the Society, which the *Imago primi saeculi* commemorated (Figure 136). The conceit of linking Ignatius with the Society in this manner in the frontispiece of the volume is discussed in Salviucci Insolera, *Imago primi saeculi* (1640), (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2004), 109-110.


\(^{405}\) For an analysis of the frontispiece, see Kandler, “Observations on Carlo Bovio’s *Ignatius Insignium*” 29-46.

\(^{406}\) Kandler analyzes three of the 100 emblems (*Insigne III*, *Insigne XXXVI*; and *Insigne XCIX*). Ibid.
symbolism, but even a quick glance at the emblems reveals the highly abstracted and abstruse nature of their symbolism. The explicatory texts following each emblem notwithstanding, their interpretation still required the viewer’s capacity to analyze and read meaning into images whose connections to Ignatius may be described as tenuous and obscure, at best.

The fact that not a single emblem in either the *Imago primi saeculi* or the *Ignatius insignium* includes a likeness of Ignatius attests to a convention of glorifying the Jesuit founder using highly symbolic language and abstracted images. Comparing some of Bovio’s abstract emblems relevant to Ignatian imagery in the *Triumph* shows that the allusions to Ignatius in Baciccio’s *Triumph* are simpler and more intuitively perceived because his figural representations lend themselves to a narrative interpretation. With regard to fire and flames, *Insigne XXXVII* depicted a burning candle to symbolize Ignatius’ defeat of demonic evil (Figure 137); *Insigne LXXV* used a field strewn with branches to be set on fire to symbolize Ignatius’ exhortation to the early Companions to go and inflame all with love for Christ (Figure 138); and *Insigne LXXXIV* used a mirror reflecting the rays of the sun to symbolize the miraculous flame that appeared above Ignatius’ head (Figure 139). *Insigne XCVI* used a night sky with the moon and stars to illustrate Philip Neri’s recognition of Ignatius’ sanctity based on the divine radiance of his face (Figure 140). Somewhat an exception, *Insigne XCVIII* employed relatively straightforward symbolism: an extinguished candle represented the death of Ignatius (Figure 141). Finally, the last emblem *Insigne C* addressed Ignatius’ canonization by Gregory XV with an illustration of an altar emblazoned with the Jesuit monogram, above which a sacrificial fire burns (Figure 142). Interestingly, Carlo Bovio, the author of
Ignatius Insignium, published another emblem book entitled Rhetorica suburbanum (Rome, 1676) while Baciccio was working at the Gesù.\textsuperscript{407} Given Bovio’s professional activities as a professor of humanities and rhetoric in Rome and as an author of emblem books, his academic background exemplifies not only the kind of audience member that would have delighted in an emblematic analysis of the Triumph, but also that of the unnamed Jesuits who were to approve of Baciccio’s designs for the Gesù as per the artist’s contract with Oliva.

**Similarities to the Barberini Ceiling: Reflections**

By virtue of being written in Latin, the Imago Primi Saeculi and Ignatius Insignium were restricted to a highly literate audience. Such learned viewers were conditioned to interpreting symbolic imagery, and the closest parallels to the composition and reception of the Triumph by erudite audiences can be seen in the case of Pietro da Cortona’s Allegory of Divine Providence executed during the period 1633-39 in the gran salone in the Palazzo Barberini (Figure 143). Conceptually, Baciccio’s composition for the Triumph, with its main theme of the Adoration of the Holy Name surrounded by subsidiary elements in the form of stucco angels, gilded panels, narrative reliefs, and titular banderole, echoes Cortona’s composition in its epic formulation of a principal theme enriched by numerous ancillary episodes. Further, just as Cortona’s Barberini ceiling evokes the papacy and person of Pope Urban VIII though the pontiff is not depicted in figural form, Baciccio’s Triumph of the Name of Jesus evokes the achievements and person of the Jesuit founder while exalting the Holy Name.\textsuperscript{408} Maffeo

\textsuperscript{407} Ibid., 29.
\textsuperscript{408} The metaphorical manner in which Cortona’s Barberini Allegory and Baciccio’s Triumph glorify a subject who is absent in figural form has been addressed by Fagiolo. Fagiolo, "Strutture del Trionfo
Barberini, who as Pope Urban VIII is glorified in the composition, was a poet, and his literary background accounts for the conceits embedded in the composition of the Barberini ceiling. John Beldon Scott has argued convincingly that the abundance of literary conceits in Cortona’s fresco differentiates it from other programs that used Cesare Ripa’s allegorical images, and that its unprecedented use of the themes of Divine Wisdom, Divine Providence, and the Creation of Angels reflected the patron’s erudition.\(^{409}\) He has also shown that even though the composition was based on a program, “each observer could appreciate the form and meaning of the salone fresco according to individual levels of sophistication,” and the complexity of the imagery allowed erudite viewers to make connections of their own.\(^{410}\) In a similar vein, the emblematic component of the _Triumph_’s imagery must be credited to instructions provided to Baciccio by erudite scholars. Furthermore, the imagery must also be considered a means for meditative contemplation that calls on the viewer’s active participation to interpret it.

The difference in the two compositions lies primarily in the audiences to whom they catered, for Cortona’s fresco decorated the private family palace of the Barberini, where the most important guests were papal and secular courtiers as well as ambassadors, diplomats, and noblemen from Italy and abroad.\(^{411}\) Such visitors to the Gesù constituted

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\(^{410}\) Ibid., 196-197.

\(^{411}\) The Barberini fresco was open to the general public at certain hours, and it was the barrage of questions from such visitors about the meaning of the composition that led a certain Rosichino, who was tasked with controlling the influx of visitors to the _gran salone_, to publish a short pamphlet explaining the ceiling’s iconography. The basic pamphlet was republished in 1670, accompanied this time by another publication, a book authored by a _literato_ named Teti, which catered to the most erudite visitors. Ibid., 193; 197.
but a small segment of a larger and broader audience that comprised the Roman populace as well as foreign pilgrims from all walks of life. Still, erudite audiences at the Gesù formed a significant, if small, component of the audience, for the pope and his entourage often visited the church as evidenced by Jan Miel and Andrea Sacchi’s painting commemorating Urban VIII’s visit to the Gesù on the occasion of the Society’s centennial celebrations in 1640 (Figure 6). Successive popes and the college of cardinals went to the Gesù on multiple occasions, and Oliva himself delivered several sermons to them. Jesuit priests, novices and seminarians also comprised another important component of the erudite audience of the Gesù, and it was to such informed viewers that the allegorical component of the Triumph’s imagery was directed. In sum, emblematic images such as those used in the Imago primi saeculi and the Ignatius insignium to celebrate the Society and Ignatius provided inspiration for the imagery of the Triumph wherein allegory played an important role. I do not mean to suggest, however, that images from these books were directly adopted in the Triumph. On the contrary, I posit that the kind of symbolic imagery with which both books were profusely illustrated was reprised in the decoration of the nave vault and that emblem-book enthusiasts, even if few, constituted the most insightful segment of the audiences of the Triumph.

Exercitants of the Spiritual Exercises

One remaining category of devout viewers forming an important section of audiences at the Gesù comprised exercitants of the Spiritual Exercises devised by Ignatius. The method of contemplative meditation devised and promulgated by Ignatius was published in an eponymous compilation of his notes that served as a handbook for

412 See footnote 353 for a list of sermons Oliva delivered to Alexander VII and the college of cardinals during the Quarant’ore celebrations in the Gesù.
spiritual directors. The practitioners of the exercises, known as “exercitants,” were encouraged to actively visualize the texts on which they meditated in order to experience the sensations described in them—a practice referred to as the “composition of place.” In noting that the Elect in the Triumph constitute a “celestial court” related to Ignatius’ suggestion in the fourth week of the Exercises for exercitants to visualize themselves in the presence of the Lord, angels, and saints interceding on their behalf, Hernández briefly touches upon a way in which the imagery of the Triumph could be used in the “composition of place” that characterizes Ignatius’ Spiritual Exercises. Yet, the larger issue of the reception and possibly the use of imagery from the Triumph and Baciccio’s other frescoes by exercitants of the Spiritual Exercises visiting the Gesù remains to be critically examined elsewhere in greater detail.

Conclusions on Reception of the Triumph of the Name of Jesus

The individual frescoes that Baciccio executed at the Gesù over a period of thirteen years form an unusual cycle. Except for the apse fresco, each of the cycle’s components includes an inscription in Latin, and except for the imagery in the vaults of the left transept chapel and the presbytery arch, the imagery in all of the other

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413 “Vedere in me stesso alla presenza di Dio nostro Signore, degli angeli e dei santi che intercedono per me” (SpEx 232: “Here it is to see myself as standing before God our Lord, and also before the angels and saints, who are interceding for me.”). Hernández, Il corpo del Nome, 97-98.

414 The reception of the Triumph as well as other images at the Gesù is an issue that merits further exploration by a specialist in the Spiritual Exercises. The experiential nature of the Spiritual Exercises and Ignatius’ call for viewers to actively engage in a “composition of place” make it tempting to see connections that may have held true for the majority of exercitants. Hibbard’s article on the decorations of the side chapels of the Gesù, though insightful, is also representative of a primarily art-historical approach wherein the framework of the Spiritual Exercises is applied sometimes tenuously to the images in question. (Hibbard, "Ut Pictura Sermones;" for an analysis of some of the shortcomings of Hibbard’s approach to the issue, see Conelli, “Gesù Nuovo in Naples” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1992), 125-127.)

The need is, instead, for an analysis that begins with the experience of those making the Spiritual Exercises and then addresses if, how, and to what extent the images related to the experiential process. I thank Gregory Waldrop, S.J., for bringing to my attention an alternative form of the retreat which, unlike the thirty-day silent retreat, was undertaken not in a secluded environment, but along with routine quotidian activities.
components of the cycle lends itself to profound analyses based on relationships between the Old and New Testaments. Though their imagery may have been understood by illiterate or semi-literate viewers, the compositions of these frescoes as a whole were formulated with highly educated and theologically-inclined viewers in mind. Also, by virtue of being the mother church of the Society of Jesus, a pioneering teaching order acclaimed for the quality of the education imparted in its institutes, the Gesù counted among its visitors some of the most erudite people in Rome and abroad. The church also housed the relics of several saints, including Ignatius and Francis Xavier. Consequently, it was also visited by devout worshippers and pilgrims. All these visitors to the church can be assumed, based on their interests, to have been aware of the decorations in other important Roman churches too, and they would have compared the decorations of the other churches to those in the Gesù. A small but important way in which the *Triumph* differs from the compositions of nave vaults in other churches is in the fact that sections of its composition are meant to be studied as the viewer walks around the perimeter of the nave.\(^{415}\) This requirement for the interested viewer to actively participate and make an effort to unravel the composition is similar to the kind of effort demanded in the interpretation of emblems and heraldic devices. In Chapter Two, I have enumerated no less than seven types of visual references to Ignatius that are embedded in the *Triumph*. And earlier in this chapter I have shown that there was a convention to represent Ignatius through the use of non-figural, abstract allusions. Erudite visitors to the Gesù were knowledgeable about and interested in interpreting emblematic imagery of the type in

\(^{415}\) This is not an unusual method in ecclesiastical spaces, for it is required to interpret and analyze all domes frescoed with a glory of saints or angels. But it was not required in the case of other nave vaults in churches, for their compositions are oriented to the gaze of viewers as they enter.
Carlo Bovio’s *Ignatius insignium*, and they were trained to recognize the allusions to Ignatius in the *Triumph*.

Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* consists of more than a simple representation of an image exalting the Holy Name. Beyond the acclaimed illusionism of the composition resides an intellectually engaging component quite singular in ecclesiastical ceiling decorations of the period. The numerous Ignatian references embedded in it are not indicative of any “hidden” meaning; rather, they are representative of the literary culture prevalent in Early Modern Europe.
CONCLUSION

The various frescoes Baciccio executed at the Gesù were not conceived of as a unified program, as shown by two important events that occurred in the years following the signing of his contract in August 1672. First, Monsignor Gian Francesco Negroni, the patron of the right transept chapel dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier, expressed his intention to have its vault, which had been commissioned from Baciccio, frescoed as per his desire and by an artist of his choice. To this end Negroni intervened, and an addendum to Baciccio’s contract was made in July 1674 stipulating that the artist would be paid the full contracted amount even as he was released without prejudice from the contractual obligation to decorate the vault of the right transept chapel. Secondly, the commission for the tribune vault, not a part of Baciccio’s original contract, was only awarded to him as late as seven years later in 1679.

Baciccio did not figure in Oliva’s original project for the apse, which centered on translating Ignatius’ remains to the high altar and on having the semidome of the vault above it frescoed by Giacomo Cortese with a representation of Joshua Stopping the Sun. However, neither aspect of Oliva’s project materialized, and the Jesuits dedicated the left transept chapel to their founder. Further, Cortese died before Ranuccio Farnese, the patron of the tribune, provided the funds necessary for its decoration. It was only in November 1679, well after Cortese had passed away, that Ranuccio finally acceded to Oliva’s request for funding the decoration of the tribune vault. Simultaneously, he also gave his approval for Baciccio to execute the fresco. By then, Oliva had renounced the plan to translate Ignatius’ remains to the high altar, and Baciccio eventually executed a different subject, Adoration of the Mystic Lamb, in the tribune vault. When this entire
sequence of events is taken into consideration, it is evident that the *Mystic Lamb* cannot be considered a component of a unified program executed by Baciccio for the Gesù. Baciccio’s frescoes are, in fact, most accurately characterized as components of a “cycle” rather than as a “program” with its implications of an over-arching thematic unity.

Oliva’s desire for a monumental representation of Joshua in the apse vault surely derived from the fact that the name “Joshua” is the Hebrew equivalent of “Jesus,” just as it capitalized on Pope Gregory XV’s likening of Ignatius to the Old Testament general in 1622. Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* also incorporated an association between Ignatius and Joshua, which would have been obvious had Oliva’s original project been realized, for a monumental figure of Joshua would have appeared above Ignatius’ relics. But with the loss of the crucial large and straightforward prompt that would have linked Joshua and Ignatius in the apse visually as well as spatially, the related but abstract connection between the two figures through the superimposition of the antiphon of the Mass of Ignatius over narrative reliefs from the Book of Joshua in the *Triumph* was also lost.

The decision to replace *Joshua Stopping the Sun* with the *Mystic Lamb* reflected the Jesuit fear that the reigning pope would have perceived the representation of Joshua as an arrogant act of self-glorification on the part of the Society. This was an acute concern because the Society’s relationship with Innocent XI, who had ascended to the papacy in 1676, was unusually fractured. The clandestine correspondence of the Jesuit Lazzero Sorba betrays the surprising extent to which the Society, and especially Father General Oliva, had fallen out of favor with Innocent XI. So deep was the fissure with the papacy that it seems to have prompted the Jesuits to dispense entirely with Oliva’s plans
for a more overt glorification of Ignatius through a representation of Joshua in the apse, because the comparison of the two figures bordered on the indecorous. However, the ancillary motifs alluding to Ignatius in Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* remained intact.

