



**TRANSNATIONAL CIRCULATIONS OF DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS
THROUGH RELIGIOUS ORDERS: BETWEEN THE IBERIAN WORLD AND
ROME**

International Workshop

**Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max Planck Institute for Art History, Rome
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Program Dossier

TUESDAY, 2025, FEBRUARY 4

SESSION 1: MAKING ROME GLOBAL THROUGH OBJECTS, WORDS, AND TEXTS

CHAIR: Luisa Elena Alcalá, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

9:30 Carmen Fernández-Salvador, Universidad San Francisco de Quito

*CV: She is a professor of Art History at Universidad San Francisco de Quito, in Ecuador. She received her M.A. from Tulane University in 1998 and her PhD from the University of Chicago in 2005. Her research focuses on colonial Latin American art, Jesuit art and culture, and the historiography of art. She has published various studies on colonial and nineteenth-century art, among them *Encuentros y desencuentros con la frontera imperial: la iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús de Quito y la misión en el Amazonas (siglo XVIII)* (Madrid and Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2018). She has conducted various research project funded by Ecuadorian agencies, such as Fondo de Salvamento del Municipio Metropolitano de Quito. She has also participated in Spanish-funded I+D+i projects, and in various other projects sponsored by international agencies, among them Getty Foundation. Currently, she also collaborates in the project *Projesart* and in *Coadjutores: artistas e ideas migrantes en la globalización ibérica*.

Abstract: *Traveling Objects and Portable Geographies: Transferring the Aura of Sacred Places (17th Century)*

The crosses, rosaries, medals and other devotional objects that Jesuit procurators transported from Rome to the different provinces have remained on the margins of art history. In part, this is because their artistic value has not been recognized by traditional historiography but also because many of them, being in private contexts, have not survived the passage of time. Nevertheless, evidence of their use and circulation is found in the documents issued in Rome, which certified its authenticity and guaranteed their benefits. These explained in detail the use of the objects in exchange for indulgences, thus highlighting their spiritual salvific value.

The circulation of these objects could serve to promote the devotion of new saints, such as St. Ignatius of Loyola devotion to new saints, such as St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Francis Xavier and St. Teresa of Avila. Like the Agnus Dei, the crosses, medals and rosaries also preserved and ensured the transfer of a sacred gesture, such as the papal blessing, and therefore possessed an indexical value that transcended their material cost. Some of them had an additional capacity, in the sense that they also carried the prerogatives associated with sacred places in Christian geography, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem or the pilgrimage basilicas in Rome. Unlike other papal indulgences, which were granted to designated altars within a church, these were received by the bearers of the blessed objects, who had the agency of temporarily elevating churches or altars they visited.

Based on a reading of certificates of indulgences granted to Jesuit procurators in the first half of the seventeenth century, as well as related documents such as the testimonies and licenses that accompanied the delivery of relics, this paper reflects on the possibility of transporting to

the Jesuit provinces the sacred aura of distant geographies through traveling and portable objects.

10:10 Anne Lepoittevin, Sorbonne University

CV: A former student at the École Normale Supérieure (2002), agrégée in history (2004), PhD in art history and former resident researcher at the École Française de Rome, Anne Lepoittevin is an associate professor in the history of modern art at Sorbonne University, where she teaches Italian art of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. Following a PhD on the statuary of Italy's Sacri Monti discussed in 2013, she is still focusing on religious Italian Art (miraculous images, votive art, post-tridentine religious cycles). Among others, she has directed the following publications: *Michel-Ange*, Paris, 2012; *Florence, ville d'art et les Français. La création d'un mythe*, Rome, 2022 and *Les inscriptions dans les décors post-tridentins d'Italie*, Brussels, 2022. Her recent research interests include roman post-tridentine art and especially the Roman catholic object, mostly the Agnus Dei, to which she has devoted numerous articles in different publications such as *les Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*, *Arte Cristiana*, *Histoire de l'Art*, *MEFRIM*) and collective books on the objects of devotion (*Matière à discorde. Les objets chrétiens dans les conflits modernes*, Rennes, PUR, 2021 and *Ornamenta Sacra. Late medieval and early modern liturgical objects in a European context*, Louvain 2022), the catalogue of Agnus Dei moulds in the Musei Vaticani (pending publication at the Edizioni dei Musei Vaticani) and her habilitation to direct PhD research: *Italian religious art before and after the Council of Trent: New approaches* with an unpublished work on the Agnus Dei: *Reliefs multiples. The Roman Agnus Dei and the first globalization of religious art in the modern era*.

Abstract: *Rome and the Market for Portable Works of Canonization (XVII-XVIII)*

Boosted by the reorganization of its production after Trent and by the organization of the missions, the Roman market for portable Christianity promised to globalization grew exponentially at the beginning of the XVII th century. My research about the production of Agnus Dei gives an idea of what exponential means: hundreds of thousands of waxes were produced for each blessing at those times. In cases such as relics and sacramentals, this prohibited "market" was regulated by the edicts of the cardinal vicar and partially organized, controlled and/or tolerated by the papal administration. This applies in particular to the market in small, three-dimensional canonization images, largely produced in Rome and crucial to the spread of the cult of the new saints. Studies on beatification and canonisation images, initiated by Vittorio Casale (*L'arte per le canonizzazioni. L'attività artistica intorno alle canonizzazioni e alle beatificazioni del Seicento*, Torino, Allemandi, 2011) have not yet considered the small-scale canonization images intended for export. Roman Agnus Dei and devotional medals play a key role in this respect.

Based on the fieldwork carried out on the Agnus Dei, my paper will look at the production of small three-dimensional canonization objects in Rome and, from Rome, to Catholics throughout the Ecumene, from the end of the sixteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century. Unlike devotional engravings, whose production was polycentric (Antwerp, Lyon, Venice etc.),

mass-produced religious imagery linked to small objects was exclusively or almost exclusively Roman and produced in or near the apostolic palace. The matrices for the Agnus Dei are themselves almost systematically based on previous two-dimensional and sometimes three-dimensional models approved by the Apostolic Chamber, whether they be works of canonization (including papal medals) or engravings published in official hagiographies approved by the Apostolic Chamber. I'd like to open the discussion to a new category of multiple works: devotional medals, which were also produced in Rome in thousands of copies. From the beginning of the 17th century, the Agnus models were transposed into devotional medals by papal goldsmiths as part of their work at the mint, and offered for sale in a wide range of sizes, formats and materials. Unlike relics and Agnus Dei, these medals were sold in the City in *botteghe*, the geography, number and activity of which remain to be determined. Already observable under Pius V, this phenomenon, tolerated and undoubtedly encouraged by the Apostolic Chamber, grew stronger under Paul V and Urban VIII and seems to have become systematic during the second half of the 17th century. It was facilitated by the organization of the market and the fact that the papal goldsmiths also had workshops "in town" (located in Via dei Pellegrini and Via dei Coronari, on the main pilgrim routes to Saint Peter's). One dynasty of silversmiths in particular, the Hamerani, established a virtual monopoly on the production of medals and Agnus Dei at the Mint from the 1670s onwards, recovering some of the models of Agnus Dei moulds (and also papal medals) made by their predecessors. At the same time, the Hamerani also established a virtual monopoly on devotional medals in the city from their workshop-boutique in via dei Coronari. It is possible to document this phenomenon from the rich and recently publicated Hamerani display of devotional medals (Museo Francese in Rome): 634 fronts and backs of devotional medals, classified by size and subject, displayed for customers to choose from. All of them could be melted down into different metals and combined in pairs (one right and one reverse) to create personalized iconographic combinations. Given the subject of the panel, we will give priority to examples likely to be of interest to the relationship between Rome and the Iberian world.

