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THE NEW WORLD IN EARLY MODERN ITALY, 1492-1750

EDITED BY ELIZABETH HORODOWICH
AND LIA MARKEY

THE NEW WORLD IN
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CHAPTER NINE

JESUIT MARTYRDOM IMAGERY BETWEEN MEXICO AND ROME

Katherine McAllen

WRITING FROM ROME IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, THE Father General of the Jesuit Order, Mutio Vitelleschi, described the Jesuit missions of northern New Spain as God's "new vineyard." While the Jesuits participated in lucrative agricultural enterprises in the New World, their official focus was centered on the evangelization of indigenous populations, which they described as "abundant harvests."¹ Martyrdom, already a significant element of Counter Reformation spirituality in Europe and an important aspect of Jesuit evangelization, became an omnipresent subject in religious discourses on both sides of the Atlantic when Jesuits were killed in Indian attacks beginning in 1594.² The Jesuits in colonial Mexico commissioned portraits of their slain members, including eight drawings by an anonymous artist depicting missionaries executed in the Tepehuan Revolt of 1616, and sent

This project is dedicated to my husband, James, whose encouragement from the first day of research in Rome made this publication possible. I would also like to thank Tom Cummins, Clara Bargellini, Jennifer Roberts, and most recently, Elizabeth Horodowich and Lia Markey for their invaluable guidance and suggestions. Father General Vitelleschi uses this term, *nueva viña*, in his 1618 letter from Rome to Mexico City, in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, Rome (cited hereafter as ARSI), Mex. 2, f. 202r.

¹ For this 1604 letter, see ARSI, Mex. 8, 264; For other viticulture metaphors, see Mex. 15, 260v; Mex. 8, 255v.

² Gonzalo de Tapia was the first Jesuit to be martyred in New Spain in 1594 in present-day Sinaloa. For the biographies of Jesuit martyrs in New Spain, see Francisco Zambrano, *Diccionario Bibliográfico de la Compañía* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1961–77), 13:129–64, 10:614–35, 11:156.

them to Rome via Mexico City (Plates 5–7).³ While the Augustinians promoted the Virgin of Copacabana in Italy, the Jesuits disseminated images of their martyrs from northern New Spain to Rome, transforming how Italian audiences would imagine colonial Mexico as an important theater of Jesuit evangelization abroad. In Rome in 1618, Father General Vitelleschi ordered the drawings of the eight Tepehuan martyrs to be reproduced as paintings on canvas and displayed among other portraits of Jesuit martyrs, so that the missionaries from the Tepehuan Revolt would “always be remembered” (*ad futuram rei memoriam*).⁴ Surviving textual accounts reveal religious spaces where the Jesuits could have displayed these images of New Spanish martyrs in Rome. This essay contends that these Jesuit martyrdom portraits from New Spain inspired the creation of new works of art in early seventeenth-century Rome that represented the sacrifices of missionaries in the New World. These portraits would have allowed viewers in both Rome and Mexico City to imagine the New Spanish mission frontier, where the Jesuits, in their emulation of early Church martyrs, negotiated Christian past and present.⁵ The location of these images in Italy also provided a new visibility for the cult of Mexican martyrs and emphasized the spiritual importance of New Spain in the formation of the Jesuits’ global missionary identity.

These martyrdoms enabled the Society to link New Spain spatially and temporally to sites of martyrdom in Europe and the Holy Lands and further promote their evangelization efforts as a continuation of early apostolic Christianity.⁶ The 1640 *Imago Primi Saeculi*, for instance, compared the evangelical work of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier to that of Saints Peter

³ These drawings were created in pen and ink with chalk on paper, and each of the four folios measures 34.8 cm by 50.5 cm. See ARSI Map Collection, Grandi Formati, Cassetto 12, 17.1–17.4. A special thanks to James McAllen, Jr. for photographing these drawings and to Lorenza Guerra and Diego Guerra for their expert editing.

⁴ Vitelleschi’s 1618 letter states: “These portraits and the accounts of their martyrdom have been received [in Rome] and read in the refectory with universal consolation by all due to having eight more brothers in heaven. They are painting portraits on canvas to put with the others.” ARSI, Mex. 2, f. 202r–204r. Antonio Astráin transcribed this letter incorrectly in *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España*, vol. 6 (Madrid: Razón y fe, 1916), 346, 721; Francisco Zambrano cites Astráin’s incorrect transcription in *Diccionario Bio-bibliográfico*, 10:635.

⁵ The Jesuits and Franciscans often used the term “frontier” not as a political border, but as a cultural boundary at the extremities of the viceroyalty, as seen in a 1637 letter describing the missions as “la frontera de otras gentiles.” ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 1467, Busta 96, Number 5, 8v. Franciscan missionaries also used the term “frontier.” See *Archivum Generale O.F.M.*, Rome, M29, Nueva Vizcaya, Descripción de Nueva Vizcaya, 145v; M62, Zacatecas, 321r. Clara Bargellini also notes how the Jesuits’ own use of the term “frontier” as a distant place has influenced modern historiographies in “At the Center on the Frontier: The Jesuit Tarahumara Missions of New Spain,” in *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art*, ed. Thomas da Costa Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 124.

⁶ Andrés Pérez de Ribas made many references to Jesuit martyrs as historical heirs to early Church martyrs in his *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith amongst the Most Barbarous and Fierce Peoples of the New World*, trans. Daniel T. Reff, Maureen Ahern, and Richard K. Danford (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 127, 130, 308. See also John O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*

and Paul, the pillars of the early Christian church in Rome.⁷ Jesuit correspondences between New Spain and Rome in the seventeenth century similarly described New World evangelization efforts as “holy sacrifices” that were “done in the missionary theater of Apostolic work.”⁸ When martyrdom became an important part of Jesuit discourses, the deaths of missionaries mirrored the sacrifices of Christ and his Apostles.⁹ Father General Vitelleschi invoked the metaphor of blood watering the seeds of Christendom from the letters of Paul, when he stated that God had ordained beforehand that “His vineyard” of New Spain would be “irrigated with the blood of His Jesuit servants.”¹⁰

In 1645, Andrés Pérez de Ribas published his *Historia de los triunfos de nuestra santa fe*, the first account of the lives of the Jesuits whose evangelization work had culminated in martyrdom. Here, Pérez de Ribas provided detailed accounts of the deaths of Jesuit missionaries in New Spain and connected their sacrifices to those of Christ, the Apostles, and martyrs of the early Christian church.¹¹ As the northern missions became a place of sacred martyrdom, this region became crucial in allowing the Jesuits to link their work in New Spain to both the Apostolic past and other sites of Jesuit martyrdom worldwide.¹² Pérez de Ribas’s volume did not contain illustrations; however, the organization of his chapters worked to create a “verbal *retablo*” presenting detailed accounts of Jesuit martyrs killed in New Spain. The Society’s production of martyrdom portraits after the 1616 Tepehuan Revolt allowed images, as well as texts, to play a key role in what Maureen Ahern calls the Jesuits’ “social construction of the northern frontier.”¹³ Given that these likenesses were created at the request of the Jesuits in Rome, it is clear that the order sought to visualize martyrdom in the New

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 371–2; Maria Cristina Oswald, “Goa and Jesuit Cult and Iconography before 1622,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 74 (2005): 160–4.