These secondary motifs celebrating Ignatius include: the banderole inscribed with the antiphon of the Mass of Ignatius; the allusion, through the reliefs of the Ark of the Covenant and the Fall of Jericho to the figure of Joshua; and the relief panels aligned with the banderole of the Eucharistic Host and the Flaming Heart. The light, radiance, and the fiery quality of the sunburst also allude to Ignatius, as does the Holy Name, to which Ignatius had a special devotion. Finally, the flailing figures of the Damned evoke episodes of exorcisms performed by Ignatius, as well as vices and other demons vanquished by him.

Thus, even without the benefit of an explicit figural reference to Ignatius through a monumental depiction of Joshua, especially one slated to appear above the relics of Ignatius, informed visitors to the Gesù would have found in the *Triumph* numerous motifs evoking the Jesuit founder. All visitors who had studied in Jesuit institutions surely perceived these allusions to Ignatius for they were accustomed to interpreting emblematic imagery, and they were cognizant of textual and pictorial accounts of the saint’s life and deeds, including references bereft of figural representations of the saint in emblem books such as Carlo Bovio’s *Ignatius insignium*. The ingrained modern interpretation of Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* as primarily an expression of the Church Triumphant is belied by the numerous references in the imagery to Ignatius and by the fact that the Name of Jesus takes the form of the Jesuit monogram.
Unequivocally the focus of the composition, the resplendent IHS represents Christ and alludes to the dedication of the Jesuit mother church, and at the same time it also alludes to Ignatius and the name he chose for the Society of Jesus.

In conclusion, the glorification of the Society of Jesus and its founder Ignatius of Loyola embedded in Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* was greatly diminished because Oliva’s plans for the tribune did not come to fruition and the subject for the apse fresco was changed. The loss of the Ignatius-Joshua connection in the tribune also reduced the potency of all the ancillary allusions to Ignatius in the nave vault. Had Ignatius’ remains been translated to the high altar and had the apse vault been adorned with a figure of Joshua, the reference to the Jesuit founder in the nave through the juxtaposition of the titular banderole of the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* with the sculpted episodes from the Book of Joshua would have been considerably more obvious. And had a prominent portrayal of Joshua appeared in the apse, Ignatius’ close association with him would have been celebrated at the Gesù, and the allegorical references in Baciccio’s great nave fresco would have proclaimed the glory of the Jesuit founder, instead of being subtly embedded as they are today.
APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1. Missa Sancti Ignatii

[Votive Mass in Honor of Saint Ignatius]

ARSI S.L.241 - Archivio della Postul, Gen. (“Santi e Beati”), #13 (“Loyola”), #22 (“Messa e Ufficio”)

MISSA SANCTI IGNATII CONFESSORIS SOCIETATIS IESU FUNDATORIS


Die 31. Iulii.

IN FESTO S. IGNATII CONFESSORIS

(Phil. 2) INTROITUS.

In nomine Iesu omne genuflectatur, cælestium, terrestrium, & infernorum, & omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.

(Psal. 5) Gloriabuntur in te omnes, qui diligunt nomen tuum, quoniam tu benedices iusto.

V Gloria Patri, &c.

Oratio.

Deus, qui ad maiorem tui nominis gloriam propagandam, novo per Beatum Ignatium subsidio militantiem Ecclesiam roborasti: concede, ut eius auxilio, & imitatione certantes in terris, coronari cum ipso mereamur in Caelis. Per Dominum, &c.

Lectio Epistola B. Pauli Apostoli ad Timotheum.

(Thimot. 2) Carissime; Memor esto Dominum rostrum Iesum Christum resurrexisse a mortuis ex femine David, secundum Evangelium meum, in quo laboro usque ad vincula, quasi maleoperans, sed verbum Dei non est alligatum. Ideo omnia sustineo propter electos, ut & ipsi salutem consequantur, quae est in Christo Iesu, cum gloria caelesti. Tu autem affectus es meam doctrinam, institutionem, propositum, sidem, longanimitatem, dilectionem, patientiam, persecutiones, passiones: qualia mihi facta sunt Antiochiae, Iconij, & Lystris: quales persecutiones sustinui, & ex omnibus eripuit me Dominus. Et omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Iesu persecutionem patientur.

(Ibi 95) Graduale. Iustus ut palma florebit: sicut cedrus Libani multiplicabitur in domo Domini.

V Ad annunciantum mane misericordiam tuam, & veritatem tuam per nocte. Alleluia, alleluia.
(…c. 1) V Beatus vir, qui suffert tentationem: quoniam cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitæ. Alleluia.

Sequentia Sancti Evangelii secundum Lucam.


Offertorium.

(Psal. 88) Veritas mea, & misericordia mea cum ipso: & in nemine meo exaltabitur corno eius.

Secreta.

Adsint Domine Deus oblationibus nostris Sancti Ignatij benigna suffragia, ut sacrosancta nysteria, in quibus omnis sanctitatis fontem constituisti, nos quoque in veritate sanctificet. Per Dominum nostrum, &c.

Communio.

(Luc. 12) Ignem veni mittere in terram, & quid volo nisi, ut accendatur?

Postcommunio.

Laudis hostia Domine, quam pro Sancto Ignatio gratias agetes obtulimus, ad perpetuam nos Maiestatis tuae laudationem, eius intercessione perducat. Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum, &c.

Apponenda sequentia verba in Breviario die 31. Iulij Festi S. Ignatij post tertiam lectionem secundi Nocturni.

In tertio Nocturno.

SAC. Rituum Congregatio habita anno 1673, die 21 Januarij, ad preces Eminentiss. D. Cardinalis Nitardi Societatis Iesu Regis Catholici Ordinarij Oratoris, referente Eminentiss. D. Cardinali de Portocarrero, approbat, ut iacet, soprascriptam Missam de Sancto Ignatio Societatis Iesu Fundatore, cum Homilia S. Gregorij ad tertium Nocturnum in Evang. Designavit Dominus, & alios setuaginta duos, quæ reperitur in Communi Evangelistarum, & imprimi posse censuit, si Sanctissimo placuerit. Et facta de praedictis Sanctissimo relatione, Sanctitas Sua indulsit, prædictam Missam, & Officium recitari, & celebrari posse in Ecclesijs tantum Societatis Iesu ubique existentibus. Et quo ad Missam etiam Sacerdotibus ad illas confluentibus Hac die 30 Julii 1675.

V. Cardinalis Carpineus.

Loco + sigilli


ROMÆ, Ex Typographia Reverendæ Cameræ Apostolicae.

SUPERIORUM PERMISSU, ET PRIVILEGIO.
APPENDIX 2. Letter penned by Famiano Strada

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1105 (31), c. 101 r.

*Idem testimonium vidi in cub.o P. rectori Collegii Romani (is te erat R. P. Thomas Silotti; et italic[?] descripsi:*

*Il P. Gabriel Venusti professo della Comp.a di Giesu, religioso di molta bonta, rettore di piu collegii, et ultimatamente prefetto delle cose spirituali in Collegio Rom.o mi ha raccontato ben due volte, come stando in Seminario Rom.o prefetto di una camera, andato col P.N. Rubini alla Chiesa Nuova per vedere un quadro poco prima esposto, se li accost’ S. Filippo, e domando’gli, de quali erano, Li risposero, della Compagnia di Giesu’: suggiuise il Beato, Siete figlioli di un gran Padre; io lo sono obbligato, Maestro Ignazio mi ha insegnato di fare oratione mentale. Questo e quanto mi racconto’ il Pre’ Venusto il che haver io udito da lui, fo’ fede con questa scritta di mia mano.*

*Famiano Strada.*
APPENDIX 3. Categories of demonic figures

The demonic figures vanquished by Ignatius fall into three broad categories, of which only the final two are evoked by the Gesù Damned. The table below represents the various categories of demonic figures represented in relation to Ignatius:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of demonic figures in relation to Ignatius</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Precise type of demonic or demon-related figure</th>
<th>Evoked by Gesù Damned?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 *Demons attacking Ignatius</td>
<td>*Biographical narratives – Early adulthood (text and illustrations)</td>
<td>*Demons (depicted as aggressors) (Figure 39)</td>
<td>*Forms - Yes; Attitudes - No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2 Demons exorcised by Ignatius                      | Biographical narratives – Later adulthood (text and illustrations) | i) Demons (exorcised by Ignatius); AND ii) People (possessed) a. **Person/s in the throes of possession**: OR b. **Person/s in the process of being freed** c. **Person/s having just been freed from possession** [NoteL Although this type is no longer, strictly speaking, demonic since the individual has been freed from possession, I include it among the “demonic figures” vanquished by Ignatius because it represents persons in such an immediate aftermath of possession that their bodies are still convulsed by spasms. It is, therefore, the postures and the cause thereof that relates the appearance of this type of figures to the Damned.]
| 3 Vices                                              | Allegorical Representations (Mostly depicted in images; also includes prominent sculptural groups that are often paired with a similar Vice trampled by Francis Xavier, especially on Jesuit church façades) | **Personifications of Vices** (vanquished by Ignatius) | Yes |
APPENDIX 4. Relatione of the Apparato of 1671

ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 83, c-23r-c26r. [Published in Curzietti, Decorazione della Chiesa del Gesù, 246-247.]

[c. 23r: COVER/TITLE PAGE] DICHIARATIONE Dell'Apparato esposto nella Chiesa del Giesù per le 40. hore dell'anno corrente

Da' Signori della Congregatione dell'Assunta.

[Image]

IN ROMA, presso il Varese, MDCLXXI.

Con licenza de' Superiori.

[p. 3 = c. 24r] RELATIONE.

Ha la Pittura il nobil pregio d'esprimere co'l vivace de' suoi colori, e con lo spiritoso de' suoi disegni i più illustri fatti delle Divine Scritture; ma ella non può rivelare i misteri, i quali ne' sacri racconti s'ascondono. Hor perché rimanga appagata la curiosità de'Spettatori, e non habbia a distrarre la monte a ricercar l'intelligenza del significato, con pregiudizio de' divoti affetti del cuore: qui brevemente spiegasi quanto di misterioso hà l'Apparato, della cui vista gode l'occhio.

I signori della Congregatione dell'Assunta in questo primo anno del Pontificato di N.S. Papa Clemente X. stimaronsi tenuti a dar publica testimonianza d'allegrezza per l'esaltazione della sua Persona, ricordevoli dell'honore, ch'haveva havuto già per molti anni la loro Adunanza dal- [A 2]

[p. 4= c. 24v]

dalla sua frequente presenza, & esempio. Aggiungesi lo stimolo dell'obligato affetto, che professano alla felice memoria di tutti i Signori Fratelli di Sua Santità, e la stima, e memoria che che [sic] conservano del Signor Lorenzo Padre, une de' Primi Fondatori della loro Congregatione, da lui tanto teneramente amata, e stimata, che con esempio singolare di perpetuo legato volle anco dopo morte, haver parte in quest'opera di zelante pietà. Determinarono per tanto di scegliere soggetto capace d'un magnifico, e sontuoso Apparato, & a viò valersi dello sperimentato valore del Sig. Gio: Maria Mariani.

GIOSUE, come si ha nel capo x. della sua Storia, quel gran Capitano Hebreo, il quale con l'imperiose sue voci fece arrestareil SOLE nel mezzo della sua luminosa carriera, fin'a tanto, che egli co'suoi havesse disfatto l'Esercito nimico, diede il disegno alla vaghezza, & artificio della Machina. Hor questa serve a spiegare l'amoroso impegno del SOLE DIVINO a fermarsi alle Voci Onnipotenti del Ministro del Sacro Altare sotto le specie Sacramentali, giusta il sentimento di quel Dottissimo Commentatore: Exaggerat valde Scriptura Sacra, quemadmodum Sanctus ille Dux IOSUE SOLEM sistere fecit, OBEDIENTE DEO VOCI HOMINIS. Sed maior obedientia hae dicenda est, quandoquidem ibi Dominus, ubi antea erat remansit: hic vero rema-nens,
nens, ubi prius erat, modum sacramentalem de novo accipit, ubi prius non habebat.

E sì come nelle Campagne di Gabaon, fermo il Sole, servì alle schiere Hebree, per proseguire con animoso coraggio, il disfacimento de'Congiurati Eserciti, così il Divino Sacramento vero SOLE di non mendicati splendori, sommistra, e forte armatura, e vigorosa fortezza all'anime fedeli, e gloriosamente le fa trionfare di potentissimi nimici, hor siano visibili, hor invisibili. Quos tutos esse contra Adversarios volumus, munimento dominice saturitatis armamus. Scrissero i Padri del Concilio Cartaginese a Cornelio Papa cp. 54.

Hor la più angusta parte della Tribuna del Tempio del Giesù, la quale dalla sommità della volta al pavimento stendesi per cento venticinque palmi d'altezza, e palmi ottanta per larghezza, dà il campo alla nobiltà dell'ingegnoso lavoro. Dividei senza veruna mostra di divisione il prospetto in due parti. La prima parte, la quale dal più alto della volta fino al cornicione, si distende, mostra una ricchissima Gloria popolata di Beati Spiriti, i quali a gara impiegano riverenti ossequi all'Augustissimo Sacramento, il quale in mezzo di essi con uguale proporzione divisi, Coronato di Splendori, e d'una immensa Luce maestoso risiede, vaggheggiato dall'Eterno Padre, e dallo Spirito Santo, e cir-

circondato da un'infuocato splendore, sparso di Cherubini e Serafini, i quali frà bollori di quella luce ardono in vive fiamme di riverente amore.

Vedesi sotto alla gloria ingombrato tutto di nuvole il Cielo; e giù apresi a vista d'una spaziosa Campagna, nella quale vedesi il fiume Giordano, diviso per mezzo dall'Arca portata da'Sacerdoti, fermare il corso delle sue acque, per dare libero il passo alla gente hebra. In maggior vicinanza scuopresi la Città di Gabaon assediata da Adonisedech Rè di Gerusalemme, e Quattro altri Regi confederati con innumerable gente, GIOSUE avvisato, e pregato a prestare soccorso, a gran giornate giunto con trenta mila combattenti, s'agguatta in un bosco vicino; e subito le Nubi gravide di fulmini, di grandine, e de saette cominciano a scaricare a furia grosse pietre sopra a Padiglioni, e nel campo dell'Esercito nemico, il quale atterrito, e mal concio da quella, che può dirsi Vanguardia del Cielo, cominciò a scompigliarsi in modo, che di repente assalito dall'Esercito di Dio, uscito da quei boschi, che mostrano settanta palmi alti da terra, cominciò a farne crudelissima strage rappresentata nelle tele con horribile vaghezza. E all'hora più generosamente proseguì la vittoria cominciata, quando viddesi alle preghiere, e comando del gran Condottiere fermo verso Po-

Ponenete il SOLE, ad esserne spettatore. I cinque Regi disanimati a poter riordinare le schiere, per far fronte, veggonsi con precipitosa fuga correre verso una spelonca a saluare la loro vita. Tutto ciò appare in lontananze proportionate di grandissima veduta, mentre più da vicino si godono, e la guardia della cavalleria, e GIOSUE Orante, e
Comandante al SOLE, che all'incontro incaminavasi all'Ocasso; Un de' paggi, che tiene l'Elmo del suo Signore l'altro, che a gran forza sostiene l'imbizzarrito cavallo: e quantità di gente, che stordisce ammirata del fermo SOLE, e della riportata vittoria con l'assistenza di Dio. Il quale se come disse S. Gio: Crisostomo fatto carne: *Tentoria fixit in nobis*; E qual SOLE DIVINO nell'Eucharistico Pane a dire dell'Abbate Cellense, *cor lustrat, & illustrat*. Quando anco il Demonio nuova fiera battaglia adunando insieme le forze, e delle passioni, e de' sentimenti per iscompigliare il cuore, assicura S. Girolamo, che *stabit homo, stabit & Christus pro homine, pro sodali suo*. 
APPENDIX 5. Relatione of the Apparato of 1675

ASR, Cartari Febei, b. 85, c. 98r-c. 101v. [Published in Curzietti, Decorazione della Chiesa del Gesù, 247-250.]