SESSION 2: DOCUMENTING JOURNEYS AND TRANSNATIONAL CIRCULATIONS OF DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS

CHAIR: Carmen Fernández-Salvador, Universidad San Francisco de Quito

11:15 Elisa Frei, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

CV: Elisa Frei is an Assistant Professor in Church History at the Goethe-Universität Frankfurt. She also works as a project assistant for the *Digital Indipetae Database*, hosted by the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies at Boston College, and as an assistant editor for the journal *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*. She is a research associate at the University of York, where she spent part of her PhD in History, after the BA in Archival Studies and Librarianship, the state diploma in Archival Studies, and the MA in Philology and Literary Hermeneutic. She

studies the Society of Jesus during the early modern period, its missions in East Asia, and the formal path to reach them – through the so-called *Litterae Indipetae*, source material on which she has extensively written. In 2023 she published her first monographs: *Early Modern Litterae Indipetae for the East Indies* (Brill) and *'Bussar ben forte per aprirsi la porta nell'Indie'. Negoziare la missione nella Compagnia di Gesù (XVII-XVIII sec.)* (Edizioni dell'Orso). She also co-edited *Profiling Saints. Images of Modern Sanctity in a Global World* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2023) and *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù. L'Asia* by Daniello Bartoli (Einaudi, 2019).

Abstract: *Transoceanic Odyssey: The Journey of an Italian Abbot and his Luggage from Rome to China via Brazil (circa 1700)*

This paper presents a captivating exploration into the unpublished diary of the Italian Abbot Ilarione Bonaventura Sala (ca. 1700). Embarking on a momentous journey from Italy to the distant shores of the Chinese empire, Abbot Ilarione meticulously chronicled his interactions with fellow religious companions, the diverse crew of the ship, and the kaleidoscope of intercultural experiences that unfolded far from his familiar surroundings.

Within the many pages of his diary, Abbot Ilarione vividly captures not only the spiritual significance of his mission but also the tangible materiality of his travels. From the meticulous documentation of food provisions to the scientific scrutiny of navigational routes, his account offers a unique lens through which to examine the circulation of objects – among them, religious and devotional artifacts – across vast distances.

Travel diaries such as Abbot Ilarione's serve as invaluable windows into the historiography of traveling objects and religious material culture during the Early Modern period. With the Eternal City as a focal point of many such journeys, Abbot Ilarione's Italian roots and prior residence in Rome provide a constant frame of reference against which he contrasts the new landscapes, peoples, and artifacts encountered on his voyage.

Before departing from Cadiz, Abbot Ilarione meticulously sought out objects he deemed valuable as gifts for the people he planned to visit. However, the unpredictable nature of the voyage and its duration necessitated the relinquishing of some artifacts along the way, even as he endeavored to acquire new ones for future interactions.

As observers of the world from a unique vantage point, religious figures like Abbot Ilarione offer insights into the complexities of cross-cultural encounters. While traveling alongside agents of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires, their allegiance to the Roman Church often afforded them a degree of autonomy from secular powers. Their literary acumen, cultivated through years of study and engagement with diverse cultures, renders their accounts invaluable resources for today's historians.

11:55 Steven Hackel, University of California, Riverside

CV: He has been Professor of History in the Department of History, UC Riverside since 2013. He holds a Ph.D. in History from Cornell University, 1994; M.A., History, Cornell University,

1990; B.A. with Distinction, Stanford University, 1984. He is the author of *Father Junípero Serra: California 's Founding Father*. (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2013) published in translation as *Junípero Serra: Padre fundador de California* (Madrid, 2023) that was awarded by Norman Neuerburg Award for the best book on California before the Gold Rush, Historical Society of Southern California. *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (The Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of North Carolina Press, 2005.) He has also edited the volume of essays: *Junípero Serra: Context and Representation, 1713 to 2015* (UC Press, 2018) and *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation*. (UC Press, 2010).

Abstract: *Franciscan and Jesuit Procurators and the Circulation of Sacred Catholic Art on the Northern Fringe of Viceregal New Spain*

In support of the conference's objective to go beyond the classical construction of nationalistic Jesuit historiographies, this paper will focus on Franciscan procurators and their role in contributing to the circulation of a rich and varied visual and material culture in Alta California, the northernmost colony of viceregal New Spain in the 18th century. The missions of Spanish California were created from the ground up between 1769 and the early 1820s. The initial furnishing of the missions with paintings, statues, altarpieces, textiles and all of the items necessary to support religious observance in California was only possible because of the closure of the Jesuit missions in Baja California in 1767. When the Franciscans moved into California, they took from the Baja California missions scores of items that were brought to Baja California through the hard work of generations of Jesuit procurators. Then in Alta California missionaries from the College of San Francisco worked with their procurators in Mexico City to amass additional sacred paraphernalia necessary for new evangelical missions in the far North.

Extraordinarily, inventories exist from the Baja California missions that detail the items that were purchased through the work of Jesuit procurators and then transferred to Alta California, and account books survive that detail how each and every year starting in 1769 Franciscan procurators sent items to Spanish California. While scholars have documented the imported religious and visual culture for individual missions in Baja California and Alta California, this paper for the first time will provide a comprehensive accounting of the statues, paintings, altarpieces, and textiles and other items purchased by procurators in Mexico City and the Philippines in the 18th century and sent North as Saint Junípero Serra built an extensive chain of missions from San Diego to San Francisco. For example, nearly all of the California missions have textiles that were purchased or commissioned in the Philippines or other parts of Asia by Franciscan procurators and then sent to Mexico City for completion and then shipped north to Alta California. Similarly, many of the finest painters and artistic workshops in Mexico City were frequented by Franciscan procurators who requested every year paintings by such famous artists as Jose de Paéz and others. Much of this cultural patrimony still survives in the California missions but the study of these items and the international relationships and networks that brought them to California remain an untold story. In sum, this paper will help scholars not only understand the flows of art to California but the vast connections created by procurators outside of the colony in such places as Mexico City, Guadalajara, and the Philippines.