⁷ Lydia Salviucci Insolera, *L’imago primi saeculi e il significato dell’immagine allegorica nella Compagnia di Gesù* (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2004).

⁸ The Father General’s letters from Rome to Jesuits abroad identify contemporary Jesuits as the historical heirs of Christ’s Apostles in ARSI, Mex. 2, f. 193v, 204r, 210r, and 253v. See also missionaries’ annual reports from New Spain to Rome using terms such as this in ARSI, Mex. 15, f. 261r.

⁹ Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs*, 532.

¹⁰ ARSI, Mex. 2, 202r. Many seventeenth-century writers incorporated this reference to establish a parallel between early Christian and contemporary martyrdoms. See Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs*, 128.

¹¹ Pérez de Ribas compares Gonzalo de Tapia with Saint Paul when he describes the dead arm of the first Jesuit martyr in New Spain miraculously making the sign of the cross similar to the severed head of Paul miraculously speaking, in *History of the Triumphs*, 55.

¹² Pérez de Ribas equates the martyrdom of Julio Pascual and Manuel Martínez in New Spain to the deaths of Jesuit martyrs worldwide, in *History of the Triumphs*, 323. Maureen Ahern notes clear hagiographic parallels in Pérez de Ribas’s account with histories of Iberian martyrs on imperial Roman frontiers, among them Saints Lawrence and Vincent, in “Visual and Verbal Sites: The Construction of Jesuit Martyrdom in Northwest New Spain,” in Andrés Pérez de Ribas’s *Historia* (1645), *Colonial Latin American Review* 8 (1999): 19.

¹³ Ahern, “Visual and Verbal Sites,” 8, 21.

World and, in turn, to promote the importance of Jesuit missions in New Spain. In this way, martyrdom portraits became important visual images integrated into Jesuit devotions to promote evangelization for audiences in both Italy and New Spain.

The Tepehuan Revolt began with an uprising on November 16, 1616 in the region on the western slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental mountain range (in the present-day state of Durango, Mexico), where the Jesuits had established missions in Santiago de Papasquiaro, Santa Catarina, and El Zape. In 1616, the indigenous leaders, many of whom who were baptized Christians, encouraged their fellow Tepehuanes to revolt and kill or expel all Spanish colonizers, especially the missionaries. In a series of coordinated attacks on multiple missions between November 16 and 18, the Tepehuanes killed eight Jesuits, two mendicant priests, and hundreds of European and *criollo* settlers.¹⁴ Following this revolt near the missions of Santa Caterina, Santiago Papasquiaro, El Zape, and Tenerapa, Jesuit leaders brought the bodies of the eight Jesuit martyrs to the Jesuit College in Durango. Their remains were preserved and transferred to Mexico City to become part of the cult of Jesuit martyrs.¹⁵ At this time between 1616 and 1617, an unknown artist completed these eight portraits of the martyrs.

These drawings of the Tepehuan martyrs are some of the earliest known New Spanish martyrdom images produced by the Jesuits. Textual evidence reveals they were used as preparatory studies for paintings in both New Spain and Rome.¹⁶ Each of the four large folios depicts two bust-length portraits of individual martyrs situated alone in the foreground with no landscape or interior represented in the background (see Plates 5–6).¹⁷ Variances in each drawing, such as the different vantage points depicting each missionary and contrasting styles of modeling three-dimensional facial features, suggest either that a single artist produced these eight portraits at different times or that multiple artists could have collaborated on the project when the bodies of the eight Tepehuan martyrs were

¹⁴ Gerardo Decorme, *Mártires Jesuitas de la Provincia de México* (Guadalajara: Editorial Acevez, 1957), 46 and 51. One Jesuit missionary, Andrés López, survived the Tepehuan Revolt, and one Franciscan missionary, Pedro Gutierrez, died in the attacks. See Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs*, 607.

¹⁵ For Jesuit correspondences describing sending these remains, various textual accounts, and the portraits of these martyrs from Durango to Mexico City and then to Rome in 1617, see ARSI, Mex. 17, f. 86r–125v and 133v–189r.

¹⁶ While a larger number of Franciscan martyrdom paintings survive, they date closer to the 1650s and into the eighteenth century. The survival of these eight Jesuit portraits reveal the Society produced works as early as 1617, but the larger corpus of Jesuit martyrdom images is less well known, likely due to the order's expulsion in 1767. For Franciscan martyrs, see Antonio Rubial and María Teresa Suárez Molina, "Mártires y predicadores: la conquista de las fronteras y su representación plástica," in *De la patria criolla a la nación mexicana, 1750–1860*, ed. Jaime Solar Frost (Mexico: Museo Nacional de Arte, 2000), 52.

¹⁷ The eight missionaries in these drawings are: Diego de Orozco, Bernardo de Cisneros, Gerónimo de Moranta, Juan del Fonte, Luis de Alaves, Juan del Valle, Fernando de Santarén, and Hernando de Tovar.

recovered at different times.¹⁸ Some corpses were mutilated or decapitated, so the artist(s) may have had to rely on memory or previous sketches of these missionaries to complete the portraits. The drawings were made in pen and ink on paper, using colored chalk to render flesh tones over the facial areas. Finally, dramatic red-painted highlights were added to depict bleeding from wounds inflicted by spears, axes, arrows, and other instruments. Fernando de Santarén, a Spaniard who reportedly spoke eleven languages, baptized more than 24,000 Indians, and erected fifty chapels in the north, is depicted wounded by two arrows, stabbed by a *macana* (flattened wooden club with a sharp point), and also bleeding from a large laceration in his head (Plate 6).¹⁹ Other Jesuits, such as Bernardo de Cisneros and Diego de Orozco, were killed while seeking refuge with other lay Christians during the attack at their mission church of Santiago Papasquiaro.²⁰ Father Orozco, a Spanish Jesuit who was shot by arrows and finally killed by an axe to the chest, is depicted bleeding from these weapons as he gazes upward toward heaven (Plate 5). Father Cisneros, also a Castilian Spaniard, was stabbed by a lance through the chest and killed by a blow to the head by a *macana*.²¹ He is depicted in the surplice and robes he would have worn to deliver the Eucharist or perform baptisms, and he bleeds at his head and through his chest.

These bust-length portraits served to document individual Jesuit identities, which would have been relevant for beatification inquiries that were begun as early as 1617.²² Yet the artists' close attention to rendering the martyrs' bleeding wounds and their detailed likenesses suggests that images such as those of Gerónimo de Moranta and Juan del Fonte may have also served devotional purposes (Plate 7). Jesuit viewers of these martyrdom portraits would have been familiar with Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, in which he instructed his readers to conjure vivid mental images of Christ and other religious subjects as a tool for devotion.²³ Ignatius of Loyola often encouraged participants of the *Spiritual Exercises* to imagine a work of art depicting a specific devotion. As Jeffrey Chipps Smith observes, for Ignatius, "the visual image had to prompt remembrance" and bring the events of the biblical past into the present imagination of

¹⁸ Jesuit accounts describe the bodies being retrieved in various locations at different dates; see ARSI, Mex. 17, f. 145r–189r.

¹⁹ See Decorme, *Mártires Jesuitas*, 52–3.