[c. 98r] L'AGNELLO EUCARISTICO ADORATO

ARGOMENTO

Del Sacro Teatro Aperto nel Tempio del Giesù ad onore dell'Augustissimo Sacramento Da' Signori della Congregazione dell'Assunta in quest'Anno Santo del 1675.

[Image of IHS with Cross above and sacred heart below in sunburst, with two kneeling angels in adoration on either side (Figure 110)]

In Roma, per il Lazzari Varese. 1675
Con licenza de'Superiori.

[c. 98v] ARGOMENTO


Alla scena ammirabile di si prodigiose Visioni, e molto più à’ Divini Misterij significati per esse, vedesi sopra l’alt d’un poggetto fassoso bagnato all’intorno da una striscia corrente di mare un sembiante d’Estatico, e rapito fuori di se il Santo Vangeloista Giovanni, e colla penna in mano apparecchiato, conforme l’commandamento auotone da Dio, di registrare in un Libro tenuto di mani da un puttino, e due altri non molto quivi lontani, mentre curiosi l riguardano, servono alla vaghezza del Teatro. Al fianco sinistro del Santo Profeta in abito maestoso, e con volto di Paradiso si vede l’Angelo di Dio, qual giusta l’opinione de’ sacri Maestri credesi essere stato l’Arcangelo Gabriele, che raccogliendo colla sinistra l’onda delle vesti[?] colla destra alzata lo muove per Divino comandamento à contemplare quest’abisso di Maraviglie. L’esser’egli volato alla visione di si Divine apparenze, che furono impenetrabili ad ogni’ altr’ occhio Profetico, lì die’l nome d’Aquila de’Vangelisti, e per argomento di questo spiega vicino ad esso le sue grand’ale un Aquila, che sola fra’ Viventi dilettasi ad occhio fermo di mirare l’ Sole. Quì termina l’apparenza di questo sacro Teatro, e per poterlo ben vagheggiare, oltre l’lume
participatogli da’ colori, che con finezza di maestria per am- [c. 101v] ampiezza sì vasta, e parti tanto diverse in armonia soave corrispondono insieme, non men di cinque mila sono le lampane, che con luce nascosta quanto meno si veggono, tanto più’l rendono visibile. Per grande, che sia la magnificenza di esso, tutto l’è poco anzi un nulla all’ossequio, che dal Mondo tutto, e particolarmente da Roma si dee all’Agnello Eucharistico Adorato.
APPENDIX 6. Excerpts from cover letter and report authored by Lazzero Sorba, S.J.


[Note: These nine unnumbered sheaves are composed of a cover letter (Sheaf I) and a lengthy report (Sheaves II-IX). Sheaf II, which is the start of the report, is easily identifiable because it contains a title, but the following sheaves are only identifiable by their contents. In the excerpts transcribed below, I numbered the sheaves I-IX and for every passage I cite, along with the sheaf number I also include the first line of the sheaf. For unpaginated excerpts transcribed below, I provide the first line of the sheaf in which appears.]

Sheaf I. [Cover letter for report]

(1r) Ricordi al P.N.N. di quelle cose che dovrà esporre alla Santà di N. Sig.re


Che la medesima Com[agni]a gome oppressa dal mal regolato governo del P. Oliva; mà che non hà libertà di parlare, ne potenza di risquotere da una tale oppressione. 

Che detto P. Oliva, contra l'ottimo esempio lasciati da dieci suoi precedenti Generali, ha introdotto nel suo posto notabilissime larghezze circa l'uso stabile della abitazione, della stalla, del Calesso, della Carozza, delle private pretiose cappelle, del vitto suo delicato, delle deliziose villeggiature, del maneggio de quattrini, non tutti spesi conforme all'intentione di quelli che gl[i]eli renuntiano. E che tutto ciò oltre al mal esempio che da alla (2r) alla Comp.a, e à futuri Generali non gli lascia vigore, et efficav[?] [per] poter negare à sudditi molte delizie, e molte larghezze contro alla disciplina, e perfettione propria della Compagnia.
Che il medesimo P. Oliva idolatra troppo la sua vita, e la sua commodità; che però delle dieci parti di tempo che potrebbe, e dovrebbe applicare alle cure del governo, e all'udienze de suoi sudditi, […]

Che mostrandosi egli tanto nemico de' fastdij, e del negoțio, e chiamando assassini della sua quiete, quelli che mossi da Santo zelo gli rappresentano i bisogni occorrenti, e gli porgons materia di sollecitudini, e' cagione, che quasi tutti si astengono dal significargli le verità delle cose; e che perciò ne seguano molti disordini, e molte rovine.

Che nell'esercitio della giustitia distributiva, e vendicativa si sono notati, e si notano molti gravi disordini, e notabilissime (2v) partialità [per]che dove intempo di altri Generali si correva con le regole del dovere e secundum allegata, attendendosi solamente à meriti, ò à demeriti intrinseci de soggetti; da vinti anni in quà se e cominciato ad avere un sommo risguardo à motivi improprij, ed estrinseci di gran nobiltà, di ricchezze, d'appoggi potenti, de dependenze, d'adulationi, di vilissime servitù, d'interessi.

Che moltissimi Uomini di virtù, e di valore ò non sono da lui adoperati, ò son mortificati; e che al contrario molti, ò inetti, ò [per] loro diffetto abominati, o odiati da tutta la comunità dono i suoi più diletti, e confide ònti, e come tali inalzati, e agratiati.

Che egli non ha veruna soggettione de suoi Assistenti, quattro de quali [per] la vecchiezza, e [per] la fiacchezza di cuore, son come non vi fossero; e il quinto che è quel di Germania, ancorche ottimo, non può cosa di momento, [per]che è solo; e benche vegga i disordini, non può far altro che piangerli.

Che vi è Lamento delle Provincie lontane, e (3r) e specialmente di quelle di Francia, il cui Assistente [per] la languidezza, e [per] il male de gli occhi non può legger le lettere, et applicare al negoțio, che le letter, et i negoțij loro passino principalm.te [per] mano de Sostituti, de Copisti, e de gli amanuensi; e che perciò molti non si attentano di scrivere à Roma le cose più ardue, e più rilevanti, e che richiedono secretezza, e prudenza superiore à quella che trovasi nelle sostituti, copisti, e amanuensi.

Che in alcune Provincie, e specialm.te nella Rom.a hà egli perpetuati i governi in alcune sue creature, da lui specialmente dipendenti, con grave stommaco, e disturbo di tutti gli altri, e con grave discapito della provincia in cui non si sono abilitati, et esercitati molti altri soggetti, che sarebbono riusciti ottimi governanti.

Che [per]che partialità ò disapplicazione, e non curanza del medesimo Generale (3v) sono assai calati gli studij, specialmente nell'Università del Collegio Romano, che è capo, et idea di tutte le altre, et è fondata dalla Sede Apostolica à fine di porgere il latte della Christiana pietà, e della vera dottrina al fior di tutte le nationi, che vi concorrono […]

Che à tutti gli annoverati, et à molti altri somiglianti disordini non v'è che possa porgere più valido, più pronto, e più opportuno rimedio, che la San.tà Sua; alla quale però ricorrerebbe la maggiore, e miglior parte della Comp.a, se il potesse fare liberam.te, e se non temesse di averne à riportare invece di frutto orribili persecutioni,
e travagli nella medesima Comp.a.
Che perciò potrebbe S. San.tà degnarsi di prestar fede à quattro ò cinque, ò sei soggetti della medesima Comp.a [per] bontà, [per] dottrina, [per] zelo, [per] isperienza intendenti delle cose, pratici del loro Instituto, et in somma riguardevoli, e degni di fede: e con l'insinuazione di essi stendere e pubblicar quanto prima una ben conceputa (4r) conceputa Bolla, con cui si promova tutto il bene, e si ponga rimedio à tutti i principali mali della Comp.a, e si venga a subordinar maggiormente l'istessa Comp.a alla Santa Sede Romana.


Or una tal persuasione, benché falsissima, oscura alquanto quella somma veneratione che han guadagnata presso à tutto il mondo al San.mo Pontefice le sue eroiche, e sovraumane virtù essendo una (5r) una gran taccia d'un San[tiss]mo Papa il dirsi che egli se non mosse da rabbia, almen deluso da maligni Consiglieri tanti [per] altro conspicua, e fruttuosa alla Chiesa di Dio. Citano i Gesuiti il detto d'un gran Cardinale, et è che si fà dalla Sede Apostolica contra de Giesuiti soldati di essa, e nemici giurati dell'erésia, come si farebbe da un Capitano d'esercito, il quale battesse le sue stesse militie, L'Ambasciatore di Spagna non hà molto tempo, che convitando à sua tavola in Loreto il P. Rettore della Penitentiaria, e 'l Penitentiero Spagnuolo disse loro, che i Giesuiti sono in Roma per seguitati da gli Ecclesiastici Prelati; ma son compatiti da tutta, [per]che si sà che sono innocenti da lui il qual benche innocente, hà avuti in Roma molti travagli. Or qual più bella, più (5v) giusta, più gloriosa apologia tacita sì, mà evidentissima può far di se stesso, e del suo modo di operare il Santo Pontefice, che mettendo fuori una Bolla, nella quale apparisca, ch'egli stime, et ama il Corpo della Com[agni]a, e sol odià i difetti d'alcuni pochi, che non vivono conforme al vero spirito della stessa Compagnia? Di dicittomila Giesuiti appena si troveranno trenta, ò quaranta difettuosi, interessati, e colpevoli, i quali non ricevano con infinito applauso una tal Bolla, e non si riconoscano infinitam[en]te obbligati più che ad ogn'altro doppo S. Ignatio, al n[ost]ro Santo...
Pontefice, il qual con una si fatta Bolla rimetterebbe nel suo primiero vigore il vero spirito della Compagnia, e la coleggherebbe più che mai alla Sede Apostolica.

Un’altro gran frutto si raccorrebbe da una tal Bolla, et è che dove finche ella non esce, apprendendo in tutte le parti d’Europa i Giesuiti ancor buoni d’esser dal presente Pontefice, etiamdio senza colpa di lui, mà ben contro alla loro innocenza, e ingiustamente travagliati, e temendo [per] l’avvenire altri nuovi, e peggiori travagli, sono naturalmente inclinati à non vedere malvolentieri g’intrighi delle liti, e delle controversie tra il Papa, e il Rè di Francia, ò altri Rè, e Principi Cattolici. Perche finche il Papa hà molti altri ossi da rodere pnesano, che non potrà, ò non vorrà applicare alla riforma de Giesuiti.

E [per]ciò non dico io già, che essi procurino, e fomentino la lunghezza, e gl'intrichi di tali controversie, e liti, [per]che ciò non possano fare nè come' Christiani; ma almeno non hanno tutto quello stimolo che per altro avrebbono à bramarne lo scioglimento, et à proverarlo con tutte le forze loto possibili. Mà se all'opposto fosse uscita, e pubblicata (6v) la prefata Bolla, si stimarebbero obligatissimi al benignissimo amore Paterno del Santo Pontefice, e sarebbono inclinati à desiderargli ogni quiete, ogni esaltatione, ogni gloria: non ne temerebbono verun male, ne sperarebbono ogni bene, e sarebbono molto più pronti à spendere [per] lui non pur la voce, e l'inchiostro, mà i sudori, et il sangue.

Et infine ne proverebbono mille altri ottimi frutti il che Dio ci conceda.

L. Sorba

Sheafs II-IX. [Report: extracts below are from Sheaves V and VII]

Sheaf V. [First line: “d'Italia. Il P're Oliva (se è vero ch'egli vi havesse parte) non perciò lasciò di essere eletto Gn.ale”]

(c5v) Il P're Oliva (se è vero ch'egli vi havesse parte) non perciò lasciò di essere eletto Gn.ale Vera cosa è che di poi il med.mo P.re Oliva con alcuni Pri della Cong.ne da cui fù eletto Vicario Gn.ale, andò a nome di tutti ad impetrar dal Pontefice Alessandro 7° la dispensation della Bolla di Papa Innocenzo X° [per] quella parte che prescrive la quiete di 18 mesi dopo ogni tre anni del lor governo à Superiori, i quali allor cominciavano à dipender da lui. Indi dal Pontefice Clemente 9° impetrò la total cassatione della Bolla, anche in quell'altra parte che prescriveva l'intimarsi d.lle Cong.ni gn.ali ogni 9 anni.

Sheaf VII. [First line: “(c1r) quirimonie apud […] sed exquisite nervosique”]

(c14r) perpetuità à Gen'li, che presuppongo utiliss.ma.... Il Pontefice avvisato per qualche via delle andam.ti del Gen'le. Primieram.te questo solo timore il farebbe caminar più dritto, che non camina, come già si è provato. Secondarium.te la Cong.ne Gen'le afflitta ad ogni nove anni, gli havrebbe à quest'hora revisti due volte i conti, e in queste cose, e in queste cose l'haverebbe informato? In terzo luogo
facciamo che egli di presente, e moralm.te parlando non temesse più in vita sua la Cong.ne Gen'le, che conforme alla stabilita legge non dovrebbe adunarsi p.ma di 7 anni, oltre i q'li difficilm.te puo sperar di sopravivere, e di più non temesse dal sommo Pontefice, cioè delle relationi, che di lui si dovrebbono dare à S. S.tà, qualunq. fosse il motivo della sua temeraria fidanza: E perciò operasse alla peggo; che si farebbe in tal caso? Ecco che si farebbe. Il Pontefice avvisato per qualche via delle /-

(c14v) antidette, e certificatosi della verità di ogni cosa rappresentata, quando vedesse, che gl'avvisi più soavi fatti fare al Generale non bastassero à moderarlo; fra cento modi possibili a sovenire alla sua somma prudenza, potrebbe prender per avventura questa efficacissima, e naturalissima, che è di comandargli in virtù di S.ta obbedienza à mediatam.te per un Prelato, e volergli dar così sigillata come stà la polisa in cui hà scritto l'eletto suo Vicario Gn'ale; e q'do S. S.tà trovasse l'elezione esser ottima (come per cagione d'esempio sarebbe quella che già si è detto haver egli fatta) buono; q'do che non fosse à genio di Sua S.tà, e che il P're Oliva l'havesse in prima mutata, comandargli à cambiarla sino à tanto che fosse di gusto di S. B.e Indid comandargli à dichiararla come da sè; perche altrim.te la S.tà Sua gliel farebbe in faccia. Che partito prederebbe in tal caso il P. Oliva? Aspettar che il Pontefice gliel dichiarasse da se stesso il Vicario Gne'le, gli potrebbe forse cagionar qualche maggior compassione ne Gesuiti, e negli esterni, come risoluzione, che comparirebbe più ab estrinseco e più volenta.
APPENDIX 7. Excerpts from letters authored by Lazzero Sorba, S.J.