12:35 Vanina Scocchera, CONICET – Centro Materia, UNTREF

*CV: She is Assistant Researcher at the National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET) based at the Centro de investigación en Arte, Materia y Cultura of the Universidad Nacional Tres de Febrero (UNTREF) in Buenos Aires. She holds a Bachelor and professor of Arts (2013) degree. and a PhD in History and Theory of the Arts (2019) from the Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA), where she defended a thesis on the social practices of exchange of religious images and objects in the Río de la Plata region. She is also Assistant Professor Doctor in the Chair of Visual Art History on America 16th- 18th centuries, and in the Master's Program of Artistic and Cultural Patrimony in Colonial South America at the Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA) and in the Doctorate program on History of Art and Comparative Theory at the Universidad Nacional Tres de Febrero (UNTREF). She has published book chapters and articles in academic journals, coordinated dossiers and organized scientific meetings as well as integrated and directed research projects sponsored by the Fund for Scientific and Technological Research (FONCYT) and the Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero (UNTREF) in Argentina and abroad. In 2021 she was awarded the Thoma Foundation Research and Travel Grant.

Her research focuses on the exchange and circulation of religious images and objects between Europe and the territory of the River Plate with an approach centered on material culture, the Society of Jesus, and the networks that favored its effectiveness.

Abstract: *Surviving Images: Biographical Accounts, Interoceanic Journeys and Local Trajectories of Ignatian Images and Objects of Worship (18th-19th Centuries).*

An ostentatious ewer of colored marble is topped with a triumphant sculpture of St. Francis Xavier; two rich polychrome bronze crosses are adorned with striking enamels and Roman relics, including the signature of St. Ignatius of Loyola; a real image of the Virgin of Loreto is painted on rich silk and a small alabaster sculpture shows an Immaculate Conqueror over a demon. All these images, of clear European origin and Ignatian filiation, share a biographical path from which they were incorporated to the cathedral patrimony of the cities of Cordoba and Buenos Aires since the end of the 18th century.

Based on the identification of pieces of clear European origin and Ignatian affiliation, possibly incorporated into the territory of the River Plate in the framework of the return trips from Rome of the provincial procurators of Paraguay between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this paper aims to reconstruct their trajectories through the crossing with documentary sources that testify to their biographical stages. Recent research has shown how, on their return trips from Rome, the provincial procurators brought to the American provinces all those tools, implements and devotional things necessary for the sustenance of the order. Likewise, although to a lesser extent, these Jesuits managed to acquire, on certain occasions, sumptuary objects of special value to endow their churches with the necessary baroque pomp, as well as to ingratiate themselves with their local relatives with small devotional gifts.

Once the order was expelled from the Spanish-American domains, those images and objects of worship from their churches -which had formed a rich Ignatian patrimony- were incorporated into the administration of temporalities. The boards organized in the cities of the viceroyalties

were responsible for the proper administration of this heterogeneous universe of goods. With regard to the Río de la Plata, this implied the beginning of a long process of patrimonial dispersion of those images and objects of worship that, some time ago, had adorned their temples.

The dynamics were diverse, but we could simplify them into two aspects: their alienation, i.e., their sale at auction or public auction or their melting into metal; or their application, i.e., the redistribution of the most sacred and especially valued objects to other places of worship in order to preserve some of their uses and meanings. According to successive Royal Decrees, the first group was especially comprised of fabrics, hangings, objects, liturgical vestments and silverware that were not closely related to the sacred and which could be quickly disposed of. The second group should have been especially protected and preserved according to their closeness to the sacred -as was the case, for example, with liturgical silverware- or the symbolic and material values recognized by bishops, religious of other orders and pro Jesuits. All these objects make up the group of pieces that I have identified as "survivors" insofar as, thanks to their application, they entered an orbit that allowed them to maintain some of their former uses and functions and preserved them from loss and destruction.

However, within this universe of objects seized after 1767 -as we pointed out above- there was an innumerable amount of goods brought by the provincial procurators from different European cities. Of these, only a few have come down to us and their affiliation can be identified from indications such as their dating, their materiality, their iconography associated with the order or their artistic techniques. Therefore, our proposal consists of reconstructing the biographical histories of these objects based on two trajectories that determined their destiny: their arrival in American lands at the hands of provincial procurators and the paths once the order was expelled, when these goods were incorporated into the patrimony of the secular and regular clergy. It will be then, from the crossing between the indications of this materiality and diverse documentary sources, that we propose to reconstruct the route of a reduced number of objects that, thanks to their special symbolic valuation, survived the onslaught of the Junta de Temporalidades and that today integrate the Argentine national artistic patrimony.

SESSION 3: TRANSCULTURAL EXCHANGE FROM THE NEW WORLD TO EUROPE

CHAIR: Peter Mason, Independent Scholar

14:30 Guillermo Alfonso de la Torre y Lucquin, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

CV: He is concluding his master's degree in Art History at the Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. Under the supervision of Michel Weemans and Pablo Francisco Amador (UNAM), he studied a corpus of devotional jewelry created in New Spain, mainly during the

second half of the 16th century. This project benefits from a two-year scholarship granted by the School of Jewelry Arts in Paris. He is also carrying out an internship in the department of art objects at the Louvre Museum, where he studies the jewels of the collection. His main mission is the analysis of the casts from the workshop of the goldsmith, restorer and counterfeiter Alfred André. The results of this work will give rise to an article that will be published in the middle of the year. This will be his first published paper. Throughout his short career, he has endeavored to build bridges between research at the university and within museum institutions, thus allowing me to appropriate the working methods of scholars and curators. In addition to the Louvre, He also has been an intern at the Fine Arts Museum of Orléans and the Soumaya Museum. He is currently piloting a project with the Hispanic Society and the Met to study the materiality of the New Spain jewelry they hold. This will add information to that already collected at the Louvre and the Museum Schnütgen, which also hold pieces from the corpus. Finally, he is preparing to start his PhD in October, still in Paris but in co-supervision with an institution in Mexico or Spain. This project will focus on the study of jewelry and other devotional objects produced in the different Hispanic territories from 1550 to 1650.

Abstract: Devotional and Travelling Jewellery from New Spain. The Franciscan agency through a tiny, precious, and desirable object at the Early modern period

By the second half of the 16th century, Franciscans established in New Spain were surprisingly coordinating the creation of jewellery. These were orphevered objects, spangled with enamels, garnished with pearls, sometimes decorated with iridescent feathers, which served as a setting for tiny wooden reliefs. Made by the indigenous populations, these sculptures depict religious scenes and were initially intended as a support for their evangelization campaign.

The possibility of marketing and exporting these works of art is most likely the reason why they were made. Offered as ex-votos, they appeared very early on in the treasures of cathedrals, both in South America and in Africa. However, their materiality and technology made them ideal objects for exchange, particularly in diplomatic contexts. Through the Spanish court, these precious, rare, and desirable jewelleries found their way to other princely courts throughout Europe. This custom explains why most of these pieces are now preserved in the Old World.