²⁰ According to Pérez de Ribas, the rebellious Tepehuanes offered peace to the missionaries and Spaniards seeking refuge in the church. When they exited carrying the monstrosity in a solemn procession, the Indians knelt pretending to worship it and followed the procession to the cemetery nearby, where they attacked and killed the two missionaries and disarmed Spaniards. See Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs*, 602.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 603.

²² Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín Ma. Domínguez, eds. *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: Biográfico-temático* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), 3:2537.

²³ In the first week, first exercise, and first prelude (Number 47), Ignatius describes creating a "mental representation," or visualization of biblical events, such as the Annunciation (Numbers 102–3) and the Nativity of Christ (Numbers 112 and 114), see Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, trans. Louis J. Puhl, S.J. (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 21, 41, 43.

the contemporary viewer.²⁴ Ignatius built on the ideas of mnemonic theoreticians such as Aristotle and Saint Thomas Aquinas, who encouraged creating extremely vivid mental pictures as an aid to memory.²⁵ The startlingly graphic nature of these bloody Jesuit portraits may have served to inspire similar personal spiritual contemplation or action through a remembrance of these images. Just as Ignatius urged his reader to empathize with Christ's suffering, by imagining a mental image of Him, so too could these portraits have functioned as cues to recall the sacred nature of these events. Emphasizing the gruesome character of these missionaries' deaths could have helped Jesuit and lay audiences apply Ignatian mnemonic devices to make themselves present at these martyrdoms.²⁶ With their display in Jesuit churches and residences, these portraits would transform religious culture on both sides of the Atlantic and encourage viewers to forge imaginative connections between the Old World and the New.

LOCALIZED DEVOTIONS TO MARTYRDOM IN NORTHERN NEW SPAIN

In colonial Mexico, images that the Jesuits commissioned for display in their churches operated to help audiences imagine martyrs who died in Rome and other locations in Europe. On the missions, the Jesuits constructed chapels dedicated to early Christian and Jesuit martyrs, as in their rebuilding of their church of San Ignacio in the 1670s at Santa María de las Parras, in present-day Coahuila, Mexico.²⁷ Jesuit inventories and surviving artworks reveal that paintings depicting the early Christian Roman martyr San Sebastián and the fourteenth-century Czech martyr San Juan Nepomuceno, were displayed in this chapel (Figure 9.1).²⁸ From the pulpit in Parras, Jesuit orators highlighted the sacrifices of early Christian and Jesuit martyrs in their sermons and referred

²⁴ Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 36, 38.

²⁵ Ibid., 38; Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 115–27; Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 62–4. See also Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 4, 17.

²⁶ Ignatius uses the phrase “see the place” frequently when he encourages the reader to imagine being present at moments in Christ's life, including the Passion and Crucifixion in the Third Week, Second Contemplation, First and Second Day (Numbers 202–8). See Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 63–7.

²⁷ The Jesuits built this chapel and others in the 1670s and decorated them with paintings imported from Mexico City. Katherine McAllen, “Rethinking Frontier Paradigms in Northeastern New Spain: Jesuit Mission Art at Santa María de las Parras, 1598–1767,” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2012, 69–115; Sergio Antonio Corona Páez, *La vitivinicultura en el pueblo de Santa María de las Parras* (Torreón: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2004), 46.

²⁸ AGN, *Temporalidades* 64, f. 74v. The 1742 painting *San Juan Nepomuceno* is signed and dated by prominent artist Francisco Martínez. See Clara Bargellini and Michael Komanecky, *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain* (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, 2009), 258; McAllen, “Rethinking Frontier Paradigms in Northeastern New Spain,” 280.



9.1 Francisco Martínez, *The Martyrdom of San Sebastián*, Colección de pintura religiosa de la Universidad Iberoamericana Torreón, Coahuila, Mexico, 1742. Courtesy of the Universidad Iberoamericana, Torreón.

to specific paintings hanging in San Ignacio to engage their audiences with the artworks around them.²⁹ This practice of making works of art active agents in

²⁹ For a detailed analysis and transcription of these sermons that highlight the torments of Jesuit and early Christian martyrs, see McAllen, “Rethinking Frontier Paradigms in Northeastern New Spain,” 79 and Appendix A. See also AGN, Mexico City, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, vol. 972, Expediente 1B.

the relationship between word and image helped the Jesuits connect New Spain to sacred sites of martyrdom in Rome, Bohemia, and beyond.³⁰

The eight drawings of Jesuit martyrs sent to Rome in 1617 also inspired the creation of paintings in Mexico City and in northern New Spain. Even as late as 1749, the Jesuits commissioned a painting depicting Tepehuan martyr Fernando de Santarén from Miguel Cabrera for their mission church of Santiago Papasquiaro in the present-day state of Durango (Figure 9.2).³¹ This Baroque painting presents an idealized Father Santarén as a youthful missionary looking up toward a celestial light, seemingly unaffected by the arrows piercing his body. Cabrera depicts this Jesuit missionary pierced by arrows, as he is shown in the original hand-drawn portrait sent to Rome in 1617. Yet he omits such macabre details as Santarén bleeding on his head and throughout his torso (see Plate 6). This stylistic difference has led scholars to assert that Cabrera did not use as his model the likeness of Santarén from the drawings sent to Rome nearly 130 years before he executed his painting.³² While this observation is plausible given the stylistic variances between the two works, both images of Cabrera's painting and the drawing in Rome represent the missionary pierced with arrows. No existing textual account of Santarén's martyrdom mentions this method of execution.³³

Significant here is that Cabrera could have consulted paintings of these drawings after the originals were sent to Rome, pointing to a dynamic exchange of these images between Italy and New Spain. Inventories of the Jesuits' professed house and church in Mexico City, known as La Profesa, identify specific portraits of Jesuit martyrs, including a painting of Tepehuan martyr Hernando de Tovar identified as a "copy."³⁴ These now-lost paintings in La Profesa may have directly inspired Cabrera to depict Santarén pierced by arrows, based on the original drawings sent to Rome in 1617. This painting, which the Jesuits commissioned for the mission church in Papasquiaro where the Revolt occurred, ultimately functioned to memorialize an important local event. Yet even though Cabrera painted this portrait for export to the northern missions, its production in Mexico City was linked to the Jesuits' transatlantic movement of artworks from Mexico City to Rome.

³⁰ In these sermons, Jesuit preachers describe specific paintings located in chapels nearby, using phrases such as "the paintings show this." See McAllen, "Rethinking Frontier Paradigms in Northeastern New Spain," 80.

³¹ This painting today hangs in the sacristy of the church in Papasquiaro where Santarén was martyred.

³² Isabel Del Río Delmotte, "Santos mártires jesuitas en el arte novohispano" (MA thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009); Bargellini and Komanecky, *Arts of the Missions*, 248.

³³ Pérez de Ribas, for example, recounts that Padre Santarén was killed by repeated blows to the head, but does not mention him being wounded by arrows in *History of the Triumphs*, 606–7.

³⁴ AGN, Temporalidades, vol. 147, f. 78v–79r.