ASV, Indice 1077 Gesuiti, #47. Lettere orig. di p. L. Sorba 1681-1687 s.d.

[NOTE: Some of these letters are undated, so I have arranged the excerpts in two groups: (A) dated; and (B) undated.

Excerpts from letters that are dated are arranged chronologically. (Occasionally, I have inserted in brackets a year, followed by my reason for assigning it that specific year. When unsure, I include a question mark after the year I believe the letter was written.)

For the undated letters, I reference specific letters by quoting the first line/s following the salutations at the start of the letter.]

7A. Excerpts from letters with dates (arranged chronologically)

[Date; if year excluded, then year assigned and my reasoning for year assigned or question mark]

[May 1, 1681; unsigned but the handwriting conforms to Sorba’s signed letters]

(1r) Ill.mo e R.mo Sig.re e Pron^ Col.mo

Mando qui annessa conforme al concertato fra noi la nota delle cose che ho giudicato più opportune a doversi dire dal P.re N.N. a Sua S.tà, a fin d'indurlo a far quanto p[rim ]a la bramata Bolla. V.S. Ill.ma potrà aggiugnervi [sic], ò detrarvi quel più che le parrà, ò nella margine de' fogli, ò in in altro aggiunto foglio. Ho lasciato di porvi il detto da me riferitole ieri dell'eletto Procuratore nella Cong.ne de' Rettori, il quale in pubblico disse, non esse cogendam Con.m: Entesso; quia possent illi imponi plurima gravi [paper eroded] et aspersa. Verificatur enim nunc de Societate id quod olim contigit primitius Ecclesiae; de qua dictum est quod aderat Saulus adhuc spirans minarum et esdisc&. Nè ho aggiunto altre cose impudenti che furono dette in quella Sett.ne ò dal med.mo Procuratore, ò da altri, che signi ficarono esservi bisogno d.a Cong. Gn.le; ma dovessi però ella fase attente le presenti circostanze di poco benigne influenze nesso la Comp.a & ho lasciato, dissì di aggiugnert tuttiociò. Perche il med.mo P.re N.N. è un di quelli che intervennero in detta sess.ne, ed è stato (1v) il p. a riferirlo a me; onde non hà bisogno che gli si ricordi, e potrà come testimonio di udito riferirlo al Pontefice: se così V.S. Ill.ma giudicherà.

Nel fervore di quel subitaneo, e breve discorso che facemmo ieri, quando V.S. Ill.ma mi disse che il P. Delascies teneva illaqueato il mondo co' i suoi rigisi, io gli soggiunsi che il P. Oliva, e i suoi Collegati slie li suggerivano. Perche hanno appresa questa politica, che [per] finche loro altri Sig.ri hanno ossi da rodere, lasceranno vivere in pace i Giesuiti. Avendo io fatta rifless.ne a questo mio detto, mi tengo obbligato di doverlo qui esplicare. Io non sò positivam.te niun detto, ò fatto, [per] cui il P. Oliva e i suoi collegati abbiano suggeriti i prefati rigisi al P. Delascies, almen con animo di porgere ossi da rodere al Pontefice. Anzi né meno sò, che il P.re Delascies positivam.te operi contro il dovere, e all'onesto in questo controversie: E prescindo da tutta la verità, [?] qual Dio vede. Ma sol, presupposa l'appreensione che V.S. Ill.ma
mostrò contro il P. Delascies, à me nacque immanter … una simile apprensione, e
sospicione contra il P. Oliva, P. Fabbri, et altri lor Collegenati. Perche naturalm.te
parlando, e (2r) se non fossero trattenuti dalla coscienza, e dalla virtù, è molto
verisimile, che dovrebbero bramare di vedere in somma la guerra in casa di quelli, da
quali temono d'averla nella lor propria. Et una cosa è certa, che molti à della Curia, à
della costa del P. Oliva, parlando con me, e con altri hanno detto, che dal Papa non
temono travagli, almen [per] un povro, e [per] finche durano le controversie con la
Franzia, le quali credono andranno molto in lungo.

Or sopra tutte queste dicerie, e sopra tutto quel che loro torna naturalm.te a
conto, mi si rese verisimile l'apprens.ne, e non affatto improbabile la sospensione
[sospezione?] di ciò, che io le dissi ieri. Ma [per]che di ciò non ho altro fondam.to e
finche non l'abbia, non voglio credere, esser vero ciò, che senza molto pensarcio io dissi
ieri, ho voluto qui ben sincerare il tutto con S.S. Ill.ma. supplicandola in oltre, che se
avesse riferito a nessun altro il detto mio, voglia parim.te spiegarlo [per] il gravor d.a
mia coscienza e [per] non incolpare in q[uest]a parte chi probablem.te non è colpevole.

Io in tutte le occasioni, ma specialm.te in questo n.ro negoziato, ho pro-(2v) -
deduto, e voglio procedere con questa regola, che è, di dire sempre quattro gradi di
meno, che quattro gradi di piú di quel che potrei dire in materia de' difetti altrui,
massim.te in cose gravi, e che possono portare gravi conseguenze.

Non eget veritas menacio. Sono tante le cose vere, e certe, le quali bastano ad
ottenere l'intento, che nè si può, nè si de[v]e usar prove ò finte, ò esaggerate. Nè a mé
piace che vi siano le altrui colpe [per] poterle dire; ma vorrei poterle impedire col
proprio sangue: E sol presupposto che mi tieno, e che ne ridondino [per] viziosi effetti
nella Comp.a, e nella Chiesa, mi stimo obbligato di rappresentarle [per] mezzo di V.S.
Ill.ma: a chi solo può metterci efficace riparo.

Attenderò che V.S. Ill.ma rimandi gli annessi fogli con le postille di V.S.
Ill.ma, [per] dargli a studiare a P.N.N. p.a che egli vada all'udienza di N.S.re. E spero
ch'egli potrà far buon colpo. Perce è informatiss.mo, rettiss.mo, e zelant.mo.

Quando V.S.Ill.ma seguirà a rimandarmi i fogli di quelle mie scritture, la prego
a non dimenticarsi di mandarmi que' primi fogli, che il le mandai la 2.a volta. Perche
senz'essi non posso far vedere la mia scrittura a nessuno de' miei confidenti. [Per] qui
mi ricordo di V.S. Ill.ma, e R.ma,

A casa, p.o di maggio

[No name, but handwriting conforms to Sorba's]

[June 21, 1681]

[21 giugno 1681, c 5v] … Dicendo io i giorni passati a un P.re assai favorito del
P. Oliva, che non era vero, che N.Sig.re volesse tanto male alla Comp.a, com'esso, ed
altro dicevano: e che avea di essa Comp.a parlato molto bene al Gen.Ire de' P.ri di
Lucca; mi rispose quel P.re, che le parole del Papa in lode della Comp.a erano in cose
di poco momento; ma che nelle cose di sostanza, ed a chi importava non parla cosí. E
che un gran Prelato, che è in grande e pubblico posto nella corte Romana, disse ad
alcuni Giesuiti, che essi stanno veramente male a Palazzo, e ch'el raccoglieva da' discorsi ultimi acuti con la S.ta Sua. Benche poi non dicesse in particolare che discorsi fossero stati. [INSERT]ed insomma conchiuse quel P.re che e in tal disretta la Comp.a presso il Papa, che può temer più danno da' medicamenti medesimi, che da da' mali che internamente patisce […]

[August 19, 1681]

(1r) Ill.mo R.mo Sig.re e P[?]on Col.mo

Ho sentito che il P. Requesens fu ieri, se non erro, [per] aver udienza da N. S.re, ma dopo avere aspettato una, ò due ore nell'Anticamera, se ne tornò se infecta: e dimandando a M.r M.ro di Camera in qual tempo più opportuno egli potesse tornare, n'ebbe [per] risposta che ciò non si potea sapere, stanti le molte e straordinarie occupazioni che sopravvengono alla S.ta Sua. I. S.ma già sà le qualità di quest'uomo, e la stretta confidenza, e dipendenza che hà col P. Oliva. Sii può ben presuppongere che in queste circostanze egli cerci l'udienza dal Pontefice, ò [per] otternerla (1v) al med.mo suo P.re Oliva, ed acquistar questo nuovo titolo di benemerenza appresso lui, e di gloria presso gli altri, quasi possa più egli di ciò che hanno potuto molti altri; ò [per] giustificar le condotte del prefato P.re Oliva, e le sue stesse, se appare d'essere in poco concetto del Papa; ò [per] far male impressioni nella mente di Sua Santità di chi è appresso confidente Servid.re di V.S. Ill.ma, e [per] conseguente non affatto ignoto, e non affatto ignoto alla umaniss.ma benignità di N. P.re/S.re ò finalmente [per] iscuoprir qualche poco più di paese di quel che già discoprisse il P. Dunelli. Mi dimenticai di dirle, che questo P. Requesens professà (2r) stretta servitù col S.r Card.le Vicario, [per] mezzo di cui fu eletto esaminator de' Preti; e presso di cui si stufina grandemente.

I consigli che si tengono in questi giorni tra il P. Oliva e'l suo P.re Brunacci, P. Requesens, P. Galeno, P. Bernardini, ed altri della loro schiera sono陆续; sono intimi, sono misteriosiss.mi. Non lasceranno cosa intentata [per] ottenere il loro intento, [per] giustificare sè stessi, [per] non dipender da lei, [per] abbatter se possono chi hà commercio di servitù, e confidenza con lei. Tanto è vero ciò, che si è più volte a detto, e deplorato, cioè che la Comp.a di Giesù [per] (2v) tanti stretti legami subordinata al Sommo Pontefice, [per] vizio d'alcuni pochi e ormai ridotta a tal segno, che se i figliuoli di essa non [per] espresso comando del lor ente trattano col Papa, ò co' più intimi ministri di esso, eziando [per] saniss.mi ed altiss.mi fini son dichiarati in essa quasi prescritti, scomunicati, e appesantiti. Le dico certo che se il P.re Eterno s'incarnasse e vivesse in abito di Giesuita, e nella suddetta maniera trattasse col Papa, ò co' suoi ministeri, incorre'rebbe anch'e'gli gli stessi sdegni, e le stesse [per]secuzioni [Italics mine]

Chi scrive il presente viglietto, ella già sà, che (3r) si protesta di non isperare altro che la grazia, e non temere altro che la disgrazia di Dio: e chesi è già sacrificato di cuore all'onesto, ed al pubblico bene, e venganre ciò che ne può mai venire.

Nulla di meno ha giudicato di aggiugner queste nuove notizie a V.S. Ill.ma, accioch'ella possa con la sua somma prudenza cavarne quelle conseguenze, e
premunizioni, che giudicherà più opportune: con che cuore le fa profondiss.ma riverenza.

Di casa 19 agosto 1681
Di V.S. Ill.ma Divot.mo et Obblig.mo Lea.re
L.S.

[November 10, 1681: Requests papal audience for Oliva]
(1r) Ill.mo e R.mo Sig.re, Sig.re e P?ion. Col.mo

Io fui ieri avvisato d'Ordine del mio P. G.nrle, che seguitassi a stare in Roma nel luogo, e nell'impiego, in cui mi trovo. Confesso a V.S. Ill.ma, che mi fu grato un tale avviso; non [per]che mi portasse un nuovo benefizio di commodo maggiore a quel che io abbia; ma [per]che mi liberò dall'apprensione d'un male imminente, quale nelle correnti circostanze sarebbe stato l'essere io mandato fuori di Roma. Sò che oltre alla paterna carità messo di me, avrà avuto il P. Oliva un gran riguardo alla sodisfaz.ne di V.S. Ill.mo, la qual [per] avventura avrebbe sentita amare'zza nel vedere partir poco contento un suo divoto Ser.re. Pertanto, senza che veruno m'abbia nè pur mossa questa specia, e di mio in- (1v) -trinsico, e spontaneo movim.to, ho pensato che potrei corrispondere con qualche gratitud.e alla benignità del mio P. G.nle, e porgerle al V.S. Ill.ma qualche materia di amorosa corrispondenza verso di lui, con supplicarla umilm.te à procurargli una cortese e grata udienza dalla S.tà di N. S.re. Porgo tanto più volintieri a V.S. Ill.ma queste mie suppliche, quanto che atteso lo stato delle cose presenti, non potrebbe'esserne, nè apparire ò della parte di V.S. Ill.ma ò da quella del P. Oliva, ò dalla mia una minima venalità, o qualunqu['] altro motivo di rispetti umani; ma solo vi sarebbe, e apparirebbe la regola dell'Onesto, e del Conveniente, la qual non pur è la prin-(2r) -cipale, ma l'unica, che in ogni azione de[v]e monere gli animi onorati. Nel rimanente mi rimetto in tutto alla somma benignità, e raffinata prudenza di V.S. Ill.ma, a cui [per] fine fo una umil.ma riverenza.

Di casa 10 9bre 1681.
Di V.S. Ill.ma e D.g.ma
Divot.mo e obblig.mo Ser.e
Lazzero Sorba d.la C. di Giesù

[December 14, 1681: Post-death of Oliva; singularly favorable reception of Vicar General by Innocent XI]
(c. 1r) Ill.mo e R.mo Sig.re e P[?] Col.mo

Già V.S. Ill.ma avrà saputa la singolar consolaz.ne che ricevessero i P.P. P.rori a' piedi di S. S.tà, da cui dissero d'essere stati accolti con segni di quella benigna umanità, che appena avrebbono potuto sperare da Greg.° 13.° [sic] si amorevole verso la Comp.a Ora le posso aggiungere che p.a col l.re alle loro Prov.e, indi nel ritorno ad esse da sè med.mi pe' Collegi ove passano, e [per] le corti, ove hanno occas.ne
d'entrare, non si sanno saziar d'esaltare la paterna carità della S.tà di N. Sig.re
dimostrata in quel colloquio verso la n.ra minima Comp.a.

Lo stesso a proporzione fà il P. Vicario G.nle (c. 1v) il qual si mostra sopra
modo obbligato alle benig.me accoglienze fattegli da S. S.tà, e alle gentil.me cortesie
di V.S. Ill.ma quando gli portò il Breve pe'l Padre Verbiest. E espresse egli
singolarm.te questi sensi d.a sua divot.ma gratitud.ne al P. Sparsa, ceh fu da lui [per]
altro affare, e che a me gli ha attestati con tutta sincerità. Io le confesso di trarne
un'indicibile godim.to, sì [per] l'onorevolezza e consolaz.ne: che ne ribonda alla
sp[irit]uale mia. M.re la Comp.a, sì [per] quell'aggiunta di più obbligato, più
affettuoso, e più riverente ossequio, ch'ella [per]ciò concepisce verso la Sedia
Apostolica, e (c. 2r) verso chi in essa si santam.te regna.