The corpus of unpublished objects we have assembled during our research now includes 90 items. For the first time, it provides an overall view of the typology of the works, their settings and decoration, as well as the iconography represented in the reliefs. While the emphasis is on the Passion of Christ, images of the Virgin Mary are also very prominent, particularly those relating to the Immaculate Conception. In a Europe that was torn apart over this topic, the jewellery that the Franciscans had made for the Indians, and then exported, took on a political role. They were not only precious and desirable, but also militant. Indeed, the Franciscans fervently defended the theory of Mary's spotless conception. The jewellery allowed them to spread their ideas, and, at the same time, to show the whole of Europe that they could transmit them to the Indians. They are a total object of communication and exaltation.

Moreover, the study of the materiality of the works is central to our reflections. With the help of various scientists, we have been able to identify the species of birds used to make the micro-mosaics in two pieces. This new data sheds light on the commercial networks that existed during the colonial era. It also tells us about the visual effects that were sought. The iridescent quality of the hummingbird feathers, their shimmering colours activated by

movement, not only have an obvious aesthetic purpose, but are also intended to accentuate the divinity of the scenes depicted. Lastly, the identification of bird species allows us a comparison with contemporary written sources, in particular those emanating from the friars themselves, with a view to gaining a better understanding of indigenous culture.

The identification of the owners of certain jewelleries in the 16th century makes it possible to trace their itinerary, along the way of which, these precious objects very often underwent alterations. Altering goldsmith's pieces was a common practice in early modern societies. It responded to economic imperatives or to variations in fashion. We would like to question the status and origin of these modified pieces in an uninhibited way, in order to put forward new proposals in response to existing studies that describe them sometimes made exclusively by Indians, sometimes made exclusively by Spaniards. In fact, their history is more complex, richer, and fascinating. It deserves a new approach, enriched by an in-depth study of the social history of New Spain and European material culture.

Sent by the Spanish crown to Asia, the Franciscans also supervised the production of jewellery and other devotional objects by indigenous populations in the East. While we are primarily interested in the objects made in New Spain, the ivory pieces made in the Philippines and Ceylon offer astonishing comparisons. The scenes depicted in objects made at both ends of the world share common models and are typologically similar. This is a global practice whose common thread is a small and precious devotional work of art.

15:10 Raphaële Preisinger, University of Zurich

CV: Raphaële Preisinger received her Ph.D. degree in Art History and Media Theory from the Karlsruhe University of Arts and Design in 2012 (supervisors: Hans Belting and Gerhard Wolf). She is currently Assistant Professor (UZH-Förderungsprofessur) and Principal Investigator of the research project "Global Economies of Salvation: Art and the Negotiation of Sanctity in the Early Modern Period", funded by the European Research Council (ERC) and the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), at the University of Zurich. Within this larger project, her subproject is titled "The Global Itineraries of the Martyrs of Japan: Early Modern Religious Networks and the Circulation of Images across Asia, Europe, and the Americas". While her current research centers on the global circulation of images and objects in the early modern period, she maintains a focus on image and piety in the Middle Ages. Her first book is titled "Lignum vitae: Zum Verhältnis materieller Bilder und mentaler Bildpraxis im Mittelalter" (Wilhelm Fink: 2014). She is the editor of the volume "Medieval Art at the Intersection of Visuality and Material Culture. Studies in the 'Semantics of Vision'" (Brepols: 2021) and is presently preparing a second book provisionally titled "The Destruction of the Idols and the Emergence of the Christian Cult Image in New Spain: (Re)Framing Sacred Objects in the Age of Early European Expansion".

Abstract: *The Global Circulation of the Martyrs of Japan. Disseminating the News of the 1597 Crucifixion in Nagasaki Through Religious Networks*

The first great martyrdom of Christians in Japan—the crucifixion of six Franciscan missionaries, seventeen of their Japanese acolytes, and three Japanese Jesuit lay brothers in Nagasaki in

1597—was described by European eyewitnesses immediately after the event, mostly by Franciscan missionaries and members of the Society of Jesus. While the dissemination of information on this event via written sources is well-studied, the early circulation of images attesting to it has been largely overlooked. This is all the more surprising as newly discovered written sources confirm the utmost importance of these visual testimonials that belonged to a pictorial genre considered to provide ‘truthful’ visual records of important events. These sources reveal that such images could even serve as the basis for textual reports on the missionary outposts compiled for the Curia in Rome.

In the proposed paper, I aim to reconstruct the development and global circulation of the earliest iconographical type narrating the first great martyrdom of Christians in Japan, i.e. the inter- and transcontinental dissemination of a specifically Franciscan visual scheme referring to this event.

Records from the Mexican Inquisition attest to its spread to New Spain within a year of the Nagasaki martyrdom. Paintings created in Macau are reported to have been carried by the Franciscan procurator Marcelo de Ribadeneira to Rome in 1600, where he had prints made from them. Among many other tendentious elements, the pictorial formula under examination omitted to show the three Jesuit victims among the martyrs. The truth claims inherent to this particular pictorial scheme that developed in Asia led to its continuous replication over the next centuries. Reproducing this iconography or inserting some of its elements into visual representations guaranteed ‘authenticity’ by imbuing an image with the aura of truthfulness of an original record of the events. Nonetheless, nuances were introduced as early as the process of ‘copying’ this pictorial formula began, which occurred almost coevally in engravings, paintings, and even frescoes in places as remote as Tlaxcala in Mexico, Sant’ Antonio in Rivello in Italy, Sucre in Bolivia, and Rome. In some cases, particular elements of the pictorial formula forged by the Franciscans to express documentary verisimilitude were omitted, or interpreted in completely new terms, while in other cases, some of the protagonists involved in the events underwent processes of visual appropriation.

The juxtaposition of images conforming to this particular Franciscan strand of martyrdom iconography with other visual representations of the same event unsheathes the range of interpretative options. Within a few years of the martyrdom, a specifically Jesuit interpretation of the 1597 crucifixion emerged in Europe, which omitted to show the Franciscans among the victims and spotlighted the three martyrs from the Society of Jesus in specifically ‘Jesuit’ terms.