9.2 Miguel Cabrera, *The Martyrdom of Fernando de Santarén*, La Parroquia de Santiago Apóstol. Santiago Papasquiaro, Durango, Mexico. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1749. Reproduction authorized by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Mexico City was the central hub for the Jesuits as the original embarkation point for missionary work and headquarters for communication with Europe. Beginning with the death in 1594 of Gonzalo de Tapia, the first Jesuit to be martyred in northern New Spain, the Jesuits concentrated on collecting the relics of their martyrs in the viceregal capital and displaying them next to miraculous objects brought from Europe.³⁵ Jesuit superiors ordered the transfer of martyrs' sacred remains to Mexico City and buried them beneath the altars of the Jesuit church at the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y Pablo to affirm the importance of their own cult of martyrs in the viceregal capital. In his 1654 *Corónica y historia religiosa de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, Andrés Pérez de Ribas noted that the bones of eleven New Spanish martyrs were displayed within a *retablo* in the church of San Pedro y Pablo.³⁶ The remains of these New Spanish martyrs were housed next to the relics of European saints, a piece of the Shroud of Turin, and a remnant of the True Cross brought from Italy.³⁷ At the church of La Profesa in the viceregal capital, the Jesuits presented three sculptures of their own martyrs who died in 1597 in Nagasaki, Japan, in the decoration program of the church's *retablo mayor* (high altar).³⁸

The Jesuits' residence at La Profesa also became an important location for displaying images of New Spanish martyrs in Mexico City to affirm the order's global missionary identity, an idea that would have important resonance on both sides of the Atlantic. Textual descriptions relate that portraits of ten New Spanish martyrs from the missions, including Father Tovar from the Tepehuan Revolt, were displayed at the foot of the staircase in the main hallway of the professed house.³⁹ While these paintings no longer exist, a 1768 inventory allows us to reconstruct the placement of these canvases next to four maps of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. In the intersecting hallway running north to south, twenty-three paintings of Jesuit martyrs hung on one wall, and the facing wall was covered with twenty-six portraits of the Society's martyrs from around the world.⁴⁰ This inventory describes rooms opening onto these hallways that

³⁵ For example, Jesuit superiors requested the heads of martyrs Julián Pascual and Manuel Martínez be carried to Mexico City. Others such as Hernando de Tovar were inspired to become missionaries after viewing the remains of Gonzalo de Tapia. See Pérez de Ribas, *History of the Triumphs*, 266, 531.

³⁶ Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Corónica y historia religiosa de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en México* (Mexico: Imprenta del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, 1986), 1:262–3.

³⁷ Ahern, "Visual and Verbal Sites," 28; Pérez de Ribas, *Corónica y historia religiosa*, 262.

³⁸ The Society placed their own martyrs Pablo Miki, Diego Kisai, and Juan de Gotoo, who were beatified in 1627, opposite the Virgin and saints. See Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, "El retablo de la Profesa y su efímera transfiguración en 1672," in *Los discursos sobre el arte. XV Coloquio internacional de historia del arte*, ed. Juana Gutiérrez Haces (Mexico City: UNAM-IIE, 1995), 91–106; Aguilar Álvarez, "Los retablos de la Profesa" (MA thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998). The Jesuits also incorporated images of these Japanese martyrs at the novitiate church in Tepotzotlán. See María del Consuelo Maquivar, *Los retablos de Tepotzotlán* (Mexico: INAH, 1976), 27.

³⁹ See the 1768 inventory in AGN, Temporalidades, vol. 147, Exp. 1, f. 78v–79r.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 147, Exp. 1, f. 83v–84r.

displayed large works of art, such as the monumental allegorical painting of *The Jesuits Worshipping the Name of Jesus* from the mid-eighteenth century and the now-lost painting *Saint Ignatius Showing the Name of Jesus to the Four Parts of the World*.⁴¹ These written descriptions allow us to visualize Jesuits of that time walking through these halls and contemplating the sacrifices of their New Spanish martyrs and the universal apostolic efforts of the order. With these paintings at La Profesa that depicted the order's canonized saints next to New Spanish martyrs, the Jesuits consciously created global links between their local evangelization efforts and the order's international missionary identity.

MEXICAN MARTYRS IN ROME

These New Spanish Jesuits also joined the international cult of martyrs in Rome, as the frequent travel of members of the Society brought the northern missionary theater to audiences across the Atlantic. Documents kept by the order reveal the Jesuits traveled regularly between New Spain and Italy, often moving between missions, residences, and colleges every three to five years.⁴² This coordinated circulation of Jesuits, which was dictated from the Father General at the order's headquarters in Rome, enabled the Jesuits in New Spain to become important agents for the global circulation of texts and images.⁴³

At the same time that the New Spanish martyrs' sacred remains were being transferred to Mexico City and their images carefully presented in Jesuit churches and residences in New Spain, texts documenting the deaths of these Mexican missionaries were being transported to early modern Italy. When news arrived in Rome as early as 1594 recounting the events of Father Gonzalo de Tapia's death in New Spain, martyrdom was already the focus of Jesuit attention in Rome. Textual accounts and portraits of martyrs functioned as important tools to "re-form Catholic identity" after the Protestant split from the Roman Church.⁴⁴ Secular and religious audiences were poised to recognize images

⁴¹ This painting is identified as "The Painting of the Name of Christ." AGN, Temporalidades, vol. 147, Exp. 1, f. 81v. See also Bargellini and Komanecky, *Arts of the Missions*, 294.

⁴² The ARSI documents known as the *Catalogi Triennales et Breves* locate every Jesuit priest, novice, and lay brother throughout the world and provide important evidence of the Jesuits' frequent circulation of their members. See, for example, the frequent travels of the Oaxaca-born Jesuit Francisco de Arista in ARSI, Mex. 4, f. 53v, 84r, 167r, 179r, and f. 427; ARSI, Mex. 2, f. 201r; ARSI, Mex. 17, f. 82r. For more on this subject of frequent travel, see McAllen, "Rethinking Frontier Paradigms in Northeastern New Spain," 116, 120–1, and Appendix B. Luisa Elena Alcalá has also studied documents detailing how Jesuit procurators traveled fluidly between Europe and New Spain in "The Jesuits and the Visual Arts in New Spain, 1670–1767," PhD dissertation, New York University, 1998, 126–71.

⁴³ As Clara Bargellini has noted, the Jesuits established cultural links between their viceroyalties and Europe by creating a "web of artistic relations," in "At the center on the frontier," 116.

⁴⁴ Jeffrey Chipps Smith uses this phrase in reference to Jesuit efforts to rebuild Catholic culture through reform, education, and a return to orthodoxy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in *Sensuous Worship*, 7.

of martyrdom abroad as a legitimization of the Catholic faith that was being challenged in England and other regions of Protestant Europe.⁴⁵

In Rome, Father General Mutio Vitelleschi read aloud the accounts of Jesuit martyrs from the 1616 Tepehuan Revolt for all to hear in the refectory of the Jesuit Curia house.⁴⁶ Father Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, in his handwritten compendium of lives of Jesuit missionaries, also described his practice of reading aloud to fellow Jesuits in the refectory during mealtimes. Nieremberg included accounts of the New Spanish martyrs, which were read to all members of the house, who sat in silence and reflected on these narrations.⁴⁷ Louis Richeôme depicted an image of this scene in the refectory of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale in Rome in his 1611 devotional treatise *La peinture spirituelle* (Figure 9.3).⁴⁸ The engraving depicts a Jesuit in an elevated pulpit on the wall reading to the novices at Sant'Andrea while they eat and listen.⁴⁹ Just as the Father General described reading aloud martyrdom accounts from New Spain in the refectory of the Curia house in Rome, this print depicts the Jesuits participating in similar practices in the novitiate of Sant'Andrea. In Book Three, Richeôme instructs the readers how to contemplate what they have heard at mealtimes in the next space of the novitiate, the Recreation Room: "Every day after the meal you have some appropriate recreation [here], speaking of what you have heard while eating, or [discussing] the stories that are couched in the paint of the paintings spread about the walls [in this room]."⁵⁰ In this practice of listening to oral accounts of Mexican martyrs told together with stories of evangelization around the world, Roman Jesuits were connected to their fellow members in New Spain and abroad, thus creating a global network in Rome through the recitation of Jesuit testimonies.