Il Breve poi inviato al P. Verbiest corre [per] le mani de' Padri, e le attesto
ingenuam.te ch'esso è letto con somma approvaz.ne di tutti [per] l'osservanza del
decoro di chi lo scrive, [per] l'onorificenza delle Persone a cui si scrive. Si contenti
ella pur che io le dica senza veruna lusinga un mio sentim.to già lungam.te da me
nudrito nel cuore, ed espresso più volte à miei confidati. Se [per] la Dio mercè la
n.ra età [c'ttà?] non ha invidia a verun de più santi (c. 2v) Pontefici, ch'abbian seduto
nella Sedia Apostolica, non l'ha parim.te a veruna di quelle penne più celebri, che in
somiglianti scritture abbian servito alla med.ma sede.

E già che S. S.tà con si benigno, e si paterno Breve accrescerà grande animo, e
gran vigore à que' N.ri P.ri, che lavorano in quella vigna di Cristo là nella Cina, spero
io di porgere qualche materia di nuova consolaz.ne al gran zelo di S. S.tà, ed a quello
di V.S. Ill.ma, comunicandole l'annessa copia d'una l.ra venuta da quelle parti, se
[per]ve'ntura non l'avess'ella già veduta. Ed umiliss.te la riverisco.

Di casa, 14 xbre 1681.
Di V.S. Ill.ma e R.ma
Umil.mo et Obblig.mo Ser.re
Lazzero Sorba d.a C. di G.

7B. Excerpts from undated letters (includes the first line/s following the opening
salutation/s)

19 maggio; “Dal S.r Barone sarà V. S. Ill.ma ragguagliata … ”
(c. 1r) Ill.mo e R.mo Sig.re e Pron. Col.mo
Dal S.r Barone sarà V. S. Ill.ma ragguagliata d'alcune particolarità per
d'aciorch'ella non tardi ad averne la notizia, ne porrò qui succintam.te impossibile.
Perche il P. Oliva, e'l Card.l D'Etrè [French Ambassador??], è moralm[en]te
impossibile. Perche il P. Oliva è di sua natura profondo, nè la scoprìra a nesuno de'
suoi amici, [per] mezzo de' quali si possa in qualche modo arrivare. Disse ben'egli la
sera à suoi commensali, avergli in quel giorno il S.r Card.le discorso di varie cose
belle della Francia, ed anche del P. Memburgh; ma lo disse con una cesta di
stimolitura, con cui quasi parea di voler coprire i più arcassi negozij. Non lascerò
ben'io di star sull'avvertenza [per] penetrarne qualche sentore; ma con poca speranza
d'ottenere l'intento. Fra tanto (c. 1v) comunico à V.S. Ill.ma un mio discorso, con cui penso d'aver indovinato il vero mistero del prefato congresso; se pur non m'inganno io, e tutti gli Amici miei, i auli me l'hanno concordemente e mirabilmente approvato. Onde mi fo animo di parteciparlo a V.S. Ill.ma tal quale egli è.

Credo che la pomposa visita del Card.le al P. Oliva sia stata dal med.mo P.re bramata, e procuratogli dal P. Fabri, ò di lontano dal P. Dela Scies, ad ostentazione di potenza di P. Oliva. Temendo egli a sè stesso, e sapendo [per] quante vie può esser preso, e travagliato, hà procurato, e proveva di riparargli al possibile [per] tutte le vie. Gli artificij, con cui si ripara dalla Comp.a accioché essa non si raduni a Cong. Gen.le, col timore che il Papa la riformerebbe in tal caso, e invece di miglio- (c. 2r) rlarla, la guasterebbe, già le son noti; si come anche quelli, con cui và procurando d'insinuare [per] mezzo d'amici potenti alla S.tà sua, non esser ben ch'ella s'intrighi nelle cose d.a Comp.a; ma che la lasci in libertà: e che quando da se med.ma la Comp.a non si raduna, è segno evidente che il governo di lei cosse bene, e con sodisfazione comune. E con ciò pensa il P. Oliva d'assicurarsi bene [per] parte d.a Comp.a e del Papa in ord.ne a volergli radunare in faccia la Comp.a. Resta or che più a nostro proposito Le ponderi gli artificij, con cui procura di riparsarsi dal Papa, accioché da sè stesso non faccia qualche riforma del governo d.a Comp.a; e da' Padri più intrepidi, e più zelanti di essa, accioché non ricorrano occultamente al Papa [per] questo fine. In quanto à Padri, egli con tutti i suoi confederati, s'adopera [per] prevenirli, e [per] trattenerli con due grandi asti, col zelo, e col timore. Col zelo, facendo ogni di più spargere tra' Gesuiti che lo sdegno del Papa sia veramente rivolto contra la religione in comune, qualunque ne sia state l'origine, e non solo contra il P. Oliva, ò Memburg, ed altri pochi colpevoli: e che però non bisogna aspettarne risoluzione none di decoro e salute alla Comp.a, ma temerete parteciparlo a V.S. Ill.ma e di danno, benche non preso [per] maligna volontà, ma [per] antipatia di genio, e [per] insinuazioni di malevoli, e avvelenati contra la Comp.a [per] [?] loro antiche canzoni, con cui pretendono di far vedere l'intelligenza di V.S. Ill.ma, che è ministro di confidenze di N.S.re, co' Giansenisti, e [per] consequente la poca speranza che v'è di possesi da lei fra gli altri insinuare alla S.tà Sua risoluzioni decorose, e salutari alla Comp.a, aggiungono ultimamente questa, che l'Abbate di S. Martino potente in Francia trà Giansenisti venisse in Roma incognito, e sotto altro nome; ma saputosi ciò dal Rè, gli fu qui in Roma [per] ord.ne di sia maesta tenuta (c. 3r) tenuta intorno la spia, da cui si rispette, che la p.a visita di detto Abbate du a V.S. Ill.ma, e che da lei fu egli rivisitato, e tenuto a molti altri congressi. Pe' quali finalmente fu dato d'orn.ne: regio a detto Abbate lo sfratto di Roma: a cui esso obbed. [per] timore che il Rè fra le altre pene non lo spogliasse della sua ricca abbazia. Col timore poi procurano di raffredare i zelanti in mille modi antichi, e nuovi, e [per]che gli antichi sono noti, come [per] esempio quelli di spacciare chiunque parla, e ricorre, [per] un cervello ò turbido, ò disgustato, ò inquieto, ò fisso, ò che sò io? Specificherò qui un solo de' nuovi, ed è, che da un mese in quà s'arreto il P. Oliva a dire affettatamente con vari, ò più confidenze discorsi, che egli sà essere [per]sonalmente ben voluto assai dalla S.tà di N.Sig.re e che ne hà vari contrassegni. E [per]che ha veduto essere un grande argomento contra di ciò il non aver egli potuto ottenere udienza da N. S.re p.a d'andare alla villeggiatura (c. 3v) di Castello, fa [per] mezzo de' suoi amici spargere che ciò fu una finissima cortesia di N.S.re, il qual non volle dare al P. Oliva quell'incommodo, e gli mandò a
dire che aspettasse d'andare a' suoi piedi quando fossero più vicini a Monte Cavallo. Che più? Il P. Raffaele Prodanelli Confessore del P. Oliva, raccontando ad un P.re tre giorni sono le gran visite di Personaggi al P. Oliva in Castello, gli aggiunse che egli sapeva di buon luogo che fra gli altri V.S. Ill.ma avea animo di andare un giorno a visitar a Castello il P. Oliva. E [per]che quel P.re mostrò di ciò meraviglia, il P. Prodanello tanto più s'assicurava della verità della cosa. Con queste e simili dicerie s'avvisano di far credere à Giesuiti che non solo il P. Oliva è ben voluto dal Papa; ma che anche fra ministri di Sua S.tà non solo egli hà buona intelligenza col S.r Card. Cibo, con M.r De luca; e [per] mezzo d'amici con M.r Datario: Ma (c. 4r) eziandio con V.S. Ill.ma, da cui teme più che da veruno. Perche ben sà che i Giesuiti la stimano tra' ministri di Sua S.tà sicome il più intimo, così il più fedele, generoso, e onorato, e che non approva, anzi apertamente condanna i difetti del governo del P. Oliva, e de' suoi Collegati. Ond'essa è l'unico mezzo [per] cui si possa fare arrivare alla S.tà Sua la verità delle cose che passano nella Comp.a, e nella Persona del P. Oliva.

In quanto al Papa finalmente, accioche eglì non si muova dalla sua retta conscienza, e dal suo S.to Zelo, è da qualunque altro [per]sua[io]ne ad attestar veruna [nessuna?] cosa intorno al P. Oliva, e alla Comp.a, oltre a tutte le vie ch'egli, e' suoi amici continuano. Vanno pensando, procura di tener questa, di rendersi stimabile, e considerabile alla S.tà Sua coll'amicizia, dipendenza, e appoggio de' Grandi mostrando nell'apparenza assai più di quel che è in realtà. Per questo motivo principalm.te si vede (c. 4v) da' molti, ch'egli si sia indosso alla stampa delle sue [?] e che [per] questo egli affetti le visite speciose de' grandi. E [per] questo credo io, che egli nelle correnti circostanze abbia bramato la visita del Card.le d'Etrè a Castello: accioche quasi si veda che ivi si sieno conclusi i più intimi negoziati, e che il P. Oliva, e'l Rè di Francia siano cor unum, et aia una. Di questa mia credenza ho io varij fondam.ti. Primieram.te non fu quella visita improvvisa; ma aspettata e concertata: e furono di Roma da suo P. Prunacci Rettore del Noviziato mandato al P. Oliva a questo effetto le provisioni opportune. 2°. Benche da un lato l'apparenza del congresso fosse misteriosa; Perche si serrà in camera amenda' una'ora avanti pranso, e due dopo, con apparente premura di rilevanti negozij, ceh' si sentivano videre, e discorsero con voce (c. 5r) con voce si alta, che s'egli volea, potte quasi sentire le lor parole. 3°. quel med.mo P.è mi hà raccontato, saper egli di certo, che furono effettatam.te procura altre visite d'altr' Sig.ri come del S.r Card. Chigi, del Prencipe D.Ag.no; del Duca di Zagarola, e che egli stesso fu il mezzano [per] indurre alla sudd.tta visita D.Ag.no, e'l Card.le Chigi. 4°. è nota la mattina in ciò del P. Oliva, il quale ha sempre procurato d'affettare, e di mostrare potenza. Dimandando una volta non sò che gr[azi]a a Papa Alessandro a favore d'un terzo, gli disse, che supplicava la S.tà Sua a fargliela non tanto [per] favorire quel raccomandatoli, quanto [per] che il Mondo vedesse ch'egli era in gr[azi]a di Sua S.tà, e la sua Religione molto più lo temesse e lo rispettasse. Quando il P. Oliva, fu all' (c. 5v) udienza di N. S.re molti mesi sono in Monte Cavallo, mi disse uno informato delle cose sue, che il P. Oliva, benché di poco suo genio tratasse col Papa, ad ogni modo godeva di farlo di tanto in tanto [per] far vedere alla Comp.a, ch'egli avea le orecchie del Pontefice. E benché si tenga [per] certo, che in quel discorso tra lui e'l Papa non si trattassero materie di consideraz.ne, egli non di meno l'ha tenuto sempre celato, [per] quanto io sò, a fine
che vi si concepissero grandi misterij, e si stesse da tutti i Giesuiti in apprenz.ne. Insomma da molti e varij contrasegni io raccoglio, che l'ansi detto congresso col P. Oliva del Card.le d'Etrè fosse procurato, e fatto più ad ostentaz.ne, che a necessità di verun negozio, e che quando vi fosse qualche negozio sia stato molto poco, e tale, ch'equalm.te bene si potea trattare [per] mezzo (c. 6r) di confidenzi, come del P. Fabbri. Nello stesso parer mio concorrono tutti i miei amici a lei noti, et a quali ho comunicato quanto qui le scrivo. Ma la prudenza somma di V.S. Ill.ma saprà meglio discernere la probabilità, è imporbabilità di quanto le dico.

Debbi qui soggiungerle una vera e legitima consequenza, ch'io, e tutti gli amici miei abbia tratto dall'antedendente discorso, et è, che tanto più bisogna affrettare la sospiratiss.ma Bolla, la quale oltre agli'infiniti ottimi effetti che produrrà, senza pericolo di verun disordine, ed inconveniente [per] qualunque parte, farà questo grand'effetto, di posse[?] in mano al Pontefice una briglia, con cui tenere a freno, e rendersi ossequios.mo il P. Oliva, e qualunque altro Ente d.a Comp.a. Finch'ella non si fà e correndo le cose come stanno, ben vede il P.re (c. 6v) Oliva, che s'egli non in corre in uno di que cinque casi specificati da S. Ignazio, come di dare in testa a qualch'uno, di divertar frenetico e difficilm.te potrà egli è dalla Comp.a, è dal Papa essere deposto dal G[e]n[era]lato senza apparente ingiustizia, e gran compass[?] nesso di lui. E [per]ciò in realtà non tene cosa di momento dalla sedia Apostolica: e si vano affettatam.te con molti, che tutti i disgusti dato finora dagli ecclesiastici alla Comp.a non gli passano la nesse [veste?], non che la pelle: e si vide di tutti: e seguita la sua antica massima di tenersele bene co' Principi. Ma se sess' preste la bolla, in virtù della quale dovrà il Pontefice essere informato d'ogni sua azione dagli Assistenti, Revisori, et altri informatiss.mi uomini ogni due anni, da cominciarsi quando vorrà la Santità Sua: onde in sustanza si vedrà egli esperto ad in perpetuo sindicato, ed al pericolo (c. 7r) ch'ella non mi avvisi, il tempo che giudicherà più opportuno, avvisandomelo la sera [per] la mattina, ó la mtina [per] la sera: con avvestimi … [?] ciò che più giudicherà confacente all'intento e mandandomi il viglietto [per] via del S.r Falch, ó del Sig.r conte Casone, con ordine espresso che mi sia ricapitato subbito.

In oltre sappia V.S. Ill.ma, che lunedì prossimo il S.r D. Ag.no Chigi dovrà menar [per] due, ó tè giorni all'Ariccia il P. Fozio suo Confessore in Comp.a del quale hà goduto il P. Oliva che si conduca q.to P.re, [per] godere que' pochi giorni in Castello la sua conversaz..ne, religiosa insieme et amena. Il che conferma come nè dal P. Oliva, nè da veruno potrà mai formar, si misserio della nenasta sua a S. Stà, e molto meno di me, che gli servirò [per] puro compagno, et entrerò [per] gr[azi]a ad oscula pedum.

Il tempo dunq[ue] [di? per?] poter venire sarebbe infino a Dom.ca prossima inclusiva: caso che non si possa (c. 7v) bisognerà aspettare il ritorno del P.re da Castello. Mi scusi d.a lunghezza. La rivenisco umil.te: e mi ricordo di V.S. Ill.ma e R.ma.

Di casa 19 maggio [no year mentioned!]