15:50 Antonio De Caro, University of Zurich- Project GLOBECOSAL

CV: Antonio De Caro (PhD, Hong Kong Baptist University) is Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the Department of Art History, University of Zürich, where he is pursuing research on the representations of St. Francis Xavier in Asia, especially iconographies of his death on the island of Shangchuan, for the *Global Economies of Salvation. Art and the Negotiation of Sanctity in the Early Modern Period* (GLOBECOSAL) project. After pursuing his doctoral studies in Hong Kong, Dr. De Caro has been a postdoctoral fellow and then Assistant Professor at Masaryk University, in Brno, Czech Republic. Subsequently, he has been a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Turin, in Italy, and a visiting fellow at the University of Edinburgh, in Scotland, U.K., and the University of Hong Kong. His monograph, *Angelo Zottoli. A Jesuit missionary in China*

(1848–1902), appeared in 2022. He recently authored several articles including: “(Re-) producing Conversion from Rome to Beijing. Stories Related to Replicas of the Salus Populi Romani in the Late-sixteenth Century” (*Convivium* 2021), “From the Altar to the Household. The Challenging Popularization of Christian Devotional Images, Objects, and Symbols in 16th and 17th Century China” (*Eikon Imago* 2022) and “The ‘Venetian’ Silver Chalice of Feng Chao 馮朝: Inventing Chinese Medieval Christianity in Fascist Italy” in *Major Archaeological Discoveries Along the Chinese Silk Road*, edited by Xiao Li, 丝绸之路研究 / *Silk Road Research* series, (Beijing/Singapore: Springer-Renmin University Press, 2023); “Teaching Jesuit Spirituality in 19th Century Zi-ka-wei: The *Dissertationes Theologicae* (1849– 1856) and the *Ascetica Nomenclatio* (1877) by Fr. Angelo A. Zottoli S.J.”, in *Languages of Science between Western and Eastern Civilizations*, edited by Carlo Ferrari and Fabio Guidetti, *Roma Sinica* series, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024), 161–187. His interests lie in the history of Christianity in China, including cross-cultural Sino-European exchanges and the popularisation, diffusion, and reception of Catholic art during the early modern and modern period.

Abstract: *The Global Navigations of the Holy Mother. Early Modern Global Marian Devotional Images from Rome and the Iberian World to China*

When Catholic missionaries reached China in the 16th century, they were fascinated by stories of the veneration of female ‘holy figures’ which they sometimes associated with their ideas of sainthood and Catholic worship.

In 1575, Miguel de Lurca, mentioning the journey of the Spanish Augustinian friar Martin de Rada (1533–1578), narrated the story of a local ‘holy female figure’, a gran sancta, who performed miracles and was celebrated by the local population in Fujian province. Despite sensing that this was a non-Christian tradition, de Rada was stupefied by the local devotion towards this ‘holy figure’. She was the Bodhisattva Guanyin 觀音 in the form of the princess Miao Shan 妙善, a Buddhist Bodhisattva widely venerated in the region.

When European Jesuit missionaries reached the Chinese empire at the end of the 16th century, they sought to promote the cult of Marian devotional images from Rome, especially the Salus Populi Romani Madonna. Replicas of the Salus were sent to Macau, and then transported by Jesuit missionaries, including Fr. Matteo Ricci S.J. (Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552–1610) who displayed it in the Jesuit residence in the village of Zhaoqing, in present-day Guangdong province. From that moment—and much so with the arrival of other religious orders later on—Marian devotional images coming from Italy and the Iberian world became a crucial vector for the evangelization of the local population. Those images’ power became an ever-present element in the tales of European Catholic missionaries from China and Chinese Catholic converts. Furthermore, they started to have a life of their own among local Chinese communities, circulating widely, especially among literati, as decorative or ‘unusual’ images.

The relevance of those images, and their global journey, is present in an anonymous account written at the end of the 17th century entitled ‘*Mirabil caso successo nelle Indie Orientali*’. Therein, it is narrated the story of a group of travelers from different countries who were stranded on a remote island during their journey from Manila to present-day Thailand. They survived there for almost eight years, from 1682 to 1689, and then miraculously returned safely home. During one of their numerous attempts to seek food and shelter, the travelers found “an ivory image of the Most Holy Virgin of Conception” (*un’Imagine d’avorio della Santissima*

Vergine della Concettione) and later on “other of Her devotional Images of the Rosary” (*un'altra sua divota Imagine del Rosario*). Travelers, both Catholic and non-Catholic, felt then more hopeful for their safe return home after viewing these two images, according to the anonymous writer.

This paper examines the presence of Marian devotional images from Europe in the Chinese empire between the 16th and 18th centuries, and its relationship with Rome and the Iberian world.

16:40 Renata Maria de Almeida Martins, Universidade São Paulo

CV: Architect and Urbanist from the Universidade Federal do Pará- UFPA, scientific initiation and internship at the Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi- MPEG, Amazon, Brazil. Specialist in Art History and Memory from the Universidade da Amazônia- UNAMA. Doctorate from the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the Universidade de São Paulo - FAUUSP, with a period of research at the Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale / Conselho Nacional de Pesquisa – CNPq, with the thesis *Paints of the Earth, Paints of the Kingdom: Architecture and Art in the Jesuit Missions of Grão-Pará, Amazonia*. Post-Doctorate from FAU-USP / Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo- FAPESP, with research periods at the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa- SNS and at the Universidad Pablo de Olavide (Sevilla), on the emblematic tradition in Brazil. Post-Doctorate by the Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Universidade Estadual de Campinas - IFCH-UNICAMP/ National Post-Doctoral Program of the Coordination of Support for Research and Higher Education - PNPd / CAPES, on the appropriation of indigenous artistic traditions in the colonial period in Brazil. She was resident researcher at the Biblioteca Brasileira Guita e José Mindlin - BBM, and external researcher at the Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia da Universidade de São Paulo - MAE-USP. Since 2019 she is a PhD professor at the Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo e de Design da Universidade de São Paulo - FAUUSP, in the areas of Art History and Architecture. She is part of networks and research projects in Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Spain, Portugal, Italy, United States, and dedicates her research especially to the Amazon. She was coordinator of the Projeto Jovem Pesquisador FAPESP at the FAU-USP, Barroco Cifrado, between 2016 and 2021, with internship at the Universidade de Évora, Portugal. Coordinates since 2022 the Projeto Jovem Pesquisador Fase 2 FAPESP at FAU-USP, Barroco-Açu. A América Portuguesa na Geografia Artística do Sul Global.

