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## **JESUIT ART IN THE MODERN PERIOD AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE FIRST GLOBALISATION. DISPERSAL OF ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIFS AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION**

**Abstract:** Most colonial religious paintings in the period from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century were inspired by prints imported from Europe; the Jesuit order, present on most continents, played an extremely important role in the dissemination of models, at least until the order was abolished in 1773. Jesuit collections gathered in libraries accompanying colleges were also important. Artists creating compositions in colonial areas used illustrated book publications, ephemeral prints and individual prints. For the purposes of the discussion presented here, two subjects have been selected. The first one is two representations from the allegorical cycle showing the fate of the human soul on the road to salvation, based on prints by Boetius Adams Bolswert (*Via vitae aeternae* Antoon Sucquet, Antwerp, 1620), found in the sacristy of the Pauline church on Jasna Góra and the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows in the Cathedral in Goa. The second subject is Jesuit themes inspired by the works of Peter Paul Rubens. We should also remember that the strategy of using paintings played a particularly significant role in the Jesuit evangelisation process.

**Keywords:** Jesuit art, engravings, religious iconography, evangelisation

The rule of the Jesuit order (i.e. the Society of Jesus) was approved on 27 September 1540, with the *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* bull promulgated by Pope Paul III, and the order was founded by Ignatius Loyola, who became the

first Superior General at the headquarters of the newly established institution.<sup>1</sup> Jesuits strongly emphasised obedience to the Pope and stressed his direct authority over the members of the order, as well as the missionary nature of the Society of Jesus. The Formula of the Order presumes the obligation to spread the Catholic faith throughout the world, if so directed by the Pope. Missions could be established anywhere in the world – among hostile Turks, in the lands of the newly-discovered Americas, among Lutherans “or any other infidels”.<sup>2</sup> The first important missionary to go to “exotic lands” was Francis Xavier. As early as 1540, he was sent to India, from where he sent letters describing the voyage, which electrified his confreres and everyone who read them.<sup>3</sup> Since then, Jesuit missions have developed on a large scale, in Europe, Asia, America and Africa.<sup>4</sup> Jesuit churches were built all over the world, requiring a suitable artistic setting. Jesuits also erected numerous colleges, or schools, which were targeted not only at members of the order, but also provided education to the local population. At the colleges, Jesuits founded libraries collecting European books and drawings.

### Jesuit libraries – popularisation of treatises and graphics

Along with the intensification of the order's missionary functions, Jesuit colleges diffused throughout the world. Each of these institutions had an appropriate library, the size of which depended on local needs. Some of them boasted an extraordinarily rich collection of books, while other ones possessed only a few hundred or even a few dozen volumes. Among the books, there were quite a few devoted to art and architecture. In this part of the analysis, we are going to refer to the collections of the libraries of the Viceroyalty of New Granada and the Viceroyalty of Peru.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John W. O'Malley, *Pierwsi jezuitci*, transl. Piotr Samek, Wojciech Buś, Karol Tomasz Giedrojć, Stanisław Obirek, Wyd. WAM, Kraków (1999[1993]), p. 23; Hermann Tüchle, Adrien Bouman Cornelius, *Historia Kościoła 1500-1715*, vol. 3, transl. Jerzy Piesiewicz, Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, Warszawa (1986 [1965]), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Formuła Instytutu Towarzystwa Jezusowego* in: Ignacy Loyola, *Pisma wybrane*, vol. 1, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 1968 [1539], pp. 454-455.

<sup>3</sup> J.W. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Many authors interpret the activity of the Jesuit Order in the context of the first modern globalisation. See: José Eduardo Franco, Carlos Fiolhais, *Jesuítas construtores da globalização*, Clube do Colecionador dos Correios, Lisboa 2016.

<sup>5</sup> For Jesuit libraries in South America, see also: Kubiak Ewa, *Literatura artística en las bibliotecas jesuítas de los virreinos del Perú y Nueva Granada*, in: Rafael López Guzmán, Yolanda Guasch Mari, Guadalupe Romero Sánchez (eds.), *América: cultura visual y relaciones artísticas*, Universidad de Granada, Granada, pp. 51-58; Eadem, *Reinterpretacje. Percepcja i recepcja dzieł architektury na przykładzie świątyń jezuickich Ameryki Południowej okresu kolonialnego*, Wydawnictwo UŁ, Łódź 2015, pp. 341-344.

