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On the Fringes of Center: Disputed Hagiographic Imagery and the Crisis over the Beati moderni in Rome ca. 1600^{*}

by RUTH S. NOYES

This article sets forth, through a small collection of case studies, the extent to which the literal and pictorial figures of the Beati moderni constituted potentially provocative and disputed hermeneutical territory between particular religious constituencies, in this case the Oratorians and the Jesuits, and an increasingly stringent Curia ca. 1600. A reexamination of Beati moderni hagiographic imagery, and curial censorship of such imagery, potentially problematizes scholarly assumptions that these images served the Counter-Reformation Church's demands to control the meaning of religious images and the cult of the saints. Such reassessment calls for the reevaluation of a newly-constituted, uniquely post-Tridentine genre of hagiographic imagery: the Beati moderni devotional altar image and its reproductive printed devotional derivatives.

1. INTRODUCTION

On 3 August 1605, Oratorian father Francesco Zazzara wrote in his *Diario*: “The [Oratorian] Fathers, having taken into consideration the thorny negotiations underway with the other Congregation [of Beatification] regarding the right to hold a special Mass in honor of the blessed Father [Filippo Neri], and . . . the danger of losing what progress we have made [in regards to his legal canonization], seeing that the pope or the Congregation of Rites may disapprove, the Oratorians have thus resolved not to request this [liturgical] license for now. . . . Thus far many medallions of the blessed Father have been made, and the metalsmiths have sold many

^{*}Please see the online version of this article for color illustrations.

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more. Moreover a multitude of images of the blessed Father have been printed [from copper plates].”¹

The first several lines repeat verbatim a passage already recorded by the Roman Oratorian congregation in their official *Decreti* (*Decretals*) the same summer, regarding their decision to petition neither the newly-elected Pope Paul V (1550–1621), nor the newly-formed curial *Congregazione dei Beati* (Congregation of Beatification), for permission to observe a special Mass in honor of their order’s founder, Filippo Neri (1515–95), whom Zazzara calls their *beato Padre* (blessed Father).² The Philippine (an adjective applied to all things relating to Neri) *culto* (cult) and *causa* (legal case for canonization) were already in too precarious a position to push for such a privilege. The latter part of Zazzara’s entry at first seems out of place following his transcription of these congregational deliberations. Ostensibly he simply observes how many medals had been imprinted with Filippo’s portrait, that many more had been sold by medallsmiths, and that a huge quantity of Philippine portrait images had been printed on paper from engraved copper plates. These apparently mundane remarks, however, bespeak the inherent link in Zazzara’s mind between the fate of the Philippine *culto* and *causa*, and the fate of his pictures, likenesses, and portraits: the Philippine image. In spite, or rather because, of the Oratorians’ reluctant censorship of their founder’s cult, Zazzara needed to remind himself in his diary — which he likely intended to leave to subsequent generations of *Oratoriani* — that Neri’s *fama di santità* (fame of sanctity) remained vital. The proliferation of Neri’s image constituted proof of his *santità*, of his sanctity’s public fame, its veracity, and thus of Neri’s worthiness of official curial canonization.

In one of his contributions to the rewriting of the field of early modern Catholic hagiography and its reform, Simon Ditchfield cites Angelo Rocca’s contemporaneous acknowledgment, in his *De canonizatione sanctorum commentarius*,³ of the imperative correlation between canonization and

¹Zazzara, 1962, 19: “Havendo considerato li Padri la difficoltà del negoziare la proposto già nell’altro Congregazione che il dimandare l’ufficio del B. Filippo et il pericolo di perdere quanto si è guadagnato, quando No. Signore non lo sentisse bene, ò la Congregazione de Riti, alla congregazione generale doverà rimettersi, non ci stasse ben posta, fanno risoluto. Che la Congregazione non dimandi ne faccia dimandar per hora del licenzia. . . . Sono state fin i hora fatte più impronte di medaglie del B. Padre, e li medagliari ne hanno vendute molte migliora. Di più si sono fatte moltiss. imagini del B. Padre in rame.”

²*Decreti*, 90–91. The text therein includes the marginal heading “Office of the Blessed Father” (“[officio]. del B.P.”), and concludes that the Oratorian cardinals Baronio and Panfilio may pursue the matter in the future as they see fit “with delicacy.” See discussion of this text in Noyes, 1:42–71. For Panfilio’s involvement in the Philippine *causa*, see *ibid.*, 60, 63, 65.

³Rocca, 91.

“the right of the saint to be depicted.”⁴ In the same vein, Ditchfield has more recently foregrounded Émile Mâle’s fundamental assertion “that in order to understand the age of the Catholic Counter-Reformation we need to appreciate how the depiction of saints became a kind of laboratory in which artists and their (institutional) patrons sought to give visual expression to a new understanding of saints and sanctity born of post-Reformation confessional polemic.”⁵ In this spirit, this article will attempt, through a small collection of case studies, to apply Ditchfield’s theory and method of the study of early modern hagiography to the sphere of hagiographic imagery, i.e., images of saints. What follows will seek to extend and further clarify art-historically his three-fold directive to treat post-Tridentine Roman Catholicism as a verb rather than a noun — to ask not what early modern Catholicism “*was*,” but rather “what it *did*”⁶ — and to craft a Catholic Counter-Reformation paradigm that resists the categorical reductionism of “center” versus “periphery” and “elite” versus “popular”⁷ while nuancing the simple “top-down”⁸ terms of “a ‘revival accompanied by an increase in central control of the sacred.’”⁹

What follows will seek to apply the art-historical question of what post-Tridentine Catholicism did regarding hagiographic imagery to a particular subcategory of this imagery. This sacred image type, for all intents and purposes traditional ca. 1600, but swiftly becoming unsanctioned in the eyes of the Curia, depicted in the manner of bona fide saints as-yet-uncanonized early moderns, popularly known by their Italian contemporaries as the *Beati moderni* (modern Blessed). These included Filippo Neri, founder of the Oratorian order, and Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), a founder of the Jesuit Order. The *Beati moderni* were figures of localized reform, not entirely free of controversy, and celebrated ca. 1600 by local religious constituencies as official universal saints. Most scholarship has failed either to recognize or to sufficiently emphasize the potentially controversial, even subversive, nature of *Beati moderni* hagiographic imagery ca. 1600.¹⁰ In contrast, this article will set forth the extent to which the literal and pictorial figures of the *Beati moderni* constituted potentially provocative and disputed hermeneutical territory between particular religious constituencies, in this

⁴Ditchfield, 1992, 381.

⁵Mâle, cited in Ditchfield, 2009, 562–64. On this, see also Noyes 1:177–226, 265–336, 338–58, 391–417.

⁶Ditchfield, 2007, 224 (Ditchfield’s emphasis).

⁷Ibid., 203, 224. See also *ibid.*, 216–17; Ditchfield, 2009, 577.

⁸Ditchfield, 2007, 203, 206, citing Burke, 50.

⁹Ditchfield, 2007, 206, citing Burke, 50.

¹⁰The most notable exception is König-Nordhoff, 1982, 32–33, 101, 189. See also Levy, 127–28.

case the Oratorians and the Jesuits, and an increasingly stringent Curia. A reexamination of *Beati moderni* hagiographic imagery, and curial censorship of such imagery, problematizes scholarly assumptions that these images served the Counter-Reformation Church's demands to control the meaning of religious images and the cult of the saints.¹¹ Such reassessment calls for the reevaluation of a newly-constituted, uniquely post-Tridentine genre of hagiographic imagery: the *Beati moderni* devotional altar image and its reproductive printed devotional derivatives.¹² Shortly after the turn of the seventeenth century, thanks to circumstances the Oratorians and Jesuits themselves stirred up in 1602, Catholic reforms of the cult and canonization of saints collided with reforms of the cult and production of saints' images. This resulted in curial proscription of certain *Beati moderni* images, an initiative that was perhaps the most centralized Curia-driven censure of sacred imagery in the history of the Roman Church. These circumstances, today relatively little-known, and their momentous historical repercussions, will serve as a case study in the intrinsically linked spheres of hagiography and hagiographic imagery, canonization, and image production in early modern Catholicism.

Rome and the Curia constituted the ostensible center of universal, and hence presumably unilateral, Catholic reform. Yet ca. 1600, within the papal city and the Vatican itself, discord, not consensus, was the order of the day.¹³ This was especially the case regarding dissonant views about reforms of the iconography, production and regulation of hagiographic imagery of the *Beati moderni*. Two notable dissident examples of those within the ostensible center of Counter-Reformation hierarchy, but who opposed curial policies in these matters, are Cardinals Cesare Baronio (1538–1607) and Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621),¹⁴ recently singled out as at once exceptional and paradigmatic figures of the local-universal dialectic.¹⁵

¹¹Stoichita, 17; Krüger, 48.

¹²This article will also demonstrate, in line with König-Nordhoff's groundbreaking scholarship on Jesuit manifestations of this post-Tridentine genre, that this innovative imagery reverberated through prints as well as paintings: König-Nordhoff, 1982, 93–95, 101–28. See also Noyes, 1:178–81, 194–98, 295–96, 303–04.

¹³On the general discord within the Curia and the Congregation of Beatification, see Ditchfield, 2009, 577–78.

¹⁴Ditchfield, 2007, 211; and Ditchfield, 2009, 578, single out Bellarmino as representative of a more traditionalist, localized position on post-Tridentine reform, as opposed to members of the Curia, such as Francesco Peña, who took a more hardline, centralized approach to reform.

¹⁵Ditchfield, 2007, 204.

In 1563 the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent — “On invocation, veneration and relics of the saints, and on sacred images”¹⁶ — by virtue of the decrees’ combined treatment of the subjects of hagiography and hagiographic imagery, demonstrated their inherent linkage in the minds of post-Tridentine Catholics, but otherwise left tradition largely undisturbed.¹⁷ While Trent left the codification and indoctrination of hagiographic reform to subsequent local Church leaders, cases of new and unusual manifestations of sacred imagery necessitated recourse to the pontiff. The pope would have the greatest effect upon the production and cultic consumption of hagiographic imagery at the turn of the seventeenth century.¹⁸ Regarding inter-curial reform, it was not until 1588, following sixty-five years without a single canonization, that the Curia had sufficiently reconsolidated canonization procedure to declare legally and universally a new official saint, Diego of Alcalá (ca. 1400–63).¹⁹ Post-Tridentine pontificates incrementally demonstrated a new resolve to distinguish between localized and universal canonization trials and cultic manifestations, and to regulate more strictly the former.²⁰ This curial trend, whereby the papacy increasingly controlled the process of saint-making, culminated during Clement VIII’s (1536–1605) pontificate (1592–1605).²¹ It is the claim of the present author that this culmination subsumed parallel increasing curial scrutiny and regulation of saints’ — above all would-be saints’ — picture-making.

Moreover, the phenomenon of *Beati moderni* hagiographic imagery illustrates with exceptional clarity “the symbiotic relationship between . . . canonisation and censorship, saint and heretic making.”²² In early modern Catholicism, the ostensibly disparate terms *canonization* and *censorship*, *saint* and *heretic* coexisted on the same hermeneutical axis, and the *Beati moderni* and their images moved back and forth along this continuum during (at least) the decade from 1595 to 1605.²³ However, despite the growing papal prerogative and curial regulation, during the first quarter of the Seicento

¹⁶Tanner, 2:774–76. See also Jedin, 143–88, 404–29.

¹⁷Ditchfield, 2009, 578.

¹⁸Tanner, 2:776. Trent also conflated the spheres of image theory — which encompassed ideas of vision, display, and devotion — and image policy — which comprised questions of production, iconographic determination, and regulation — much as it did with those of hagiography and canonization.

¹⁹Ditchfield, 2007, 205; Ditchfield, 1996, 103.

²⁰Ditchfield, 2007, 209; see also Ditchfield, 2009, 577–78.

²¹Ippolito Aldobrandini, 1536–1605. Ditchfield, 2009, 578; see also Ditchfield, 2007, 209–10.

²²Ditchfield, 2009, 578.

²³Ditchfield, 2007, 209; and Ditchfield, 2009, 577, single out the *Beati moderni*.

questions of how to control precocious localized cults evidencing signs of universal recognition — such as those sprung up around the literal and pictorial figures of the *Beati moderni* — remained ill-defined, and constituted a potential locus of societal, devotional, and curial anxiety.²⁴ As Ditchfield has noted — tellingly, using as an illustrative example a case of curial *Beati moderni* hagiographic imagery censorship discussed in detail below — before the end of the first quarter of the Seicento, by which time the Clementine curia successfully circumscribed such issues, papal and curial policies and bureaucracy vacillated unpredictably.²⁵ Post-Tridentine Catholic anxiety surrounding hagiographic reforms, particularly the *Beati moderni*, reached a boiling point in 1602, when Clement VIII created the special curial *Congregazione dei Beati* (Congregation of Beatification) expressly to regulate the *culti* and *cause* of contemporary would-be saints, and to expurgate both — as well as hagiographic imagery — of any potential unorthodoxy.²⁶ What follows will attempt to articulate a more nuanced picture of the events leading up to and precipitating from Clement's watershed censorship.