Abstract: *Lacquers and Marfiles of the Amazon. Itinerant Objects and their Resignifications from Colors, Varnishes and Plants in the Workshops of the Jesuit Missions.*

Laboratory of innovations based on its biodiversity, the Amazon during the colonial period is a case of great relevance regarding the reelaborations and resignifications of devotional objects, from transnational and global transits, involving Jesuit missions between Rome, the Iberian world and its territories in Asia and Africa. We intend to approach techniques of application of plants from the Amazonian forest, coming from ancestral indigenous knowledge, to imitate lacquer and ivory of Asian origin in devotional objects of different categories, destined both for the missions themselves and for sale in local and global networks promoted by the Jesuits. The varnish known as *cumatê* (extracted from the bark of the cumatezeiro tree, *Myrcia atramentifera*), is compared by the missionaries to lacquers from China, and transforms the

cuias (fruit of the cuieira, *Crescentia cuyeté*) of Amerindian tradition into objects appreciated in Portugal; river mother-of-pearl and vegetable ivory, the seed of the *jarina* palm (*Phitelephas aequatorialis*), are used in the inlay of wooden objects, such as crucifixes, missals and furniture, using indigenous technology. The protagonists of this process, in addition to the missionaries who headed the workshops, are indigenous men and women of different ethnicities, as well as Africans and afro-indigenous, who are indicated in primary documentation, as sculptors, carpenters, painters, gilders, weavers, etc. Therefore, it is important to consider the local knowledge and practices of communities in the Brazilian Amazon, formerly occupied by missions: Belém do Pará, São Luís do Maranhão, lower Amazon, the island of Marajó, as centers of innovation in the production of objects. Thus, from Belém, where the building of the College of Santo Alexandre is still preserved - with its courtyard open to the bay of the Guajará River - objects, techniques and knowledge circulated, arriving, through the great river and its tributaries, to the Hispanic territories, and vice versa. These exchanges provoked by multiple circulations, with implications for the reelaboration of devotional objects, are still to be studied and deepened.

17:20 Corinna Gramatke, Independent Researcher, Germany

CV: She is an independent researcher with a PhD in Conservation and Art History. Her research focuses on European and Latin American written sources on art technology. Together with the Technical University of Munich, she carried out the research project on the materiality of the polychrome wooden sculptures of the Jesuit Guarani missions in Paraguay. She is a member of the DFG research networks 'Cross-border Commuters in the Paraguayan Flower Garden - Jesuits of Central European Provenance and the Reductions in Paraguay in the 17th and 18th Centuries' (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz) and 'Mobile Matters of Religion: Devotional and Sacred Objects in the Early Modern World' (University of Regensburg) and collaborates in the research project ProJesArt (UAM, Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación- AEI, Spain). She is working with Rocío Bruquetas Galán and Zahira Veliz Bomford on the critical edition of the chapters on artists' techniques by Vicente Carducho (*Diálogos de la pintura*, 1633), Francisco Pacheco (*Arte de la pintura*, 1649) and Antonio Palomino (*El museo pictórico y escala óptica*, 1715-24), which will be published by the Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica (CEEH), Madrid, and she has just joined the team of the DFG project, based at the University of Augsburg, which is transcribing and commenting on the multi-volume manuscript of José Sánchez Labrador SJ, one of the Spanish missionaries in Paraguay in the 18th century.

Abstract: *Transatlantic Circulation of Objects Obtained by Jesuit Procurators in the 18th Century and their Transcultural Linkage*

The presentation examines the cultural heritage of the Jesuit mission in Paraguay in the 18th century with regard to the complex interweaving of material, cultural, religious, socio-political and economic aspects, thus opening up new fields of research in the history of the order. The shopping lists of the Paraguayan procurators Diego Garvia and José Rico during their trip to Europe (1739–45) provide information about the European consumer goods sought in the Paraguay province and their production in Europe in the mid-18th century and allow the identification of certain production centres and their artistic and technical characteristics. Through a selection of specific types of everyday objects which originally had religious and

ceremonial functions (such as rosaries and mate drinking vessels, the production of which can be traced both in Europe and in the missions), this lecture analyses their use, ideological and symbolic values and significance in the context of evangelisation, all of which leads to a consideration of the phenomena of transcultural entanglements this circulation involved.

WEDNESDAY, 2025, FEBRUARY 5

SESSION 4: RELIGIOUS AGENTS CONNECTING THE IBERIAN WORLD TO HOLY LAND AND ROME

CHAIR: Margarita Ana Vázquez Manassero, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

14:30 Paul Nelles, Carleton University

CV: He holds a PhD in History from The Johns Hopkins University. He has been an Associate Professor in the Department of History of Carleton University since 2005. He is a cultural and intellectual historian of early modern Europe. His research falls into two broad subject areas that occasionally intersect. The first lies at the intersection of the history of knowledge with the history of libraries, books, and writing practices. The second area is in the history of religion with a focus on early modern Catholicism and the Society of Jesus. Recently his research has pursued topics in both these areas related to mobility and movement in the early modern world. He has held fellowships at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, at Villa I Tatti, Florence, and in 2017 he delivered the Lyell Lectures in Bibliography at Oxford University.

Abstract: «*Grani benedetti*». *Papal Rosary Beads and Jesuit Networks in the Sixteenth Century*
This paper explores an unexplored facet of one of the most common devotional objects of the medieval and early modern periods. The paper follows a double argument. In the first part, we trace the circulation of “blessed beads” –rosary beads blessed by the pope in Rome– along Jesuit global networks. In a second part, we will explore some of the methodological implications of rosary beads for study of the circulation of devotional objects.

Rosaries are a well-studied phenomenon, known to scholars through the evidence of inventories, prayer books, images, confraternity records, and surviving examples in sacred art collections. This paper studies a particular type of rosary bead that appears to have first surfaced in the mid-16th century: rosary beads blessed by the pope (*grani benedetti*, *cuentas benditas*, etc.). The origins of papal blessings of rosary beads are unclear; the paper explores episodes from the papacies of Paul III and Pius IV. Blessed beads were not only infused with papal sacrality, but they were also indulgenced, often with the jubilee indulgences of the churches of Rome. While rosary prayer was no stranger to indulgences, ritual blessing in Rome transformed the singular, unthreaded bead into a portable, indulgenced object and an emblem of Rome. The paper traces what little is known about the papal blessing of beads and their accumulation by Jesuit administrators in Rome. The beads were carefully doled out and monitored – in 1562 circuits were disrupted when Jesuits faced a crisis of counterfeit beads.

Grani benedetti passed through well-established mechanisms of circulation. Durable and exceedingly small, they needed no special handling and could be enclosed directly in letters, shipped three or four at a time or by the thousands. From Rome they were dispatched across Europe, and to Jesuit overseas missions via operational hubs at Lisbon and Seville. Travelling in the company of indulgences, relics, Agnus Dei and other things from Rome, the 'Roman' beads were activated in localized settings across the globe.

The study of rosary beads presents several methodological challenges. Existing rosaries in sacred art collections are habitually luxe objects, exemplars of artisanal craft or rare materials. A bead blessed by the pope in Rome looked like any other bead. *Grani benedetti* were aniconic and uninscribed: semiotic blanks. They circulated using mechanisms of transmission in which their status as papal and Roman objects was transmitted through informal networks and bonds of trust. Textual sources furnish almost the only evidence for their circulation. At the same time, beads were ubiquitous, highly performative objects. These same textual sources furnish valuable evidence of the value attributed to the beads and their social circulation. They were worn upon the body, tactile, activated through manual prayer. It is suggested that when combined with approaches to material culture that foreground concepts of exchange, value, and performativity, beads furnish a useful comparative grid for understanding the cross-cultural circulation of devotional objects more broadly.