The most interesting library in this respect was located in Bogota and we know it reasonably well, since an excellently compiled inventory has survived. The inventory was divided into fourteen thematic sections, the seventh one named *Mathematici*,<sup>6</sup> containing – in addition to mathematical, astronomical and geographical treatises, and studies on measurement of space, time and substance – a study on art and architecture. The inventory includes such famous works as treatises by Vitruvius, Sebastiano Serlio, Andrea Palladio, Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Vincenzo Scamozzi, Francisco Pacheco and Andrea Pozza, but also less well-known publications such as *De varia commensuracion para la escultura y arquitectura* by Juan Arfe y Villafaña (first edition in 1585), *Dell'arte militare libri cinque* by Girolamo Cataneo (first edition in 1584), *Delle fortificationi* by Galasso Alghisi (first edition in 1570), *Arte y uso de Arquitectura* by Fray Lorenzo de San Nicolás (first edition in 1639), *Istruzioni architetoniche pratiche* by Joseph Leoncini (first edition in 1679), *Della Architettura* by Giovanni Antonio Rusconi (first edition in 1590), or *Breue Tratado de Todo Genero de Bobedas, así regulares como yrregulares* by Juan de Torija (first edition in 1661).<sup>7</sup> The Bogotá library accompanied a huge college located first in the capital of the audiencia and, from 1737, in the capital of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, but some of the mentioned titles can also be found in smaller libraries. Examining the inventories of some of the libraries of the Jesuit missions in Paraguay, Gauvin Alexander Bailey also mentions that the inventories sometimes listed treatises by famous authors, such as *De architectura* by Leon Battista Alberti and a work by of Jan Vredeman de Vries in the reduction of Yapeyú, and the inventory of the mission in Apostoles recorded two editions of the third book of Sebastiano Serlio's treatise.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to architectural treatises, Jesuit libraries contained other illustrated publications that had extraordinarily strong influence on the development of the iconography of South American colonial painting. These were books of various kinds, such as lives of saints, aids to meditation or books of emblems, but also works on the mystery of the Eucharist, ecclesiastical

<sup>6</sup> José del Rey Fajardo, *La biblioteca colonial de la Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá*, Miguel Ángel García e hijo, S.R.L., Caracas 2001, pp. 368-382; BNC, 1766-1767, *Imbentario de la Biblioteca*, Sygn. Libros Raros y Curiosos, Mss. 399, f. 61 r.-64 v. For the characteristics of some rare books from the Jesuit collection, see also: Fabio Ramirez, Juan David Giraldo, *El libro de los libros*, vol. 1, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana Bogotá 2010.

<sup>7</sup> We should also pay attention to the document from Archivo Histórico Javieriano in Bogota – there is a copy of Raphael de Vega's letter to the Jesuit priest, Jaime de Torres, with information about the transport of ten volumes of books on civil architecture and graphics, AHJ, *Carta* (1767 julio 22), Sign. 1504.

<sup>8</sup> Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on Jesuit missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto-Buffalo-London 2001 [1999], pp. 233-265.

histories or mystical guides and moralistic manuals. The most popular ones were books of emblems and, among them, Andrea Alciati's treatise, various editions of which were found in the libraries of Arequipa or the Cercado College in Lima.<sup>9</sup> Other popular studies included the works: *Imago Primi Saeculi Societas Iesu a Provincia Flando-Belgica, eiusdem Societatis repaesentata ex officina Plantiniana by Balthasaris Moreti anno Societatis saeculari 1640*<sup>10</sup> or *Emblemas morales* by Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozca (first edition in 1610).<sup>11</sup> The books described here are not the only illustrated publications. The inventory of the Cercado (Lima) library mentions a copy of the famous *Scola Cordis un thomo*, whose graphics were one of the sources for the painting compositions.<sup>12</sup> The most popular illustrated book is a work including graphics by famous print-makers, including Hieronymus Wierix, i.e. Hieronymus Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imagines*. The volume, with 153 illustrations and appropriate commentaries, was used for individual reflection and meditation; the work was first published in 1595 in Antwerp and subsequently reprinted several times.<sup>13</sup> Copies of the *Evangelicae* could be found in almost all Jesuit libraries. They have been listed, among others, in the inventories of the libraries in Arequipa, La Paz or Cercado in Lima.<sup>14</sup> There are even Chinese editions with illustrations made according to local tradition.<sup>15</sup>