In addition to the narratives that were circulated orally in Jesuit refectories in Italy, members of the order acquired a substantial amount of written documentation detailing these events of New Spanish martyrdoms in Rome. The records sent from Mexico City to Rome range from official testimonies and correspondences to personal devotional treatises on the subject. In 1616, for example, at the request of the Father General in Rome and the bishop of

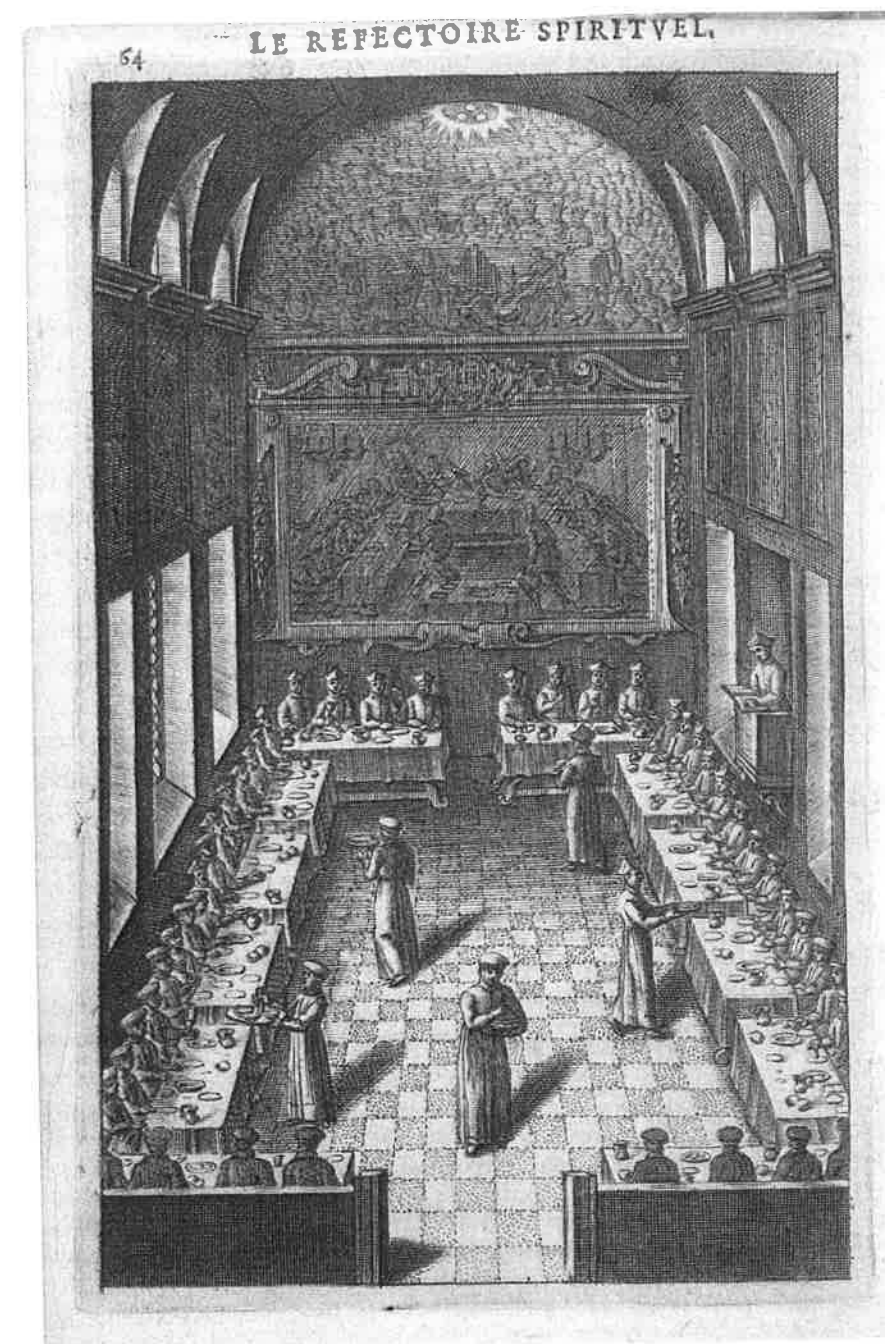
⁴⁵ ARSI, Mex. 16, Folio 137-150. ⁴⁶ ARSI, Mex. 2, f. 204r.

⁴⁷ For accounts of the martyrdoms of Gonzalo de Tapia and Tomas Basilio from the Province of Mexico, see Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Glorias del Segundo siglo de la Compañía de Jesús dibujadas en las vidas y elogios de algunos de sus varones ilustres en virtud, letras, y zelo de las almas, que han florecido desde el año 1640*, trans. Padre Joseph Cassani, S.J. (Madrid: n.p., 1734), 2 and 8:130. This manuscript is located in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (BNM), Signatura 20139.

⁴⁸ This engraving is the frontispiece of Book Two in Louis Richeôme, *La peinture spirituelle* (Lyon: Chez Pierre Rigaud, 1611), 64.

⁴⁹ Richeôme uses this phrase in his *Sommere des Livres* in the beginning pages of *La peinture spirituelle*.

⁵⁰ "Tous les iours apres le repas vous estes une petite heure, pour une honneste recreation, deuisant de ce que vous auez ouy durant le manger: ou des histoires, qui sont couchées en la peinture des Tableaux estalez en ces parois en grand nombre." See Richeôme, *La peinture spirituelle*, f. 153. I would like to thank Greg Landel for his expertise and generous guidance in the proper translation of Richeôme's ideas.



9.3 Frontispiece to Book Two in Louis Richeôme, *La peinture spirituelle*, Lyon, 1611. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Durango in New Spain, Jesuit superiors in Mexico City collected the testimonies of Jesuit companions, missionaries from other orders, and Indian witnesses to authenticate the events of the Tepehuan martyrs.⁵¹ Apart from the official accounts sent to Jesuit superiors in Rome, small, unpublished texts circulated for everyday devotion and contemplation for Jesuit and lay readers to learn about martyrs abroad. For example, Giuseppe de Monte's 1630 *Martyrologium Societatis Gesu Beatis Martyribus* was one such handwritten compendium that listed Jesuit martyrs chronologically.⁵² Monte identifies Father Gonzalo de Tapia in "Mexico" as the 55th martyr to die for the Society, and the Tepehuan martyrs make up the 130th through the 137th martyrs. Jesuits of all ranks in Rome could have read texts such as these that included information about New Spain.