15:10 José Araneda Riquelme, Università degli studi Roma Tre- Project "Misglob" and Mattia Corso, Università degli Studi Roma Tre

CV José Araneda: He is a postdoctoral researcher at Università di Roma Tre, specializing in the history of social communication in colonial Latin America. He holds a PhD in Early Modern History from the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa. His research focuses on the transoceanic epistolary dynamics of colonial Chile. Currently, he is working on the MISGLOB project, coordinated by Prof. Felicita Tramontana (Università di Roma Tre), which investigates the global circulation of goods and people in the Early Modern period, with a particular emphasis on the study of objects and the agency of mendicant orders in the colonial Andes.

CV Mattia Corso: He is a research fellow at the University of Roma Tre, working on the ERC-funded project HolyLab, led by Prof. Felicita Tramontana. The project investigates the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land and its Commissariats -a transnational network of alms collecting institutions- during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He received his PhD from the University of Padua in 2020 with a dissertation exploring the transition between pre- and post-Tridentine Catholicism through the lens of everyday religious experience in the sixteenth-century Republic of Venice. His research interests lie at the intersection of religious history and material culture, with publications addressing topics such as the use of blessed candles in exorcisms and deathbed rituals, the embodied experience of sin shaped by indulgence rituals, and the reform of audience behaviour at Mass in the late sixteenth century. As part of the HolyLab project, Mattia's current research examines the creation of a distinctive type of Agnus Dei, crafted by the Franciscans in their monasteries in Jerusalem and Bethlehem using soil from holy sites. He is also researching the circulation of indulgenced objects through the Commissariats' network, a topic he will be presenting with José today.

Abstract: *From the Holy Land to the New World: Franciscan Almsgiving and Devotional Objects between the Middle East, Rome, and Spanish America (16th and 17th centuries)*

This paper explores the dynamic relationship between almsgiving, devotional context, and the Franciscan global network during the 16th and 17th centuries. Central to this investigation is that almsgiving historically served as the primary source of income for mendicant orders such as the Franciscans, crucial for sustaining Christianity in territories under non-Christian rule. We argue that the Franciscans leveraged almsgiving in a successful propaganda campaign, utilizing a global circulation of devotional objects to support their mission in the Holy Land. We divide the argument into three sections/spaces (Holy Land, Rome, and Spanish America) to understand the Franciscan mechanism of production, agency, circulation, and reception of these cultural objects from a global perspective.

First, we examine the context of Terra Santa, where the devotional objects given to benefactors were made. Since its recognition by Pope Clement VI in 1342, the Custody of the Holy Land has played a pivotal role in connecting the European faithful with sacred sites. Through an elaborate network centered on the monastery of St. Saviour in Jerusalem, devotional artifacts were circulated globally, fostering pilgrimages and sustaining almsgiving campaigns.

Secondly, we delve into Rome and its normative agency within the Franciscan network, emphasizing the relationship between the Franciscans, the papacy, and the Spanish networks. In 1688, after long negotiations, the Papacy formally entrusted the Custody of the Holy Land with the organized distribution of devotional objects imbued with the power of indulgences. From then on, the crosses and rosary beads made and blessed by the friars in Jerusalem could be used for private devotions that guaranteed the forgiveness of sins. From the accounts of the Custody of the Holy Land, we shall see how tens of thousands of these objects were destined to be distributed throughout the Spanish territories in America.

Thirdly, we explore Spanish America's reception and propagation of devotional objects, exemplified by the Church of San Francis in Santiago of Chile. Here, visual propaganda campaigns promoted almsgiving for the Holy Land's protection, utilizing paintings and text to evoke visually a pilgrimage from Santiago to the Middle East. This case illustrates how devotional objects functioned as conduits for religious practice and ideological dissemination in Spanish America.

Through a synchronic analysis of historical documents from Roman, Spanish, and Chilean archives, this paper illuminates the pivotal role of devotional objects in sustaining the Franciscan mission in the Holy Land while shaping religious identity and practice in Spanish America during the early modern period.

15:50 Josefina Schenke Reyes, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Santiago de Chile

CV: PhD in History from the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, she also holds a Master's degree in Art History from the Université de Paris - Sorbonne and a Bachelor's degree in Art History from the Université de Bourgogne. She is currently an associate professor at the Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez (Santiago de Chile). Her areas of interest are focused on the objects linked to religious practice, in terms of configuration, iconography, reception and narrative that give them shape during the colonial and early republican period in Chile and in the Viceroyalty of Peru. She has researched about images, relics and reliquaries, miraculous materiality, the

spaces and structures that host pious practices, and the devout and political places occupied by the regular religious orders settled in American colonial territories.

She has just received a grant from the Academy of American Franciscan History (2025– 2028) for the book project “The Franciscan Commissariat of the Holy Land in the Viceroyalty of Peru (17th – 18th centuries)”. She is currently attached as a researcher to two projects: “ProJesArt: ‘Conseguidores’. Jesuit Procurators and Alternative Artistic Circuits in the Hispanic World” and “Transformations of the Religious Image in Sacred Architectural Spaces During the 18th and 19th Centuries in Chile. The Tensions Between Ecclesiastical Politics, Enlightened Ideas, Republican Speeches and Local Reception”. She has been part of research and curatorial projects related to Chilean colonial artifacts as images and relics.

Abstract: *«They come from there blessed and touched in the Holy Sepulcher»: Relics and Sacred Objects from the Holy Land in the Viceroyalty of Perú (18th century)*

The Custody of the Holy Places of Jerusalem, through the pious work of the same name, distributed relics, medals, crosses and rosaries in the Viceroyalty of Peru during the colonial period through the action of almsmen who reported to the Franciscan commissary based in Lima. A set of letters from the mid-eighteenth century and shipping sources reveal the circulation between Cadiz and Callao of these pious objects for distribution in exchange for alms among various subjects of the colonial world of the Viceroyalty of Peru (Indians, Creoles, noble Spaniards and clergy). Such alms were destined to finance the action of the Franciscan friars in the Holy Land.

The action exercised by this Franciscan institution in America by means of patronage is, on the one hand, an example of the diffusion achieved by holy objects in pursuit of the spiritual conquest of new territories for Catholicism and, on the other hand, of how such objects functioned as social binders among different groups of colonial society. Based on the study of epistolary and shipping sources, this paper aims to identify the movements of objects and the dynamics of the people who wandered around their transport, exchange and veneration. Síndicos, commissaries, almsmen, *cofrades* and *chasquis* (foot carriers of Inca origin), were all agents who actively participated in the distribution of these objects throughout the American territory.