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- <sup>9</sup> Arequipa: AGNP, Fondo: Temp. Invent. Caja 1 Legajo 4, f. 59 r., *Emblemas de Alciato un en octabo*; Cercado: ANCh, Jesuitas 409, f. 68 r., *Emblemas de Alciato un tomo*. On the Spanish editions of Alciati and the influence of the work on art, see: Santiago Sebastián, *Alciato. Emblemas*, Akal, Madrid 1993, pp. 21-26.
- <sup>10</sup> Arequipa: AGNP, Fondo: Temp. Invent. Caja 1 Legajo 4, f. 42 v.; Cercado: ANCh, Jesuitas 409, f. 68 r., *Empresas morales un tomo*. The book was also kept in the library of the Jesuit College in Bogota.
- <sup>11</sup> Two volumes in the library of the Santiago de Cercado college: ANCh, Jesuitas 409, f. 59 v., *Emblemas de Covarrubias un tomo*, f. 131 v., *Emblemas de Covarrubias un tomo*. For more on emblems in Jesuit art, see: Peter M. Daly, G. Richard Dimler, *The Jesuit Emblem in the European Context*, Saint Joseph's University Press, Philadelphia 2016.
- <sup>12</sup> *Schola cordis siue aversi a deo cordis*, Antverpiae 1663, ANCh, Jesuitas 409, f. 76 r.
- <sup>13</sup> David Freedberg, *Potęga wizerunku. Studia z historii i teorii oddziaływania*, transl. Ewa Klekot, Wyd. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2005 [1989], p. 184; G.A. Bailey, op. cit., pp. 102-105. Kubiak Ewa, *Grabados de los hermanos Wierix y la pintura barroca en Perú y en Polonia*, "Quaderni di Thule", 2010, no. 8, pp. 263-271. The book of Hieronymus Nadal has become a model of an illustrated publication intended for individual meditation, Hilmar M. Pabel, *Interior Sight in Peter Canisius' Meditations on Advent*, [in:] Wietse de Boer, Karl A.E. Enenkel, Walter S. Melion (eds.), *Jesuit Image Theory*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2016, pp. 281-284.
- <sup>14</sup> Arequipa: AGNP, Fondo: Temp. Invent. Caja 1 Legajo 4, f. 15 v.; *Geronimo de Natalis Meditationes sobre los Evangelios un tomo en folio*, f. 40 v. *Natales in Evangelia uno en folio*, f. 53 v. *Natal adnotaciones in evangelio uno a folio*; La Paz: AGNP, Fondo: Temp. Inven. Caja 1 Legajo 16, f. 6 v., *Un Thomo Padre Jerónimo Nattaly sobre los Evangelios*, f. 52 r. *Geronimo Nattal Medittacyon un thomo de a folio en pasta*; Cercado: ANCh, Jesuitas 409, f. 98 r., *Imagines Historie Evangelii*, f. 113 v., *Natal in Evangelis dos tomos, Nathalis historia evangelica un thomo*.
- <sup>15</sup> D. Freedberg, op. cit., p.184; G.A. Bailey, op. cit., pp. 102-105.

An important section in Jesuit libraries was for books with map graphics. Among the most famous works, there was Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, first published in Antwerp in 1570. The Jesuit college in Arequipa had two copies of the book.<sup>16</sup> Ortelius's book is considered the first modern atlas of the world. The author repeatedly revised his work which, until his death in 1598, had over 30 editions. After his death, the atlas was published many more times and enriched with new maps, with forty-one editions published by 1612.<sup>17</sup>

The importance of Jesuit libraries is also confirmed by the fact that, in several cases, their collections became the basis of public royal libraries and later national libraries, as in Bogotá or Quito. Alexander von Humboldt, as an erudite and scholar travelling in South America, drew attention to the library collection in Quito.<sup>18</sup>

### **Modern graphics in the orbit of Jesuit art – an element of religious integration and diffusion of iconographic motifs**