[Postscript] Ella vede quando io azzardi in questi miei viglietti, fidato nella sua somma onorevolezza, e fedeltà: ma la supplico che quando se n'e' servita con ogni suo commodo, voglia bruciari, [per] tutti i futuri [per]icoli di [per]dersene qualchuno. Umil.mo et obblig.mo S.re
L.S.
APPENDIX 8. Oliva’s sermon for the conclave of 1676

BNC.VEII, Ges.1745, “Sermo Ad Em.os Cardinales in Conclavi, pro electione Summi Pontificis, in die Assumptionis B.M.V. Anno 1676. Assumpta est Maria in Caelum, Gaudent Angeli,” c. 61r-c. 66r.

(c. 61r) Sermo Ad Em.os Cardinales in Conclavi, pro electione Summi Pontificis, in die Assumptionis. B.M.V. Anno 1676.

Assumpta est Maria in caelum, Gaudent Angeli.


Assumpta est Maria in Caelum. Ecco la condizione principalissima dell'Assumendo. Maria Signora nostra non salì da se all'Empireo: ma fu assunta dal suo figliuolo Dio per le mani degli angeli; onde l'hodierna festività si solennizza sotto nome di Assuntione, non di Ascensione: in Assumptione Beata Virginis.

Non altrimente l'eligendo, non ha da salire al sopremo Cielo della Dignità Pontificia per se stesso con desidero elicit deliberato; molto meno per mezzo di politici artificij, ò secrete pratiche, ambitiosam[en]te procurate: ma chiamato da Dio, e portato dà voti liberi, e spontanei degli elettori; omnis namque Pontifex (intuona l'Apostolo) ex hominibus assumptus. Chi considerasse da dovero, che cosa è in sostanza il sommo Pontificato, io son certo, che non darebbe un solo passo per arrivarvi. Mentre passeggiava la sacra Sposa de' Cantici per gli ombrosi viali del Monte Libano; ode all'improviso la voce dello sposo celeste, che la chiama: Veni de Libano sponsa mea; et ella non ubbidisce; e non (c. 61v) risponde. Repl

ica la seconda volta. Veni de Libano. Et ella s'infinge di non udire, e non si muove. Aggiunge il terzo invito precettino imperioso: Veni; et ella che fa seguita il suo passeggio. Che ritrosia, e contumaccia è questa? Come può stare la dimora coll'ardore d'ella carità, che nel suo petto avvampava? Nescit tarda molimina spiritus sancti gratia. Non ve ne maravigliate, dice Giliberto[?] Abbate; Mora hec non contumacie, sed cautela. Opervate, dove era chiamata; Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, Veni de Libano; Veni coronaberis. Coronaberis? Mi chiamate alla Corona? Alla dominatione? All'impero del Mondo? Perdonatemi. Non posso venire e che corona è questa? Già la scorgo nella solitudine di questo Monte, fuori della densa caligine, che ingombra la valle miserabile del Mondo. È la corona della luna, che al volgo ignorante par contesta di raggi celesti: ma in verità è formata di vilissimi, e tenuissimi vapori, che ad un soffio di vento si dileguano: ma quel che più importa; è corona fatale, riposta sopra gioghi alpestri, scoscesi, dirupati, bestiali: de cubilibus Leonum, de montibus Pardorum; foris pugne, intus timores. (c. 62r) Datela pure a chi la sospira, ch'io per ma ricuso. Quid mirum, si moretus sponsa venire; cum et momento sit de Libano
discedero, et ad montes illos barbaros, et bestiales accederet. cosi fecero Gregorio Magno, Pasquale, Benedetto 3°, Stefano 6°, Leone Quarto, Nicolò P°, Adriano 2°, et altri molti, oltre all'esempio memorando, che voi stessi vedeste con gli occhi vostri nel Conclave passato: metuendum est (SS.mi miei) metuendum est ad montes illos barbaros, et bestiales accederet, et forsitan sponsa mora (soggiunge il devoto Abbate per frenare l'Ambizione insana de' figliuoli degli huomini) nostram festinationem sugillat, et arguit, qui nimis prompti, et minus providi, vires nostras minus pensantes, festinamus ingredi in Labores prelationis, in solicitudinum molestias, et materiam Lapsus: nec expectantes nel semel vocari, nos ipsi ulterior honorem sumimus, vocationem ipsam nel prevenientes, nel arte procurantes. Ma se questo freno non bastasse; trasferitevi dal Monte Libano al deserto di Madian; dove il Sig.re Iddio discese al sollevar Mosè dalla custodia delle mandre di Jetro suo primo alla condotta d'Israele alla terra promessa. Veni, et mittam te ad Pharaonem, ut educat Populum meum, filios Israel de Aegypto. Il Santo Pastore, dopo aver proposte et avacuate alcune difficoltà, finalmente accetta la carica: dicendo, giacche così volete; ma che patente hò io a mostrare agl'Israeliti, per darmi a conoscere per vostro Luogotenente? Quid est, rispose il (c. 62v) Signore, quod tenes in manu tua? Un sozzo bastone da parar la greggia. Virga: gettala in terra, proijsce eam in terram. Appena il bastone tocca la terra, che si trasforma in serpente spaventoso, et versat est in colubrum, itant fugeret Moyses. Perche fugge Mosè? È forse la prima volta, che ha veduti in quel deserto i serpenti? E poi; di che teme alla presenza di un Dio onnipotente, che vuol servirsi di lui? In varij modi in senso tropologico è interpretato la fuga di Mosè da sacri espositori: Stefano Cantuariense ravvisa nella verga la potestà, il comando. Quando questa verga si tiene in mano, è strumento di meraviglie, di cavar acqua dalle selve... da far scender dal cielo fuoco, fulmini, tempeste, da dividere i mari, ognuno la vuole, ognuno la desidera, ognuno la cerca. Che gloriosa che è sedere in soglio eccesso, co'l Trìregno in Capo; vedersi à piedi, e i Rè, e gli Imperadori; dar leggi a tutto il Mondo, aprire i Cieli, e spalancare gli Abissi. Gittatela in terra: proijce eam in terram; Rimiratela nella polvere, quando il Papa si riduce all'estremo della vita: terra es, et in terram ibis: quando ingreditur viam universe carnis, et si sente citare a comparire avanti al Tribunale incorrotto della divina Giustitia, con tutto il Mondo sopra le spalle; obligato a rendere strettissimo conto insin dell'anima dell'infimo Indiano, che habita le più remote pendici della terra; et una sola fra tante migliaia, e millioni, che ne sia perita (c. 63r) perita per sua negligenza, ha da pagarla indubitam[en]te a Dio à costo dell'anima sua propria; sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram: ditemi, che cosa è? Si trova regolo, basilisco, o dragone che più il faccia fuggire, e desiderare d'esser stato anzi vilissimo pastorello, che potentissimo Monarca? O utinam (sospirò quel gran prencipe in quel punto) o utinam, nunquam fuisse Rez; o utinam annos, quos in Regno egì, exegissim privatus un eremo! E se ciò, com'è verissimo, puo darsi cuore, che non paventi, che non inorridisca alla sola vista di quello scettro, che in breve, voglia, o non voglia, si ha da tramutare in cerata tanto terribile? può darsi huomo, che sene invaghisca? Che gli corra dietro? che si affatichi con le mani, e co' piedi, per afferrarlo? può darsi? nò certamente, se non è privo affatto, o di fede, o di senno. Non posso persuadermi, che si dia, almeno in questo Santissimo, et augustissimo consesso, dove è il fiore della Sapienza Cristiana. Chiunque di voi, e da voi, sarà eletto; sarà eletto per canonica, e legittima assontione, senza humane ambitiose manifestature. Nemo ex vobis sumet sibi honorem, sed qui vocabitur a Deo tanquam Aaron.
Passo per tanto alla seconda condizione spettante agli Assuntori. Da chi fu assunto La Vergine? Da Dio, non ha dubbio: col ministero però dell’Angeliche Gerarchie, che con liete acclamazioni portavano, et accompagnavano La Trionfante: Gaudent Angeli (c. 63v)


Chi sono questi, che colano per i Campi dell’aria, come, nuvole, abietti vapori, estratti dall’acque, e non piu’ sto Aquile generose, che nel Regno de’volatili tengono il Principato?

Per non oscurarli, rispose Pietro Cellense, co’l paragone ignominioso dell’Aquila, ma illustrarli con la comparatione gloriosa delle nuvole. Come volano le Aquile, et a che fine? Mosse da principio intrinseco, per desiderio della preda. E le nuvole? trasportate da venti estrinsei, per fecondar la terra, non perdendo il proprio essere, per dar vita alle Piante: Nubes etiam seipsas perdunt, dice l’eruditissimo Abbate [v. 64r/v]


Il medesimo succede, aggiunge il mellifluo Dottore Ser. 3. de Assump.ne nelle sacre adunanze (ne’ Conclavi diciamo noi) nella sublimissima funzione, che siete per fare; contrastano fra di loro Mara e Maddalena; la carne e lo spirito. Marta, la carne turbatus erga plurima: va sempre cercando i suoi vantaggi, le sue convenienze, le sue sodisfattoni,
vorrebbe eleggere il più prossimo a se, il più affetto, il più confide da cui spera maggiori gratie, più copiose rendite, ministerij più riguardevoli. In fatti turbatus erga plurima. All'incontro; Maddalena, Lo spirito riguarda ad uno, all'ottimo. Maria optimam partem elegit. Al più vicino a Dio nelle prerogative sopranaturali, più capace del Governo, massimamente spirituale dell'anime; più fruttuoso alla Repubblica Chri (c. 65r) Christiana. Porror unum est necessarium: Avvertite Sig.ri miei che non basta elegger il degno, quando si può haver il più degno; ne basta il più degno, quando si può havere il degnissimo. Unum est necessarium. È necessario di necessità di salute per gli elettori, obbligati all'eletzione del degnissimo per legge indispensabile di natura, e di Dio. E se in ogni tempo è stato necessario; hora più che mai è sommam[en]te necessario. E per l'esaltatione della sede Apostolica, humiliata, depressa e quasi non dissi da tutti calpestatata; e per l'estirpatione dell'Eresie, che pullulano per ogni parte con germogli quanto più secreti, tanto più perniciosi; e per la riconciliazione de' Principi Christiani, che alzano monti di cadaveri battezzati, e spargono fiumi di sangue fedele. E per la riforma de' Costumi, all'ultimo segno rilassati. Necessario aggiungere per lo ristoro del povero Stato Ecclesiastico, spiantato, desolato esinanito. Necessario in fine per chiuder la bocca de' Nemici della Chiesa Romana (m'intendete) ut obmutescere faciabis imprudentium hominum ignorantiam.

Felix domus, replica, e finisco. Beata semper Congregatio Felicissimo Collegio. Beatissimo Conclave dal quale non si potrebbe aspettare, che l'assunzione d'un Santissimo Pastore, simile all'Assunzione della Vergine, et a quella, che in quest'istesso giorno seguì nella persona di S. Leone 2o Assunzione gloriosissima, che rallegrerebbe il Cielo, e la terra, et eccitrebbe i fedeli tutti a cantar con giubilo: Gaudeamus omnes in Domino sub honore Beat.mi Dm.i Papae n.ri hodiè assumpti, de euius assumptione gaudent Angeli, et collaudant Filium Dei.
APPENDIX 9. Excerpts from Oliva’s Sermons

BNC.VEII Ges.1744, c. 198r-c. 217r: “Sermone detta nella casa professa la vigilia della circoncisione. Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus. Quod vocatum est ab angelo, priusquam in utero conciperetur. Luc. 2,” c. 202v. [Excerpt on the immense multitude of visitors to the Gesù during the Holy Year].

Tale di[?] non può sopravvenirci in questa prima Casa dell'Compagnia, mentre, nell'ultime settimane dell'a Anno Santo finito, all'immensa moltitudine di pellegrini e di villassi, che, in ogni ora, si affollavano nel nostro Tempio, corsero i Padri tutti per porgere come l'ulivo della riconciliazione sospirata co' Dio.


APPENDIX 10. Excerpts concerning the Gesù from the *Guida angelica*

*Guida angelica* Per visitar le Chiese, che sono dentro e fuori di Roma tutto l'anno, e per sapere le feste, che vi si celebrano. Con una notitia delle indulgenze, che si acquistano, e delle reliquie, che vi sono. La notitia di tutti gli Eserciti di divotione, che vi si fanno, & altre particolarità. Aggiontovi in questa impressione molte cose memorabili, non mai più per l'adietro stampate, e diligentemente corretta. (Roma: Francesco Tizzoni, 1681).

A. 8 (R.), Biblioteca A. Sarti, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome.

[The *Guida angelica* is arranged as a calendar, and entries for movable feasts are interspersed with regular feasts; I have transcribed entries pertaining to movable feasts separately in the second section of this appendix (“10B”) under the heading “Feste Mobili.”]

(p. 3) GENNARO

1 [di gennaio] La Circoncisione di N. Sig. GIESU Christo, Festa di precetto, si fà Cappella Papale, è festa à s. Giovanni in Laterano, à S. Pietro in Vaticano, a s. Maria Maggiore, dove s'apre la Madonna, a s. Maria in Trastevere, a s. Maria d'Araceli, al Giesù, a s. Maria sopra Minerva, alla cappella del Nome di Dio, si dà la dote alle Zittelle, e doppo vespero si recita il ss. Rosario, e segue trè giorni della settimana, cioè Dom. Merc. e Sabb. à s. Cello, & à S. Iacomo in Borgo, & in molti luoghi dove sono le Compagnie del ss. Sacramento. […]

(p. 4) […]

Tutti li Venerdì dell'anno si espone il ss. Sacram. nella Chiesa del Giasù [sic], e si prega per la buona morte, […]

(p. 6) […]

8 [di Gennaro] Festa as. Pietro in Vaticano, a s. Maria maggiore, & al Giesù. […]

(p. 7) […]

14 [di Gennaro; … ] festa del santiss. nome di GIESU per tutta la Religione Francescana.

(p. 11) […]

1 [di Febraio] s. Ignatius vescovo, e mart. festa a s. Clemente dov'è il suo corpo. […]

(p. 31) […]


(p. 36) […]


(p. 38) 29 [di Luglio] s. Marta, festa alle sue Chiese al Collegio Romano […]

(p. 39) […]

31 [di luglio] s. Ignatius confessore, Fondatore della compagnia di GIESU, e al Giesù, ove è la stanza, nelle quali habitava detto santo, e hora vi si è fatta capella, e vi si celebra
messa, & alla sua chiesa al Collegio Romano, dove nella Domenica seguente vi è
indulgenza plen., e si fà bellissima festa.

(p. 49) [...]  
16 [di Settembre … e festa] alla Chiesa del Giesù per ss Abondio, & Abondatio martiri,
dov è de'loro corpi […]

(p. 53) [Di Ottobre]  
[3 di ottobre] […] festa al Giesù per s. Francesco Borgia.

(p. 57) [Di Novembre]  
[...] NOVEMBRE  
[...]  
2 [di Novembre … ] Il venerdì doppo l'ottava de' Morti, nella chiesa del Giesù si fà
l'Aniversario per li defonti fratelli, e sorelle della buona morte: e vi é indulgenza plenaria
per tutti quelli che si comunicano nel detto giorno in detta chiesa, e pregano per l'anime
del purgatorio.