16:40 Minou Schraven, Amsterdam University College

CV: Based at the University of Amsterdam, Minou Schraven has just taken up a fellowship of six months at the Real Academia de España in Rome, for a research project on the tricky issue of false indulgences in early modern Catholic worlds. Both this topic, and that of her presentation today, are part of a larger book project, entitled “Blessed and Indulged Objects in Early Modern Catholic worlds”, that she plans on finishing this year. In recent years, this book project has taken her to the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, the Casa de Velázquez in Madrid, and now back to Rome: the city that is a continuous point of reference and inspiration in Minou's research about early modern religious material culture; particularly how female mystics (and their vast networks) have shaped religious experience in the early modern period. Minou also has a longstanding interest in the display of human remains in museum collections. In October of this year, she will take up a year- long fellowship at Inherit: the Käthe Hamburger

research center at the Humboldt University in Berlin, to work on yet another book project, entitled "Likeness and Likeability"; about those lifelike reconstructions made after human remains that populate today's archeology and natural history museums, and how they operate between mechanisms of othering and belonging.

Abstract: *The Lure of Rome and Papal Blessings: Spanish Nuns and the Careful Positioning of their Blessed Objects in Early Modern Catholic Devotional Worlds*

In the early seventeenth century, charismatic nuns across the Hispanic world distributed devotional objects (rosaries, prayer beads, medals) that, as they claimed, had been blessed in Heaven by Christ himself. In this, they followed the model of Juana de la Cruz (d. 1534), who at the time was venerated across the Hispanic world and considered a serious candidate for sainthood. By distributing blessed beads and rosaries, enclosed nuns as Luisa de la Ascensión (d. 1635), Juana Rodríguez de Jesús María (d. 1650), and María de Jesús de Ágreda (d. 1665) became public figures, held in great esteem by the Habsburgs, prominent clerics, and members of their religious orders. At the same time, church authorities were ever more anxious to control issues of sainthood and the blessing and distribution of objects. At some point, most of these nuns indeed would run into problems with the Inquisition, as is demonstrated by the high-profile, tortuous process against Luisa de la Ascensión (convicted post-humously in Madrid in 1648) and Ángela de Dios (convicted in Lima in 1694).

In my contribution, I will look into the strategic use that these nuns (and their support networks) made of Rome and the pope, when it came to positioning themselves and their objects in "the devotional market." Of particular interest to me are the claims (voiced by all nuns, starting with Juana de la Cruz) that the blessed objects had the same virtues as the Agnus Dei, those powerful wax sacramentals that popes blessed during the first (and then each seventh) year of their pontificates. As I have argued elsewhere, from about the mid-sixteenth century onwards, popes would distribute ever greater numbers of these sacramentals to all corners of the Catholic world. What are the implications of claiming that objects have the same virtues as Agnus dei, well-established markers of papal supremacy? More generally, how did these nuns (and their networks) use the concept of (papal) indulgences to describe the virtues of their objects? And what about outrageous claims in the biographies of Juana De Jesús that her rosaries had traveled to the high altar of St Peter's, to be blessed by Pope Urban VIII; and that she had liberated a number of popes from Purgatory?

17:20 Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos

CV: Educated at Cornell University, KU Leuven and Cambridge University, Fernández-Santos is Senior Lecturer in Medieval History at the Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Madrid, and a founding member of the research group ITEM Identidad y Territorio en la Edad Media. Previous research concentrated on the cultural relations between the Iberian and Italian peninsulas in the early modern period. He has published *Juan Caramuel y la probable arquitectura* (CEEH, 2014) and co-edited with José Luis Colomer *Ambassadors in Golden Age Madrid: The Court of Philip IV through Foreign Eyes* (CEEH, 2020). One strand of his current research focuses on late medieval Castile and in particular on the connection between the description and representation of cities and deep-seated understandings of civic virtue. Recent publications cover the relevance of King Solomon's example for Philip II of Spain's self-fashioning as a

magnificent sovereign and the use by the Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando of visual exegesis to carry out a 'confessionalising' (Konfessionalisierung) agenda.

Abstract: «*Because the City is a Model of the Heavenly Kingdom*»: *The Devotional Agenda Underpinning the Model of Jerusalem the Jesuit Villalpando sent from Rome to be presented to Philip II of Spain*

The late Juan Antonio Ramírez (1948–2009) called attention to a rare and fascinating manuscript account of the presentation at Madrid's Alcazar of an elaborate urban model. From Madrid Gaspar de Pedrosa reported dutifully back to his fellow Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando in Rome. Presumably the latter must have sent detailed instructions to the former on how to present the fairly large model of Jerusalem, measuring about 2 sq. m, to Philip II of Spain. After considerable planning, the unveiling was scheduled to take place on Sunday 9 February 1597 at one o'clock in the afternoon. Only a handful of attendees were privy to the carefully staged ceremony in the King's private quarters at the Golden Tower: Philip II, Crown Prince Philip, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, seven gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber, two valets, and the royal architect Francisco de Mora.

Scholars have rightly interpreted Villalpando's decision to send the model to Madrid as part of a strategy to convince the elderly monarch to continue financing what was by all means a major editorial undertaking. After the death in early 1595 of his colleague and co-author Jerónimo de Prado, Villalpando faced alone the daunting task of completing an expanded, three-volume final version of the *In Ezechielem explanationes*. Back in 1580 both Prado and Villalpando had committed themselves full-time to such an absorbing exegetic project.

The presentation of the one-of-a-kind model was part of a Jesuit agenda to court support from Philip II of Spain, a monarch who was also ruler of the Portuguese empire since 1580. It is surely no accident that Pedrosa, in all likelihood following Villalpando's cue, chose to explain the model to his restricted audience in Madrid from a predetermined western vantage point. It was apparently from there that Pedrosa had 'made [his] *compositio loci*'. But why so? Arguably very few historical accounts provide such a vivid instantiation of what sacred geographies meant for early modern Jesuits and how they envisaged the worldwide dissemination of the symbolic *translatio* from Jerusalem to Rome that was implicit in the new time ushered in by the Christian New Covenant. There is no need to stress Ignatius's biographical journey from a thwarted pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1523 to the foundation sixteen years later of the Society of Jesus in Rome-the-New-Jerusalem.

Eric Voegelin (1901–85) detected mostly latent 'monarchomachic' tendencies in significant early modern Jesuits. While these are not to be misinterpreted as covert republicanism, the theocratic leanings and increasingly militant alignment of the order with the papacy should not be overlooked. In order to gauge Philip II's reaction to the model and to the *In Ezechielem explanationes*, Pedrosa's enthusiastic reporting proves insufficient. The king's personal and symbolic relation to Jerusalem, of which he was titular king, would appear to be at loggerheads with Jesuit concepts and agendas at a time when the order was undergoing a thorough Romanisation under the Generalship of Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615).

The paper aims to highlight the complex interplay of agency and reception between Rome and Madrid in light of: (1) materiality in the form of consummate workmanship and painstaking

attention to detail; (2) devotion informed by the eschatological temple and city against the backdrop of exegetic polemics regarding their terrestrial embodiment; and (3) the tensions between papal and Iberian politics in an increasingly globalised context.