With such mobility and “mundialisation” of cultural spaces, we cannot limit reflexion on Jesuit art only to exchanges between Europe and the Americas, but need to find contexts even further afield, more globally, worldwide. As Serge Gruzinski writes in one of his articles, “from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the Jesuits created a network of missions that stretched across four continents, thus taking part in the first worldwide globalisation.”<sup>19</sup>

The entire Christian world of the time attached importance to religious-political factors and the particular nature of the post-Tridentine era, when the Catholic Church unified its teachings, often using art as a tool to shape the face of Church institutions. Being small objects, drawings were the most “mobile”

<sup>16</sup> AGNP, Fondo: Temp. Invent. Caja 1 Legajo 4, f. 47 r. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum por orterio uno en folio*, f. 53 r. *Atlas nobis sive Theatrum Orbis Terrarumquatro en folio*.

<sup>17</sup> The atlas was published in various languages – we know the Latin, Dutch, German, French, Spanish, Italian and English editions; Gerald Roe Crone, *Historia de los mapas*, transl. Luis Alaminos, Jorge Hernández Campos, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México 1998 [1953], pp.165-166.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Reise auf dem Río Magdalena, durch die Anden und Mexico*, (ed.) M. Faak, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2003 [1801-1804], pp. 171-172.

<sup>19</sup> Serge Gruzinski (2009), *Babel en el siglo XVI. La mundialización y globalización de las lenguas*, [in:] Werner Thomas, Eddy Stols (eds.), *Un mundo sobre papel. Libros y grabados flamencos en el imperio hispanoportugués (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, Editorial Acco, Lovaina 2009, p. 33; “Desde mediados del siglo XVI los jesuitas crearon una red de misiones que se extendía por los cuatro continentes contribuyendo de esta manera a la primera globalización del mundo / From the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Jesuits created a network of missions that extended over the four continents, thus contributing to the first globalization of the world”.

and reached, unchanged, the remotest corners of the Christian world, becoming pictorial interpretations of the dogmas of faith. When analysing complex compositions with elaborate symbolism, surprising iconography or rich theological content created on the periphery of the Catholic world, we may usually expect such a work to have been composed on the basis of some foreign graphic or painting model.<sup>20</sup>

Both books with graphics and individual prints were important in the development of modern iconography in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Jesuits played an especially significant role in propagating new visual motifs. Firstly, the order, as it has been mentioned, was actively present in many corners of the world, and the priests themselves were often authors of widely read illustrated publications. An example is *Via vitae aeternae iconibus illustrata*, a book that served as an iconographic source in places as far away from each other as Częstochowa and Goa.

Door panels of the sacristy wardrobe of the Pauline Fathers' church at Jasna Góra in Częstochowa are decorated with allegorical paintings. These are two cycles differing in content and the method of execution. Owing to the signature ("Ch. F."), which has been preserved on nine representations, one of the cycles was attributed by Jan Golonka to the painter Krzysztof (*Christophorus*) Fokelski and this interpretation is obligatory in the literature.<sup>21</sup> As Krystyna Moisan-Jabłońska established, four of the mentioned paintings were based on prints by Boetius Adams Bolswert,<sup>22</sup> made for the book *Via vitae aeternae iconibus illustrata*, which was published in Antwerp in 1620. In the cathedral chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows<sup>23</sup> in Old Goa, the inner walls of the

<sup>20</sup> Krystyna Moisan-Jabłońska, *Obrazowanie walki dobra ze złem*, Universitas, Kraków 2002, p.16; the author writes about Poland, but the same phenomenon present in the shaping of modern iconography can be seen in all provincial areas of the Christian world.

<sup>21</sup> Jan Golonka, *Nieznane obrazy Krzysztofa Fokelskiego na Jasnej Górze*, "Tygodnik Powszechny", vol. 33, 1979, no. 12, p. 6; Krystyna Moisan-Jabłońska, *Graficzne pierwowzory czterech obrazów Krzysztofa Fokelskiego z zakrystii Jasnogórskiej*, "Studia Claromontana", 1995, no. 15 (1995), p. 417; Zofia Rozanow, Ewa Smulikowska, *Zabytki sztuki Jasnej Góry. Architektura. Rzeźba. Malarstwo*, Śląskie Centrum Dziedzictwa Kulturowego w Katowicach, Katowice 2009, pp. 58-59.