(p. 59) [Di Novembre]  
[...]  
13 [di Novembre … ] festa a s. Andrea a monte cavallo per il B. Stanislao, a s. Ignatio,
& alla chiesa nuova.

(p. 61) [Di Novembre]  
[ … 25 di novembre … ] La Domenica più vicino alla Domenica dell'Avvento è la

(p. 62) [Di Decembre]  
[...]  
3 [di Decembre; festa] alla Chiesa del GIESU per s. Francesco Xaverio, e per tutte le
chie se de'Padri Giesuiti.

(p. 63) [Di Decembre]  
[...]  
10 [di Decembre; festa di] sant'Abundio martire [à s. Lorenzo fuori delle mure, dove é il
corpo, e] al Giesù dove é la sua testa […]

10B. “Feste mobili”

(p. 63 onwards) FESTE MOBILI per tutto l'Anno.

(p. 69) […] Tutti li Sabbati dell'anno, indulgenza alla Basilica di s. Maria maggiore, dove
molte persone saliscono il monte inginocchione dalla Chiesa de s. Pudentiana alla sudetta
Basilica per divotione del miracolo della Neve, & a hore vintidue si cantano
solenne mente le Litanie della Madonna, e s'apre detta imagine con indulgenza di anni
quattordici chi sta presente a dette Litanie concessa da Papa Paolo Quinto, & anco chi
saluta l'Imagine della Madonna, che sta sù la colonna nella piazza di detta Basilica di s.
Giovanni Laterano, e festa alla Madonna de'monti, & in molte altre Chiese della
Madonna, al Giesù doppo le 22. hore li recita un'esepio [sic] doppo si cantano le litanie
della Madonna con musica.
Tutte l'ultime Domeniche di ciaschedunmese, Communione generale, che i Padri del Giesù fanno in diverse Chiese con indulgenza plen. e vi danno una medaglia, e questa indulgenza si puole [?] applicare per l'anime Purgatorio.

La Domenica di Quinquagesima, statione a s. Pietro in Vaticano, dove si mettono le Quarant'hore. Alla Chiesa del GIESU si espongono ancora, e durano tre giorni, e vi si fanno musiche, e sermoni. […]

Tutti li Giovedì di Quaresima, musica e sermoni al Giesù doppo pranzo, dove si espone il ss. Sacramento, e la sera si fa disciplina al Collegio Romano […]

17 Venerdì predica della vigna, statione à s. Vitale, consecrata da s. Innocentio papa I. & hora tenuta dalli Padri Giesuiti, con molte reliquie, che si espongono in questo di: fù edificata da Vestina illustre Signora Romana in honore de' santi Geruasio, e Protasio. […]

29 Mercordì predica del cieco nato, statione a s. Paolo fuori delle mura, dove è il cimitero di s. Lucilla […] vi sono molte reliquie, che parte si espongono in questo giorno, e l'altre tutte la terza festa di Pasqua, vi è un'Imagine della Madona, avanti la quale s. Ignatio Fondatore della Compagnia di Giesù ivi fece processione nelle mani dell'Abbate di detta Basilica. […]

Processioni che si sogliono fare nellà settimana del Corpus Domini
Giovedì à s. Lorenzo in Damaso il Giesù, s. Marcho, s. Andrea delle fratte, alla Mad. di Monferrato, e à s. Biagio in strada Giulia, il giorno a s. Pietro, s. Giacomo de Spagnuoli, e a s. Lorenzo in Lucina. & altre chiese. […]
APPENDIX 11. Undated list of tapestries displayed in the Gesù on Feast of the Circumcision and the Feast of Saint Ignatius

ARSI Rom. 143, II, c. 545 r- c. 546v.

[Date= post-1671 because Francis Borgia is referred to as a saint]


Nel primo alla parte dell’Evangelo e sopra l'ingresso della Cappella della Madonna si rappresenta come andando S. Ignazio alla volta di Roma con due suoi primi compagni cioe Pietro Fabro, Giacomo Lainez per offrirsi al Sommo Pontefice Paolo III, arrivato all'ultima posta detta la Storta, discostatosi dai suoi Compagni, ed entrato in una Cappellata a sfogare gli ardori del suo cuore più liberamente, e raccomandare al Signore, accio rendesse propizio il Sommo Pontefice ai suoi piii disegni, ecco comparirgli Gesu Cristo con la Croce sulle spalle, e vicino a lui l'Eterno Padre, che additando Ignazio mostra il suo gradimento se lo accettera in suo diletto Servo; ed il Redentore lo accoglie ben volentieri, dicendogli: *Ego vobis Romae propitius ero*: Vi saro favorevole a Roma.


Quello poi collocato sopra la porta di un lato della Chiesa rappresenta come Ignazio coi suoi compagni fu presentato dal Cardinal Contarini al Papa Paolo III., affinchè approvasse la regola della compagnia di Gesù: la quale veduta, ed osservato dal Sommo Pontefice sclamo’: *digitus Dei est hic*; e pienamente l'approvo.

Quello dirimpetto e collocato sopra l'ingresso della Sagrestia rappresenta S Ignazio scrivendo l'Istituto della Compagnia di Gesù, con fiamma di fuoco divino sopra il capo, che lo illustrava per eseguire un opera così eccellente, e divina, la quale presenta la SS Vergine alla SS Trinita, che l'approva, come cosa di suo gradimento, e gloria: al sinistro lato si vede un Gesuata, che osserva la detta visione, la quale vien approvata a
confermata dal celebre P. Nicola Lancisio con molti testimoni di ogni eccezione maggiori.

Quello sopra la cappella dei SS Angeli vi si osserva quando S Francesco Saverio fu destinato a S Ignazio alla Missione dell’India orientale a richiesta del Re di Portogallo Giovanni III. Per mezzo del suo Ambasciatore IEcc.mo Mascaregas, col quale doveva partire da Roma in Portogallo, e di li alla sua Missione dell’Oriente come Nunzio Apostolico nominato da Paolo III. Sommo Pontefice.

Sopra la Cappella di S Carlo Borromeo [sic] e collocato quello che rappresenta come Gesù Cristo con volto ilare e maestoso addita la strada, dove lui pati, (c. 546r.) a S. Ignazio. Vedesi ivi il Santo bastonato da un vile armeno Servo del Convento del S Sepolcro in Gerusalemme, mandato dal Superiore in cerca di S Ignazio, che avviato al porto con gli altri pellegrini, si discosto da essi per salire di nuovo al monte Oliveto, ed osservare per le vestigia del Salvatore rimaste impressa in una pietra quando Sali trionfante in Cielo il giorno della sua ammirabile Ascensione, a qual parte del mondo era rivolta la sua faccia divina (a) [printed note below indicates "(a)" = "All’Oriente"]: riflessione, che non aveva fatta la prima volta, che visito quel Santuario, e bramava sapere: percio, regalato il temperino, unica cosa, che gli restava, al turco di guardia, per ottenner il permesso, Sali su, e sodisfece la sua santa curiosità. Intanto radunati tutti gli altri pellegrini, nel porto per imbarcarsi, fu osservato mancare Ignazio, il quale aveva fatta istanza al superiore dei PP Francescani di lasciarlo vivere li, e sacrificare tutto se nella conversazione di quelle genti. Per giuste ragioni il Superiore non accordò questa grazia, e sospettando che Ignazio si fosse separato, e nascosto, per ottenere il suo intento, mando il Servo del Convento di nazione armeno di cercarlo, conducendolo alla nave ancor con la forza, non trovasse resistenza alcuna da parte d’Ignazio, che gia inviato era verso il porto (ancorche il suo cuore rimanesse in quei santo luoghi) per ubbidire alla volonta Divina, che al bene di tutto il mondo, e non della sola Palestina, destinato lo aveva.

In quello dirimpetto sopra la cappella di S Francesco Borgia si rappresenta S Ignazio ricoveratosi nel porticato della piazza di S Marco in Venezia e sdrajato sopra il duro pavimento. Compassionando il Signore il suo Servo, e volendo ricrearlo, e darlo a conoscere, comparve in sogno all’esemplar Senatore Marco Antonio Trevisano, rinfacciandogli, che stasse lui corico in letto molto adagiato, mentre il suo fedel Servo stava sopra la dura terra, e ad ogni inclemenza esposto. A questo avviso il Senatore destato e vestito-(c. 546v.) [ve-]stitosi, si fa accompagnare con delle torce accese per la città, e trovato il Servo di Dio nel Portico di San Marco lo conduce al suo palazzo, e lo ristora con carità.

Quello sopra l’ultima Cappella del SS Crocifisso rappresenta S Ignazio nell’atto di ricevere S Francesco Borgia nella Compagnia di Gesù, il quale rinunziato tutte le sue grandezze era venuto a Roma per vestire l’umile sottana di Gesuita, e professare Istituto della Compagnia di Gesù, con ammirazione di tutta Roma, e di Carlo V, a cui servi di esempio per rinunziare ancor lui IlImpero, e prepararsi a ben morire nel Monistero di Juste, come esegui con istupore del mondo tutto.

Sigue altor dirimpetto, collocato sopra la Cappella di S Andrea Apostolo, rappresenta S Ignazio giacente in letto, che molto aggravato, e quasi moribondo per il colpo ricevuto in una gamba, fracassata dallo sparo di un cannone d’artiglieria mentre difendeva con gran coraggio la fortezza di Pamplona, comparsogli S Pietro Apostolo fu
liberato dalla morte, e ristuitito alla vita, con la quale tanto doveva cooperare al bene universale della Cattolica Chiesa.

L'altro collocato sopra la porta maggiore della Chiesa rappresenta le opere di pietà (benche non tutte) nella città di Roma cioè il Collegio Germanico, la case degli Orfanelli, S Marta, S Cattarina dei funari, SS Quattro Coronati, le Convertite, e la Casa dei Catecumeni.

Quello sopra la porticella a destra rappresenta il gran dominio concesso dal Signore Iddio a S Ignazio per liberare gl'indemoniati ed ossessi dalla tirannia infernale sopra i corpi, come datagli l'avea per scacciarli dalle anime, convertendo innumerabili peccatori.

L'ultimo sopra la porticella a sinistra rappresenta come replicate volte visitato S Ignazio da S Filippo Neri, fu veduto da questo tramandare raggi di luce divina per tutto il corpo, segno della santità esimia della sua grand'Anima; per lo che diceva l'istesso S Filippo, che non vi erano colori in questa terra adattati per far il ritratto di S Ignazio di Lojola."
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Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)
Ms. Barb. lat. 6420, c. 64v. [Avviso about Innocent XI].

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome (BNC.VEII)
[The acronym “BNC.VEII” is my own: I have used it to indicate manuscripts housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome; I cite manuscripts of Oliva’s sermons and other texts housed at the Fondo Gesuitico in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II in Rome using the following system:

In notes, when citing excerpts of sermons, I provide the repository name (“BNC.VEII”) followed by the title of the manuscript volume in which the sermon appears in italics (“Ges. 1744”) followed by page numbers for the text of the entire sermon (“c. 15r-c. 39r”) and a colon; next is the title of the sermon in quotation marks (“Sermone 63, detto...”) followed by the number of the page on which the text quoted appears (“c. 16r”).]
In a new line, I provide a transcription of the passage cited. When citing an entire sermon, I provide the repository and volume followed by the title of the sermon and inclusive page numbers.

In the bibliography, I first list the titles of the manuscript volumes (preceded by the acronym of the repository). Under the entry for each manuscript volume is the list of titles of sermons cited followed by their page numbers.

**BNC.VEII Ges. 176 (41)**
[Bernardino Stefonio], “Modello della Theotesia in cui si fonda il sacro panegirico del B.N.P. Ignatio,” c. 394r-c. 495v.

**BNC.VEII Ges.1495(1)**
“Oliva Giovan Paolo Generale da CdG - Lettera scritta dal P Generale di CdG alli signori Cardinali della Congregazione deputata (Maggio 1679),” c. 1r-c. 2r.


**BNC.VEII Ges. 1744**
“Sermone 63, detto, nella Casa Professa, la vigilia di S Ignatio. Sint lumbi vestri precinti. Luc. 12; Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in Cruce, Galat. 6,” c. 15r-c. 39r.

“Sermone detta nella casa professa la vigilia della circoncisione: Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus. Quod vocatum est ab angelo, priusquam in utero conciperetur. Luc. 2,” c. 198 r-c. 217r.

“Sermone detto la vigilia di S Ignatio nella Chiesa del Giesu a’ Padri e a’ Fratelli della Compagnia. Sint lumbi vestri precinti, et lucerna ardentes in manibus vestris. Luca 12,” c. 234r-c. 246r.


**BNC.VEII Ges. 1745**
“Sermo[ne] Ad Em.mos Cardinales in Conclavi, pro electione Summi Pontificis, in die Assumptionis B.M.V. Anno 1676. Assumpta est Maria in Caelum, Gaudent Angeli,” c. 61r-c. 66r. [Transcribed in Appendix 8]

“Sermone detto nel Giesu il Lunedi della Quinquagesima, mentre la Santita di N Sig.re Alessandro VII. insieme col sacro Coll.o de' Card.li interven~ alla solennita delle Quarantore. Caecus quidam sedebat secus viam mendicans. Vidit, et sequebatur illum, magnificans Deum. Luca 18,” c. 420r-c. 432r.

“Sermone detto nelle Quarantore del Giesu il Lunedi d.a Quinquagesima, mentre il sommo Pontefice Aless.o VII. insieme col sacro Coll. de' Card.li orava genuflesso all'Eucaristia: Quid tibi vis faciam? Domine, ut videam. Respisce et confestim vidit, et sequebatur illum, magnificam Deu~ et omnis plebs, ut vidit, dedit laudem Deo. Luc. 18,” c. 588r-c. 600r.

Books and Articles


AJACCIO 2002

ANDREA POZZO 2010

ARICCIA 1999

ARICCIA 2001


———. “Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting Under the Jesuits and its Legacy Throughout Catholic Europe, 1565-1773.” In The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540-


Bulla Canonizationis S. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu Fundatoris. See under ARSI


CANONIZZAZIONE DI LOIOLA E SAVERIO

Carnoli, Luigi. See Nolarci, Virgilio [pseud.]


**GUIDA ANGELICA 1681**
*Guida angelica Per visitar le Chiese, che sono dentro e fuori di Roma tutto l'anno, e per sapere le feste, che vi si celebrano. Con una notitia delle indulgenze, che si acquistano, e delle reliquie, che vi sono. La notitia di tutti gli Esercitij di devotione, che vi si fanno, & altre particolarità. Aggiontovi in questa impressione molte cose memorabili, non mai più per l'adietro stampate, e diligentemente corretta*. Roma: Francesco Tizzoni, 1681.


IMAGO PRIMI SAECULI 1640


Biblioteca Vallecelliana 1995  


NOLARCI 1680a  

NOLARCI 1680b  


RATTI 1762

RATTI 1797.


SAINT SITE AND SACRED STRATEGY 1990


Soprani, Raffaello, and Carlo Giuseppe Ratti. See Ratti 1797.


———. *St. Ignace de Loyola dans l’art des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles.* Rome: Alberto Stock Editeur, 1929.