Martyrdom would have resonated with the personal piety of each Jesuit, even those who were not granted missionary vocations abroad. The taking of vows was known as a "white martyrdom," when all religious were required to forsake their legal standing, personal rights, and worldly possessions to enter the priesthood.⁵³ Actual martyrdom was therefore the physical culmination of the Jesuit mission, not something extraneous to it, as all had experienced becoming "dead to the world" upon entering the religious life of the Society. In all these ways, written accounts that the Jesuits either read or presented aloud enabled their audiences in Europe to imagine these sacred sites of martyrdom and stay connected with missionary frontiers abroad. In their letters to the Father General, many Jesuits would demonstrate that they followed the accounts of the lives of their fellow missionaries living in New Spain and sought to emulate their continuation of the Jesuit apostolic mission.⁵⁴

Personal correspondences reveal that Jesuits in Europe made frequent requests to be sent abroad as missionaries and focused on preparing themselves intellectually and spiritually for these duties. Many of the Jesuits who would later become martyrs themselves sought to follow the sacrifices of Christ and his Apostles even before they departed from Europe. The *Indepetae* letters, or Jesuit requests to the Father General in Rome for deployment to missions in the Americas, India,

⁵¹ These documents, prepared in the north in Durango and then sent to the Father Provincial in Mexico City for dissemination to Rome, were generated as part of canonization inquiries that Father General Mutio Vitelleschi initiated in 1619. None of the New Spanish martyrs were beatified or canonized. See ARSI, Mex. 17, f. 133r-189r and 257r. See also Decorme, *Mártires Jesuitas*, 54.

⁵² See Giuseppe de Monte, S.J., *Martyrologium Societatis Gesu Beatis Martyribus* (Rome, n.p., 1630) in Biblioteca Nazionale Rome (BNR), Fondo Gesuitico 1259, f. 33 and 65.

⁵³ I am grateful to Mary Moorman for her insight related to this topic. For more on the early Christian writings of Tertullian's *Scorpiace* and martyrdom as a "second baptism" for all priests and the Christian community to embrace as a possible fate, see Timothy David Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 11, 163-7, and 174-5; Robert D. Sider, ed. *Christian and Pagan in the Roman Empire: The Witness of Tertullian* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001).

⁵⁴ Jesuits mention reading and listening to accounts of missionary life in the refectory. ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 749, Epistolae Indipetae, number 355, September 9, 1691, f. 376.

Africa, and Asia, provide important firsthand insight into the motivations of these early modern Europeans seeking transport to distant missionary fields.⁵⁵ One of the Jesuits who died in the 1616 Tepehuan Revolt, Geronimo de Moranta, wrote to the Father General in Rome from Spain in 1599 requesting permission to depart for missionary work in colonial Mexico. When asking for deployment to the New Spanish missions, Moranta connected his future missionary work abroad with the early Christian apostolic past and the Jesuits' global evangelization mission.⁵⁶ Moranta expressed his desire to imitate Christ and other Jesuit martyrs abroad, stating, "I entered the order to be like Christ and give my blood for the salvation of the Indians."⁵⁷ Sicilian Jesuit Francisco Xavier de Saeta, who was martyred in 1695 in Caborca (present-day Sonora, Mexico), recalled hearing accounts of evangelization and martyrdom read aloud in the refectory of his Jesuit house in Palermo, Sicily, which catalyzed his multiple requests to the Father General for permission to depart for missionary work in colonial Mexico.⁵⁸ Letters such as these that arrived in Rome from different cities throughout Europe helped promote New Spain as a sacred site of martyrdom by Jesuits who had not yet traveled to the Americas. These *Indepetae* letters must have played an important role in motivating the Father General in Rome to support the missions in New Spain by sending Jesuits who were poised to accept the possibility of martyrdom. In this process of communication that laid the groundwork for evangelization in New Spain, the Jesuits were able to maintain important ties between Italy and colonial Mexico and further solidify their international mission identity.

JESUIT MARTYRDOM IMAGERY IN EARLY MODERN ROME

In Rome, the Jesuits also connected their contemporary Catholic piety to the sacrifices of martyrs. Martyrdom was inextricably linked to the Jesuit mission to

⁵⁵ For example, Tepehuan martyr Fernando de Santarén wrote to Father General Aquaviva in 1587 asking to go wherever in the world he wished to send him, "to die for God if He wills it." ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 758, Epistolae Indipetae vol. 28, number 71.

⁵⁶ Father Moranta was the nephew of Gerónimo Nadal and had many friends in prominent church positions, including the confessor of the queen of Spain, Father Ricardo Haller. According to Pérez de Ribas, Haller wrote to Moranta in New Spain, often discussing his possible martyrdom. See *History of the Triumphs*, 647. For Moranta's imitation of Christ and the Apostolic mission, see 307-8.

⁵⁷ For Geronimo de Moranta's letter, see ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 758, Epistolae Indipetae vol. 28, number 227.

⁵⁸ For letters from Francisco Xavier de Saeta to the Father General requesting permission from the Father General in Rome to go to the New Spanish missions, see ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico 748, Epistolae Indipetae, number 422 (December 10, 1682); Fondo Gesuitico 749, Epistolae Indipetae, nos. 114 (September 19, 1687), 324 (January 5, 1691), 355 (September 9, 1691), 365 (September 19, 1691), and 431. See also Ernest Burrus, *Kino's Biography of Francisco Xavier Saeta, S.J.*, trans. Charles Polzer (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971), 331-7.

convert pagans and support papal efforts against heresy. The Jesuits decorated many of their church interiors in Rome with martyrdom cycles between 1565 and 1610 to combat the heresy of Protestantism and paganism and promote the order's global missionary identity.⁵⁹ In the years surrounding the consecration of the Gesù in 1584, the first two chapels Roman audiences encountered upon entering the church were dedicated to the early Christian martyr Saint Andrew and the two most important Roman martyrs, the Apostles Peter and Paul.⁶⁰ In their seminaries in Rome founded in the late sixteenth century, the Jesuits also commissioned didactic decoration programs venerating contemporary Jesuit martyrs and early Christian saints. Fresco cycles from 1582 in the Jesuits' English college of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Hungarian college of Santo Stefano Rotondo, and the German College of Sant'Apollinare functioned to inspire young Jesuits-in-training and provide a triumphal response to the Protestant persecution of Catholics and the questioning of the legitimacy of its martyrs.⁶¹ The Jesuits commissioned these martyrdom cycles in the national seminary churches that Pope Gregory XIII gave to the Jesuits to combat heresy abroad.⁶² For novices in training and professed Jesuits seeking missionary work abroad, the images of these martyrs functioned to provide viewers with contemporary and early Christian martyrs whose ministries culminated in the ultimate sacrifice.

The eight drawings of the New Spanish martyrs from the Tepehuan Revolt arrived in Rome in 1618 amid this Counter Reformation spiritual milieu, where contemporary Jesuit martyrs were venerated as exemplars of Catholic orthodoxy and the order's global evangelization mission. In the novitiate of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, portraits of Jesuit martyrs who died on missions abroad in Asia, India, and Brazil functioned as important images to inspire novices and affirm the

⁵⁹ Gauvin Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 45; Luigi Lotti and Pier Luigi Lotti, *La comunità cattolica inglese di Roma: La sua chiesa e il suo collegio* (Rome: Alma Roma, 1978), 125–8; Thomas M. Lucas, ed., *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome, and Jesuit Urbanism* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1990), 186–91.