<sup>22</sup> Boetius Adams Bolswert was an outstanding engraver. He died in Antwerp in 1633. Before that, he worked in Amsterdam, Haarlem and Brussels in 1611-1617. Many of his prints were intended as book illustrations, Krzysztof Krużel, Jan Motyka, *Katalog rycin Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie. Szkoła niderlandzka XVI, XVII i XVIII w.*, part I: AB, Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka PAN w Krakowie, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, p. 82.

<sup>23</sup> The cathedral in Old Goa (Velha Goa) was consecrated in 1562, but the work on its furnishing and extension continued for many years. The chancel was not completed until 1625, while chapel decoration works lasted until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Pedro Dias, *De Goa a Pangim. Memórias tangíveis da Capital do Estado Português da Índia, Santander Totta, Gráfica de Coimbra*, Lisboa 2005, pp. 130-146.

arch and intrados were decorated with nine wooden panels with pictorial representations based on illustrations from the same book, which was determined through the knowledge of the Jasna Góra compositions.

The book *Via vitae aeternae iconibus illustrata* was written by the Dutch Jesuit Antoon Secquet.<sup>24</sup> As Omer Van de Vyer writes, “it is a true encyclopaedia of asceticism”.<sup>25</sup> Secquet leads the reader along a path of reflection on human destiny, showing life choices and their consequences. The book is designed to aid contemplative prayer and self-reflection, the text is generously illustrated and the illustrations themselves are accompanied by detailed descriptions.<sup>26</sup> The work was very popular with both lay clergy and religious circles. It has had many editions and has been translated into Dutch and other European languages.<sup>27</sup>

In both cycles, from Częstochowa and Goa, we find representations based on the same prints. Two of them will be presented in this text. The first composition shows a man facing death [Fig. 1 and 2]. An elderly man resting under a tree is looking up at an angel pointing to a clock striking the last hour. In the centre of the painting, the god of time, Kronos, is shown with a scythe (a symbol of death) and an hourglass (a symbol of transience). The Jasna Góra painting is composed horizontally, while the print and panel in Goa – vertically. While Death in the print and painting in Goa is at the feet of Kronos, it is placed by Fokelski on the right, at the edge of the composition.

The second representation shows two figures watching people suffering in Purgatory [Figs. 3 and 4]. A young man in the centre of the composition is running away in terror, but the man on the left is in the care of an angel and appears to be looking at the sufferers with calm and reflection. On the right, in the background, we can see a small central church with a mass being celebrated at the altar, and a walled cemetery next to it. The scenes and the other paintings in the series, both in Goa and at Jasna Góra, have a catechetical character. In Częstochowa, the paintings were intended for monks; the sacristy in which they were placed was not a public space, while the scenes in the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows at the transept of the cathedral in Goa had a wider impact range.

As I have already mentioned, the patterns of the Jasna Góra sacristy paintings were recognised by Krystyna Moisan-Jabłońska, while Jan Golonka

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<sup>24</sup> Antoine Sequest, *Via vitae aeternae iconibus illustrata per Boetium a Bolswert*, Antwerpiae 1620.

<sup>25</sup> Omer Van de Vyer, **Secquet Antoon** in: Charles E. O’Neill, Joaquin Maria Dominguez (eds.), *Diccionario Histórico de La Compañía de Jesús*, vol. IV. Institutum Historicum, Uni-versidad Pontificia Comillas, Roma-Madrid 2001, p. 3662.

<sup>26</sup> The work has 32 illustrations, K. Moisan-Jabłońska, *Graficzne op. cit.*, p. 430.

<sup>27</sup> Although Van de Vyer writes about „other European languages”, he only cites a Dutch edition of 1622 *Den wech des eeuwich levens*; O. Van de Vyer, *op. cit.*, p. 3662.