Figure 1. Baciccio, *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, 1676-79, Church of the Gesù, Rome. Fresco and stucco.
Figure 2. Triumph of the Name of Jesus. Detail: Sunburst with monogram IHS
Figure 3. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Groundplan, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 4. Giacomo della Porta, Façade, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 5. Girolamo Muziano, *Circumcision of Christ*, 1587-89. Former High Altarpiece of the Gesù.
Figure 6. Interior view of the Gesù in 1641
Andrea Sacchi and Jan Miel, *Urban VIII visiting the Gesù on October 2, 1639, during the Centenary Celebrations of the Jesuit Order*. 1641-2. Rome, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Antica (Palazzo Barberini), Inv. 1445.
(Soprintendenza SPSAE e Polo Museale della città di Roma)
Figure 7. Giovanni Andrea Carlone, *Christ and God the Father*, fresco, Right Transept Chapel Vault, 1673-78, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 8 Baciccio, *Vision of Paradise*, 1672-75, dome fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 9. Baciccio, *Four Prophets Who Foretold the Coming of Christ*, 1675-76, southeast pendentive, fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 10. Baciccio, *Four Lawgivers of Israel*, 1675-76, northeast pendentive, fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 11. Baciccio, *Four Evangelists*, 1675-76, northwest pendentive, fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome
Figure 12. Baciccio, *Four Doctors of the Latin Church*, 1675-76, southwest pendentive, fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome
Figure 13. Baciccio, *Conferral of the Name of Jesus* (presbytery arch) and *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* (apse), 1680-83, fresco and stucco, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 14. Bacicco, *Saint Ignatius in Glory*, 1683-85, left transept chapel vault, fresco and stucco, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 15. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail: Banderole and relief of episodes from the Book of Joshua (*Transport of the Ark*, at left; *Fall of Jericho*, at right).
Figure 16. Baciccio, *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. View of nave vault with façade window (*top center*) and side windows with stucco sculptures.
Figure 17. Baciccio, *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail. Stucco decorations above fresco field.
Figure 18. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail of Eucharist panel.
Figure 19. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail of Flaming Heart panel.
Figure 20. El Greco, *Dream of Philip II* (also known as *Allegory of the Holy League*), ca. 1577, Escorial, Madrid.
Figure 21. Federico Zuccari, *Adoration of the Holy Name*, 1592, Chapel of the Angels, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 22. Pietro da Cortona, *Vision of St. Filippo Neri*, 1664-65, nave fresco, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.
Figure 23. Th. De Leu, Scenes from the Life of Ignatius.
Figure 24. J. Le Clerc (?), *Ignatius*
Figure 25. *Death of Ignatius of Loyola*, grisaille, Casa Professa, Rome.
Figure 26. Official seal of the Jesuit Superior General
Figure 27. Jesuit monogram used in an early copy of the *Spiritual Exercises*
Figure 28. Unknown artist, Copy after Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, pen and brown ink and brown wash with white heightening on beige paper.

(Louvre, Paris, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. RF 5908)
Figure 29. Unknown artist, Copy after Baciccio’s *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail: IHS with cross above and heart pierced by nails below.

(Louvre, Paris, Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. RF 5908)
Figure 30. Celebratory image of St. Ignatius of Loyola from 1610
(ARSI Ignacio7x21)
Figure 31. Coat of Arms of Geneva
Figure 32. Baciccio, *Conferral of the Name of Jesus*, 1680-83, presbytery arch vault, fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 33. Mass of Ignatius, first page with antiphon.
Figure 34. View of dome inscription, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 35. Baciccio, *Vision of Paradise*, 1672-75, dome fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome. Detail of primary focal group with God the Father, Christ, and the Virgin.

(Soprintendenza SPSAE e Polo Museale della città di Roma)
Figure 36. Baciccio, *Vision of Paradise*, 1672-75, dome fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome. Detail of group with Ignatius of Loyola.

(Soprintendenza SPSAE e Polo Museale della città di Roma)
Figure 37. Baciccio, *Vision of Paradise*, 1672-75, dome fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome. Detail of group with Francis Xavier (at left) and Noah holding up the Ark (at extreme left).

(Soprintendenza SPSAE e Polo Museale della città di Roma)
Figure 38. Baciccio, *Vision of Paradise*, 1672-75, dome fresco, Church of the Gesù, Rome. Detail of group with Francis Borgia (at left).

(Soprintendenza SPSAE e Polo Museale della città di Roma)
Figure 39. 1609 Vita Plate 67

Sæpe noctu inter orandum, aut qui ascendit ad Daemonibus verberatur.
Figure 40. Baciccio, *Vision of Paradise*, illustration showing dome divided into four quadrants.
Figure 41. Bull of Canonization of Ignatius of Loyola, 1626.
Figure 42. Gesù nave vault architectural schema
Figure 43. Frontispiece of Nolari’s biography of 1680
(ARSI Loyola0010)
Figure 44. Frontispiece of Bartoli’s biography of 1659  
(ARSI Loyola0098)
Figure 45. Pierre de Lattre, *Miracle of the Flame*, ca. 1647-49, fresco, sacristy vault in Church of Sant’Ignazio, Rome.
Figure 46. 1609Vita Plate 69
Figure 47. “Vera effigies” of Ignatius

(ARSI Zeyen Collection Ignazio0347)
Figure 48. Gerard Seghers, Image of Ignatius with flames above his head.

(ARSI Loyola0155)
Figure 49. J. van Oost, Image of Ignatius with flames above his head.

(ARSI Loyola0125)
Figure 50. Andrea Pozzo, Allegory of the Jesuit Missionary Enterprise, 1685, fresco, nave vault, Church of Sant’Ignazio, Rome.
Figure 51. Detail of nave ceiling of Sant’Ignazio, rotated.
Figure 52. Andrea Pozzo, *Allegory of the Jesuit Missionary Enterprise*, 1688-94, fresco, nave vault, Sant’Ignazio, Rome; with grid schema imposed.
Figure 53. Print with captions relating Ignatius to fire
(ARS1 Loyokla0001-Busta1)

Inscriptions

Central Cartouche: B Ignatius D. Loyola; Fundator Societatis Iesu.

Left edge: Arma militiae nostrae non carnalia sed potentia Deo.


Right edge: Ad destructionem munitionum consilia destruentes, 2. Cor. Io.
Figure 54. 1609 Vita, Plate 74
Figure 55. 1609 *Vita* Plate 73
Noctu fusus in preces, quatuor ferme cubitis elatus a terra, colluciente mirum in modum facie, identidem, crebra inter suspiria inclamat. O Domine si te homines nossent!
Figure 57. 1609 Vita Plate 76
Figure 58. *Grisaille* panel with *Meeting of Saint Ignatius and Saint Philip Neri*, Casa Professa, Rome.
Figure 59. Baciccio, *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail with Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (with model of the Gesù) and perhaps Philip Neri in liturgical vestments.
Figure 60. Possible “vera effigies” of Ignatius
Figure 61. Reproduction of “vera effigies” of Ignatius
Figure 62. Ignatius adoring the Eucharist

(ARSI Loyola0199)
Figure 63. Trinity and Ignatius with Eucharist

(ARSI Ignazio0082)
Figure 64. Engraving after Niccolo Menghini’s 1640 *Quarant’ore apparato* in the Gesù
Figure 65. Engraving after Niccolo Menghini’s 1646 *Quarant’ore apparato* in the Gesù
Figure 66. Agostino Ciampelli, *Adoration of the Eucharist*, ca. 1600, fresco, ceiling vault, sacristy, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 67. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail: Longinus (bottom center).
Figure 68. Ph. De Mallery, *Ignatius and Francis Xavier*. 
Figure 69. H. Wierix, *Saint Ignatius of Antioch*

(Courtesy of the British Museum)
Figure 70. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail: *Damned.*
Figure 71. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Details: *Simony* (left); *Avarice* (right).
Figure 72. St. Ignatius, sculpture, Gesù façade.
Figure 73. St. Francis Xavier, sculpture, Gesù façade.
Figure 74. Federico Zuccari, *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, ca. 1600. Chapel of the Angels, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 75. Correggio, *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, Façade wall, San Giovanni Evangelista, Parma.
Figure 76. Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, 1536-41, fresco, Sistine Chapel, Rome.
Figure 77. Peter Paul Rubens, *Archangel Michael and the Rebel Angels.*
Figure 78. Peter Paul Rubens, *Miracles of Ignatius of Loyola*, 1610s, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Figure 79. Trilingual sheet with episodes from Ignatius’ life
(ARSI Ignazio0362)
Figure 80. Portrait of Ignatius characterized as “Daemoniorum Terror”

(ARSI Loyola0267: Note: The digital image I obtained of this print was reversed, but its inscription was still legible. Here, I have flipped the image so that the text may be read correctly. The original printed image is also probably oriented this way.)
Figure 81. 1609 Vita, Plate 46.
Figure 82. 1609 Vita, Plate 75.
Figure 83. *Scene of an Exorcism*, stucco relief panel, Chapel of Saint Ignatius, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 84. *Exorcism Scene* (with detail of Ignatius, possessed person, and fleeing demons), Casa Professa, Rome.
Figure 85. Jean-Baptiste Théodon, *Faith Overcoming Idolatory*, ca. 1690, marble, Chapel of St. Ignatius, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 86. Pierre Legros, *Religion Overcoming Heresy*, ca. 1690, marble, Chapel of St. Ignatius, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 87. View of left transept chapel dedicated to Saint Ignatius in the Gesù
Figure 88. Portrait of Ignatius as Founder of the Society of Jesus

(ARS1 Loyola0005)
Figure 89. Satirical print
(ARSI Loyola0120)
Figure 90. Image of Francis Xavier with motif of flaming heart

(ARSI Saverio S Francesco 018)
Figure 91. *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, mosaic panel, Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.
Figure 92. Perino del Vaga, *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, 1519, fresco, Loggia of Raphael, Vatican.
Figure 93. Comparison of Perino del Vaga’s *Joshua* with Michelangelo’s *Adam*
Figure 94. Guglielmo Cortese, *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, fresco, Quirinal Palace, Rome.
Figure 95. Giovanni Andrea Carlone. *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, 1667, fresco, Church of the Gesù, Perugia.
Figure 96. Alternative portrait page for official 1609 *Vita* of Ignatius
Figure 97. Portrait page of official 1609 *Vita* of Ignatius
Figure 98. Giacomo Cortese, *Self-Portrait*, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
Figure 99. Giacomo Cortese. *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, oil on canvas, Louvre, Paris.
(Louvre inv. 3438)
Figure 100. Giacomo Cortese. *Joshua Stopping the Sun*, oil on canvas, Galleria Spada, Rome.

(Soprintendenza SPSAE e Polo Museale della città di Roma)
Figure 101. *Mystic Lamb*, detail (Angels)
Figure 102. *Mystic Lamb*, detail (Lamb on altar)
Figure 103. Baciccio, *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* (*Bozzetto* for the apse fresco in Church of the Gesù, Rome), ca. 1680, oil on canvas, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, San Francisco.

(San Francisco, De Young Museum inv. DY54680)
Figure 104. Baciccio, *Bozzetto for the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, ca. 1680, Museum Kunst Palast, Düsseldorf.

(Düsseldorf, Museum Kunst Palast, inv. KA (FP) 2139)
Figure 105. Baciccio, *Triumph of the Franciscan Order*, 1707, fresco, Church of SS. Apostoli, Rome.
Figure 106. *Mystic Lamb*, details (Elders)
Figure 107. Apse mosaic of S. Prassede, Rome
(The figure of Christ is below the Lamb and behind the summit of the baldachin)
Figure 108. Pietro da Cortona, *Mystic Lamb*, Chapel of Saint Sebastian in Saint Peter’s Basilica, Vatican.
Figure 109. Vault fresco in Chapel of Saint Andrew in the Gesù
(Soprintendenza SPSAE e Polo Museale della città di Roma)
Figure 110. Cover pages of relationi for Quarant’ore apparati used in the Gesù
(Archivio di Stato di Roma)

Left: Cover page of relatione of 1671 apparato
Right: Cover page of relatione of 1675 apparato
Figure 111. Baciccio, *Conferral of the Name of Jesus*, ca. 1680-83, fresco of presbytery arch vault, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 112. Baciccio, bozzetto for Conferral of the Name of Jesus, Accademia di San Luca, Rome.

(Accademia di San Luca, Inv. 152)
Figure 113. Funeral of Ignatius

(Tacchi Venturi 1929, Plate XIX)
Dum eis transferuntur sacra ossa, lucentes stella in loculo visae, ac caelestis inibi concentus auditus.

Figure 114. 1609 Vita, Plate 79
Figure 115. Pietro da Cortona, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1647-51, apse fresco, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.
Figure 116. Domenichino, *Scenes from the Life of St. Andrew*, 1625-28, fresco, apse semidome, Sant’Andrea della Valle, Rome.
Figure 118. View of Gesù drum from entrance
Figure 119. View of Gesù drum and dome fresco on nearing the crossing
Figure 120. Dome fresco primary focal group
Figure 121. Dome fresco, detail of Adam and Eve
Figure 122. Lantern of the Gesù dome
Figure 123. Dome detail: Left transept section
Figure 124. Dome detail: Right transept section
Figure 125. Dome detail: Nave section
Figure 126. Giovanni Lanfranco, *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1625-1628, dome fresco, Church of Sant’Andrea della Valle, Rome.
Figure 127. Pietro da Cortona, *Trinity in Glory*, 1647-51, dome fresco, Chiesa Nuova, Rome.
Figure 128. Baciccio, Preparatory drawing for *Four Prophets*
(Düsseldorf, Museum Kunst Palast Inv. KA (FP) 1876)
Figure 129. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail: *Elect and Flaming Heart* panel
Figure 130. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Detail: *Elect* and Eucharist panel
Figure 131. *Miracle of the Flame* (with detail), stucco relief panel, Chapel of St. Ignatius, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 132. Meeting of Saint Ignatius and Saint Philip Neri, gilded bronze relief, Altar of Ignatius, Church of the Gesù, Rome.
Figure 133. Motif of Flaming Heart from an *affixio*
Figure 134. Lorenzo Raggi’s thesis print, 1637.
Figure 135. 1622 Thesis print from La Flèche

(ARSI Loyola0194)
Figure 136. *Imago primi saeculi. Page 49: “LoyoLa.”

(*Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu...Antverpiae (1640), (Ex) BX3702.A2 15q, p. 49.
Rare Books Division. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Princeton University Library.*)
Figure 137. *Insigne XXXVII* from Carlo Bovio’s *Ignatius Insignium*
Figure 138. *Insigne LXXV* from Carlo Bovio’s *Ignatius Insignium*
Figure 139. Insigne LXXXIV from Carlo Bovio’s Ignatius Insignium
Figure 140. Insigne XCVI from Carlo Bovio’s Ignatius Insignium
Figure 141. *Insigne XCVIII* from Carlo Bovio’s *Ignatius Insignium*
Figure 142. *Insigne C* from Carlo Bovio’s *Ignatius Insignium*
Figure 143. Pietro da Cortona. *Allegory of Divine Providence*, 1633-1639, fresco, Gran Salone, Palazzo Barberini, Rome.