⁶⁰ The chapel of Saint Andrew contained paintings of early Christian martyrs Saints Andrew, Stephen, Lawrence, Catherine, and Agnes, martyred bishops, and a ceiling fresco depicting *Mary as Queen of Martyrs*. See Howard Hibbard, “‘Ut pictorae sermones’: The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù,” in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University, 1972), 35.

⁶¹ The Jesuits commissioned Niccolò Circignani, known as “Il Pomarancio,” to paint a cycle of Jesuit martyrs executed in England in St. Thomas of Canterbury. While paintings by Niccolò Circignani for St. Thomas of Canterbury and Sant'Apollinare are both lost, Circignani's frescoes of thirty early Christian martyrs in Santo Stefano Rotondo survive today. Giovanni Battista Cavallieri produced a series of engravings of these now lost fresco cycles at St. Thomas in *Ecclesiae anglicanae trophaea* (Rome: Ex Officina Bartholomaei Grassi, 1584) and at Sant'Apollinare in *Beati Apollinaris martyris primi Ravennatum epi res gestae prout Romae* (Rome: Ex Officina Bartholomaei Grassi, 1586). See also Lucas, *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy*, 186–8; Hibbard, “‘Ut Pictorae sermones,’” 30–1.

⁶² Thomas Buser, “Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome,” *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), 427–9.

international focus of Jesuit mission enterprises.⁶³ These works of art are now lost, but French Jesuit Louis Richeôme's ekphrastic description of the paintings in the novitiate on the Quirinal Hill provides an excellent description of how these images may have fit into the original decoration of the church and residence.⁶⁴ In his textual tour of the paintings in both the churches of Sant'Andrea and San Vitale, Richeôme describes each painting hanging on the walls of the sanctuary, refectory, and recreation rooms of the novitiate. Apart from his obvious use of Ignatian and Nadalian philosophies that merged pictures and mental images as a strategy for religious devotion, Richeôme explains his reasons for providing such meticulous detail of the paintings in his treatise. Encouraging readers outside of Rome to experience the decoration programs of Sant'Andrea, he states: “If your brothers, who are outside of Rome living spread out on other parts of the world . . . want to see the paintings in this house, open the doors of your devotions and let them freely take part as brothers.”⁶⁵ Just as Jesuit works of art produced at this time presented connections between martyrs worldwide, Richeôme too referred to Jesuit missionaries or novices in training abroad in this passage to communicate the order's global evangelization message.

Describing the Sala di Riconoscimento (Recognition Room) in Book Three, Richeôme identified each of the 102 paintings of Jesuit martyrs from locations worldwide that hung in this space.⁶⁶ These portraits in Sant'Andrea al Quirinale included two large canvases depicting Jesuit missionaries killed at sea on their way to Brazil; the five martyrs slain in Salsette, India, who included Rudolfo Aquaviva, the nephew of Jesuit Father General Claudio Aquaviva; the Nagasaki martyrs executed in Japan; and the martyrdom of Abraham George in Ethiopia.⁶⁷ Next to these portraits, Richeôme identifies a painting of Gonzalo de Tapia, who he notes was killed in Mexico.⁶⁸ Above these paintings ran a broad painted cornice, which he called a “celestial zone,” that also depicted other martyrs of the order, “each with his angel bearing a palm and a crown, in

⁶³ Jennifer Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2004), 4, 117–18.

⁶⁴ Drawing from Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* and other Jesuits treatises, Richeôme keyed images to letters and texts, as seen in the frontispieces to Book Six and Book Seven. See Richeôme, *La peinture spirituelle*, f. 472 and 672.

⁶⁵ “Et si vos freres qui sont hors de Rome viuants espars és autres lieux de l'vniuers, & les autres Chrestiens qui vous font tous freres en ce nom, veulent voir ces tableaux extraicts de vostre maison, ouurez leur la porte de vos deuotions, & laissez les liberalment en en prendre leur part comme freres,” Richeôme, *La peinture spirituelle*, Epistre av R.P. Le Pere Octavian Navarola.

⁶⁶ Richeôme states in various parts of his ekphrastic descriptions, “I want you to contemplate the details of the painting.” See Richeôme, *La peinture spirituelle*, f. 6–7, 14.

⁶⁷ Father General Aquaviva requested for an arm of his nephew to be sent to the Curia in Rome in 1600, and the other arm was sent to the Jesuit College in Naples, where the Aquaviva family originated.

⁶⁸ *Les Tableaux, qui suiuent, vous enseignent Jean Corneille, Anglois & Gonzalvus de Papia, Espagnol tuéz l'an 1594. Celuy là en Angleterre, cetuy-cj au Mexique*. See Richeôme, *La peinture spirituelle*, f. 153 (falls between f. 233 and 235; misnumbered).

honor of his victory."⁶⁹ In this church where the Jesuits displayed the cult of Mexican martyrs among their other missionaries, New Spain was included as a sacred site of martyrdom for audiences in Rome. These paintings in the Recreation Room at Sant'Andrea helped Jesuit viewers conjure vivid mental images of these martyrdoms and even imagine being present at these disparate missionary locations worldwide.⁷⁰

Themes of martyrdom also inspired the decoration program in the sacristy at the nearby fifth-century church of San Vitale, which was also part of the novitiate complex. The Jesuits renovated San Vitale when Pope Clement VIII assigned it to the care of the Society in 1595. During these renovations, the Society commissioned the now-lost facade frescoes depicting instruments of torture and martyrdom, which can be seen in Richeôme's image of the Jesuit gardens in *La peinture spirituelle*.⁷¹ In text and image, Richeôme depicts the Jesuits in San Vitale giving sermons, speaking to foreign visitors in their native languages, hearing confessions, and providing food for the poor, while their audiences were able to contemplate works of art depicting themes of martyrdom.⁷² These works of art and their written descriptions would also have helped Jesuit novices in training on the Quirinal Hill understand their important role in the order's evangelization mission worldwide.

As noted earlier, in his 1618 letter Father General Vitelleschi mentions that the eight drawings depicting the Tepehuan martyrs were to be reproduced on canvas in Rome to accompany other images, which were most likely portraits of other slain Jesuits.⁷³ While it is not known where the Jesuits permanently displayed these paintings of the Tepehuan martyrs once they were completed, it is likely that they were installed in a Jesuit religious space in Rome. The Tepehuan martyrs cycle could have remained in the Jesuit Curia house where the Father General resided. Given that these paintings depicting Jesuits who died in New Spain were likely intended to accompany other images of Jesuit martyrs, it is also possible that these paintings were hung in the Jesuits' novitiate of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale in

⁶⁹ For Émile Mâle's reference to Richeôme's text, see his *Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1949), 175. Francis Haskell, "The Role of Patrons: Baroque Style Changes," in *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*, ed. Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University, 1972), 55.

⁷⁰ Gauvin Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2003), 35–58; 107–8; Émile Mâle, *Religious Art*, 176.

⁷¹ Richeôme, *La peinture spirituelle*, f. 472. See also Carolyn Valone, "Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits," in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, ed. E. Ann Matter and John W. Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 172.