The Clementine suppression was prompted by the Roman Oratorians' ostentatiously public translation of Neri's remains into an expressly-built and lavishly-decorated honorary chapel close to the high altar of the Chiesa Nuova, the Oratorian church in Rome a mere ten-minute walk from the Vatican.²⁷ Oratorian promotion of their founder's cult transgressed, but also ultimately defined, the orthodox parameters of cultic manifestation for the not-yet-canonized that, for the first time after Trent, the pope and his Curia were contemporaneously defining. Neri's followers, observing what was for all intents and purposes hitherto tradition by aggressively promoting their cultic champion, were in fact historically exceptional in their simultaneous delineation and breaching of new universal Catholic boundaries. The *Oratoriani*, together with those like the Jesuits propagating cults of other *Beati moderni*, suddenly found by 1602 that they had gone from being pioneers of a seemingly glorious frontier to virtual outsiders of the territory

²⁴Burke, 45–55; Ditchfield, 2007, 209–10, 216–17; Ditchfield, 2009, 216–17; Gotor, 2000, 677–727, 696–708; Gotor, 2002, 127–253; Papa, 57, 61–63; de Maio, 257–78; Sallman, 584–602.

²⁵Ditchfield, 2007, 210.

²⁶Ditchfield, 2007, 201–24; Gotor, 2000, 677–727, 696–708; Gotor, 2002, 127–253; Papa, 57, 61–63.

²⁷Gallonio, 311^r–312^r and 313^{r-v}. As early as 1596, in the role of *consultor* to the *Congregazione dei Riti*, Gallonio composed *De his quae prestari possunt non canonizatis*: in *ibid*, fols. 272^r–230^r. Cited in Ditchfield, 2007, 210–11nn23–26; Papa, 54; Gotor, 2002, 54; Noyes, 1:37–64.

that they had unwittingly helped circumscribe. The Oratorians and Jesuits, among other religious communities, found that in order to preserve the cults of their beloved spiritual fathers they had to suppress the very cultic manifestations that had generated them.

2. THE PHILIPPINE TRANSLATION, CLEMENTINE BACKLASH, AND THE CONGREGATION FOR BEATIFICATION

In theory, by 1600 the Master of the Sacred Palace²⁸ commanded that every single printed image be approved by him before publication.²⁹ How this degree of censorial regulation played out on a practical day-to-day basis remains unexplained, and almost unimaginable. Nonetheless, documents that might shed light on image regulation in Rome can be found, often in unexpected places. Among previously published but unidentified material can be found concrete evidence regarding the process of obtaining permission from the *Maestro del Sacro Palazzo* for each and every printed image. This material consists of three separate impressions of two different engravings depicting Filippo Neri's life and miracles, preserved in the Oratorian archives in Rome. Both engravings were executed in Rome: one by Pieter Coel after Antonio Tempesta in 1600, and hereafter designated "1600" (fig. 1). The other, by Mattheus Greuter (figs. 2–3), survives in two states: an unfinished state of the 1606, designated "1606A" (fig. 2); and his finished state, "1606B" (fig. 3).³⁰ All-but-illegible inscriptions exist in the lower margins of each engraving (figs. 4–6), and inscriptions in a more-legible hand can be seen on the top, left, and right margins of 1606A (fig. 2). All the inscriptions, written in a kind of hasty Latin shorthand, have escaped notice, but are decipherable, and decoding them yields interesting results. Beginning with the least-legible lower margin of all three impressions, those on 1600 (fig. 4) read: *Publicetur fr. Paulus de Francis. Neap. socius . . . patris magistri sac. Palatii*. Those on 1606A actually comprise two inscriptions written in two distinct hands (figs. 5–6). They read: *Imprimatur pro parte R. p. Mag. s. palatii / B. Gypsius*

²⁸On the history of the Master of the Sacred Palace, see Creyten, 5–83.

²⁹On exchanges ca. 1600 between producers of images and the Curia — necessitated by the increasing control, albeit irregular and bureaucratic, exerted by the latter upon the former — see Leuschner, 2005, 204–18; Leuschner, 2003, 65, 67; Leuschner, 1998, 360nn9–11, 365n21, 366n24, 369, 370. See also Witcombe, 1991, 133–45; Witcombe, 2004.

³⁰All were published in 1995 on the occasion of an exhibition dedicated to Filippo Neri: see *La regola et la fama*, cat. nos. 17, 20, 21. The present author has only been able to see these engravings in their published state, and remains unsure as to their precise collocation and state of preservation today.



FIGURE 1. Pieter Coel, after Antonio Tempesta. Filippo Neri and the Madonna della Valicella surrounded by scenes of his miracles, 1600. Rome, Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di San Filippo Neri.

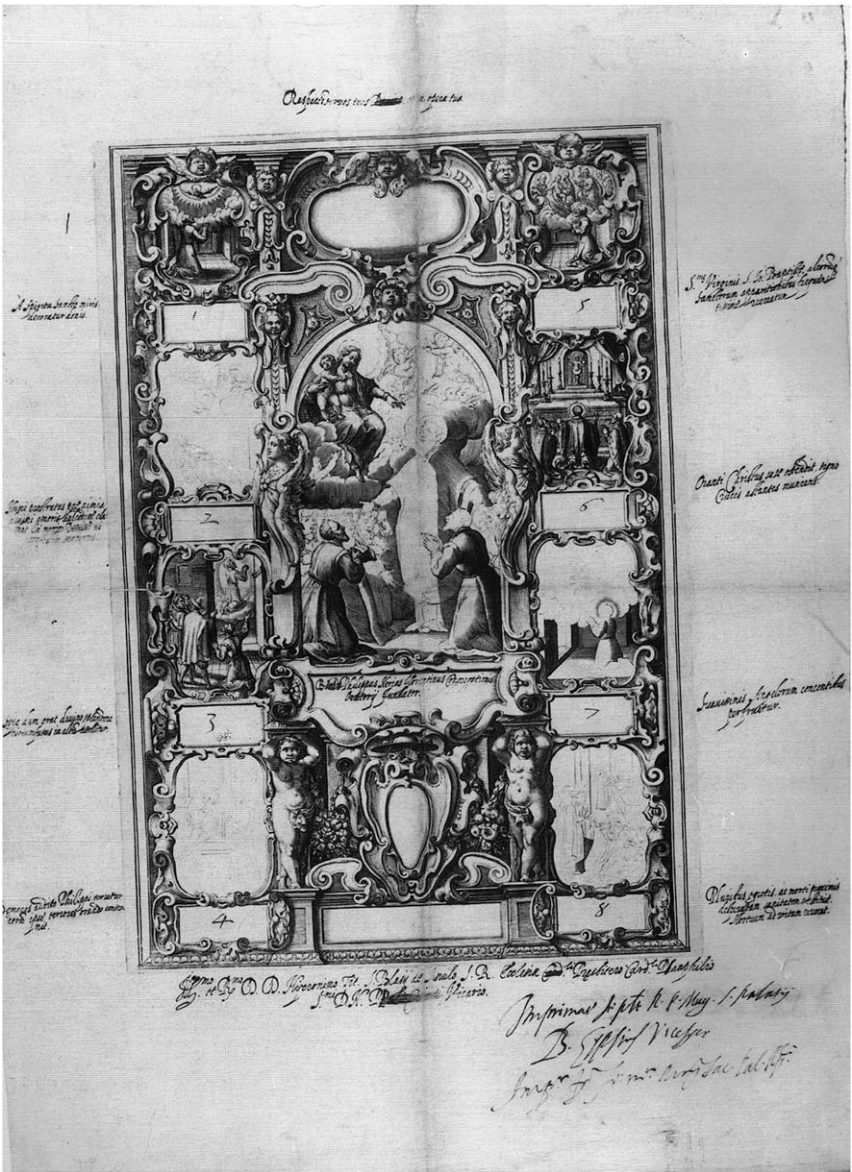


FIGURE 2. 1606A. Mattheus Greuter. *Filippo Neri della Misericordia* (Filippo Neri presents his congregation to the Madonna della Valicella surrounded by scenes of his miracles), first state, 1606. Rome, Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di San Filippo Neri.



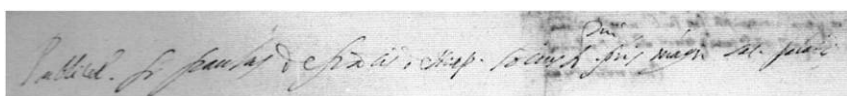


FIGURE 4. 1600 (detail).

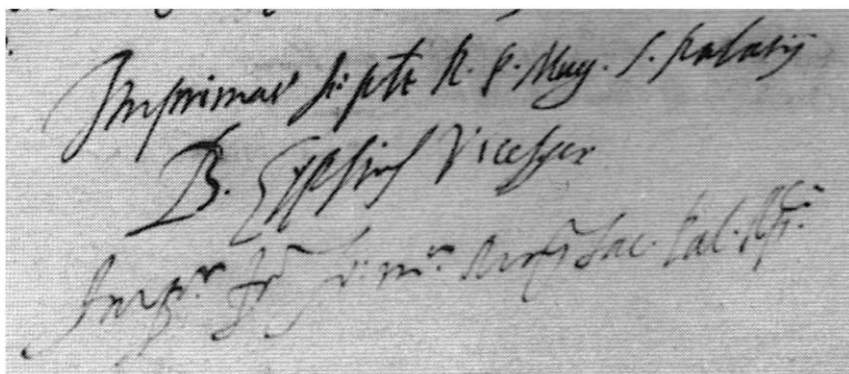


FIGURE 5. 1606A (first state, detail).

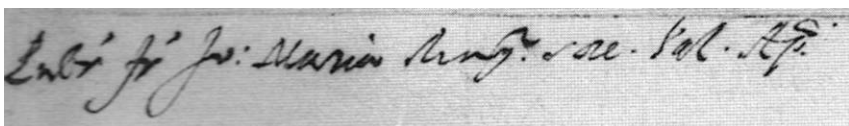


FIGURE 6. 1606B (second state, detail).

vice . . . [first hand] / *Imprimatur fr. Jo. M^aa. magister Sacri Pal. Ap.* [second hand]. 1606B (fig. 6) reads: *Imprimatur fr. Jo. M^aa. magister Sacri Pal. Ap.*

Let us first deal with the names, beginning with that in the 1600 inscription: “fr. Paulus de Francis. Neap. socius” is the Neapolitan Paulus de Francis,³¹ for several years the *socius* (associate) to Johannes Maria de Guanzais of Brescia, who was Master of the Sacred Palace from 1598 to 1609, and who issued the *Indice* of prohibited books in 1607.³² There are two names written on 1606A: in the first hand, “B. Gypsius vice,” is Berlinghiero Gessi (Bologna, 1564–Rome, 1639), who at the time was Vicegerent of Rome, and who became cardinal in 1626. The name in the

³¹Quetif, 2:pt. 1, 391.

³²Ibid., xxi, 413.

second hand, “fr. Jo. M^a. magister Sacri Pal. Ap.,” is Master of the Sacred Palace Johannes Maria de Guanzais. Finally, the name in the margin of 1606B, “fr. Jo. M^a. magister Sacri Pal. Ap.,” is again de Guanzais. As for the inscriptions in a third hand in the top, left, right, and (just below the impression itself) bottom margins, as well as the center cartouche, of 1606A (fig. 2), after some comparison with the finished state of 1606B, these can be identified as follows: the text to be engraved in the individual cartouches below each vignette (in the left and right margins); a citation from the book of Psalms in the top cartouche; the center *titulus* below the scene of Neri presenting his congregation to the Virgin and Child; and the dedicatory text in the middle bottom cartouche (just below the impression). 1606A thus represents a work in progress that, notwithstanding its incomplete state, supplied the complete program — vignettes, text, and so on — that would become 1606B. What all these scratchings mean collectively is something more significant. What we have here, presumably, are three would-be printed images brought — whether by the engravers Coel and Greuter, or by the printers-sponsors Nicolò van Aelst (1600) and Antonio van Aelst (1606A–B) — to the *Maestro del Sacro Palazzo*. The Master and/or his *socius*, having inspected the individual works and approved their imagery, literally signed off on each impression, thereby extending the printing privilege for publication and dissemination (or sale): hence the words *Publicitur* and *Imprimatur*. The two surviving states of Greuter’s engraving, both of which the Sacred Palace approved, are especially revealing, as the two impressions could signify that works in various stages of production were subject to inspection, or that hagiographic images of the *Beati moderni* were subject to greater scrutiny. It is likewise telling that Greuter only incised the phrase *Cum permissu[m]. sup[er]ior[um]* in the final state of 1606B (fig. 3).

Concurrent to the Clementine Curia’s increased regulation of all kinds of printed images through the occasionally conflicting powers of the Congregazione dell’Indice (Congregation of the Index) and the Maestro del Sacro Palazzo (Master of the Sacred Palace), the pope and various Congregazioni also devoted greater scrutiny and censorial activity to broader regulation of all sacred images, printed or otherwise, including altarpieces and more-general devotional imagery.³³ In 1593 Clement issued his censorial *Editto per gli altari et pitture* (*Edict Regarding Altars and Paintings*), a document that went hand-in-hand with his probable intent (despite a lack of

³³The most prominent, researched, and classic cases of post-Tridentine image censorship have tended to be works executed by renowned artists, and for which textual and visual evidence survives: these include Michelangelo’s *Last Judgment*, and Veronese’s *Last Supper*. See Schlitt, 113–49; Barnes, 59–84; Kaplan, 85–124.

evidence either way) to draw up an *Indice* of images paralleling that for texts.³⁴ One of the ways that Clement implemented sacred image reform was by means of renewing the papal practice of apostolic and pastoral visits to churches and religious institutions throughout Rome, beginning in the 1590s. The importance of the Clementine pastoral visits as a post-Tridentine phenomenon cannot be overestimated.³⁵ Their reformatory nature was immediately grasped by contemporaries.³⁶ As early as 1594, during his visit to the Gesù, Clement called for the censure of an altar image possibly depicting Jesuit *Beati moderni* in the guise of the seven archangels, likely because the pope opposed the unsanctioned portraits.³⁷

While depicting would-be local saints in the guise of bona fide venerable saintly figures constituted a centuries-old tradition by 1600, the Clementine Curia around — and certainly immediately after — the turn of the century applied further censorial pressure to *Beati moderni* hagiographic imagery of this impersonative type, which the Congregation for Beatification concurrently officially designated as unorthodox.³⁸ Notably, Clement's 1593 *Edict* broadly addressed a loosely-defined category of pictures that ostensibly comprised what would be considered today altarpieces officially consecrated for formal liturgical observances — namely, the Mass. Perhaps more importantly, the document dealt with any sacred image in any medium — be it a self-circumscribed painting on panel or canvas, a fresco, or *pittura di sorte alcuna* (picture of any kind) — at, near, or on an altar, or for that matter, anywhere inside a church.³⁹ In addition to ensuing curial policy and practice on the issue, this papal document and the reformatory papal praxis it synchronized thus blurred the formal and practical distinction — today seemingly well-defined — between sacramental altarpiece and other sacred images inside church and chapel space, whether liturgical, votive, or devotional. The papal *Editto* addressed, along with all levels of Church

³⁴ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Misc. Arm., IV-V, vol 30. Bandi e editi, fols. 171, 173, 175. See also Fragnito, 166–68, 173–74; Lincoln, 182n19. On the “Bilderindex,” see Prodi, 2:555–61; Prodi, 1984, 71–87. On the *Indices librorum prohibitorum*, see Reusch, 1886; Reusch, 1883, 1885.

³⁵ Leuschner, 2005, 205.

³⁶ *Trattato de regolari, et lor riforma*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5551, fols. 55–56; Beggiao, 84n17.

³⁷ ASV, Misc., Arm. VII 3, fol. 69^v; *Ordini della Visita fatta da Sua Santità*, A.R.S.J. fondo Gesuitico 545, fol. 8^v; Baglione, 32–33; Celio, 613; Mancini, 1:204; Zuccari, 1990, 613–18; Luchinat, 2:181–90; Bailey, 212–13.

³⁸ Noyes, 1:72–158, 247–336.

³⁹ *Liber Editorum* . . . 1607, 168^{r-v}: “O pingere, o collocare pittura in qualsivoglia Chiesa, o Cappella sena nostra licenza”; Beggiao, 106: “[Neither] paint, nor place, [any] picture in any church or chapel without our permission.”

hierarchy and any *Custodi et Amministratori de luoghi pii* (Custodians and Administrators of holy sites and places),⁴⁰ artists and artisans — who could face fines and imprisonment or exile — and ordered them to present a sketch or preparatory drawing of altarpieces for approval by the pope or his Vicegerent.⁴¹ These conditions were tantamount to curial censorial policy contemporaneously imposed on printed images.

Given Clement's concomitant stricter legalization of canonization, and his regulation of the cult of the saints and images, promoters of proto-cults found themselves in a predicament as popular and widely-disseminated images of the *Beati moderni* became, ca. 1601–02, legally unorthodox. The topic of saints' images occupied an important place for reform-minded Catholics, and saints' attributes assumed a particular importance in the discourse on sacred images for several reasons. The first reason was for the practical devotional and liturgical reason that the appropriate attribute helped properly identify the saint depicted.⁴² By exegetically folding image and text onto one another, the saint's pictorial attribute subsumed, substituted, signified, and mnemonically cued their written *Legend*, to the benefit of the faithful, regardless of their level of literacy:⁴³ “for the sake of the ignorant in the place of books to show that the things said of the saints are true, since the church has always depicted the saints with the same attributes.”⁴⁴ Contemporaries were likewise preoccupied with pictorial signs of sanctity of a more general nature: the palm to denote martyrdom, and the nimbus to recognize official universal sanctity, i.e., the Curia's newly-redefined legal approbation ca. 1600.⁴⁵ Cardinal Bellarmino in his *Disputationes* included iconographic compendia of saints' attributes; Jan Molanus's *De picturis* comprised a general chapter on saints' images, and a more substantial section

⁴⁰Clement decreed that no altarpiece — new or old — could be or remain installed without curial approval, upon threat of fines and suspension of the Mass, not to mention the effective censure by means of removal of any offensive imagery. *Liber Edictorum . . . 1607*, fols. 168^{r-v}; Beggiao, 106.

⁴¹And the Council of Trent, cited authoritatively, if vaguely, served as Clement's point of reference for artists. Beggiao, 106: “under pain of a fine of twenty-five scudi for each infraction, and imprisonment, exile and other serious punishments according to our arbitration . . . furthermore it is commanded that all painters conform to the sacred Council of Trent under threat of the same punishments that before beginning pictures and paintings to be used in churches and chapels, they must show the cartoon, or a sketch of the composition, or of the intended composition, to us or to our Vicegerent.”

⁴²Hecht, 402–03.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 174. This harkens back to Gregorian theology on the role of images for the illiterate.

⁴⁴Anfossi, 8–9, 69; Hecht, 174n758.

⁴⁵Molanus, 82^r; Borromeo, 70; Hecht, 399–400.

on the iconographies of specific saints; while Gabriele Paleotti modeled his excursus on images of saints and their attributes on that of Molanus, devoting almost the entirety of book four (never written) of his *Discorso* to a lengthy treatment of these topics.⁴⁶

Supporters of the cults and *cause* (legal case for canonization) of *Beati moderni*, including the Jesuits and the Oratorians, had adopted what had been, prior to 1600, the traditional depiction of their respective founders and would-be saints with the *corona*, or nimbus.⁴⁷ Concurrently, however, a Catholic reform dispute between tradition and reformation was brewing that subsumed the local in the universal. What cultic rights could be accorded privately or publicly to those who were not yet official saints, comprising their representation in publicly-circulated sacred images — including altar images — that bore attributes of sainthood, was becoming a subject of no little debate.⁴⁸ Post-Tridentine extra-curial proscriptions against the representation of persons not legally sanctified in the manner of a bona fide saintly figure read like a condemnation of precocious portraits of the *Beati moderni*. Molanus insisted that only universal saints should be depicted nimbed; Domenico Anfossi that canonization was necessary before a subject could be represented as a saint.⁴⁹ Carlo Borromeo wrote to “be sure that the corona [of the saints] not be given to anyone other than those whom the Church has canonized.”⁵⁰ In Paleotti’s twenty-third chapter of the *Discorso* — entitled “I ritratti di Santi” (“Saints’ Portraits”) — allows some leeway for portraits of widely-accepted *Beati* (his term, which he refrains from defining further): “great attention need be paid to the choice of those persons who are portrayed as saints, that they be true saints approved by the universal consensus of the Holy Church, and not at the suggestion or indication of others; be careful that they at least number among the Blessed, and accepted and held to be so by all publicly, and accompany their images with a note regarding the beatification that is the reason for the devotion owed to them.”⁵¹

⁴⁶Bellarmino, 1590, tom. I, controv. VII, lib. I, Ca X, 2043; Hecht, 399; Barocchi, 2:506–07.

⁴⁷Ditchfield, 1992, 392.

⁴⁸Papa, 16–146; Gotor, 2002, 127–202.

⁴⁹Molanus, 82^r; Anfossi, 192–93.

⁵⁰Borromeo, 70, 72.

⁵¹Paleotti 2002, 161–63: “Innanzitutto ci sembra importante il dover fare molta attenzione nello scegliere le persone che vengono ritratte come santi, che siano cioè santi veri e approvati dal consenso universale della Santa Chiesa, e non per propria suggestione o per indicazione di altri; si faccia attenzione a che siano almeno persone annoverate fra i Beati, e accettate e ritenute tali da tutti pubblicamente, e si accompagni la loro immagine con note circa la beatitudine che è motivo della devozione loro dovuta, come diremo altrove.”

Prior to 1602, Clement VIII, out of open affection for Oratorian founder Filippo Neri, accorded some latitude in matters of Philippine cultic image-making to the *Oratoriani*, his supposed favorites. Earlier in 1597, when Clement requested a portrait of Neri, Baronio gave him his own picture of the *beato Padre*, and the painting was subsequently kept in the papal *studio* in a gilded frame covered by a silk veil, in the manner of a devotional hagio-image.⁵² In 1601, Clement demanded that the Jesuits halt production of printed *imagini con miracoli* (images with miracles, first printed and sold in 1600) representing their founders. A Roman *avviso* records how the pontiff censured these pictures because the miracles depicted were neither legally nor universally (i.e., by the Curia) authenticated, nor approved for publication by the Sacred Palace: “having learned that the Jesuit fathers were having printed images and pictures of father Ignatius their founder surrounded by his miracles, the pope ordered his vicegerent the day before yesterday, that all these aforementioned pictures, images, and prints be taken away, because those miracles [depicted therein] were not authenticated, [and] were not approved; in this matter already the example of the fathers of the Chiesa Nuova has set a precedent, who thus have printed father Filippo, but this is not the same case, because the case for father Filippo’s canonization is underway and the pope himself has dealt with the matter.”⁵³

Yet what triggered the Clementine backlash against the *Beati moderni* was the Oratorians’ audacious translation in May 1602 of Neri’s remains — tantamount to “the processing of saints’ relics”⁵⁴ — to a lavish eponymous transept chapel in the Chiesa Nuova (fig. 7), sparking controversy within Rome and the Curia itself over treatment of the literal and pictorial figures, the remains and images, of the *Beati moderni*.⁵⁵ Six

⁵²Zazzara, 6.

⁵³ASV, *Avvisi*, 2 June 1606; Orbaan, 171n1; Papi, 74n16.

⁵⁴Ditchfield, 2009, 576, who points to “the projection of authority” implicit in an act like this.

⁵⁵The *Oratoriani* likely had an inkling of the curial censure that they had provoked: in late June, through an agent who remained anonymous in their own records, they received copies of a subsequent re-edition of Gallonio’s Latin *Vita*, a work published, not in Rome like the first two editions, but in Mainz. In fact, although Gallonio’s biography would be published again in Mainz in 1606, in Paris in the same year, and in Naples in 1608, another Roman edition would not be printed for the remainder of the decade, nor, indeed, until 1622: Gallonio, *Vita beati Philippi Neri*, Moguntia, 1602. Biblioteca Vallicelliana, ms. O.23, fol. 16: “A 22 [di Giugno] fu donata ai Padri la vita di Beato Filippo di nuovo ristampata in Mogonza in ottavo da quell’istesso gentil’huomo, che haveva havuto la cura di d.a stampa, e fu posta nella libreria comune.”



FIGURE 7. Neri's body at the heart of Philippine transept chapel (ca. 1600–02). *Vita et miracula* pictorial program, Chiesa Nuova, Rome, translated 1602.

months after the Philippine translation, Clement VIII convened the first meeting on 25 November of the exceptional congregation composed of cardinals and theologians that gathered again on 20 December 1602 and 10 January 1603, and ultimately became the Congregazione

dei Beati.⁵⁶ Clement made clear his prerogative on the precocious public cults of the *Beati moderni*, singling out Neri and Ignatius (among others): “we are speaking of a certain Philip in the Chiesa Nuova, who is held in such veneration, that they have erected altars, ornamented his tomb, set up his image with lamps, candles, and ex-votos: they could do no more. Likewise, father Ignatius is held in such veneration, it is the same [in his case]: and even though we have told the father general at the Gesù not to permit it, nonetheless they would [canonize him] without us.”⁵⁷

Not even Baronio, papal cohort and confessor, was spared from the curial backlash against the *Beati moderni*. In an embittered letter of 14 December he recognized the seriousness of the situation, and the Philippine chapel as its root cause: “Here in Rome a great fracas has broken out in opposition to the blessed father’s cult, thanks to the envy of his sumptuous chapel popularly called ‘of the blessed Philip.’ The pope is greatly displeased, as it seems to him though that this chapel anticipates official canonization, which is the purview of the Holy Office. It is my turn to chew bitter pills. Pray for me and for this matter of such importance [the legal case for Neri’s canonization], inextricably joined to that of the blessed Ignatius and blessed [Carlo] Borromeo. . . . Regarding these matters the pope has created a special congregation of sixteen cardinals and as many consultants.”⁵⁸ In mid-December 1602, Clement VIII prepared *Dubia de beatis non canonizatis a S.mo D.N. Formata*, to be circulated at the second gathering of the exceptional Congregazione dei Beati.⁵⁹ Divided into twenty-four sections arguing points of contention within the Curia and the Church at large, *Dubia de beatis non canonizatis* highlights a slew of hagiographic and image reform issues, unresolved close to a half-century after Trent. (Or, rather, for

⁵⁶The principal source for the proceedings of the *Congregazione* is *Benedetto XIV*, II. For a review of the primary sources, their contents and locations, see Papa, 56–57.

⁵⁷25 November 1602, *Benedetto XIV*, 2:56; Papa, 57.

⁵⁸Incisa della Rocchetta, 2:300n1599 (letter from Baronio to Antonio Talpa [Naples Congregation], 14 December 1602): “Qui si è eccitata burrasca grande contro le cose del beato Padre, partorita dall’invidia della sontuosa cappella volgarmente chiamata del beato Filippo. Il papa è in dispiacere grande, parendoli che prevenghi la canonizzazione quale tocca alla Sede Apostolica. A me toccano masticare pillole amare. Preghino per me et per il negotio di tanta importantia con il quale va congiunto quello del beato Ignatio et del beato illustrissimo Borromeo. Si scoprono molti cardinali poco favorevoli et per la maggior parte tacciano d’imprudencia li nostri padri della Vallicella per non dire di temerità. Il papa sopra di ciò ha fatto una congregazione di 16 cardinali et altrettanti consultori.”

⁵⁹*Dubia de beatis non canonizatis a S.mo D.N. formata*, in Mucanzio, 315–19; Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 909, fols. 102^{r-v}; Gallonio (hereafter cited as BV, ms. H.14), fols. 317^{r-v}; *Benedetto XIV*, 2:58–59; Papa, 58–59; König-Nordhoff, 1982, 32–33.

the decades following Trent these issues had remained virtual non-issues, and only became problematic around the turn of the century because of the escalating audacious cultic manifestations around the literal and pictorial figures of the *Beati moderni*.)

The list of hot topics in *Dubia de beatis* includes special treatment of the deceased's remains, such as funeral elegies, isolation, veneration, or decoration of the tomb; dissemination of relics; use of the terms *Beato* or *Santo*; production and public sale of portraits "with splendor and rays and nimbus" and *Vite* (textual *Lives*).⁶⁰ The document particularly proscribed "the placement of images [of the *Beati moderni*] in churches, in similar spaces, or on altars where Mass is celebrated"; and "the votaries' right to genuflect at the tombs of the blessed who are not canonized, to venerate and invoke them."⁶¹ In proscribing these practices, Clement cited Trent's twenty-fifth session: "In these matters the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent, 'On the veneration of saints and sacred relics,' applies, above all in regards to the decree that no unusual or new image may be placed in churches without episcopal approval."⁶²

Before Clement circulated *Dubia de beatis*, Oratorian Antonio Gallonio (1556–1605), among the staunchest promoters of the Philippine cult, distributed on 5 December a memo in conjunction with Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmino.⁶³ The text argued for the orthodoxy, justified by centuries of tradition, of material and immaterial cultic accretions surrounding the tombs and bodies of those recently deceased *con fama di santità* (with saintly renown) and not canonized, and considered these private cults, and hence private cultic manifestations.⁶⁴ Bellarmino contemporaneously penned his *An liceat circa imagines eorum qui habentur pro sanctis antequam sint canonizati defingere miracula aut visiones, quae loquuntur in eorum vita* (*Whether it is Licit*

⁶⁰*Benedetto XIV*, 2:71, number 21; *ibid.*, number 16; *ibid.*, number 11: "cum splendore et radiis et diademate"; *ibid.*, number 13.

⁶¹*Ibid.*: "An eorum Imagines in Ecclesia ponere liceat/an in loco etiam valde insigni:/an & in Altari, ubi celebratur"; "An liceat Fidelibus ad eorum sepulchra genua flectere, eosque venerari, & invocare."

⁶²*Ibid.*: "An in hac materia locum habeant, quae decernuntur Sacra Tridentina Synodo Sessione 25. de Veneratione Sanctorum, & Sacris Reliquiis, praesertim in eo genere, ne insolita Imago ponatur in Ecclesiis, nisi approbata ab Episcopo."

⁶³BV, ms. H.14, fols. 378^r–385^r: *Ad sepulchra et corpora recens defunctorum nondum canonizatorum, qui pro sanctis habentur, cultum dumtaxat publicus prohibetur, sed privatus conceditur*; Ditchfield 2007, 211.

⁶⁴Ditchfield 2007, 211, cites and emphasizes the importance of this text (an importance I would extend to subsequent texts presented in this article), which he ascribes jointly to Bellarmino and Gallonio.

Surrounding the Images of Those Who Are Regarded as Saints before They Are Canonized the Miracles or Visions that Are Read in Their Lives: see Appendix 1).⁶⁵ His argument was likewise predicated upon the sacred notion of tradition.⁶⁶ While aware of the newly-legal, Curia-awarded status of beatification,⁶⁷ he nevertheless calls the *Beati moderni* “saints not, not-yet-, or non-canonized.”⁶⁸ Yet he stresses that the not-yet-canonized be honored neither with altars nor liturgical festivals — the Oratorians and Jesuits had dedicated both to their respective founders — as these were public honors due to universal saints instituted by the Church’s authority. At the same time he claims that customs such as frequenting tombs of the not-yet-canonized, petitioning their spiritual intervention, and affixing ex-voto images of miracles — without the Church’s authentication — constitute venerable Catholic tradition, and display of imagery of persons with *fama sanctitatis* (fame of sanctity), even in ostensibly public church space, was an act of faith done by *privata auctoritate* (private authority), thereby not meriting curial censure (at any rate under the censorial purview of the bishop): his argument rendered local the polemic regarded by some in Rome as universal.⁶⁹

In a yet more preemptive move, in September 1602 Gallonio also authored and circulated *An liceat imagines hominum sanctitate illustrium nondum canonizatorum publice in tempio depictas habere* (*Whether It Might Be Permissible to Have Depicted in Church Images of Men Illustrious for Sanctity Though Not Yet Publicly Canonized*: see Appendix 2).⁷⁰ According to the version of *An liceat* conserved in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, and originally belonging to Gallonio and containing his writings pertinent to the Philippine *causa* — the so-called *Monumenta* — this text was composed in conjunction with anonymous members of the Roman Jesuit constituency.⁷¹ This polemical text argues for the free manipulation of images of persons not canonized. Their collaborative text defends the right — without episcopal (and presumably papal) authorization — to publicly

⁶⁵BV, ms. H.14, fols. 362^{r-v}.

⁶⁶Bellarmino as early as 1588 forsook the issues in *Disputationes*, wherein he dedicated chapter ten to his own apologetics: “Sanctos non canonizatos privatim posse coli, non publice.” See Papa, 52–54; Ditchfield, 2007, 211n28.

⁶⁷On the history of beatification, see Papa, 147–209; Ditchfield, 2007, 206n13.

⁶⁸BV, ms. H.14, fols. 362^{r-v}, 363^r.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, fols. 362^{r-v}, 363^r.

⁷⁰The present author consulted *Dubia de beatis non canonizatis a S.mo D.N. format*, in BV, ms. H.14, fols. 364^r–365^v. It can also be found in Mucanzio, *Diarium*, 1601–02, 315–19; BAV, *Barb. lat.*, 2810; BA, ms. 909, fols. 102^{r-v}; *Benedetto XIV*, 2:58–59. See also Papa, 55, 58–59; König-Nordhoff, 1982, 32–33.

⁷¹BV, ms. H.14, fol. 364^r.

display, at their tombs and in other ecclesiastical buildings, images of persons deceased *con fama di santità* with rays and nimbus. Basing itself on centuries of Church tradition, *An liceat imagines* dismisses outright the question of whether or not such images could be displayed at the tombs and burial sites in churches of would-be saints, then addresses two other points: whether such images could be displayed publicly in non-burial churches, and appropriate iconographies and locations for these images.⁷² The response to the first hypothetical query was a resounding “yes,” justified by geographically and historically widespread custom. To the second, it was maintained that — also in accordance with Catholic custom — such images could bear attributes of sanctity, and could be placed on or near altars.

To support such claims, *An liceat imagines* maps a virtual hermeneutical geography of the Italian peninsula, constituted by time-honored orthopraxis, reified in conventional images of the not-canonized not subjected to censorship, and represented with the nimbus (“cum diademate in capite sev circulo”) and holy rays (“radijs”), and the titular inscription of *Beato* (“tit.o Beati”), on prominent display at or near altars where, moreover, Mass was celebrated. With a polemical twist, Gallonio and his coauthors began with examples of such imagery in Rome, because, they reasoned, “the custom of the Church” which “has the force of law” could be best “understood from the practice of Rome, which is the head and teacher of the other [churches].”⁷³ *An liceat imagines* lists upward of fifteen such *Beati* images in Roman churches, and at least as many throughout Italy, in Florence, Bologna, Mantua, Pisa, Perugia, and Capua.⁷⁴ They were not-so-subtly defying Clement VIII, and in a way the curial backlash comes as no surprise. After their encyclopedic attempt to normalize and justify Jesuit and Oratorian cultic manifestations in the Gesù and Chiesa Nuova (and elsewhere) in honor of the orders’ founders, the composers of *An liceat imagines* proposed another hypothetical dilemma that “could be used to object against” all of their preceding arguments: “But a certain passage from the Council of Trent in Session 25 [December 1563], concerning the Invocation [of Saints] and Sacred Images, could be used to object against what has been said. There it is said: ‘It is permissible to no one anywhere to place any unusual image unless it was approved by the bishop.’”⁷⁵ Their response bespeaks, not only the Oratorians’ and Jesuits’ brazen deviation from and within the Curia, but also the fundamental ineffectiveness of Trent, which emerges unresolved from these reformatory

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., fols. 364^{r-v}; Gotor, 189–91nn192–205.

⁷⁵BV, ms. H.14, fol. 365^r.

debates.⁷⁶ To make such claims as these was essentially to throw back in Clement VIII's face his own condemnation of *Beati moderni* hagiographic imagery.

3. THE JESUIT HAGIOGRAPHIC IMAGERY CONTROVERSY, *VITA ET MIRACULA* IMAGERY, AND THE *BEATI MODERNI* ALTAR IMAGE AND ITS REPRODUCTIVE DEVOTIONAL DERIVATIVES

In early August 1602, following closely on the heels of the Oratorian debacle, news reached Rome of Spanish Jesuit communities mounting similar precocious cults for their founders that entailed sepulchral veneration and image display. This affair undoubtedly contributed to Clement's decision to convene the Congregation for Beatification. The resulting controversy also underscored lingering contested questions, unanswered by Trent, regarding the production, dissemination, and use of images of the *Beati moderni*, especially as altar images. The Curia's increasingly hard line on these issues affected localized Jesuit constituencies, Roman religious communities — Jesuit and Oratorian — and, potentially, promoters everywhere of would-be saints. Jesuits in Valladolid and Saragossa had purportedly dedicated altars to Ignatius, decorated them with his portraits in the guise of a bona fide saint, and publicly sold his portraits. Clement was notified in a letter from Dominico di Ginnasio, the papal nuncio to Madrid, stating that the Jesuits claimed the pope himself had already honored Ignatius with the status of *beato* and permitted portrait sales (see Appendix 3).⁷⁷ Ginnasio alleged that Jesuits caused further scandal during Eucharistic processions, proliferating the streets with portraits of the founding fathers of their order in the manner of saints (Appendix 4).⁷⁸ Clement wrote in the margin of this letter, "This is all lies. The Vicegerent must write to say what has happened."⁷⁹ Clement's reaction, penned by Cardinal Aldobrandini on 8 October 1602 (Appendix 5), was similar to that directed at the Philippine cult in the Chiesa Nuova, and revealed that Roman Jesuits also overstepped promoting the Ignatian cult, demonstrating abuses that came under curial censure: "His Holiness is shocked to hear that the Jesuit fathers there and in Saragossa

⁷⁶Ibid., fols. 365^{r-v}.

⁷⁷ASV, Segr. Stato Spagna 55, fol. 312^r. Partial French translation in Récalde, 24–27; English translation of certain passages in Levy, 128.

⁷⁸ASV, Segr. Stato Spagna 55, fol. 424^r.

⁷⁹Ibid., fol. 312^r: "Questo è tutto falsità. Fate che Monsignor Vicegerente le scriva largamente quello che è passato."

erected altars to Father Ignatius, because it is completely untrue that the pope beatified him, and that Ignatius enjoyed similar veneration in Rome. Indeed, seeing that in the Roman Church of the Gesù Ignatius's image was displayed with excessive cultic manifestations, His Holiness expressed his disapproval and ordered them to rectify this."⁸⁰

Clement censured the excessively public veneration and proliferation of their founder's portrait. His letter twice cites images of Ignatius as meriting censure: one, in the Gesù, another, printed and circulated. The first, surrounded by *dimostrazioni eccessive* (excessive demonstrations) of public cultic devotion, was likely displayed on, at, or near his tomb in the church, and this portrait may have descended from, or have been meant to adumbrate, an earlier example placed at the site by Cardinal Baronio. Significantly, the Oratorian — not a Jesuit — publicly instigated cultic devotion at Ignatius's tomb in the Gesù, an episode Cardinal Bellarmino recalled in his 1613 autobiography: "then, after the first exhortation of the Lauds of the Blessed Ignatius had taken place in the church of the Casa professa, in front of the fathers and brothers, Cardinal Baronio requested an image of the Blessed Ignatius and climbed up to place it on the tomb of the same Blessed Ignatius. Then he began to venerate and frequent the tomb."⁸¹ Bellarmino's account and Baronio's actions conflated the affixing of Ignatius's image at his tomb and the beginning of ritual veneration both of and at his tomb, eliding these events into a single moment. In doing so, they established a cultic syzygy, realigning the elements of body, tomb, and image along a single common symbolic axis. In addition to cuing the faithful to the would-be saint's physical and spiritual presence at this site, the *immagine* of Ignatius — as, for that matter, that of Neri in his new sepulchral chapel in the Chiesa Nuova — by virtue of its placement on the tomb itself, transformed the sepulcher into an impromptu altar, further encouraging devotion and liturgy directed at the *Beati moderni*.

A subsequent letter from di Ginnasio of 26 November 1602, discussing the Jesuits' further cultic abuses, records their telling response to the accusation of precocious veneration of Ignatius: "they excuse themselves, [saying] that the prints come from Rome, and that in Rome Signor Cardinal Baronio is behind the cultic celebration, and the placement of ex-votos, and lamps for their Father Ignatius."⁸² The Jesuit defense seemingly confirms both the conflation of the separate acts of veneration of a would-be saint at

⁸⁰Ibid., fols. 126^{r-v}.

⁸¹Bellarmino, 1613, 79. Levy, 127, maintains that this occurred in 1599.

⁸²ASV, Segr. Stato Spagna, fol. 422^v. See transcription, Appendix 4.

their tomb site with the promulgation of their image, and the cultic equation of body (*loro P're Ignatio*), tomb (*li voti, et lampade*), and image (*le stampe*) — all with Rome as epicenter and Baronio as instigator. The papal city, and one of the highest-ranking members of the Curia, it turns out, were fundamentally implicated in the newly-unorthodox cultic praxis that Clement and other members of the Curia were simultaneously attempting to censor and reform.

The second printed example of Ignatian hagiographic imagery that merited censorship comprised a central portrait of Ignatius framed by small vignettes depicting scenes from his life.⁸³ Clement proscribed this picture because of the vignettes themselves, which almost certainly included miracles not yet approved by the Curia,⁸⁴ as a letter written a year earlier by Claudio Aquaviva (1543–1615) to P. Bernardo Confalonieri ordered the cessation of printing such portraits, described as *immagini con miracoli* (printed images with miracles).⁸⁵ Two examples of this type of image printed in 1600, commonly called *immagini con miracoli* or *Vita et miracula* (Life and miracles) in contemporary sources, survive: *BEATUS IGNATIUS*, by Francesco Villamena,⁸⁶ and another, *BEATUS FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS*, by Camillo Cungi (fig. 8).⁸⁷ Both bear inscriptions attesting to the official approval of the *Maestro del Sacro Palazzo*, “Superiorum permissu.”⁸⁸ These are undoubtedly the same “*imagini già impresse con i miracoli*” of which Aquaviva wrote.

Typical of Clement's dealings during these years with the precocious cults of the *Beati moderni*, in spite of his order to halt the printing of these portraits, he nevertheless permitted the Jesuits to continue in the public sale of impressions already made, an activity for which Aquaviva maintained the order in Rome had previously secured permission. In an earlier moment approved for public circulation, such portraits would later face censorship for overstepping what the pope had subsequently decided were to be the boundaries for the cults of the not-yet-canonized. Aquaviva's letter tells us that other congregations had also received similar instructions: thus the Jesuits were not the only Roman religious community circulating *immagini*

⁸³“l'imagini del med.o P're, con alcune figurine intorno delle attioni di d.o P're.”

⁸⁴Levy, 129, suggests as much.

⁸⁵Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu, E NN 81, fol. 53; König-Nordhoff, 1982, 189n806.

⁸⁶König-Nordhoff, 1982, fig. 283.

⁸⁷Leuschner, 1998, 359–70, fig. 178.

⁸⁸For a discussion of the circumstances of these prints, see *ibid.*, 359–64. Leuschner's speculative conclusions differ from those of the present author. See also Bury, 130–31.



FIGURE 8. Camillo Cungi. *BEATUS FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS E SOCIETATIS IESU B. IGNATII SOCIUS*, 1600. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, C.2/1[2].

con miracoli. With the exception of certain public honors, Bellarmino’s *An liceat circa imagines* condoned the dissemination of *Vite* of those not canonized and of images of their visions and miracles for the spiritual edification of the faithful, based on the reasoning that if texts were not

banned, neither should images be, since Gregorian image theory held that pictures were the books of the illiterate.⁸⁹

Bellarmino even cited, as proof of church custom, extant *immagini con miracoli* — type images “of those not canonized along with their miracles.”⁹⁰ In a deft turn of apologetics underlining curial inconsistencies, Bellarmino echoed Gallonio and the Jesuits, claiming that such images could not be condemned by Trent as new or innovative because they illustrated “old miracles” previously printed in books bearing the license and authority of the Curia.⁹¹ In fact, so many printed examples of this genre of *Beati moderni* image (though *immagini con miracoli* were not exclusive to the *Beati moderni*) survive, that the explosive proliferation in Rome and Italy of the *Vita et miracula* saint’s portrait print ca. 1600 merits some general remarks.⁹² First, a few words on this genre’s form and function. These foldable singlesheet images offered an alternative potentially more portable, affordable, and functional than illustrated *Vita* booklets or paintings, as they could be easily transmitted, then opened and consulted in the manner of a book for votaries’ devotion, while being displayed in the manner of a painting: a sacred image comprehensible in a single gaze, rather than the fractured gaze caused by the turning of pages. In the case of both the Philippine examples we have seen (figs. 1, 3), the center portrait vignettes were engraved after Philippine altar images displayed on an altar in Neri’s former bedchamber-turned-chapel in the 1590s, while the miracle vignettes reproduced canvases hung around the chamber’s walls.⁹³ This arrangement was repeated in the scandalous Philippine transept chapel in the Chiesa Nuova, with the notable addition of Neri’s own bodily remains beneath the altar, at the heart of the pictorial program (fig. 7).⁹⁴ Comparable Jesuit prints likely similarly reproduced, in a convenient, condensed format, comparable three-dimensional painted programs.⁹⁵

Since votaries regarded the painted *Beati moderni* cycles as devotional *apparati* for meditation on and supplication for aid in obtaining divine grace, we can deduce that the *Vita et miracula* prints served analagous devotional purposes.⁹⁶ What is more, the format of the miracle scenes,

⁸⁹BV, ms. H.14, fol. 362^r.

⁹⁰Ibid., fol. 363^r: “Denique extant aliae similes imagines non canonizatorum cum adiuncta nota miraculorum.”

⁹¹Ibid., fol. 363^v.

⁹²See Leuschner, 2005, 275–354.

⁹³Noyes, 1:177–81.

⁹⁴On the pictorial program for the Philippine chapel, see *ibid.*, 197–98, 220–22.

⁹⁵Pecchiai, 301–12; König-Nordhoff, 1982, 93–95.

⁹⁶König-Nordhoff, 1982, 101–28.

organized as a frame surrounding the central portrait, not only helped structure believers' meditative use of the vignettes, but also mimicked and adumbrated the Rosary. For example, the examples illustrating Ignatius and Francis Xavier (1506–52) literalized this by means of the *trompe l'oeil* representation of the vignettes as individual figured hanging cartouches; Cungi's *Beatus Franciscus Xaverius* even imitated a chain of medallions. From these observations, we may infer that this printed imagery also lent itself more easily (versus, say, paintings or books) to the propagandistic dissemination of would-be saints' pictorial figures, their virtues and miracles — in a word, their cults. The potential power of printed images lay in their transportability, and hence their inherent ability to transplant or transmit, by means of a symbolic translation, by virtue of the body, tomb, and image cultic syzygy, the spiritual presence of a would-be saint through their likeness. Bound up with this act of transmission were the concurrent expansion of the individual's *fama* and the possibility of increased devotion and thaumaturgic power.⁹⁷ Taking all this into consideration, it is no wonder that both Clement and the Jesuit and Oratorian contingents struggled to functionally control such imagery.

A subsequent, final reply from Aldobrandini on 13 January 1603 made clear that beatification could be conferred only by the pope, and that further insubordinate cults should be preemptively censured by strict surveillance and investigation.⁹⁸ To conclude, we have seen, over the period of several months in 1602, an exceptional tightening of Curial policy regarding *Beati moderni* hagiographic imagery, with significant ramifications for the regulation of its nature, production, dissemination, and display. These ramifications were immediately felt by, and solicited reactions from, purported Counter-Reformation religious constituencies, which in this case opposed the Curial line. Whether individuals, such as respective leaders Baronio, Bellarmino, and Queen Margaret of Austria, or collectives, such as the Jesuit populations in Spain and Oratorian Antonio Gallonio, teamed up with Jesuits in Rome, these constituencies made their dissenting views heard,

⁹⁷For example, Girolamo Castano described the seemingly infinite variety of portraits found throughout Milan of *Beato moderno* Carlo Borromeo, some of which were produced in Rome, while in Borromeo's *processo* Candida Francesca de Fortis testified that, confined by illness and unable to visit his tomb, she received miraculous relief through devotion to his portrait-image. For the former case, see BAM, ms. Q 106 sup., fols. 315^v–316^f; Gotor, 2002, 68. For the latter, see *Libro nel quale si notano le grazie et i Miracoli del beato Carlo Borromeo, cardinale di Santa Prassede arcivescovo di Milano, dalli ostiari ossia custodi del duomo di Milano deputati da monsignor vicario generale alla custodia del sepolcro del suddetto beato*, 1603, in Gotor, 2002, 72.

⁹⁸See Appendix 6.

not only in the papal city, but also in Catholic centers farther afield. The resultant heated dialogue, preserved in letters, treatises, and images, bespeaks the barely-sublimated post-Tridentine tension and polarization surrounding tradition and innovation in the overlapping spheres of hagiography and hagiographic imagery. The centers themselves, including the Curia, could erupt in periodic flurries of reformatory rhetoric, repression, and regulation.

At the same time, the surviving texts and images attest that throughout these debates of 1602, the respective definitions of altarpieces and altar images, and their derivative printed devotional replicas, remained theoretically unreconciled. That is, in terms of theory they were neither explicitly circumscribed nor specifically defined. By means of wide-ranging rhetoric, Clement attempted to control any altar images and reproductions thereof. In fact, both Clement and his Curial allies, reinterpreters of tradition, and the Jesuits and Oratorians, defenders of that same tradition, deliberately or otherwise built in and allowed for for latitudes of meaning and protean adaptability in the definition and use of *Beati moderni* hagiographic imagery. All parties involved tried to retain (or regain) control of the debate by liberating, rather than restraining, meaning, while attempting in fact to control applicability. The urgency of the 1602 *Beati moderni* crisis notwithstanding, however, the vacillating production, dissemination, and censorship of hagiographic imagery by Roman Curial and congregational constituencies continued through at least the end of the first decade of the Seicento.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Roberto Bellarmino. An liceat circa imagines eorum qui habentur pro sanctis antequam sint canonizati depingere miracula aut uisiones, quae leguntur in eorum uita. Rome, 1602–03 (BV, ms. H.14, ff. 362^r–363^v)

Videtur omnino id esse licitum. Nam nihil contra obiici potest nisi cap. Audiuimus de reliq[uiis] et uener[atione sanctorum] [X 3.45.1] ubi Alexander Papa scribit, neminem esse uenerandum “pro sancto sine auctoritate Romanae Ecclesiae.” At hoc non obstat, nam Interpretes eius loci, Innocentius, Iohannes Andreae, Panormitanus et alii, communiter dicunt sensum eorum uerborum esse, ut nemini deferatur ille honor, qui defertur sanctis canonizatis, nisi reuera per Ecclesiam Romanam prius canonizentur; non autem prohiberi per illa uerba priuatam inuocationem, et alios honores. Quis sit autem honor qui debetur solis canonizatis explicant praedicti auctores, et etiam Glossa [ordinaria] in c. 1 de reliquiis et uener[atione sanctorum] in [Libro] 6, ac dicunt esse, Primo ut adscribantur catalogo Sanctorum, et per hoc omnes teneantur illos uenerari, secundo ut possit de eis solemniter celebrari officium diuinum, tum in Missa, tum in horis canonicis, et inuocentur in publicis Ecclesiae precibus. Et quorum Tempia et altaria referuntur ad Sacrificium. Ideo etiam templa et altaria sunt res publice ex natura sua, et non possunt erigi in honorem Sanctorum non canonizatorum. Idem dici potest de diebus festis, qui non possunt institui in honorem Sanctorum non canonizatorum qua dies festi ordinantur ad officia diuina, et non possunt institui nisi publica Ecclesiae auctoritate.

His igitur honoribus exceptis non uidetur ostendi posse ubi prohibeantur alii honores qui Sanctis non canonizatis deferri solent. Praeterea licitum est, ut omnes admittunt scribere, et typis mandare uitas, uisiones, et miracula Sanctorum non canonizatorum, et ea etiam publice in concione ad aliorum aedificationem. Ergo licebit etiam easdem uisiones et miracula depingere cum imagine eiusdem uiri Sancti, quamuis nondum canonizati, quia picturae pertinent ad eandem aedificationem fidelium, et nihil sunt aliud nisi libri idiotarum, ut scribit S. Gregorius in epistola ad Serenum Episcopum Massiliensem. Praeterea licitum est frequentare sepulchrum Sancti nondum canonizati, et eius opem implorare et si quis exauditur, et miraculo sanitatem obtineat, licebit in signum gratitudinis tabellam depictam miraculi illius testem appendere ad sepulchri. Nam sepulchra huiusmodi frequentare, et opem implorare licitum esse testatur usus Ecclesiae, unde est cum sancti canonizandi sunt solet inquiri an sepulchra eorum consueuerint fidelibus frequentari. Tabellarum uero appendendarum in signum miraculi est usus antiquissimus, ut patet ex Theodoro lib. 8 ad Grecos. neque hoc est authenticare miracula, nam si hoc esset, non liceret est propria auctoritate appendere eiusmodi tabellas ad imagines, uel reliquias Sanctorum canonizatorum. Nam illa etiam miracula que fiunt per imagines, uel reliquias Sanctorum canonizatorum non possunt authenticari nisi iudicio Ecclesiae, et tamen passim in omnibus Prouinciis Christianis est usus talium Tabellarum priuata auctoritate appensarum.

Quod autem huiusmodi tabelle appendi soleant ad sepulcra non canonizatorum multis testimoniis probari potest. In uita S. Antonini Archiepiscopi Florentini apud Surium legimus paulo post eius obitum Mulierem miraculo sanata in somnis ab ipso Beato Antonino admonitam, ut in gratiarum actionem ferret ad sepulcrum eius statuam et tabellam, in qua depictum esset miraculum; quod illa continuo fecit. Alia sepulchra similiter non canonizatorum plena fuisse huiusmodi tabellis cognosci potest ex Fratre Seraphino Razzio ordinis Praedicatorum in lib. de uitis Beatorum eiusdem ordinis impresso Florentiae anno 1588, pag. 67. 222. 280. Item ex eodem Auctore in 2. a parte eiusdem libri pag. 103. et 179. Quibus addi potest Frater Vincentii Iustiniani testimonium, qui in uita B. Aloysii Beltrandi scripsit ad sepulcrum eiusdem Beati uiri multa centena tabellarum eiusmodi appensa fuisse ipso primo anno obitus illius. Similia haberi possunt ex Chronica fratrum Minorum 3. par. lib. 2. i cap. 30. pag. 70. lib. 3. cap. 57. pag. 121 et alibi. At certe multo minus uidetur esse depingere miracula circa imaginem alicuius, que conseruatur ad solam memoriam et in templo non ponatur, quam appendere tabellam in templo ad sepulcrum honoris, et sanctitatis testificande gratia.

Denique extant aliae similes imagines non canonizatorum cum adiuncta nota miraculorum; nam B. Clara de Montefalco passim depingitur cum aperto latere, unde cor eius conspiciatur, in quo signa Dominice passionis diuinitus impressa fuerunt, et eius imago impressa circumfertur cum miraculis circumscriptis. B. Margarita Fontana Mutinensis depingitur gestans magnam copiam Rosarum, in quas diuino miraculo conuersi fuerunt Panes, quos pauperibus distribuere uolebat, ut testatur Seraph. Razzius supracit. in 2. a parte uitarum pag. 178. Ioannes Dei, Fundator Religionis eorum, qui dicuntur Fate bene Fratelli, depingitur cum uisione quae apparuit in eius obitu, Dei Patris uirum susipientis animas eius. B. Francesca Romana depingitur ordinarie cum Arcangelo, quem assidue uidere solebat dum uiueret. B. Lutgarda de qua Surius mense Iunio die 16. scribit non constare de eius canonizatione depicta est nuper et passim habetur cum multis miraculis ex eius uita depromptis circa imaginem ipsam depictis. Denique B. Syluester auctor Religionis Siluestrinorum pingi solet cum multis miraculis circa imaginem ipsius ordinis de scriptis, et quamuis hic Beatus Syluester, et B. Clara fortasse ex priuilegio summi Pontificis colantur ut Beati in certis locis, tamen imagines eorum ubique ab omnibus haberi possunt, et uerisimile est coepisse depingi est antequam priuilegium beatificationis haberent.

Neque obstat decretum Concilii Tridentini sess. 25. de insolitis imaginibus uel nouis miraculis non recipiens sine episcopi approbatione, nam Concilium loquitur de imaginibus que ponuntur in Templis causa uenerationis: illa enim uerba “nemini licere ullo in loco uel Ecclesia est exempta,” et hunc habent sensus “nemini licere ullo in loco,” idest in ulla Ecclesia, ut posterius sit explicatio prioris, nam sine dubio Concilium non inuingit Epicopis ut serutentur aulas et cubicula priuatorum hominum, sed solum ut non patiantur in templis aliquid quod repugnet Religioni et sanctitati illius loci. Nos autem non loquimur hic de imagine quorum ponenda sit in Templo, sed que in priuatis aedibus habeatur. Praeterea Concilium loquitur de imaginibus insolitis quales essent si quis nouo modo pingeret Summam Trinitatem,

aut alia mysteria nostrae fidei, ita ut error, aut superstitio ex imagine oriri posset. Nos autem loquimur de imaginibus solitis, et frequentissimis in Ecclesia Catholica siquidem ordinarium est, ut uiri Illustres uel doctrina uel uirtute ac potissimum sanctitate et miraculis clari pingantur, et eodem modo usitatum et frequentissimum est, ut pingantur miracula sanctórum etiam non canonizatorum ut paulo ante ostendimus. Quod uerò Concilium dicit de nouis miraculis non recipiens nihil facit contra imagines de quibus nos agimus. Siquidem in iis non pinguntur noua miracula, sed uetera, quae habentur in libris impressis cum licentia et auctoritate superiorum. Praeterea usus Ecclesiae et finis illius decreti docent Concilium loqui de miraculis quorum aliquando incipiunt fieri apud aliquam imaginem uel reliquias, et suspicio esse potest ne fortes lucri causa fraus aliqua sit admixta, sed hoc ut dixi ad rem nostram non facit. Nihil igitur est quod iuste obiici possit con[tra]imagines sanctorum uirorum etiam non canonizatorum quamuis ascribantur et depingantur miracula quae in historia de uita ipsorum habentur.

Whether It Is Licit Surrounding the Images of Those Who Are Regarded as Saints before They Are Canonized with the Miracles or Visions that Are Read in Their Lives.

It seems to be entirely licit. For nothing can be objected except c. Audiuimus [in the title] *On Relics and the Veneration [of the Saints in the Gregorian Decretals]*, where Pope Alexander [III] said, no one is to be venerated “as a saint without the authority of the Roman church.” But this hinders [veneration] for the interpreters of this text, Innocent [IV], Johannes Andreae, Panormitanus, and others, commonly say the meaning of these words is that this honor is not to be paid to anyone that is paid to canonized saints unless they actually already were canonized. Private invocation [of them] and other honors are not prohibited by those words. The aforesaid authors explain what the honor is that is due only to canonized saints, as does the [Ordinary] gloss to c. 1 [of the title] *On Relics and the Veneration of the Saints in the Sixth [Book of Decretals]*. These say: first, that they are written into the catalog of saints, and all are obliged to venerate them on account of this; second, that it is possible to solemnly celebrate the divine office, both in the Mass and the canonical hours, in their honor, and to invoke them in public prayers. And churches and altars for the sacrifice [of the Mass] are assigned to them. Therefore, churches and altars are public things by their very nature, and they cannot be erected in honor of a saint not yet canonized. The same can be said of feast days, which cannot be instituted in honor of saints not yet canonized since feast days are ordained for the divine offices, and they can only be instituted by the public authority of the Church.

Apart from these honors, it cannot be shown where other honors are prohibited that it is customary to offer to saints not yet canonized. Therefore it is permitted that all are permitted to write and to order the printing of lives, visions, and miracles of saints not yet canonized, and even [to speak of them] in preaching for the edification of others. Therefore it will be permissible to paint these visions and miracles with the image of the same holy man, although not yet canonized, because pictures pertain to the same edification of the faithful, and they are nothing other than the books of the unlearned, as Saint Gregory writes in the letter to Serenus, Bishop of

Marseille. In addition, it is licit to visit the tomb of a saint non yet canonized and to implore his aid. If someone is heard and obtains good health by a miracle, it will be licit as a sign of gratitude to attach to the tomb a painted picture of that miracle. For the usage of the Church witnesses that it is licit to visit the tomb of such a person and implore aid. From this it is customary to ask, when a saint is to be canonized, whether his tomb is visited by the faithful. The attachment of pictures as signs of miracles is an ancient usage, as is evident from book 8 of Theodoret addressed to the Greeks. Nor is this done to authenticate miracles, for, if this were true, it would not be licit to add these pictures of this sort to the images or relics of canonized saints by one's own authority. For even miracles that are effected by the images or relics of canonized saints cannot be authenticated except by the judgment of the Church, and nevertheless everywhere in all Christian provinces there is use of such images affixed by private authority.

That pictures of this sort could be affixed to the tombs of those not yet canonized can be proved from many testimonies. In the life of Saint Antoninus [printed] by Surius we read a little bit after his death that a woman healed in her dreams by Blessed Antoninus himself was warned as a thanks offering to carry to his tomb a statue and picture in which the miracle was depicted. She did that at once. Other tombs of saints not yet canonized similarly can be known to be full of pictures from Fra Serafino Razzi of the Order of Preachers in the book on the blessed of that order printed in Florence in 1588 at pages 67, 222, and 280. Likewise from the same author in the second part of the same book on pages 103 and 179. To these can be added the witness of Fra Vincenzo Giustiniani, who, in the life of Blessed Aloysius Betrandi, wrote that to the tomb of the blessed man were affixed many hundreds of pictures of this sort in the first year after his death. Similar things can be found in the *Chronicle of the Friars Minor* in the third part of the second book chapter 30 page 70 and book 3 chapter 57 page 121 and elsewhere. But certainly it seems much less [serious] to depict around the image of someone miracles that are retained only in memory and not placed in a church than to affix a picture in a church at the tomb as a means of honoring and witnessing to sanctity.

Finally, there exist other, similar images of uncanonized saints with signs of their miracle attached. For Blessed Clare of Montefalco is depicted everywhere with an open side, where her heart is conspicuous, on which the sign of the Lord's passion was divinely imprinted; and her image in print is surrounded by miracles. Blessed Margaret Fontana of Modena is depicted holding a large rosary, on which by a divine miracle [the beads] were converted into loaves of bread, which she wished to distribute to the poor, as is witnessed by Serafino Razzi in the second part of the lives at page 178. John of God, founder of the order called the fatebene Fratelli, is depicted with a vision that appeared at his death of God the Father receiving the soul of that man. Blessed Francesca of Rome is depicted usually with the archangel that she regularly saw in her lifetime. Blessed Iutgard, of whom Surius writes at the 16th day of the month of June, although plainly not canonized in our time and everywhere is depicted with many miracles drawn from her life painted around her image. Finally, Blessed Sylvester, founder of the Sylvestrine order, usually is

depicted with many miracles from the writings of that order around the image, and although this Blessed Sylvester and Blessed Clare may be honored as blessed in certain places, nevertheless, images of them can be possessed and it is trustworthy that they began to be depicted before they had the privileges of beatification.

Nor does the decree of session 25 of the Council of Trent about not receiving unusual images or new miracles without the approval of the bishop matter, for the council spoke of images that are placed in churches for veneration. Its words "It is permitted to no one in any place of church to be exempt," matter. The [decree] has this sense that "It is permitted to no one in any place," that is, any church, that the later thing should be the explanation of the earlier one, for without a doubt the council did not enjoin upon bishops that they inspect the halls and bedchambers of private persons, but only that anything repugnant to religion and the sanctity of such a place is not permitted in churches. We, however, are not speaking here of an image that is placed in a church, but one that is found in private buildings. Therefore, the council speaks of unusual images, such as if the Supreme Trinity were depicted in a new manner or if another mystery of our faith were depicted so that an error or superstition could arise from the image. We, however, are speaking of the usual images; and accordingly it is done most frequently in the Catholic Church concerning persons outstanding for doctrine or virtue and especially famous for sanctity and miracles, that the miracles of saints not yet canonized are depicted just as we showed above. What, however, the council says about not receiving new miracles means nothing concerning the images with which we are dealing. Accordingly, new miracles are not depicted in these [images], but old ones that are found in books printed with the license and by the authority of superiors. Therefore the usage of the Church and the purpose of that decree teach that the council is speaking of miracles which begin to occur at some image or relics, and there can be suspicion that fraud might be occurring because some fraud is involved; but this is not, as I said, does not affect our matter. Nothing, therefore, can justly be objected against images of holy persons even if not yet canonized although they are surrounded by and depicted with miracles that are found in the history of that person's life.¹

¹Translation by Thomas Izbicki.

Appendix 2: Antonio Gallonio with anonymous Jesuit contributors.

*An liceat imagines hominum sanctitate illustrium nondum
canonizatorum publice in templis depictas habere.* Rome,
September 1602 (BV, ms. H.14, ff. 364^r–365^v)

Scriptum Patrum et Societate

Iesu factum de mense Septembris 1602.

quo tempore illud nobis fuit celibitum

An liceat imagines hominum sanctitate illustrium non dum canonizatorum publice in Templis depictas habere.

Difficultas non est, an liceat tales imagines habere ad sepulchra eorum in quibus sunt conditi; certum enim est id licere; nam haec est totius ecc.ae consuetudo, in qua passim in Templis ubique gentium visuntur catholicorum sepulchra eu' imaginibusibi hominum sepulcorum, idque hominum nulla sanctitatis opinione ornatorum, multo ergo magis licebit ad sepulchra hominum sanctitate illustrium eorum imagines publice expositas habere.

Queritur ergo P.o An in alijs Templis, in quibus istiusmodi homines non sunt sepulti, liceat eorum imagines publice' expositas habere.

2.o quomodo tales imagines sunt depingendae, et quo in loco Templi, aut qua ratione collocandae.

Quo ad P.m attinet Respondeo licitum esse habere in Templis publice' imagines hominum qui cum opinione sanctitatis obierunt, idque et in Templis, in quibus ipsi non sunt sepulti.

Probatur id efficaciter ex consuetudine ecc.ae, quae hac in re vim legis habet.et ut a' Romana initium capiatur, quae est caput et mag'ra aliarum. Romae multorum visuntur imagines in Templis publice depicte, qui non dum sunt canonizati, nec o'es titulum Beati a sum: Pontifice, sed t'm a populi deuotione habuerunt. Omnium aut horum imagines sunt depictae cum diademate in capite seu circulo, et radijs et tit.o Beati, idque nullus improbat.

In Templo SS.Jois et Pauli, cuius curam habent Religiosi dicti Jesuatae, non longe' a summo Altari depicti sunt B.Joannes Columbinus, et B. Franciscus vincentius; et ad aliud altare B.Joannes Tossignanus, et B.Antonius senensis et tertius eiusdem ord.is sine nomine. In Templo S.Mariae seu Servitarum, nuncupato S.Mariae in via, et alio S.Marcelli est depictus B.Philippus fundatorum Seruitarum in ipso Altari, et retro Altare maius. In Templo fr'um ord.is Olivetani, dicto S.Mariae Novae, et alio S.Ceciliae [lacuna] et quodam alio est depicta B.Fran.ca Rom.a et quidem in S.Maria Nova depicta est in ipso Altari, ad quod Missa celebratur.²

Et hinc patet Responsio ad 2.am dubitationes partem, licere nimirum hominu' non canonizatorum max.e miraculis illustrium, et sanctitis opinione clarorum imagines prope Altaria cu' titulis Beati, et diademate ut vocant, seu circulo aut radijs

²The present author has not transcribed the entire list of churches that follows, which can be found in the original manuscript.

caput ambientibus depingere, idque sine alia licentia ep'i, aut alterius eius vicem gerentis.

Consuetudo enim ecclesiae, quae constat ex locis supra allegatis, in quibus ita homines non canonizati sunt depicti, ad id faciendum sufficere videtur.

Sed contra dicta objici posset locus quidam ex Conc.o Trid.no sess. 25.de invocat.e et sacris imaginibus ubi dr': Nemini Cicere ullo in loco, vel ece.a ullam insolitam ponere, vel ponendam curare imaginem nisi ab epo' approbata fuerit.

Sed facilis est Responsio: concilium enim per insolitas imagines intelligit eas, quae aliquid in decori, et ab usu ecc.ae abhorrens continerent, ut esset V. G. si quis depingere volens S.mam Trinitatem in illis Septentrionis Provincijs, in quibus heresis Arianorum viget, depingeret unum corpus cu' tribus capitibus, vel aliquid simile. Quae resp.o manifeste' colligitur ex ipso Concilij loco, qui con' dicta objicitur; in eo enim dr': non tantu'm in ecc.a, sed nec in ullo alio loco ponendas esse insolitas imagines. Atqui certum est, hoc decreto non prohiberi ~~imagines hominum~~ quo minus in alijs locis extra ecc.am, ut in domibus privatis possint haberi imagines hominum non t'm sanctitate illustrium, sed e't aliorum: istius.n.mundi, et ecc.ae praxis id permittit: ergo signum est Concilium eo loco loqui de insolitis imaginibus eo modo qui in nr'a responsione explicatus est; nam non t'm in ecc.a, sed nec in ullo alio loco liceret sanctorum imagines habere, aliquid abhorrens, et contrarium ecclesiae usui continentes.

Atque hoc eadem resp.o efficaciter confirmatur ex verbis Concilij paulo ante praecedentibus; cum enim dixisset: omnes in sanctorum imaginibus abusus (si irreperint) tollendos ita ut nullae falsi dogmatis imagines, et rudibus occasione in periculosi erroris praebentes statuuntur. Subdit id quod in obiectione ponitur. Intelligenda ig'r sunt ista verba Concilij in obiectione posita, ut ijs prohibeatur imaginum collocatio, quae indecorum aliquid, et praebens occasionem erroris contineret.

Quinimo ex eodem Concilij loco deduci po't hominum non canonizatorum sanctitatis t'n aut miraculorum opinione illustrium imagines utiliter et licite' in Templis esse collocandas; cum.n.ibi Concilium de imaginibus sanctorum locutum fuisset, subdit utilitates et fines imaginum in Templis collocari solitarum. Nimirum per Dei per Sanctos miracula, et salutaria exempla oculis fidelium subijciantur, ut pro ijs Deo gratias agant, ad sanctorumque imitationem vitam moresque suos componant, excitenturque ad pietatem colendam. Ex quibus verbis apparet hominum sanctorum non dum canonizatorum imagines in Templis exponi posse; si quidem ex ijs idem fructus in fidelium animis oriri consuevit, ob quem in ecc.a sanctorum imagines poni Concilium docet nimirum morum emendatio, et cultus pietatis ex imitatione eorum quorum imagines publice' exponuntur, excitatus.

E'gregia sunt ad hanc rem confirmandam testimonia Theodor. Cyri ep'i in vitis SS.Patrum cap.26.in Simeone Stilita, et Chrysost. In or'one anniuersaria de Meletio Praesule Antiocheno anno quinto ab eius obitu, ut ipse ait, habita. Dicunt enim hi Patres imagines Simeonis Stilitae et Meletij et viventium fuisse in honore habitas. Quod si hominum peccatis obnoxiorum imaginibus habitus est honorum maior

ratio est, ut idem habeatur aliorum imaginibus qui sancte' mortui sunt ab omnibus peccatis immunes.

A writing of the fathers of the Society of Jesus composed in the month of September 1602 at which time it was [shown?] to us.

Whether It Might Be Permissible for Images of Men Illustrious for Sanctity Not yet Canonized Publicly to Have Paintings in Churches.

The difficulty is not whether it might be permissible to have such images at their tombs in which they were buried. Certainly that is permissible. For this is the custom of the entire Church in which everywhere anywhere in churches the tombs of Catholic men survive with images of the men buried there. And that [being true] of men with no reputation for sanctity, how much more will it be permissible at the tombs of men illustrious for sanctity to have their images displayed publicly?³

It is asked, therefore, first, whether in other churches in which those men are not buried it might be permissible to have their images displayed publicly. Second, how such images are to be painted, and where in a church, or for what reason, they are to be located.

As far as pertains to the first, I respond that it is permissible to have publicly in churches images of men who died with a reputation for sanctity, and that in churches in which they are not buried.

That is proved efficaciously from the custom of the Church, which, in this matter, has the force of law, and as is understood from the practice of Rome, which is the head and teacher of the other [churches]. At Rome the images of many who are not yet canonized are seen publicly depicted in churches. Nor do all have the title of *blessed* from the Roman pontiff, but only from the devotion of the people. The images of all of these are depicted with a crown of their heads or a circle [halo?], and rays, and the title of *blessed*. And no one rejects that.

In the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, for which the religious order called the Gesuati have responsibility, not far from the high altar are depicted Blessed Giovanni Colombini and Blessed Francis of Vicenza [Francesco Miani?]; and at another altar [are] Blessed Giovanni [Tavelli] of Tossignano, Blessed Antonio of Siena and a third member of the same order without a name.

At the church of S. Maria of the Servites, called S. Maria in Via, and in another, S. Marcello, is depicted Blessed Philip, founder of the Servites on that altar and behind the greater altar.

In the church of the brothers of the Order of Oliveto, called S. Maria Nuova, and in another, S. Cecilia in Trastevere, and in yet another is depicted Blessed Francesca of Rome. And someone is depicted in S. Maria Nuova at the altar at which Mass is celebrated.

In [S. Maria in] Ara Celi among the Franciscans, Blessed Giovanni Capistrano.

In the church of S. Giovanni Calibitę Blessed João de Deus on the left part of the altar.

³Translation by Thomas Izbicki.

In the church of San francesco in Trastevere one sees Blessed Ludovica of Rome depicted.

In the church of S. Maria del Popolo among the Augustinians on a column of the high altar is depicted Blessed Johannes Bonus.

In the church of San Salvatore and S. Stinslaus of the Polish Nation are depicted in the /// way of other saints around the altar some Polish blessed, at least Blessed Vitus, Blessed Simon, Blessed John Cantius.

In the church of S. Sabina are depicted Blessed Ceslaus, Blessed Germanus, Blessed Reginald, Blessed Ludovicus Bertrandus, Blessed Osanna.

In the church of S. Stefano in Trullo on its altar at which the Mass is celebrated are depicted Blessed John of Matha and Blessed Felix [of Valois] first founders of the order called "for the redemption of captives" [Trinitarians].

At Florence among the Dominicans in the church of S. Maria Novella is seen an image of Blessed villana and Blessed John of Salerno.

At Bologna is seen depicted Blessed Diana [d'Andalo?]. And there in the building of S. Fancesco, Blessed Guido de S[pathis?].

At Mantua, Blessed Osanna, a Dominican.

At Capua among the Franciscans Blessed Augustine a Franciscan.

At Perugia on the altar of Saint Catherine of Siena is depicted Blessed Colomba.

At Orvieto Blessed Vanna.

At Soncino Blessed Stephana.

At Pesaro in the church of the Dominicans Blessed Marco of Mantua and Blessed Damiano de Finario.

At Mantua in the church of the Dominicans Blessed Magdalena de Trino et Blessed Margarita Fontana.

The same is seen in many other places and provinces which cannot be mentioned for the sake of brevity. It is enough that some churches in Italy were mentioned in which the Catholic religion is practiced especially free from any rumor of error.

And from this follows the response to the second part of the doubt, whether it is not permitted to depict any man not yet canonized, especially illustrious with miracles and famous for a reputation for sanctity, near altars with the title of "Blessed," and a diadem, as they call it, or a halo or with rays surrounding his head, and that without any permission of the bishop or of someone acting for him.

The custom of the Church, as follows from the places cited above, in which men not yet canonized are depicted thus, seems to suffice for doing that.

But a certain passage from the Council of Trent in Session 25 [December 1563], "Concerning the Invocation [of Saints] and Sacred Images," could be used to object against what has been said. There is said: "It is permissible to no one anywhere to place any unusual image unless it was approved by the bishop."

But the reply is easy. The council understood by "unusual images" those that are somehow unseemly or are abhorrent to the usage of the Church, so that is was (for example) if someone wishing to depict the Most Holy Trinity in those northern

provinces in which the Arian heresy flourishes, were to depict one body with three heads, or something similar. This response is gathered manifestly from that passage of the council that is objected against these words. In it is said "unusual images" are not to be placed not only in the church but in any other place. And it is certain that in this decree this is not prohibited more so in other places outside a church, as in private houses, that images of men could be possessed, not just of those illustrious for sanctity, but even of others. The practice of this world and of the Church permits it. Therefore, this is a sign that the council in that place speaks of "unusual images" in the same way that is explained in our response. For it should not be permissible, not just in a church but in any other place, to have images of the saints containing anything abhorrent or contrary to the usage of the Church.

And this same response is confirmed efficaciously from the words of the council a little bit before the aforesaid, when it said: "All abuses about holy images (if they creep in) are to be taken away, so that no images of false dogma giving the uneducated occasion for dangerous error are established." It adds what is posited in the objection. Those words of the council, therefore, are to be understood to prohibit the setting up of images that contain anything abhorrent or giving an occasion for error.

Indeed, from the same passage of the council can be deduced that setting-up of images of men not canonized, but illustrious for sanctity or a reputation for miracles, is useful and permissible in churches. Since, then, the council spoke there of the images of saints, it added the usefulness and limits of locating the usual images in churches. No one except God provided miracles through the saints and salutary examples for the eyes of the faithful, so that they would give thanks to God for these, order their lives and habits to the imitation of the saints, and strive toward cultivating piety.

From these words it appears that images of holy men not yet canonized could be displayed in churches. If from them the same fruit should arise customarily in the souls of the faithful, for that reason the council teaches that images of the saints can be placed in a church to excite the emendation of morals and the practice of piety that are derived from the imitation of those whose images are publicly displayed.

Outstanding for confirmation of this are the witnesses of Theodoret, bishop of [Cy], in the *Lives of the Fathers*, in chapter 26 about Simon Stylites, and Chrysostom in the anniversary oration for Melito, Bishop of Antioch in the fifth year after his death, as he says. These fathers say the images of Simon Stylites and Melito were held in honor while they lived. If the images of men afflicted with sins were held in honor, there is greater reason for honoring the images of others, who, having died holily, are immune from all sin.

*Appendix 3: Dominico di Ginnasio, Archbishop of Sipontino, Spanish
nuncio in Madrid to Pietro Aldobrandini, 6 August 1602
(ASV, Segr. Stato Spagna 55, fol. 312^r)*

Illmo et Rmo Sig.re pron.i mio Col.mo / Questi Padri Gesuiti hanno dirizzato un'altar' al P're Ignatio qui et in Saragozza con maraviglia di molti; mi hanno detto, che sia beatificato dal N. S.re et che in Roma sia fatto il medesimo, et che si vendino li ritratti del detto P're pubblici con permiss.e di N. S.re..re.che io le havevo fatto intendere che levassero quell'Altar' Mi è parso di soprasedire, et darne avviso à VS.Ill.ma, alla quale hum.te baccio le mani. Di Vaglio li 6. d'Ag.to / Di VS Ill.ma et R.ma 1602 / Oblig.mo et hum.mo Serv.re / Dom.co Arciv. Sipont.o.

Most Illustrious and Revered Lord Cardinal Nephew / The Jesuit Fathers have set up an altar to Father Ignatius here and in Saragossa, to the marvel of many. The Jesuits say that the pope had beatified Ignatius, and that altars were similarly erected in Rome, and that his portraits were sold publicly with the pope's permission. It seemed to me that I should tell them to remove the altar, and to inform you of this matter. Your most obliging and humble servant. Dominico, etc.

*Appendix 4: Dominico di Ginnasio to Pietro Aldobrandini,
Valladolid, 26 November, 1602 (ASV, Segr. Stato
Spagna 55, fols. 422^r–424^v)*

Ill.mo et R.mo Sig.re mio pron.i Col.mo

Hò visto quanto VS Ill.mo mi scrive del'Altare fatto da qsti P'ri Gesuiti al P're Ignatio, et ho pregato li P'ri à levarlo da loro stessi senza scandolo, li quali hanno già levato la diadema, et certi raggi che haveva intorno al capo d.o P're, che sta dipinto in ginocchioni in mezzo del quadro con le mani giunte, mirando à un Dio P're, dal quale vengono verso di lui altri raggi.

Andaranno dal Duca di Lerma, credo io, per prevenirlo, et parlando di questo, le dissero, che à q.ri [hanno passato][lacuna] molte tribulationi, et che Il S.re et io eramo loro Inimici: questo fù il confessore della Regina, che se bene est [loros] armature. Tuttavia con la Regina vò solfiando bravam.te contro di tutti, et anco dal Duca sud.to, voglio dire che non è in molta consideratione. Il Duca si pose che non conosceva queste loro persecutioni, ne ch'io parlasse mai, sinon in favor loro, come è verissimo, che in tutte le loro occorrenze si da [422^v] mandar' in Persia, et nell'Indie, come di lite sempre hò preso la loro difesa, et disse il Duca che si non stava d.[ett]o P're beatificato, che non lo dovevano poner' in Altare. Si scusano, che da Roma vengano le stampe, et che il S.r Card.le Baronio facci fare la festa in Roma, et metter li voti, et lampade avere à q.to loro P're Ignatio. Venne il P're Ludovico Mansonio à trovar' il mio sec.[reta]rio p[er] dirle mi pregasse à voler favorire le cose della Compagnia perche il Duca di Lerma haveva detto ad un altro P're ch'io gl'ero contro; onde doppò haver trattato de negotij con s[ua] e[ccellenza]e et ridendo gli dissi, che s[ua] e[ccellenza] facesse per me buono off.o con q.esti P'ri, [perde] si col suo testimonio fusse io tenuto contrario loro, bravam.te m'haveriano insidiato; me giurò che non fù mai tal cosa, facendosi segno di Croce, et mi narrò tutta l'historia, che hò detto di sopra, et li consigliò a levar via quell'Altare ch''era di molto scandalo, finendo maggiorm.te P're il Nuntio che non sia beatificato, anzi mi [423^r] disse, che altra santità era nel P're Fran.co che fù suo zio, et pur fundatore, che nel P. Ignatio, et ch'io lo facesse levare, et che non temessi che il Rè, et la Regina l'havessero à male, volendo loro M.tà il giusto, et che si rispetti la S.ta di N. S.re, dicendo, questo mancava, che si neghi al Papa, et hora loro facino li S.ti à posto loro; et perche sò quanto siano fav.li a lamentarsi q.sti P'ri, et scrivere. Soprà VS.Ill.ma che quà era venuto da Madrid un P're osseda p[er] la [difiss.e/difen.e] delli s. Padri difenuti in Toledo, in mat.a delle Conclusioni, et con grandiss.mo animo andava all'hora di mangiare à casa di ciascheduno di q.esti principai Ministri, Vescovi, Donne, et altri sorti d'huomini, et mangiando con loro intrava in raggionam.to della sua venuta, et informava quelli, che q.ta oppenione era tanto commune, che non ci era contraddittore, et ad alcuno di q.sti frati Vescovi nuovam.te fatti, si faceva sottoscrivere in un foglio, frà quali si sottoscrisse fra Henrique Enriquez Vesc.o d'Osma dell'Ord.e di S. Agostino, et [423^v] procurarono facesse l'istesso il Vesc.o Ognà dell'ordine della Mercede, mà non volse firmarse. Io me ne lamentai col P're Ludovico Mansonio, et di tal maniera che implicitam.te poteva intendere, ch'io lo volevo far carcerare, se ben

veram.te non havevo questa intentione, mà solamente che si levasse di quà, et lasciasse q.ta Impresa, et che la guistitia havesse il suo luogo. Il P're Ludovico operò che se ne partisse subito, dubbitanso ch'io facesse da doverò, come certo mesefaccia: si scrivessero d'altra maniera sappia VS. Ill.ma che questa è la verità, che tutto fù per ben loro, che altrimenti restavano molto scandalizzati di questo procedere.

Il Breve che N.S.re scrisse all'Inquisitor Magg.re fù letto in Cons.o con edificat.ne di molti di questi Inquisitori; li mandai anco la copia delle Conclusioni ultimamente tenute in Alcalá: et mi hà pregato l'Inquis.re magg.re ch'io le mandi copia delle Censure [424¹] mandatemi da VS. Ill.mo, et mostra di voler far' quanto se li commanda, et che non mirarà à raccomandant.ni di nissuno, anzi mi disse che nella sua Chiesa di Cartagena, al tempo che si fa la Process.e del Sant.mo Sacramento questi P're havevano piene tutte q.elle strade di ritratti de P'ri della Comp.a posti come santi, et che con sua gran maraviglia, et scandalo di molti, facendosi li santi cosi facilm.te

Confessa l'Inquisitore, che le Conclusioni siano scandalose, temerarie, et degne di castigo, dico le prime d'Alcalá: et l'Università di Salamanca, la qual è stata molto praticata da questi P'ri darà il suo parere all'Inquisitione, conforme alla conclus.e del P.e Bagnez, che debeat puniri talia asseress tanquam scandalosus, et tanquam hereticus, che così mi vien scritto dilà, da q.ti Inquis.ri dal suo parere. Che è quanto m'occorre in q.ta mat.a, et p[er] fine hum.te à VS Ill.ma bacio le mani.

Vagliadolid li 26 9'mbre 1602

Di VS Ill.ma et R.ma Oblig.mo et hum.mo ser.re

Dom.co Arciv.o Sipontino

Most Illustrious and Revered Lord Cardinal Nephew / I have read what Your Most Illustrious Lordship wrote regarding the Jesuits' Ignatian altar, and I asked them to remove it themselves without scandal. They had already removed [from the altar image of Ignatius] the nimbus and some heavenly rays that were around his head. He was depicted kneeling in the center of the painting with his hands clasped, gazing upon God the Father, from whom other heavenly rays shone upon Ignatius. They went, I believe, to the Duke of Lerma to warn him, and speaking of the matter, the Jesuits told him that they had endured . . . many sufferings, and that he and I were their enemies. Ignatius was the queen's confessor, and she their armor. Nevertheless, with the queen blowing a strong wind against everyone, including the duke, in my opinion, this is not a great cause for concern. The duke claimed to know nothing of the Jesuits' persecutions, and that I only ever spoke of the Jesuits favorably, which is the truth, that in all their undertakings — whether their missions in Persia or in the Indies, or of their quarrels — I have always taken their side. The duke also said that Ignatius was not beatified and that they should not raise him to the honor of the altar. The Jesuits gave the excuse that the prints [of Ignatius and his miracles] came from Rome, and that in Rome, Cardinal Baronio is behind the cultic celebration, and the placement of ex-votos and lamps for Father Ignatius. [Jesuit] Father Ludovico Mansonio came to see my secretary to tell him to petition me to favor the company in their affairs, because the Duke of Lerma had told another father that I was against the Jesuits. Wherefore having related this matter to his

Excellency [the Duke], he replied laughing, that he would do me a service in regard to the Jesuits because if by his word I seemed to be against them they would have skillfully set a trap for me. Father Mansonio swore with the sign of the cross that this was never the case, he told me the story as I have related it to you above, that he had advised the Jesuits to do away with that scandalous altar, and, finally, not only was Ignatius not beatified, but moreover, he told me that there was more sanctity in Father Francesco, his uncle, than there was in Ignatius, and that I should have the altar removed and not fear the king and queen's retribution, as Their Majesties wish to do what is right, and to respect the holy pontiff. And Father Mansonio said that this matter goes against papal authority, and that now the Jesuits are making saints instead of the pope; and, as he knows how much the Jesuits are given to complaining, that I should write you. Your Most Illustrious Lordship will know that a Jesuit Father Osseda [?] came here from Madrid for the defense of the Jesuits in Toledo in relation to the conclusions, and zealously went at dinner-time from house to house of each of the principal ministers, bishops, ladies, and other gentlemen, and while eating with them would raise the subject of his own arrival, and inform them that [the Jesuits'] opinion was so popular that none were opposed to it, and he made certain of his Jesuit brothers, recently-appointed bishops, sign their names to a paper, including Brother Henrique Enriquez, Bishop of Osma of the Augustinian Order; and the same was asked of the Bishop of Oña, of the Order of Our Lady of Ransom, but he did not want to sign. I complained of this to Father Ludovico Mansonio in such a way that he might have understood that I wanted to imprison [this Jesuit], though this was not my true intention. I wished only that [this Jesuit] would leave, and abandon his undertaking, and that justice have its place. Father Ludovico made the Jesuit leave immediately, doubting that I had the right to do so: if anyone writes to you otherwise, may Your Most Illustrious Lordship know that this is the truth, and that it was all for the good of others, of whom otherwise many remained scandalized by this affair.

The *breve* that our lordship wrote to the Inquisitor Major was read in Cons.º to the edification of many of these Inquisitors; I also sent them a copy of the conclusions held lately in Alcalá. The Inquisitor Major asked that I send them a copy of the Censures sent to me by Your Lordship, and demonstrate the will to follow as much as is commanded, while not expecting as much. To the contrary, he told me that in his Church of Cartagena, on the occasion of the Procession of the Most Holy Sacrament, the Jesuit Father had filled the streets with the founders and fathers of their company, depicted in the manner of saints, to the great shock and scandal of many at how easily they made their own saints.

The Inquisitor confessed that the conclusions were scandalous, dangerous, and worthy of censure, which is to say the first ones in Alcalá. And the University of Salamanca, largely controlled by the Jesuits, will render its stance to the Inquisition, according to the conclusions of Father [Domenico] Bagnez. . . . Thus I have heard from those parts, according to the opinion of these Inquisitors. This much I know of in these matters, and in closing I humbly kiss Your Most Illustrious Lordship's hands. Valladolid, 26 November 1602

*Appendix 5: Pietro Aldobrandini to Dominico di
Ginnasio, Rome, 8 October 1602 (ASV, Segr.
Stato Spagna 330, fols. 126^{r-v})*

Si è grandemente maravigliato N. S.re che i P'ri Gesuiti habbino drizzato Altare costì, et in Saragozza al P're Ignatio, poiche è falsissimo che SS.tà habbia beatificato, et che quà in Roma si fatto il medesimo, anzi sendo stato messo in consideratione a S. B.ne che nella Chiesa quì del Gesù si tiene l'Image di d.[ett]o P're con dimostrationi eccessive, SS.tà hà mostrato di non sentirla bene, et hà fatto intendere alli P'ri, che ci provedano, et in oltre havendo i med.mi Gesuiti fatta istanza à Mons.re Vicegerente di stampare l'imagini del med.o P're, con alcune figurine intorno delle attioni di d.o P're, ne fù dato conto à S.S.tà, dalla quale fù comandato, che per l'avvenire in modo alcuno non si lasciassero stampare: fù notificata la mente di S. B.ne alli P'ri, et così si è osservato. Di più essendosi nel presente anno havuto notitia di un libretto stampato di varie orationi et litanie de Santi, trà quali vien' anco posto il nome del P're Ignatio, ne fù fatto relatione a SS.tà, la quale ordinò che il libretto si correggesse et le stampandosi in l'avvenire non visi mettesse frà santi la memoria di d.o P're. Di tutto questo può vedre VS. se quà è stato beatificato questo P're, et q.ello che ella dovrà fare costì per conformarsi con quello che è passato qua in questo part.[r]e nel quale non havendo altro da dirle per fine me le raccomando con tutto l'animo. Di Roma li 8 di Ott.re 1602.

His Holiness is shocked to hear that the Jesuit fathers there and in Saragossa erected altars to Father Ignatius, because it is completely untrue that the pope beatified him, and that Ignatius enjoyed similar veneration in Rome. Indeed, seeing that in the Roman Church of the Gesù Ignatius's image was displayed with excessive cultic manifestations, His Holiness expressed his disapproval and ordered them to rectify this. Furthermore, the same Jesuits petitioned the Vicegerent for permission to print images depicting a central portrait of Ignatius surrounded by vignettes of his acts [i.e., miracles]; His Holiness heard of this and ordered them for the foreseeable future to by no means print any more of these images. The pope's decision was handed down to the Jesuits, and they obeyed. Moreover, this year news reached us of a small printed book containing various prayers and litanies to saints, among which was included the name of Father Ignatius; this was related to His Holiness, who commanded that the book be amended, and that thereafter no mention of Ignatius should be interpolated among the saints. In regards to all this, Your Lordship will hear from us if Ignatius is beatified, and further regarding what should be done there in conformity with what happens here. Having nothing else to say at this time, I commend myself to you with all my spirit.

*Appendix 6: Pietro Aldobrandini to Dominico
di Ginnasio, Rome, 13 January 1603 (ASV,
Segr. Stato Spagna 331, fol. 14^v)*

E piaciuto à N. S.re VS. scrive d'haver passato all'ordine datole, che avvertisse d[e]ll'Altare, che i Gesuiti havevano eretti al P're Ignatio, et hà insieme lodato il zelo del S.re Duca di Lerma, che con molta rag.ne hà biasimato che si faccino da loro stessi i Beati, senza dichiarazione di questa S.ta Sede, et poiche S.[ua] E.[ccellenza] hà assicurato VS. che così l'intendano il Rè, et la Regina, non lasci ella di procurare per quella via che le dettarà la sua prudenza di ritirare addietro quello in che questi P'ri si sono avanzati molto, non senza nota di poca obbedienza à chi pur fanno voto d'obbedire. Vuole anco S.Stà che VS. ravigili le loro attioni, come ricercano le diligenze per non dir le imposture di q.sti P'ri, et avvisi continuamente tutto ciò che hevera in questa, et in ogni altra cosa loro. Et Dio la conservi. Di Roma li 13 di Gennaro 1603.

[The pope] was pleased that Your Lordship . . . warned [us] of the altar that the Jesuits had erected to Father Ignatius, and [he] also praised the zeal of his lord the Duke of Lerma, who very rightly reproved [them] for making blessed [i.e., beatifying individuals] all by themselves, without the declaration of this holy see, and because His Excellency has made sure that the king and the queen are in accord, and allows the queen to follow her own good judgment in reining in these Jesuit Fathers where they have gone too far — and not without a notable lack of obedience to him [the pontiff] whom they swore to obey. His Holiness also wants your lordship to keep a close eye for him on their goings-on, given the assiduities not to mention the dissemblings of these fathers, and be continually apprised of all that goes on in this matter, and in all their other matters. May God keep you. Rome, 13 January 1603.

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