1. *The hour of death*; Boetius Adams Bolswert, graphics (1620), (phot. Ewa Kubiak)





2. *The hour of death*; the panel in the sacristy of the Pauline church at Jasna Góra, Poland (phot. Franciszek Oziębłowski) and the painting of the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows in the Cathedral in Goa (phot. Ewa Kubiak)

described the cycle as “*the eschatological dimension of human life with the prominence of the Guardian Angel role.*”<sup>28</sup> The painting series in Goa, on the other hand, was described by Pedro Dias as a cycle of scenes from the life of Tobias,<sup>29</sup> but Dalila Rodrigues called it an allegory of transience of earthly human life and the story of salvation of the soul,<sup>30</sup> and we can now point to Bolswert's prints as the prototypes of their composition.<sup>31</sup> It was only thanks to the presence of an illustrated book by a Jesuit that very similar compositions repeating the Dutch graphics were possible in two such distant places.

Moreover, import of pieces of art themselves was also extremely important – paintings and tapestries from northern Europe, but mostly graphics, were brought into the Viceroyalty of Peru and other colonial lands. Some of these works have survived to this day, while others are known only

<sup>28</sup> K. Moisan-Jabłońska, *Graficzne op. cit.*, p. 429.

<sup>29</sup> P. Dias, *op. cit.*, p. 156, Idem, *História da arte portuguesa no Mundo (1415-1822). O Espaço Índico*, Círculo de Leitores, Navarra 1998, p. 222.

<sup>30</sup> Dalila Rodrigues, *A pintura na antiga Índia portuguesa* in: *Vasco da Gama e a Índia, Conferência Internacional, Paris Maio 1998*, vol. 3, *História religiosa, cultural e artística*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa 1999, p. 381.

<sup>31</sup> For the first time, this dependence of Goan compositions on Bolswert's graphics was indicated in the text from 2015. Kubiak Ewa, *Polska pomiędzy Goa a Peru, czyli kilka uwag na temat wzorów graficznych w sztuce nowożytnej* [in:] Irena Rolska-Boruch (ed.), *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, vol. 12, *Dzieło sztuki w przestrzeni kulturowej*, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II, Lublin 2015, pp. 41-66. Currently, such information has also been published on the website of the PESCA project (<https://colonialart.org/>).



3. *Purgatory*, Boetius Adams Bolswert, engraving (1620), (phot. Ewa Kubiak)



4. *Purgatory*, the panel in the sacristy of the Pauline church at Jasna Góra, Poland (phot. Franciszek Oziębłowski) and the painting of the chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows in the Cathedral in Goa, India (phot. Ewa Kubiak)

from documents – wills, donation bequests or property inventories.<sup>32</sup> Constant import of paintings from Europe, which intensified from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, made it possible for colonies to become acquainted with works of art by Marteen de Vos, Peter Paul Rubens or Antoine Van Dyck.<sup>33</sup> The transport of prints, which spread throughout the world, remained the most important thing, however.

To conclude, I would like to mention works based on Rubens' compositions. They also appeared in the context of the functioning of the Jesuit order and art associated with the Society of Jesus, made thanks to the import of prints depicting the artist's compositions. We should remember that it was Rubens who created the painting decoration for the Jesuit church in Antwerp. The artist produced two huge canvases intended for the main altar, showing

<sup>32</sup> José de Mesa, Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña*, vol. 1-2, Fundación A.N. Wiese, Lima 1982, p. 99.

<sup>33</sup> Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, *La Pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato*, in: Luis Nieri Galiendo (ed.), *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima, p. 95; on the popularity of Rubens in Spain and America, see also: Francisco Stastny, *La presencia de Rubens en la pintura colonial*, "Revista Peruana de Cultura", 1965, no. 4, pp. 5-35; Javier Portús, *Fama y fortuna de Rubens en España* in: *La senda española de los artistas flamencos*, Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado, Madrid, pp. 307-334; and an article by Helga von Kügelgen, in which the author organizes the literature on the subject and describes it briefly: Helga von Kügelgen, *La pintura de los reinos y Rubens* in: Juana Gutiérrez Haces (ed.), *Pintura de los reinos. Identidades compartidas. Territorios del Mundo hispánico, siglos XVI-XVIII*, vol. III, Fomento Cultural Benamex, México, 2009, pp. 1008-1078. Recently, the following book has been published: Aaron Hyman, *Rubens in Repeat: The Logic of the Copy in Colonial Latin America*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2021.

*The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* and *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*. He completed them in 1617. For both compositions, Rubens made smaller sketches (*modello*).<sup>34</sup> They are currently in the Kunsthistorisches Museum located in Vienna. Both canvases were also drawn, which helped spread the compositions around the world. As Zbigniew Michalczyk writes:

“The drawings that were released into the world, repeating his [Rubens's] compositions, became the model for subsequent prints, and those prints became models for later ones. The first of these repetitions were created while the artist was still alive, such as the copies created in Paris by François Ragot, according to drawings by Pontius, Boëtius í Bolswert and Vorsterman (...). Over time, the repetitions, including high-class ones, such as those published by Gaspar Huberti (...), became adaptations that often underwent reductions, compilations, decompositions and especially deformations.”<sup>35</sup>

The Jesuit church in Cusco contains anonymous canvases whose compositions were inspired by Rubens's Antwerp paintings [Fig. 5]. Such inspirations reached the Andean region via drawings. However, the use of Rubens's compositions reproduced in prints was not always so obvious. I would like to conclude with two somewhat surprising examples. The first one also comes from Cusco. In the cloisters of the Mercedarian monastery, there is a cycle showing scenes from the life of the order founder, St. Peter Nolasco. Creating the compositions of the canvases, an anonymous artist used numerous prints, including one of the scenes from the life of St. Ignatius Loyola, which was included in an illustrated biography published on the occasion of the saint's beatification in 1609. The scene, engraved by Jean-Baptiste Barbé or Cornelis Galle I according to Rubens's composition, shows *Saint Ignatius Injured in Battle in Pamplona*.<sup>36</sup> It was repeated in a representation showing St. Pedro Nolasco opposing the Albigensian heresy<sup>37</sup> [Fig. 6]. The last example to which I would like to refer is

<sup>34</sup> John Rupert Martin, *The Ceiling Painting for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, Phaidon, London-New York, 1967, pp. 29-30. Rubens was also the author of painted ceiling decorations in the Jesuit church in Brussels, but they were destroyed in a fire in 1718. *Ibidem.*, p. 44.

<sup>35</sup> Zbigniew Michalczyk, *W lustrzanym odbiciu. Grafika europejska a malarstwo w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem późnego baroku*, Warszawa, Instytut Sztuki PAN 2016, p. 63.

<sup>36</sup> *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae Societatis Iesu fundatoris*, [publisher not identified] Romae 1609, the panel 2.

<sup>37</sup> Some researchers have tried to identify the author of the series from the Mercedarian cloister in Cusco. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt confirmed: “Marcos de Ribera (active: 1660-1704) painted the life of San Pedro Nolasco in the cloister La Merced”, Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *Painting in South America, Conquest to Independence: An Overview*, [in:] Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (ed.), *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels. South American Painting 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection*, Skira, Stanford 2006, p. 89. Although the researcher does not justify her opinion, it is possible. The artist's contract is known - he undertakes to paint the aforementioned scene from the life of St. Ignatius Loyola. This experience may have been instrumental in creating the composition for the Monastery of La Merced. J. de Mesa, T. Gisbert, op. cit., p. 128.



5. *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, Ignatius Cornelis Marinus engraving after Peter Paul Rubens; the canvas painting in the Jesuit Church in Cusco (Peru), anonymous, the second half of 17<sup>th</sup> century (phot. Ewa Kubiak)



*Militiam sequutus Ignatius, ictu muralis  
globi crure perforato a defensione arcis  
Pampelona semianimis excutitur ut seque-  
lari militia relicta, ad diuinam se transiret.*



6. *Saint Ignatius Injured in Battle in Pamplona*, Jean-Baptiste Barbé or Cornelis Galle I after Peter Paul Rubens, engraving 1609; *St Pedro Nolasco opposing the Albigensian heresy*, the cloister of La Merced in Cusco (Peru), anonymous, the last quarter of 17<sup>th</sup> century (phot. Ewa Kubiak)

even more surprising. A likeness of the founder of the order taken from a print by Boetius Adams Bolswert, based on the painting by Rubens, was used to decorate a tea set made of Chinese porcelain [Fig. 7]. Each of the five objects (a cup with saucer, a teapot for brewing tea and two plates) features a portrait of Ignatius Loyola in the colours of the print, i.e. *en grisaille*. The saint's physiognomy has been given slightly orientalising features and an inkwell has been placed next to an open book with the order's maxim "ad maiorem dei



7. *Saint Ignatius*, Boetius Adams Bolswert engraving after Peter Paul Rubens; The tea set made of Chinese porcelain, China, c. 1741, Museu São Roque, Lisboa.

gloriam”, which seems to emphasise the symbolic importance of calligraphy in Chinese culture.<sup>38</sup> According to David Howard and John Ayers, the set was made in 1741 to commemorate the foundation of the Jesuit order, and was intended for the French, Portuguese or Spanish market.<sup>39</sup>

### Conclusions

Most colonial religious paintings in the period from the late 16th century to the early 19th century were inspired by prints imported from Europe; the Jesuit order, present on most continents, played an extremely important role in the dissemination of patterns, at least until the order was abolished in 1773. In the evangelization process of the Jesuit Order, art and images played an especially important role.<sup>40</sup> Looking for iconographic patterns, artists used both illustrated book publications and particular prints. The most important source of inspiration was Dutch works,<sup>41</sup> but the influence of German, French

<sup>38</sup> Maria do Carmo Lino, *Serviço de chá com representação de Santo Inácio de Loiola* in: Maria Helena Oliveira, Teresa Freitas Morna (eds.) *Arte oriental nas Coleções do Museu de São Roque*, Museu São Roque, Lisboa, 2010, pp. 168-169.

<sup>39</sup> David Howard, John Ayers, *China for the West: Chinese Porcelain and Other Decorative Arts for Export Illustrated from the Mottahedeh Collection*, vol. 1, Southeby's Parke Bernet, London-New York, 1978, p. 252.

<sup>40</sup> On the strategy of using images in the religious policy, see: Jens Baumgarten, *Konfession, Bild und Macht. Visualisierung als katholisches Herrschafts- und Disziplinierungskonzept in Rom und im habsburgischen Schlesien (1560-1740)*, Döllingen und Galitz Verlag, Hamburg-München 2004.

<sup>41</sup> Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, *La Pintura en Lima durante el Virreinato*, [in:] Luis Nieri Galien-do (ed.), *Pintura en el Virreinato del Perú*, Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima, pp. 100-103.

and Italian prints cannot be overlooked, either. The fact that we encounter remarkably similar compositional solutions on different continents is not surprising, since we are analysing art serving the same Catholic religion which constituted the unifying element. In the case of art inspired by common graphic patterns, we find similar motifs and compositions scattered throughout the Catholic world in paintings and objects in Poland, Peru, Goa or China.

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## **SZTUKA JEZUITÓW W OKRESIE NOWOŻYTNYM JAKO WYRAZ PIERWSZEJ GLOBALIZACJI. ROZPROSZENIE MOTYWÓW IKONOGRAFICZNYCH I KONSOLIDACJA RELIGII KATOLICKIEJ (streszczenie)**

Ogromna większość dzieł malarstwa kolonialnego w okresie od końca wieku XVI do początków wieku XIX była inspirowana grafikami przywożonymi z Europy, w procesie rozpowszechniania wzorów niezwykle ważną rolę odgrywał obecny na większości kontynentów zakon jezuitów, przynajmniej do momentu kasaty zakonu w 1773 r. Istotne były także kolekcje jezuickie gromadzone w towarzyszących kolegiom bibliotekach. W pracach nad kompozycjami na obszarach kolonialnych wykorzystywano zarówno ilustrowane wydawnictwa książkowe, druki ulotne jak i pojedyncze grafiki. Na potrzeby przedstawianych tu rozważań wybrane zostały dwa tematy. Pierwszy z nich to dwa przedstawienia z cyklu alegorycznego ukazującego losy ludzkiej duszy w drodze do zbawienia, wykonane na podstawie grafik Boetiusa Adamsa Bolswerta (*Via vitae aeternae Antoon Sucquet*, Antwerpia 1620), znajdujące się w zakrystii kościoła paulinów na Jasnej Górze oraz kaplicy Matki Boskiej Bolesnej w katedrze w Goa. Drugim tematem jest obecność jezuickich tematów inspirowanych pracami Petera Paula Rubensa. Należy też pamiętać, że strategia użycia obrazów odgrywała bardzo ważną rolę w procesie ewangelizacyjnym jezuitów.

**Słowa kluczowe:** sztuka jezuitów, ryciny, ikonografia religijna, ewangelizacja

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