⁷² As Valone has revealed, the Jesuits did not always control the iconography of the decoration program at San Vitale. Private patrons such as Isabella della Rovere made donations to create four altarpieces along the nave with paintings she selected. However, Father General Claudio Aquaviva was personally involved in selecting the fresco cycle depicting early Christian saints and the martyrdom of San Vitale in 1596. See Valone, "Piety and Patronage," 175–80.

⁷³ ARSI, Mex. 2, f. 202r.

Rome. The display of these New Spanish martyrs near the portrait of Gonzalo de Tapia, whom Richeôme describes as martyred in "Mexico" in 1594, would have provided a commensurate setting in the Sala di Ricreazione to inspire novices walking through this space.⁷⁴ These images, sent from Mexico to Italy (and back again), worked to emphasize New Spain as one of the important Jesuit missionary frontiers for audiences in Rome.

JESUIT MARTYRS AT THE GESÙ: THE 1622 CANONIZATION CEREMONIES

The only image of Jesuit martyrs known to have been on permanent display in the Gesù was the painting depicting the five martyrs from Salsette, India, by Giuseppe Cesari. It is possible, however, that ephemeral artworks representing images of New Spanish missionaries were part of the collective iconography of the Jesuit cult when the order's first saints were canonized in 1622.⁷⁵ When the festivals commenced in Rome in March of that year to celebrate the canonization of Saint Ignatius and San Francisco Xavier, descriptions reveal that the Gesù and Saint Peter's were filled with decorations and temporary works of art for the occasion. Within this setting, martyrdom played a role in communicating the importance of missionary work worldwide for Roman audiences. One description of the decorations created for the mass celebrating the canonization of Saint Ignatius, Saint Francis Xavier, and Saint Isidore the Farmer in Saint Peter's on March 12, 1622, describes the church adorned with a "theater" of ephemeral pedestals and pilasters lit by candles that sparkled on gold and silver holders placed throughout the church. The sides of each chapel along the nave were decorated with richly brocaded banners and paintings depicting the miracles of the Society's first two saints. For the festivals and masses performed to commemorate Ignatius and Francis Xavier's newly canonized status at the Gesù three days later, the order organized a more specific celebration within a Jesuit setting. Paintings of the "Martyrs of the Society" were hung alternating with images of Jesus in a frieze that ran above the edge of the main altar and below the cornice in the Gesù.⁷⁶ The Jesuits also displayed a sculpture of a Jesuit martyr from Japan in a niche on the facade of the Gesù next to sculptures of *Saint Ignatius Holding the Constitutions* and *Saint Francis Xavier in Ecstasy*. This sculpture of a Japanese martyr, who was probably Pablo Miki or

⁷⁴ ARSI, Mex. 2, f. 134; Gonzalo de Tapia's portrait is identified as "Gonzaluus de Papia" by Richeôme and is numbered 88 of 102 individual canvases depicting Jesuit martyrs worldwide. These paintings are organized chronologically by year of death.

⁷⁵ Textual descriptions in a 1638 inventory identify this painting of *The Five Martyrs from Salsette* inside the Gesù. See Pio Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma descritto ed illustrato* (Rome: Società grafica romana, 1952), 105.

⁷⁶ For a description of the church decorations for this mass, held March 15, 1622, see Real Accademia de la Historia (RAH), Madrid, Jesuitas 76, Signatura 9–3685/62, Ficha M2693, f. 2r.

little reference to the architecture of the Jesuit missions in the Tarahumara in present-day Chihuahua, it is clear that cultural accuracy was not the focus of these European artists.⁸¹ The concepts of the New World projected onto this landscape allowed Tanner and Kusell to transpose architectural forms from disparate geographical locations.⁸² With this view and other similar scenes, Tanner and Kusell pictured New Spain even farther away from Europe in their representation of this distant missionary frontier. Rather than capturing a glimpse of a Spanish colonial settlement, this European image functioned as an affirmation of the Jesuits' dedication to evangelization abroad with Father Beudin's martyrdom set within an imagined setting.

Just as audiences in Spanish America imagined holy cities such as Rome and transported these "sacred geographies" to their own locations across the Atlantic, so too did audiences in Europe participate in similar meditative reconstructions of sacred sites in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.⁸³ When viewing Mexican martyrdom portraits in Roman churches, audiences on the Italian Peninsula were encouraged to imagine the New World and to incorporate these "sacred geographies" into their own spiritual lives. Tanner's compendium and other treatises like it would have circulated to and from Rome, throughout Europe to other Jesuit residences and colleges, and abroad to foreign missions. In northeastern New Spain, for example, the Jesuits at Santa María de las Parras held copies of Roman martyrologies in their college library.⁸⁴ The transmission of New Spanish martyrdom portraits to Rome and the circulation of treatises venerating the Society's cult of martyrs highlight the bidirectional movement of artworks and texts between New Spain and Europe that functioned to inspire devotion within a localized context and solidify the formation of the Jesuits' missionary identity on a global scale.

The Jesuits' patronage of martyrdom images helped audiences in the New World and Europe contextualize the missionary frontier where the Jesuits actively sought to emulate the martyrs of the early Church. Yet while these portraits operated simultaneously in New Spain and Italy to help viewers

⁸¹ Tom Cummins, "The Indulgent Image: Prints in the New World," in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, ed. Ilona Katzew (Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2012), 214.

⁸² This European practice of conflating architectural forms and distorting topographies in Spanish American scenes and cityscapes was common in the seventeenth century. For example, Ramusio's 1556 engraving of Cuzco represented the city as an idealized, walled city thus depicting it as a "distant, exotic city suspended in time." See Richard Kagan and Fernando Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 70, 100.

⁸³ Carmen Fernández-Salvador uses this term in "Images and Memory: The Construction of Collective Identities in Seventeenth-Century Quito," PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005, 156. See also Walter Melion, *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print, 1550-1625* (Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2009), 122-5.

⁸⁴ A 1768 inventory of the Jesuit library at Parras identifies treatises including a "*Martirologio Romano*" in AGN, Temporalidades 64, f. 40v.

remember the sacrifices of these missionaries, the Jesuits presented these images to very different audiences. In colonial Mexico, these portraits functioned to promote Jesuit martyrs as spiritual exemplars whose deaths confirmed the importance of the Jesuit presence on the northern frontier. In Rome, these images helped the Society incorporate New Spain into the Jesuits' network of evangelization around the world. In this process, audiences in Rome could come to know these colonial Mexican frontiers they would likely never visit, and identify them as sacred sites in their increasingly global early modern religious culture. Religious centers in Italy depended on missionary images like these, as portraits of the martyrs that circulated between the Old World and the New boosted the spiritual life of the Jesuits and the universal Church worldwide.



5 Artist unknown, Father Bernardo de Cisneros and Father Diego de Orozco, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome, 1616-17. Photo by James McAllen, Jr. with permission from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome.



6 Artist unknown, Father Fernando de Santarén, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome, 1616-17. Photo by James McAllen, Jr. with permission from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome.



7 Artist unknown, Father Gerónimo de Moranta and Father Juan del Fonte, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome, 1616-17. Photo by James McAllen, Jr. with permission from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome.