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JESUIT ART IN GOA BETWEEN 1542 AND 1655:
FROM MODO NOSTRO TO MODO GOANO

Maria Cristina Trindade Guerreiro Osswald

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining the degree of Doctor or of

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EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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Tesis submitted with a view to obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the
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- Professor Diogo Ramada Curto, Vasco da Gama Chair, European University Institut,
  Florence.
To the memory of my brother Miguel António
To my family
To my friends
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Abbreviations

Institutions:

AHU: Archivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon
ANTT: Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
ARSI: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
BFUP: Biblioteca da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, Lisbon
BL: British Library, London
BNL: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa
HAG: Historical Archives of Goa

Published primary sources:


Secondary sources:


Journals:
AHSI: Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu
NZMW: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaften
ZKG: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte
Introduction

1. Presentation of aims

After I have outlined the aims of the present dissertation followed by a short summary of the chapters or parts, I will present a critical survey of the sources considered useful for its elaboration: a brief reference to some of the most important collections and institutions that I consulted during my research will follow.

The subject of my thesis is the permanent artistic features of the Jesuit buildings in Goa, namely, their architecture, painting, sculpture, and woodcarving. This implies studying the number and kinds of buildings, their chronological evolution (periods of foundation, repair, enlargement and decoration), benefactors, artists, materials and models, as well as the influences visible in these buildings. As regards the time-span studied, my thesis approximately covers the first hundred years of the presence of the Jesuits in Goa (following their arrival in 1542). The year of 1655 has a symbolic character, for it was in this year that the Chapel of Saint Francis Xavier was completed. Moreover, this date is considered to be a turning point in the evolution of Jesuit art in Goa: the construction of the Chapel of Saint Francis Xavier brought the first period of Jesuit construction and decoration in Goa to a close and, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the majority of buildings were constructed and decorated.

In my methodical approach, I do not aim to provide a mere compilation or description of the artistic features. Instead, I shall try to establish the relationships between the artistic practices and theories proper to the Society of Jesus (Modo Nostro) and the local Catholic art (Modo Goano). In this sense, I am interested in demonstrating that the Modo Goano made a very different approach to the general conceptions that characterised Jesuit art latum sensum visible. At arms’ length it contradicted the Modo
Secondly, I argue that the Jesuits were essential in determining the local Catholic art - the Modo Goano. Thirdly, I shall refer to the contribution brought by Goan Jesuit art and devotion to the Post Tridentine Catholicism.

Centralisation, strict hierarchy, discipline and dedication to the Papacy were intrinsic features of the Society of Jesus from its inception. At the same time, however, adaptability to circumstances, or the perfect balance which was recommended for the shaping of all the activities or policies of the Society, without leaning “towards an extreme of rigour or towards “excessive laxity”, was a principle constantly stressed by the Generals and other priests in authority. There was always room for exceptions and for accommodation to different contexts. The Jesuits were intended to go everywhere, do everything and adapt themselves to the most difficult and hostile conditions, *ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*. In addition, the *Constitutions* instructed the General to listen, as far as possible, to the opinions of his subordinates, especially of the Provincial Superior and other priests occupying important posts. Bearing this in mind, I shall analyse if Jesuit buildings in Goa were mainly the result of decisions taken by the Roman headquarters (Generals and General Congregations) or of the choices made by the local priests. Thus, I shall analyse whether the Goan decision processes were similar to the common practices in the other Jesuit provinces or whether the local leaders were allotted with more powers than usually. Geographical and cultural distance might have contributed to a weaker enforcement of the orders enacted by Rome in India than in Europe. In this sense, I must observe to what extent the Roman headquarters were able to make their decisions work at distance in practical terms. Simultaneously, I will take the decisions and choices made by ecclesiastic authorities (the Papacy, the Archbishop) and the Portuguese Crown which applied to the Jesuits in Goa into account.
All artistic activity requires favourable legislation and sufficient economic resources. Here it goes without saying that, on the one hand, the Society of Jesus was the first Order to be conferred autonomy from the local religious authorities—the Bishops and the Archbishops on the account of their direct vow to the Pope. Moreover, did the Indian Jesuits benefit from farther favourable papal legislation? On the other hand, the Papacy handed over some of its duties and privileges to the Crown through the system of Patronage. Thus, the success of all aspects of the enterprise depended first of all on the good relationship with the Crown and its local employees. The Jesuits were not alone in the missionary field. Here, one may suppose that the missionary agents would try to hinder that one order was favoured by the political and religious powers. Considering finances, it is relevant to identify whether it was the Society, the Papacy or the local political and religious elites, including the converted groups, which sponsored the main artistic commissions. In other words, it is necessary to identify whether the artistic undertakings depended on the support of external patrons, or if they were mainly due to the efforts of the Order.

The Society of Jesus was among the first Catholic groups that articulated a comprehensive Weltanschauung including art. In this sense, I shall analyse if there were profound differences between Goan Jesuits and the Jesuits in other missionary territories concerning their understanding of the Jesuit vocation in Goa and, by extension, concerning the nature, the uses and the artistic features of the buildings and churches in Goa. Accordingly, I will stray into the activities and ministries undertaken by the Order in Goa and, whenever feasible, compare them with the activities and ministries undertaken in other missionary areas. I will also try to check whether the Jesuits were free or compelled by the secular and religious hierarchies to run certain kinds of settlements and/or to involve themselves with certain activities.
Simultaneously, I seek to study Goan Jesuit devotions and iconographies in other agents (state, local population) integrated in its specific context.

Let me move now to my second assertion that the Jesuits were decisive in creating a Catholic Goa. Due to the geographical and cultural context of this artistic production, it is essential to identify the relative numbers and positions of the artists born in Portugal and in other European countries in relation to the local artists, and to ponder how the probable employment of the local artists could have influenced the structural and decorative features of the buildings. As an ancillary ongoing concern, which is related to the second point, I shall seek to investigate whether the materials and work habits employed on the exteriors and interiors of Jesuit buildings in Goa were predominantly of local origin or imported for instance from Portugal and other European countries.

As to the third and last point, the Province of India was the first Jesuit province outside Europe. On the one hand, the Province of the Order replicated the Jesuit pattern as it was conceived for all Jesuit provinces. On the other hand, the Jesuits in Goa ranked among the first in the creation and development of missionary strategies, which, in time spread throughout the world. Accordingly, I am interested in demonstrating that Jesuit art and devotion in Goa played a role in the exchange of devotions and iconographic programs that characterised the Post-Tridentine world on the move.

My first chapter is a lengthy description of the main Jesuit buildings in Goa. The following chapters provide a framework, i.e., they help to explain the artistic features that characterised Jesuit buildings in Goa from 1542 to 1655. In this sense, the second chapter is intended to clarify some artistic policies proper to the Jesuits world-wide, or the Modo Nostro in art. The third chapter describes some religious, historical and artistic features that characterised the “Rome of the Orient”. The fourth chapter
proceeds to the description of some general features of the Jesuit enterprise in Goa, as well as some of the general policies which were essential in the creation of the Jesuit art in Goa. Both the third and the fourth chapters are thus essential for the assessment of the Modo Goano. Finally, two annexes follow. The first consists of the bibliography of the artists related to the Jesuit art in Goa. The second includes nine unpublished documents.

2. Discussion of sources

With regard to the sources considered fundamental for the preparation of the present thesis, besides the obvious emphasis laid on the direct and indirect examination of the Jesuit and non-Jesuit buildings constructed in and beyond Goa, my research is based upon primary and secondary documentation regarding both the Jesuits and their general understanding of art, and the presence of the Portuguese and the Jesuits in Goa during the aforementioned period. Approximately, one can classify the primary sources referring to the presence of the Jesuits and the Portuguese in Goa as (a) non-religious, or secular, and (b) religious. Starting with a review of the secular primary sources, there are the chronicles of the Portuguese overseas and their travel accounts. In spite of the partial character of the national chronicles (they were the work of official historians, commissioned to transmit the achievements of the overseas Empire to posterity); this literature has something to recommend it from a historical viewpoint, since it draws upon varied sources. The information presented therein quite often derives from personal knowledge or firsthand experience. The date can have been gleaned from records of interviews with participants, and from both official and non-official contemporary reports, (including religious ones). For instance, Manuel Severim de Faria (1588-1633), an important commentator on the political situation of Portugal (see, for instance, his Discursos Politicos, 1624), was in possession of relevant Jesuit
manuscripts referring to the Goa Mission.¹ The two distinguished chroniclers and
archive-keepers Diogo do Couto (1542-1616) and António Bocarro (1594-1642?) had
privileged access to some of the most secret and rare primary written material, which to
a great extent is now lost. They regularly made use of both European and non-European
texts. These narratives mainly recount political and military occurrences. Nevertheless,
some interspersed elements about religious matters can be found therein. For instance,
Diogo do Couto (V Decada) referred to the formation of the first parishes in Goa.² Some
of these historians actually visited the “pagan Orient”.³ Thus, the consultation of this
kind of literature, complemented by Kirti Chaudhuri’s magnum opus Asia before
Europe (1990), has helped me to reach a general idea of the received picture of Asia in a
deeply intertwined analysis of the geographical and cultural contexts of the Goan area
before the arrival of the Europeans.⁴

Over the centuries Goa has attracted the attention of a great number of travellers
whose accounts are a mine of valuable description of this area. Most of these travellers
were writing for a European public and with a precise purpose in mind. As both
Portuguese and non-Portuguese travellers were often sent to Goa at the request of their
governments, their accounts reveal nationalist and religious prejudices.⁵ However, they

¹ LACH, Donald F. and VAN KLEY, Edwin, Asia in the Making of Europe, A century of advance,

² COUTO, Diogo do, Da Ásia, dos feitos que os portuguezes fizeram no Descobrimento e Conquista dos

³ For instance, the chronicler Fernão Lopes de Castanheda visited the Island of Dívar in 1528, which was
at the time a very important centre of Hinduism. (LOPES DE CASTANHEDA, Fernão, História do

⁴ CHAUDHURI, K. N., Asia before Europe: economy and civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the rise

⁵ DEVRA, G. L., Manucci’s Comments on Indian Social Customs and Traditions: a critical study, in Ugo
Marzani (ed.), “La Conoscenza dell’Asia e dell’Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX”, Napoli,
1984, p. 352.
provided me with valuable data on the geographical, urban, historical and artistic framework (prevailing materials and techniques) of the Jesuit buildings in Goa. Due to the fact that the travellers usually visited several places in distinct geographical and cultural areas, they were able to make detailed comparisons between the various edifices. The account by Jean Hughes van Linschotten (the Archbishop’s secretary in Goa from 1583 to 1588) dated 1596 is of important value for my study because it contains a street plan and various engravings of Goa. Furthermore, the coincidence of some of these visits with important events and with important artistic undertakings is worthwhile mentioning.

For the purpose of the present work, the term “religious source” shall be taken to define all kinds of documents written to and/or by members of religious institutions or secular priests. Due to the system of the Padroado Português do Oriente (Portuguese Patronage of the Orient), the King of Portugal was the supreme patron of all overseas missionary activity. From the end of the fifteenth century, the papal bulls gradually handed over the responsibility for all overseas missionary enterprise to the Portuguese Crown. However, specific legislation for the missions in India only began decisively

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6 LINSCHOTEN, Jean Hughes, Beschryvinge van verscheeyde Landen, gelegen onder Africa en America als’t coninckrijk Guinea, Congo, Angola en voorts tot voor by de CaeP Bona Esperance de eggenschappen des geheelen Oceanische Zee en hare Eylande St. Thomae, St. Helena en Ascension, Amsterdam, 1596, 3 vols. (I consulted the edition Discours of voyages into East and West Indies, Amsterdam, 1974, 2 vols.)


8 PAIVA MANSO, Visconde de (ed.), Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in ecclesiis Africae, Asiae etque Oceanie: bullas, brevia, epistolae, decreta actaque sedis ab Alexandro III ad hoc usque tempus amplexentis, Lisboa, 1868-1879. Moreover, for an interpretation of the bulls see the articles by the Charles De Witte. (DE WITTE, Charles Les lettres papales concernant l’expansion portugaise au XVIème siècle: Création de la hiérarchie ecclesiastique outre-mer (1514-1558), in “NZMW”, nr. 2,
during the reign of Queen-Regent D. Catarina (1557-1562). Consultation of the official correspondence between the political powers and the Society of Jesus (hereafter referred to solely as the Society) allows assessment of the Crown’s position towards the Society in India. From this point of view, it is through the perusal of the official correspondence that one can hope to find whether changes occurred in the attitude of the Sovereign vis-à-vis the influence of the Order in India. In other words, these documents may shed light on whether there were periods when the Society received particularly privileged treatment from the Crown, through financial benefits or the issuing of laws or edicts defending their interests relative to those represented by other local secular and religious institutions. In addition to the individual decisions taken by the Crown and its employees, and by the ecclesiastical authorities, special reference is made to the Constitution of the Archdiocese of India (1568) and to the Ecclesiastical Councils in Goa (1575, 1583, 1588, 1599, and 1606), since the Council of Trent (sess. 24, decree De reformationem, chapter 2) had stressed the importance of Provincial Councils and Diocesan Synods as primary legislative instruments for translating general norms to meet the specific needs of local churches. Theoretically, the Papacy and the Crown, by


10 To give an example, the collection “Documentos remettidos da India” comprises the orders and dispatches received yearly at Goa from Lisbon in the monsoon of September-October, together with the copies of the replies and reports sent from Goa to Portugal with the ship leaving in December. (BULHÃO PATO (ed.), Raymundo Antonio de, Documentos remettidos da India ou livro das Monçôes, Lisboa, 1880)

the advice of the *Mesa de Consciência e Orders*, could modify the decrees issued by the
Councils held in the Portuguese territories. However, to my knowledge, the
prescriptions enacted by the various councils in Goa were put into practice as they
stood.\(^{12}\)

In addition to the writings of the various Generals and influential personalities,
including Jesuits who wrote about art, and other general Jesuit documentation, such as
the Constitutions of the Order (1550) and the texts of the General Congregations, I have
concentrated my research on the sources relating to the Jesuits in Goa.\(^{13}\) These are the
Order Histories referring to the Orient, the memoirs, special Papal documents for
India,\(^{14}\) the Compendia of the Generals or rules for the Province of Goa, and other
different sorts of documentation issued by the Society. Also, the biographies of Francis
Xavier and other distinguished Jesuits, epistolary documentation, the *Fundationes*
title deeds of foundations or decrees of a financial nature by authorities on behalf of colleges
and houses of the Society), “allied” documents (accounts on special topics or regions),
and the catalogues. In addition to the Compendia of the Generals, the rules for the

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\(^{12}\) BOXER, Charles Ralph, *A note on Portuguese missionary methods in the East, Sixteenth to Eighteen
centuries*, in James S. Cummins, “Christianity and missions”, 1450-1800, Singapore, Sydney, 1977,
p. 162-163.

\(^{13}\) Jesuit sources have been published mainly by the Jesuit Historical Archives in Rome (the collection
Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, published from the end of the nineteenth century), and by the
Institute of Jesuit sources in St. Louis, and permit us to have access to a great quantity of
documentation issued in the first years of the Society of Jesus. The eighteen bulky volumes of the
‘Documenta Indica’ by the Swiss Jesuit Joseph Wicki and the Indian John Gomes together with the
detailed notes and introduction to the same work are of special relevance for the knowledge of the
Jesuits in India during the sixteenth century. One of the most important treatises written by Jesuits,
namely that on painting by Antonio Possevino, was published by the Italian art historian, Paola
Barocchi, in her *Scritti d’arte del Cinquecento*. (WICKI, Joseph and John Gomes (ed.), *Documenta
humana, & fabulosa collata cum vera honesta, & sacrata*, in Paola Barocchi (ed.), “Scritti del

\(^{14}\) In 1558 General Diego Lainez obtained from the Apostolic See special graces and faculties for
missionaries departing to Brazil and India. (Special faculties and graces for the Jesuit Provinces of
Brasil, Ethiopia and India, Roma, 11 February 1558, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 59-62 and WICKI, Joseph,
Province of Goa and other different sorts of institutional documentation as well as the acts of the Provincial Congregations are essential to understand the general evolution of the Jesuit enterprise.\textsuperscript{15}

The Jesuit chronicles were commissioned by the Order in order to narrate the progress of the Eastern missions in detail. They certainly constituted an invaluable mine of information for the contemporary readers. Sebastião Gonçalves (1557-1619), who, in his \textit{Primeira parte da história dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram na conversão dos infieis nos reynos e provincias da India Oriental (1614)}, compiled the story of the Orient's Jesuit missions from 1542 to the beginning of the seventeenth Century (1605), and Francisco de Sousa (1649-1712), who was the author of the chronicle \textit{Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus (1710)} that covers the years 1542 to 1585, spent most of their lives in the Orient.\textsuperscript{16}

Giovanni Pietro Maffei (1533-1603) and Luis de Guzman (1554-1605) used a great range of both religious (mainly letters sent by the missionaries overseas) and secular

\textsuperscript{15} The acts of the first, third and fourth provincial congregations (1575, 1588 and 1594) are included in the \textit{Documenta Indica} (vols. X, XV, and XVI). The two summaries of the orders enacted by the Generals and by the General Congregations and applying to India, which were compiled in 1664, include information gathered in documentation from the beginning of Jesuit presence in India up to that date. All information is organised according to a certain topic followed by reference to the respective General or the General Congregation and date, so that one can immediately recognise if there were continuities or abrupt transformations under the various generals. (\textsc{Wicki}, Joseph, \textit{Dois compêndios das Ordens dos Padres Gerais e Congregações Provinciais da Provincia dos Jesuítas de Goa feitos em 1664}, Lisboa, 1962). In addition, the two publications \textit{Auszüge aus den Briefen der Jesuitengeneräle an die Obern in Indien (1549-1613)} by Joseph Wicki and \textit{Some answers of the Generals of the Society of Jesus to the Province of Goa, Acquaviva-Vitteleschi, 1585-1645} by John Humbert contain some more prescriptions enacted by the various Generals and concerning India. (\textsc{Wicki}, Joseph, \textit{Auszüge aus den Briefen der Jesuitengeneräle an die Obern in Indien (1549-1613)}, in \textit{“AHIS”}, 1953, p. 114-169 and \textsc{Humbert} (ed.), John, \textit{Some answers of the Generals of the Society of Jesus to the Province of Goa, Acquaviva-Vitteleschi, 1585-1645}, in \textit{“AHIS”}, 1966, p. 322-346).

\textsuperscript{16} \textsc{Gonçalves} S.J., Sebastião, \textit{Primeira parte da historia dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram na conversão dos infieis nos reynos e provincias da India Oriental (1614)}, Coimbra, 1957, 3 vols, and \textsc{Sousa} S. J., Francisco, \textit{Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa (1710)}, Porto, 1979.
Moreover, the Jesuit chronicles abound with data on the regions, peoples, and cultures of India, the East Indies, Japan and China. If we follow an art history perspective, it is possible by the consultation of the histories of the Order to delineate a comprehensive picture of the Jesuit setting. For instance, Sebastião Gonçalves usually started each chapter of his account with a review of the number and location of Jesuit establishments followed by the information about the people working therein and their activities. Sousa organised the description of facts and events chronologically, each chapter beginning with a reference to a precise date. Thus, he followed a contemporary trend that was central to the Roman Catholic deployment of history writing and that was defined, in particular, by Cardinal Cesare Baronio (1538-1607).

Official letters must be rated very highly from the point of view of reliability and accuracy as sources, since they were written regularly, with great care and attention to the reported subjects, and concerned the writer's work or matters often under his direct supervision. Letters are also relatively user-friendly as sources, due to the standard formulae adopted by these documents. Starting with a description of the Head Mission of each Province, they then analyse other missionary stations, and this analysis always follows the same sequence. These reports usually begin with a reference to arguments founded in spiritual concerns (for example, mentioning fundamental apostolic activity,

17 MAFFEI, Giovanni Pietro, Rerum a Socieatate Iesu in Oriente gestarum, Dillingen, 1571, and Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI, Firenze, 1588 and GUZMAN, Luis, Historia de las misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús para predicar el Santo Evangelio en los reynos de Japon, Alcalá, 1601, 2 vols.


19 As Cesare Baronio stated in 1567, he would thereafter “assert nothing that has not been thoroughly explored; follow the Truth as the first Law of history; set down everything in chronological order [per annorum et tempororum seriem]” (COCHRANE, Eric, Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance, Chicago and London, 1981, p. 459)
such as baptisms, number of converts, etc.,) and then move on to the narration of
temporal matters (comprising artistic undertakings). It is generally agreed that this sort
of documentation has to be considered as a valuable and up-to-date information
reservoir since such letters were normally written shortly after the events referred to had
taken place. Likewise, printed letters were compiled, edited and printed immediately
after their arrival in Europe.

Jesuit annual letters published from 1583 onwards are considered to represent
perfect models for archival research. This is due to the fact that they present concerns
for critical and truthful texts, referring to sources and bibliographies used. Additionally,
their excellent introductory summaries and very detailed indexes are obviously of great
help to the readers. From the onset, Jesuit annual letters were edited as the official
statements of the mission's progress, and thus constitute the most complete and
systematic description available of the major characteristics of the progress and of the
events which occurred in missionary life. Concerning the object of study of the present
thesis, these documents provided me with important information about the function and
number of houses, and the distribution of Jesuit missionaries throughout different
buildings, and gave me an idea of the relative importance that the latter enjoyed inside
the Society. This material also contains fundamental data regarding the main periods of
construction, renewal and decoration of the Jesuit constructions in Goa.

Differently from the chronicles, the catalogues were created for the internal use
of the Society. Moreover, they have a limited reach as they are mere sources of

20 The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Università Gregoriana in Rome possess almost the whole
published series of annual letters concerning India.

21 CORREIA-AFFONSO (ed.), John, Jesuit letters and Indian history, Bombay, 1955, p. XVII-XVIII.
quantitative data. They were conceived in order to provide the Generals with periodic information on precise aspects of the functioning of the Jesuit Order. According to their nature, three main sorts of catalogues can be distinguished. The Third Catalogues constitute the economic or financial reports of the missions in a province as they identify the sources and amounts of the income and expenditure of each facility within a province. As essential to the present thesis, it was possible for me to gather information regarding the costs, the funding and the chronology of the various artistic enterprises in them. This information, which has a predominantly financial character, may be complemented by the inclusion of elements found in the catalogues of the “legacies”. In these, besides the identification of the main benefactors, I also discovered precise references to the various parts of religious edifices, such as chapels or altars, to which the donations were destined.

The first and second catalogues have a personal character. They include basic biographical information on each member, and assessments of his spiritual, intellectual and physical skills, thus providing *curriculum vitæ* of the members of the Order. As it can be seen in appendix II, the wealth of information concerning the biographies of the Jesuits occupied in artistic activity in Goa that can be found in the catalogues of the Jesuits sent to India, in the catalogues of the persons admitted to and dismissed from the Order, as well as in the *catalogi defuncti*, has been central to my argument. Due to their detailed and especially private character, the *hijuelas* or private letters addressed to the General, as well as the letters written by the missionaries to their friends, both within and outside the Society form an important complement to the official documentation.

22 Unfortunately, I was able to gather little information about the artists from the *indiapetæ* (letters written by candidates to be sent as missionaries overseas.)
The Portuguese Expansion into India is one of the abiding concerns of the Portuguese historians. It inspired a steady stream of literature from Portuguese press since the end of the eighteenth century. Among non-Portuguese historians, Charles Ralph Boxer was the great authority on the Portuguese colonial empire for more than fifty years, and his work covers practically all facets of the subject. With regard to Portuguese overseas expansion and its related missionary character, his *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440-1770* remains one of the most trustworthy surveys of the period. As it might be expected, the inclusion of the Society’s work in the Orient is practically compulsory in general publications about the Society of Jesus. It is tackled in a considerable number of books and journals about the Portuguese discoveries in general, and about the missionary aspect in particular. Considering this last category, the essay *Die Katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan. Ihre Organisation und das Portugiesische Patronat vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (1915)

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25 For example, William Bangert presents a good overview of the history of the Society of Jesus. (BANGERT, William, *A history of the Society of Jesus, St. Louis*, 1972.)

26 The subject is clearly also included in the (somehow outdated) *História da Igreja em Portugal* by Fortunato de Almeida and in the two recent works, the *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal* and *História Religiosa de Portugal*, both edited by Carlos Moreira de Azevedo. The two works directed by Carlos Moreira de Azevedo expand the approach made by Fortunato de Almeida as they include the study of other forms of religiosity in Portugal than Catholicism. (See, in particular, the chapter *Diáspora Missionária* by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa). (OLIVEIRA E COSTA, João Paulo, *Diáspora Missionária*, in MOREIRA AZEVEDO (ed.), Carlos, *História Religiosa de Portugal*, Lisboa, 2001, vol. 2, p. 255-313).
by the German Adelhelm Jann is by far the most exhaustive account of the subject.\textsuperscript{27} Two other non-Portuguese historians deserve special mention. Joseph Wicki is an indispensable name in the history of the Portuguese presence in India, due, first of all, to his \textit{Documenta Indica} (1948-1988) which is the most comprehensive publication of the Jesuit sources in India, dating from the second half of the sixteenth century. In addition, he has treated practically all aspects of the presence of both the Portuguese and the Jesuits in India in many painstaking articles.\textsuperscript{28} Georg Schurhammer S.J also put his mark on the history of the Society of Jesus as the most distinguished biographer of Francis Xavier, with his many articles, and especially with his outstanding biography of the Saint.\textsuperscript{29}


Much has been written about the Society of Jesus. Few religious orders or institutions have been so thoroughly studied.\textsuperscript{30} For instance, the publications on the major figure of the Order, its founder, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, alone number around eighty items a year.\textsuperscript{31} Among this massive amount of literature on the history of the Society of Jesus, the American author, John Olin S. J., studied in his book \textit{Catholic Reformation: From Savonarola to Ignatius of Loyola} (1969), the Society of Jesus in the ecclesiastic and religious context of the sixteenth century, and focused on the role played by Ignatius in his time.\textsuperscript{32} \textit{The First Jesuits} (1993) by John O’Malley S.J. is certainly the most comprehensive account of the early history of the Society of Jesus and presents a particularly innovative approach as its main intention, as defined by the author himself, was to “understand the Jesuits as they understood themselves.”\textsuperscript{33}

By contrast, alas, the Jesuit ecclesiastical and missionary presence in India has not yet brought a deep and autonomous study to light. We still lack a history of the Jesuit presence in the Orient that is comparable, for example, to ongoing \textit{Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia} (1922-2003),\textsuperscript{34} the \textit{História da Companhia de Jesus no Brazil} (1938-1950) by Serafim Leite or to the \textit{História da Companhia de Jesus na

\textsuperscript{30} The guides by Carlos Sommervogel and more recently Lázló Pollgár, are probably the most complete guides to the bibliography of the Jesuits. (SOMMERVOGEL S.J., Carlos, \textit{Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus}, Paris, 1890, 12 vols. and POLGÁR S.J., László, \textit{Bibliography of the history of the Society of Jesus}, Roma, 1967)


Assistência de Portugal (1931-1950) by Francisco Rodrigues.\textsuperscript{35} This incomprehensible gap is only partially filled by small number of surveys, such as the works Jesuit presence in Indian History (1988) by Ananda Amaladass, The Jesuits in India (1542-1773) (1997) by John Correia Affonso, and the two compilations of various articles entitled Jesuits in India: in historical perspective (1992) and A companhia de Jesus e a Missionação no Oriente (2000) assembled respectively under the direction of the prolific Goan historian, Teotónio de Sousa, and of the Portuguese Jesuit Nuno da Silva Gonçalves S.J.\textsuperscript{36} Dauril Alden's The Making of an Enterprise, The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and beyond, 1540-1750 (1996) constitutes a landmark in the bibliography of the economic aspects of Jesuit missions in the Portuguese empire.\textsuperscript{37} This book is of special value for the purposes of this thesis for two main reasons: further to disclosing the ingenious and strikingly innovative ways in which the Jesuits ran their enterprise, Alden analysed the great cost of the missionary enterprise in depth, also taking into account the burdensome works of construction, upkeep, and the embellishment of the churches and other buildings. Reference must be also made to the two surveys The economics of the Goa Jesuits: The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759, an explanation of their rise and fall (1994), and The Portuguese Jesuits in Asia: Their economic and political networking within Asia and with Europe (2000) by


The cult of saints and the veneration of their relics are a central feature of Christianity, and the Council of Trent further reaffirmed them in its third and last session as a response to Protestant attacks. The Jesuit Roberto Bellarmino (1541-1621) proudly called the seventeenth century the “century of the saints”. However, no century has known more criticism of the cult of the saints. The subject of sanctity is the most interesting as it equally concerns the official church and popular piety. Bearing the geographical context of my work in mind, it particularly interested me to examine how Rome and a distant periphery (India) related to each other. In this sense, the work by Simon Ditchfield certainly constitutes a good starting point in order to get an overview of the instruments created and developed by the Papacy to “universalise the particular” as well as to understand the “peripheral” contributions to sainthood and devotion in the Post-Tridentine epoch.

Before I attempted an interpretative reading of the Goan Jesuit church furniture as it illustrates a certain religious practice and devotional behaviour, I examined secondary literature dealing both with the role of the sacraments and with liturgical

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ceremonial *per se*, and their relationship with church architecture and furniture.\(^{40}\) In particular, the vivid and stimulating studies by John Bossy were very useful to my understanding of the interrelated subjects of sacraments and church space and equipment.\(^{41}\) Among the essays focusing on the furniture of individual churches, let me mention the valuable *Der Christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1951) by Joseph Braun, *Die Entwicklung des Barockaltars in Rom* (1956) by Renate Jürgens, and the more recent collection of studies *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance* (1993) edited by Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp.\(^{42}\) Finally, the Dutch historian Wietse De Boer provides an excellent analysis of the introduction and development of the confessional, and simultaneously clarifies the role of the Jesuits in this process both in his article *Ad audiendi. Note sull'introduzione del confessionale soprattutto in Italia* (1991), and in his extraordinary book *The Conquest of the Soul, Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (2001).\(^{43}\)

Jesuit artistic production *per se* has interested art historians since the end of the nineteenth century as, for example, the Germans Heinrich Wölflin and Cornelius Gürlitt.\(^{44}\) Ever since, it has developed along various lines. Jean Vallery Radot, in his *Le...*
recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus (1968) provides a good starting point for the study of Jesuits and architecture through the comparative analysis of 300 plans of Jesuit buildings located from Europe to America and Asia.45 Generally speaking, the secondary literature on Jesuits and architecture consists of essays on provinces, regions and cities, and on leading architects46 and emblematic churches. In the 1990s, the American Jesuit Thomas A. Lucas brought new energy to the field through his essays analysing the urban context of Jesuit buildings.47 Fundamental to my study are the works Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America (1999) and The Jesuits, Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773 (1999). The latter constitutes the first comprehensive essay of the Jesuit's use of art in relationship with their evangelisation intentions. Further reference must be made to the fact that Gauvin Bailey has just completed the first and long wished monograph on Jesuit art in Rome from the Renaissance to the Baroque.48

Scholars have long discussed the role of decoration in Jesuit churches. Italian authors, such as the historians of architecture Sandro Benedetti and the Jesuit Giovanni Italien, Stuttgart, 1887.

45 VALLY-RADOTT, Jean, Le recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus conservé à la bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Roma, 1968.

46 See, for example, the still valuable monographs of some of the most important Italian Jesuits and architects by Pietro Pirri (PIRRI S. J, Pietro, Giovanni Tristano e i primordi della architettura gesuitica, Roma, 1955, Il P. Giovanni De Rosis (1538-1610) e lo sviluppo dell'edilizia gesuitica, in “AHSI” (44), 1975, p. 3-104, Giuseppe Valeriano S. J., Architetto e pittore 1542-1596, Roma, 1970 and l’Architetto Bartolomeo Ammanati, in “AHSI” (12), 1943, p. 5-57.)


Sale argue for the essentially humble and austere character of Jesuit art. Clearly, the essays on the Society of Jesus and their use of imagery and/or on typical Jesuit devotions and iconographies are also fundamental to my dissertation. In 1932, in his masterpiece *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, the Frenchman Emile Male took the first steps for the foundation of a study of Jesuit devotions and iconography when he distinguished a number of themes which the Jesuits especially favoured. As five Jesuits (Rudolfo Acquaviva, Afonso Pacheco, Pedro Berno, António Francisco and Francisco Aranha) suffered martyrdom in Goa in 1583, the consultation of the bibliography on the cycles of martyrdom decorating Jesuit churches followed. Jaime Alemparte, in his essay *La leyenda de las Once Mil Virgenes sus reliquias, culto e iconografía* (1991), dedicated a full chapter to the diffusion of the cult and iconography

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In spite of the crucial role played by Jesuit buildings in Goa, I encountered only one short survey which dealt exclusively with them, namely, the article Algumas observações acerca da arquitectura da Companhia de Jesus no Distrito de Goa published in 1956 by Mário Tavares Chicó. Soon afterwards, the analysis of these buildings was widened in two studies comparing them to Jesuit architecture in other Portuguese territories. In 1957 the well-known French art historian German Bazin published his Plain d'etablissements jésuites au XVle siècle au Brésil et à Goa while, in 1961 the Portuguese specialist on Mannerist art, Jorge Henrique Pais da Silva, made a brief overview of Jesuit architecture in the Portuguese territories in his Notas sobre a arquitectura dos Jesuítas no espaço português. More recently, the architect Martin David Kowal has offered us some deep analysis of Jesuit architecture in India with his

53 FERREIRO ALEMPARTE, Jaime, La leyenda de las Once Mil Virgenes sus reliquias, culto e iconografía, Murcia, 1991.


55 TAVARES CHICÓ, Mário, Algumas observações acerca da arquitectura da Companhia de Jesus no Distrito de Goa (as igrejas: fachada, planta e espaço interior), in “Garcia de Orta” (1956), p. 256-272.
Innovation and assimilation: the Jesuit contribution to architectural development in Portuguese India (1999). Naturally, Jesuit buildings are referred to in general histories of Goa, as well as in general essays on the art produced in the Portuguese territories overseas, such as the books Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa (1959) and Arte de Goa, Damão e Diú (1959) by Carlos de Azevedo, and in the História da arte portuguesa no mundo (1999) by Pedro Dias. Furthermore, Jesuit churches in Goa are an obligatory subject of the literature on the production of religious architecture, woodcarving and painting in “Portuguese India”. In order to clarify the probable migration of models and iconographies from Jesuit art in Goa to other Portuguese settlements in the Orient, I further consulted the specific art bibliography on the latter.

Narrowing the focus down to Goa, let me mention the essays The Churches of Goa (1956) by Carlos de Azevedo, and the essays by two historians of architecture: The evolution of ecclesiastical architecture in Portuguese Goa (1993) by Martin David Kowal and Goa and Christian architecture of the 16th century (1997) by António Nunes Pereira. In addition, the latter has just discussed his PhD Dissertation with the title Die Kirchenbauten in Alt-Goa in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. und in den ersten


Jahrzehnten des 17. Jahrhunderts. Enstehung eines Sakralbautes at the University of Heidelberg. Further reference is made to monographs about single churches and their inventories. Indeed, this literature constitutes an important source of information for this study as it describes the external and internal features of the buildings with accuracy and in detail, and traces their stylistic evolution. Furthermore, it has provided fundamental iconographic material for my research. Although the fact that they present a certain "Baroque obsession" when analysing Catholic buildings in India, the various comparative studies of Christian and non-Christian architecture by the Goan author José Pereira are worth mentioning as they are grounded on a profound knowledge of non-European artistic and cultural traditions and include a great number of illustrations of both European and Indian examples. Thus, they were useful in forming a conceptual framework in which to grasp the cultural mixture that characterised the artistic activity developed in India after the arrival of the Europeans. Unfortunately, biographies on Goan artists remain relatively rare. João Carmo Nazareth and Rafael Moreira, in

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particular, dedicated short articles to the chief engineers of the "Estado da Índia" (Royal supervisors of all artistic undertakings in the Portuguese possessions). Joseph Wicki, using his extraordinary knowledge of Jesuit sources, traced the trajectory of a few Jesuits employed as artists in Goa in his article the Jesuitenmaler und Bildhauer, while another Jesuit, the Indian historian Joseph Velinkar wrote a biography of the lay brother and architect Francisco Aranha.63

In what concerns the methodology of this research, I began my investigation of primary sources at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (the main Portuguese archive for the Overseas Expansion) and at the Biblioteca Nacional, in Lisbon. Research made at the National Library proved very useful. I found out general descriptions of the Portuguese presence in Orient, such as the Collecção de cartas escritas da India aos soberanos. Resoluções para o mesmo estado, which includes letters from the Viceroy of India and refers to the ownership of churches, including in Salsete, and geographic descriptions (Ms. 139- 140: Cidades, portos, fortalezas; Cód. 28 s/d [1526-1643]: Descrição de terras por ordem alfabética; Cód. 29 s/d [1528-1604]: Descrição geográfica dos domínios portugueses). I also encountered interesting religious sources, such as the codices 175-176-177 (História Eclesiástica de Goa e missões. Noticias várias; codice 179 [1567-1773]: Assentos de religião), and the collection of official documentation referring to the College of S. Paulo Velho (Codice. 9861: Colégio de S. Paulo de Goa (1571-1815).

As to the Portuguese presence in India, the publication of sixteenth century sources has been privileged. Consequently, I concentrated my investigation of unpublished sources on the consultation of documentation from the first half of the seventeenth century. In particular, I worked for extended periods at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, which, as it is well-known, is the richest depository of Jesuit sources. The two collections of documents pertaining to the Goa Province, i.e., Goa and Fondo Gesuitico Collegio Goa attracted my particular attention. They include official and private accounts and letters about India, and the instructions for the best/improved administration of the Provinces. Indian letters, in particular those sent to Rome, are mainly conserved, for instance, in the collections GOA 8 to GOA 18 GOA 32, GOA 33. The catalogues of the provinces of Goa and Malabar from 1552 to 1752, which had to be periodically composed and sent to Rome, are preserved in the collections GOA 24 to GOA 29. The collection GOA 30 includes statements regarding Portugal’s patronage in relation to the churches in the Orient, while various documents in GOA 34.1 refer to the role of the local priests and of the local population in urging the canonisation of Francis Xavier. It clearly goes without saying that the letter written by the Italian painter Bartolomeo Fontebuoni (doc. 1), the very detailed description of the painting of the ceiling of the Bom Jesus (doc 2) and the sketch of the Bom Jesus and the Professed House made by a Jesuit before 1652 (fig. 17) are invaluable sources from this archive. Moreover, the collections Vat. Lat. 5516, 6206, 6434 at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the microfilmed collection called Manoscritti Gesuiti at the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, contain many instructions and rules for the government of the Society of Jesus. In addition, the latter include some interesting

documentation referring to the process of canonisation of Francis Xavier. In order to have a non-Jesuit perspective of the Jesuit Indian enterprise, I consulted some documentation at the archives of the Sacra Congregazione Propaganda Fide in Rome.

Lisbon was the starting point of the sea journey, and the training ground of many of the future missionaries to the East. Consequently, Jesuit letters from India, many copied in codices to be read at meal-times were sent to Lisbon and to two other Portuguese cities where important Jesuit colleges existed - Coimbra and Évora. Consultation of the collection Cartório Jesuítico at the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo shed much light on the economical and commercial activity of the Jesuits in India, because it includes a great quantity of documents of fiscal nature, such as Royal decrees granting certain privileges to the Jesuits in order to assist them in their apostolic work, as well as wills and deeds of private individuals, and lists of donations and endowments. For instance, the collections 82, 86, 88 and 90 contain much financial information on the lands and goods belonging to the churches in Salsete.

During the research for my dissertation, I had the opportunity of carrying out field-work in Goa. The reason why the Jesuit sources presently kept at the Historical Archives of Goa date almost totally from the late eighteenth century is probably due to an order to centralise all overseas profane and religious documentation in Portugal, which was issued by Marquês de Pombal in 1777. Notwithstanding the fact that the chronological limit of the present dissertation does not coincide with the period covered by these sources, I was able to consult several documentary holdings dating from the late seventeenth century, containing some useful data for this thesis at this institution.

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65 For instance, Manuscript 1364 contains the documentation referring to the discussion within the Order as to whether Francis Xavier had bled when its right arm was cut in 1614.

For example, the inventory of the *Bom Jesus* (Cod. 2118) contains an interesting description of the construction of the new sacristy between 1652 and 1654 (doc. 4).

As to what concerns the research on the secondary literature and of the published primary sources related to the subjects of Portuguese Overseas expansion and the Jesuits in India, I must mention the *India Office* in London, the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Lisbon and the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale* and the library of the *European University Institute* in Florence. The *Deutsches Kunsthistorisches Institut* (German Institute for the History of Art) in Florence has one of the best and most up to date art history libraries, offering a vast and wide-ranging bibliography on Italian art. My investigation there proved to be particularly fruitful as I encountered relevant literature on the practical and theoretical aspects of Jesuit artistic activity. Last, but not least, general literature on Mannerism and the Baroque is also well represented at the same institution.
Chapter I. Jesuit buildings in Goa

Fig. 1: Detail of the map of Goa by Hughes van Linschotten (1596) with the indication to some of the main squares, streets, such as the Terreiro dos Galos, Terreiro do Vizorey, Rua Direita, Bazar Grande and the Tronco (Prison). It also includes both main civil buildings: the Casas do Vizorey, the Alfandega and religious institutions (the Cathedral and the Misericórdia).
A FIGURATIVE PLAN OF THE CITY OF GOA.

Fig. 2: Map of Goa at the end of the 19th century
The aim of this chapter is to give a comprehensive description of the most representative buildings, which were constructed and run by the Society of Jesus from 1542 to 1655. In this sense, patrons, artists (as far as they are known), chronology of construction and of all embellishments (painting, sculpture, wood carving), and of repair will be referred to. The buildings will be enlisted according to their nature, starting with the description of the colleges (S. Paulo Velho, S. Paulo Novo, and the College of Salsete). The indication of the main structural and decorative features of the Noviciate, of the Professed House and of the Bom Jesus follows. Some general remarks will be made on the smaller Jesuit settlements.

S. Paulo Velho (1541-1578)

The original Colégio de S. Paulo was the first Jesuit settlement in Goa as it was already in place when the Jesuits arrived in India. It was founded in 1541 through the exertions of the Vicar General Miguel Vaz Coutinho and Diogo de Borba, (the Chief Justice who was probably a Franciscan friar), Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco, the Head of the Treasury Department, who was acting Governor in the absence of Estevão da Gama, Cosme Anes, who by then was the Register General Pedro Fernandes. It was founded under the
double devotion of the Holy Faith (a confraternity) and of Saint Paul, the Apostle of the
gentiles. This institution is commonly known as the Colégio de S. Paulo Velho due to
the fact that the studies were moved to a new site in 1614. The second institution was
called Colégio de S. Paulo Novo.

S. Paulo Velho had a missionary origin. In 1549, Vicar General Pedro Fernandes
Sardinha asked the King to highly recommend to the fathers of the College of St. Paul
to work as hard as possible to convert the whole Island of Goa, as this would be a great
example for the all other fortresses to convert.¹ Similar to the College that had been
built shortly before in Ternate (Maluco) by the Portuguese Antonio Galvão, S. Paulo
Velho was established for the purpose of instructing a body of no more than thirty Asian
students between the ages of 13 and 15 for three or four years, according to quotas
established for the different nationalities (Indians, Kaffirs, Malaysians, and even
Chinese). If they were not to enter the priesthood, they could, at least, serve as
interpreters since there was a great need of both priests and interpreters in India.²
Finally, according to its statutes, dated from 1541, the Confraria da Santa Fé was
created to hinder the construction of new temples or the reconstruction of the older ones
which had been destroyed one year before. Its founders also wanted to prevent non-
Christians from disturbing the Christians or forcing their Christian relatives to remain
poverty-stricken, to secure Government jobs for the new converts, and they wished to
help the poor Christians as well as to assure the up-keep of the churches. It was to be

¹ "Que V. A. encomende muito aos Padres do colégio de São Paulo que trabalhem o possível para fazer
toda a ilha de Goa cristã, porque será grande meio para todos os das outras fortalezas se
converterem." (Vicar General to India Pedro Fernandes Sardinha to King João III, Goa, end of
1549, in "DI", vol. I, p. 744.)

² LUCENA, João de, História da Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizerão na Índia os mais
religiosos da Companhia de Jesus (1600), Lisboa, 1989, vol. I., p. 77, and ALDEN, Dauril, The
Making of an enterprise, p. 44.
administered by four secular people or churchwardens. These were to be two honoured Portuguese and two honoured local men.³

The first students were admitted in 1542.⁴ In the course of time up to one hundred boys lived in S. Paulo, and included the sons of princes and rulers.⁵ In the initial period, before the building of a detached residence for the professed fathers (1585-1589), S. Paulo Velho was the main Jesuit settlement belonging in the Orient. Firstly, all the other Jesuit houses in the Province of India were subordinated to this institution. Secondly, S. Paulo Velho soon enlarged its scope, as, in a short period of time, an additional number of facilities operating in various fields of activity and financially supported by the College were constructed on its grounds. These included a hospital (1551), a noviciate (1569), a public library (1561),⁶ a well provided typography (1561), and dormitory facilities for a large number of Jesuits in transit from one place to another.⁷ Other institutions included a College for Orphans (1553), both male and female catechumenates (1555), and a boarding school (1562).

As it often happened, the Society was required to begin to run its first settlement in Goa and one of the first throughout the world. The above mentioned statutes of 1541 decreed that the Franciscans should be temporarily given the task of teaching the scholars because they already had a monastery in Goa, were considered to be virtuous


⁴ ALDEN, Dauril, The making of an enterprise, p. 44.

⁵ “In questo nostro collegio habbiamo, bencé separate da noi et in altre stanze, settanta putti, la maggior parte della terra fra li quail ce ne sono alchuni figlioli di principali persone.(...)” (Baltasar Dias S.J. to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, 18 December 1555, in “DI”, vol. III, p. 380.)

⁶ Unfortunately, I encountered sofar no reference in the primary sources explaining what was meant by public library. This library was probably for the use of the visitors of the college. (See, also footnote 81, p. 57)

⁷ Annual Letter of the Province of India (1578), in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 260.
and honest, and were thus particularly esteemed by the people. Since the Franciscans refused to run the college, it was decided to assign this task to the Jesuit Order. The gradual transference of the administration of both the Confraria da Santa Fé and of the College to the Society of Jesus started in 1542. A second landmark was passed in 1546, when the Order’s statutes were introduced. As Miguel Vaz and Diogo de Borba had recently died, the administration of the College at Goa, i.e., the care of revenues and the completion of the building, fell to the churchwarden Cosme Joam. However, as Cosme Joam found himself involved with royal business, he handed over all these responsibilities to the Society. In 1551, the Portuguese King, D. João III, gave his permission for the transference of the whole administration of S. Paulo and of its confraternity, including its income, to the Society of Jesus.

Concerning the income of this institution, in 1575 its revenues totalled almost 13,000 pardaos (3,900,000 reis). In 1580 this College earned 7,000 cruzados (2,520,000 reis), whereas its income was calculated in 1,350,000 reis in 1584. This

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11 (Xerafins and pardaos are Indian coins. To make comparisons possible, I use the common unit of Portuguese reis (in 1910, when the reis were substituted with the escudos, 1,000 reis were equal to 1 escudo. One Euro performs circa 200 escudos) and the following conversion ratios: 1 xerafim=300 reis; 1 pardao d’ouro= 360 reis; 1 pardao de tangas= 300 reis; 1 cruzado= 360 reis in the sixteenth century and 400 reis in the seventeenth century; one ducado veneziano (sixteenth century)= 400 reis; one escudo=400 reis. (MAGALHÃES GODINHO, Vitorino, Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial, Lisboa, 1982-1987, 4 vols.; GOMES, Alberto and TRIGUEIROS, António Manuel, Moedas portuguesas na época dos Descobrimentos, 1385-1580, Lisboa, 1992, and SUBRAHMANYAM, Sanjay, The Portuguese empire in Asia, 1500-1700: a political and economic history, London/New York, 1993)

12 Alessandro Valignano S. J. to Everard Mercurian at sea between Cochin and Goa, 4 December 1575,
income was mainly obtained from the rents of the former Hindu temples. As established between Governor Estevão da Gama and the civil representatives of the Island of Goa in 1541, the local inhabitants were to pay the rents of the destroyed Hindu temples annually, which averaged 7,168 pardaos (2,150,400 reis), to the Confraria da Santa Fé; 300 pardaos (90,000 reis) of the total amount were to be transferred to the College of S. Paulo Velho during the first year of the construction of the latter.\textsuperscript{13} In 1542, the Governor, Martin Afonso de Sousa, decided that the whole sum of 2,000 pardaos (600,000 reis) was to be handed over to S. Paulo Velho while it was being constructed.\textsuperscript{14} In 1546, when returning from Portugal, Miguel Vaz had in his possession a royal provision, which allotted an annual and perpetual rent of 2,000 cruzados (720,000 reis) to S. Paulo Velho.\textsuperscript{15} Due to the fact that the money effectively received by the College was often less than the 800,000 reis ascribed, the Portuguese crown attributed the former rents of temples on the Island of Choran and on the Islands of Salsete of Bassein to this settlement in 1573.\textsuperscript{16} Additional funding up was to come from the sale of the gifts made by the local rulers to S. Paulo Velho, from the generous legacies (for instance, in 1567, a devotee had left a legacy of 2,700 pardaos or 810,000 reis to S. Paulo Velho),

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{14} Laws by Governor Martin Afonso de Sousa in favour of S. Paulo Velho, Goa, 2 August 1542, in “DI”, vol. I, 880-882.
\textsuperscript{16} Confirmation by King D. Sebastião of the donations of the Hindu temples of Bandra, Kurla, Sákhi, Mohili in favour of S. Paulo Velho (Goa), Évora, 22 February 1570, in “DI”, vol. VIII, p. 258.
\end{flushright}
both from the rents of houses that the Order owned in Goa, which could amount to 600
*pardaos* (180,000 *reis*), and from the alms amassed in Goa.17

Concerning its location, it was decided in July of 1541 that *S. Paulo Velho*
should be built near the *Capela de Nossa Senhora da Luz* on the outskirts of Goa. One
of the reasons for this choice was that an altar of the Conversion of Paul which had been
founded by the honoured Christian Henrique de Menezes (who was probably the
godson of the Governor of Goa) was located there.18 However, the plans soon changed
because this site was stony and lacked water. The topographical (mountainous) feature
of the first site and the fact that the churchwarden of the *Capela de Nossa Senhora da
Luz* opposed the institution of the College were other reasons. Finally, the Governor, the
Bishop, and the mayors opposed the site near the *Capela de Nossa Senhora da Luz*
because another location was already destined for these buildings. This site had been
partly bought at the expense of the benefactor Manuel de Faria, who had left a legacy of
50,000 *pardaos* (15,000,000 *reis*) for this purpose, and partly by means of the alms
collected by the confraternity of this street.19 It was a place in the North Eastern
outskirts of the town, where a great mosque had formerly stood in the neighbourhood of
the Carmelite monastery in a street called *Carreira dos Cavalos* (a place used for
equestrianism). Few years before the arrival of the Jesuits, this quarter was the most

17 VALIGNANO, Alessandro, *Summarium Indicum* (changed, Shimo (Japan), August 1580, in “DI”, vol.
XIII, p. 153-155 and Gomes Vaz S. J. to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 12 December 1567, in

FONSECA, José, *An Historical and Archaeological sketch of the city of Goa*, New Delhi/Madras,
1994, p. 46.

19 Transfer of *S. Paulo Velho* from the site near the *Capela da Nossa Senhora da Luz* to the *Carreira dos
populated quarter of the outskirts of Goa. In time, it developed as a boarding area between Catholic Goa and gentile Goa.20

In order to describe the main structural features of S. Paulo Velho, let me begin by referring that it consisted of a group of buildings and was considered to be of a remarkable size at the time. For example, in 1544, Xavier declared this institution to be so large that five hundred students could easily be taught there.21 By then, around sixty priests were housed in the College, and later the number rose to more than one hundred.22 Moreover, both the inhabitants and the travellers often considered this College to be a masterpiece of architecture. Upon its conclusion in 1578, S. Paulo Velho was described as a well-designed, comfortable, spacious and imposing complex constructed in stone and covered with stucco.23 Also in the same year, the Italian Jesuit Niccolò Spinola compared S. Paulo Velho and its church, in size and beauty, to the College and Church of Brera, Milan.24 Furthermore, a non-Jesuit, Diogo do Couto, compared S. Paulo Velho to the best contemporary European colleges and expressed his great surprise at its magnificence.25

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21 “Este collegio es muy grande, donde pueden estar más de quinientos estudiantes, (...):” (Francis Xavier to his companions in Rome, Malacca, 15 January 1544, in “EX”, vol. I, p. 569.)

22 LACH, Donald, Asia in the making of Europe, vol. I., p. 263.

23 Annual Letter of the Province of India (1578), in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 260.

24 “Trovei un collegio che insino a qui non vidi, né di grandezza né di belezza senza compartione di quello di Milano, circondato de vari giardini e de varii frutti, con una chiesa belissima molto grande, quasi come quella di Milano nel collegio di Brera.” (Niccolò Spinola S. J. to Everard Mercurian, Goa, 26 October 1576, in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 319.

25 “que hé hum dos Collegios sumptuosissimos, que os Padres da Companhia tem pelo mundo dos principaes.” (COUTO, Diogo, Décadas, Book VII, Chapter III, p. 84.)
Again, Niccolò Lancilotti, in a letter written in 1545 and addressed to Simão Rodrigues, the Provincial of Portugal, informs us about the main buildings that formed S. Paulo Velho. At the time, it included a church, two civil buildings which were located on opposite sides of the cloister and served as residences for the priests and for the students, and two chapels in the garden which were respectively dedicated to Saint Jerome and S. Anthony of Egypt. One of the civil buildings measured *circa* 27m in length and 6.4m in width and had two storeys. The first floor included a refectory, had terraces and the second floor had three bedrooms for the students. The other civil building was made up of three bedrooms for the fathers.\(^2\)

In the 1560s, the residential part of the priests’ quarters comprised three main buildings. One of the buildings had eight bedrooms with windows to the South and doors to the North. The second and main building was begun in 1561 or 1562 and concluded in 1567. It was projected in the form of a cross. It had two storeys and overlooked the sea. On the ground floor, it had an entrance hall, a kitchen, a refectory and twenty bedrooms. A pleasant and large infirmary, with its chapel, its lattices and altar, and a suite of nineteen bedrooms were located at the Northern end of the upper floor facing the sea so that the sick priests could enjoy a view of the city, the garden and the orchard that surrounded the building. A staircase provided access to the first floor from the garden and the orchard. Both the corridor and the cells (28.6m in length x 30.8m in width) were in red mortar. Because of the large doorway on the Southern side and the many large windows facing the North,

\(^2\) "Aq stà já feita ua igreja como San Pedro de Coimbra, poco más ho men, e ua claustra asá comummente grande en un quadro com suas verandas de bajo, e por azima no meo un pozo muito bon pera bever. Da ua parte desta claustra sta ua casa complida 123 palmos [1 palmo=2,2cm] e larga 29 palmos. Esta casa por de bajo serve de refetorio, por azima serve de dormitorio por estes mozos. Da outra parte da claustra sao tres boas cammaras, dove nosotros dormimos, (...). Depois tem um horta mui formosa e grande, na qual sao dos eremidas de muita devozao, ua es de Santo Hironimo, otra de Sancto Antao." (Niccolò Lancilotti S. J., Goa, to Martinho de Santa Cruz, S. J., Coimbra, 22 October 1545, in “DI”, vol. I, p. 42.)
the building was very luminous. A third building included the clothing room, a library
and the bell tower.\footnote{Gaspar Dias S. J. to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 30 September 1567, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 299-300, and Gomes Vaz S. J. to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 12 December, 1567, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 386.}

In time, up to a hundred boys were taught at the boarding schools in S. Paulo. At
first, the priests, students, scholars and orphans shared the facilities. The boys were
taught in a room near the living rooms of the priests. However, the Roman headquarters
condemned this situation. General Lainez strongly recommended Provincial Quadros to
assure that the boys had their own refectory, bedroom and common rooms which were
to be separate from the residence of the priests. Accordingly, in 1562 Provincial
António Quadros ordered the construction of a new building with six classrooms in
front of the church.\footnote{“Fez-se também uma crasta pera os estudos, no qual fizerão sinquo clases pera se ler e huma mays pera os meninos de ler e screver.” (Baltazar da Costa S. J. to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 4 December 1562, in “DI”, vol. V, p. 596.)} In 1572 the school was demolished and the classes removed to
another, more comfortable, larger building (nine classrooms) as Governor António
Moniz Barreto had offered a large quantity of wood for its construction.\footnote{Eduardo Leitào S. J. to General Francisco Borja Goa, 5 November 1572, in “DI”, vol. VIII, p. 586.}

Both D. João III and Francis Xavier had shown interest in the foundation of a
residence for the Portuguese orphans.\footnote{Un provedimento con cui ordini di pagare I novemilla reali, dei quali V. A. Ha fatto elemosina alla Casa per le orfane, prelevate ogni mese dal suo tesoro di questa città; inolti ordini, nel suddetto provedimento, che dagli stipendi militari che daranno in elemosina alla Casa, prelevino ogni anno mille “pardaos” per soccorso e difesa delle orfane e dei poveri, (...). (Francis Xavier to D. João III, Cochin, 20 January 1548, in Adriana Caboni (ed.), Dalle terre dove sorge il sole: lettere e documenti dall’Oriente, 1535-1552 da Francesco Saverio, Roma, 2002, p. 223.)} However, their wish was put to practice only in
1552 when a separate house for seventy-two boys, who were orphaned of both their
fathers and mothers, was instituted.\footnote{Luis Fróis S. J. to his companions in Coimbra, Goa, 1 December 1552, in “DI”, vol. II, p. 467.} This institution which was opposed by many other
Jesuits, and even by General Francisco Borja, who did not want the Society in Goa to take on the “odious” task of governing the house of the orphans as they wanted to live in peace with everybody.\textsuperscript{32} Thus, General Borgia probably disapproved this institution as he opposed the practice of the children being taken by force from their families in order to be catechised.\textsuperscript{33} By contrast, the Orphanage was regarded favourably by the Crown and by both the local secular and the religious authorities. For instance, in a letter addressed to Luis da Camara, Vice Provincial Gaspar Barzeo stated that he had founded the Orphanage after seeking advice from Viceroy Afonso de Noronha and Bishop João de Albuquerque.\textsuperscript{34} It is particularly illuminating that a royal provision of 1569 determined that the orphans of the gentiles should be handed over to the Rector of S. Paulo Velho in order for them to be baptised, brought up and evangelised. A second document from Governor Moniz Barreto in 1575 reinforced the royal document of 1569. It decreed that the people who disobeyed this prescription would incur the penalty of being sentenced to the galleys and to the loss of all their goods.\textsuperscript{35} The orphanage was adjacent to the residences and the workrooms of the slaves and other menial workers, and near a house that had been used as the first catechumenate. Its upkeep was to be assured by remains of the rents of the Hindu temples.\textsuperscript{36} This house had a confraternity

\textsuperscript{32} “La superintendencia que Su Alteza desea que tenga la Compañía en la casa de los huérfanos de Goa, deseo no cARGE sobre nuestros hombros, antes se le persuada quán odioso ministerio es éste para religiosos pretiendam estar bien con todos.” (Francisco Borja to Leão Henriques, Provincial of Portugal, Rome 19 April 1567, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 243.)


\textsuperscript{34} Gaspar Barzeus S. J. to Luis da Camara, Goa, end of 1553, in “DI”, vol. II, p. 614.

\textsuperscript{35} HAG, Alvarás a favor da Cristandade, Royal instruction concerning the orphans of gentiles, 23 March 1569, fl. 47, Document by Antonio Moniz Barreto, Governor of India, 2 March 1575, in “APO”, fasc. V, p. 904-905, and WICKI, Joseph, Quellen zum Dritten Provinzialkonzil, p. 241.

\textsuperscript{36} Luis Frós S. J. to his companions in Coimbra, Goa, 1 December 1552, in “DI”, vol., II, p. 467 and Instruction by D. Sebastião, King of Portugal, ordering the part of the former rents of the temples on Salsete and Bardez to be transferred to the Catechumenate, 21 March 1569, in “APO”, fasc. V, p. 696-697.
attached, and was dedicated to the Name of Jesus. Both the rector and the confrades (members of the confraternity) were to guarantee the necessary alms.\footnote{Terão sua confraria do Nome de Jesus para se ajudarem dos confrades; e pedirão certos dias na somana bini et bini pola cidade, e no demais arremedeará o Reitor com buscar esmolas para isso." (Gaspar Barzeus S. J. to Ignatius of Loyola, Goa, 12 January 1553, in “DI”, vol. II, p. 594.)} The Portuguese orphans had shared their residence with the local orphans beforehand. This house measured 30.8m in length and 6.6m in width. However, it was of bad quality, and consequently, in 1558, it was necessary to build another house for the orphans.\footnote{"Alem da casa e aposentos em que agora estao os noviços se abrem agora lisesses para outro lanco que há de servir de agasalhar aos míninos orfãos e da terra, que se crião neste collegio, separados dos irmãos, e isto porque a casa onde estavao aposentados, estar toda para chair. É esta casa de 14 braças em comprido e 3 de largura, e assim hé necessário grande porque os meninos ordinariamente são 100, mais ou menos." (Pedro de Almeida S. J. to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 26 December 1558, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 191.)} At the moment of its construction, this building was considered large and suitable for its function to provide seclusion. Nevertheless, it was only a temporary solution as the authorities wanted that the Portuguese boys stayed apart from the non-Portuguese boys. Consequently, a building which was to serve as a residence for the Portuguese and other European orphans was built in 1578. The Jesuits expected to conclude another house for the local boys at the end of the same year.\footnote{"Tienese acabado um quarto muy hermos y capaz para los portugueses y gente más limpia; outro lanco está comenzado para los otros niños de la tierra y está en buen términos, y acarbarse com ajuda de Nuestro Senor este verano." Annual Letter of the Province of India (1578), in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 261.}

In 1551, a hospital for the indigenous people was created because it had been prescribed by the Constitutions for S. Paulo Velho in Goa (1546). It was located in front of the College and had two separate infirmaries, one for women, and another for men. Until 1556, there was an average of thirty to forty indoor patients. By 1564, its number rose to sixty.\footnote{D’COSTA, Anthony, The Christianisation of the Goa Islands, Bombay, 1965, p. 161.} In addition to a very good kitchen, refectory and other essential civil rooms, a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Conception was constructed in 1551.
thanks to alms, returns on money loaned and money amassed from unknown sources.\footnote{"Micer Paulo [Camerte] determinou de fazer huma hermida muito devota a par do dito hospital, (...) A determinando o pôs por obra, a qual com algumas esmolas e restituições, e com mais ayudas que pede a fez; a qual se chama Nossa Senhora da Consolaçâo." (Rui Pereira S. J., to Luís Gonçalves S.J., Goa, 8 December 1552, in "DI", vol. II, p. 508.)}

With regard to its financial outlay, this institution was financially supported by the College. More precisely, in 1554, D. João III allotted 300 *paradas de tangas* (90,000 *reis*) from the former rents of the Hindu temples to it.\footnote{Instruction by King D. João III in favour of the Goa Hospital, Lisbon, 10 March 1554, in "DI", vol. II, IV, p. 508. (For the history of this institution, see: PACHECO FIGUEIREDO, João Manuel, *Goa Dourada nos séculos XVI-XVII-O Hospital dos Pobres do Padre Paulo Camerte* (esboço de sua reconstituição histórica, in "Studia", 1968, p. 116-140)}

In order to consolidate Christianity in India, Ignatius advised Xavier to attend to both the instruction of the young and to institute catechumenates.\footnote{"Polanci Complementa", vol. I, p. 215-216.} Accordingly, around 1550, the Jesuits began to instruct both male and female candidates for Catholicism at *S. Paulo Velho*, from two to three months before baptising them. Initially, the male catechumens were lodged in the male quarters adjacent to the residence of the Jesuits. The females were housed in the hospital for the native women. However, this accommodation was temporary as two buildings were constructed to serve respectively as the male and female catechumenates in 1555.\footnote{"Baldassar Dias, Vice-Provincial of India, to Ignatius of Loyola, 15 December 1555, in "DI", vol. II, p. 380-381, SCHURHAMMER, Georg, *Francisco Javier*, vol. IV, p. 128, and D’COSTA, D’COSTA, Anthony, *The Evangelisation of the Goa Islands*, p. 156.}

The masculine catechumenate was located inside the precincts of the College near the workrooms whereas the house for the female catechumens was located outside the College.\footnote{"E porque este baptismo foy o prymeiro e forma de todos os outros que depoys se fizerão, me pareceo ser cousa grata e conveniente pôr aquy a ordem que neste e nos mays baptismos se tinha. Primeiramente ordenarão duas casas de catecumenos, huma dentro do mesmo nosso collegio, que servia pera os homens, e outra fora em huma casa apartada pera as molheres, (...)." (VALIGNANO S.I., Alessandro, *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las índias Orientales (1542-1564)*, Roma, vol. I, p. 347-348.)} The number of catechumens
maintained at any time was ten, twelve, or fifteen, and the main source of income of this institution derived from the remains of the former rents of the temples on Bardez and Salsete.46

The Church of S. Paulo Velho was located on the ruins of a great mosque and was built according to a project by Father Paulo de Santarem and the Franciscans fathers. The expenses for its construction were borne by the generous alms of the faithful.47 The foundation stone of the Igreja de S. Paulo was laid on the 10th November 1541 and its construction progressed steadily. In 1542, the walls of the church had already been built and the high chapel vaulted, and first mass was celebrated in it on the 25th January 1543.48 It had three naves on its ground plan and was barrel vaulted. In 1552, an expensive receptacle for the Host was ordered. This tabernacle was put on the main altar close to the retable. It was all in gold. Externally, it was engraved with the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, over whom there were some small angels in relief holding the instruments of the Passion.49 In 1549, one year after the head of Saint Gerasima (one of the eleven thousand virgins and Queen of Sicily)50 had been taken to Goa, Barzeo founded the Confraternity of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Goa at the

46 “E como sou informado que sobejarão, ey por esta carta po aplicado o que assy sobejar e ficar per'a caza dos cathecuminos que está na cidade de Goa, (...). (Law by King D. Sebastião on the former lands of the Hindu temples in Bardez and Salsete, Almeirim, 21 March 1569, in “DI”, vol. VIII, p. 6.)


49 Luis Fróis S. J. to his companions in Coimbra, Goa, 1 December 1552, in “DI”, vol. II, p. 461.

50 According to the Legenda Aurea (1263-1273), Ursula was the daughter of a Christian British King and had taken a vow of chastity. Yet, the son of the Pagan King Conanus wanted to marry her. She agreed on the condition that he would convert to Christianity. Before marriage, she embarked together with eleven thousand virgins for Cologne and afterwards for Rome. But, on the way back, she, her maiden, several bishops and Pope Cyriac were all tortured and martyred by the Huns near Cologne. (VORAGINE, Jacques, La Légende Dorée, Paris, 1967, vol. II, p. 294-298).
Colégio de São Paulo in order to celebrate the miracles associated with this relic. On this occasion, one of the existing side altars was re-consecrated to this cult, and the painting of a rich oil retable destined for the same altar was commissioned. Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha (1550-1554), who was the first member of this Confraternity, ordered the engraving of a silver monstrance to preserve the head. In 1553, Barzeo also created a Confraternity of the Name of Jesus. Thus, it seems possible that an altar with the same devotion existed in this church. The Church in S. Paulo Velho might also have had an altar dedicated to the souls of purgatory as the Governor, Martim Afonso de Sousa, had asked Francisco Xavier to intercede on his behalf with Ignatius and ask him to convince the Pope to institute a privileged altar dedicated to the souls of purgatory in the Church of S. Paulo in Goa. In 1584, there existed two choirs whereas, in 1593, a chapel was built in order to house an organ. In his biography of Francis Xavier (1600), the Jesuit chronicler João de Lucena stated that the founder of the College, Diogo de Borba (who died in 1548), was buried in the front of the High Chapel. Furthermore, this church bears testimony to many significant events. It was in this liturgical space that the first jubilee for India granted by the Pope was announced in

51 Idem, ibidem, p. 475-476.
53 “O Governador Martim Afonso de Sousa, o qual pedio ao B. P. Francisco que em seu nome escrevesse ao nosso B. P. Ignacio que pera a nova igreja alcansase do Papa hum altar priviligiado en favor das almas do purgatorio.” (GUERREIRO, Fernão, Relação Anual das coisas que fizerão os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões nos annos de 1600 a 1609, vol. III, Coimbra, 1930, p. 278)
54 Alessandro Valignano S. J. to Fr. Claudio Acquaviva, General, Cochim, 14 December 1584, in “DI”, vol. XIII, p. 688, and ARSI, GOA 14, Manuel da Veiga to Claudio Acquaviva, 23 November 1593, fl. 103r.
1552, and, of most importance, where the bodily remains of Saint Francis Xavier were first deposited when they were transferred from Malacca to Goa in 1554.56

Some years after its construction, it began to show signs of decay. In 1547, an external choir supported by arches collapsed.57 Since the structural problems persisted and it was not sufficiently large and comfortable for the devotees, in 1560, on the day of the Conversion of Saint Paul (the 25th January), the foundation-stone of a new church was laid in the presence of D. João Nunes Barreto, Provincial of Ethiopia, António Quadros, Provincial of India, and Constantino de Bragança, Viceroy of India.58 This church was concluded by 1572.59 Its construction cost circa 50,000 ducados (18,000,000 reis), and was also made possible by the alms that had been received since 1567 and particularly by a legacy (1,000 pardaos or 300,000 reis) made by a rich benefactor.60 The team of artists employed was led by Brother Architect Antonio Dias from 1560 to 1565, with the assistance of Brother Mason Cristovão de Araújo, of Brother Mason Cosme Cardoso, Brother Smith Balthasar Nunes (between 1560 and 1561), João Dias (around 1561), Sebastião Rodrigues (around 1568) and Novice Luis Jorge (1563). Brother João Gonçalves was responsible for the construction between

56 Saldanha, Manuel José Gabriel de, História de Goa (política e arqueológica), New Delhi/Madras, 2. ed., 1990, p. 53-54.

57 Cosme Anes to King D. João III, Bazain, 30 November 1547, in “DI”, vol. I., p. 221.

58 “Dia da Conversão do bemaventurado São Paulo, que he o proprio orago desta casa, começamos a edificar huma nova igreja, neste nosso collegio de Goa, por esta, que temos, estar perygoza para cair e pequena para o concurso de genie que a ella vem, e avera annos que a temos sobre mastos.” (Luis Fróis to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 1 December 1560, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 726-727.)

59 “Aos vinto & cinco de Janeiro de mil quinhentos setenta & dous, dia da Conversão de S. Paulo, se cantou a primeira Missa na Igreja nova do Collegio de Goa, consagrada ao mesmo Apostolo, doze annos depois de lhe lançarem a primeira pedra.” (Sousa, Francisco, Do Oriente Conquistado, p. 866.)

1566 and 1568, and the Spaniard Martin Ochoa supervised the remaining works between 1571 and 1572.\(^6\) Many officials, priests, brothers, scholars, noblemen and their employees also helped during the last four or five months of its construction.\(^62\)

This Church was an important cult centre as it housed a remarkable store of relics. A side chapel was dedicated to Saint Ursula and to the Eleven Thousand Virgins, where the heads of Santa Gerasima (which arrived in Goa in 1548), the captain of the army Saint Boniface, and a third head of an anonymous companion of Ursula were kept.\(^63\) In 1569, a reliquary with many sacred relics was exposed to public veneration for the first time on the occasion of the Feast day of the Circumcision and of the Conversion of Saint Paul (the 25th January) that were the days when visitors could receive plenary indulgence.\(^64\) In 1597, the bodies of the five Jesuits, who had been martyred on the Peninsula of Salsete in 1583, were transferred from the College in Rachol to the Sacristy of the church of S. Paulo Velho. In 1605, at the behest of General Acquaviva and, in order to assure the reverence due to them, Provincial Manuel da Veiga ordered two wooden shrines for the bones of Xavier and of the Five Jesuit

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\(^{62}\) “Trabalhou-se de proposito alguns quarto ou simco messes dantes, metendo muitos officiaes de novo pêra poder vir pera este dia. E os mesmos Padres e Irmandos, e estudantes, e meninos de escola, (...) a ajudarão a despejar, e desemtulhar hum tereiro que está diante da porta. Muito homens mandavão seus moços ajudar e alguns em pessoa o vinhão fazer, tanto era o desejo que tinhão de ver esta igreja acabada.” (Eduardo Leitão S. J. to Francisco Borja, Goa, 5 November 1572, in “DI”, vol. VIII, p. 585.)


martyrs. The one with the relics of Xavier on the Gospel, the other on the Epistle Side. The fact that this church housed such important bones explains why, at least, two distinguished laymen were buried in this church. Cosme Anes, who died in 1560, was buried inside the choir, and Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha was also buried there in 1585.

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in Coimbra, Goa, 16 November 1570, in “DI”, vol. VIII, p. 325.)

65 “No anno de 1597 mandou o P.e Visitador Nicolau Pimenta desenterrar secretamente pello P.e Alberto Laercio os santos mártires, e foram levados ao Collegio de S. Paulo; e do coro, onde (os) depositarão, se levarão em procissão à sacristia do collegio e foram postos num caixão com cinco repartimentos e nomes por onde se conheço. (...) E mandou o P.e Geral que assim as reliquias do B. P. Francisco Xavier, como (a)s dos santos mártires, se pozessem na Igreja de S. Paulo decentemente. Em cumprimento desta obediência, mandou o P.e Provincia Manoel da Veiga, no anno de 605 fazer dois retabolos de madeira com seus nichos e os mandou pôr na capella, mor metidos nas paredes, hum da parte do evangelho para o B. P.e Xavier, e outro da epistola para os santos mártires.” (GONÇALVES S.J., Sebastião, Report of the martyrdom of the Jesuits in Salsete, Goa, December 1609, in “DI”, vol. XII, in “DI”, vol. XII, p. 994.

66 SOUSA, Francisco, Oriente Conquistado, p. 32 and BL, Cod. 1646 Egerton Doque obrou na India o ViceRey Dom Affonso de Noronha quos annos a governou, fl. 230.
This church had a further important artistic value. It was conceived from the beginning to be one of the most sumptuous churches in India. The arches were so wide and lofty that a main road passed beneath them, and were so handsome that the building was called the Igreja de S. Paulo dos Arcos in their honour. Furthermore, both its interior and façade were largely drawn from Italian models which at the time were considered the standard of quality, also in Portugal. Like many Roman churches, it lacked towers. Its façade had three doors, from which the main one pierced in a perfect arch flanked by paired Corinthian columns. It was probably inspired by a model

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67 “Esperamos que seja hum dos sumptuosos templos destas partes” (Luis Fróis to his compagnions in Portugal, Goa, 1 December 1560, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 727).

68 FONSECA, José Nicolau, An Historical and Archaeological sketch of the city of Goa, p. 265.

69 In the 1560s, the Italian influence was largely diffused in Portugal through the treaties of architecture. (AZEVEDO, Carlos, Arte de Goa, Dâmão e Diu, p. 18)

70 BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander, Art on the Jesuit missions, p. 130.
diffused by the Bolognese Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1555) in his book *Dalle Antichità* (Venice, 1540).\(^7\)

Finally, it provided a model for various Jesuit churches, such as *S. Paulo* in Diu (1586), the *Bom Jesus* in Bassein (1578), the damaged *S. Pedro e S. Paulo* (1580) in Chaul, and the *Nossa Senhora da Assunção* [better-known as *Igreja da Madre de Deus*] \(^7\) and *Igreja de S. Paulo* (1601-1640) in Macao.\(^7\)

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SERLIO, Sebastiano, *Dalle antichità: Il terzo libro nel quale si figurano e descrivano le antichità di Roma e le altre cose che sone in Italia e sopra Italia*, Venezia, 1540.

Contemporary sources indicate that this Goan church measured 15.8m in length and 12.4m in width, and was planned with three naves, which were probably built in wood of equal height, and separated by "beautiful" huge black stone columns imported from Bassein, and square chancels. The High Chapel measured almost 8.2m x 7.7m, and was separated from the body of the church by a "muy alto y fermo" (a very high and handsome) arch. Like the first church constructed in the grounds of S. Paulo Velho, this second church was barrel vaulted because this kind of ceiling was considered "safer, cleaner and cost the same price as any other kind of covering" (mais segura, limpa e não de mais custo). Its naves and chapels were all painted white, and the choir was very spacious, making this church particularly luminous. The church was lined with at least eight altars. The main altar was dedicated to the Conversion of Saint Paul and covered the whole wall. It had cost around 12,000 to 15,000 cruzados (4,320,000 to 5,400,000 reis). The tabernacle was the work of two Portuguese artists: it was engraved by Father João Gonçalves and painted by Emanuel Álvares prior to 1571, being one of the side chapels consecrated to Saint Jerome. It may be possible that an altar was also rededicated to Our Lady of Saint Luke. This cult was introduced in this church in 1579 when a picture was displayed for public veneration for the first time.


74 "Hé tão clara que de noite com huma camdea se alumia toda; causa isto serem todas as naves e capellas d'abobeda acafelladas e caiadas. O coro fica tambem mui espasoso, claro, e não afoga nada a igreja (o que dantes se areceava):" (Eduardo Leitão S. J. to Francisco Borja, Goa, 5 November 1572, in "DI", vol. VIII, p. 583.)

75 "Llámasse de la Conversion de S. Pablo, de la qual tiene un muy rico y hermoso retablo, tan grande quanta es toda la pared frontera de la capila, que lo estiman de valor de doze mil cruzados. (VALIGNANO, Alessandro, Summarium Indicum (changed), August 1580, in "DI", vol. XIII, p. 152-153.)

which may explain this point. The Sacred Sacrament was kept in a chapel honouring Our Lady of the Annunciation, the respective confraternity having been created in 1603 by Provincial Manuel da Veiga. It is probable that the church had two choirs. Finally, an old tradition diffused among Jesuits spoke of the existence of a pulpit over the Chapel of Our Lady of the Annunciation which had already belonged to the first temple where Francis Xavier used to spend the night in contemplation.

At first, the construction of this church seemed to progress steadily as in 1561, the two side chapels were already vaulted, and the local Jesuits hoped to finish the vaulting of the main chapel in the summer of the same year. The two-storeyd religious structure (including in the ground-floor the sacristy, and the chapter house, which was crowned by a high belfry) and the library were also expected to be concluded. The works progressed well, especially in the early 1560s. The high chapel, the side chapels, the sacristy and the chapter house were also effectively accomplished by 1562 so that mass was said on Corpus Christi’s day. Subsequent to the conclusion of the chapels, the local hierarchy of the Society planned to connect these chapels to the old church which

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77 “En especial día de Assumpción de N. Senhora uvo mucho regozijo espiritual en este collegio, porque uvo fiesta en la iglesia pór razón de se poner com solemnidad y extraordinario culto la primera vez ritracto de la imagen de N. Señora que pintó S. Lucas.” (António Monserrate to Everard Mercurian, Goa, 26 October 1579, in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 661.)


79 Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Cochin, 14 December 1584, in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 284.

80 “Avia no collegio de Sam Paulo huma tribuna sobre o altar do Santíssimo Sacramento. Nellas passava as mais das noites em contemplação.” (GONÇALVES, Sebastião, Primeira parte da História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus, p. 285.)

81 “Das obras materiais deste collegio de Goa não há ao presente mais que escrever que ir-se trabalhando na igreja nova, que he das sumptuozas da India. Tem-se acabadas as abobodas das duas capelas das ilhargas. Trabalha-se agora na capela maior. Esperamos em o Senhor que se acabara de abobodar este verão. Yuntamente se acabara tambem de fazer hum lanço das crastas em que fiqua, per baixo, a sancristia e capitolo; e per sima, huma torre pera os sinos e livraria publica, com outra casa.” (Luis Fróis to his companions in Portugal, Goa, December 1561, in “DI”, vol. V, p. 264.)
would serve as the nave of the new church. However, due to the scarcity of funds, the speed of this construction slowed down. Notwithstanding this, some important work of enlargement was also done the following year. The central doorway, as well as a four-storeyed belfry “de bela vista” (which afforded a scenic view), and a spiral staircase leading to the sacristy were concluded. In 1569, the dismantlement of the first church of S. Paulo Velho began, and the “colunas de pedra preta grandes e formosas” (huge and “beautiful” black stone columns) were already in place. In 1570, Eduardo Leitão, an inhabitant of S. Paulo Velho, informed his companions in Portugal that the vaulting of the side chapels was completed and that the main chapel was being constructed that year. Moreover, it was of general opinion that this church would become one of the most sumptuous churches in India. The subsequent year, the Flemish painter Marcos Maecht began the golden altar of three altars. This work ended in 1589, and it cost more than 2,000 ducados (720,000 reis), an amount which was amassed from the generous alms given that year. The local Christians further sponsored the acquisition of ornaments for the sacristy, which totalled 1,000 pardans (3,000,000 reis).

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82 “No edifício material deste collegio ouve tão bem este anno muito augmento, no qual se acabarão as tres capellas principais da igreja nova. (...). Depois de feitas, as capellas se encorporão com a igreja velha, e que fica servindo por corpo da igreja. Dise-se missa nella dia de Corpus Christi.” (Annual Letter of the Province of India (1562), in “Documentação”, vol. IX, p. 101.)

83 “Quanto as obras deste colegio vão, polla bondade de Nosso Senhor, adiante, ainda que muito devagar, polla muita pobreza em que estamos.” (Jorge Caldeira to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 11 December 1564, in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 364).

84 “Na igreja se tem sarrados todos os portões que ficão da banda de fora, que são tres; da frontaria (ainda que do principal falta muita obra), e hum de travessa. Acabou-se a torre dos sinos; he de quatro sobrados em alto; fica muito fermosa e com muyto boa vista; tem seu caracol, para onde decem a sachristia.” (Annual Letter of the Province of India (1566), in “Documentação”, vol. X, p. 111.)

85 Sebastião Fernandes S. J. to Francisco Borja, Goa, November 1569, in “DI”, vol. VIII, p. 92.

86 “Fizeram este anno as abobodas das duas naves piquenas e na do meo ficão agora pondo os simples. Dizem todos que ficará hum dos mais sumptuozos templos desta terra. Seja tudo pera gloria e honhra de Deos pera o qual se faaz.” (Eduardo Leitão to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 16 November 1570, in “DI”, vol. VIII, p. 327.)

87 Catalogue of the Jesuits at S. Paulo Velho in Goa in 1571, in “DI”, vol. VIII, p. 421 and Lopo de Abreu
According to a very common tradition, Francis Xavier himself had ordered either the Capela de S. António or the Capela de S. Jerónimo in the garden of S. Paulo Velho, in which he used to say mass. It is thus possible that this chapel corresponds to the extant Capela de S. Francisco Xavier, whose walls display twenty-seven important incidents and anecdotic events concerning the life of Francis Xavier. Moreover, a letter written in 1555 by Vice Provincial Baltazar Dias mentioned a secret chapel inside the settlement of S. Paulo, in which, it has been ascertained that Viceroy Pedro Mascarenhas received the Eucharist. Another chapel that was located in a recently constructed garden was dedicated to S. Agostinho and should serve the members of the College and for noblemen to receive both Confession and the Eucharist in great comfort. Its main retable that was painted by the Portuguese painter Manuel Álvares, was placed there on the eve of the Day of Saint Augustin and first mass was said there the next day. A further chapel dedicated to S. Martinho was located near the hospital.

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S. I. to Claudio Acquaviva S. J., Goa, 3 October 1589, in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 373.

88 “y la sanchristia se abrá accrescentado de ornamentos de valia de más de mil pardaos de lismosas que algunos devotos dieron.” (Rui Vicente S. J. to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 21 October 1582, in “DI”, vol. XII, p. 608.)

89 “E nesse mesmo dia o Viso-Rei aqui se confessou comigo e tornou o S. Sacramento dentro de huma capela que temos secreta, do que alguns algum tanto ficarão confusos.” (Baltazar Dias S. J., Vice Provincial of India, to Tiago Mirão S. J., Provincial of Portugal, Goa, 4 January 1555, in “DI”, vol. III, p. 209.)

90 “Faz-se agora huma orta dos Irmãos Collegiaes, com huma capella do glorioso S. Agostinho, assi para que aja maior commodidade para o recolhimento, como tâobem pera nella poderem com maior commodidade confessar e comungar alguma pessoa nobre, quando ocorrer esta necessidade.” (Jorge Caldeira to Tiago Mirão, Goa, 6 December of 1565, in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 623.)

91 “Na capella de Sancto Agostinho, que na horta se fez, como já se escreveo, se pós este Agosto passado, vespora do mesmo Sancto (28 August), hum retavolo muito acabado, que pintou o P. Manoel Álvares.” (Gomes Vaz S.J to Leão Henriques S.J., Goa, 29 November 1566, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 69.)

92 SOUSA, Francisco, Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo, p. 61.
A few years after the Jesuits had installed their headquarters in the site of Saint Paul, the site began to become overcrowded and to show signs of unhealthiness.\(^3\) In addition to being located at the foot of a mountain, and thus not having enough air, the site suffered from many epidemics.\(^4\) Therefore, the inhabitants were compelled to move to other places both inside and outside Goa. With the gradual transference of the various facilities to other sites on Goa, S. Paulo Velho gradually lost importance, and fell into neglect. By the end of the sixteenth century, in 1584, its inhabitants were reduced to a half, to be precise, to fifty.\(^5\) In the 1620s, the activities of the College and the church festivities were practically extinguished.\(^6\) At the end of the same century only two fathers lived there. Once magnificent, it was, at that time, reduced to a ruin. Only the High Altar and two of the side altars, where the catechumens were instructed, were still in place.\(^7\) At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the façade, the side walls, the choir cloister, a staircase, and the arches of the church were still in place. However, like many other buildings in Goa, it was demolished soon afterwards, between 1829 and 1839, and its stone reused for the construction of barracks and private houses.\(^8\) Thus,

\(^3\) At the suggestion of the participants in the Sixth Congregation of the Province of India (1605), the Roman headquarters decreed the institution of a committee of ten priests to investigate the sanitary conditions of S. Paulo Velho. (WICKI, Joseph, Die Provinzkongregationen, p. 232.)

\(^4\) "Es esta casa algo enferma pore star situada al pie de un monte, por cuyo respecto no tien tanto ayre como la tierra demanda." (Report by Francisco Henriques, S. J., and André de Carvalho on the Orient Mission, Évora, September 1561, in "DI", voi. V, p. 170.)

\(^5\) "No collegio ficao ao presente perto de cinquenta pessoas, que parece serao as mais que commumente poderao ter com as ocupagoes destas partes." (Manuel Teixeira, Consultor o f the Province o f Ìndia, to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 25 November 1584, in "DI", vol. XIII, p. 550-551.)


\(^7\) "Ora in questa chiesa, benché magnifica per lo passato, non si vede oggidi che l’altar maggiore, con due piccioli per ciaschedun dei lati. Quivi s'istruiscono I catecumuni." (CARRERI, Gemelli, Giro del Mondo (1695), Catanzaro, 1993, vol. I, p. 152.)

the ruins of its main façade and the chapel dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier, which was renovated in 1859 and reconstructed in 1884, are all that remains of it.\textsuperscript{99}

2. S. Paulo Novo or Novo Colégio de S. Paulo (1610-1620)

The idea of dividing the courses had come from the first Jesuits. Xavier and Ignatius had considered moving some of the courses to Thana near Bassein (figs. 54 and 55, p. 247), which was a fresher and healthier place where land was cheap.\textsuperscript{100} Instead, Barzeo suggested that one part of the studies be moved to some of the houses that the Portuguese Antonio Pessoa had in Goa, and the other part to Thana.\textsuperscript{101} Later on, the subject was extensively discussed by the participants in the Fifth Congregation of the Province of India (1599). However, it was probably the high costs involved in such an enterprise that led to fact that the local priests were forbidden to talk about this move. In exchange, Acquaviva suggested a few palliative measures. Experience had shown that when two priests shared bedrooms, and one became ill, the other also became infected. Thus, he recommended that his subordinates in Goa should construct a wing of bedrooms protected from the wind. Given the reduced number of novices at the time, twenty or thirty rooms could easily be arranged at the Noviciate for the priests who had recently arrived from Europe. Secondly, he advised the local priests to maintain their custom of staying at the healthier sites during the worst periods of the year.\textsuperscript{102}


\textsuperscript{100} “Y si por ser malsana Goa, pareziese conveniente dexar en ella solamente las lecciones de letras humanas y alguna otra, (...), vease si en Tana, pues es tierra fresca y sana y barata, tuviere los cursos de artes y teologia.” (Juan de Polanco on behalf of Ignatius of Loyola to Miguel Torres, Rome, 21 November 1555, in “DF”, vol. III, p. 307.


However, these proceedings did not solve the problem. As a consequence, a second educational institution, *S. Paulo Novo* was built between 1610 and 1620. Considering the artists related to this institution, the Portuguese Jesuits Manuel Figueiredo and João Rodrigues and the Spanish Jesuit Juan Martin supervised the construction of its church around 1614 whereas the Florentine lay brother and painter Bartolomeo Fontebuoni was charged with its decoration towards 1621. This settlement was constructed upon the ruins of a house built in 1526 by the former Captain of Malacca, Pedro Faria, which the Jesuits had bought in 1578. This house was located at the back of the *N. Senhora do Rosário*, a church in which the Jesuits used to pray on Sundays and on holidays. More precisely, it was located on the Western verge of the *Monte do Rosário*, also called *Monte Santo*, in one of the most populated areas of the city. This site looked out over the sea and the whole city, and it was considered one of the healthiest places in Goa. As *S. Paulo Velho*, *S. Paulo Velho* fulfilled several functions. Before the boarding classes moved here in 1610, the place had been used as a place of recovery and recreation for sick and convalescent priests, as well as a noviciate (1581). In time, a library, a hospital, an apothecary and the catechumenate were also installed there. It was four storeys high and consisted of an immense mass of chapels, cloisters, and apartments for professors and students. Actually, it was considered the most imposing buildings in Goa.

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103 Appendix I.


The patron of the church varied. While the building served as a recreation residence, the church was dedicated to S. Roque, the saint of the plague-stricken. As soon as the novices moved there, it was changed to Nossa Senhora da Conceição and then to S. Paulo Novo upon the request of Acquaviva in 1618. The church had six chapels and must have been an important cult-site for the Eleven Thousand Virgins. In addition, it housed important relics, among which pride of place went to a garment of Francis Xavier. Finally, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, S. Paulo Novo was in possession of four heads of the Eleven Thousand Virgins.

The foundation of the new Jesuit College in Goa was a major subject of discussion. The Augustinians, whose monastery was located at the base of the Western hill, had their ventilation and view blocked by both the church and the dormitory of the new Jesuit College. This period of unrest and litigation was definitively put to an end in 1632 when the Jesuits agreed to demolish some walls. They also shifted a workroom.

Indeed, the secular and regular priests who ran the institutions located nearby voiced objections to the project as can be seen in the abundant letters dispatched to the Portuguese crown. From their viewpoint, a new church in the area would empty the older churches. In reality, both the religious and the political authorities approved the

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106 FONSECA, José Nicolau, An Historical and Archaeological sketch of the City of Goa, p. 315.
108 Doc. 4,
109 “Parece-me, Senhor, que em haver concertado os Padres da Companhia com os Agostinhos nas demandas que traziam sobre o Collegio, (…). Estas duas Religiões ficão compostas, e com grande paz e união, debaixo de escrituras derribam-lhe humas paredes, fizeram-e outras, e também huma officina, de que os Padres Agostinhos se offendião e mudou.” (Viceroy Conde de Linhares to King Filipe III, Goa, 7 December 1632, in “APO”, fasc. V.3, p. 1259-1260.)
foundation of this settlement only after it had already taken place. Maintaining a certain
distance, they limited themselves to authorising an accomplished fact. Both Viceroy
Jerónimo de Azevedo (1612-1617) and the Town Hall approved this institution in 1613.
The Crown authorised this settlement even later, in 1617.\textsuperscript{111} Between 1610 and 1617,
Filipe II, King of Portugal, ordered the Jesuits to abandon the site at the Rosary on
various occasions. Instead, the Society should undertake the necessary works at the
Colégio de S. Paulo Velho. The King argued that S. Paulo Velho was located on the
outskirts. It had been fundamental in attracting new inhabitants, and this area had
become one of the three most populated areas of the city as well as the noblest. Thus,
the transfer of college might have brought about the depopulation of the area. This
quarter would certainly lose a large part of its population, in particular the nobility, and
the properties of the inhabitants would devalue. As S. Paulo Velho was maintained by
the Royal Treasury, the money already spent would be lost, and great expense would be
needed to assure its upkeep, which the city was in no condition to spend. The area at the
Rosary already had more large churches than were necessary.\textsuperscript{112} When Philip II finally
gave his permission, he did, however, try to impose some conditions. The boarding
school would remain at S. Paulo Velho. Only the necessary number of priests would
move from S. Paulo Velho to S. Paulo Novo, and they would live in such a way as not
to harm the nuns of the Convento de Santa Monica.\textsuperscript{113} The building was not to be so

\textsuperscript{111} D. Filipe II, King of Portugal, to Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, Viceroy of India, Lisbon, 15 March 1617,
in "APO", fasc. VI, p. 64.

\textsuperscript{112} D. Filipe II, King of Portugal, to Rui Lourenço de Távora, Viceroy of India, Lisbon, 23 January 1610,
in "APO", fasc. VI, p. 302, and D. Filipe II to Jerónimo de Azevedo, Viceroy of India, Lisbon, 30 January 1613,
in "APO", fasc. VI, p. 398-399.

\textsuperscript{113} "Os Religiosos de St. Agostinho dessas partes mederão coma porsua petição ede como os da Comp*
tratarão de impedir por meos q’ mere representaço’ aressolução q’ tinha tomado umas dúvidas que
entre elles havera sobre a mudança do seu collegio de Sam Paullo entendo eu respeito aqüe nesta
materia há precidido hey por bem emando que no que toca ao Collegio de Sam Paullo se cumpira
inteiramente q’ tenho resoluto ede maner*. Q’ por nenhuma (...) se (...) aja’em Sam Paullo maior
high as to obstruct the illumination, ventilation or view enjoyed by the older buildings. In addition, the Jesuits were to restrain from constructing a large and new public church with confessionals.\textsuperscript{114} Instead, they were to continue to use the Church at \textit{S. Paulo Velho} and the boarder classes were also to be maintained at \textit{S. Paulo Velho}. Moreover, the Roman headquarters shared the latter position.\textsuperscript{115} However, since the royal decree did not clearly determine its dimensions, the Jesuits ignored the conditions imposed by the King and constructed an imposing settlement. As said above, the building was one of the largest and most conspicuous buildings in Goa, probably also because it did not suffer from a lack of funds as its possessions included properties (palm-groves with coconut trees, rice fields, salt-pan)](s) in Bombay, and shops and taverns in Bassein.\textsuperscript{116}

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, seventy priests inhabited this settlement.\textsuperscript{117} However, it gradually lost its importance as it suffered various fires. Finally, between 1829 and 1839, the once majestic settlement of \textit{S. Paulo Novo}, along with other buildings in Goa, was pulled down upon the decision of the Governor, in order to use the stones for the construction of barracks and private palaces.\textsuperscript{118}

\textsuperscript{114} \textit{Royal Letter to the Viceroy Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, Lisbon, 25 January 1614, in \textit{“APO”}, fasc. V, p. 17.}

\textsuperscript{115} For example, General Vitteleschi strongly advised the leaders in Goa never to abandon \textit{S. Paulo Velho} completely. The priests of \textit{S. Paulo Novo} should continue to pray and to confess at the church of \textit{S. Paulo Velho}. (WICKI, Joseph (ed), \textit{Dois Compendios}, p. 500.)

\textsuperscript{116} BORGES, Charles, \textit{The Portuguese Jesuits in Ásia: Their economic and political networking}, p. 208.

\textsuperscript{117} SALDANHA, Manuel José Gabriel, \textit{História política e arqueológica de Goa}, p. 61.

\textsuperscript{118} AZEVEDO, Carlos, \textit{Arte Cristã na Índia Portuguesa}, p. 26.
3. The College of Salsete (1606-)

Fig. 8: The College of Salsete (1606) in Rachol

Fig. 9: Peninsula of Salsete (A. Main door; B. Second door called Porta de Curtorim, C. Jesuit College
D. Igreja de Nossa Senhora das Neves, E. House of the Captain of the Fortress, F. Entrance near the Castle,
G. Second Entrance separating the "Jesuit Island" from the Aldeia (Village) Raya
The construction of a college on the Peninsula of Salsete was first mooted in 1569 in the royal document concerning the employment of the former revenues of the temples in Salsete. The first stone was laid only on the 17th May 1574. Similarly to S. Paulo Velho, the College of Salsete held various functions. The latter was originally intended to serve as the residence for ten or twelve priests in order for them to learn the local languages (which would enable them to pray and confess in the local languages) and be used as a seminary for the natives of all Indian territories. In addition to the seminaries, it was also in charge of a church, a boarding school for both the local boys and the Portuguese boys, an orphanage for forty boys, a catechumenate (1575), and a hospital for the converted natives with its own chapel which had been transferred from Goa to a site near the Igreja de N. Senhora das Neves in Margan before 1564.

Considering its income, most of the significant patronage of this settlement emanated from the Crown. In the above-mentioned document of 1569, King D. Sebastião further decided to allot part of the former rents of the destroyed temples on Goa, Bardez and Salsete to the future College on Salsete. His nephew, Cardinal D. Henrique confirmed this rent as a perpetual rent in 1579. By 1600, the rents had
increased to between 2,500 and 3,000 pardaos (750,000 to 900,000 reis).\textsuperscript{124} Previously, in 1580, Viceroy D. Luís de Athaide had endowed an annual rent of 500 pardaos de ouro (180,000 reis) to the College and 300 pardaos (90,000 reis) to the hospital.\textsuperscript{125} With regard to private benefactors, pride of place goes to the converted village representatives, the gauncars. In 1587, they perpetually leased the plains on the Island of Junvo, including its hillhock, to the College. In 1596, the gauncars of Benaulim offered a plot of land at the village of Dongaçim. In 1606 the gauncars of Margan also offered a plot at Navelim. In the same year, Maria de Aguiar, the wife of Domingos Afonso donated a site in Tontem Cumbarbatta while, in May of 1607, Agostinho Dinis and his mother, Isabel de Sousa, donated a piece of land close to the College of Salsete.\textsuperscript{126}

The College was first begun in the village of Margan. In 1576, in spite of the fact that, at the time, the College was heavily in debt, Visitor Alessandro Valignano ordered the construction of a large church and of some more comfortable bedrooms.\textsuperscript{127} Margan, "the village of the devils", was surrounded by many villages inhabited by non-Christians. Because of the local wars between the Portuguese and the non-Christianised inhabitants of Salsete, this institution had a particularly chequered history. In 1578, the

\textsuperscript{124} "O Collegio de Salsete tem de renda dous mil e quinhentos ate tres mil pardaos." (ARSI, GOA 15, Pedro Rodrigues S.J. to João Álvarez S.J., Goa, 20 December 1600, fl. 16r.)

\textsuperscript{125} Document on the churches and the catechumens in Salsete by Luis de Athaide, Viceroy of India, Goa, 1 October 1580, in "DI", vol. XII, p. 86-87 and Annual Letter of the Province of India (1581), in "DI", vol. XII, p. 423.


\textsuperscript{127} "E porque não tinha comoda habitação para tantos nem tinha comoda igreja, ordenou o P. Visitador que a igreja se fizesse e juntamente hum lance commodo de cubículo, e hum e outro se vão fazendo; e ajudou-nos o Governador com uma boa quantidade de chunambo (lime) que foi muito a proposito para aquella obra." (Annual Letter of the Province of India (1576), in "DI", vol. X, p. 732.)
Muslim force of the State of Bijapur constrained the priests to abandon the settlement at
Margan. One year later, the same Muslim force razed the whole settlement to the
ground. As a consequence, the decision was taken to construct a new college inside the
Portuguese fortress of Rachol which was the only absolutely safe place in Salsete. In
addition, Rachol was the largest town and the most important trading centre in Goa.
Hence, a new building was constructed between 1580 and 1585 on the site of some
houses that had been allotted to the inhabitants of S. Paulo by Viceroy António de
Noronha (1571-1573), and which were adjacent to the Igreja de Nossa Senhora das
Neves. However, this site in Rachol was not large enough and was not so centrally
located. In addition, it was unhealthy. Consequently, the participants in the Third
Province of India (1588) seriously discussed the possibility of moving the College in
Salsete again and even of selling the site at Margan. The transfer from Rachol to
Margan took place in 1597 on the orders of the Visitor, Nicolau Pimenta. In the same
year, some works were begun to provide better accommodation for the priests. Some
cubiculae, an entrance hall and a fence that were essential for greater seclusion; a
terrace, a room for the hygiene of the kitchen and a fence of the garden were built
between 1597 and 1598.

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128 Annual Letter of the Province of India (1578), in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 276-277.

129 The fortress hindered Rachol from ever being conquered by the local forces so that the missionaries in
Salsete used it as their refuge during periods of war. (ALBUQUERQUE, Teresa, Goa: the Rachol legacy, Mumbai, 1997, p. 41-43)

XIV, p. 259.

131 Acts of the Third Congregation of the Province of India (1588), in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 21-22 and

132 Francisco da Cunha S.J. to Claudio Acquaviva, 23 November 1599, in “GOA 14”, fl. 402v, and
Annual Letter of the Province of India (1598), in “DI”, vol. XVIII, p. 890.
The Maratta destroyed the settlement in 1606. Therefore, a new building was begun in the same year, and which still exists as a centre for the training of secular priests (a royal letter of 1781 had changed it into a seminary). In order to help the progress of construction, General Acquaviva ordered the College not to pay its construction debts. The Goan Luis Castanho took part in the construction of this building in 1606, and the Portuguese António Magro was employed at its construction around 1608. In addition, a Portuguese Jesuit skilled in architecture, Manuel Dias, was employed for some architectonic works undertaken in the College of Salsete circa 1618. With regard to its structural features, at the end of 1608, it had five bedrooms and some workrooms on the ground floor. However, due to the poverty of the State (fewer ships were arriving and trade was declining) and to the debts of the College, work was suspended at the end of the same year. This location also gave rise to criticism. Various priests did not want to move to Salsete; the College was to be transferred from Margan to Rachol, but a residence was to remain in Margan. The churchwarden of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit of Margan felt that this transfer damaged the Confraternity. They were afraid that they might lose the faithful and thus also lose alms. In particular, the Christianised population of Margan complained that, in

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136 ARSI, Goa 27, *Catalogue of the Jesuits in Goa (1618)*, fl. 37r.

137 “O Collegio novo de Rachol estase principiado, em bom sitio, com cinco cubiculos acabados e algumas logeas em baixo, mas como os meios e tratos não correrão, como que ha mtta pobreza em todos os estados, cessarão as aiudas, e a obra fico.” (ARSi, Goa 16, Gaspar Soares S.J. to Claudio Acquaviva, Salsete (Goa), 4 December 1608, fl. 177.)

order to please the priests, they had moved to Rachol and thus had had to abandon their houses, and the lands and the areas in which they had been born. In spite of these problems, the first mass was sung in the church in 1609, and the priests began to live there after the Sixth Congregation of the Province of India (1606) had authorised some works of enlargement of this institution, on condition that the Society should not run further debts.

This college was built in a prominent position, i.e., it was built on a hill and has steps leading up to its main façade. Its church is adjacent to the Southern side of the College and its main façade looks to the South, has three doors and a tower at each side. The double towers borrow from the nearby Sé Nova (begun in 1562) and the Igreja de S. Agostinho (1597-1602), and they became the norm for the Jesuit churches in Salsete. Returning to the description of the College, one of the towers has a clock. The church was designed with a single and broad nave articulated with pilasters and covered by a wooden ceiling. Its golden chancel contains the only vaulting of the building. It was equipped with an incredible quantity of relics. By 1610, the church housed relics both of the Eleven Thousand Virgins and of the Theban Saints, who were the male counterpart of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, as well as relics which were said to be associated to the Apostles themselves (Saint Philip, Saint Andrew, Saint Paul, and Saint Mark), of proto-martyrs (Saint Stephen, Saint Petronilla), and of medieval saints (Saint

139 Doc. 8.
140 WICKI, Joseph, Die Provinkongregationen, p. 233.
141 KOWAL, Martin David, The Jesuits and Architecture in Portuguese India, p. 497.
142 Idem, ibidem, p. 495.
Jerome, Saint Augustin, Saint Boaventura). In addition, painting was undoubtedly important in the decoration of its church. Some of the depictions that adorn the walls of the seminary represent scenes of the Old Testament and of the Last Supper whereas each panel (1623) that cover the side walls of the High Chapel depicts an incidents from the life of Ignatius (Fig. 8) and is held by indianised angels and set against a vegetalised background. An engraved retable with Ignatius, Xavier and the Blessed Virgin Mary was hung in the High Chapel of the College the following year.

Fig. 10 A-B: Scenes of the Life of Ignatius (17th century)
Church of the College of Margan,

143 "As reliquias do collegio são estas: Huma cruz de prata de douspalmos e meyo com estas reliquias: do sancto Lenho, de S. Sebastião, de Santo Estêvão, de Santa Petronilla, de Sam Felippe, de Snato Agostinho, das onze mil virgens, de São Zeno, de Sam Marcos, São Brás, do apostolo Santo André, de S. Silvestre, dos Sanctos Thebanos, de Santa Sinfrosa e S. Boaventura, de S. Jerónimo e de S. Paulo. Hum braço de prata com huma reliquia das onze mil Virgens; hum reliquario dourado de com uma grande reliquia de S. Fredolino, abbade." (GONÇALVES, Sebastião, *Primeira parte da História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus*, vol. III, p. 102.)


145 "Na Igreja se lavrou na capella mor hu' retablo dos nossos dous santos, como ainda deNossa Senhora aque todos tem muita devoção." (ARSI, *Goa 33.1, Annual Letter of the Province of India* (1624), fl.
When the College was located in Margan, it was called the Colégio do Espírito Santo, but, when the settlement was transferred to Rachol, it was initially designated as the Colégio de Nossa Senhora das Neves, and afterwards as the Colégio de S. Inácio (after 1622). These designations resulted from the dedication of the respective adjacent church.146

4. The Noviciate (first built in 1556)

In the Province of India, the training of novices, who “in a short period would help and reform the Province”, had been fostered since the time of Xavier. Nevertheless, initially, the novices and their rector lived together with the priests. The first separate residence for the novices in the premises of S. Paulo Velho was a house that was constructed only in 1556, and which cost slightly less than 3,000 cruzados (1,080,000 reis). By 1559, thirty novices shared this residence. Their number had risen to eighty by 1561.147 From an architectural point of view, this house was considered well-constructed (large walls) and quite ample, i.e., it was a two-storeyed building. The ground floor included a vast chapel dedicated to Apostle Saint Thomas (its retable had been painted by Manuel Álvares), a spacious refectory, a shop, a storeroom and a garden with many trees, where another chapel, dedicated to Saint Jerome (1564), also existed. Its upper floor had an entrance hall, a large hall in wood with fabric partitions which divided it into many rooms, in which twenty five to thirty novices could live comfortably and in

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146 FONSECA, José Nicolau, An Historical and Archaeological sketch of the City of Goa, p. 315.
seclusion. It further included a room for the rector, a room for the practice of the Spiritual Exercises and an infirmary.\textsuperscript{148}

Despite the positive features ascribed to the Noviciate, the necessity to move was widely felt. Following the decision taken at the Second Congregation of the Province of India (1583) in October 1584, the novices moved to the new site near the Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário which had already been inhabited by some professed fathers since 1581.\textsuperscript{149} For this reason, they were forced to share the facilities. The novices occupied a dormitory on the upper floor. There, they also had a separate refectory, workrooms and a hall. The professed priests were concentrated on the ground floor. Only the church was of common use.\textsuperscript{150} This removal further made the houses of the Rosary to be enlarged in order to meet the needs of the novices. These works took five years and their cost totalled some 2,000 parda\'us (600,000 reis) half of which were offered by Governor Duarte de Menezes (1584-1585). Furthermore, and notwithstanding serious legal difficulties, these works were also financed by borrowing from private contributions made by Pedro de Castro and Gaspar Viegas.\textsuperscript{151}

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\textsuperscript{148} António da Costa S. J. to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 26 December 1558, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 181-182, Lourenço Peres S.J. to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 17 December 1563, in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 108; and Annual Letter o f the Province o f India (1564), in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 364-365.

\textsuperscript{149} First Congregation o f the Province o f India (1575), in “DI”, vol. X, p. 241-243, and Second Congregation of the Province of India (1583), in “DI”, vol. XIII, p. 329.

\textsuperscript{150} “Foy a ocasião (Day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins 1584) fazerse nesse dia separa\'\c{c}\~ao de Professos de quarto votos, Estudantes e Novi\'odos. Os Novi\'os se pass\~arao no mesmo dia do Colegio de S. Paulo para a Residencia do Rosario, que ficou sendo noviciado. Os Professos ocuparao no mesmo Colegio o dormitorio de bayxo, (...) Os Estudantes se agasalharao no dormitorio de cima com refeytorio, officinas, & portaria distinta e s\~o a Igreja era para todos.” (SOUZA, Francisco, Oriente Conquistado, p. 986-987.)

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The inhabitants of the College soon expressed their disagreement with this move. They claimed that the Noviciate should return to the College grounds and that the houses of the Rosary should continue to be used for the recovery of sick priests. Since the professed priests had moved out in 1581, there was enough space in S. Paulo Velho for both the priests involved in educational tasks and for the novices. If the novices were again prepared to share the facilities with the priests of the College, the Order could save money and some priests would be free for other activities. This transfer also gave rise to further criticism from the other ecclesiastics. Indeed, in 1583, the priests at a local consultation decided by a majority that the Noviciate should return to S. Paulo Velho. However, Valignano opposed the Noviciate being moved to its first location. He claimed that the mingling of the two communities (teaching priests and the novices) would hinder the necessary isolation of the novices, and his position prevailed.

Notwithstanding their transfer to the houses in the Rosary site, the novices continued to be maintained by the College with an annual rent of 2,000 xerafins (600,000 reis) to the Noviciate, since they did not have a proper endowment. Shortly after the Noviciate had been installed in the new site, it became clear that the rents were insufficient for its upkeep. Fortunately, this situation soon changed on the account of the endowments made by various private benefactors. In July 1587, D. Pedro de Castro, former captain of Mozambique (1577 to 1583), donated the villages of Assolnã, Velim and Ambelim on the Peninsula of Salsete of Goa, which he had received from the

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152 Francisco de Monclaro, procurator, to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 8 December 1583, in “DI”, vol. XII, p. 861.


viceroy in recognition for his services to the state, to the Noviciate. These rents, which three years later were estimated at 3,000 *reis*, enabled the upkeep of the usual number of novices and partly financed the works of renovation and enlargement that were undertaken. These works included the conclusion of the chapel, the construction of a sacristy, several workrooms, a balcony and an entrance, and amounted to more than 2,000 *pardaos* (600,000 *reis*). The previous year, D. Pedro de Castro had offered the same institution 300 *pardaos* (90,000 *reis*) in cash for the repair of the garden fence, as well as some objects amounting to the same value. This donation was also used for the construction of the sacristy and for various civil parts of the buildings, namely, the entrance hall, the refectory and other workrooms, and the balcony.

In the end, the Noviciate, which included a residence and a garden, was classified “alla usanza del novitiatio di Roma”, in that it followed the general features of the Roman Noviciate. This house was described as a particularly “accomodada” (comfortable) and vast building because up to forty-four novices could live there. It is

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155 “E l’origine et causa della conversione è questa, che come questa casa di probatione hebbe per sua fondazione nel mese di Giulho de 87, per donatione fattali di un gentilhuomo tre ville: Assolonà, Veli et Ambeli, che sono vicine et continue alle due di Cuculino.” (Albert Laerzio, Master of novices, S. J. to an unknown addressee, Goa, 22 November 1588, in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 109.)


157 “Indo-se pera Portugal Dom Pedro de Castro, que o anno passado deu tres aldeas suas pera fundação da casa de provação, se veio despedar dos Padres e Irmãos o dia antes que se embarquasse. E mostrando depois de comungar grandes desejos de querer ajudar sempre a esta casa, deu de esmola 300 pardaos em dinheiro pera se refazer a cerqua da horta e em peqas valia de outros tantos.” (Annual Letter of the Province of India (1588), in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 92-93)

158 “No estando fundada esta casa, que así no puede sustentar tanta gente, una persona rica y antiga devota de la Compañía se há ofrecido a fundarla dándole dos mil pardaos de renta que va comprando, com lo qual y com lo que ya tiene se podrá ya sostentar el ordinario número de novicios que ay en esta Provínica. Perfeccionarase las obras que el año pasado se avían comenzado, y allén de la capilla de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, que quedó muy hermosa, acábase la sacristía com una casa [a room] encima para pláticas, dos lados de la varanda com la portaría, refettorio y otras oficinas de que esta casa estava muy falta.” (Annual letter of the Province of India (1588), third way, in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 539.)

159 Alessandro Valignano S. J. to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 13 February 1588, first way, in “DI”, vol.
also on record that the chapel belonging to this Noviciate was founded by Governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho (1588-1591). This chapel was constructed inside the building, and not accessible to outsiders. Thus, it was very suitable as it provided the isolation required by such an institution.\textsuperscript{160} Its high chapel was dedicated to Our Lady of the Conception (1590) and was sided by chapels with altars honouring the Angel Custodian, Saint Ignatius Martyr, and Saint Boaventura.\textsuperscript{161} According to an estimate made by the Provincial in 1589, the works of transformation cost 2,000 \textit{reis}, from which 1,000 were subscribed by Governor D. Manoel de Sousa Coutinho.\textsuperscript{162} In 1593, a rich Portuguese merchant called Gaspar Viegas, who had long wished to enter the Society, endowed the Noviciate with the annual rents of his lands near the village of Carmoná of Salsete amounting 2,000 \textit{cruzados} (720,000 \textit{reis}), along with some other properties in the villages of Taleigao and a field of palm trees in Panjim on the Island of Zuari.\textsuperscript{163} He also willed stable goods to the value of 10,000 or 12,000 \textit{pardoas} (30,000,000 to 36,000,000 \textit{reis}) and made a legacy of 10,000 \textit{cruzados} (3,600,000 \textit{reis}) for the repair and rebuilding of the Noviciate.\textsuperscript{164} He further financed the reconstruction of the chapel

\textsuperscript{160} Pedrõ Martins S. J. to Claudio Acquaviva S. J., Goa, 7 December 1591, in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 734.

\textsuperscript{161} “A Virgem N. Senhora diante do misterio de sua glorioza Assunçam, que estava no Noviciado e se conserva na capelinha da Casa da Provaçâo de Goa; de huma parte está Sancto Inacio, bispo e martyr com os leões, e da outra São Boaventura com as insignias de cardeal.” (GONÇALVES, Sebastião, Primeira Parte da História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus, vol. II, p. 416.)

\textsuperscript{162} Pedrõ Martins S. J. to Claudio Acquaviva S. J., Goa, 7 December 1591, in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 734.

\textsuperscript{163} Deed of donation of Gaspar Viegas in favour of the Noviciate, Goa, 29 March 1593, first via, in “DI”, vol. XVI, p. 129-134; Alessandro Valignano, Visitor, to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 10 November 1595, in “DI”, vol. XVII, p. 123.

\textsuperscript{164} Pedrõ Martins, Provincial of India, to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 7 December 1591, in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 735, and Albert Laerio to Acquaviva, Goa, 20-22 November 1594, in “DI”, vol. XVI, p. 858-859.
that had burnt down in 1587. The local gauncars were also important benefactors of
this institution in that they sponsored the construction of the high chapel, and two
Christians bought ornaments amounting to 1000 pardaos (300,000 reis). In addition,
the Noviciate amassed around 30,000 pardaos (9,000,000 reis) in alms from 1584 to
1593 and also owned some houses in Goa. As a result, the Noviciate became a
particularly well-founded institution, so more that, in 1594, the Provincial ordered it to
give back 4,000 xerafins (120,000 reis) to the College. Another particularly
illuminating fact is that, in 1607 General Acquaviva considered the possibility of using
part of the income of the Noviciate of Goa for training new missionaries for the Indies
in Portugal.

In 1594, Rector Albert Laerzio expressed a quite negative point with regard to
the structural features of the Noviciate. In his opinion, the building that served as the
Noviciate of Goa was no longer adequate to fulfil its function conveniently. The rooms
for the priests undertaking their First Probation or for the priests attending the Spiritual
Exercises and for the elder priests were insufficient and in a bad condition. Thus, they

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165 “Oyendo lo que el Governador dixo Gaspar Viegas, antigo devoto de la Compañía y que pretende
fundar esta casa, se fué al P. Rector y le pidió por amor de Dios que el rehazer la capilla fuese a sua
 cuenta, y de que su dinero sin entrar nadie se avía de rehazer toda; (...). Prometióle que así haría, y él
metió luego en la mano al procurador trecientos santhomés de oro para esto, y como se acabasen
luego daría más.” (Annual Letter of the Province of India (1591), in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 652.)

166 Pedro Martins S. J., Provincial of Portugal, to Claudio Acquaviva S. J., Goa, 7 December 1591, in
“DI”, vol. XV, p. 734.

167 Some orders of the Father Visitor during the visit to the Noviciate in June 1610, in “Letterae Annualae
d’Etiopia, Malabar” p. 385.

168 “Agora que este año en Abril de 94, con las nuevas que el P.e Visitador tuvo de la muerte del Hermano
Gaspar Viegas, y que fuera de las haziendas, con que dotava lo noviciado, lo dexava por su universal
heredero, (...), escribió y mandó absolutamente al Padre Provincial que hiziese que pagase el
noviciado al collegio los cuatro mil xerafies o todos juntos o en cuatro años.” (Claudio Acquaviva,

169 HUMBERT, John, Some answers of the Generals of the Society of Jesus to the Province of Goa,
Acquaviva-Vitteleschi, 1585-1645, p. 342.
were often obliged to do their Exercises in their own bedrooms. Many other priests shared this concern, and they discussed the problem on the occasion of the Fifth Congregation of the Province of India (1599). In the wake of this meeting, Acquaviva authorised the construction of a humble new building which was to be separate from the college and based on a plan sent from Rome in order to house the novices. In 1604, a new house was thus constructed at the Rosary thanks to the alms of many devout people and the support of both the Viceroy and the Archbishop. As mentioned above, part of the studies at S. Paulo Velho was moved to the Rosary site in 1610. However, this new arrangement immediately caused internal disputes between the Noviciate and the inhabitants of S. Paulo Velho. Both the Noviciate and the College wanted the other to pay the costs of the move. But the novices still lacked space and seclusion. Consequently, a new location for the Noviciate was discussed at least by 1624. Rachol in Salsete, S. Paulo Velho, or a new house on the same site but separate from the college, were the locations under consideration. However, the choice of a new location was a difficult one which was only decided in 1664. The site chosen was that of the Jesuit houses near the Igreja da Nossa Senhora da Graça on the Island of Choran because it had thirteen bedrooms, two living rooms, a refectory, and several workrooms, which were distributed harmoniously around a spacious quadrangular court. In addition,

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170 "Y no tiene cámaras ni para los de primera Provación, ni para tomar los Exercicios, ni para los padres y hermanos antigos, sinon unos aposentos muy pocos y muy ruines. Y a las vezes por faltas de lugar toman los Esercition en las estancias donde duermen en un canto del dormitorio." (Albert Laerzio to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 20-22 November 1594, in “DI”, vol. XVI, p. 858.)


172 WICKI, Joseph, Auszüge, p. 255.

173 Doc. 7.
Choran was not far away from the College, and the rents of the former temples on the Island could be used for the upkeep of a noviciate in Choran.\footnote{Alessandro Valignano to Everard Mercurian, Goa, 25 December 1574, in “DI”, vol. IX, p. 506.}

After the expulsion of the Society in 1761, the Noviciate was handed over to the Fathers of the Congregation of Saint Philip of Nery, and ten years later, in 1781, this settlement was converted, \textit{region aviso}, into a Diocesan seminary. Finally, it was abandoned in 1859 due to its bad sanitary conditions.\footnote{LOPES MENDES, António, \textit{A Índia Portuguesa}, vol. II, p. 63.}
5. The Professed House (1586- c. 1597)

Similar to any Jesuit province, the residents of the Professed House in Goa governed both the Province and their co-workers. Besides performing the activities that were common to priests, they concentrated on the conversion of the indigenous population. Further related to the missionary nature of this house priests destined for both the missions at Akbar Court and in Ethiopia, were supposed to live there. They were also required to perform at least one mass baptism at the church of the Professed House annually.

The construction plan of a Professed House had existed since 1555. It had originated with Ignatius. The institution of a Professed House and its location (Goa, Malacca or Japan) was a subject which caused great dissent and led to some of the most turbulent discussions among the local Jesuits. In 1579, without waiting for the permission of the General and the Visitor, some professed fathers simply moved to the houses of the Rosary and began to live there as though it was a Professed House. In

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177 Instruction by Alessandro Valignano, in September 1595 to the Father of the Christians and his coadjutor, in "DI", vol. XVII, p. 245.

178 "El hazer en Goa casa de professos, parece sera conveniente, (...)." (Juan de Polanco on behalf of Ignatius to Miguel Torres, Provincial of Portugal, Rome, 21 November 1555, in "DI", vol. III, p. 310.)

179 WICKI, Joseph, Philipp II und die Jesuiten in der Indischen Provinz (einschliesslich Molukken, China und Japan, 1580-1598, in "AHSI" (50), 1981, p. 177.
particular, the local Jesuits analysed and discussed the subject in great detail at the First Congregation of the Province of India (1583). As one can read in Point 4 of the acts, all the priests present agreed on the necessity of a Professed House in Goa, for various reasons. Firstly, professed houses were essential to the self-definition of the Society. Secondly, the foundation of professed houses had been recommended by the Third General Congregation (1573) and the previous generals had looked upon the creation of a Professed House in Goa with approval. A third reason was that here it was impossible for the professed priests to live in the poverty that was proper to their Order, and some had scruples about living in the colleges; Moreover, in the professed houses it was possible to get better acquainted with both the Institute and the required poverty of the Society, which was very important in India as the Jesuits were considered rich.180

Another argument was of a financial nature. Some people had left generous legacies (1,500 to 2,000 cruzados or 540,000 to 720,000 reis) for the construction of the Professed House in Goa. In a somehow paradoxical way (as the College would lose the legacies and alms), some priests also hoped that the economical situation of Saint Paul would improve: i.e., they hoped to reduce the debts of Saint Paul by reducing the number of its inhabitants. Last but not least, the creation of a separate Professed House would mean that the fathers of the College no longer had to deliver sermons or take confessions, ministries which were not proper to educational houses. They had, however, different opinions concerning the time for its construction and location. Some priests were of the opinion that the Professed House should be built as soon as possible. Others felt that the moment had not yet arrived for its construction for three main

180 "Y parece que le han dicho que la Compañía está muy rica en la India, porque en todo parece permitte N. Señor, para nestro bien, que seamos teñidos por ricos (...)" (Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Cochin, 22 December 1586, in "DI", vol. XIV, p. 452. (In order to have an overview of the economic foundation of the Jesuit enterprise in the Portuguese overseas empire, see, in particular, ALDEN, Dauril, The Making of an enterprise, Chapter 15, p. 376-429)
reasons. Firstly, they argued that both the College and the State were very impoverished, and so asking for alms would cause a general scandal. Secondly, the College was unable to hand over the legacies to the Professed House, which amounted to 13,000 xerafins (3,900,000 reis) because it had already spent most of the money. Finally, the College could reduce its inhabitants as it was necessary to continue to assure the actual ministries for some years.

Three possibilities for the location of the future Professed House were analysed. The mighty Provincial Alessandro Valignano was fervently in favour of the first proposal, which advocated that the Society should buy some houses and some land in the centre of the city. In his commentary to the First Congregation of the Province of India, he tried to convince General Mercurian that these houses were adequate to serve as a Professed House. This site was located in the most beautiful and healthiest place in the city. This house was so well-divided that twenty people could live comfortably there. The only work necessary was to open one single door. On the ground floor, there was a very handsome and spacious hall and a loggia where a refectory, a storeroom, a kitchen and workrooms could be created. The first floor included large bedrooms (camerone) and another nice loggia of the same dimensions as the one below. It also had a courtyard where some new bedrooms could be constructed at little cost. It had a good garden with a door opening onto the seaside, and a very large fountain in good condition. Moreover, the local priests were already negotiating the acquisition of some adjacent houses because these houses were on sale at a good price. If they were able to buy these houses, there would be enough space for a residence of more than seventy priests, a garden and a church.181 Other priests argued that the College, instead, should

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move to these houses. However, this solution immediately proved to have some negative aspects. The priests recognised that it would be almost impossible for them to amass the necessary alms to meet the cost. Nor would the College be able to pay all its debts. If they abandoned the College, this would give rise to comments and disapproval of many of the upper class neighbours of the College and they would attend religious services at other churches. The whole city was very fond of S. Paulo; it would be very much affected by this change and would thus not be inclined to sponsor it. The Archbishop and other local priests would oppose this move because the churches of the other orders would remain empty, and it was important for the Society to be always on good terms with the other orders. The construction of the Professed House would gradually lead the Society to give up distributing the sacraments and involve it in other activities which were not proper to professed fathers. Otherwise, these activities would have to take place in both places. The lavish and large church at S. Paulo would be empty. Furthermore, the College was considered too vast to serve exclusively as the residence of the Professed House. Consequently, a third and strong group argued that all the problems would be solved if the Professed House stayed at S. Paulo. The construction of a house at S. Paulo could be paid for by the rents of the College. Thus, it would not be necessary to ask for alms. Both the expensive, vast College and the Church at S. Paulo could continue to be used and the construction of another church would be avoided.182

The decision on this subject was taken only several years later. In 1583, General Mercurian gave the option of deciding on the creation of a Professed House at S. Paulo

182 First Congregation of the Province of India, Choran, 6-18 December 1575, point 4, in “DI”, vol. X, p. 235-239.
to Alessandro Valignano. Following the decision taken by the priests at the consultation convened for this purpose by Alessandro Valignano, in which a majority of one approved the creation of a Professed House at the S. Paulo site, work soon began.\textsuperscript{183} All the work took less than fifteen days, which was largely due to the help of twenty-two temporal brothers who had just arrived in Goa. As a missing plan sent to Rome for approval indicated, the first Professed House \textit{in nomine} was accommodated on the ground floor of the residence of the priests. It had thirty-five bedrooms and its own fundamental civil parts, \textit{i.e.}, a refectory, a kitchen, a shop and other workrooms. Thirty priests moved there, but it was large enough to house a further fifteen or twenty people.\textsuperscript{184} This solution was temporary. Both facilities lacked space and seclusion. The scholars were obliged to sleep in pairs in the \textit{small cubiculae} and the professed fathers complained about not having their own infirmary. Thus, it was felt that one of the two institutions should move out. The problem was that both the inhabitants of the College and the Professed House eagerly wished to abandon the unhealthy site at S. Paulo Velho and move to the Rosary houses. This period of a complicated, sometimes painful debate, came to an end in 1586. However, the Professed House was not moved to the Rosary site, but to a third site. The site chosen consisted in some houses and gardens, which the authorities had confiscated from the Hindus, and which were bought by the Jesuits in 1583. This spot was located in a spacious area in a square called \textit{Terreiro dos}\textsuperscript{185}

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\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 9 December 1583, in “DI”, vol. XIII, p. 360-364.} \\
\textsuperscript{184} \textit{“A separação desta Cassa e collegio se fez como o anno passado se escreveo a V. P., e V. P. veria na traça que disso levou o P.e Procurador Nuno Rodrigues e na Congregação Provincial passada creo se assentou, (...), que os baixos deste collegio com a igreja e portarias delle antigas ficassem com a casa professa, e os altos do Collegio. (...)} Nesta casa professa estamos a presente trinta e tantas pessoas e tão desabaffados e largos, que podemos ainda agasalhar outras quinze ou vinte pessoas quando for necessário. (...) E pera estas lhe fiquão 35 concubiculos com seu refeitório, cozinha e despensa nova, e com sua enfermaria e cozinha destincta sua. E com sua botica, e mais officinas necessárias e outras que o P.e Provincial determina de lhes fazer sendo necessário.” (\textit{Manuel Teixeira, consultor of the Province of India, to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 25 November 1584, in “DI”, vol. XIII, p. 550-551.})
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Galos, as the "gentiles" used to watch cock-fights there. This square was located almost in the centre of Velha Goa. On the right, it was bordered by the Estrada Real which went from Panelim to S. Thiago, and it was surrounded by other important religious facilities: the settlements of the Misericórdias (begun in 1513 or 1514), the Cathedral (1562-1631), and the Mosteiro e Igreja de S. Francisco de Assis (begun in 1521).

The acquisition of this site for the amount of 10,000 cruzados (36,000,000 reis) was made possible thanks to the alms and lands offered by many Goan inhabitants.\textsuperscript{185} In 1587, in a letter addressed to Filipe I, King of Portugal, Alessandro Valignano declared that, due to the large amount of alms received from the natives, the Society itself had had to spend less than 2,000 cruzados (800,000 reis) on the construction of the Professed House in two years.\textsuperscript{186} This statement by Valignano shows that the Professed House did not suffer from a lack of funds. The construction of the Professed House was estimated at 70,000 or 80,000 pardaos (21,000,000 or 24,000,000 reis), and it would be undertaken at the expense of the King. Moreover, the professed fathers expected the College to give them the amount of 20,000 or 30,000 reis, which had been expressly donated by laymen for the construction of a Professed House.\textsuperscript{187} Above all, it enjoyed the patronage of several persons of rank. Among the many private benefactors, special reference goes to Jerónimo Mascarenhas, who was the brother of several Jesuits living in Goa and Captain of Cochin and Hormuz, and who later became a very successful merchant. Moreover, Paulo Machado, who was also the brother of a Jesuit, namely João

\textsuperscript{185} Alessandro Valignano \textit{S. J. to Filipe I, King of Portugal, Goa, 4 December 1587}, in "DI", vol. XIV, p. 687-688.

\textsuperscript{186} Alessandro Valignano \textit{S. J. to Filipe I, King of Portugal, Goa, 20 November 1587, second way}, in "DI", vol. XIV, p. 702.

\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Third Catalogue of the Province of India (1586)}, in "DI", vol. XIV, p. 471.
Machado, donated 26,000 xerafins (7,800,000 reis). João Dias Ribeiro offered 50,000 xerafins (15,000,000 reis) to the Professed House. A devotee, whose will had been written by a Jesuit, offered 20,000 ducados (720,000 reis), and another anonymous person willed 8,000 ducados (2,880,000 reis). It is also possible that the legacy of 14,000 pardaos (4,200,000 reis) from the Portuguese Tomé Gonçalves, who was later to enter the Order, which was donated for the foundation of a Professed House a prima fundamentis, was really used for the construction of this facility at Terreiro dos Galos. Finally, the legacy by Canon Sebastião da Costa came in instalments as alms.

The first stone of the Professed House was laid on the 13th January 1586 in the presence of Archbishop D. Vicente da Fonseca, Viceroy D. Duarte de Menezes and many of the noblemen. This site raised controversy not only within the Society, but also outside it. The priests at S. Paulo were never reconciled to this transfer. They protested against the fact that part of the rents of the College had been used for the acquisition of the site at Terreiro dos Galos. They further feared that the creation of the Professed House would make it impossible for them to move to a healthier spot. The College was heavily in debt and a new house would cause an increase of priests in Goa. After the professed fathers had moved, the priests of the College had to attend the people, which was detrimental to their studies. For all these reasons, the priests of S.

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188 "Y hasta agora yo see que un hombre, a quien un Padre nuestro seré vió su testamiento, anadió un legado de su mano en que dexava más de 20 mil ducados para la fábrica de la casa professa, (...) y otro en otro testamento, (...), nos dexa 8 mil ducados." (Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Rome, 25 December 1585, second way, in "DI", vol. XIV, p. 219.)


190 "Ahyaer, que fueron 13 de Henero, hechamos la 1ª pedra de la fábrica nueva de la casa professa, y el Arcebispo de Goa hizo el officio y dixo missa con mucha solenidad, y a todo se halló presente el Viso-Rei, con todos los más illustres cavalleros de la ciudad y grande freqüencia del pueblo". (Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 14 January 1586, in "DI", vol. XIV, p. 302).
Paulo asked General Claudio Acquaviva to make the Professed House and the College exchange buildings. Other secular and regular priests were aggrieved by the fact that the Jesuits ran three houses in the City of Goa alone, the Professed House being located inter cannae. In particular, the Misericórdias and the Franciscans opposed the construction of this facility because such a close new church would inevitably reduce the number of devotees and, as a consequence, reduce the amount of alms received.

As the Franciscans were unable to convince the local hierarchies to stop the building of the Professed House, they appealed both to both to headquarters in Rome and to King Philip I. They argued the place not to have enough water to supply both houses and believed that the Crown privileged the Jesuits. Each of the three Jesuit buildings in Goa was large enough to serve as the residence for all the Jesuits there. Answering to these accusations that the Professed House would take the alms of the Franciscans away, Valignano reminded Philip I that the Franciscans lived on the royal rent. The Franciscans also asked for alms and were paid for celebrating masses and Divine offices, and for burying people with Franciscan habit in their churches. The Jesuits


192 As a matter of fact, the problems between the Jesuits and Franciscans began soon after the Jesuits arrived in India. From 1548 on, the Jesuits envied the Franciscan colleges in Bassein and Cananor. In time, the Franciscans were compelled to relinquish various institutions in India to the Jesuits. (LOPES O.F.M, Felix, Os Franciscanos no Oriente Português de 1584 a 1590, in “Studia”, 1962, p 43 and ALDEN, Dauril, The Making of an Enterprise, p. 48)

193 “Andamos metidos em huma affronta, que os theatinos (in the first years, the Jesuits were often confounded with the Theatines because both orders had much in common) fazem ao convento de Goa, por saírem agora com hum Breve do Papa em que lhes dá licença para edificarem onde quiserem huma casa sua, etiam intra canarum terminum. E começaram já a edificar junto do nosso convento de S. Francisco de Goa, no que nos fazem muito dano e nos tomao as agoas e concuro da gente e devação e outros incommodos, contra parecer da cidade, do povo e das religiões.” (Fr. Gaspar de Lisboa O. F. M. to Francesco Gonzaga, O. F. M., General, Goa, 14 December 1585, in “DI”, vol. XIV, p. 73).
differed from the Franciscans as they were forbidden to resort to these sources of income.194

All this internal and external opposition did not bring any kind of practical results. In December 1585, all local authorities, i.e., the Senate, Archbishop D. Vicente da Fonseca and Viceroy D. Duarte de Menezes, approved the Professed House at Terreiro dos Galos, claiming that it was beneficial to all and not harmful to anybody. The site was more adequate and the fathers were more able to develop their ministries according to their Institute. This change was to help the city and the work of conversion, as well.195

Curiously, Valignano refused to base the plan of the Professed House on the plan sent by the Roman headquarters, which had previously been revised by the Counsiliarius aedificiorum. In a letter to Filipe I, King of Portugal, he justified his decision by declaring that the Roman plan was unsuitable for the local conditions. Its dimensions were too vast for the space available and the plan did not follow the proper orientation of the winds.196 For these two reasons, he preferred to use a plan of a

194 "(...), primeiro porque vivem do ordenado que V. Majestade lhes manda dar, o que não lhes tira esta casa professa; 2° das esmolas que pedem ostiatim (from door to door), a qual também nossa casa não lhes mingua nem tira, porque não pedimos ostiatim da maneira que eles pedem pola cidade, (...), 3º, vivem das missas e oficios ordinários que fazem, dos quais não lhe tiramos nem minguamos nada, porque por nossas Constituições não podemos receber nenhuma esmola para missas, e assim nunca se dizem missa por esmolas em nossas casas, (...), 4º vivem de acompanhar os defunctos e de enterrá-los em suas igrejas, e dos hábitos que lhes dão quando morrem." (Alessandro Valignano to Philip I, King of Portugal, Goa, 4 December 1587, in “DI”, vol. XIV, p. 690-691.)


196 "Quanto a la 3ª, en que trata de la casa professa, aquí vimos la traça que nos embió V. P. revísita por el arquitecto de Roma (Giovanni di Rosis). Y aunque ésta era moyair y aún más bien hecha que la que nosotros embiámos, todavía ni uvo lugar para correr con ella, ni para el sitio que teníamos y la calidad de los vientos, a que se ha principalmente de de mirar en la fábrica destas partes (...)." (Alessandro Valignano S. J., to Filipe I, King of Portugal, Goa, 20 November, 1587, in “DI”, vol. XIV, p. 705.)
European building which had been brought by Giovanni Battista Cairato, an Italian architect, who had been the Chief Engineer for the “Estado da India” between 1589 and 1596. Since there were no competent architects in India (the architects João Faria, João Gonçalves, Francisco Aranha and Giovanni Manolis had died in the early 1580’s) and Cairato was very busy and did not reside permanently in Goa, Valignano decided to adapt the plan to the local geographic and climatic conditions.

As can be seen in the project for the Professed House sent to Rome by Alessandro Valignano in 1586 (Fig. 11A,B,C), the Professed House was a three-storeyed structure composed of three bodies joined together at right angles and surrounded by a garden and a hall. The ground floor included a cloister (E) measuring 33m square meters, a small garden (F), a kitchen (L), a refectory measuring 17.6m x 7.2m (K), a secrete corridor (S), several rooms (G, H, I, M, P) whose use was related to the kitchen and refectory, toilets, a living-room and giving access to the choir, the hall, the chapel and the sacristy measuring 7.9 square meters (V), the space for the future

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197 Giovanni Battista Cairato was probably born in Cairate, Varese. After having collaborated at the construction of the fortifications of Malta and Sardinia in 1561, he worked in Milan. In India, he is reported to have worked at the construction of the fortresses of Daman and Bassain, at the enlargement of the forts of Malaca and the Fort of Jesus in Mombassa (Africa) and to have been one of the builders of the Augustin and Jesuit churches in Bassain (Nome de Jesus, before 1591) and Chaul. (MOREIRA, Rafael, *Os primeiros engenheiros-mores do Império Filipino* in “Portugal e Espanha entre a Europa e Além Mar, IV Simpósio Luso-Espanhol de História de Arte”, Coimbra, 1988, p. 528-529 and MOREIRA, Rafael, *From Manueline to Renaissance in Portuguese Índia*, in “Mare Liberum”, July 1995, p. 407).

198 See: Appendix I.

199 “Para esta obra y para otras que siempre se van haciendo en esta Provincia tenemos aquí summa necesidad de algún maestro que entienda de eso, porque algunos que teníamos aquí primero que por ciencia o experiencia sabían algo de esto, N. Señor los levó a todos porque(...) Esta traça yo mismo la hize, empero tomando mucha lus con el ingeniero que S. M. Mandó el año pasado aquí, que él sabe mucho, mas, porque él en ninguna manera lo pudo hacer por estar ocupado en muchas obras de su officio y no estar de asiento aquí: me valí de una traza que él me dio de un grande y solene edificio, de lo que tomando lo que parecía a nuestro proposito, y, encurtando y estrechando y mudando lo que me pareció, saqué esta traza que mando, la qual me mostré después de hecha e le pareció buena, y creo que así lo parece a todos los Padres de aquí.” (Alessandro Valignano S. J. to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 11 January 1586, in “Di”, vol. XIV, p. 293-294.)
sacristy and church (Z). The first floor was divided into forty-three rooms. These included a room to receive visitors and measuring 9m in length and 8m in width, several rooms reserved for the Viceroy, the Archbishop and their attendants when they visited the Professed House (C, D) and where they could meet other distinguished visitors in great privacy, and several bedrooms for the fathers, a chapel where the brothers and the sick priests could attend mass (K), a room for the priests and brothers to rest in after taking their meals (M), and toilets. The upper floor comprised a room giving access to the library and to the entrance hall, a library, a room giving access to the refectory, to the infirmary, to the toilets and to the entrance hall (C), a room for the convalescent priests (D) adjacent to the infirmary (E) with its own chapel (F), a corridor (G) giving access to the toilets, a kitchen (I) and a refectory for the convalescent priests (K). Five staircases were also projected in the plan. Two of them connected the entrance hall with the cloister (Q and R) and were for the common use of both the priests and the visitors. The third staircase leading from the entrance hall to the second floor is thought to be for the exclusive use of the priests and brothers. The fourth and fifth staircases were outside the building. One was for the use of the young men who helped in the infirmary and in the kitchen (O) whereas the other was used by the local Christians and manual workers (T and X). There were, however, some slight changes from the original plan. The main walls on the upper floor were reduced so that the bedrooms measured 46.2m, and

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200 The construction of the first church was estimated at 200 or 300 cruzados (72,000 or 108,000 reis). It measured almost 22.5m in width and was built in wood which came from Bassain and had been donated by Captain Tomé de Castro, while Viceroy D. Duarte de Menezes offered the stucco required to cover it. (Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 25 December 1555, in "DI", vol. XIV, p. 205-206.)

the corridor 19.8m. Finally, a new terrace, a small infirmary and some workrooms were built in 1607.

Fig. 12A Project for the Professed House, ground floor


203 “(...) porque neste emporio de Goa, onde fez maior impressão o faria desta tempestade, experimentamos q’nestes soldo tempo a companhia creceu mais, assi naestimação e’credito deshome’s, (....), como ainda nomaterial, dos edifícios e’ornamentos sagrados; porque esta Caza Professa se acrescentou de novo com hua varanda, convalecencia, e sua officina; obras mto uteis, e necessárias (há) annos desejadas, pera comodidade doserviço da comunidade, edos enfermos, e’conveleçentes.” (ARSI, Goa 16, Annual Letter of the Province of Goa (1607), fl. 211).
Fig. 12B Project for the Professed House, first floor

Fig. 12C Project for the Professed House, second floor
The Professed House was built under the supervision of the Portuguese lay brother and architect of considerable merit, Domingos Fernandes, and of Julio Simão, who was the first Chief Engineer to the Estado da India, with the assistance of the Goan lay brother Luis Castanho and Domingos Francisco from 1596 to 1608. In 1587, its construction gave work to sixty craftsmen and many other workers. With the support of the Crown and of the Viceroy, and thanks to the generosity of the people, the construction of the Professed House initially progressed quickly. In January 1587, one of the transept arms of its first and provisional church (the second and definitive church is the Bom Jesus) had been completed, along with the corridors and the bedrooms while the other transept arm and the High Chapel were also expected to be built at the same time. The first of the three planned parts was constructed and roofed in the winter of 1588. The whole church was concluded by 1593, and, two years later, Valignano proudly observed that three of the initial four parts had already been finished and the priests were able to live comfortably. In 1597, the Visitor, Nicolau Pimenta, ordered his subordinates to complete the fencing, and to line the upper corridor with straw, for reasons of economy. In the end, the Professed House in Goa was a particularly vast, imposing and ostentatious building. In order to illustrate the point, in the memorial written in 1590, Father Procurator Francisco de Monclaro recommended that “the

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204 See: Appendix I.

205 Annual Letter of the Province of India (1587), in “DI”, vol. XIV, p. 779.

206 Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva S. J., Goa, 13 February 1588, first way, in “DI”, vol. XIV, p. 815.

207 Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, S. J., Goa, 10 November 1595, third way, in “DI”, vol. XVII, p. 124.

208 “A fabrica da igreja se prossiga com toda a deligencia, porsem desistir della se acabe de cercar a horta, e se forre o corredor de sima, e sera o forro de essteira, que, por ser o corredor alto e ficarem com isso cubertos os tirantes, e se poder fazer mais em breve e com menos gasto, parece mais a propósito.” (Orders by Nicolau Pimenta, in “DI”, vol. XVIII, p. 808-809.)
building of the church of the Professed House in Goa be sturdy and comfortable, but not
too sumptuous" ("El edificio de la iglesia de la casa professa de Goa sea firme y
cómmodo, mas no muy sumptuoso"). Nevertheless, soon after its completion, the
buildings and the gardens of the Professed House seemed for many Jesuits to be over
decorated. Various complaints which declared that the new house of the professed
fathers was not in keeping with the internal norms of poverty and simplicity reached
Rome. Lopo de Abreu, for instance, wrote that many foreigners considered it to be one
of the wonders of the world. It was stronger and higher than the Colégio de S. Pedro in
Coimbra, and thus was not in accordance with the poverty of professed houses.
To
these accusatory letters, the General replied, in his instruction of 1595 for the new
Visitor, Nicolau Pimenta, that this house did not correspond to the required moderation
of the Professed House, and that its conspicuous display should be corrected.
However, his recommendations fell on stony ground. In 1598, in another letter to
Visitor Nicolau Pimenta, Acquaviva made the remark that he had heard that the façade
of the church of the Professed House was too lavish and that the doorways and the
columns were expected from Portugal. The General reminded Visitor Pimenta that this
church had not been constructed by a king or a prince, but by poor priests who had

209 (Memorial of Francisco de Monclaro S. J., procurator, with the answers of Claudio Acquaviva S. J.,
Rome, August 1590, in "DI", vol. XV, p. 55.)

210 "Pues cómo se há de suffrir que sola la mejor iglesia de toda la India y de las mejores de Portugal- a lo
menos en Portugal no tiene superior así quanto a la hermosura y riqueza de retablos. (...). Y porque
el collegio no podiera hacer com su renta, lo que hizó la casa professa com lismosna, prosperó Dios
tanto las obras de este edificio que en dos annos se hizo tan grande y sumptuoso, que los que venían
de fuera y lo hallavan hecho en tan poco tiempo, dician que era una das maravillas del mundo.
Porque es muy fuerte y más alto del collegio de S. Pedro de Coimbra; y una de las causas porque no
arma tanto para casa professa és, por no representar bien la pobreza de la Compañía." (Lopo de Abreu
S.J. to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 3 October 1589, in "DI", vol. XV, p. 373)

211 "De algunas relaciones se entiende ser la fábrica de la casa de Goa demasiado sumptuosa y que no dize
con la modestia de nuestras casas. V. R. la verá y lo que ay en ella de demasía y se puede emdendar,
y nos avisará con el deseño de lo ya heho y por hazer." (Instruction of Claudio Acquaviva to
Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor of India, Rome, November 1595, in "DI", vol. XVII, p. 245.)
asked for alms in order to finance it.  This ostentatious display of wealth, which the Roman headquarters often criticised and hopeless tried to combat, was further noticed by non-Jesuits. In particular, the halls and apartments adorned with valuable pictures representing the pious deeds of the most famous members of the Society, seemed to be an object of admiration for all travellers visiting the Professed House in Goa. For instance, at the end of seventeenth century, the traveller Albert Mandelso described it as “one of the stateliest Jesuit buildings in the Orient”.  

As can been seen today, this building is the result of drastic work of refurbishment. It is the final result of a vast number of changes made from the late 1670s. Most of its long corridors and spacious apartments disappeared in the course of time, mainly as the result of fire. For example, in 1667, an enormous fire destroyed a major part of the house. The parts which had been burnt were reconstructed, but the building suffered another fire in 1781. Finally, after the extinction of the Order, the Professed House was handed over to the Italian missionaries of Saint Vincent de Paul, who established their seminary there.

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6. The Church of the *Bom Jesus* (1594-1607)

The cornerstone of the Church of the *Bom Jesus* was laid on the 24th November 1594, and it was consecrated by Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes on the 15th May 1605. Although the construction of this church was estimated at the high sum of 30,000 *cruzados* (10,800,000 *reis*), it was founded mainly thanks to the generous legacy of 10,000 *pardaos* (3,000,000 *reis*) donated by Jerónimo Mascarenhas. Some additional resources were drawn from the sum given by the Portuguese Manuel Moreno on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. It was built under the supervision of the Portuguese Jesuit and Architect Domingos Fernandes, assisted by Júlio Simão and

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216 "Y toda la fábrica va muy forte y bien echa, y agora se va haciendo la iglesia nueva que há de ser la mejor de la Índia a my parecer, y com el legado (10,000 pardaos) que le dexó Don Jerónimo Mascarenhas tiene la casa tanto en denero (I) de contado y tanto que ha de arrecadar, que parece que com el se podrá acabar esta iglesia, aunque se gasten en ella trinta mil crusados. (Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 10 November 1595, third way, first letter, in "DI", vol. XVII, p. 124).

217 *Orders by Nicolau Pimenta, to the Professed House, Goa, June 1597*, in "DI", vol. XVIII, p. 809.
Brother Mason Diogo Ferrão.\textsuperscript{218} Around 1597, numerous slaves were employed for the construction of this church and draught animals were also used to haul the building materials.\textsuperscript{219}

The Church of the \textit{Bom Jesus} was built in a large square facing one of the gates of the city wall and simultaneously facing inwards to the island. It stands attached at right angles to a single-storey structure on the North-East side of the Professed House. Its main façade faces the West, has a strong vertical emphasis, a typical Mannerist rectilinear treatment, and forms a four-storeyed structure. Its central doorway repeats the central doorway of Saint Paul. The lowest level opens onto three elegant portals flanked by two smaller rectangular portals that, in spite of the different proportions, remind me of the Façade of Sant’Andrea (begun in 1472), Mantova, by Leon Battista Alberti (Fig. 14), and a pair of Ionic columns; the part immediately above has three large windows, which correspond to the portals, and is flanked by Doric columns; the third floor has three circular windows between Corinthian columns. In 1609 Viceroy Rui Lourenço de Távora sponsored the construction of a handsome tower, which no longer exists.\textsuperscript{220} Finally, the emblem of the Society, supported by angels, cartels, garlands, and arabesques, surrounded by half-shells or fans, a Lombard-Venetian motive that was defined by Mauro Codussi in the \textit{Chiesa di San Michele in Insola} (1469-1478), Venice, dominates the framing quadrangle of its upper gable (Fig. 15).


\textsuperscript{219} \textit{Orders by Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor to India, to the Professed House, Goa, June 1597}, in “\textit{DI}”, vol., p. XVIII, p. 810-811.

\textsuperscript{220} “Da Casa Professa senão oferece aqui q’ dizer denovo mais ‘sse acabando a Igreja ‘parece ficara a melhor da India. O visorey solhou e m’tos sobrados hua formosã torre dela.” (ARSI, Goa 9, Nicolau Pimenta to Claudio Acquaviva, Salsete, 1 December 1609, fl. 8.)
Its main façade generally followed the “traça” (design), which had been decided during the consultation at S. Paulo Velho. The sole change regarding the decisions taken at S. Paulo was the choice of materials used. Provincial Nicolau Pimenta decided in 1597 that, with the exception of the side pillars, the façade of the Professed House was to be built in the granite stone of the Hindu temples that had been razed to the ground in Bassain. These were to be made of the local reddish, and easily shaped chalky kankar stone in order to correspond to the architectonic and urban framing.221 The doorways and the stone columns were to come from Portugal.222

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221 “O frontispício da igreja seja polla traça que se assentou na consulta que tivemos em S. Paulo, de que tem o assento o Irmão mestre das obras (Domingos Fernandes), mudando somente que seja o frontispício todo de pedra do norte, tirando os dous pilares dos cantos, que serão de pedra da terra polla correspondencia que fica tendo toda a obra da igreja em roda que nelles se remata” (Orders by Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor to India, to the Professed House, Goa, June 1597, in “DI”, vol. XVIII, p. 809.)

222 WICKI, Joseph, Auszüge, p. 135.
Fig. 16: Plan of the Bom Jesus

Fig. 17: Sketch of the Bom Jesus by a Jesuit before 1652 and comprising the internal of the church (high altar, altar of the Chapel of the Eleven Thousand Virgins on the side of the Epistle, a Chapel of Saint Michael, and a chapel honouring Francis Borja on the side of the Gospel. It further includes other facilities (sacristy, cloisters and working-rooms and primary school).
In its layout, the *Bom Jesus* was planned as a one-aisled church measuring 44m in length and 17.6m in width.\(^{223}\) It has an extended transept, a very high chapel, and a square chancel. Initially, it carried a coffered barrel vault, while the chancel is covered by its own reticulated tunnel vault.\(^{224}\) In 1605, Xavier’s body was laid in the Gospel side of the main chapel of the Bom Jesus. In 1624, during celebrations surrounding the canonisation, his body was transferred to the Chapel of Saint Francis Borgia (see fig. 17). In 1636, Marcello Mastrilli, an Italian devotee, who went to Goa in order to thank Xavier for his miraculous cure after he had had the vision of him (1634), and a group of local Christians sponsored the engraving of a silver tomb in order to keep the preserved body of Francis Xavier. This tomb represents 32 true and invented episodes of the life and his four “Divine gifts” (thaumaturgic powers, prophecy, knowledge of many languages, body incorrupcy) of the Saint,\(^{225}\) and was engraved by an Indian artist between 1636 and 1637.\(^{226}\) The Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III of Medici, commissioned in 1655 the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini to engrave a

\(^{223}\) Annual Letter of the Province of India (1595), in “DI”, vol. XVII, p. 120.


\(^{225}\) Some of these scenes borrowed from the series of engravings that were commissioned to the French engraver Valerius Regnartius to celebrate the canonisation of Xavier in Rome. These engravings further served as model for the pictures that decorated the *Il Gesù* on the same occasion. (SCHURHAMMER, Georg, *Der Silberschrein Xavers in Goa. Ein Meisterwerk der Christlich-Indischer Kunst*, in Georg Schurhammer and Lázló Szilas, Gesammelte Studien-Varia, vol. I, p. 562, SCHWAGER, K., *Anlässlich eines unbekannten Stichs des Römischen Gesù von Valerianus Regnartius, Festschift Lorenz Dittmann, Frank Main, 1994, p. 295-312.)*

marble mausoleum in "pietre dure" that was put under the silver shrine after 1697 in gratitude for a pillow that had been allegedly used by Xavier.\footnote{227}

![Image of a mausoleum](image)

Fig. 18: Goa, Bom Jesus, Tomb of Saint Francis Xavier (17th century)

In 1610, in addition to the tomb of Xavier, the bodily remains of the five Jesuits tortured and martyred on Salsete were moved there according to the orders of General Acquaviva.\footnote{228} This church is lined by several side chapels. As it can be seen in the hand sketch made by a Jesuit and dated 1652 (Fig. 17), there was a Chapel of the Eleven Thousand Virgins on the side of the Epistle, a Chapel of Saint Michael, and a chapel of Francis Borja on the side of the Gospel. The Blessed Sacrament is enshrined in a golden tabernacle (1597) in a chapel that stands on the Southern side of the transept. Two confraternities devoted to Our Lady of the Annunciation were created in 1613, one of which was local, while the other, which lasted for only three years, was Portuguese.


\footnote{228} WICKI, Joseph (ed), Dois compendios, p. 496.
This could have led to the re-consecration of one or two altars with these devotions even if the sketch dated in 1652 does not include any reference to them. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, eight small chapels, which were used as confessionals, existed there, and a gallery, which was used by the local hierarchy, ran along a section of the two sides above the Western part of the church.\(^2\)\(^2\)\(^9\)

The decision taken by the hierarchy of the Society to keep the tombs of Saint Francis Xavier and the five martyrs of Salsete in the *Bom Jesus* undoubtedly helped to attract numerous donations and legacies. As a result, this church never suffered from a lack of resources, and could even refuse donations.\(^2\)\(^3\)\(^0\) Furthermore, the interest of benefactors became a factor which had a decisive influence on the structural and ornamental features of this building. Since the interest of private people was usually best expressed by the diffusion of private tombs, its internal space was further determined by the tombs of private benefactors. Among the thirteen persons laid to rest there, who are referred to in the sources consulted, eleven were either Governors, or Viceroy, or had occupied determinant positions in the military and political hierarchy. To illustrate this point, the golden bronze tomb for Jerónimo Mascarenhas, who died in 1593, bears the engraving of his most heroic endeavours and a handsome epitaph in silver, which was installed on the Epistle side near the High Chapel in 1623.\(^2\)\(^3\)\(^1\) The Governor of India, D. Rodrigo da Costa, who died in 1590, was buried near the tomb of

\(^2\)\(^2\)\(^9\) ARSI, *Goa 33.1, Annual Letter of the Province of Goa (1617)*, fl. 549.

\(^2\)\(^3\)\(^0\) “Una persona honorata, e ricca, offeriva di far piangere tutta la Cappella del Sàto di belle immagini, ò di addobbaral tutta di paramenti di seta; in oltre di donare alla medessima capella tutti gli ornamenti necessari per l’Altare, e per il Sacerdote; aggiungeva, che l’haverebe dotata di tanta entrata, che bastasse à provedere di quanto bisognasse per mantenerla, purche la Compagnia si contentasse ch’egli si facesse per se, e per i suoi una sepoltura; ma per giusti rispetti non si è accettata l’offerta.” (Annual Letter (1623), in “Lettere delle Indie”, p. 248-249).

\(^2\)\(^3\)\(^1\) *Annual Letter of the Province of Goa (1623)*, in “Lettere Annuae”, p. 249.
Xavier. The tomb of António Machado de Brito, who died in 1594, can be seen under the arch of the High Chapel.

The rules of the Professed House determined that its church should not be decorated with figures but only golden at the expense of alms. Nevertheless, the Bom Jesus was reputed for its paintings. The distinguished Florentine painter Bartolomeo Fontebuoni began its decoration before 1607. The present roof of the Bom Jesus dates from the end of the nineteenth century, and it replaces its original ceiling, which was also decorated by Bartolomeo Fontebuoni between 1613 and 1617. According to the annual letter of 1617, which included a very detailed description of the oil painting on the ceiling of this church, the panel over the transept, which was the largest one, represented the Holy Name of Jesus, and was immediately followed by a panel depicting Saint Paul. The eighteen panels over the nave underscored a Christocentric cycle. This tier brought out various scenes of the life and miracles of Christ whereas the panels over the choir were decorated with the five main virtues. The other parts of the church were also painted by 1617. In the chapel opposite to the Chapel of Saint Francis Xavier, there was a painting of the Holy Spirit appearing before the Apostles, and various biblical saints (Saint Peter, Saint Magdalene) while the two most emblematic members of the Society of Jesus, Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier, were painted, as penitents, in two of the confessionals. The ceiling and other parts of the church were treated with particular care and, at least, one work of embellishment was carried out at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Namely, in 1623, numerous pictures

232 "E não se pintará de figuras, mas somente se dourará quanto abrangerem as esmolas. (Orders by Nicolau Pimenta to the Professed House (1597), in "DI", vol. XVIII, p. 809.)

233 ARSI, Goa 27, Catalogue of the members of the Province of India (1613), fl. 23, and ARSI, Goa 33, Doc. 1 and Doc. 2.

234 Appendix II, Doc. 2.
representing scenes of the life of Ignatius of Loyola, which were destined for the High Chapel, were commissioned, and the ceiling was repainted. This work of renovation cost 1,000 pardaos (300,000 reis).235 Around 1653, the Flemish Jesuit painter Iacob Pauo executed some images for the same church.236

The present sacristy was constructed between 1652 and 1654 to replace the first one (doc. 4). It was founded by the nobleman Baltazar da Veiga and cost 12,000 xerafins (36,000,000 reis). It stands near the Chapel of Francis Xavier and communicates with this chapel by means of a guilt-lined and frescoed arch, while, internally, it has an excellent vault with stucco relief.237 The four large and the twenty-two small pictures that hang on the walls had been painted in Cochin through the exertions of Father Gonçalo Martins and were bought thanks to the 300 xerafins (90,000 reis) offered by Dom Francisco de Lima.238

In the end, this church was much admired for its architectural and decorative beauty. For instance, Johann Albrecht von Mandelslo, who visited Goa in 1636, described it as follows:

235 “A Capella mor desta Igreja depois dos dourados da aboboda, selhe deo de novo lustre com seus paineis ainda donosso Sancto Patyriarca, obra muito prima, afora outros coadros de menor quantidade nos viões e campos de parede e no lado daporede da mesma capella seelevam no tumulo de D. Hieronimo Mascarenhas nome meristissimo detoda companhia efundador desta igreja co' suas armas qu' teve na India: passa as obras mil pardaos emtudo sumptuosa, ebem merecida.” (ARSI, Goa 33.1, Annual Letter of the Province of Goa (1623), fl. 715.)

236 ARSI, Goa 27, Catalogue of the Jesuits of the Province of India (1653), fl. 61.

237 PAIS DA SILVA, Jorge Henrique, Notas sobre a arquitectura dos Jesuïtas no espaço português, p. 7.

"The structure is vast and magnificent, and the ornaments are so suitable to the
greatness thereof, that it is not easy to imagine anything more noble."\textsuperscript{239}

Some years later, the French merchant La Haye thought that the \textit{Bom Jesus} was
more exquisite than any church in Rome. With certain exaggeration, he further made the
remark that

"its (second) Sacristy and the Chapel of Saint Francis Xavier were widely
known to be the most beautiful pieces of architecture throughout the universe due to
both their richness and the exquisiteness of the craftsmanship."\textsuperscript{240}

After the expulsion of the Jesuits from both Portugal and all its colonies, the
administration of both the Professed House and \textit{Bom Jesus} was entrusted, by royal
decree, to a council formed by the Viceroy, the Archbishop and other authorities. In
1932, both the edifices were returned to the Society of Jesus.\textsuperscript{241}

\textsuperscript{239} MANDELSLO, Johann Albrecht, \textit{Travels}, p. 80.

\textsuperscript{240} "On ne voit rien que de somptueux dans leur maison & je croy pas qu’à Rome il se voye rien de plus
rare qu’en leur Eglise. Leur Sacristie & la Chapelle ou reposes le Corps de S. François Xavier sont
reputées pour les deux plus belles pièces de l’Univers, soit qu’on y remarque les richesses ou la
beauté du travail." (\textit{Le Journal du voyage des grandes Indes. contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait &
passe\textsuperscript{e} par l’Escadre de Sa Majesté envoyée sous le commandement de Mr de la Haye, depuis son
depart de la Rochelle au mois de Mars 1670. Avec une description exacte de toutes les isles, villes,
ports, bayes, rades, forces, richesses, trafic, maurs & religion des Indiens, ensemble la relation de
prise de St Thomé sur le Roy de Golconde & plusieurs combats donnez contre les Indiens &
Hollandois, jusques a sa sortie de la dite ville au mois de septembre 1674, Paris, 1697, p.131).

\textsuperscript{241} SALDANHA, Manuel José Gabriel, \textit{Histôria de Goa}, vol. II, p. 65.
7. Churches and smaller settlements

Fig. 19: Map of Goa with the indication of some churches

Fig. 20: Map of Goa, Salsete and Bardes
Besides the fundamental facilities mentioned above, Jesuits ran churches and sometimes lived on their own or in pairs in various smaller settlements that consisted of small residences adjacent to a church and an elementary school for recently converted children. Many of these settlements replaced the former pagodas and mosques that had been razed to the ground by the Portuguese, sometimes with the help of the Jesuits. They existed on the Island of Goa, on the Peninsula of Salsete, and on the Islands of Divar, Choran, and Juá. From the 1560s, the Jesuits began to run many churches in Salsete so that they were said to dominate an immense area. For instance, Pietro della Valle (1624) affirmed that circa one third of the Peninsula of Salsete was in the hands of the Jesuits. In addition to three good settlements, they owned many churches, farms in Salsete and he also thought that they ran all parish churches there.242 Some of these churches had been built before the arrival of the Jesuits and had been handed over to them by the Bishop. Other churches had been commissioned by the Bishop on behalf of

the Jesuits. Sometimes, the latter themselves commissioned churches and their attached facilities in small villages or in the countryside, thus having a rural character. A number of these buildings were built on the lands assigned to the Jesuits by the local inhabitants (S. João Batista at Benaulim) or on the sites of former Hindu temples (S. Tiago e S. Filipe at Curtalim, Santa Cruz at Verna) and on lands offered to them by the captains. \(^{243}\) They were built either thanks to alms, or from the rents obtained from the former revenues of the Hindu shrines. \(^{244}\) Unfortunately, little information reached us concerning the artists employed at the construction and decoration of these settlements. I know only for sure of one architect who worked in Salsete. More precisely, the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco Aranha was the architect of the Igreja de S. Filipe e S. Tiago in the village of Cortalim, Salsete, after 1574. According to the chronicler Fernão Gonçalves, the Portuguese painter Manuel Álvares could have decorated a retable of the Church of Nossa Senhora da Graça on the Island of Choran. \(^{245}\)

Initially, all Jesuit buildings were under the authority of S. Paulo Velho. When the new College was constructed in Margan of Salsete, the settlements in Salsete were handed over to the priests of the College. The reports by Sebastião Gonçalves and Francisco Sousa agreed on the fact that the 1560s marked a watershed with regard to the churches and their adjacent buildings. The Jesuits gradually abandoned their churches in the city of Goa in order to concentrate their efforts on the evangelisation of Salsete. Another reason was the Christianisation of the Islands of Goa and Divar was

\(^{243}\) For example, the Captain of Rachol, Vicente Dias, had offered the site near Nossa Senhora das Neves to them prior to 1576. (SOUZA, Francisco, Oriente Conquistado, p. 900.)

\(^{244}\) "(...) e El-Rey ter doado a renda dos ditto paguodes dela ás igrejas das mesmas terras, e pera fabrica e ministros della e pobres e outras semelhantes despezas, (...)" (Document on the use of the revenues of the temples, Goa, 9 November 1573, in "DI", vol. IX, p. 277.)

\(^{245}\) GONÇALVES, Sebastião, Primeira parte da História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus, vol. II,
The number of settlements run by the Jesuits on the Peninsula of Salsete fluctuated greatly from year to year, reaching its maximum number (25) in 1647. Indeed, in the early years, when neither the Portuguese military presence nor the Christianisation was embedded, these churches were often the targets of local armies. Therefore, these churches were often rebuilt in temporary materials and *ad tempus*.

In spite of the fact that most of these buildings had been built by the Jesuits, they officially belonged to the Archdiocese of Goa, and thus the Crown was responsible for their upkeep. The possession of these settlements was always a source of dissent. In the early 1560’s, the Bishop wished to transfer these settlements to secular priests. At times, the Order was compelled to turn over the settlements to secular priests. But it used to be the Jesuits, who expressed the desire to be released from this unwanted burden. They argued that they were not enough to run the many churches in Goa. The churches either remained without priests or secular priests had to take care of them.

More significantly, the nature of these settlements represented a serious problem for the Jesuits. It was contrary to the rules of the Institute to take care of souls in churches, hospitals, and confraternities. In addition, the residences in Salsete had a stable income,

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247 "Esta Christandade de'q acompanhafez sempre estimação e esta Prov.a desdeseus principios cultivou comparticular cuidado, tem deprente 25 freguezias com seus vigarios todos da companhia os queas e'alguas' freg.as temaseu cargo perto desinco mil almas, e'nuiras quatro, e'tres mil; e'as freguesias q'tem menos, serao de 1500 almas, e'estas sao' poucas." (ARSI, Goa 34.1, Summary of some events and successes of the Province of Goa in 1647, fl. 221.)


250 “Devido à falta de obreiros; há tres igrejas sem padres, outras há administradas por vigarios, padres da terra.” (ARSI, Goa 15, Thomas Stephens S.J., the Rector of the College of Salsete, Margan, 6 December 1602, to Claudio Acquaviva, fl. 50v).
something that the Constitution of the Order permitted only for educational institutions, noviciates and tertianships. Accordingly, Borja, in particular, did his best to prevent the Jesuits in Goa from running these settlements. In 1567, he recommended the Visitor to the East Indies to assure that the Society did not take charge of new residences. He further instructed the members of the local Jesuits to abandon and to decline the management of the Salsete churches because the churches were de facto parish churches, which meant that running them was contrary to the Institute of the Order. This kind of institution was proper to secular priests, but not to the Society because taking care of churches hindered the Jesuits from attending missions conveniently.

Mercurian shared the opinion of Borja with regard to this subject. He considered the fact that some priests were living alone as parish clerics in the residences of Salsete as a great danger. For this reason, Provincial Vicente was to provide them with more priests.

Goan Jesuits churches were connected to various confraternities. For instance, the Church of the Holy Spirit at Margan had four confraternities. The Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary was one the most important devotions in Jesuit churches in Goa as all churches had a particular altar in Her honour. From 1542 onwards, Xavier

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251 WICKI, Joseph, Padre Gonçalo Alvares, der erste Ordensvisiatar der Indischen Provinz, p. 269.


253 “También se ha avisado que algunos de los nuestros estavan solos en las residencies de Salsete. Esto se representa acá por gran incoveniente por los muchos peligros a que se exponen los que están desta manera, lo qual aunque pienso seria por poco tiempo, deseo todavía que V. R. Los proveía siempre de compañeros(...).” (Extract of a letter by Everard Mercurian to Rodrigo Vicente, Provincial of India, Rome, 9 December 1578, in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 458).

254 “Há muytas Irmandades, & Confrarias, & só a Igreja de Margão tem quatro, huma do Espírito Santo, outra da Senhora da Conceição, a terceira das Almas, & a quarta do Anjo Custodio, (....)” (SOUSA, Francisco, Oriente Conquistado, p. 167-168)
incessantly demanded indulgences for all Marian churches in Goa. Moreover, the Jesuits leaving for the Indies had allegedly taken some hairs of the Blessed Virgin Mary from Rome to Goa in 1586 and 1588. The local Jesuits, thus, organised imposing processions and ceremonies honouring these relics. The variety and relative importance of Marian devotions is also demonstrated by the fact that circa one third of the churches that the Society of Jesus owned in Salsete (7) were dedicated to different Marian devotions. It is also important to mention that the local priests in authority considered that the congregations dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, which operated in the houses, colleges and residences of the Society of Jesus in India were quite helpful for the Jesuits in their apostolic work.

In 1589, the recently converted inhabitants of Margan sponsored the construction of two altars for the church. One of the altars was dedicated to the Angel Custodian, because this cult was the object of great religious fervour in Salsete. In

255 "Para esta autoridade juntão os melhores pregadores da Província com deterimento dos outros colegios; por esta causa na collocação de hum cabello de Nosa Senhora, bem pequeno que hum Padre de S. Roque mandou aqui ao Preposito-e tre tam grandes como elle trouxe de lá o P. Nuno Rodriguez e os deu aqui a suas devotas- pêra isto fizerão procissão polla cidadade de todos nosos (…)." (Francisco Vieira S.J., Consultor, to (Fr. Cl. Acquaviva S. J., General), Goa, November 23, 1593, in “DI”, vol. XVI, p. 430.)

256 "Mas atudo vence a devastado que mostrão aglorioza Virgem Nossa Sra, donde nage alem dentro das outras igrejas terem sua imagem e particular altar, terem nesta pouca terra sete igrejas de varias invocaggoes da mesma Senhora (…)" (ARSI, Goa i 6, Annual Letter of the Province of Goa (1607), fl. 211.)

257 “Posto que as congregaggoes da sacratissima virgem, instituidas nas casas, collegios e residencias da companhia de Jesus, sejam hum dos meios principaes e de mór efficacia que ella usa pera a reformatào dos costumes e melhorma da vida dos christãos, como a experiencia de muitos annos tem mostrado em todos os reinos e provincias, (…); que foram as razões que nos moveram os annos pasados a fundar n’esta cidade de Goa a congregagão de cidadãos e casados, (…).” (Archbishop of Goa to Filipe II, King of Portugal, Goa, 6 March 1616, in “Documentos Remettidos da Índia”, vol. III, p. 444-445.

258 "(…), y dos christianos particulars hizieron dos retablos para los altares a fazer uno de nuestra Senhora de Concepción y otro del Angel Custodio, a quen la gente de allá tiene particular devoción." (Annual Letter of the Province of India (1589), in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 542.)
addition to traditional cults, such as Our Lady of the Conception, of the Holy Spirit and the Cult of the Angel Custodian, primary documentation bears witness to the more modern cult of Our Lady of the Guadalupe.\textsuperscript{259} Among the Marian devotions pride of place goes to the \textit{Madonna di San Luca}. In 1576, Provincial Alessandro asked Gregory XIII to “dispense some indulgences to the images of the Madonna di Santa Maria la Maior” (this probably meaning that the people, who would venerate these images would profit from a special indulgence) that were kept in the Indian Jesuit churches, especially to the ones preserved in the churches of Goa, Cochin and Japan.\textsuperscript{260} When Xavier arrived in Japan (Kangoshima) in 1549, he took with him two images. One represented the Blessed Virgin Mary. The second depicted The Blessed Virgin Mary and Child.\textsuperscript{261}

Indeed, Francis Xavier himself might have been the first to bring the typical Jesuit cult of the \textit{Madonna di San Luca} to the Orient. The evidence for this statement is that some Japanese that he had baptised possessed and venerated a copy of this image.\textsuperscript{262} The earliest document that I found with a reference to the cult of the \textit{Madonna di San Luca} in Goa is dated 1576. It is a letter written by Provincial Alessandro Valignano to two Portuguese Jesuits, which mentions that images of the \textit{Madonna di San Luca} were kept at the time in various Jesuit churches in Indian towns, including Goa.\textsuperscript{263} One year

\textsuperscript{259} The Archbishop to the King of Portugal, Goa, 6 March 1616, in “Documentos Remetidos da Índia”, vol. III, p. 444-445.

\textsuperscript{260} “Pido también allgumas ¡indulgencias pera las imagines de nuestra Señora que tenemos aqui en la Índia del retrato de Santa Maria la Maior, y particularmente de la que está en Goa y en Cochin y Japón, y finallmente en qualquiera parten que esté.” (Alessandro Valignano to Rui Vicente and Martinho da Cruz, Goa, January 1576, in “DI”, vol. X, p. 426.)

\textsuperscript{261} VLAM, Grace A. H., The portrait of S. Francis Xavier in Kobe, in “ZKG”, p. 48.

\textsuperscript{262} “Estavan aquí en el reyno [Japan] algunos christianos que el P.e Maestro Francisco havia baptizado, (...) Este [old man] as escondidas tenia sempre oracion de Nuestra Señora que tenia. (Annual Letter of the Province of India, October 1578, in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 299.). This image probably corresponds to the image that is presently kept in Ichiku. (WICKI, Joseph, in “EX”, vol. II, p. 598)

\textsuperscript{263} See footnote 262.
later, an image of Saint Luke was displayed for the first time in the Church of Saint Paul in a solemn and magnificent ceremony. Several noblemen, who attended this event, said that they intended to restore the confraternities of Our Lady of Saint Luke and made generous offerings.264 This devotion progressed in Goa essentially under the designation of *Nossa Senhora das Neves* (Our Lady of the Snows), which is simultaneously a typical Portuguese devotion.265 The first church built by the Jesuits in Salsete of Goa was dedicated to *Nossa Senhora das Neves* (before 1564), and the Archbishop officially recognised the primacy of this church over the other churches in Salsete when he designated it as the repository for the Holy Sacrament in 1596.266 By contrast, the typical Jesuit cult of the *Madonna del Loreto* seems to have had no importance in Goa. I traced one single reference to an image of the *Madonna del Loreto* in Goa.267

In particular, the iconography of the churches in Salsete reflected the veneration paid to Francis Xavier and the Five Martyrs of Cuncolim. A cult devoted to the places and objects relating to Francis Xavier developed there.268 Many cures and miracles were

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265 At the end of the fourteen century, this feast-day was added to the local Liturgical calendars and to the Diocesan Constitutions in Portugal. The Constitution for the Archdiocese of Goa officially authorised the celebration of this feast-day in 1568. (COSTA, Avelino Jesus, *Nossa Senhora das Neves, subsídios para a história do seu culto*, Viana do Castelo, 1978, s/p., and *Constitution for the Archdiocese of Goa (1568)*, in “Documentação”, vol. X, p. 573.)


reported to have occurred after the people had touched the relics of Xavier. Those who benefitted offered themselves to sponsor altars and pictures of Francis Xavier.\footnote{\textsuperscript{269}} In 1625, a confraternity was consecrated to him for the first time at the church of the village of Chicalim on the Peninsula of Salsete.\footnote{\textsuperscript{270}} Indeed, the Jesuits in Goa had promoted the cult of Francis Xavier long before his beatification. The first official hints of Jesuit efforts towards the canonisation of Francis Xavier occurred in Goa, and they are dated from 1575 when the Provincial Congregation forwarded a \textit{postulatum} to General Everard Mercurian on the subject. In 1578 the two Jesuits in Goa Francisco Pérez and Manuel Teixeira (both personal acquaintances of Francis Xavier) were required by the Roman headquarters to write biographies of the future saint. Both works remained unpublished until the twentieth century.\footnote{\textsuperscript{271}} However, the biography by Manuel Teixeira exerted considerable influence on the evolution of the hagiography of Xavier. This second work provided the only physical description of Xavier, and served as the basis for future lives of the saint.

Portraits of Xavier proliferated, which fostered his cult throughout the world, but were first commissioned in Goa. Probably at the request of the Roman headquarters, Alessandro Valignano commissioned an unknown artist or two unknown artists to portrait the saint in Goa in 1583, havin the truthfulness of these portraits been later attested by the saint’s biographer, Manuel Teixeira.\footnote{\textsuperscript{272}}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{269}} DOC. 9.
\footnote{\textsuperscript{271}} WICKI, Joseph (ed), \textit{Das neuentdeckte Xaveriusleben des P. Francisco Pérez SI (1579)}, in “AHSI” (35), 1965, p. 36-78, and TEIXEIRA, Manuel, \textit{Vida de S. Francisco Xavier}, in “MX”, p. 815-918.
The one portrait that was sent to Rome was used as the model for the official iconography of the saint. This favoured iconographic type that shows Xavier pulling the garment from his breast and which is established by the motto: “Satis est, Domine, satis est” (it is enough, O Lord, it is enough), is a direct allusion to Xavier’s moments of ecstasy and meditation, which seem to have occurred primarily at Goa in 1552.\textsuperscript{273}

![Fig. 23: Portrait (engraving) of Xavier by Theodor Galle](image)

Only in 1839 were the five martyrs of Salsete declared blessed. Nevertheless, the cult of these martyrs flourished as a major expression of local piety soon after their death. Particularly illustrative, the bodies of all five Jesuits were moved to the Igreja de Nossa Senhora das Neves, the most important church in Salsete, immediately after they had suffered martyrdom. The Christians and the Portuguese of Rachol felt so much devotion to them that they declared they would never permit their removal to another place.\textsuperscript{274} In the aftermath of their death, their reputation for sanctity and miracles grew

\textsuperscript{273} OSSWALD, Maria Cristina, *Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier*, p. 268.

\textsuperscript{274} “Os christãos e portuguezes de Rachol, ficarão com tanta devação a estes santos que disserão que não faria[m] menos sobre seus corpos do que fizerão os cidadãos de Padua sobre o santo António, dando a entender que de nenhuma maneira consentirão que dali se levassem para outra parte.” (GONÇALVES S.J., Sebastião, Report of the martyrdom of the Jesuits in Salsete (Goa, December 1609), in “DI”, vol. XII, p. 992.)
steadily so that, in 1647, the gauncars of Cuncolin requested Xavier’s beatification to Innocent X (1644-1655).275

8. Recreation sites

The Jesuits owned two recreation sites in Goa. The main recreation site was a farm called Saint Anne, which was located in the Western extremity of the Island of Goa near San Pedro, circa a quarter of a league from the College. It was at a very low level, surrounded by many country dwellings, partly belonging to the islanders who lived there and partly to the Portuguese who owned holiday-houses there.276

This house was much indebted to private patronage. The site that consisted in a house with a garden was bought by a devotee for 300 ducados (108,000 reis), who intended it to serve as a recreation area for the Jesuits. Two other devotees sponsored the works undertaken of repair there in 1576, which amounted to 400 ducados (144,000 reis.). This house was considered very adequate for this purpose, as it was quite near the


College and was located in a cool area with enough water (it had a good fountain). In addition, the Jesuits bought for the sacristy in 1578, which cost more than 800 pardaos (240,000 reis). In addition, the Order was in possession of a second recreation house which was located on the Island of Choran. This house was used as place of convalescence since 1552 because of its pure air. By 1561, it was inhabited by one or two Jesuits and it was made up of four main rooms and the necessary workrooms. After various works of enlargement, in 1574, it included thirteen bedrooms, two vast living rooms, a kitchen and other workrooms, and a comfortable and spacious church surrounded by a cloister, which almost resembled a small college.

277 “Solamente se acrescentó una casa de recreación con su huerta, que compró para este colegio un devoto, padre de un nuestro Hermano, por trecientos ducados que, con otros quatrocientos que en ella fastaron otros devotos, se hizo una casa y huerta muy accommodada y propia para la recreación de los Hermannos, porque está poco más de un 4º de légua do Collegio, y es muy fresca y tiene una buena fonte de agua.” (Annual Letter of the Province of India (1576), in “DI”, vol. X, p. 456.)

278 “La sancristía se augmentó de ornamentos muy ricos custarían más de 800 pardaos, y quasi todo de lismosnas de personas devotas.” (Annual Letter of the Province of India (1578), in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 261)


280 “Teniamo là un molto commodo colleggiutto con tredici camere et due grande sale, con su refettorio, cucina et tutto il resto fatto a modo di claustro, con una assai commodo e capace chiesa.” (Alessandro Valignano to Everard Mercurian, 25 December 1574, in “DI”, vol. p. 505.)
Chapter II: General aspects of the Jesuit understanding of art

The purpose of the present chapter is to analyse the understanding the Jesuits had of art, *latum sensum*. Due to the fact that art was a fundamental instrument for the early Jesuits to accomplish their pastoral and evangelical goals, I will analyse Jesuit art within the context of Jesuit thought and Jesuit ministries. This chapter consists in two main sections. The first section is concerned with the organisation of artistic undertakings. It describes the division of different artistic activity between the priests and the artists, their relationship with the patrons, the common system of evaluating artistic production and the general principles considered to be universal by the Jesuits, and will also refer to the internal discussion of the preference for either a rich decoration or an art deprived of luxury. The second part constitutes an analysis of "typical" Jesuit buildings. The different sorts of Jesuit buildings will be referred to, and their houses will be examined according to their meaning and functions. Short reference will also be made to the kind of buildings they were not supposed to run. Afterwards, the evolution of Jesuit artistic activity and buildings will be briefly mentioned. The chapter will conclude with the discussion of Jesuit visual arts and iconography.

1. Organisation of Jesuit artistic activity

1.1 The hierarchical character of the Society of Jesus and the division of tasks between priests and artists

The Jesuits were a religious order profoundly imbued with the Catholic spirit of their epoch. They eagerly wished to belong (they were at the heart of Christian tradition) to the general design of the Catholic Church at large, as, especially the early text written by Ignatius between 1528 and 1535 and entitled *Rules for thinking, judging,*
and feeling with the church clearly demonstrates.¹ This wish of Ignatius and of the other Jesuits to follow the main trends of the time did not, however, prevent them from simultaneously following a very specific evolution. As in all other activities, the first Jesuits had their own, generally valuable, strategy in artistic matters. In this sense, the designation of Modo Nostro can be defined as an affirmation of fidelity towards the criteria that were to be contemplated by the Society in the construction and decoration of their residences, educational houses and churches, as well as in all other aspects of artistic activity. Thus, one can speak of a Jesuit pattern for the organisation of art, which would, in turn, expand in the “New World”. In this context, let me refer to the two aspects embodied by the Society of Jesus: authority and uniformity. Linking them to art, the Roman leadership sought the constitution of a vast efficient top-down structure that was able to exercise control over the architectural design and decoration both locally and abroad. One first aspect of this was that, as far as possible, the various aspects of artistic activity were decided by different authorities. The fundamental decisions were to be taken by the Roman Headquarters, whereas less important ones were left to other priests. Secondly, in order to make it possible to translate constitutional decisions on artistic matters into actions, a body of specialists and a set of rules on art were formed.

Considering the first aspect, the Constitutions of the Order institutionalised various ways in which the General could exercise his authority on buildings and related matters. Important decisions on property purchases and construction were reserved to the General and the General Congregations. The General would have the power to dispose of anything that had been left in an undetermined fashion to the disposition of the Society, whether it consisted of a real estate, such as houses or property which the

¹ This text is attached to the Spiritual Exercises. (I used the version edited by the French Descles De Brouwer. (DESCLES DE BROUWER, (ed.), Écrits de Ignace de Loyola, Paris, 1991, p. 247-255.)
The Constitutions also stated that the General was allowed to perform any sort of contract regarding the acquisition or sale of goods belonging to the Society. Thus, he should decide to sell, preserve or use the real estate (houses, land) left to the Society of Jesus. Various other normative texts provide us with useful information on the subject. The first formula of the Institute as approved by Paul III (1540), the formula of 1550 and the Constitutions later confirmed by the Fourth General Congregation (1581), determined that the General and the General Congregation or at least the votes of the priests who were entitled to participate at this meeting, were to decide together on the sale or dissolution of houses and colleges once erected due to the importance of this subject for the whole Society. In 1565, the Second General Congregation determined that it was the General’s responsibility to approve of both the style and the plans of any new projects. Immediately afterwards, the recently nominated General, Francisco Borja

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2 Constitutions, part IX, Chapter 5, 744.

3 Constitutions, part IX, Chapter 4, p. 630.

4 Constitutions, part IX, Chapter 3, p. 627.


6 Second General Congregation (1565), D. 84, p. 129.
instituted a commission to define clearly the tasks of the General at the approval of the
designs, but unfortunately nothing more is known on the subject.\footnote{Rodriguez de Ceballos S.J., Alfonso, El P. Bustamante iniciador de la arquitectura gesuitica en España (1505-1570), in "AHSI" (32), 1963, p. 76.} The regular reporting
of all aspects of Jesuit activity to Rome was obligatory for the provinces. Such a
practice made it possible for the General himself to have a deep knowledge of even the
most precise details of all matters and to be able to decide accordingly.\footnote{The Constitutions said that "care would be taken to choose as generals priests that were well acquainted with every detail of the life of the Society". (Constitutions, Part IX. C. 3, p. 623)} Linking this
practice to art, the letters of Ignatius Loyola and of his followers abound with references
to property transactions, questions of location, particularities of the construction of the
buildings and financing. In other words, the General often had to intervene in concrete
cases so as to assure that the essential prescriptions concerning the construction and
decoration of Jesuit houses were respected.

Ranking second after the General in the hierarchy of the Society of Jesus, the
Provincial could make decisions of a certain relevance concerning all aspects of the
Order, including art. The Provincial was in charge of the welfare of both the personnel
and the material resources within a province. Hence, the Provincial was obliged by the
rules, to assess the condition of all the facilities pertaining to the Province at least once a
year and to supervise the beginning of the construction of any new building. The
Provincial was in charge of the conservation of all buildings located in his Province, and
was further expected to decide on the works of repair or refurbishment. Another text
issued by General Claudio Acquaviva in 1585, defined other tasks attributed to the
Provincial. To start with, he could neither construct the houses or colleges of the
Society nor order their destruction. Instead, he was allowed to institute residences \textit{ad tempus}, until he could inform the General and could construct the necessary small
churches for the use of the priests. After having heard his advisers, he could reject small houses that were not located inside the walls of the colleges and houses of the Society. He was further allowed to accept legacies and dispose of them for the benefit of the Society. Last but not least, the Fourth General Congregation decreed that

“an accepted house or college should be discontinued or retained, by decision made by the General Congregation, by means of votes of those who have the right of suffrage, if the matter cannot wait one, the general and the all European provincials and in case it would be outside Europe, the provincial of the province, as well as the assistants. If the necessity requires action to be taken, the congregation declared that besides the general all provincials in Europe were given this right. If the dissolution is related to a house, college, than its provincial shall be consulted, as well. Henceforth, the opinion of assistants of the provinces will be sought.”

With regard to the formation of a body of artistic experts, in the logistics of the Society, the main expert on art was the so-called Consiliarius Aedificiorum, whose post was created at the First General Congregation in 1558. This expert was a kind of architect-in-chief, i.e., a combination of architectural and technical adviser, overseer and building superintendent for the whole Order. His opinion of a project submitted to Rome went under the name of the General and with his authority. The decisions by the General were first to be based on the approval of the Consiliarius Aedificiorum. In a

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11 A similar control was exercised by the revisers of books, on literary production, at least since 1580. (BALDINI, Ugo, Uniformitas et Soliditas Doctrinae Le censure librorum e opinionum, in Ugo Baldini (ed.), “Legem, impone subactis: Studi su filosofia e scienza dei gesuiti in Italia, 1540-1632”, Roma, 1992, p. 82).
sense, the opinion of the Consiliarii was more important than the opinion of the General, who could not take any decisions without previously hearing the opinion of this adviser. When this adviser was absent, the whole process had to wait until he arrived in Rome. The version defined by the Consiliarius Aedificiorum was then considered definitive. The General had to assure that no further changes were introduced to the accepted and approved plans. The Consiliarius Aedificiorum was to have two characteristics. He should be technically capable (his tasks included functional improvement with the ability to keep expenses low), as well as to be simultaneously acquainted with the Modo Nostro. In more practical terms, the Consiliarius Aedificiorum was expected to be able to deal with all aspects of the building projects, to examine projects, plans and site selections (suggest modifications, project different solutions), inspect the important sites in the provinces or dispatch the architects of his choice, and to take charge personally of the execution of the approved plans and initiate artistic activity. In conclusion, the Counsiliarii exerted great influence in the construction activity of the Order. The Counsiliarii were, in some cases, reported to have made the designs themselves. Some of them tried to write treatises. More importantly, they were responsible for the architectural norms established at the General Congregations and their personal convictions set a pattern in terms of form and taste for the buildings of the Order. For instance, the preference for flat ceilings in Jesuit churches and the diffusion of Serlio’s treatises related to Giovanni Tristano (d. 1575), who was the first Consiliarius Aedificiorum. Of obvious importance for any scholar

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dealing with Portuguese Jesuit art or the Jesuit of its colonies, another consiliarius, Giuseppe Valeriano, was employed in artistic undertakings in Portugal and in Spain from 1572 to 1580. There, he was commissioned with the painting of pictures for the Spanish and Portuguese overseas colonies.¹⁴

A complex structure for artistic enterprise also gradually developed in the Jesuit provinces. Almost all fundamental buildings whether churches, colleges, professed houses or summer houses were projected by members of the Society. Members of the Society often directed the various artistic works.¹⁵ The Consiliarius was helped in his job by the gradual introduction of foremen or the Provincial Architects-in-Chief, whose main task was to control the quality and costs of the buildings located in one or more provinces.¹⁶ Clearly, they headed and led the other artists in a province, who were mainly members of the order, for economical reasons, and this reflected a co-operative attitude toward art. Both the architects and the other artists whether they were members of the Order or not, used to work closely with the priests. When the artists were Jesuits, they were usually lay brothers, or, in the Jesuit jargon, temporal coadjutors that the fathers had charged with the manual work.¹⁷ Thus, they occupied a relatively low position in the hierarchy of the Society of Jesus. Nevertheless, we cannot infer that artists and other temporal brothers were only given a fringe role in the design within the


¹⁷ It is more appropriate for the temporal coadjutors to exercise themselves in all the low and humble services which are enjoined upon them, although they may be employed in more important matters in accordance with the talent God gave them.” (Constitutions, Part, 1., chapter 2, p. 499.)
Order. The great constructive and decorative activity made members skilled in artistic disciplines be considered highly valuable so that the Constitutions prescribed

"that the candidates of the Society should be asked if they had any training in the manual trades".18

Moreover, the generals and the provincials recognised the importance of recruiting members, who could develop the necessary manual tasks and trades. Their importance can be further seen in terms of their number. The temporal coadjutors constituted circa 25% of the total body in the sixteenth century.19 At this point, the international and itinerant character of the members of the Society of Jesus, including the artists, should be recalled.20 Some of them came from artistic families and had already been practising many years prior to entering the Society.21 Nevertheless, first-class artists were rare in the ranks of the Society before the late seventeenth century. As a consequence, the early works were mainly undertaken by amateurs. In extreme cases, mere ecclesiastics, such as provincials, rectors and other priests corrected the mistakes made in the designs, or even drew plans for a building.22 This led to the fact that many buildings remained unfinished or collapsed during or shortly after construction.23

18 Constitutions, General Examination, p. 89.

19 O’MALLEY, John, The First Jesuits, p. 60.

20 See Appendix I.

21 This is the case of, for example, of Giovanni Tristano, the first Consiliarius Aedificiorum, who was born to a family of artists in Ferrara. (PIRRI S. J., Pietro, Giovanni Tristano e i primordi della architettura gesuitica, Roma, 1955, p. 6)

22 In a letter to Loyola, Jerónimo Nadal wrote that he and Tiago Miron were correcting the many mistakes made in the design of the college of Cordova. (Jerónimo Nadal to Ignatius of Loyola, Lisbon, 7 September 1553, in “Nadal”, vol. I, p. 183)

23 “Resta que V. P. favoreça esta obra (Professed House in Goa) y nos embie un buenos hermano architecito q’ la pueda endereçar y promover en orden y ingenio. Sin esso sempre aura erros, desgastos y excessos en los gastos, que la arte y los arquitecitos muchas vezes escusan.” (Gomes Vaz to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 21 November 1593, in “DI”, vol. XVI, p. 404)
Moreover, in spite of the fact the Jesuits preferred to use their own members, they had to consult sometimes external experts and to use external artists. On other occasions, reasons of costs, practicality and lack of resources dictated the use of external quick and cheap non-Jesuit artists.24 Sometimes, powerful benefactors were able to impose their own architects, painters and sculptors on the Society while some of the most famous artists of all times, including Michelangelo and later Caravaggio, eagerly desired to work for the Order.25 Moreover, the enrolment of artists, such as Rubens by the confraternities functioning at the expense of the Jesuits goes without mentioning.26

1.2 The common system of evaluating artistic production and the various attempts to reinforce it

One fundamental aspect of the Jesuit body of regulations on art was that their artistic production was usually the object of case by case local and central censorship. By and large, any plan for a new building was submitted to the various priests in authority for checking. All plans had to pass three stages before construction. The ground-plans were created in the province, and then were sent to Rome for approval. In the provinces, the local superior, for example, the rector had to hand over the plan to the Provincial. The latter would then send it to the General Curia in Rome. After eventual correction and

24 For instance, the Tuscan Niccolò Circignani da Pomerancio (1569/1672-1629), who had been active in the Vatican at the request of Gregory XIII, was charged with the painting of scenes of martyrdom in the three Jesuit colleges in Rome, as he was used to depict hurriedly, and was also considered a cheap painter. (BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander, *The Jesuits and Painting in Italy, 1550-1690*, p. 153) (See also KORRICK, Leslie, *On the Meaning of Style- Niccolò Circignani in Counter-Reformation Rome*, in “Word and Image”, 1999, p. 170-189)


approval, the inverse trajectory was then undertaken.\textsuperscript{27} This process was established, or at least made obligatory in the late 1560s. Firstly, a circular letter directed by General Francisco Borja to all provincials in 1566 specified that the provinces had to send all plans for new buildings and the respective opinions of the experts to Rome.\textsuperscript{28} A subsequent letter also written by Borja in 1570 ordered that no building could be initiated before a plan had arrived in the hands of the General.\textsuperscript{29} In the wake of this, General Acquaviva sent a circular letter to all provinces in 1613, which made the execution of two plans obligatory. Having been approved the original plan, and, if necessary, corrected, one copy was to be sent back to the province. The second copy was to be conserved at the headquarters in Rome.\textsuperscript{30} According to the in depth study undertaken by the French archivist Jean Vallery Radot on the collection of plans of Jesuit buildings kept in Paris, most plans were bound together with the indication of the cardinal points, of scale, and, more rarely, with an inscription. When complete, the inscriptions included the kind of building, the city or town, the architect and the date, and the reference of their approval or refusal, and also indicated if they had been sent back to the provinces or not.\textsuperscript{31} Although it rarely happened, these commentaries could

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} BÖSEL, Richard, Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien 1540-1773, vol. I, p. 111.
\item \textsuperscript{28} “A todos los provinciales. En lo que toca a las traças de edificios de importancia, holgaré que se me embien a Roma junta con lo parecer de los consultores, antes que se pongan en execución.” (Circular letter by Francisco Borja to all provincials, 14 November 1566, in Jean Vallery-Radot, “Le recueil de plans d’édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus”, p. 6*.)
\item \textsuperscript{29} “No se edifique cosa que sea de costa en casa, o colegio, o yglesia nuestra sin traça, o disegno, (...)” (Circular Letter by General Francisco Borja to all provincials (c. 1570), in Jean Vallery-Radot, “Le recueil de plans d’édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus”, p. 7*.)
\item \textsuperscript{30} “Quod pridem monitum voulimus R. V. Sicuti et coeteros Provinciales, id nunc denique monemus. Visum scilicet opere pretium fore, si cum ad nos aliqua mittiur riconoscenda fabricae ciuscumque nostrorum domiciliorum idea, duplex in Urbem mittatur, nempe ut hic altera recognita, et sicut opus erit, correcta, in Provinciam remittatur.” (Circular Letter by General Acquaviva (1613), in Jean VALLYER-RADOT, “Le recueil de plans d’édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus”, p. 12*.)
\item \textsuperscript{31} VALLYER-RADOT, Jean, Le recueil de plans d’édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus, p. 22*-23*.
\end{itemize}
be profusely illustrated and contain remarks on aesthetics. In extraordinary cases, the
same plans provided the Roman Headquarters with additional and particularly valuable
information on the location of Jesuit houses. In order to inform the authorities on, for
example, the availability of neighbouring lands and houses for future acquisition and of
other positive aspects of the location chosen, the provinces sent 2-dimensional and 3-
dimensional representations of the urban framework of the projected houses and
churches. These representations ranged from a sketch of the quarters to a draft of
complete cities and vast territories, with the detailed descriptions of the lots and of the
surrounding areas, streets, places and quarters, as well as indications on the local
communities. There still exist plans of a few projects in progress, thus giving useful
information on the organisation and timetables of work sites.32

At times, the above mentioned general system of evaluation was reinforced. This
tempt to tighten control of the design and building was particularly visible in the late
1570s and 1580s and it coincided with the Generalship of Everard Mercuriano (1573-
1580). To begin with, in 1579, the Spanish architect Juan de Vilalpando suggested that
Everard Mercurian should make it obligatory not only to send the plans and elevations
of the complete building, but also of each of its parts.33 The demand for handbooks for
general guidance became part of this attempt to reinforce the general system of
evaluation, too. When Bartolomé de Bustamante, in his role as a member of the
Buildings Committee, attended the Second General Congregation (1565) in Rome, he
was commissioned, together with Father Cristobál of Madrid, to write some norms to be
used as guidelines by the Father General at the approval of plans for the buildings of the

32 Idem, ibidem, p. 34*-35*.
33 Idem, ibidem, p. 19.*
The Counsiliarius Giuseppe Valeriano was concerned about the fact that the architecture of the Society was often mediocre. For that reason, he wanted to write a treatise that would guide the builders of the Society in the construction of the colleges, and that this project was viewed favourably at headquarters. Finally, reference must be made to the treatise *In Ezechielem explanations et apparatus urbis ac templi Hierosolymitani* (1596-1604) by Gerolamo Prado and Giovanni Battista Villalpando, which was intended to give useful prescriptions and indications to the builders of the Society, and which was quoted by both Jesuits and non-Jesuits from the Netherlands to America.

As a matter of fact, the distribution of plans by the Roman headquarters was rendered obligatory for a short period of time, from 1578 to 1580, and briefly revived in 1603. In other words, it was probably because of the pressure of the repeated requests which had been made by various provinces at least from the early 1570s that

![Fig. 25: Giovanni De Rossis, sheet with six ideal projects for Jesuit churches. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Raccolta Campori.](image)

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34 RODRIGUEZ DE CEBALLOS SI, Alfonso, *El P. Bustamante iniciador de la arquitectura gesuitica en España*, p. 64.

35 "(...) El hermano Joseph Valeriano ha escrito de algún tratado que quiere hazer de trazas para colegios de la Compañía, y acá parece el disegno que podría ser útil. V. R. Lo verá y entenderá, y si juzga que es cosa útil nos lo avisará...." (General Everard Mercurian to Avelaned a S.J., Rome, 15 August 1578, in Pietro Pirri, "Giovanni Tristano e i primordi della architettura gesuitica", p. 269.)


General Mercurian ordered, in 1578, the sending of the so-called ideal plans together with his own instructions (including the indication of the most important features and characteristics for the Society) from Rome to the provinces. The *Instructions for the use of the plans of the buildings of the Society*, which were sent to Spain in January 1580, but were also put to use beyond this province, provide us with detailed and particularly valuable information regarding this practice. This document indicates that the sending of the standard plans was conceived to obtain certain uniformity, reduce delays in execution, and keep expenses down. As before, the powers of decision were centralised in Rome. After he had heard his *Consiliarius*, the Provincial had to write to Rome to ask for authorisation to build a certain plan. He had to indicate if the plan chosen was one of the standard plans, and, if this were the case, which. If the buildings were going to be very different from the models, he was briefly to refer to the reasons which made the changes convenient, in order for Rome to understand the diversity better.  

Finally, a short reference must be made to the ephemeral attempt to create an academy of architecture at the *Collegio Romano*. In 1612, General Acquaviva invited the Jesuit mathematician and architect Orazio Grassi (1583-1658) to institute such an academy, because the Society needed experts in this profession. This institution should be headed by a mathematician and was to teach solid theoretical principles to the new generations of architects of the Society. Its creation was to prevent the Jesuit architectural activity from continuing to depend on the eventual entrance of run-of-the-mill architects into the order. The architecture of the Society of Jesus was to rely on its own body of numerous architects, who would be able to plan and direct the activity of

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the order worldwide. However, this project didn’t find enough support inside the Order.39

1.3 Main Principles (utilia, sana, fortia, urbana, romana, and the oscillatory choice between a lavish or an austere conception of art)

When considering the general framework of the artistic activity of the Society of

Jesus, it is surely not justified to speak of an authoritative or monolithic conception of architecture and decoration on the part of the Society. The Constitutions and the general congregations did not prescribe a single universally precise and definitive artistic or stylistic doctrine. The Society made no definitive decisions about any architectural or decorative ideal best-suited to its churches. They did not intend to impose a single architectonic, decorative or stylistic ideal. The initial prescriptions did not enter into details, but were instead very vague. They neither prescribed a definitive solution nor did they refuse, a priori, typological and formal experimentation.40 They did, in fact, make use of many models, both ancient and contemporary ones so that their architecture spans Gothic, Renaissance, Mannerist and Baroque churches.41 Generally speaking, their


41 They built in the Gothic Style in Germany and in the Low Countries as Joseph Braun has demonstrated in his magnificent books on Jesuit art in the German and Flemish Provinces. (BRAUN, Joseph, Die Kirchenbauten der deutschen Jesuiten: ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1910, and Die belgischen Jesuitenkirchen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kampfes zwischen Gotik und Renaissance, 1907). More recently, Jeffrey Chipps Smith accomplished the first comprehensive survey of Jesuit art in Germany. (CHIPPS SMITH, Sensuous Worship, Jesuits and Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany, Princeton and Oxford, 2002)
art showed a remarkable readiness to adapt the elements of the arts of the extra-European people to whom they were sent on mission.\textsuperscript{42}

The Jesuits did not have a specific style of painting or decoration either. Both the Constitutions and the General Congregations limited themselves to a few general prescriptions. All activity was subordinated to these general principles, which were intended to render their buildings adequate to their life and activity. In this context, Canon 113 of the First General Congregation (1558), which dealt with architecture, provides a particularly useful starting point:

"As far as is in our power, we should impose norms for the buildings belonging to our houses and colleges so that besides other inappropriate developments they may not become at some point palaces befitting the nobility; they must be sound buildings, sturdy and well built, suited to be our residences and the place from which we can discharge our duties; they must be such, however, as to demonstrate that we are mindful of poverty- buildings that are not luxurious, therefore, or to fancy."\textsuperscript{43}

In brief, the Jesuit houses and colleges were to be serviceable, healthy, and strong. In order to translate this concept of "utility" into practice, the authorities constantly demanded spacious sites, which would permit further enlargement, through the acquisition of neighbouring houses. This concept further reflects the fact that the Jesuits envisaged architecture mainly so as to provide the best conditions possible for their own needs, uses and ministries in their various locations. In this sense, it relates to the concepts of versatility, adaptability and compromise that the different situations and

\textsuperscript{42} For example, Alessandro Valignano ordered in 1580 that all Jesuit buildings in Japan be built in the Japanese style and by Japanese architects. (VALIGNANO, Alessandro, \textit{Ceremoniale per i missionari del Giappone, Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e Catangues do Japão}, (1580), Roma, 1946, p. 270-271, and BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander, \textit{Art on the Jesuit missions}, p. 63.)

\textsuperscript{43} First General Congregation (1558), D. 113, p. 98.
places might require. To quote General Claudio Acquaviva, in this process of evaluating the various means for the aims,

"it was not necessary that the churches should be all constructed and decorated in one way. They could be constructed in one way or another, in the best way, according to both commodity and circumstances."⁴⁴

Sickness and health were a common topic in Jesuit epistolary sources. Ignatius continuously charged his companions to take good care of their bodies. Linking this concern for health to architecture, the tenth and last part of the Constitutions dealt with the construction of new buildings. This chapter served to exhort the local leaderships to assure that houses and colleges were located in healthy places with clean air.⁴⁵ Also revealingly, many letters describing the best parts of the city for the construction of churches, from the point of view of the nature of the soils, the disposition of sufficient water and the best exposure to the winds, still exist. This concern led to the construction of all important buildings taking place only after the local conditions had been carefully analysed so that the houses and churches would be suitable to the local context. Before authorising any new construction, Ignatius used to collect information on the adequacy of the local geographical and climatic conditions of the location and surrounding area of the future construction. It therefore comes as no surprise that this concern for healthy locations and houses decisively influenced the organisation of the settlements. In order to avoid the spreading of contagious diseases, the infirmaries of the colleges were

⁴⁴ "Et intendano iue RR. VV che non è necessario che I modelli delle nostre chiese siano tutti ad un modo; secondo le commodità et le circonstanze che occorrono si possano fare in una maniera o nell’altra, come torna meglio". (Claudio Acquaviva in BALLESTRI, Isabella, L’architettura negli scritti della Compagnia di Gesù, p. 22.). See also FAHY, Barbara, The iconography of the Jesuit Church at Antwerp as a unified polemic of the Catholic Reformation and the Jesuit Order, Philadelphia, 1997, p. 15.

usually constructed in the part of the buildings least affected by the winds and temperatures. They were located in special wings segregated from the rest of the buildings, and they had their own kitchen and other common facilities.46

The Society of Jesus was the first Order in the history of the Catholic Church to create its headquarters near the Papacy in Rome. In May 1542, the recently formed Society of Jesus officially took possession of the church of Santa Maria della Strada, which is the site of the present Il Gesù and an area, for which Paul III had demonstrated a particular political and urban interest.47 The strategy of the Society’s diffusion in Rome became more or less paradigmatic for other regions. The Jesuits preferred to live and work in important cities as well as large and populated towns. Thus, their buildings had an urban character. Secondly, as in Rome, from the inception of their Order, they clearly opted for the complete foundation of their settlements in the very heart of the towns and cities, in other words, in central places or on the main roads.48 The location of their houses was to allow them closer access to the civic and religious governments that were located near the religious centre (cathedral) and the secular government. Their houses should also be of easy access for the populace.49


47 Shortly before, Paul III had made Palazzo Venezia his second residence and employed the Campidoglio for the pontifical government of the city. (SCHWAGER, Klaus, Concetto e realtà: alcune precisizioni sulla difficile nascita del Gesù di Roma, in Luciano Patetta, Stefano Della Torre (ed.), “L’architettura della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, XVI-XVIII sec”, Milano, 1992, p. 69.)

48 LUCAS S.J., Thomas, City, Church & Jesuit Urban strategy, p. 148.

49 “Se stia particolarmente attenti a scegliere un posto buono e molto spazioso e suscettibile col tempo d’ingradimento, che basti per la casa e per la chiesa; se possibile, non troppo lontano della vita della città. Una volta comprato, sarà un buon inizio per il resto.” (Ignatius of Loyola to Giovanni Pellettier S.J., Roma, 13 June 1551, in Mario Gioia, “Gli Scritti di Ignazio di Loyola”, p. 921.)
The Society of Jesus explicitly considered the Roman models as the overall standard of cultural and artistic quality. To illustrate the point, the Roman models were to be repeated everywhere so that their buildings were able to fulfil the ministries and activities of the Society in the best possible manner.50 Such statements as “alla usanza di Roma”, “ominamente situato come a Roma, secondo gli punti mandati da Roma”, “traza digna d'architetto romano” were often used by the Jesuits to describe and praise their best buildings. As a matter of fact, the façades of many Jesuit churches based on or just quote from the architectural treatises by Giacomo da Vignola (Regola deli cinque ordini d'architettura, 1562), Sebastiano Serlio (Tutte l'opera d'architettura et prospettiva (first published in 1537), and Andrea Palladio (Le Antichità di Roma, Roma, 1554 and I quatri Libri dell'Architettura, 1570), which were widely disseminated throughout the overseas missions, including Goa.51 As a consequence, many of the 16th and 17th century Jesuit churches overseas distinguish themselves from the churches of other orders because of their Italianate style and that is still especially visible in the façades. Simultaneously, many Jesuits employed as artists in the overseas missions had been previously trained in an artistic discipline in Italy. Last but not least, Italian artists founded painting academies. The most important ones were those in Peru (Lima and Quito, 1579) and in Japan (1583).52

50 BENEDETTI, Sandro, Tipologia, raggionevolenza e pauperismo nel “Modo Nostro”, p. 82.

51 Por estar acá tan lexos y apartados de las cosas del arte, me atrevo a pedir a V. Paternidade dos libros, uno de perspectiva y otro de puertas, que ha hecho el Viñola, alquitecto de San Pedro, y algunos compartimentos de algunas cosas d'estuque de las que hay en Roma, que muchas delas ay ya en estampa. (Martín Ochoa S. J. to Francisco Borja, Goa, 12 December 1567, in “DI”, voi. VII, p. 409) (See, also, BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander, Just Like il Gesù, p. 245.)

The Jesuits' preferences for either austerity or display in churches are a very complicated issue. The Jesuit Order was a mendicant order. All members took a personal vow of poverty. A concrete application of these instructions, rules and notices were sent to the province in order to encourage the superiors to maintain this spirit of moderation in the houses of the Society. The Jesuits' use of material goods in the houses they lived in was to be modest and moderate. Ignatius reflected deeply and long on the question of poverty. General Borja chose Giovanni Tristano as the first Consilarius (1558-1575) because Tristano had a simple, austere and rational style. Acquaviva thought that decoration should be reduced to a minimum, unless benefactors paid for it. Accordingly, he often warned the provincials to avoid the excessively lavish character of the Roman College. For instance, in a letter to the Consiliarius Giuseppe Valeriano (1542-1596), he argued that it was not adequate that the Colegio di Napoli competed in lavishness with the Colegio Romano. Acquaviva further implicitly argued that it was of common knowledge that this lavish character of the Colegio Romano resulted from the fact that Gregory XIII was the Pope. Therefore, his wishes had to be obeyed by the Society, also as to what concerned artistic matters.

However, the legislation of the Order did not define paupertatis nostrae as a binding feature for the architecture and decoration of the buildings as a constitutive feature of the Order itself. In this context, a problem that immediately arises is that

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53 "La estrechezza de la pobreza es mayor que muchos piensan ni entendian en esta Compañía, (...), y todos hazen voto particular de no trattar de alargar esta pobreza.(...). (Polanci Complementa, vol. I, p. 503.)

54 BENEDETTI, Sandro, Tipologia, raggionevolezza e pauperismo nel “Modo Nostro”, p. 80.

55 “V. R. potrà far intendere che io mi rallegro della buona volontà della sig. Duchessa; ma che non conviene che il Collegio (di Napoli) sia metta a competenza con la fabrica del Collegio Romano, perché si bene qua ha potuto Sua Santità ordinare quanto l'è piacuto, negli altri luoghi nondimeno è ragione che noi procuriamo di mantenerci nella mediocrità religiosa.” (Claudio Acquaviva to Giuseppe Valeriano, Rome, 16 March 1584, in Pietro Pirri, L'architetto Bartolomeo Ammanati”, p. 35)
Decree 113 made a clear distinction between churches and settlements for men. It said "that schools and houses were to be plain and strong. Nothing was said about churches. The entire matter appeared to call for further consideration." As a matter of fact, the subject of wealth in churches had a particular polemical significance for the early Jesuits. It enclosed the ambivalent dilemma of a contradictory and oscillatory choice of either a lavish or a humble, austere perception of art, which can be traced in all the practical and theoretical activity undertaken by the Old Society. Both positions favouring the ideal of poverty and display have characterised its artistic activity ever since. Issues regarding wealth and poverty were continually debated among the Jesuits. However, definitive solution to this problem was ever found, either.

Before the canonisation of Ignatius and Francis, the artistic activity of the Society of Jesus was characterised to a great extent by a poverty of materials and decoration. For instance, the "first" Il Gesù (begun in 1564) was a far more austere building than it is today. Prior to its construction, the churches built under the control of the Roman headquarters were, for the most part, modest and unappealing buildings. Moreover, it is true that the lavish character of Jesuit churches did not always stem spontaneously from the consensus among the Jesuits, but was imposed from outside by the patrons. In some cases, the Jesuits explicitly disapproved the excessive ornamentation and had it removed. Nevertheless, I must disagree with Rudolph Wittkower when he affirmed that "the Jesuits had scarcely any aesthetic ambitions before 1600, that their art was only dictated by poverty, and that they just took what they were offered". I would be very much inclined to argue that the rather plain

56 First General Congregation, D. 113, p. 98.
58 WITTKOWER, Rudolph, Problems of the theme, in Rudolph Wittkower and Irma Jaffe Wittkower
appearance of early Jesuit churches reflected economic constraints rather than artistic intentions. To begin with, a contrary position to this spirit of austerity or poverty can be traced from the early days. The first plans for the *Il Gesù* demonstrate that a huge and imposing mother church was wanted from the beginning. By 1600, Jesuit churches had acquired a reputation for their "molto bene affetate" interiors, referring to both the richness of materials and the painted and sculpted iconographies. This directly relates to the fact that, for the early Jesuits, the decoration of churches was not an element of pleasure, but of devotion. Indeed, Ignatius of Loyola had been in favour of adorning churches as we can read in the *Rules for thinking with the Church*. But it was essentially Bellarmino, who lauded the *Ecclesia triumphantes* by affirming that richly decorated churches were useful in encouraging devotion.

2. Jesuits and patrons

The patronage of the Jesuit art dates back to the mid-sixteenth century. Its history is complex as both Jesuit legislation and practice were characterised by a cautious and flexible, even ambiguous, attitude towards patronage. In this light, the


(2) Pedro Codaccio, the Spanish Jesuit and procurator of the Roman House had, in 1548, already made very lavish plans for the church to be built in *la Strada* and the headquarters did not disapprove of them. (*António Araoz to his companions, Rome, 6 June 1548, in “MI”, vol. II, p. 132-133*).


(4) "Nous devons louer la ornamentation et les edifices des églises." (*Rules for thinking with the church, p. 249.*)

question arises as to whether the Jesuits exercised their influence over patronage or, whether it was the other way round? On the one hand, the Jesuits were decidedly very much concerned with maintaining an identity that they considered proper to their own Order, or to the *Modo Nostro*, at least with reference to the most important aspects of their self-understanding. Thus, they tried hard to protect themselves from external forces which threatened to involve the Society in goals and ministries which were not their own and which would have changed the aspects that they considered essential to their Order. In this sense, the *Constitutions* declared that

"in order to avoid greed, it was not a common practice for the Society to have alms boxes in their churches. The Society should receive alms exclusively from the people who came to Jesuit churches to attend mass and receive the sacraments."

For the same reason, the decree further prohibited the Jesuits both from "offering small gifts to important persons or from visiting them, except for apostolic purposes." Echoing this tendency, Fifth General Congregation (1593) warned the Jesuits to prevent their spiritual welfare and their religious discipline from suffering from too close a contact with secular power. Indeed, they were forbidden to involve themselves in political matters.

At the same time, a precisely opposite view to the above legislation can be observed as the Jesuits were instructed by their authorities "to obtain and maintain the benevolence of the local princes, nobles, bishops and clergy in order to improve the

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63 *Constitutions, Part VI, Chapter 2*, p. 257.

64 "Ours are not to cultivate familiarity with princes to the detriment of spiritual welfare and religious discipline; and they should not become engaged in other secular matters, even though connected with the particular affairs of relatives, friends, or anyone else, unless perchance in the judgement of superiors charity might occasionally dictate otherwise." (*Fifth General Congregation (1593)*, D. 48, p. 201.)

temporal state of all aspects of the Order. Working out these recommendations, Polanco, in the Complementa (1547-1550) exhorted the Jesuits to maintain the grace of the Pope and his court, because the Papacy was the most important human column of the order. He stressed the importance of the support of the secular authorities and important private persons, since these people would help the Society with their power and authority both within and outside their lands. As a matter of fact, patronage had considerable effects on the evolution of Jesuit artistic endeavour. The subject of private patronage of one sort or another arose at most Jesuit foundations in a manifold form. The Jesuits were often asked by the local authorities and powerful persons to install themselves in a certain area, which justifies my next argument that, to a great extent, the success of the settlements required the consensus of the local political and religious authorities. In addition, a major part of Jesuit art was commissioned by non-Jesuit patrons. From the 1560s onward, the patrons began to finance complete churches. On many occasions, patrons would decide on such important elements as the selection of architects and of other artists, and alterations of the original schemes or plans.

In considering the role of the Papacy in the formation of Jesuit architecture and decoration, Gregory XIII, in particular, was favourable to the Society of Jesus. He generously endowed the emblematic Collegio Romano (founded in 1551), which, for

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66 Constitutions, Part X, p. 337.

67 "Industry 22: Entretener la gracia del papa y su corte, etc.: Procure de mantenerse en la buena gracia del papa y los perlados principales y otros que pueden en su corte." (Polanci Complementa, vol. II, p. 775.)


this reason, was soon renamed as the **Collegio Gregoriano**, and founded various national colleges both in Rome and as far away as Japan, and also granted favours and liberal subsidies to the Society. Another aspect of Papal support was the more favourable legislation that the Society received and benefited from in comparison with the elder orders. This is the case of Papal exemptions, which granted the Society the enormous and exclusive privilege of establishing their colleges and their chapels as near to mendicant and parochial churches as they wanted. In 1256, Clement IV had established a standard distance of 300 *cannae* (one *canna* averaged around 2.5 meters) between the buildings run by the mendicant orders. By the sixteenth century, the measure was standardised to 140 *cannae*. However, at the repeated appeals made by the Society of Jesus, the bull *Ets ex debito* by Pious IV (13th April 1567) and the bull *Salvatoris Domini* by Gregory XIII (30th October 1576) gave the confirmation, concession, indulgences, licenses, faculties and absolution to the Society to build wherever and at whatever distance they wanted from the buildings of mendicant priests. According to Canon Law, the Pope was to take the final decision in all actions concerning the sale of religious buildings. However, the brief *Apostolicae Sedis* of the 18th December 1576 authorised the Jesuits to decide on the sale of their buildings, without consulting the Pope first. This brief was confirmed by the bull *Ex debito* of the 5th August 1582.

At the same time, confraternities or associations of lay people were important consumers of Jesuit artwork. The Constitutions had discouraged the Jesuits from joining

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the confraternities, but permitted such confraternities to come to their churches.\(^3\) Moreover, the documentation of the Society is full of references to their involvement in confraternities. In 1540, and thus contemporary to the official foundation of the Society, the Savoyan Pierre Favre (1506-1546), who was one of the first companions of Ignatius, had already founded the Congregation of the Holy Name of Jesus in Parma.\(^4\) Indeed, the early Jesuits increasingly distinguished themselves in the foundation and direction of the confraternities as these were forms of encouragement of a deeper spiritual life among the laymen. Simultaneously, the Jesuits intended to expand their influence among the urban classes which held the social and economic power since many of these confraternities were formed by the local elites.\(^5\)

3. Jesuit buildings

3.1 General features of Jesuit buildings

Jesuit architecture *latum sensum* dates mainly from the 1580s. Initially, the Jesuits used structures that were already in place. As these settlements were located at the centre of towns and cities, and in places already fully constructed, the expansion of the Jesuit settlements was only possible through a sometimes slow and complex process of acquisition, demolition, and exchange of lands and buildings. A temporary mission or an occasional prayer in one building often had the value of a pre-recognition of a future


\(^4\) VILLARET, Émile, *Les premières origines des congrégations mariales dans la Compagnie de Jésus*, in "AHSI" (6), 1937, p. 42.

settlement. Jesuit buildings had often been provisional at first, and had been given to them either by important people or by the local benefactors of the Society or the local communities. Thus, initially, the question was not so much to construct new churches and other buildings, but to keep, refurbish and enlarge the old structures and adapt them to new uses and exigencies. The situation was quite different in the 1580s. Faced with an increasing number of members and devotees, the Jesuits began to follow their own vast campaign of construction so that their houses were built and decorated to their greatest extent by 1640. The Jesuits buildings filled the cities and towns, thus becoming a decisive factor in shaping urbanism. At the end of the Cinquecento and during the first decades of the Seicento, a network of churches or secondary institutions, which were always bound to the Society, would quickly surround the original foundations, forming a corona around the main buildings. The first century after foundation, the Order was characterised by a spectacular numerical and geographical expansion. An increase in personnel occurred hand in hand with a substantial amount of building. In 1556, when Ignatius died, the Society counted a thousand members among its ranks and administered about a hundred and fifty settlements. A hundred years later, there were fifteen thousand Jesuits and five hundred and fifty foundations. Under the direction of Diego Lainez (1558-1565), the Society grew fast, from twelve provinces to eighteen, from seventy two houses to a hundred and thirty, and from a thousand men to three thousand five hundred. Finally, at Acquaviva’s death (1615), in the period that corresponded to the zenith of the Order, it numbered thirteen thousand one hundred and


twelve members dispersed in thirty two provinces and five hundred and fifty nine houses.79

The Society of Jesus expanded as an enterprise that sprang up in a body of different but institutionally interdependent and co-operative buildings. In their nature, the Jesuit buildings represented a complete innovation in the field of regular life because they very much differed from the traditional houses typical to the older orders. Unlike monks, who make a vow of stability, i.e., to live their whole life in a monastery, the Jesuits’ fourth vow was, in essence, a vow of mobility, to travel anywhere in the world at the request of the Pope or of the General. For the sake of the Apostolate, the Jesuits did not live in a cloister. While traditional, regular priests lived in monasteries, the Jesuits were the first priests to live in houses or colleges.80 Trying to solve the dilemma that arose from the missionary character of the Society and the necessity to institute some kind of bonds, and also to have an infra-structure, the Constitutions said that the Society should try to help other people either by travelling from one place to another or by living continuously in places such as houses and colleges. The dispersion of the professed and coadjutors would indeed take place in the foundation of professed houses and also in the foundation of colleges and houses of probation.81 In concrete terms, each province comprised at least a professed house, a college, a noviciate, and simple residences (future schools and outposts for the missionary stations). Catechumenates, houses for the practice of the Spiritual Exercises and country houses also developed as typical Jesuit buildings. Unlike the other orders, the Jesuits were


81 RUIZ Jurado, Manuel, *San Francisco de Borja y el Instituto*, in “AHSI” (41), 1972, p. 185.
forbidden to undertake the guidance of parishes. In their view, running parishes was more adequate to the secular clergy. Moreover, to be parish priests would be contrary to their missionary task, in other words, to their vow of mobility. Along the same lines, they ought not to run hospitals, but should limit themselves to promoting and exercising mercy in them.82

3.2 Professed houses

The professed houses provided the institutional residence for the ruling elite of a province, the professed fathers.83 After the Jesuits had completed their studies, they would live there and exercise their common ministries, such as preaching and administering the sacraments. In a broad approach, the professed houses embodied two fundamental aspects fostered by the Order, i.e., its missionary vocation and evangelical poverty. The most distinguished inhabitants of the professed houses were the so-called professed of the four vows because, besides the three common vows of chastity, poverty and obedience, they pronounced the famous vow of obedience to the Pope “concerning missions”. Dispersal characterised the Society’s “way of proceeding”. The mission required mobility and willingness. Thus, these fathers, in particular, were to be ready to be sent anywhere in the world at a moment’s notice. The professed houses were to serve as the provisory residences for those waiting to be sent elsewhere.84 They could have founders, that is, persons who donated a church equipped with the appurtenances

82 Instruction by Francisco Borja to the visitor of India, Rome, 10 January 1567, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 188, O’MALLEY, John, The First Jesuits, p. 73-74, and CHIPPS SMITH, Jeffrey, Sensuous Worship, p. 15.

83. The bull Exponi Nobis of the 5th June 1546 by Paul III sanctioned the three types of members of the Society, the professed fathers, the spiritual and the temporal coadjutors. (OLIVARES, Estanislao, Los coadjutores espirituales y temporales de la Compañía de Jesús, su origen y sus votos, in “AHSI” (33), 1964, p. 108-109.)

84 Commentaries of Francisco Borja on the Institute, p. 185.
needed for worship and a house with suitable furnishings and books. In addition, the Seventh General Congregation, D. 51, decreed that professed houses could rent out houses for a short time and enjoy the income of the lease. However, the professed priests were forbidden to have a regular income. They were to live on alms because evangelical poverty was a fundamental aspect of Jesuit self-understanding. As early as 1534, Ignatius and his companions vowed to live perpetually on alms in evangelical poverty. Along the same lines, the two formulae of the Institute and the First Examination of the Constitutions (Chapter 4) declared poverty to be one of the necessary instruments to achieve the main aims pursued by the Society of Jesus. For this reason, this same chapter said that the Jesuits were forbidden to accept any kind of rents for their maintenance both individually, as well as for their churches and professed houses. Nor were they to be remunerated for celebrating mass or any other ministries. They were to be satisfied with alms. Accordingly, the professed fathers could not acquire houses or churches or the right to any produce, fixed revenues, possessions, or real estate, except those strictly necessary for their subsistence. They were also absolutely forbidden to persuade outsiders to give perpetual alms to the houses and churches of the Society. In the eventuality that some benefactors wished to offer houses

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85 Third General Congregation, D. 41, p. 148.

86 Seventh General Congregation, D. 51, p. 267.

87 "From experience we have learned that a life removed as far as possible from all contagion of avarice and as like as possible to evangelical poverty (13) is more gratifying, more undefiled, and more suitable for the edification of ours. We may receive houses with a church attached but without any right to their property so that those who give us their use may freely take them back if they so wish; furthermore, we shall have no right to claim them in court (in whatever way they might give them) against anyone whatever, even if they take them unjustly. (Formula of the Institute, Rome, (1541), p. 12-13.)"
and churches, the Society would nevertheless acquire no civil right over these. In brief, the benefactors would continue to hold the ownership these buildings.88

3. 3 Educational institutions

The fundamental part that the Jesuits attributed to formal education was surely one of the fundamental innovations that they introduced into religious life. For the first time in the history of the Catholic Church, running schools and teaching in them had become a form of ministry. The Jesuit educational institutions covered the complete educational trajectory. The Order ran both primary schools attended by ten years old boys and colleges or universities for both Jesuits and non-Jesuits.89 The Jesuit education vocation was not an early vocation. The educational settlements foreseen in the beginning would be simple domiciles for the members of the Order attending university or providing dormitory facilities for a large number of Jesuits in transit from one place to another. The description of Xavier of the College of Goa in 1546 where the Jesuits taught Christian doctrine and humanities to the Indians was probably one of the first and decisive impetus to the Jesuit educational vocation as Ignatius wrote later that he eagerly desired to found similar colleges everywhere.90 Indeed, as John O’Malley pointed out, the Jesuit commitment to education began in large scale only in the early 1550s, circa one decade after the foundation of the Order. By then, the Society began to

88 Constitutions, P. VI. C.2, p. 583-584.

89 For instance, Paul Grendler clearly demonstrated that from the thirteen century onwards, schools and universities in Italy were mainly run by lay people. (GRENDELIER, Paul, Schooling in Renaissance Italy, Literacy and Learning 1300-1600, Baltimore and London, 1989, p. 6-8.)

90 CESAREO, Francesco C., Quest for Identity, p. 19.
open around four or six schools a year.\textsuperscript{91} When Ignatius died in 1556, he had personally approved the opening of thirty-nine colleges and universities.\textsuperscript{92}

A variety of patrons sponsored Jesuit colleges. Jesuit colleges were founded by the Pope (Collegio Gregoriano), by the city (Messina), founded by private patrons (Sassari), founded by the bishops (Clermont), or by the Emperor (Vienna and Madrid).\textsuperscript{93} Unlike the professed houses, which were to live on alms, the colleges and schools could accept endowments, and thus could have both a founder and a rent or fixed income. By assuring a stable endowment, the students could dedicate themselves completely to their study and apostolic formation.\textsuperscript{94} In the event that endowment was not sufficient, this income would be placed under the supervision of some public entity. In the meantime, the Jesuits would live on alms instead, and, at the same time they would “strive to assure that the aforesaid colleges received sufficient endowments from other sources”.\textsuperscript{95}

With regard to the architectural norm asserted by the Jesuit educational settlements, it can be seen that their size varied a great deal. As a reflection of differences in enrolment, they tended to be smaller in Italy and larger in the Iberian Peninsula. For instance, while the College of Coimbra, Portugal, housed up to nine hundred scholars, only circa 60 students used to live in Venice.\textsuperscript{96} The Jesuit colleges

\textsuperscript{91} O’MALLEY, John, The First Jesuits, p. 200-201.


\textsuperscript{94} First Sketch of the Society, 1539 and Constitutions, P. IV, c.2, n.4B.

\textsuperscript{95} Second General Congregation, D. 71, p. 127-128.

\textsuperscript{96} O’MALLEY, John, The First Jesuits, p. 207.
comprised a church, a residence for the fathers, and a school area. Another group of buildings enclosed the common rooms (stable, working rooms). In contrast to the medieval orders, the Jesuits did not usually construct cloisters, but lived separated from the educational unit and near their own working spaces. Based on the *Collegio Romano*, which borrowed from both medieval Benedictine cloisters and Renaissance civil buildings, the residence for the priests and the areas for the scholars were arranged in a harmonious way around two vast and ventilated, enclosed quadrangular arched courtyards (*cortili*). One of the courtyards was to be used by the scholars (*area scholarum*), the other by the students (*area collegii*). The access to the second one was limited to the priests. In the middle of both courts, there was a cistern or a well. When there was sufficient space, a more secluded area in a garden was created. Finally, the church, which was to serve both the inhabitants of the colleges (priests and scholars) and the faithful in general, was, for this reason, located between the two buildings. The residence for the fathers, also called the *domus*, was enclosed. All domestic functions were concentrated in one building which was protected from outside by the court. Direct communication was assured to the church and the sacristy. On the ground floor, there was an entrance hall and some of the rooms destined to the community, such as the reception hall, the cellars, the stable, *etc*. The kitchen, the refectory, the library, the living room and other common rooms, as well as some of the bedrooms, were situated


on the second floor. The compound of the dependencies, the stables, hay-lofts, deposits, wood-deposits, poultry-yards, the living quarters of the servants, peasants and all other laymen, and the woods and garden were situated behind. In their standard plan, the teaching rooms, whose number varied according to the number of disciplines taught, were lodged both on the ground floor and the upper floor. The room for the literary meetings that took place every week, the theatre for solemn occasions, the library required by the Constitutions and the congregations, and a number of rooms with chapels and altars destined for the practice of the Spiritual Exercises were also situated on the ground floor.99

3.4 Noviciates and Probation Houses

Noviciate means the verification of the attitudes and motivations of a candidate to religious life. It also means the place and time in which the formation and probation of the candidate for religious life occur.100 Further to having been expressly mentioned as typical Jesuit houses by the Constitutions, noviciates and probation houses played a pivotal role inside the order, mainly due to the long formation of Jesuits before taking their vows. Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines had a noviciate, which lasted one year. In contrast, the probation time for the Jesuits consisted of two years of noviciate and a year of tertianship after the scholars had finished his studies. Initially, the novices lived and were trained in the colleges and professed houses. The idea of separate houses for those being tested for the Society originated with Ignatius. To be precise, in a letter dated 1547 Ignatius informed the Portuguese Provincial, Simão Rodrigues, of his wish

99 ZOCCHI, Daniela, I cologi della Compagnia di Gesù, p. 17.
to institute a separate probation house in Rome. The candidates coming from the
different countries would be tested there in their vocation, before entering the Society.\textsuperscript{101} However, the segregation of novices by means of the separate buildings for the
noviciates prospered essentially due to Borja’s enthusiasm. He believed that the
progress of the Society of Jesus depended on the good formation of its members. In
addition, he considered these kinds of houses fundamental in order for the people (the
non-Jesuits) to understand the Society’s way of proceeding as well as for the members
of the Society to improve themselves.\textsuperscript{102} Moreover, due to his wish, the first noviciate
was created in Simancas in 1554, and as General, he ordered the construction of
separate noviciates and probation houses in all provinces and published the legislation
for them in 1567.\textsuperscript{103} This process was further developed during the Generalship of
Acquaviva (1581-1615). In 1601, he issued an ordination for all provinces which gave
an institutionalised form to the practice of Third probation in separate houses.\textsuperscript{104} A few
years later; in 1608, the Sixth General Congregation recognised that the separation of

\textsuperscript{101} “El deseño es, que se haga vna casa aquí en Roma, ó se tome, para los que entran de nuevo en
propositos de ser de la Compañía, (...), per se reciben para prouatión; y la misma servirá para otros,
que vienen aquí de día en día de varias nationes, con votos o propósitos de ser en esta Compañía.”
(Ignatius of Loyola to Simão Rodrigues, Provincial of Portugal, end of October 1547, in “MI”, vol. I,
p. 603-604.)

\textsuperscript{102} “Para que comience á emntender la gente el modo de proceder de la Compañía á sua mayor
edificación, y tambien por ser ta substancial cosa la casa de aprobación para pereficionarse los
subjectos, ma ha parecido en el Señor nuestro convenir mucho a su divino servicio poner algunas
casas, aunque en el momento no son más que una en cada provincia, en las partes donde más
commodidad podrá aver.” (Francisco Borja to Ignatius of Loyola, Piacenza, 31 October 1554, in
“Borgia”, vol. III, p. 178.)

\textsuperscript{103} SCADUTO S.J., Mario, Il governo di San Francesco Borgia, 1565-1572, in “AHSI” (41), 1972, p.
150-152, and Scaduto, MARIO, Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia, L’Opera di Francesco

\textsuperscript{104} BONI, A., Noviziato, p. 443, and RUIZ JURADO S.J., Manuel, La tercera probación en la Compañía
de Jesús, in “AHSI” (58), 1989, p. 301.
the novices had brought good results. Therefore, the Congregation unanimously recommended the separation of the novices in all provinces.105

The Constitutions of the Society declared that the probation houses (meaning both noviciates and probation houses)

"were a part of the colleges where the future Jesuits were accepted and tested for some time before they entered the colleges".106

All provinces should have a noviciate as a separate building near a college. Accordingly, these houses were to be near colleges rather than to the professed houses.107 The noviciates and professed houses had numerous analogies with the educational institutions in their architectural organisation. One reason is that the noviciates and probation houses replaced the colleges on a number of occasions. Due to the isolation required by these kinds of institutions, the young candidates to religious life were, whenever possible, to have their own chapels and separate common rooms so as not to mingle with the rest of the priests. To conclude the subject, it must be said that, similarly to colleges, the houses of tertianship could be endowed with income and annual revenue.108

105 "Great profit has resulted from the separation of the novices. For that reason, the Congregation accepted the noviciate and highly recommended it to all provinces." (Sixth General Congregation (1608), D. 16, p. 223.)

106 Constitutions, p. 476.

107 Institute II, p. 197, First General Congregation (1558), decree 127, p. 100.

108 "After being asked whether the Constitutions allow houses of third probation endowed with income and an annual revenue and separate from all other houses and colleges of the Society, the Congregation decreed that such houses can be permitted, and this does not conflict with the Constitutions but rather is in harmony with them." (Seventh General Congregation (1615), D. 31, p. 261)
3.5 Catechumenates

Catechumenates constitute another early sort of Jesuit houses. The Order began to run catechumenates at the request of a non-Jesuit. In 1543, Margaret of Austria charged the Society to take the care of both the male and female catechumenates in Rome in order to provide for the conversion of Jews.\(^9\) The importance of catechumenates in the organisation of the Society of Jesus is axiomatic to the missionary nature of the Order itself. For the Jesuits, the institution of catechumenates would facilitate the conversion of all infidels, including Jews and Muslims. Or to quote Francisco de Borja,

"care must be taken that the newly converted be conveniently tested and catechised, so that they would not relapse".\(^{10}\)

In more general terms, their spread is justified by the concept of conversion as something that required a particular preparation and availability, thus creating a constant requirement of specialised bodies to develop with specific methods and in specific places.\(^{11}\) Accordingly, catechumenates multiplied the more the Jesuits developed their conversion activity.


\(^{10}\) Francisco Borja to Inácio de Azevedo, Roma, 30 January 1567, in “Borgia”, vol. IV, p. 399.

3. 6 Houses for the practice of the Spiritual Exercises

By writing the *Exercises*, Ignatius accomplished an important reform of religious institutional life in two ways. One was that he provided a codification of seclusion, *i.e.*, of meditation and prayer in solitude, which already had a history of various centuries among the monastic priests. At the same time, he extended a religious custom which, until that moment, had been exclusive to regular priests, to all the faithful.112 But the subject was not limited to practice. The necessity of having a suitable place to do the Spiritual Exercises immediately arose, as well. Since the Spiritual Exercises were a spiritual pilgrimage that was intended to separate the faithful from worldly temptation, in the book itself, Ignatius recommended a change of residence for the people wanting to do them. Its principle was that

“if the people doing the exercises were separated from all the people whom they knew and from all temporal preoccupation, this seclusion would enable them to make further progress”.113

In practical terms, the Jesuits increasingly reserved some rooms in the colleges for the administration of the Spiritual Exercises.114 However, the growing number of students caused problems of space and time. The tendency produced the progressive separation of the special buildings for the practice of the Spiritual Exercises from the

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112 Ignatius was of the opinion that the Spiritual Exercises could be given to important people and to candidates to the Society (*Ignatius of Loyola to Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, Rome, 15 January 1556*, in Mario Gioia, *Gli scritti di San Ignazio di Loyola*, Torino, 1989, p. 961-962.)

113 *Notes for the understanding of the Spiritual Exercises following*, in Georg Ganss (ed.), “The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus”, p. 31)

colleges and their other buildings. Indeed, the first separate houses for the practice of the Spiritual Exercises already dated from Ignatian times. In 1539, Paschase Broet and Simon Rodrigues rented a house outside Siena to give the Spiritual Exercises to the scholars, and, in 1553, a separate house was built in Alcalá de Henares in Spain. Similar houses were afterwards built everywhere. In particular, they developed from the middle of the seventeenth century onward. These houses were always adjacent to more important establishments. They were accommodated or built in the gardens of the colleges or in a neighbouring house that had been bought and prepared for this purpose.

3.7 Some comments on the evolution of Jesuit buildings

The Second Congregation (1565) decreed that a professed house should be established in every province, “as soon as this was conveniently possible”. It seems that particularly General Francisco Borja (1565-1572) favoured the professed houses, as, under him, five professed houses had been founded, reaching a maximum number (26) under Vittelleschi in 1626. Nevertheless, between 1570 and 1608, many Jesuits expressed the complaint that they had many colleges instead of professed houses, which was thus contrary to the rule. Along the same lines, in 1573, the participants in the


116 IPARRAGUIRRE S. J., Ignacio, Historia de la práctica de los Ejercicios Espirituales, vol. I, p. 44.


119 Second General Congregation, D. 19, p. 115.


Third Congregation agreed to remind the General of the necessity to found new professed houses in large cities. In their opinion, the General should also try to improve the existing colleges rather than accept new ones. Indeed, professed houses were always a tiny minority among Jesuit domiciles as, in the early 1550s, most Jesuits were already living in groups of fourteen or more in the colleges and schools. The educational settlements had been multiplying at an ever-increasing pace and were thus overshadowing the professed houses. Illustrating the point, in 1581, the Order owned a hundred and forty-four colleges, and by 1640, their number had risen to five hundred and eighteen. In 1556, two professed houses (some provinces were not covered) and forty-six colleges existed. In 1579, the number of professed houses was the same as in 1556 whereas the number of colleges had increased to a hundred and forty. By the turn of the century, in 1600, the Society ran sixteen professed houses, while the number of colleges had almost doubled. At this time, two hundred and forty-five Jesuit colleges were in existence.

122 Third General Congregation (1573), D. 17 and D. 20, p. 141-142.

123 One of the underlying reasons for this was the vow of absolute poverty that characterised the professed houses and which limited their diffusion to wealthy towns and cities. (VALLYER-RADOT, Jean, Le recueil de plans d’édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus, p. 41*)

124 ALDEN, Dauril, The making of an enterprise, p. 17.
3.8 Jesuit ministries and church furniture

It is well-known that the Society of Jesus voluntarily participated in the main religious currents that were in course. The Jesuits not only shared some of the aspects of the contemporary “reform of life”, but, more importantly, they were instrumental in defining and diffusing them. In this context, scholars have long recognised the role of the Jesuits in the history of preaching. In 1539, the Institute had listed the “ministries of the word” as the first ministries of the Society, while the Formula of 1550 made a distinction between preaching and lectures among the Ministries of the Word. The Jesuits also emphasised frequent attendance at mass.125 Accordingly, the Society of Jesus was much concerned in defining a kind of building which was in perfect harmony with the necessities of preaching, the so-called congregational churches. Similar to Il Gesù, in their plan, the Jesuit congregational churches were, to a great extent, longitudinal churches with one nave and intercommunicating side chapels so as to permit a great number of people to hear perfectly and see the preacher, as well as the simultaneous celebration of masses. This plan was, in fact, considered by General Borja to be the best church plan.126 Moreover, the emphasis the Jesuits put on the “Ministries of the Word” further determined the diffusion of tribunes or coretti as a furnishing typical of the first Jesuit churches. The tribunes, which are screened and elevated balconies sculpted within the walls, and that had disappeared in the Gothic churches, made their reappearance in 1559, in the first plan for the reconstruction and enlargement


126 In 1565 Borja recommended to Luis Gonçalves that the church of S. Roque in Lisbon was to be of one single nave. This was the plan of the Il Gesù and he considered it the best plan for churches. (Francisco Borja to Luis Gonçalves, Tuscany, September 1565, in "Borgia", vol. V, p. 16).
of the first church of the Order, the Chapel of Santa Maria della Strada (later the Church of Il Gesù). From there, they spread to the Jesuit churches everywhere.  

Until the sixteenth century, the Eucharist had been preserved in various recipients located in different parts of the church, such as cabinets in the sacristy, in doves or pixies in the reeds or peddles of the altar, even in the walls and in the choir. From that period onwards, various churches had elaborate tabernacles (recipients for the Eucharist) on the main altar. The high altar became the main feature of the church, due to its new function as the location of the tabernacle or receptacle of the Eucharist. Leaving aside the increase in decorative display, the main altar actually grew in size, as a protective ciborium was placed above it. These transformations reflect a centrality of the high-altar and are related to the emphasis which the new orders, including the Jesuits, gave to the sacrament of the Eucharist. Furthermore, lavish and magnificent tabernacles in Jesuit churches were easily justified by the outward reverence to the Sacred Host fostered by the Society, which expressed itself favourable in the processions of the Corpus Christi and in the exposition of the Eucharist for public adoration during the ceremony of the Quarant'ore or Forty Hours Devotion when the Blessed Sacrament was exhibited for forty hours and in the greatest form of splendour.  

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128 Ignatius prescribed weekly Communion in The rules for thinking with the Church whereas Nicolaus Bobadilla (1511-1590), who was one of the founders of the Society, even advocated the receiving of the Eucharist on a daily basis, as early as 1557. (The rules for thinking with the church, p. 147, and DUDON, Paul, Le "Libellus" du P. Bobadilla sur la Communion fréquente e quotidienne, in "AHISI" 1933 (2), p. 266.)  
Participation in the confessional was a ministry that the Jesuits practised since the early 1540s. Underlying this, the First Week of the *Spiritual Exercises* had recommended the sacramental confession of the past sins, thus marking the beginning of the practice of general confession, and the Constitutions listed confessions as the first sacrament.\(^{130}\) Undoubtedly, this Jesuit insistence on penance and confession had wide repercussions in the interiors of their churches. Various, still extant, plans inform us of the diffusion of confessionals in the Jesuit churches. These furnishings became devotional centrepieces as much as the altars in the arrangement of the Jesuit churches. They were inscribed in the walls of the aisle, façade, and at the base of the pillars. Sometimes, they framed the altars at the walls, while, in other churches they alternated with the chapels themselves. From the Church of San Fedele in Milan (begun in 1569), the Jesuits further internalised a model constituted by the confessional niches.\(^{131}\)

With regard to the interrelated subjects of funeral monuments (tombs) and private chapels granted to Jesuits and others, in 1550, Ignatius enthusiastically favoured, Borja’s project for the future *Il Gesù*, which would bear the body of Pope Alessandro VI, his uncle.\(^{132}\) The Generals often permitted notable benefactors of the local communities to be buried in the church. Accordingly, the interior of many other churches was marked by private tombs.\(^{133}\) Although General Borja (1565-1572) was

\(^{130}\) *Spiritual Exercises*, in Descles De Brouwer, “Ecris”, p. 77-78, and *Constitutions, part VII, Chapter 4*, p. 603.


\(^{132}\) The main church of the Order, *Il Gesù*, was constructed as the burial temple for Cardinal Farnese. With this in mind, he reserved the space immediately before the high altar for himself and his family. (O’MALLEY, John, *The First Jesuits*, p. 72.)

\(^{133}\) MOORE, Dereck, *Pellegrino Tibaldi’s Church of S. Fedele in Milan*, p. 313.
noted for his somewhat rigid position in many aspects, his politics on this matter was quite liberal. He claimed that the Society could show its profound gratitude for the founders of the colleges and houses by permitting their burial in Jesuit colleges and houses. Exception should be made so as to express greater gratitude to the more generous people. Therefore, he authorised small gifts to be offered to the most generous benefactors. The legislation of the Order simultaneously demonstrates that the Jesuits clearly intended to keep the diffusion of tombs and private chapels in their churches under a watchful eye. In particular, the subject came to the fore during the First General Congregation (1558). Regarding the question of whether the same obsequies could be attributed to both the Jesuit fathers and their most distinguished benefactors, Decree 121 contained some limitations. This text decreed that the burial of laymen in Jesuit churches was limited to the founders or the people who had assisted in establishing the foundations. The same was valid for the princes and ecclesiastics who had expressed the wish to be buried in Jesuit churches. All possible requests presented by other laymen were to be first authorised by the General, on a case by case basis. The same decree also stated that this right was not ad heredes. Descendants of those buried in Jesuit churches did not automatically inherit this privilege. Furthermore, in order to discourage the local Jesuits from permitting burial in Jesuit churches, alms were not to be accepted for burials in the churches of the Society. Finally, the internal rules of the Society including for India further prescribed a cautious attitude as concerned the placement of

134 "Paréceme que en efecto ayudará mucho tener gratos los fundadores, con tener la Compañía la facultad de darles enterramiento á ellos y á los suyos en sus collegios y casa, y haziendo también diferencia de fundadores á fundadores, en quanto se deue mayor gratitud al que hase más por la Compañía. Y sin esto se deven buscar formas de algunos regalos ó medios para más mostrar esta gratitud, especialmente con los que se señalan más con mayores fundaciones." (Francisco Borja to Diego Lainez, Rome, after the 10th of September 1558, in "Borgia", vol. III, p. 351.)

135 Second General Congregation (1565), D. 121, p. 99.

136 WICKI, Joseph, Dois compendios das ordens dos padres jesuítas, p. 413.
the tombs. The most sacred places were reserved for the tombs of priests and ought to be free of coats of arms and tombs. Only the provincials and rectors of the colleges could be buried in the High Chapel whereas the transept was considered adequate for the other priests and brothers. The tombs of laymen were shifted to the nave. The tombs of the most generous friends of the Society were allowed to be placed near the screens and in the chapels of Our Lady.137

\textit{Jesuit non cantat!} Music was a vast, complex controversial subject for the “Old Society”. Undoubtedly, the reform of music constituted one of the most important innovations introduced by the Society into contemporary religious life. Breaking a monastic tradition of several centuries still considered central to religious life at that time, Ignatius and his companions were very sceptical of the usefulness of members of the Order employing their time in musical activity. As early as 1539, the first sketch of the \textit{Formula of the Institute} approved by the Pope officially forbade the fathers who were “in holy orders” from playing organs and reciting or chanting \textit{in coro} during the celebration of masses or other religious ceremonies as well as during the liturgical Hours. For the Jesuits, having a choir meant being monks and they definitively did not consider themselves to be monks.138 Moreover, these activities would interfere with the mercy works that they were bound to undertake. To maintain a choir would lessen the

137 “Não aja estrados na igreja, nem concedão sepulturas senão o P.e Provincial e a pessoas beneméritas raramente, com muito delecto, e de maneira que entendão não se fazer por interesse.” No choro entrem as menos pessoas de fora que for possível, e as jalosias serão quanto for possível de maneira que se não vejam as pessoas que estão das grades pera fora. Na capella-mor se sepultarão os Padres provinciais e os reitores do collegio, e alguns Padres e Irmãos se enterrarão no cruzeiro entre os dous altares. Quando se conceder sepultura a pessoas de fora sera no corpo da igreja: ao longo das grades a benemeritos; e algumas pessoas muito benemeritas, como Francisco Gonçalvez, se poderão enterrar na capella das Virgens ou de Nossa Senhora.” (Instructions by Gonçalo Alvarez, Cochin, 4 May 1572, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 547-548.)

energy and time needed for helping others.\textsuperscript{139} The Constitutions added a second argument to this prohibition. Further to their apostolic needs, the stability demanded by these practices was contrary to the mobility or the missionary nature (their residence being so uncertain) of the Order itself.\textsuperscript{140} Linking this to church architecture, the prohibition of a choir led to the extinction of the traditional monastic conception of the church as formed by two distinguished parts, one for the priests, and another for the laity. The Jesuit churches, from \textit{Il Gesù} onwards, distinguished themselves from other churches belonging to other orders by the absence of the traditional choir. Deep choirs located directly to the side or behind the altar or between the altar and the nave were no longer justified. Ambulatory and radial chapels increasingly tended to disappear. Simultaneously, the employment of non-Jesuits in musical activities in the Jesuit churches became widespread so that a balcony at the rear of the church became common and served as a choir loft for the increasing musical and choral groups of the laity.\textsuperscript{141}

4. A theology of the visible

Broadly speaking, the Society of Jesus soon assumed a leading position at the Tridentine defence and diffusion of a religion, which manifested itself very much in external forms of cult (relics and images of holy and sacred figures, pilgrimages). Controversially, it is sufficient to remember that Diego Lainez, later General of the Society, is said to have written the sentence that served as a basis for the famous 25th

\textsuperscript{139} \textit{First Formula of the Institute, Chapter 5}, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{140} \textit{Constitutions, part VI, chapter 3}, p. 588.

\textsuperscript{141} \textit{VALLERY-RADOT, Jean, Le recueil de plans d'édifices de la Compagnie de Jésus}, p. 62*-63*.
Decree of the Third Session of Tridentine Council (1563).\textsuperscript{142} First of all, Ignatius had declared in his Rules for thinking with the church that the Jesuits should esteem pilgrimages, indulgences, jubilees, crusades. They should show their respect for the relics of the saints as well as venerate them according to the subject they represent.\textsuperscript{143}

His companion the Savoyan Pierre Favre (1506-1546), who was especially sensitive to the external signs of religion, argued, in his \textit{Memorie Spirituali (1542)} that such objects as images, holy water, and churches render Christ, the Saints and the Spiritual forces present to humanity.\textsuperscript{144} To explain this, Divinity is said to be transferable to such objects as martyria, relics and images. Relics and other sacred objects sanctify a place because, through the accumulation of sacred bones and relics, the Church mediates the dispensation of grace in the form of many indulgences and miracles which touch the worshippers. As I will exemplify later on, in the case of the Cult of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, the Jesuits also showed the high esteem they held for relics by taking the bodily remains of the saints and of especially virtuous people on long voyages, by relocating them from Europe to the new overseas territories and \textit{vice versa}. Thus, they played a fundamental role in the creation and flourishing of peripheral centres of

\textsuperscript{142} JEDIN, Hubert, \textit{Enstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über Bilder}, in "Theologische Quartalschrift", 1933, p. 171.

\textsuperscript{143} "Quelques règles à observer pour sentir vraiment avec l'Eglise Ortodoxe: la seixième: louer les reliques des saints, vénérant celles-là et priant ceux ci. Louer les stations, les pèlerinages, les indulgences, les jubiles, les bulles de croisade et les cierges qui brulent dans les églises. La huitième: de même, l'usage des images, que nous devons vénérer selon le saint qu'elles représentes. " (\textit{Rules for thinking with the Church}, p. 247).

\textsuperscript{144} "Umilmente inginocchiato davanti al Sacramento, sentii una grande devozione al pensiero che lì si trovava realmente presente il Corpo di Christo, e che per effetto di ciò vi era anche tutta la Trinità presente in una maniera mirabile, che non si verifica in nessuna altra cosa o luogo. Altre realtà come le immagini, l'acqua benta, le chiese ci rendono presente in un modo spirituale Cristo, i santi e le potenze spirituali. Questo sacramento invece ci rende presente, in una maniera reale, sotto tali apparenze, il Cristo e tutta la potenza di Dio!)." (FABRE, Pierre, \textit{Memorie Spirituali}, Roma, 1994, p. 285.)
pilgrimage, as well as decisively contributing to the integration of local cults into the universal Roman devotion.

In the Spiritual Exercises, Ignatius connected each subject to a visual image in the well-known “composition of places” (images of streets, landscapes, houses of the Holy Land) which constituted the first prelude to meditation. The idea behind this was that the devotee would fix the subjects better in his mind by way of the recreation of places and situations in a real and detailed manner.\(^{145}\) In brief, the spirituality of Ignatius and of the Society of Jesus based on the medieval theology of the visible, which tended to associate Divinity and Holiness with the visual and the tactile. Reflecting the idea that visible representations often appeal more vividly and effectively than the spoken word, the Society aimed at the total involvement of the faithful through reason and heart. On a more pedestrian level, the Jesuits conceived of images as a favourite means to instil personal devotion. Images were to serve as guides to meditation and concentration on prayer. To illustrate the point, it must be reminded that Ignatius used to meditate and pray everyday before paintings and relics.\(^{146}\) Likewise, he wanted to instil such practices among his companions. His *Spiritual Exercises* invited the people making them meditate upon a subject with the help of their eyes. In 1556, he commissioned the illustrated *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangeliae Historiae (published in 1593)* to Jeronimo Nadal (it is possible that Ignatius himself choose the subjects) because he wanted to steer the novices and the younger members of the

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145 With his survey *Ignace de Loyola, le lieu de l'image*, Pierre Antoine Fabre offered us an innovative approach to the role of images in the Spiritual Exercises as his analysis is grounded on a deep knowledge of Jesuit philosophy and theology. (FABRE, Pierre-Antoine, *Ignace de Loyola, le lieu de l'image*, Paris, 1992)

Society towards the habit of using images as aids for prayer and meditation.\textsuperscript{147} The veneration of sacred images is related to relevant issues such as ceremonies and external cult, as the Jesuits encouraged the practice of carrying images in processions and praying to them in order to obtain certain benefits.\textsuperscript{148} At the same time, they undoubtedly excelled in the use of images (the vast majority were Flemish) as agents of propaganda. Among other measures, by gaining control of the Wierix "Print Shop" in Antwerp in 1590, which was one of the most important printing centres specialised in Counter Reformation prints and engravings, and by the pursuit of a rapid and massive circulation of series of woodcut print engravings (when they catechised outside their own churches, for example, at the cathedral or in monasteries, they often distributed rosaries and images), they were able to follow a deliberate and aggressive visual propaganda both in- and outside Europe.\textsuperscript{149}

The iconographic repertoire of the Society of Jesus boasted a rich and varied array of subjects. Among the typical Jesuit iconographies fostered also by the Catholic Church in general, pride of place goes to Christological devotion. Closely related, among the Christocentric iconographies that they favoured, I must refer to the two devotions allied by the Jesuits with the designation of their order: the \textit{Cult of the Name of Jesus}, and the \textit{Circumcision}.\textsuperscript{150} As to the first, the \textit{Cult of the Name of Jesus}

\textsuperscript{147} As to the secondary bibliography on the Adnotationes et Meditaciones in Evangeliae Historiae, see, for example, RHEINBAY, Paul, \textit{Biblische Bilder für den inneren Weg: Das Betrachtungsbuch des Ignatius-Geführten Hieronymus Nadal (1507-1580)}, Engelsbach, 1995.


\textsuperscript{149} The essay \textit{Invloed der Vlaamsche Prentkunst in Indie, China and Japan} by Joseph Jennes deserves a special mention, as it analyses the influence of the Wierix woodcut prints in Catholic art in the Orient deeply. (JENNES, Joseph, \textit{Invloed der Vlaamsche Prentkunst in Indie, China and Japan tijdens de XVIIe eeuw}, Leuven, 1943). See also BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander, \textit{Art on the Jesuit missions}, p. 72-73, 172ff.; and \textit{the Jesuits and the Great Moghul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India, 1580-1640}, Washington, 1998, and GUTIERREZ, Fernando, \textit{Los Grabadores Flamencos de los siglos XVI e XVII y la Compañía de Jesús}, Sevilla, 2002.)

\textsuperscript{150} KNIPPING Jean Batiste, \textit{Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on
originated in the fifteenth century. However, it only was diffused in the seventeenth century thanks to the Society of Jesus. Indeed, the Jesuits intended to distinguish themselves as being (symbolically) Companions of Jesus. Moreover, as it is of general knowledge, Ignatius decided to designate their Order with the Name of Jesus. Their ubiquitous monogram “HIS” or the Greek abbreviation of The Name of Jesus (standing for Ihsus) can also mean “Iesum Habemus Socium” or “We have Jesus for our Companion”.¹⁵¹

In its Hebrew tradition, the action of Circumcision marked the moment in which Jesus received His name. For this reason, Circumcision was the most important celebration of the Society of Jesus as declared by the work *Imago Primi Saeculi* (1640), which was the official publication of the Antwerp Jesuits to commemorate the first centenary of the foundation of the Jesuit Order.¹⁵²

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¹⁵¹ CHIPPS SMITH, Jeffrey, *Sensuous Worship*, p. 3.

The Circumcision was the subject of the main altar of Il Gesù painted by Girolamo Muziano between 1587 and 1589. Ever since, it has developed as one of the favourite subjects for the main altars of Jesuit churches and of chapels. Among the Christocentric iconographies, they further developed the scenes of the Childhood of Christ, which were related to their ministry of education of children and youth, and the devotion to the Heart of Jesus. The latter devotion had progressed in the late Middle Ages in the German Provinces. Indeed, it was in Cologne that the Jesuits, in particular, Petrus Canisius entered in contact with the cult of the Sacred Heart.

Early Jesuit painting, sculpture and engravings illustrated the subjects that were called into question by the Protestants but which were venerated by the Catholic Church. As it was to impose dogmatic concepts in a moment of doctrinal tension, Ignatius remarked that he had a special devotion for the Trinity, which was precisely one of the devotions that were being attacked by the Protestants. Since his vision of the Trinity at Manresa (1522), the Trinity was at the heart of Ignatius' devotion as he

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154 MONIER-VINARD, Henri, La Compagnie de Jésus et l'histoire de la dévotion au Sacré Coeur, in “AHISI” (2), 1933, p. 83.
believed that Christ and Mary would conduct him to the Trinity. Likewise, Marian devotion is omnipresent in the Order (Her popularity was motivated by the idea that she was the patron of the Order. And it spread to overseas provinces so that “most devotional images in Japan depicted the Madonna and the Child, as well as other scenes of the Virgin’s and Christ’s life”. In particular, the Jesuits propagated their special relationship with Mary through the institution of Marian confraternities at the colleges, the performance of poetry and theatre plays that focused on her role in Christianity, and the diffusion of prints and engravings that represented the Virgin Mary surrounded by Ignatius, Xavier and other distinguished Jesuits, both in and beyond Europe.


156 Ignatius both traced his own conversion to a vision of Mary and attributed the writing of the Spiritual Exercises to her influence.


Among the great number of Marian devotions fostered by the Jesuits in the Early Modern period, pride of place goes to the Madonna di San Luca and the Madonna del Loreto. Both devotions were propagated mainly though the efforts of the Jesuits since the second half of the sixteenth century. The image of the Madonna di San Luca at the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore is perhaps the best loved and honoured image of Virgin Mary in Rome (it is the patron saint of the Roman people). The Atlas Marianus (1672) by the German Jesuit Wilhelm Gumppenberg, which was an inventory of the Marian images throughout the whole Catholic World, ranked this image second in importance immediately after the Madonna del Loreto. Explaining this, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this image was considered a true image of Mary because, at that time, it was still believed that this portrait had been painted by Apostle Saint Luke. Moreover, this icon was considered an image of partly Divine origin and to

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possess miraculous properties as numerous accounts of the miracles accomplished by this image dating back to the eighth century established its status as the saviour of the Roman people.\footnote{Paolo De Angelis, who in 1621 described the construction and decoration of the Pauline Chapel (1606 to 1613) that was to keep this image, argued that this image had been concluded by angels. (DE ANGELIS, Paolo de, Basilicae S Maria Maioris de Urbe a Libero Papa I usque ad Paulam V. Pont. Max. Descriptio et Dilenata, Roma, 1621), and OSTROW, Stephen, \textit{Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome}, p. 122-123 and p. 118-151.}

Now, let me refer to the Jesuits and the veneration they felt for the \textit{Madonna di San Luca}. Ignatius saw her in one of his visions. According to his first official biographer, Pedro de Ribadeneira, Ignatius wanted to celebrate his first mass in 1538 at the Church of \textit{Santa Maria Maggiore} in Rome, and he was an ardent supporter of the festivities of Our Lady of the Snows.\footnote{"En las fiestas de Nuestra Señora se excede a sí mismo en dezir y apoyar aquellas fiestas que parece que en la de las Nieves o del Nacimiento (...)." (P. Petri de Ribadeneira \textit{Confessiones}, 1969, vol. II, p. 460.)} In particular, General Francisco Borja was guided by a deep veneration for the \textit{Madonna di San Luca} at \textit{Santa Maria Maggiore}. He frequently prayed before this image.\footnote{OSTROW, Steven F., \textit{Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome}, p. 30.} He was the first person that the Pope allowed, in 1570, to have reproductions of this picture made, which he sent to his closest companions, as well as to the missionaries in Protestant countries and everywhere in the world, from Brazil to China.\footnote{For example, in 1582, Matteo Ricci took one engraving and one picture representing the Madonna di San Luca to China. Ricci was later required to offer the later to the Emperor Wan-Li. (WOLF, Gerhard, \textit{Kultbilder im Zeitalter des Barock}, in Dieter Breuer, "Religion und Religiosität im Zeitalter des Barock", Wolfenbüttel, 1995, p. 405, and DITCHFIELD, Simon, \textit{Santità e culti nel mondo della Riforma).} Moreover, the Jesuits sent many copies of this image to the seminaries and offered some of them to several royal houses, such as to King Filipe II of Spain (1527-1598), Queen Elisabeth of Austria (1554-1592) and to the Portuguese
monarchs D. Catarina (1507-1578) and D. Sebastião (1554-1578).\textsuperscript{164} Thus, the Jesuits contributed to the diffusion of this cult, also in Portugal.

The relation of the Jesuits and the \textit{Madonna del Loreto} was an old and lasting one. Ignatius and his first companions had their first contact with the \textit{Madonna del Loreto} prior to the foundation of the Order since, in 1537, they stayed for a short period in prayer and contemplation in Loreto, on their way from Venice to Rome.\textsuperscript{165} In addition, Jesuit literature must be mentioned. Various Jesuit authors wrote on this devotion (the \textit{Lauretanae historiae libri cinque} by Orazio Torsellino (1597) had 21 editions),\textsuperscript{166} and the prayer books, which were published at the request of the Order towards the middle of the seventeenth century, always included litanies to the \textit{Madonna del Loreto}.\textsuperscript{167} The Jesuits also nurtured the devotion to the Madonna del Loreto in the missions overseas. For example, a chapel dedicated to the Madona del Loreto existed in every Jesuit mission in Japan.\textsuperscript{168} Similarly, many altars in New Spain were dedicated to her in the seventeenth- and especially eighteenth century Jesuit churches.\textsuperscript{169}

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{164} OSTROW, Steven F., \textit{Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome}, p. 127.
\item \textsuperscript{165} SZILAS, László, \textit{Loreto nella letteratura spirituale dei Gesuiti}, in Ferdinando Citterio and Luciano Vaccaro, "Loreto Crocevia Religioso tra Italia, Europa e Occidente", Brescia, 1997, p. 263.
\item \textsuperscript{166} TORSSELLINO, Orazio, \textit{Lauretanae historiae libri cinque}, Roma, 1597.
\item \textsuperscript{167} SZILAS, László, \textit{Loreto nella letteratura spirituale dei Gesuiti}, p. 265 and p. 272.
\item \textsuperscript{168} BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander, \textit{Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America}, p. 9.
\item \textsuperscript{169} BARGELLINI, Clara, \textit{Jesuit Devotions and Retablos in New Spain}, in O’MALLEY, John (et all), "The Jesuits, Cultures, Sciences and the Arts", p. 685.
\end{itemize}
To be sure, the Jesuits also encouraged the cult of the two apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The *Imago Primi Saeculi* (1640) compared the two most distinguished members of the Order, Ignatius and Xavier, to Saint Peter and Saint Paul. While Peter and Ignatius stayed in Rome, both Saint Paul and Xavier were sent *inter gentes.* In a wider approach, by favouring the representation of Saint Peter, they affirmed their special vow of obedience to the papacy, as the image of Saint Peter symbolises the primacy of the papacy within the Roman Catholic Church. As to Saint Paul, his conversion marked the remote beginnings of the mission to the Gentiles. Paul, chosen by Christ to convey his message to the Jews, the Gentiles and the Kings, in other words, to all humanity, is a recurrent theme of salvation through the church. However, his popularity dates mainly from the Post-Tridentine period as this image served to defend the belief in salvation through devotion to the traditions of the Catholic Church against Luther’s heresy, and simultaneously gave a visual expression to his key role in the spreading of Christianity in the discovered lands, also in the Orient.\(^{171}\)

\(^{170}\)“Quod enim huic Petrus & Paulus, hoc fuere Societati Ignatius & Xaverius; (...), quorum res gestae tam similis fuerunt, quam simile fuit vitae institutum, & quam similes haec minima Societas isti amplissima à Christo primem inchoatae, (...), Petro & Paulo tamquam columnis secundem Deum potissima nix; ita Ignatio & Xaverio Societas nascens; sed Petro & Ignatio Romae, Paulo & Xaverio inter Gentes; ita Deus voluit.” (BOLAND, Jean, *Imago Primi saeculi, Caput Septimum, Altera Sociteatas columna S. Franciscus Xaverius*, p. 83.)

\(^{171}\)“Andai poi al Collegio de Padri Gesuiti (Goa), la cui chiesa, come ancho in Damán, in Bassein, & in quasi tutte le alter città de’Portoghesi in India, si chiama San Paolo; onde è che nell’India i detti padri
Saint Joseph had been the subject of a subsidiary cult during the Middle Ages. By contrast, the Jesuits had a special devotion to Saint Joseph. In the course of the seventeenth century, he was given a place of honour in Jesuit hagiography through his association to Mary and Jesus in the so-called Jesuit Trinity. One reason was that the Jesuits placed their young members under his protection since this saint was one of the common patrons of the Jesuit colleges.\footnote{172 RÉAU, Louis, \textit{Iconographie de l'art chrétien}, vol. III. 2, Paris, 1959, p. 755.}

Angelic intercession played a part in Jesuit devotion, from its very beginning. As it has been observed, Ignatius emphasised the angels in the \textit{Spiritual Exercises} and in the \textit{Rules for the discernment of the spirits}, and Francisco Borja, too, felt a strong devotion to the angels.\footnote{173 "Item, 9 vezes á los choros de los ángeles, item, recibir de los hombres iluminaciones ut angeli inferiores a superioribus." (\textit{Diary of Francis Borja}, in "Borgia", vol. V, p. 771.)} Aloysius Gonzaga (\textit{Accessit Meditazione Devoti De angelis}) was one of the many Jesuits who compiled devotional treaties on angelic devotion.\footnote{174 \textit{Pia Opusculae R. B. Franciscii Borgia e Accessit meditatio devota de Angelis B. Aloysii Gonzaga}, Tournon, 1611. (See also HIBBARD, Howard, "Ut picturae sermons": The first painted decorations of the Gesù, in Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (ed.), "Baroque Art: The Jesuit contribution", New York 1972, p 46. ZUCCARI, Alessandro, \textit{La Capella degli Angeli al Gesù}, in in Maio (ed.), R. de, "Bellarmino e la Controriforma", 1988, p. 613.)} Among the

\begin{figure}
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{WIERIX, Hieromus, "Jesuit Trinity" (before 1619)}
\end{figure}
devotions of the Jesuits for angels, pride of place goes to the Guardian Angel. Ignatius had recommended his companions to search for the protection of the Angelos custos. Liturgies of the mass and congregations were celebrated in his honour in the colleges. The Ratio studiorum, which was the official programme of studies in Jesuit houses, indicated the teachings of the angels and recommended the devotion to the Guardian Angel. Finally, in encouraging the creation of confraternities to the Guardian Angel, which were conceived for the younger members of their colleges, they especially fostered this devotion.

Fig. 31: Hieronymus Wierix, The Guardian Angel (before 1619).
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Graphische Sammlung

175 Protection by the angels had already been mentioned in the Bible. According to Apostle Mathew (Mt. 18.10), every child has a Guardian Angel, while the Acts of the Apostles 12, 15 affirmed that all men had a Guardian Angel, as well.


The Jesuits were particularly eloquent in praising their own successes. Hagiographies and scenes of the lives of the founder and of the most notable members of the Society formed an important part of their early iconography. To connect this typical Jesuit iconography with the coeval campaigns of affirmation of sainthood remains a sure way of reading Jesuit visual arts. This point is illustrated by the fact that the early Jesuit iconography supported the vindication of the Order for the canonisation of its most illustrious members. Indeed, the measures taken by the Society in the support of the process of canonisation of their most distinguished members and the characteristic imagery of the Order went, to a great extent, hand in hand. In 1563, the Italian painter Iacopino del Conte (1551-1590) depicted the first portrait of Ignatius, the so-called *vera effigiae*, which was based on the death mask of Ignatius. This portrait by del Conte was later considered as the earliest portrait of Ignatius and recognised as an authentic testimony during the processes of his beatification (1609) and canonisation (1622).\(^\text{178}\) The decisive steps taken by the Society in order to foster the canonisation of Ignatius were taken during the Generalship of Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615) when the issue of the canonisation of Ignatius officially came up at the Fifth General Congregation in 1594.\(^\text{179}\) One year later, the Jesuits began to transform places related to Ignatius into chapels, the most famous change being the transformation of his private rooms, the *camerette*, into chapels or *capellette* in 1605.\(^\text{180}\) Simultaneously, pictures and engravings depicting Ignatius and other Jesuits candidates to sainthood represented


\(^{179}\) "In the name of a number of provinces and individuals, a proposal was made to petition the Apostolic See to canonise the founder of the Society. Then the Congregation decreed that the petition the canonisation ought to be made not only for Father Ignatius but also for Xavier." (*Fifth General Congregation, D. 71*, p. 212.)

them with attributes (halo) symbolising the status (either blessed or saint), which had not yet been officially recognised.\textsuperscript{181}

Early Jesuit art also diffused the "miracles" attributed to the most distinguished Jesuits. To perform miracles is an essential requirement of sainthood. The absence of miracles accredited to Ignatius during his lifetime and to his tomb was one of the most serious obstacles to his canonisation.\textsuperscript{182} Francis Xavier was beatified in 1619 and only added to the list of saints to be canonised in the ceremony if 1622, at the last moment. Yet, his miraculous or thaumaturgic powers were more quickly and more widely accepted than in the case of Ignatius. Actually, since his stay in Tuticorin in late 1543, he had a reputation as a miracle worker. New miracles were constantly reported so that there were many investigated during the process of canonisation.\textsuperscript{183} Therefore, the Jesuits promoted Xavier in order to aid the beatification and afterwards the canonisation of Ignatius. In 1593, the Fifth General Congregation (D. 71) decreed that the Society of Jesus called for the canonisation not only of Ignatius, but also of Francis Xavier. The idea behind was that the former could not be canonised without canonising the latter. Translating this intention in artistic terms, the Wundervitae (around 1600) edited by the

\textsuperscript{181} That is the case of two engravings by Hieronymus Wierix (d. 1619). See ALVIN, Louis, \textit{Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre des trois frères Jean, Jérôme & Antoine Wierix}, Paris, 1870, nr. 1906 (portrait of Francis Xavier with halo) and nr. 1933 (portrait of Saint Ignatius with halo). (Only in 1626 did Urban VIII enact a prohibition against the designation of beato and santo prior to the official canonisation and beatification, respectively. Schurhammer further argues that Clement VIII (1592-1605) authorised the Jesuits to represent Xavier with a halo. (SCHURHAMMER, \textit{Die Heiligsprechung Franz Xaver zum 12. März 1622}, p. 106).

\textsuperscript{182} GOTOR, Miguel, \textit{I beati del papa, Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna}, Firenze, 2002, p. 57-60.

German print-shop Johanan Bussmacher introduced the model of vita of Ignatius with the vita of Xavier as pendant.\textsuperscript{184}

The two pictures of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier depicted by Rubens for the \textit{Church of Saint Ignatius} (presently, Saint Borromeo) in Antwerp around 1617, and which represented respectively the Miracles of Ignatius of Loyola and of Francis Xavier (figs. 32), are probably the best known examples of this intention.\textsuperscript{185}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Fig32.png}
\caption{Rubens, Miracles of Saint Ignatius of Loyola (ca. 1617), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Fig32b.png}
\caption{Rubens, Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier (ca. 1617), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien}
\end{figure}


After Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier is the Jesuit most frequently depicted in art. He has a fixed place of honour on several church façades and altars. Generally speaking, only rarely are the houses of the Society not decorated with some episode from the life of the great missionary. One fundamental reason for this was the fact that Xavier came to embody the ideal missionary.\textsuperscript{186} For decades, the Society of Jesus diffused Xavier’s Life as a model not simply for the Order but also for the whole evangelising Church.\textsuperscript{187} In art, the Departure of Francis Xavier to India evolved into a favourite iconographic motive in the lives of Ignatius as this scene represents the famous fourth vow by which every Jesuit is ready to be sent on a mission anywhere at the Pope’s request.

![Fig. 33: Departure of Xavier to India in Vita Ignatii by Rubens/Barbe (1609).](image)

Roma, Bibliotheca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuelle

\textsuperscript{186} The "Relatione super sanctitate et miraculis p. Francisci Xaverii ex processibus super illius canonizazione extracta" by the Auditori della Rota (not after 1618), departing from the Miraculous Fishery of Francis Xavier, stressed the missionary activity of the Order in and beyond Europe. (PAPA, Giovanni, \textit{Le cause di canonizzazione nel primo periodo della Congregazione dei Riti (1588-1634)}, Roma, 2001, p. 245)

\textsuperscript{187} As the founder of non-European Jesuit missions, his example inspired many Young Europeans to emulate him. In other words, we know from the \textit{litterae indiapetarum} in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesum (Roma) that at least 15,000 young Europeans volunteered for missions to India and China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to devote their lives \textit{ad maiorem Dei gloriam} in imitation of Xavier.
The letters that Francis Xavier sent to his brethren in Europe and the acts of his canonisation processes are full of information on “exotic” and ‘strange’ lands and people. Accordingly, the representations of Francis Xavier in his missionary activity are often infused with views of exotic and remote regions. This exoticism mainly finds expression in non-Europeans or in persons who are dressed in a non-European manner, and in non-European flora and fauna. As a presage of his missionary vocation, Xavier is said to have had a recurrent dream in Italy in 1537 in which he was carrying a non-European on his back. Curiously, as in this mural by Jakob Potmas, European artists

188 The picture representing Saint Francis Xavier dressed in Japanese clothes which, according to Richeôme’s description of the paintings of the Noviciate of Sant’Andrea al Quirinale, Rome, hang at the infirmary of the same institution before 1583, is one of the first representations that depicts Xavier in a non-European framework or context. To my knowledge, it is no longer extant. (RICHEÔME S. J., Louis, Traitez de Devotion, Paris, 1628, p. 402)

usually represented an American Indian, perhaps as a result of the confusion about the term “Indian”.190

Whereas both Catholics and Protestants availed themselves of images of martyrdom, the fact remains that the Jesuits were among their foremost users and devisors of these images so that, in commissioning numerous scenes of martyrdom, the Jesuits produced a major area of studies. Fresco cycles avidly celebrating frightful martyrdom scenes on the walls of noviciates and colleges, and numerous series of engravings were created at the request of the Society of Jesus. As a matter of fact, martyrdom was intrinsic to the nature of the Society. This martyrdom on the Peninsula of Salsete in 1583 occurred in a period when many Jesuits were meeting that fate. Therefore, their martyrdom quickly became of interest to the Society. In 1591, the Order began to distribute a Latin poem with the title *Cinque Martyrs* by Francesco Benci. The report of their martyrdom was further included in the collection of Annual Letters that was published in Rome in 1585.191 The ordinary process with the hearing of twenty witnesses was instituted in Goa in 1600, having the Apostolic process been instituted on the 6th November 1629. With the extinction of the Society, the process slowed down.192

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While the fathers from the Professed House in Old Goa and those in Salsete disputed this issue, parties in Europe also eagerly desired possession of the relics. According to the Italian Jesuit Daniele Bartoli, various Italian and Portuguese towns had unsuccessfully demanded to be distinguished by obtaining the body of Francisco Aranha, and had presented clear reasons behind their request. In 1600, General Acquaviva received an arm of his nephew Rodolfo whereas the other arm was taken to the College of Naples (the Family Acquaviva was originally from Naples) in 1634. It soon made its way into Jesuit art, *latum sensum*. In addition to being understandably depicted in various churches in Salsete, this Martyrdom was also depicted in some emblematic Jesuit institutions, such as their main church, the Il Gesù, and *Sant' Andrea al Quirinale*, which was the first noviciate of the Society of Jesus in Rome. The martyrs of Salsete were represented together with the other members of the Society, who had also suffered martyrdom. They were included in the so-called “galleries of the Jesuit martyrs” (five figures in the centre of the second row down-up). As can be deduced from the designation, the galleries of Jesuit martyrs are engravings that represent the various Jesuits together, who have suffered martyrdom in a certain area together. The single Jesuits are identified by a legend under them and are distinguished by a precedent short account of their martyrdom.

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193 BARTOLI, Daniele, *La missione al Gran Mogor (1663)*, Milano, 1945, p. 119.

Fig. 36: Gallery of Jesuit martyrs, (seventeenth century).
Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany

Fig. 37: Johann Wierix, Some famous Jesuits surrounding the Crucifixion (1608), 15,1x10,4, Köln, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Graphische Sammlung

Fig. 38: Rubens (?)/ Barbe, Vita Beati P. Ignati (1622), Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
Curiously, in this engraving dated 1608 (fig. 37), Rodolfo Acquaviva is the only Jesuit martyr identified by name. From 1609, the title pages of the vitae of Ignatius have also depicted the martyrs of Salsete. Rodolfo Acquaviva, and his companions were actually represented twice among other prominent figures of the Order (first medallion right and immediately above the emblem of the Order) in the official vita (fig. 38) of Ignatius to commemorate his canonisation in 1622.195

At the same time, various typical Jesuit devotions and iconographies originated in the relics of the early Christian martyrs, as was the case of the cult and iconography of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. The Jesuits showed interest in this cult by distributing the practically unlimited bones of these virgins and distinguishing themselves in the publication of hagiographic vitae recycling the legend. Indeed, the *Vitae e Martiriy SS. Ursulae*

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by Hermann Crombach constitutes the most comprehensive account of the martyrdom of Saint Ursula and her maiden.\textsuperscript{196} At the beginning Pierre Favre, in particular, fostered this devotion. Like his companions, during his stay in Cologne, he used to pray at the Church of Saint Ursula, where the bodies of the Eleven Thousand Virgins were kept. When he left Cologne in July 1544, he took seven heads and several bones with him and offered two of them to the Portuguese Royal Couple, as well as giving another to the Provincial, so that it could be kept at the College of Coimbra in order to encourage this devotion among the missionaries departing for the Indies.\textsuperscript{197}

\textsuperscript{196} ZEHNDER, Günther, \textit{Sankt Ursula: Legenda, Verehrung, Bilderwelt}, Köln, 1985, p. 46. (For a history of this cult in Cologne and in the European countries, see also LEGNER, Anton, \textit{Kölner Heilige und Heiligtürmer}, Köln, 2002, especially the third part "Kölner Reliquien in den Ländern Europas")

Chapter III: Goa, the “Rome of the Orient”

This chapter deals with the artistic and religious context of the Jesuit buildings in Goa. This title shows that I wish to analyse the urban and artistic features of Goa by taking into account that this city was the headquarters of the Portuguese missionary enterprise. After I have mentioned the main aspects that characterised the “Rome of the Orient”, I shall refer to the two policies undertaken by the Portuguese which were essential to the creation of the Rome of the Orient. The first is the politics of “tabula rasa”, i.e., the policy of the destruction of all the structural and visual aspects of non-Catholic religions. The second refers to the creation of a vast architectonic patrimony.

1. Important features of Goa, the “Rome of the Orient”

Similarly to other colonial empires, the Portuguese empire brought profound and enduring change to the urban areas in which it spread around the world. Goa is a perfect example of how both the urban and social features typical to an Indian city can change, beyond all recognition, and adopt European features, i.e. Europeanlike buildings and urban plans. The transformation of Goa from an Indian city into a European one occurred largely in the sixteenth century and had two main phases. This process initiated with the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese in 1510, and the great period of construction, which was concentrated around the riverside area, occurred in the late 1520s. Roughly speaking, this first period lasted until the middle of the sixteenth century. In this initial phase, the Portuguese were essentially concerned with defending the conquered site from further attack. The second and main period of construction

1 MOREIRA, Rafael, From Manueline to Renaissance in Portuguese India, in “Mare Liberum”, July 1995, p. 403.

2 KOWAL, David Martin, The evolution of ecclesiastical architecture in Portuguese Goa, p. 3.
took place in the second half of the sixteenth century. At the end of the sixteenth century, the city, which was partly built in a valley and partly on the hills, occupied over half the island, and was based around the city centre in the North-East. It reached its economic, political and religious zenith between the second half of the sixteenth century and the middle of the seventeenth century. By 1600, the bulk of Goa’s architectural monuments were constructed. Its population, which was made up of many European commercial communities was at its peak. Many contemporary travellers writing at that time compared Goa to a European city, on account of its size and the number of its inhabitants.3 The contemporary descriptions also attest to the streets of this walled city being lined with a great number and variety of commercial, administrative and religious institutions. It boasted numerous churches, palaces and residences, with the result that some of the travellers did not hesitate to compare the buildings in Goa with the buildings in the cities of the Western world. Alessandro Valignano, in his Historia Indica (1583) considered that this city was the principal and noblest city in India, due to its buildings and its population, and its trade and riches, and was comparable to the large and populated European cities.4 The French traveller Pyrard de Laval, who visited Goa in June 1608, remarked with astonishment upon how the Portuguese had been able to construct so many magnificent churches, monasteries and fortresses in the European style (à la façon de l’Europe).5 Many other commentators wrote that the city and the

3 For example, Jean Mocquet (1620) thought that Goa was as large as Tours. (CASTRO (ed.), Xavier, Voyage à Mozambique & Goa: la relation de Jean Mocquet (1607-1610), Paris, 1996, p. 140-141.)

4 “Es esta ciudad my grande e populosa, habitada de portugueses y naturales de la tierra, muy noble y principal, así por los edificios, como pór la gente, comercio y riqueza que tiene, de manera que com razón se puede ygualar com las grandes y hermosas ciudades de Europa.” (VALIGNANO S. J., Alessandro, Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús, vol. I, p. 41.)

villages were adorned with elegant, stately buildings in the Portuguese style. Notwithstanding the fact that the French Abbé Carré visited Goa in 1672, in a period when its decline was evident to all, he could not fail to be particularly impressed by the beauty and the pleasant aspect of the outskirts of Goa. The houses normally had one storey or, at a maximum, two, and a small or large garden and a lofty roof. Indeed, the houses in Goa were said to be the best all over India, and their construction was defined as modern. The general impression was that the construction was of good quality, considerable dimensions, and both comfortable and appropriate for the local climatic conditions.

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6 "The outskirts are very beautiful and pleasant, with several castles on fertile hills, (...). There are also some country-houses, which are fine only on the outside, as their lands, and revenues diminish daily (...)." (CARRE DE CHAMBOM (ed.), Barthelemy, *The travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East from 1672 to 1674*, London, 1947-1948, vol. I-I, p. 217.)

7 "Le fabbriche della città son buone, grandi e commodhe, accommodate per lo più a pigliar vento, & molto fresco; di che per I gran caldi cé bisogno; & anco a riparar le gran piogge, elli tre mesi di Pausascal, che sono Giugno, Luglio e Agosto" (DELLA VALLE, Pietro, *Second Letter from Goa*, 27 April 1623, vol. III, p. 144.)
However, it was the religious architecture that most inspired astonishment in both the Portuguese and the non-Portuguese visitors. Four months after his arrival, Francis Xavier declared Goa to be

"a completely Christian city and something to be beheld. It had a monastery with many friars of the Order of Saint Francis, an ornate cathedral with many canons, and many other churches."  

Pyrard de Laval was so baffled by the great number of religious buildings, that, in his view, there did not seem to be one single street or alley without a church or, at the very least, a chapel. He estimated that there were fifty churches and convents whereas another traveller, the Englishman Alexander Hamilton, estimated eighty churches and monasteries in the early eighteenth century. Several religious establishments, which were located on the highest points of the landscape, simultaneously marked the boundaries of the city. For instance, the Englishman Peter Mundy noticed that

"many of the churches, monasteries and colleges were located on the best sites of the city, that is, upon the hills".

Especially in the period of its greatest splendour, many visitors wondered at the monumentality and the wealth of the churches and the other religious buildings, at their magnificent exteriors and internal decoration, frequently using the sobriquet Goa, the "Rome of the Orient" or as "Golden Goa". Indeed, both religious and secular primary

8 "A quarto meses y más que llegamos a Yndia, a Goa, que es una ciudad toda de cristianos, cosa par aver. Ay un monasterio de muchos frailes [de la orden] de San Francisco y una See muy honrada y muchos canónigos, y otras muchas iglesias." (Francis Xavier to his companions in Rome, 10 September 1542, in "EX", vol. I, p. 121-122.)


documentation agree that Catholic priests excelled in filling their churches in Goa with fine sculpture, woodcarving and painting. In addition to imposing façades, many examples of elaborate and polychrome woodcarving in form of retables, chancel arches and pulpits and a few of the extensive painting cycles can be still found. Together with the painted cycles in oil, tempera, and fresco, which unfortunately have practically disappeared, these woodcarvings created rich visual effects, by their contrast with the stucco-plastered walls.

If this abundance of churches and of other religious buildings was noticed by the travellers and visitors, it constituted a cause of great concern for both the political and ecclesiastical authorities. Lopo Soares, the third Governor of India (1515-1518), hesitated, on one occasion, to grant a piece of land for the construction of a new
monastery. In 1616, Philip II of Portugal enacted a provision in which he forbade the construction of new buildings without his express authorisation, arguing that the State of India was sufficiently furnished with this kind of institution. Along these lines, the issue of the priests who could be admitted into each monastery was one of the main topics on the agenda of the religious authorities participating at a municipal meeting in 1636.

2. Underlying reasons

2.1 General comments on its political and religious evolution

In order to explain the creation and evolution of Goa as “the Rome of the Orient”, let me begin with some general comments on its political and religious evolution. In brief, Goa became the capital of the Portuguese overseas empire in 1530. In 1558, this city was granted the same privileges as Lisbon. With regard to its religious history, Pope Paul III (Bull Aquae Reputanus) elevated Goa to an Episcopal See and placed all the vast Portuguese territories situated between the Cape of Good

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12 “Porquanto convém a meu serviço que nesse Estado se não edifiquem mosteiros, nem outras casa de recolhimento, sem expressa ordem minha, por estar bastante provido das necessárias para o culto divino; (...) (Filipe II, King of Portugal, to D. Jerónimo Azevedo, Viceroy of India, Lisbon, 6 March 1616, in “Documentos remetidos da Índia”, vol. III, p. 443.


14 “E quanto aos privilégios desta Cidade de Lisboa que dizeis vos foram concedidos jeralmente, e vos são necessários da maneira que a dita Cidade os tem por suas cartas, o anno passado vos foy respendido que enviasseis apresentar os treslados dos ditos privilégios; Pêro Fernandes, meu escrivão da Câmara, vosso procurador mos apresentou todos em publica forma, tirados dos próprios das Cidade, e pêra o anno que vem, prazendo a Nosso Senhor, vos mandarey dar por minhas cartas aquelles que me parecer que convem a essa cidade.” (King D. Sebastião to the councillors and craftsmen of Goa, Lisbon, 19 March 1558, in “APO”, vol. I, 1992, p. 45.)
Hope and China under its jurisdiction in 1534.\textsuperscript{15} In 1539, the same Pope (bull \textit{Etsi Sancta et Immaculata}) consecrated Goa as an Archdiocese. In 1572, the title of \textit{Primaz das Índias} was given to Goa.\textsuperscript{16} Thus, from the 1550's, Goa hosted all the permanent secular and ecclesiastic administration of the Portuguese missionary enterprise. Simultaneously, it was the capital of an important commercial and maritime network.\textsuperscript{17}

Its political and religious status and its flourishing commerce undoubtedly contributed to the growth of its population.\textsuperscript{18} Precise figures for the population in the pre-Portuguese era cannot be found. The data for the rest of the sixteenth century is also not always exact. Primary sources sometimes refer to particular groups within the population, to parts of the territory or to householders. On his arrival, in 1542, Francis Xavier estimated the population of the city to consist of 100,000 Indian Christians, 3,000 to 4,000 Portuguese and many non-Christians, while 50,000 inhabitants were said to be living outside the city, in the rest of the \textit{Ilhas}.\textsuperscript{19} In 1548, the population of the Island of Goa was calculated to be 45,000 people, including 40,000 Gentiles (pagans or heathens).\textsuperscript{20} However, a comparison of this information with the data gathered in the Jesuit annual letter of 1563 suggests a much higher population, of around 70,000

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} Bullarium Patronatus, vol. I, p. 159-163.
\item \textsuperscript{18} To illustrate the point, in 1605, the councillors meeting at a session of the town hall commented with pride that Goa had risen to be one of the greatest towns belonging to the Portuguese Crown, due to its size and the number of its inhabitants. (BOXER, Charles Ralph, \textit{Portuguese Society in the tropics}, Madison (Wisconsin) Minnesota, 1965, p. 47.
\item \textsuperscript{20} "Esta ilha de Goa, (...), hé de tres legoa em Redondo, e Segundo comum parecera verá nela corenta mill almas gentias." (Francisco Barbudo S. J., to D. João III, King of Portugal, Goa, 18 December 1548, in "Di", vol. I, p. 253.)
\end{itemize}
people. In 1576, in his remarks about the decisions made by General Everard Mercurian for the Province of India, Alessandro Valignano wrote that, at the time, 12,000 to 15,000 households of both Canarins (local inhabitants) and Portuguese existed in Goa. More recently, Charles Boxer estimated the population of Goa at 450 households in 1523, and circa 1,800 in 1540, this last figure including the “mestiços” or half caste. If, as Joseph Wicki does, it is considered that in each house there might be on average 5 people, the population of Goa could have reached circa 75,000 people in that period. Other recent estimates put the city population in the 1580’s at 60,000, and in 1600 at about 75,000. In 1630, it had perhaps a little more than a quarter of a million. Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, which were the largest Indian cities at that time, are said to have counted for about half a million inhabitants. Thus, in Indian terms, Goa was a medium-size city. However, it was fairly large by European standards as, for example, Rome had circa 90,000 inhabitants between the 1550s and the 1580s. Allowing for the possible inaccuracy of these estimates, it is possible to infer a population increase. The main reason behind this increase was the many Asians and Europeans (circa 2000 Portuguese emigrated yearly to the Orient) who established themselves there from the sixteenth century onwards.


22 “(...) Y Goa es una ciudad muy grande que temá más de doze o quinze mil fuegos o casas entre los portugueses y canarines.” (Remarks by Alessandro Valignano on the letters by the Generals of the Society of Jesus, Choran, 3 November 1576, in “DI”, vol. X. p. 628.)

23 Charles Boxer, in Michael N. Pearson, Goa during the first Portuguese rule, in “Itinerario” (Netherlands), 1984, p. 39.


In 1623, Della Valle wrote that half the number of priests living in Goa would be sufficient for a city as large as Goa. This statement introduces my next point, which is that the population increase in Goa was, in part, due to the many priests living there. Most of them stayed in Goa so that this city had the greatest number of priests in the Orient. For instance, according to Della Vale, about one third of the total number of Augustinians in the Orient lived in Goa in the first half of the seventeenth century. In the 1640's, there were 600 priests in Goa alone, which was accounted for more than a third of those residents in Asia at the time. Clearly, the above-mentioned fact that all ecclesiastical administration was based in Goa was the first reason for many clerics living there. As a sign of the overall commitment of the Catholic Church, in time both secular (those under the direct authority of the local bishop) and regular priests (communities of religious living under the rule of a certain order) installed their headquarters in Goa. The Franciscans were the harbingers of the installation of the regular orders in the Orient. They celebrated the first mass in Calicut in 1498, and they founded their first convent in Goa in 1517. Most of the other orders arrived during the second half of the sixteenth century. Following the Jesuits in 1542, the Dominicans were sent to India upon the request of the Portuguese King D. João III in 1548. Later in the sixteenth century, to be precise, in 1572, the Augustinians arrived. Their Monastery of Saint Monica was founded in 1606. The Carmelites arrived on the shores one year

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26 “Le migliori sono le chiese, delle quali che né molte tenute da diverse Religioni, come Agostiniani, Domenicani, Francescani, Carmelitani Scalze, Gesuiti, con doppi e numerossisimi conventi, cje certo metà di quei Religiosi a città pie grossa che Goa, basterebbe.” (DELLA VALLE, Pietro, Second Letter from Goa, 22 March 1623, voi. Ill, p. 145.)


28 BOCARRO, António, Década 13 da História da Índia, Lisboa, 1876, p. 255.

later, while the Theatines founded a church and an establishment of their own by 1653. Unlike the secular priests, who were normally dispatched for a period of three years, the regular priests made a lifetime commitment. Thus, regular priests, in particular the Franciscans and the Jesuits, always formed the most numerous bodies. Moreover, from the early days, all missionaries destined for the Portuguese colonies of Brazil and the Orient passed through Goa.

2.2 Politics of Tabula Rasa (remapping of boundaries and eradication of all material and ritual aspects of the local religions)

Fig. 43: Goa in 1509

Pre-Portuguese Goa was a wealthy commercial port that flourished so much, that it was the object of envy of all the islands and ports of India. In the words of Tomé Pires (1512-1515) “the Kingdom of Goa was always esteemed as the best of the King of Narsinga’s possessions, for it was as important as it was prosperous.” It had a

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substantial trade and was inhabited by merchants of many nationalities. Furthermore, it also had an ancient rich civilisation. Pre-Portuguese Goa was ruled by Muslims and largely inhabited by Hindus. Moreover, the Europeans were confronted with powerful civilisations and well-entrenched religions that expressed themselves in complex and elaborate ancestral ritual and ceremonial, and which had constructed imposing religious buildings. It must be recalled that Pre-Portuguese Goa was an important centre of worship for the Hindus. According to the Purana (encyclopaedic collections in Sanskrit that contain the mythology of the Hindus), God Shiva had stayed shortly in Goa. He was especially venerated in a place called Brahmapuri (colony of the Brahmans). The Jesuit and the Portuguese sources of the sixteenth century further compared the Island of Divar to the Holy Land. There were a great number of temples and crowds would go there on pilgrimage.

To be sure, the creation of Goa as “the Rome of the Orient” was achieved at the expense of the native communities, and it was only possible because the Portuguese secured military control of the city. The arrival of the Portuguese had long-lasting effects in urbanism. First of all, the radical transformation of Goa from an Indian city into a European one brought with it a remapping of the boundaries. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Florentine merchant Filippo Sasseti (1540-1588) remarked


34 For example, in his vivid description of Pre-Portuguese Goa, Duarte Barbosa noted that large communities of respectable Muslims and other merchants who had come from distant places inhabited this city. (ALBUQUERQUE (ed.), Luís, Livro do que viu e ouviu no Oriente Duarte Barbosa (c. 1512), Lisboa, 1989, p. 56.)

that few Muslims and Jews were living in the city of Goa. Both the Catholic and the non-Catholic Indians had their own residential quarters. Some categories of the population of Goa—Muslims, foreign Hindus and prostitutes were living in separate quarters far from the city centre at the end of the seventeenth century. Indeed, the installation of the Portuguese in Goa, as in most of the Indian settlements, was made at the expense of the former inhabitants. The politics of segregation that should prevent social intercourse between Europeans and other groups was one of the underlying factors. In other words, frequent strict measures bear witness to a long-term policy which intended to foster the constitution of a growing space inhabited only by Catholics. Such proceedings, which, in European eyes, were legitimised by the principles of *cuius regio, eius regio* (the ruled being obliged to profess the same religion as the ruler) and by the papal bulls, which gradually granted the Portuguese Crown the right to appropriate the territories discovered or to be discovered, were intended to facilitate conversion and avoid apostasy. These prescriptions were initially directed against the native inhabitants, the Muslims and the Hindus. They were quickly extended to the Jewish communities that formed powerful groups in Goa as in many Portuguese coastal cities.

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36 "Gli abitatori si di quella come delle altre terre portoghesi, son portoghesi e gentili, e tra essi sparsi alcuni giudei e mori, i quali vivono separati da cristiani quanto si puote il piu." (Filippo Sassetti to Pietro Vettori, Cochin, 27 January 1585, in Filippo Sassetti, "Lettere dell'Indie (1583-1588)", Roma, 1992, p. 77-78.)

37 PEARSON, M. N., *The Portuguese in India*, p. 94.

38 This axiomatic perspective found vast support and was much publicised in contemporary literature. Portuguese expansion was justified on the basis of the benefits it brought to both the heathens and the Muslim in civilisation and religion. (LACH, Donald, *Asia and the making of Europe*, vol. III, Book II, p. 31)
This policy was pursued from the first years of the Portuguese presence. In 1518, King D. Manuel enacted a decree that determined that all the lands on the Island of Goa were to be distributed among the Portuguese settlers, except those which were owned by the native Christians prior to the conquest of Goa.\(^3\) One year later, in 1519, the King ordered the Muslims in Goa to hand over their lands to the Portuguese.\(^4\) This policy increased especially in the late 1540's by the time the Portuguese civil and ecclesiastical authorities were well-established on the Indian West Coast. In 1549, the Brahmans were expelled from Goa.\(^4\) In 1560, Viceroy Constantino de Bragança extended this order to all royal lands, a provision repeated by the Third Council (1585).\(^4\) The same policy was also the object of special concern for the *patres* meeting at the First Council of the Archdiocese of Goa in 1567. Decree 8 of the fourth session forbade Muslims and foreign Gentiles from living near the Church of Saint Lazarus, which was situated in the most remote part of the city.\(^4\) Accordingly, in a petition dated the same year, Viceroy Luís de Athaide ordered the Muslims to live in quarters that were distinct from Christian quarters, that no Jew should live in the Portuguese administered territories, that foreign Gentiles should be concentrated in special residential areas and forbade the

\(^{39}\) *Donation of the lands and goods in the Island of Goa by the King D. Manuel to the inhabitants of the Island of Goa, Lisbon, 1518*, in "APO", vol. IV, p. 12-16.


\(^{43}\) "Pera obviar a muitos males que nestas partes se commettem, determinou o Concilio se limitassem lugares certos em que habitem os mouros, e gentios estrangeiros, (...), e encarrega muito aos vereadores e officiaes da Camara ordenem como os decretos, em que isto se determinou, se dem a execução, ordenando os ditos lugares; e assy lhe encomenda constituição lugar separado, mais remoto da cidade, do qual está a Igreja de S. Lazaro, (...)." (First Council of the Archdiocese of Goa, Second Session, Decree 25 and Fourth Session, Decree 7, in "Documentação", p. 385-386.)
Christian to rent houses to the Muslims. Answering positively to a request made by the city in a letter sent to Viceroy Frei Aleixo de Menezes dated 1607 the King gave the natives the choice of either converting or being banished from Goa. Finally, in 1633, a provision by Viceroy Miguel de Noronha forbade the Hindus from living on the Peninsula of Salsete.

After the Portuguese rulers had appropriated the land of the natives, they proceeded to its reorganisation. This process developed along diverse paths, including the formation of parishes, the division of lands to be attributed as distinct missionary areas among the regular orders, and the formation of Catholic quarters near churches. The hierarchy expected that these measures would maximise the available material and human resources (avoiding struggles between the different Catholic agents) so as to cope better with both an increasing geographic and demographic task. As regards the formation of parishes, in 1539, the Igreja de Santa Catarina was elevated to the status of Cathedral. In 1545, the first Bishop of Goa, D. João de Albuquerque, divided the city that, until that moment had formed a single parish, into four parishes. These were the parishes of the Catedral de Santa Catarina, Santa Luzia, Nossa Senhora do Rosário, and Nossa Senhora da Luz. Under Archbishop D. Gaspar de Leão (1560-1575),

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44 "E assy ordeno e mando que do futuro Concilio por diante os mouros vivao em bairros separados dos christãos, e em suas casas agora, (...), e do dito Concilio futuro por diante nenhum christão lhes alugará caza, porque neste meio templo se farão bairros dos ditos mouros e os gentios estrangeiros poderão viver em Challes cerrados, e casas a elles juntas." (Law by the Cardinal Regent D. Henrique at the request of the participants at the First Council of the Archdiocese of India (1567), in "Documentação", vol. X, p. 410.)


47 "O Bispo D. João de Albuquerque ordenou este Inverno em seu Bispado, algumas cousas, que lhe pareceram de serviço de Deos; e porque a cidade de Goa era grande, e cada vez ha crescendo mais, e não podia o Cura de Santa Catharina administrar os Sacramentos a todos os moradores della, porque até então fora governado o espiritual pôr hum Vigario Geral, repartio toda a Cidade com seus
several new parishes were created so that, in the 1620s, there were twenty-seven parish
churches in Goa, nine in the city and eighteenth in the neighbouring areas.48

Fig. 44: Map of Goa including the first four parish churches (the Catedral de Santa Catarina,
Santa Luzia, Nossa Senhora do Rosário, and Nossa Senhora da Luz)

As to the formation of missionary areas, in 1554, Viceroy D. Pedro de Mascarenhas took up the task of charging the secular priests with the evangelisation of certain areas. This partition is particularly important for the purpose of my dissertation since it determined the distribution of the buildings of the various orders, including that of the Jesuits’. The Jesuits were entrusted with the evangelisation of the largest area, including the Eastern part of the Island of Goa, the especially rich Peninsula of Salsete in the South of Goa, and the smaller Islands of Divar and Choran (second largest island

after the Island of Goa). Bardez, which is still a poor area in the North of Goa was assigned to the Franciscans, whereas the Dominicans were made responsible for the region West of the inlet that runs from Cape Nazareth to Moula on the Island of Goa.49 Whereas the Dominicans were exclusively given urban areas, both the Jesuits and the Franciscans received also rural areas: the Peninsulas of Bardez and Salsete and the smaller islands. This was probably the origin of the fact that these orders ran both urban and rural settlements. Thirdly, the secular hierarchy decisively contributed to the formation of Catholic quarters by donating land to recently converted communities near the churches.50

The conception that the Roman Catholic Religion was the only true faith was one of the most important guidelines for all future missionary activity laid down by the First Council.51 All other aspects of ritual and of external representation of Non-Catholic religiosity were wrong and harmful to Catholicism.52 From the viewpoint of the Catholic invaders, the slightest reminder of former rituals and customs could decisively contribute to prevent new conversions. Neophytes might relapse into apostasy. So, despite the frequent misidentification of Hindu temples as Catholic churches (the Europeans often considered the temples dedicated to the Hindu Triad Trimurti as Catholic churches of the Holy Trinity), and the esteem for Hindu art that many of them


51 The First Council (1567) and the Third Council (15845) of the Archdiocese of India were the two councils that dedicated more attention to the particular uses of Hinduism. (WICKI, J., I cinque concili, p. 37.)

the successful implementation of Catholicism demanded the eradication of all material and ritual aspects that characterised the local culture and religiosity, thus putting into practice the politics of *tabula rasa*. Drastic campaigns were launched to rid Goa of all non-Christian shrines. In 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque instructed his subordinates to set fire to a mosque on the Island of Goa, and the following year the Christian invaders dismantled most of a Hindu temple on the Island of Divar. Most of the one hundred and fifty-nine temples on the Island of Goa were destroyed with the help of the converts in a large scale campaign between 1540 and 1541 so that, in 1542, Xavier was already able to see a completely Christian city, as mentioned above. In 1567, the priests, who took part in the First Council for the Province of India, declared a particularly violent attack on idolatry. Decree 9 of its Second Session declared that it was a great sin to venerate idolatrous creatures as though they were God, on the grounds of various passages of the Bible, *(viz. Is. 42,8, Exod. 20,3-5 and Deut. 6,13, 10,20)*. Since, as these passages declared, God had ordered the children of Israel to raze all idols and temples in the Promised Land to the ground, the Sacred Council of Goa (1567) petitioned Regent D. Henrique of Portugal to ensure the complete destruction of all temples, idols and places in which idolatry was

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53 The statute of the Hindu temples turned into a complex, vast and controversial subject in the Portuguese documentation on the Overseas. Immediately after the Portuguese set foot in the Orient, the myth of the pre-existence of Christian churches grew among them. Both laymen and missionaries were frequently dazzled by the architectural and aesthetic features of the temples constructed by the Hindus, such as their grandeur, height and cleanliness. For instance, in 1567, the Portuguese Jesuit Gomes Vaz wrote to his companions in Portugal, that he had never seen such a beautiful doorway in Portugal as the one of the temple in the village of Verna, Salsete. *(Gomes Vaz S. J. to his companions in Portugal, 12 December 1567, in "DI", vol. VII, p. 390).*

practised.\textsuperscript{55} Putting this wish into practice, a second round of destruction took place in Bardez and Salsete in the same year.\textsuperscript{56}

Hand in hand with these campaigns of destruction, the authorities made all efforts to prevent the local population from constructing new shrines or even undertaking the slightest repairs of the older temples. To this purpose, a law enacted by Viceroy Antão de Noronha in 1566 prohibited the construction of new temples or even the repair of the Hindu temples on the Peninsula of Salsete, without his special authorisation and under the threat of the temple rents being transferred to Catholic institutions and used for charitable works.\textsuperscript{57} Successive authorities confirmed this policy, and an attempt was made to extend it to the territories which were not yet subject to the Portuguese authority. This point is illustrated by the fact that, in 1585, Philip I of Portugal laid down heavy penalties and fines (lifelong prison sentences and confiscation of all estates, even death penalty) upon all subjects of the Portuguese Crown who persisted in building or commissioning the construction of temples, as well as those who contributed to their conservation, regardless of whether the temples were in Portuguese or non-Portuguese territory.\textsuperscript{58} It should be noted that when an area was converted, churches were immediately built there. Following the contemporary


\textsuperscript{57} “Faço saber a quantos estes meu alvara virem que eu ey por bem e mando que nenhum pagoda se edifique novamente em todalas terras delRey meu senhor destas partes, e os pagodas que já são edificados se não poderão concertar nem reparar sem minha especial licença, sob pena de serem derribados, e se perder a valia delles pêra as despezas das obras pias;” \textit{(Instruction by Viceroy Antão de Noronha forbidding the construction of new temples and the repair of older ones, Goa, 20 March 1566)} in “APO”, fasc. 5, p. 608, and \textit{Provision by D. Antão de Noronha, 29 August 1566}, in “APO”, fasc. V.2, p. 612-613.)

missionary practice, most or, at least, many churches constructed by the Catholics were
carefully located on the sites of the former shrines.59 The stone for the construction of
the Catholic churches was often taken from the temples which had previously been
razed to the ground.

As a necessary adjunct to the promotion of conversion, severe laws were passed
to prohibit the celebration of Hindu ceremonies, such as weddings, cremations and all
possible forms of religious ritual, no matter whether these took place in public or behind
closed doors. Analogous to the laws regarding the Hindu temples, some of these laws
concerning Hindu ceremonies extended to non-Portuguese areas. Such was the case of a
law enacted by Viceroy Antão de Noronha at the request of the First Council of the
Archdiocese of Goa (1567). This law forbade the Gentile inhabitants of Portuguese Goa
from attending Hindu ceremonies that might take place in the neighbouring lands.
Simultaneously, the non-Portuguese were banned from coming to the Portuguese area
for the same purpose.60 Closely related was the aim of eradicating the use of images for
worship once and forever. Generally speaking, whenever the opportunity presented
itself, the priests confiscated and destroyed “idolatrous” statuary, since the possession of
books and images for personal devotion was considered a serious offence to Christianity
and likely to unchain “abominable” practices. Christians were exhorted to denounce
anyone who owned such idolatrous objects. Hindu houses were liable to be searched on

59 Bailey, Gauvin Alexander, Art on the Jesuit missions, p. 35-36.

60 “Nenhum vassalo meu irá a festas de pagodas as terras dos senhores comarcãos em romarias, nem os
estrangeiros passarão por nossas terras as ditas romarias, sob pena de cinco annos para a Salla.” (Law
enacted by King D. Sebastião, at the request of the First Council of the Archdiocese of Goa (1567),
the suspicion that they harboured them. In point of fact, we know that royal employees were even sent to private houses to confiscate Hindu books and images.  

3. The creation of a vast architectural patrimony

3.1 Patronage

In order to understand the dynamics of patronage that enabled Catholic art in Goa to flourish, I will begin by mentioning that the last decades of the sixteenth century were characterised by a massive effort of Christianisation in Catholic countries at large. To quote the painter Giovanni Battista Armenini (1533-1609), who witnessed the fervid artistic activity of the 1550s,

“E se mai fu di bisogno di così fatti uomini, dir si può che ne sia in questi nostri tempi, ne’ quali, dopo la publicazione del Sacrosanto et Universal Concilio di Trento, pare che per tutta la cristianità si faccia quasi garra de fabricare bellissimi e sontuosissimi templii, capelle e monasterii.” (“Since the publication of the sacrosanct universal Council of Trent, it seems that throughout Christendom there is almost a competition in the building of the most beautiful and sumptuous churches, chapels and monasteries”.)

Together with spiritual renewal, the post-Tridentine programme entailed the complete reorganisation, rehabilitation and modernisation of all artistic patrimony. This surge of investment in religious architecture was highly indebted to private patrons. As Claire Robertson has observed in her essential work on the Farnese patronage of the II Gesù, private patrons increasingly financed the construction of complete churches from

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62 Idem, ibidem, p. 34-35.
63 ARMENINI, Giovan Battista, De’ veri precetti della pittura (1586), Torino, 1988, p. 31-32.
The Catholic hierarchy likewise launched large scale campaigns in order to tackle the ruinous state of many churches and monasteries. The legislation issued in this regard was directed both to the priests and to lay patrons. The pastoral visits, which constitute the instrument by which the bishop or the ordinarius undertakes a careful examination of the lands and the state of the buildings, which were performed in Rome, at least from 1529 on, were reinforced by the Council of Trent through two decrees. In 1547, in addition to the cura animarum, the fathers instructed the bishops to “visit the churches yearly, even those that were exempt, and to provide them with the convenient means foreseen by law”. This instruction was subsequently extended: at the twenty-first Session of the same General Meeting held in 1562, the Bishop was additionally required to “visit the monasteries that did not fall under secular rule and to provide them with the funds necessary for renovation and repair.” With regard to lay patronage, another disposition enacted by the Council of Trent in 1562 (twenty-first session), concerned the necessity of adequate conservation of ecclesiastic facilities. It decreed that “further to the churches own rents, the necessary works of conservation and restoration were to be undertaken with the support of patrons or, when this was not forthcoming, with the help of the parishioners”. Before, in 1551, the right of patronage had been limited to those secular and ecclesiastic individuals who had founded or sponsored the construction of a new church, chapel or had conveniently endowed an already constructed religious establishment that lacked economic resources.

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64 ROBERTSON, Claire, Il Gran cardinale: Alessandro Farnese, p. 175-176.
65 Council of Trent, Seventh Session (3 March 1547), Chapter IX, p. 59.
66 Council of Trent, Twenty-first Session (16 July 1562), Chapter VIII, p. 141-140.
67 Council of Trent, Fourteenth Session (25 November 1551), Chapter XII, p. 113.
Additional provisions for funding ecclesiastical buildings in India can also be traced in the legislation for the Archdiocese of India. The Decree 27 of the Third Session of the First Council of the Province of Goa (1567) ordered alms to be exclusively employed for the construction and the decoration of churches, or in cases of necessity, for the repair of chapels. In addition to recognising abuses, this decree reaffirms a common practice of sponsoring Catholic art in Goa from the early years. In line with the aforementioned decree enacted by the Twenty-fourth Session of the Council of Trent, the Fifth Chapter of the Constitutions of the Archdiocese of Goa declared that the cleric should assure that any new edifice was in possession of sufficient funds for its maintenance. The construction of any new church, monastery, chapel or altar had to be expressly authorised by the Archbishop. If visitors noticed a state of disrepair in any chapels, they should provide for its repair at the expense of lay patrons, and even impose a penalty on them.

The system of the Portuguese patronage of the Orient determined that all work was only to be undertaken with royal permission. In its origin, the bull Romanus Pontifex (1455) transferred to D. Afonso V, the King of Portugal, and to Infant D. Henrique, in his role as the Vicar of the Order of Christ, the right to found churches, monasteries and other pious places, and to send missionaries with the due powers of

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68 “Por o Concilio ser informado que algumas pessoas se queixão do grande numero de petitórios, que nesta Provincia há, (...), ordena que não haja caixinhas, com que se pede poras portas, das confrarias situadas em as igrejas matrizes, nem ermidas, e somente fiquem as das igrejas curadas, pêra ajuda da fabrica, e se em alguma hermida se fizerem as obras necessárias, fique-lhe a caixinha em quanto durarem as tais obras. (First Council of the Archdiocese of Goa (1567), Third Session, Decree 27, p. 379.)

69 “Posto que per direito está prohibido que ninguem alevante altar, nem faça nem edifique ygreja, mosteiro nem ermita, sem licence & authoridade do prelado: (...), & sem primeiro ser dotada de dote. Nas quais ermidas averá altar nem concertado, imagem ou retavolo, toalhas, & tudo à custa de quem o edificar ou de quem a isso for obrigado. E nossos visitadores, quando forem visita, proveerem sempre as ditas ermidas: & as que não acharem da sobredita maneira concertadas, as mandarem concertar á custa de quem direito for, condemnando os culpados nas penas que justo & bem lhes parecer.” (First Constitution for the Archdiocese of Goa (1568), Fifth Chapter, p. 676.)
ministries. The Portuguese Crown, in its function as Protector and Propagator of the Catholic faith, was empowered to found new settlements and was simultaneously to guarantee the upkeep of the colonial ecclesiastical structures, both in terms of human resources and as to the material structure. In exchange, it had to defray the costs of the construction, conservation, and embellishment of all missionary buildings. In this context, the bull *Aequum Reputamus* (1534) is particularly explicit with regard to the duties of the Crown in financing the body of personnel and the needs of cult in all the dioceses. This document handed the responsibility for the completion of the construction of the Cathedral of Goa and the conservation of all churches, chapels and monasteries and extant pious institutions over to the Viceroy. The financial involvement of the Portuguese Crown with the missionary enterprise was certainly considerable as the best and greatest part of the State was in the hands of the religious orders. It comprised tithes, grants, pensions and other payments made from the general funds of the royal exchequer through subsidies in lands, rents, and both direct and indirect subventions, such as fiscal taxes and fines.

Nonetheless, the financial effort of the Crown always proved insufficient. By perusing the official religious and non-religious sources, it can undoubtedly be affirmed that, in addition to the emergent noble class of colonial administrators, who held the

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73 For instance, in 1571, D. Sebastião ordered that the money resulting from the sale of the confiscated goods be used for the construction of the new Cathedral in Goa. (*Royal law determining that the construction of the Cathedral be paid by part of the money resulting from the sale of the confiscated objects, Almeirim, 16 January 1571*, in "APO", fasc. V, p. 736-737, and WICKI, Joseph, *Das portugiesische Padroado in Indien*, p. 283.)
most prestigious and, potentially, the most lucrative posts in the Portuguese empire and the increasing commercial groups, lay patronage in Goa also relied upon both male and female confraternities. Indeed, all churches had at least one confraternity. Some were created to foster a certain devotion whereas the second type was mainly instituted to finance the construction of new churches and assure their upkeep and repair. In addition, most significant patronage emanated from the neophytes. Their sponsorship was usually expressed in the form of manual labour and donations of land and money. Other times, the native population was obliged to pay tributes to the Portuguese. Moreover, the Crown also used goods from the military conquest to sponsor the construction and upkeep of Catholic buildings.

The immense effort in construction and decoration undertaken in Goa was only possible through the massive employment of local builders, masons, plasterers and other craftsmen and artists. The fact is that the importation of retablos and pictures had drastically reduced by the middle of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the Portuguese laymen living in the Orient were mostly soldiers or merchants and were very reluctant

74 The Igreja de S. Pedro (1542-1543) on the Island of Goa had five confraternities. (SALDANHA, Manuel José Gabriel de, História de Goa (política e arqueológica), New Delhi, Madras, 1990, vol. II, p. 21)

75 "Duas maneiras de confraria á neste arcebispo, humas que somente foram instituidas para honra & louvor do sancto da confraria, (...) Otras foram ordenadas para o sobredito, & principalmente para se fazerem as igrejas & terem conta com o repairo & necessario para ellas." (Constitution for the Archdiocese of Goa (Title 19, on the confraternities and its members), p. 654-655.)

76 For instance, an instruction by Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco (Head of the Treasury Department) dated 1541 ordered the transference of the rents of the Hindu temples, which had previously been destroyed on the Island of Goa, to the Catholic Church. Among other aspects, these additional funds were to be employed in the conservation of and construction of chapels. This provision was extended to Bardez and Salsete in 1569. (Instruction by Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco, Goa, 28 and 30 June 1541, in "DI", vol. I, p. 768-769, and Instruction by D. Sebastião, King of Portugal, concerning the former rents of the Hindu temples on the lands of Bardez and Salsete, Almeirim (Portugal), 21 March 1569, in "DI", vol. VIII, p. 3-9.)

77 Instruction by D. Francisco Coutinho, Viceroy of India, on behalf of D. Sebastião, King of Portugal, on the construction of the Cathedral, in "Documentação", vol. IX, p. 77; Afonso de Albuquerque to D.
to take on any kind of manual work, thus contributing to the chronic scarcity of European craftsmen necessary to cope with the large amount of secular and religious enterprises that were in course in the Portuguese colonies. However, numerous highly-skilled craftsmen, who were organised into hereditary castes, lived in Goa. In India, in particular the smiths and the architects or sutrashara (the latter were normally Brahmans), were highly considered since immemorial times. In spite of the fact that I was unable to trace any reference concerning Goa, it shall be said that an abundant and heterogeneous tradition literature on architecture and on sculpture (silpa sastras) was accessible to Indian artists.

The Portuguese did not hesitate to use the services of the Goan artists so that their activity dates from the first period after its conquest. This work was often deemed “incomparably better” than that of the Europeans. The Portuguese rated the local artists so highly that they commissioned pictures and other objects for other Indian cities from them. This was the case of a commission made by a Portuguese to the Goan painters to depict various paintings representing the stories of the Bible. They also sent various

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78 “Asimesmo se devem embiar poços coadutores, aunque es bueno que vengan algunos oficiales como pintores, carpinteros, boticarios, architectos un otros desta suerte, (...): porque éstos y otros semejantes oficiales ayudan mucho a esta Provincia, porque destos tales no entran aqui ningunos, por los portugueses no usaren en la India destos oficios mecánichos mas son todos soldados y mercaderes, y en toda esta Provincia hai mucha falta de semejantes Hermanos.” (VALIGNANO, Alessandro, *Summarium Indicum (changed)*, Shimo (Japan), August 1580, in “DI”, vol. XIII, p. 254-255)


80 “Declarando nos os mysterios da fee aos christaos desdo principio do mundo, ordenerao de fazerem pintar tudo em panos, e para isso mandaram homem portuguez, o qual esteve alguns meses a Goa fazendo pintar estas imagens desdo principio do mundo até o dia de juizo, os mysterios que entemeyo passaron.” (Henrique Henriques to Ignatius of Loyola. Cochin, 27 January 1552, in “DI”, vol. II, p. 308)
artists to Portugal from the first decades of the sixteenth century onwards. The inhabitants of the conquered lands were compelled to build or reconstruct the damaged churches, on various occasions. However, the local artists were usually rewarded for their services.

In the Middle Ages, the legend flourished in Europe, according to which the Apostle Saint Thomas had gone to India in order to construct churches. If Saint Thomas, the Apostle of the Indies, has interceded for the conversion of the masons and carpenters, Mary committed herself with the conversion of painters. Her intention was that sacred pictures would depict devotion and decency in India. For that reason, the Virgin Mary appeared in a vision to the "mocadan" (chief) of the painters. These two curious statements call my attention to the importance that the Catholics attributed to the correct representation of all religious art, including that in India. This matter was so important for the clerics in Goa that they attributed the conversion of various guilds of artists in 1559 and in 1560 to the intercession of Holy persons. But, in a letter written by

81 AZEVEDO, Carlos, Arte cristão na Índia Portuguesa, p. 101.

82 Just to give an example, after the Portuguese conquered the city of Coulan, they obliged the local rulers to sponsor the reconstruction of the destroyed church of Saint Thomas in the place where it had stood before, and to ensure the former lands and rents. (Peace treaties between Governor Lopo Soares and the Queen and other rulers of Coulan, Coulan, 25 November 1516, in "Documentação", vol. I, p. 285).

83 For instance, in 1545 Vicar General Miguel Vaz informed D. João III that the "mocadan" (chief) of the painters was making a very good living by painting retables for the churches of India and for the Portuguese households. (Report on the state of the missions by General Vicar Miguel Vaz, Goa, end of 1545, in "DI", vol. I, p. 86.)


85 “Se S. Tomé intercedede pela conversão dos pedreiros e carpinteiros, a Mãe de Deus se empenhou em converter os pintores, para que ouvesse na India quem pintasse com devocao e decencia as suas imagens. Já começou em S. Lucas esta inclinacao da Senhora. Apparece pois a Virgem Santissima ao Mocadão dos pintores, pedindo ao Menino que trazia nos braos adimtisse aquelle homem à sua graça. Annuhiu o Menino à supplica, & a Senhora disse ao pintor que fosse receber o Bautismo.” (SOUZA S. J., Francisco, Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa, Porto, 1979, p. 157.)
the Jesuit Luis Fróis and dated 1559, it is written that the “mocadan” of the painters, who had promised to become a Christian long ago, and who had received many privileges from the former governors and viceroys, had finally been baptised in that year. It is also on record that both the “mocadan” and the “coirman” (the second figure in importance after the “mocadan” in the hierarchy of all professional groups in India) of the goldsmiths had received the sacrament of Baptism at that time. Almost all the caste followed their chief. One year later, the Goan masons and quarrymen were baptised at the Church of Saint Thomas. At least in Jesuit sources, these conversions were mainly due to the efforts of the Jesuits as they profited to catechise the natives, whom they employed as artists in the Jesuit buildings.

Generally speaking, the authorities were afraid that idolatrous artists might introduce and disseminate false elements in the “representation of the most sacred mysteries”. King João III himself tried hard to fight this “noxious” habit of Hindus painting images of Our Lord and of other saints and selling them from door to door. With this view in mind, he issued a decree establishing harsh punishments, such as being beaten and having all their goods confiscated, for anyone who disobeyed. In

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87 “Nesse mesmo dia à tarde, em que chegou com esta gente (19th June) o Padre Josepfo Ribeiro, se fez depois do jantar hum solene bautizmo em que se bautizarão quasi todos os mocadöes e mestres de pedreiros que avia nesta cidade ou nesta ilha de Goa, com suas familias. Os mais delles induzio para este efecto o Irmão Antonyo Diaz, que tem cuidado das obras materiaes desta igreja nova que se aqui faz, pollos conversar e falar com elles muitas vezes.” (Annual Letter of the Province of India, Goa, 13 November 1560), in “Documentação”, vol. VIII, p. 330-331.)

88 “E porque não he conveniente que os officiaes gentios fundão, pintem ou lavrem (com até agora se lhes permitio) imagens e figuras de Christo Senhor Nosso, nem de seus sanctos para venderem; mandamos que ponhais toda a deligencia em o impedir, pondo penas que o que se provar que fez alguma imagem das sobreditas, perca sua fazenda e se lhe dem duzentos açoutes, porque sem duvida parecerão muito mal imagens que representão mysterios tão sanctos, andarem por mãos de idolatras gentios.” (Instruction by D. Joao III on the Christianity in India, Almeirim(Lisboa), 8 March 1546, in “Documentação”, vol. III, p. 320).
1588, Dom Duarte de Menezes, at that time the Viceroy of India, levied an increasing scale of fines upon the non-converted artists who tried to evade the prohibition. They would have to pay a fine of fifty pardaos (15,000 reis) for a first offence. The fine would be doubled if they relapsed. The penalty for not complying a third time was being sentenced to the galleys for life.89 Hand in hand with these measures, the local authorities issued various prescriptions or laws to prevent Catholic agents from entrusting “Gentile” artists with the production of sacred art. For instance, at the First and Third Councils of the Province of India, it was decreed that no Christian should order Gentiles to depict images or produce any kind of object that would be used in churches whereas a provision by Viceroy D. Francisco da Gama, Conde da Vidigueira, on behalf of the King Filipe II, forbade the Christians, probably meaning the Christian natives, to learn their jobs among Gentiles.90 Nevertheless, the production of Catholic art continued to be largely due to Gentile artists whose employment for the production of Catholic art was forbidden. In spite of the two mass baptisms of artists (1559-1560) and all the prohibitions enacted by the First and the Third Councils and of the laws passed by the governors, the priests meeting at the Fifth Council had to recognise that the monasteries and private houses in India were full of images depicted or engraved by the non-converted artists.91

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89 Provision by D. Duarte de Menezes, Viceroy of India, Goa, 8 January 1588, in “APO”, fasc. 5, p. 1660-1661.

90 First Council of the Archdiocese of India (1567), Second Session, Decree 28, p. 358-359, Third Council of the Archdiocese of India (1585), p. 214-215 and BFUP, Livro das Monções, nr. 93, D. Francisco da Gama, Viceroy of India, on behalf of Filipe II, King of Portugal, forbidding the Christians to learn artistic disciplines with the Gentiles, Goa, 1598, fl. 391.

3.2 The sacred character of churches (indulgences and relics)

There is nothing new in the observation that, in the history of the Catholic Church, the concession of indulgences has been a favourite means of increasing the faith of the Catholics and gaining new believers. It should be recalled here that the Council of Trent reasserted the power of the Catholic Church to grant indulgences. The effectiveness of both relics and indulgences derived from the fact that they constituted one of the few possibilities of adapting church resources to the most remote and forgotten parts of the world. Linking this subject of indulgences to the Indian context let me refer to Sebastião Gonçalves’ synthesis of the main indulgences conceded by the Papacy to the Orient, as well as to the visitors to the Goan churches and other religious houses. The Bull Sancta Romana, 14th October 1567 by Pious V granted ten years of indulgences to people who, at Christmas and at Easter, had confessed and had visited the churches that had been rebuilt or built on the orders of the Archbishop. The visitors to these buildings on the day of the Annunciation and at Corpus Christi would be rewarded with an indulgence of seven years. At the insistence of King D. Philip, Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) dispensed on the 30 October 1600 plenary indulgence to all visitors to the parish churches of the cities and villages in any diocese in India at Christmas, at Easter and on the days of the Holy Spirit, of the Ascension and of the Assumption. Visitors to the Cathedral of Goa or the people who participated in the procession on the day of its patroness, Saint Catherine (the 11th November), would benefit from the remission of their sins during the following twenty years.

92 Council of Trent, Twenty-Fifth Session (4 December 1563), Chap. XXI, p. 253.


94 “Concedeo o papa Clemente octavo, a instancia d’el-rey Dom Felippe, a trinta de Outubro de 1600, por espaço de vinte annons, indulgencia plenária a todos os fieis que na India visitarem as igrejas paroquiais das cidades e villas de qualquer bispado nos dias do Nascimento, da Ressurreição, do
Reverence for the bodily remains of saints or other holy people is inherent to their veneration. The presence of saints’ bodies and of their relics sanctifies a site. Through the accumulation of sacred bodies or their bodily relics and contact relics (personal objects and objects touched or used by the saints), the church mediates the dispensation of grace in the form of indulgences and miracles that touch the visitors because the real divine power is transferable to their relics. Goa perfectly fits this pattern of holiness. The Portuguese were particularly devoted to relics. Sources often refer to the miraculous power of relics, for instance, during shipwrecks. The local priests constantly demanded relics from the Papacy and the arrival of relics was commemorated with solemn processions. First quality relics, those associated with the Virgin Mary and Christ (doc. 5) are said to have been kept in Goa. In particular, by having the body of Saint Francis Xavier, the most distinguished missionary of the time, and the bodily remains of the five Jesuits martyred on Salsete of Goa in 1583, Goa played more than a fringe role in the definition of the itineraries of sanctity during the Early Modern Period. The news of the canonisation of Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Avila, Isidore of Seville, Philip Neri and Francis Xavier arrived in Goa in 1623. One year later, all catholic agents there celebrated with great magnificence the canonisation of Ignatius and Xavier and the latter was declared as the patron saint of Goa. Indeed,

95 “All 11, come dissi di sopra, stavamo in ditto Cavo (Cape of Good Hope): si levò in subito (...), essendo così ol solito, una tormenta tanto crudele che veniva il mare come una montagna sopra della nostra nave. (...) Lansamo Agnus Dei con altre reliquie de Santi nel mare, cessando in un subito la tormenta, restando la gente meravigliata, perché quasi in un subito si mutò il vento in popa.” (Niccolò Spinola to Everard Mercurian, Goa, 26 October 1578, in “Di”, vol. XI, p. 312.)

the local community of priests was well aware that the area was a privileged arena of sainthood, when they officially exhorted all clerics to inquire into the lives of the possible martyrs in the Province of India and send the information gathered to the Pope”.97

In addition to fostering the cult of saints, the Post-Tridentine Church made a serious attempt to keep saint-making under a firm hand. In brief, a more cautious attitude towards the imputation of sainthood evolved. It was intended to avoid the cult of saints, who were not officially approved by the Roman curia. From the decree of the Twenty-Fifth Tridentine Session (1563) to the Decrees by Urban VIII (1623-1644), Rome increasingly fostered the centralisation of the power to confer sainthood and to ban the public cult of persons who had not been canonised. In this sense, reference must also be made to the Revised Roman Breviary (1631), which was the first standard calendar of Saints that was valid for the whole Church, but mainly includes a shorter version of the offices to recite on saints’ days, and to the definitive version of the “Roman Martyrology” (the annotated record of the saints and martyrs arranged calendrically), published in 1584 and accompanied by a bull determining its exclusive use throughout the world.98

97 “Vendo esta Sagrada Synodo a mercê, que Deos Nosso Senhor faz a esta Provincia em haver dado, e ir dando continuamente muitos, que morrem pela verdade de Christo nosso Senhor, (...), ordena, e manda que tanto que os Prelados chegam às suas Igrejas, façam diligente inquirição dos martyres, que padecerão pela fé nos termos das suas dioceses, e do que acharem façações autênticas procurando saber, quanto for possível, das circunstâncias do martyrio, tempo, lugar, e sob que tirano, (...), e possam ser mandados ao Santissimo Papa.” (Third Council of the Archdiocese of Goa (1585). Third session, Decree 5, in “APO”, vol. IV, p. 224.)

As regards India, the Fourth Council of the Archdiocese of Goa (1599) revoked the decree that had been enacted by the Second Council (1583), which had authorised local cults that were not yet included in the Roman Breviary. Later on, the Sixth Decree of the Third Session of the Fifth Council (1605) widened the span of the above decree. This latter decree determined that no cult should be given to people who had not yet been neither canonized nor blessed. The public exhibition of their relics was forbidden. Their bodies could be exhibited in decent places, and high tombs, but not in chapels, oratories or chapels honouring them. Nor could their images be carried during processions or put on the altars. In spite of this prohibitive legislation, these decrees clearly testify to the existence of non-authorised peripheral cults in Goa, something that was un-canonical.

On the account of frequent attacks by the local Hindu inhabitants, the first buildings constructed for the Portuguese were small, weak structures that could be dismantled and re-constructed easily and quickly. They were made of mud and straw walls and thatched with dry coconut leaves or straw. If the statement by Francisco de Sousa is correct, it was even forbidden to construct churches in stone in the first years. Only in 1579 did Governor Fernão Teles de Menezes revoke this law and order that the churches should be built in stone and covered with lime. However, the first permanent stone buildings

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99 Second Council of the Archdiocese of India (1583), Fourth Session, p. 165-166 and Fourth Council of the Archdiocese of India (1599), Second Session, Decree 14, p. 199.

100 Fifth Council of the Archdiocese of India (1606), Third Session, Decree 6, in “APO”, p. 225.

101 “A igreja parrochial, da obrigação de V. A., oje em dia está coberta de palha, (...)” (Miguel Vaz to João III, King of Portugal, Goa, end of 1545, in “DI”, vol. I, p. 87.)

102 “Publicadas as pazes (1579), voltarão os Padres, & os Christãos para Salcete com ordem do Conde Viso-Rey, para não levantarem mais de duas, ou três Igrejas, (...), & que nos lugares das Igrejas antigas se fabricassem ramadas, nas quae se pudesse dizer missa nos Domingos e dias santos. O fim desta ordem era tirar a matéria ao fogo dos inféis, se outra vez nos tornassem a fazer guerra. Durou esta prohibição até o tempo do Governador Fernão Telles de Menezes, que a revogou, & ordenou aos Padres fizessem muitas Igrejas de pedra, & cal, & muito Formosas.” (SOUSA, Francisco, Oriente
were built as early as 1521. They were built in the local red laterite stone, called kankar, which was extracted from the hills on which Old Goa stands. There was a preference for the most important civil and religious buildings to have frameworks of windows and doors, as well as columns, made of great blocks of a stone similar to granite which came from Bassein after the Portuguese had settled there in 1534. Religious and secular buildings were covered with tiles as early as the 1520s. The windows consisted of very thin flat oyster shells and other sea shells fitted into a wooden frame-work called “carepas”, a technique which had been used locally long before the arrival of the Portuguese. Quality timber, which remained popular until the twentieth century, was available in Malabar and in the Konkan, while the wood used in the construction of houses sometimes came from Bassein. Finally, stucco, made of oyster shells and of sea snails, was used both internally and externally, thus contrasting with the local reddish stone.103

On arriving in Goa, one is immediately struck by the vastness of many of the remaining churches. In India, churches had to be large enough to accommodate the people who flocked there on special occasions.104 Processions and theatre plays were performed and punctuated with temporary structures (triumphant arches, altars) and with abundance of coaches, images, tapestries and carpets in order to celebrate religious festivities and at special political and military occasions. For instance, military victories, the arrival of a new Viceroy or the death of the King were marked by imposing and

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103 ROSSA, Walter, Cidades Indo-Portuguesas, contribuições para o estudo do urbanismo português no Hindustão Ocidental, Lisboa, 1997, p. 46.

104 Della Valle believed that no other city had as many processions as Goa (Eight Letter by Della Valle from Goa, 4 of November 1624, vol. III, p. 403.)
well-attended ceremonies. The celebration of religious feasts and the performance of
theatre plays in sacred settings were even considered excessive in the course of time.
Illustrating the point, Title 20 of Constitution for the Archdiocese of India (1568)
ordered that no performance should take place in the churches or chapels without the
express authorisation of the Bishop. The Fourth Council (1606), Third Session,
Decree 3 authorised only the performance of comedies and tragedies with religious
contents inside the churches. This prescription was intended to abolish the common
practice of holding performances of profane stories. Another decree enacted by the
Fifth Council of the Province of India considered the custom of showing the Deposition
from the Cross to be as a very edifying custom. However it condemned the
representation of the other episodes of the Life of Christ.

Most Goan churches had a broad single nave in the form of the Latin cross.
Some had numerous side chapels along the aisles. This disposition reminds us of the
Portuguese Mannerist churches, such as that of the Igreja do Espírito Santo in Évora
(begun in 1556) and the Cathedral of Portalegre (begun in 1556). At the same time, in
their design, the Goan churches under study followed a typical Post-Tridentine kind of
church which focussed, first of all, on the role of the mass. Carlo Borromeo, who

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105 For instance, the exequies of D. Sebastian were celebrated with great pomp in Goa in 1579. "Por el rey-
Don Sebastián, que santa Gloria aya, al qual deve mucho la Compañía destas partes, por las
Mercedes y favores que hizo a los colegios dellas, se hizieron las exequias de la clerizia, religiosos,
personas nobles, populares, christianos e infieles." (António Monserrate to General Everard
Mercuriano, Goa, 26 October 1579, in "DI", vol. XI, p. 661.).

106 "E assi mandamos que se não façam nas igrejas ou ermidas representações, ainda que sejam da paixão
de nosso redempior ou de sua ressurreição ou nacença, de dia nem de noite sem nossa especial
licença, (...)." (Constitution for the Archdiocese of India, Title VIII, in "DI", vol. XI, p. 665-666.)

107 Fifth Council of the Archdiocese of Goa (1606), Third Session, Decree 60, p. 251.


109 TAVARES CHICÓ, Mário, Aspects of the religious art of Portuguese India, Architecture and Gilt
interpreted the architectural implications of the Council's rulings in his *Instructionum fabricae* (1577), considered single nave churches to be the best church plan because they enabled large congregations to hear and see the priest. Moreover, side chapels were increasingly used for the simultaneous celebration of both public and private masses. Underlying this, the regular celebration of Mass remains the central act of worship for Modern Catholicism. Sunday mass that was celebrated in Rome as early as 1516 was further encouraged in September 1562 by the Council of Trent at its Twenty-second Session, in which the assembly reaffirmed and explained the sacrificial character of the mass. The private mass was also reasserted, as, in contrast to the attitude of the Protestants, there is no essential difference between public and private masses for the Catholics. Narrowing the focus down to the Indian context, attendance at mass seems to have been so popular that the Constitution for the Archdiocese of India had to impose some discipline on the ritual. Masses were celebrated in churches that were not parish churches on Sundays and feast days, a practice that was forbidden by the Sacred Council of Trent. For this reason, the Constitutions issued orders to assure that, on these occasions, the liturgy was only celebrated in parish churches and in monasteries, under a monetary penalty. A ban was further imposed on the custom of celebrating mass at night. The Christmas mass was the only exception allowed.

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110 MARTINELLI, Massimo, and DELLA TORRE, Stefano (ed.), *Instructionum fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae libri 2 Caroli Borromei*, p. 13.


114 "Em todas as visitações achamos seguirese grandes desordens de se dizerem missas nos Domingos &
Secondly, the construction of large churches with various side chapels was also related to a missionary strategy that was widely diffused in Goa: the practice of mass baptisms, during which up to nine hundred people are said to have been baptised during one single ceremony.\textsuperscript{115} Mass baptisms began in Goa in 1557 with the Jesuits and were very popular until the beginning of seventeenth century when the Fifth Congregation of the Province of India (1606) limited the number of catechumens to a maximum of a hundred people at one time.\textsuperscript{117} In the prescribed order of performing mass baptisms, the catechumens, together with their godfathers and other people, entered the church in solemn procession. Then, they divided into smaller groups and went towards the various altars, where short ceremonies of Baptism simultaneously took place.\textsuperscript{118}

The First Council of the Archdiocese of India at its first session “On the Affirmation of the Faith” and the Second Title of the Goan Constitutions “On the sacraments” adopted the Tridentine reaffirmation of the seven sacraments as signs of holy things and as necessary sources of salvation (there is no salvation without the

\begin{verbatim}

festas de guarda for a das ygrejas parochaes: ao qual querendo prover conforme ao sancto concilio, mandamus que nenhum sacerdote diga missa nos taes dias em qualquer ygreja que não for parochial ou mosteiro, sob pena de suspensao (...), pagará pela primeira vez cinco pardoas pera o dito meirinho e, & deahi adiante pagará segundo o pareçer do vigário.” (Constitution for the Archdiocese of Goa, in “Documentação”, vol. X, p. 577.)

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\textsuperscript{115} Constitution for the Diocese of Goa, Title, title VIII, p. 641 and Fifth Council of the Archdiocese of Goa, Third Session, Decree 55., in “APO”, fasc. 4, p. 249.


\textsuperscript{117} Fifth Council (1606), Second Session, Decree 32, in “APO”, fasc. 4, p. 220.

\textsuperscript{118} I infer from primary sources that the neophytes normally had only one godfather. In cases where the neophytes occupied high social positions (for instance, the mocadan of the artists), their godfathers were often also members of the colonial elite, including the Viceroy. Moreover, the Catholic Church was apparently more successful in imposing the Tridentine model of the ‘padrino unico’ in India than it was normally the case. (Annual Letter of the Province of India (1558), in “Documentação”, vol. VI, p. 448, and BOSSY, John, Padrine e madrine: un’istituzione sociale del Cristianesimo Popolare in Occidente, in “Quaderni Storici”, 1979, p. 447)
taking of the seven sacraments) and transposed it to the Portuguese Orient. In 1551, the participants in the third session reasserted the medieval conception that the Eucharist embodies the true presence of Christ (the so-called thesis of Transubstantiation). Simultaneously, the Catholic Church attempted to convince the faithful to receive often the Eucharist. Echoing this tendency, the First Council for the Archdiocese of India decreed that the Christians should receive the Eucharist at least once a year, under threat of Excommunication. Actually, the practice seems to have largely overlapped theory. Many Christians received it every Sunday. Up to thousand people were said to receive it on special occasions. In addition to encouraging the taking of the Eucharist, care was given to the regulation of its use. At the insistence of priests working in the Orient, Paul III changed the date of the Corpus Christi Procession (the main procession at which the Host is carried in the towns, and which was raised to the status of the major Catholic feasts Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and Assumption) in 1389, from the 24 March to the first Thursday after the Eastern Octave in order to permit its celebration in a more solemn and decent manner. Slaves and neophytes wanting to receive the

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122 “Ordenamos & mandamos que todo o fiel christão, (...), receba da mão de seus próprios priores ou curas, e não doutrem, em cada hum anno este sancto Sacramento por Paschoa, (...), e a pessoa que o não receber até dia de paschoa, ou até a dominga in albis, inclusive, por esse mesmo feito incorra em excomunhão maior.” (Constitution for the Archdiocese of Goa, p. 526)


124 Eduardo Leitão S.J. to his companions in Coimbra, Goa, 16 November 1570, in “DI”, vol. VIII, p. 325.

125 “Por quanto nesta Provincia (de Dio até o Cabo de Cumorim) se não pode celebrar a festa do Corpus
Eucharist needed the written authorisation of their confessor. The faithful were obliged to receive the Eucharist in their parish church. The Gentiles should not look at the Host during the street processions.

The legislation for the Province of India also took a stand on the contemporary concern for the provision of a suitable place in which the Eucharist could be devoutly enshrined. The reservation of the Host in a tabernacle on the main altar had first been ruled by Bishop Giberti in his 1542 ordinances for Verona. Shifting to Goa, the First Constitution for the Archdiocese of India ordered: that the Host be enshrined in places inhabited by at least thirty Portuguese. Along the same lines, the Third Council declared that the Eucharist had to be reserved with due respect, veneration and Christi com a solemnidade e decência conveniente, em o dia em que a Igreja manda celebrar, por então ser a força do Inverno; se suplicou ao Santíssimo Paulo III, de feliz memoria summo pontífice, houvesse por bem de transferir a dita festa pera outro tempo, o que Sua Santidade concedeo, e mandou que se celebrasse em a quinta-feira depois da octava de Paschoa. (First Council of the Archdiocese of Goa (1567), Third Session, Decree 2, p. 367-368.)


"Polla grande revrencia que a este sacramento sanctissimo se deve, (...) ordenamos & mandamos que nenhuma pessoa, for a dos casos conteudos na constituiçâo precedente, receba o sancto sacramento da Comunhão fora da Ygreja parochial, sem a nossa licença." (First Constitution for the Archdiocese of India (1568), Title VI, p. 535.)

"Conformando-se o Concilio com os Canones antigos, manda que os infie em o dia das Indoenças, e em todo o tempo, que se fazem procissões, em que se leva o Sancto Sacramento, não andem pella cidade, nem estem à porta, nem janelas; e encomenda aos mordomos que vão com o Sanctissimo Sacramento da Eucharistia, quando se leva aos Enfermos, que desviem aos infieis, que encontrarem de maneira que o não vejam." (First Council of the Archdiocese of Goa (1567), Session 2, Decree 33, p. 360.)

The subject of the reservation of the Sacred Host is treated in great detail by Mario Righetti in his Manuale di Storia Liturgica (RIGHETTI, Mario, Manuale di Storia Liturgica, 1964, vol. I, p. 540-545).


This practice had been common in Goa as early as 1552. (Luís Fróis to his companions in Goa, 1 December 1552, in “DI”, vol. II, p. 462 and First Constitution for the Archdiocese of India (1568), Title VII, p. 536-537.)
reverence. Consequently, it was to be exposed to public veneration only in populated towns and places.132

Hand in hand with the Post-Tridentine affirmation of Confession, a specific piece of furniture for its practice developed. The spread of the actual model of confessionals, in the form of wooden structures, which became an indispensable piece of furniture in Post-Tridentine churches, is linked to a policy to discipline ritual of Confession in Christianity. Explaining the point, numerous medieval constitutions had shared the preoccupation with regard to the female penitents and insisted on the public character of the administration of this sacrament. In particular, Bishop Matteo Giberti, in his above-mentioned constitutions of 1542, provided ample indications on the time, place and way of assuring the visual and physical separation of the confessor from women so as to hinder any possibility of physical contact between them.133 It was the opinion of Charles Borromeo that each parish should have two separate confessionals, one for men and the other for women.134 However, initially, the confessional was only compulsory for women, and this remained the case when the *Rituale Romanum* generalised its use in 1614.135

132 *Third Council of the Archdiocese of India (1585), Session 4, Decree 9*, p. 159.


134 MARTINELLI, Massimo, and DELLA TORRE, Stefano (ed.), *Instructionum fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae libri 2 Caroli Borromei*, p. 11.

Likewise, in the recently converted Asian lands, the sacrament of confession was assigned an essential role in the process of conversion: the Papacy gave special powers to the priests overseas to confess, and absolve sins, including reserved cases. All sorts of people received confession. On special occasions, such as the Jubilee, nineteen or twenty priests confessed at the same time. Often, there were insufficient priests to meet the demand for confession. Women and men were often heard one after the other and without distinction in “such inconvenient places”, such as in cloisters, the private rooms of the priests, in garden chapels in front of the main altar, and on chairs and benches in the middle of the church or even in the street. Thus, the local authorities felt compelled to discipline the ritual, also by the use of the confessional. In 1567, the First Council of Goa determined that women should be confessed in the nave or in closed confessionals located outside the chapel, and never inside the chapels. This subject was further developed by the First Constitutions of the Archdiocese. This normative text forbade priests from confessing women in the sacristy, the choir or the high Chapel as well as secretly and/or in secret places. Women should be heard in


137 “Neste jubileo, que este anno veo do Summo Pontifice Pio 4°, para se efectuar o Concilio tridentino, ouve nesta casa e por todas as outras partes da cidade, (...), grande concurso as confissões e comunhão, (...). Avia dezanove ou vinte confessores.” (Luis Fróis S. J. to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 1 December 1561, in “Documentação”, vol. VIII, p. 389.)


140 “e manda aos que confessarem molheres, as confessem ou no corpo da igreja, ou em os confessionarios cerrados, em qua ao menos o penitente fique da parte da igreja, e não em capelas ou ermidas.” (First Council of the Archdiocese of India (1567), Third Session. Decree 6, in “Documentação”, vol. X, p. 370-371.)

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places where they could be observed by everybody but heard by nobody. Thus, the confession of women should be undertaken in the nave or in closed confessional. Whenever the confessors deviated from the prescribed guidelines, they would be punished by a fine of 5 pardaos (1,500 reis).\footnote{First Constitution for the Archdiocese of Goa (1568), in "Documentação", vol. X, p. 511.} Finally, the Fifth Council made confessional with a wood or bronze railing separating the priests and the lay people compulsory.\footnote{Fifth Council of the Archdiocese of Goa (1606), Third Session, Decree 14, p. 228.}

One central feature of Humanism, as observed by John O’Malley, is that “good doctrine is related to eloquent expression”.\footnote{O’MALLEY, John, Some Renaissance Panegyrics of Aquinas, in "Renaissance Quarterly", 1972 (re-published in John O’Malley, "Rome and the Renaissance, Studies in Culture and Religion", London, 1982, p. 192.)} Indeed, to diffuse the “Word of God”, was one of the first items on the agenda of the Council of Trent. Fifth Session, Chapter II ordained that “all priests are bound, if not lawfully hindered, to preach the Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ.”\footnote{Council of Trent, fifth Session (17 June 1546), Chapter II, p. 26.} Faced with the emphasis the Protestants gave to preaching, the Catholics took steps to affirm the primacy of Catholicism through the power of oratory. As remarked by Frederic McGinness, occasions for preaching multiplied. The delivery of sermons was common during the translation of relics, funeral pomp, and processions.\footnote{MCQUINNESS, Frederic, Right Thinking and sacred oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome, Princeton, 1995, p. 50-51.} An outflow of manuals and collections of sermons in the last decades of the sixteenth century further indicates the importance of preaching in the Post-

\footnote{“E se for molher, nao a confessarao na sancristia, nem coro nem dentro da capella, nem ermida, nem em lugares segretos & apartados: porque segundo dizem os doctores, as molheres hao de ser ouvidas de confissao em lugar onde de todos possam ser vistas, & de nenhum ouvida.” (First Constitution for the Archdiocese of Goa (1568), in "Documentação", vol. X, p. 511.)}

\footnote{“Os confessionais tenham ralos, ou de pao, ou de bronze.” (Fifth Council of the Archdiocese of Goa (1606), Third Session, Decree 14, p. 228.)}
Tridentine period. Preaching was as important in Europe as it was in the Catholic Orient. During the week of Lent, priests would preach there for up to four hours and sermons were even delivered at night. As a sign of his approval of this practice, in 1567, Pius V exempted the regular orders from the Tridentine formalities when delivering sermons and hearing confessions.

The quest to be buried inside a church reaches back to the first era of Christianity. As early as the fourth century, lay people wanted to assure their salvation by being buried near the tombs of the martyrs or saints upon which many basilicas had been constructed. The commission of private tombs that visualised “the sense of family property in the dead” as marvellously defined by John Bossy, and which spread mainly from the late Middle Ages on, was soon considered excessive. The holy quality attributed to the sacred places demanded that the diffusion of tombs should be controlled. In this sense, both Bishop Giberti of Verona (1495-1543) and Archbishop Carlo Borromeo (First Council of Milan, 1565) spoke out strongly against the massive tombs that crowded the interiors of the churches, and whose profane elements (family badges and blazons) offended Christian humility. Moreover, Carlo Borromeo gave precise information on the “correct” location of private tombs. These should only be allowed inside the confines of the choir, the main chapels or even inside the minor chapels within the railings that separate the priest celebrating mass from the people.


Tombs were to remain on both sides of the nave, and their location on the opposite sides was to be in perfect correspondence with one another.\textsuperscript{149}

This was exactly the line taken by the specific legislation for the Archdiocese of Goa. The Constitutions (1568) included various decrees designed to combat the proliferation of private tombs inside churches. Chapter Six interdicted the sale of burials and tombs. Perpetual burial in the High Chapel required authorisation from the highest prelate, except in the cases where the people had a title, and were, therefore, patrons or priests of that church.\textsuperscript{150} The same text (Chapter Ten) forbade the burial of excommunicated people and of people about whom there was no absolute certainty that they had confessed and received the Eucharist in the churches, monasteries and yards in that year.\textsuperscript{151} A firm hand was also extended to the priests. Those clerics, who would bury people in sacred space, although they were not allowed to, and those clerics who were aware that they buried excommunicated people on sacred space, would be excommunicated.\textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{149} MARTINELLI, Massimo, and DELLA TORRE, Stefano (ed.),\textit{ Instructionum fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae libri 2 Caroli Borromei}, p. 133-134.

\textsuperscript{150} "outrosi mandamos que se não vendam as sepulturas, nem enterramentos (...). E porquanto nenhum pode sem o prelado dar direito de sepultura perpetua, mandamos que se não faça sem nosso especial mandado, (...). E não enterrarem na capella mor sem nossa licença, salvo a quem não tiver sepultura com título ou direito para a ter, ou for padroeiro, ou prior de tal ygreja." (\textit{Constitution for the Archdiocese of India (1568)}, Title 6, p. 636-637).

\textsuperscript{151} "Defendemos estreitamente a todos os clérigos & frades do nosso arcebispospado, que não enterrem em suas ygrejas, mosteiros & adros // dellas, os que morreram excomungado (...). E bem assim não enterrarem em sagrado, qualquer pessoa que se não acha nem prova ser confessado & comungado, ao menos nesse ano (...)." (\textit{Constitution for the Archdiocese of India (1568)}, Title 27, p. 708.)

\textsuperscript{152} "(...) contra os que enterrarem em lugar sagrado estando entredicto sendo disso sabedores, for a dos casos em direito permitido; & os que enterrarem em sagrado os publicos excomungados, (...)."

\textit{(Constitution for the Archdiocese of India (1568), Title 27, p. 725.)}
Notwithstanding this restrictive legislation, even now, the interiors of the Goan churches reflect the desire of the laity to assure their own salvation by the commission of private and familiar chapels and tombs inside the church and sacristies. These tombs mainly render visible the private patronage of the Royal Court, of statesmen and of the local wealthy and aristocratic elites, a process that can be described as the "aristocratisation" of the churches interiors. With a few exceptions (epitaphs with the names of local Christians), these tombs belonged, to a large extent, to the viceroys, their families and other lay people who ranked high in the local social and administrative hierarchy. Their chronology extends from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century.153

The question of whether or not images are proper objects in the service of a cult was one of the liveliest points at issue between Protestant and Catholic historians. The Protestants demanded the abolition of external acts of cult. By contrast, they encouraged private adoration. Their programme included the restriction of sacred images if not the elimination of pilgrimages and other ritual honouring them, such as kissing, touching and kneeling before them. Luther accepted the use of images to foster piety but he attacked the Catholic conception of images as instruments to encourage the cult of saints. In a decisively more radical way, the Swiss reformer Zwingli was of the opinion that images, by being sensitive objects, incited men to idolatry. For this reason, he argued that images as all elements of lavish ceremonial should be kept away from churches.154 In their official response to these attacks, the famous Twenty-fifth Decree


of the last Session of the Council of Trent reaffirmed the lawfulness of sacred images. Christian images, like relics, incarnate the Divine or saintly nature of the prototype they represent. The believer venerates and worships God and the Saints represented, but not the images themselves.155 Similar to its European model, the legislation for Asia (First Decree of the First Council of the Archdiocese of Goa, and Chapter X and XI of the Diocesan Synod of Diamper (1599) first justified the cult of saints, and, then, considered the veneration of both relics and images as a natural consequence.156

Gregory the Great (590-604) was perhaps one of the first churchman to recognise a didactic or instructive value in the images of worship when he wrote:

"For pictures are placed into churches so that those who cannot read might at least read by seeing on the walls what they are unable to read in books".157

The Council of Trent also defended the high didactic or instructive value of images when it called for the bishops to educate the faithful through images, as follows:

"And the bishops shall carefully teach this: by means of the stories of the mysteries of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations,

155 "That the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other Saints, are to be had and retained, particularly in churches, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them; not that any divinity, or virtue is believed to be in them on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them; or that trust is to be reposed in images, as was done of old by the Gentiles who placed their hope in idols; but because the honour which is shown in them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent; so that by the images which we kiss and before which we uncover our heads and prostrate ourselves we adore Christ, and we venerate the Saints whose likeness they bear." (Council of Trent, Twenty-Fifth Session (4 December 1563), On the invocation, veneration, and relics of saints, and on sacred images, p. 214-215.)


the people are instructed and confirmed in the habit of remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith”.\textsuperscript{158}

In other words, images were considered indispensable instruments in the education of the faithful, turning complex theology and dogma into programmes which were easily interpretable by all, as well as inciting the common people to piety and devotion. This conception of the didactic value of images for worship undoubtedly had far reaching implications in the Indian overseas missions. The growing use that the priests made of images in these areas, in which the great majority of the people did not speak or even understand the language of the “rulers”, also stemmed from the ideal of “Bildung”. In fulfilling the Tridentine mandate to circulate images, the missionaries created ingenious ways to manipulate images, rosaries and similar objects. When they set sail, they took with them engravings, paintings and statuettes depicting sacred subjects in great numbers. In their missionary activities, through translators, they explained to the local people about the holy people whom the images represented, the correct forms of veneration and the correct respect in which to hold those sacred persons.\textsuperscript{159} They frequently showed images, sculptures and banners illustrating the passages they were going to read or using them as an introduction to the liturgical rituals (baptism, confession) taking place afterwards as they noticed that the natives very fascinated by them. Finally, they distributed great quantities of images among the

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\textsuperscript{158} Council of Trent, Twenty-Fifth Session, On the Invocation, Veneration of saints, p. 216.

\textsuperscript{159} “Declaravam-lhes os Irmãos primeiro pelos interpetres, que para isto tinham, o que significavão aquelas figuras, a maneira que as avião de adorar e o acatamento e respeito que lhe avião de ter.” (Luis Frôis to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 8 December 1560, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 797-798). (See also WICKI, Joseph, Jesuitenmaler und-bildhauer in Indien im 16. Jahrhundert, p. 32.)
\end{flushleft}
local Christians, in the hope that they would use them in order to convert their relatives
and acquaintances.160

With regard to iconography, a first general contention that can be made is that a
rich and varied programme evolved in Goa. It captured both traditional cults and the
Early Modern ones. To a great extent, Early Modern hagiography included cults that
originated in the Orient (Francis Xavier, the Martyrs of Salsete, the Martyrs of Japan),
as well as in other colonial areas, as, for example, Our Lady of Guadalupe. Among the
traditional iconographies, pride of place goes to the representations of Our Lady.
Converted females in Goa and other Portuguese missions shared a particular veneration
for the images of the Virgin Mary. For instance, strong devotion was given to the image
of Our Lady of Rosary at the village of Navelim, due to the miraculous powers
attributed to her.161 Intercession to the relics of the Blessed Virgin Mary was particularly
successful in childbirth, and the local women often went to churches in order to
contemplate the images of the Virgin Mary.162 Furthermore, the converted women
showed great curiosity for the meaning of these images.163 At this point, I shall argue
that the local authorities did their utmost to encourage the veneration of Mary, first of
all, by commissioning the construction of Marian churches, as well as assuring their
upkeep. Illustrating the point, two of the first four parish churches were devoted to

160 D’COSTA, Anthony, The Christianisation of the Goa Islands, p. 184. 1953

161 “Ha esta Senhora de muita devoção, demuito conceito, enovenas principalmente na cidade de Goa por
nella acharem remedios vários exemplos de milagres.” (ARSI, Goa 33.11, Annual Letter of the
Province of Goa (1623), fl. 721.)

162 “(...) as molheres mostram muita devoção a Nossa Senhora, vão muitas à igreja ver sua imagem, e isto
que vem a olho faz nelas muita empreção, e quadra-lhes muito declarar-lhes o que significam as
imagens, (...)” (Sebastião Fernandes to António Quadros, Tongue 24 June 1560, in “Documenta
Indica”, vol. IV, p. 566.)

163 “(...) as molheres mostram muita devoção a Nossa Senhora, vão muitas à igreja ver sua imagem, e isto
que vem a olho faz nelas muita empreção, e quadra-lhes muito declarar-lhes o que significam as
imagens, (...)” (António Fernandes to António Quadros, Tongue, 24 June 1560, in “DI”, vol. IV, p.
566.)
Mary, to *Nossa Senhora da Luz* and to *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* respectively. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when he visited Goa, Laval observed that most churches and chapels in Goa honoured the Virgin Mary.\(^{164}\) Before, in 1567, the participants in the First Council of Goa (Decree 13 of the First Session) made the following remark:

> "São edificadas em algumas partes destas províncias mais casas de Nossa Senhora do que são as festas que a Igreja lhe celebra pelo ano, (...)" (there are more houses in this Province honouring the Blessed Virgin Mary than the feasts celebrating her annually).\(^{165}\)

This curious statement can implicitly indicate that some of these churches were dedicated to Marian cults which were not yet official. Finally, in 1596, the Archbishop officially recognised the primacy of the *Igreja de Nossa Senhora das Neves* over the other churches in Salsete when he designated it as the repository of the Holy Sacrament.\(^{166}\)

Among the traditional cults that were especially fostered in Goa, a word must be said about angelic intercession. A solemn procession on the Day of the Guardian Angel took place in Goa from the first half of the sixteenth century onwards, and, in 1619, the Blessed Sacrament was placed on the altar of the new cathedral on the feast of the

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\(^{164}\) "(...) et il y a force autres églises et paroisses, la pluspart dédiées à Notre Dame." (*Voyage de Pyrard de Laval*, vol. II, p. 579.)


\(^{166}\) "Ordenou o Arcebispo que se tivesse o Sanctissimo Sacramento na igreja publicamente.) (*Annual Letter of the Province of India (1596)*, in "DI", vol. XVIII, p. 662.)
Due to the fact that the Archangel Saint Michael was the object of great religious fervour in Salsete, a church honouring him was built at the village of Orlim in 1568. Moreover, angels were a frequent and distinctive ornament in the decorative programmes of the façades and interiors of the Goa churches.

Unsurprisingly, cults and iconography in Goa borrowed from the devotions and iconographies made popular by all the orders present there. In this sense, all orders reserved a special place for Saints and Martyrs from their own community. Cycles representing the martyrdom of the members of the various orders were a favourite subject in the decoration of the cloisters.

The wealth of certain devotions owes much to the fact that Goa was a Portuguese territory. In this sense, the success of the Marian devotion in Goa probably relates to its previous success in Portugal. The worship of the Virgin Mary (the majority of the shrines of pilgrimage were dedicated to her) had proliferated in Portugal during the Middle Ages. As a matter of interest, D. Afonso Henriques already invoked “Santa Maria” as “Queen” and special Intercessor of Portugal. The identification of Portugal as “Terra de Santa Maria” (Land of the Holy Mary) spread thus from the beginning of the foundation of the State. Indeed, as in Portugal, the spread of a certain cult and


169 For instance, the cloisters of the Augustian convent, of the Franciscan Convent and of the Dominican convent were decorated with the admirable scenes of martyrdom. (SALDANHA, História de Goa, p. 76 and FONSECA, José Nicolau, An Historical and Archaeological sketch of the city of Goa, p. 312).

iconography of Saint Catherine. This cult was introduced in Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque. To be precise, in 1511, he decided that the Cathedral of Goa should be named after Saint Catherine since he had conquered the city of Goa on the day of this Saint and Martyr.\footnote{FONSECA, José Nicolau, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological sketch of the city of Goa}, p. 193.}

Fig. 45: Garcia Fernandes, Deposition of Saint Catherine (before 1540), Cathedral’s Sacristy, Goa

Representations of Saint Francisco Xavier, Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Jerome, identified by their names and accompanied by royal arms were engraved in relief at the juncture of the three buttresses of the fortress of Daman.\footnote{“No ângulo dos três baluartes S. Francisco Xavier, S. Ignacio e S. Jeronimo há a imagem de cada um dos santos em relevo, e por cima dellas as armas reaes e os seus nomes gravados ao lado.” (BOCCARRO, António, \textit{O Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental} (1635), Lisboa, 1992, p. 90.)} Political power both in Portugal and in Goa, however, had long been interested in the life and works of
Francis Xavier since shortly after his death. The definitive news, that Francis Xavier had died reached Europe between 1555 and the beginning of 1556. Shortly afterwards, D. João III, at whose Court Xavier had stayed from 1540 to 1541, officially began the process for beatification. Via the fleet sailing from Lisbon to India in 1556, he ordered Viceroy D. Pedro de Mascarenhas in India to collect truthful eyewitness accounts of the edifying actions and miracles Francis Xavier had worked in the Orient, both in vitam and post mortem.¹⁷³

The spread of the iconography of Saint Thomas the Apostle constitutes the third, but, by no means, a less interesting example of this bond between political power and the Catholic Church. To quote the Dutch traveller Hughes Linschotten, “the history of Saint Thomas was painted and installed as a perpetual memorial in many places and churches of India”.¹⁷⁴ In my opinion, this fact illustrates the serious attempt made on the part of the Crown to subjugate the Christianity of Saint Thomas to Rome.¹⁷⁵ Further to political measures, such as the organisation of the Synod of Diamper in 1599, the Crown sponsored the construction and decoration and correct conservation of many churches honouring the saint. The Portuguese church authorities built up his cult by constructing opulent shrines dedicated to the Saint, and by organising impressive


¹⁷⁵ Medieval missionary and travel accounts are full of references to Christian non-Catholic communities inhabiting the Orient. Some of these groups considered themselves descendants of people, who had been converted by the Apostle Saint Thomas. In particular, the organisation of a Council at the city of Diamper (1599) exemplifies the effort of the Portuguese political and ecclesiastic authorities to subjugate them to Rome.(Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara published the acts of this synod in the *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental, fasc. IV, 1857, Nova Goa*, p. 283-519)
celebrations in his honour.\textsuperscript{176} A particular role must be imparted to King João III and Viceroy D. João de Castro in the implementation of the cult and of the iconography of Saint Thomas the Apostle in the Orient. King D. João III extensively based his political and religious propaganda on this figure. For instance, he ordered the priests to invoke the Apostle Saint Thomas in their prayers, and a new coin sent to India in 1545 bore a representation of the same Saint. D. João de Castro attributed his military victories to the intercession to Saint Thomas. For this reason, in 1548, he organised an imposing procession in Goa in which all resident Catholic agents participated and during which an image depicting the saint was carried. In addition, he ordered that a retable with the representation of Doubting Thomas touching Christ with his finger should be placed at one of the portals of the city of Goa.\textsuperscript{177}

The splendour of both the cult and the site reflects the degree of piety and devotion of the people. Large, solid and well-decorated churches were conceived as the visual counterpart to the former shrines, as a means to compete with Hindu and other non-Catholic religious shrines. The construction of lavish imposing religious buildings would fill the emptiness that had been created in the life of the neophytes through the destruction of the temples and the prohibition of all forms of non-Catholic ceremonies.\textsuperscript{178} At the same time, the laudatory tone with which the local priests


\textsuperscript{177} CORREIA, Gaspar, Lendas da Índia, vol. IV, p. 434, and SOUSA, Francisco, Oriente Conquistado, p. 61.

\textsuperscript{178} In 1546, D. João III, King of Portugal, ordered the construction of a church on the Island of Choran. He further entrusted Governor Martim Afonso de Sousa to choose the plan and to assure the necessary majesty. His argument was that the commitment demonstrated by the Portuguese would contribute to increase the devotion of the Gentiles. Also in the same year, Father João Soares remarked that the Igreja de Nossa Senhora in Chalé, being the poorest in India, was situated among many marvellous mosques and pagodas. For this reason, this church, which had been turned into a hayloft, was the source of much comment among the Gentiles. By contrast, it was surrounded by very sumptuous and lavishly decorated mosques and temples. In order to solve this great scandal, the Catholics in India urged this church to be endowed with the necessary means to be fittingly
described the grandeur and lavishness of the local houses makes me think that this discourse was conceived to transmit the idea of the success of the missionary enterprise to readers in Europe.

3.3 The eclectic character of Catholic art in Goa

One of most interesting aspects of Goan Catholic art was its eclectic character, which extended to the creation of new forms that resulted from the blending of the European and non-European traditions, thus combining Western, Hindu and Muslim elements of styles and artistic traditions. The cylindrical turrets and the three-storeyed central bulky tower of the Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário (1543), which is the constructed, furnished and decorated. (Instruction by D. João III to Martim Afonso de Sousa, Almeirim (Lisbon), 8 March 1546, in “Documentação”, vol. III, p. 321 and João Soares to D. João III, Chalé, 20 January 1549, in “Documentação”, vol. IV, p. 240-241.)
oldest remaining church in Goa, reminds us of some churches in the Alentejo region of Portugal (for instance, the elder Cathedral of Elvas, the *Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Assunção*, which was begun in 1517.\(^{179}\)

Similarly, the two twin octagonal towers, the doorway with the cusped arch, the floral banding and armillary spheres of the doorway of the *Igreja de S. Francisco de Assis* (1520-1527), and the arms and the transept lower than the nave and the High Chapel covered by ribbed groined vaults in the *Igreja de Santo Agostinho* (1597-1602), today in ruins were elements culled from the Manueline style.\(^{180}\) The hall-churches in which aisles and nave are all of equal height; the virtual absence of cupola-crowned crossings, a preference for wooden “casked” ceilings; very deep, square ended apses, often almost tunnel like, and finally a combination of architectural sobriety with rich carved, gilded or polychrome wooded altarpieces and retables are also typical Portuguese elements.\(^{181}\)

Fig. 48: Doorway of S. Francisco de Assis (1520-1527), Goa

Fig. 49: Santo Agostinho (1597-1602), Goa

\(^{179}\) KOWAL, Martin David, *The evolution of ecclesiastical architecture in Portuguese Goa*, p. 4.

\(^{180}\) CHICÓ, Mário, *A Igreja dos Agostinhos de Goa e a arquitectura da Índia Portuguesa*, p. 235.

However, most Goan churches are in the Mannerist style of architecture which was borrowed essentially from Italian models rather than from Portuguese ones. The linear treatment and sharp rectilinear division of the façades, the doorways composed of arcs flanked by coupled columns, *occuli* (also called bull’s eye windows) make us think of Alberti, the alternation of the pilaster and window, the arched window flanked by two smaller upright windows (Serlian windows), the semicircular chapels with shell-form covering (Fig. 50) and use of the Corinthian order in the façades probably related to the diffusion of *Serlio* treatises. In addition, the visual impact of Goan buildings, including churches, is determined by the use of stucco, a material that was not yet common in Portugal, but widely used both in India and in Italy.\textsuperscript{182} Indeed, engravings showing the interiors of Roman churches with lavish stucco decoration were circulated among the missionaries.\textsuperscript{183}

\textsuperscript{182} As to what concerns the stucco decoration in Italy, more precisely, in Roman church architecture, see: KUMMER, Stephen, *Anfänge und Ausbreitung der Stuckdekoration im römischen Kirchenraum: 1500-1600*, Tübingen, 1987.

\textsuperscript{183} See note 52, p. 132.
In order to explain this Italian influence, it must be mentioned that the Italian fashion was important in Portuguese art since the middle of the 15th century. Francisco de Hollanda was the most famous Portuguese artist and theorist to hold a royal grant in Rome. Simultaneously, the Portuguese Crown excelled in borrowing the services of Italian architects at the construction of fortresses in its overseas possessions. Actually, such Portuguese painters as the celebrated Vasco Fernandes (1472-1542) and Cristovão de Figueiredo (1514-1542), who adopted a clear Italianised language circulated in the Humanistic circles. The latter had as his patron the humanist D. Miguel da Silva, who had lived for many years in Rome.

The extant Goan paintings and gold carving examples betray Flemish sources of inspiration. Indeed, the secular and regular priests of Goa often asked the King of Portugal to provide their churches and houses with retables and pictures. Unfortunately, no lists of these works have yet been traced. However retables, images and tapestries (Gobelins) destined to the Portuguese Orient were imported in great numbers from Flanders. Flemish tapestries decorated the churches on important feast days, and the images, retables and the tissues produced in China for both the private and the public

184 On Francisco de Hollanda, see: DESWARTE, Sylvie, Ideias e Imagens em Portugal na Época dos Descobrimentos, Lisboa, 1992. In order to get an overview of the Humanism in Portugal, see SILVA DIAS, José Sebastião, Os Descobrimentos e a problemática cultural do século XVI, Lisboa, 1988.


186 Vasco Fernandes depicted a Descent from the Cross (Viseu, Museu Grão Vasco) after an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi and dated 1520.

187 RODRIGUES, Dalila, Italian influences on Portuguese Painting, in K. J. P. LOWE, “Cultural links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance”, Oxford, 2000, p. 117.

188 SERRÃO, Vitor, A Pintura na Antiga Índia Portuguesa nos séculos XVI e XVII, p. 108.

The contribution of local Goan artists and craftsmen to this remarkable artistic hybridism can hardly be overestimated. It is evident in the structural and decorative aspects of this art. In order to illustrate the point, the multiplicity of floors in the façades and interiors corresponded to the Indian monumentality concept. Baked clay for roof tiles, laterite stone, termite resistant woods, like the matti, oyster and other sea-shells used for window panes, and stucco were materials that had been used prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. Stucco was widely used in India as a wall plaster and for friezes...
and architectural sculptures since the 4th century. Similarly to the artists working in other non-European missions, the Indian artists appropriated and indigenised Christian art “naturally and unofficially”. This local influence is visible in the representation of figures with Indian physical features dressed in Oriental clothes and turbans (Fig. 51), and in such typical Indian ornaments, such as the nagini (serpent nymph), which are a recurrent motive in the wood carving (Fig. 52), the Rose of Iran, rosettes, beaded garlands, and geometric motifs. It is also strong in the aesthetic language of great decorative profusion (a certain horror vacui), and in the flattening and stylisation of motives. (Fig. 53)

magnifiques, et faits par les canarin's, tant gentils que chrétiens la pluspart. Les maisons sont bâties à chaux et à sable. La chaux se fait découilles d'huîtres et de limas de mer. Le sable est de terre et non de rivière. Il les couvre de tuiles; ils n'usent pas de vitres de verre, mais se servent, au lieu, d'écaillles d'huître fort ténues et polies, qu'ils enchâssent dans du bois en forme de losangues. Cela est claire comme le châssis de papier ou des lanternes de corne, car cela n'est transparent comme le verre. Il prennent la pierre à bâtir dans l'île, mais celle dont ils font les colonnes et autres ouvrages superbes, ils la font venir de Bassein. C'est comme pierre de grain, et encore plus belle. Je n'ai point vu en ce pays de deçà des colonnes de pierre d'une pièce si grandes et longues comme celles de delà. L'entendue de leurs bâtiments est assez grande, mais avec peaux d'étages, ils les font rougir et blanchir, tant par dehors que par-dedans. Les escaliers (sont) fort larges, faits partie de pierre, partie de terre rouge, comme bol d'Arménie, ou terre sigilée qui leur sert de plâtre.” (CASTRO, Xavier de (ed.), Voyages de Pyrard de Laval, vol. I, p. 47-48).


194 BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander, Art on the Jesuit missions, p. 144.
Fig 51: Unknown painter, Scene of the Life of Francis from Assis (18th century), S. Francisco de Assis, Goa

Fig 52: Santana de Talaulim
(end of the 17th century)

Fig 53: S. Caetano (1655), Goa
On the other hand, the remarkable mobility of Indian artisans, who worked for both Catholic and Hindu patrons, led to the local Hindu architecture appropriating elements which were typical of the Catholic architecture: the towers in front of the temples (fig. 54) that were based on the local piazza crosses and that constituted a structure-type developing in Goa and in the surrounding area, European cruciform plan instead of the common Hindu great octagonal plan added with three chapels, the introduction of windows, the crowning of temples with domes placed on a high octagonal drum rather than with the traditional Hindu pyramidal or parabolic tower (fig. 55), the use of classical orders, and the spread of graffito in the decoration of the interiors of the temples.¹⁹⁵

Fig. 54: Santha Durga Temple
Goa, 18th century

Fig. 55: Mangesh Temple, Priol (Goa)

Goa, 18th century
Chapter IV: General features of the Jesuit enterprise in India

This chapter analyses general features of the Jesuit presence in India. The controversy between the Society’s own identity and local features (time, place and other local social, political, and religious features) that furthered the process of the self-definition of this order in the area and which determined its artistic activity there will be inferred. This chapter consists of two parts: the first and more extensive part deals with the organisational pattern of the Society of Jesus in India. In the second part I will refer to some general aspects regarding the geographical diffusion of the Order. Then, I refer to the division of power among the diverse local priests in authority, as to what concerns artistic enterprises, the artists employed by the Jesuits in Goa in relationship to the subject of membership (Portuguese and others) and the politics of attracting legislative favour and sources of income. Finally, I will make some general comments on the main politics and strategies of conversion.

1. The organisational pattern of the Society of Jesus in India

1.1 Geographical diffusion

In 1546, all missions founded and administered by the Jesuits in the Portuguese territories were officially placed under the authority of the Assistancy of Portugal (a geographically determined area in which the members of the Society lived and worked). Three years later, Ignatius created the Province of India, thereby establishing a second fundamental landmark in the history of the Jesuits missions in the Orient. The Province of India was the first non-European and the biggest Jesuit province in the sixteenth century. At its peak, the Province of India stretched from Mozambique to the Moluccas, Japan and China - a greater geographical area than all the European Jesuit provinces.
together. It encompassed the whole Orient beyond the Cape of Good Hope (except for Ethiopia) where Jesuits were active, and explicitly included the territories independent from the Portuguese Crown ("quid in India et aliis transmarinis regionibus numero eorum, serenissimo regi Portugalie subietis, et ultra eas.").

This last clause 'et ultra eas' by no means remained a paper clause as the Jesuits were present practically in all places inhabited by Christians in the Orient. Having grown rapidly in number and gifted with both extraordinary organisational capacities and ingenious negotiators, the Jesuits were decisive in "propagating the faith" beyond the strict territorial and usually coastal footholds of the "Estado da Índia", thus contributing greatly to the formation of missions as border institutions. Although it had begun during Xavier’s lifetime, the second half of the sixteenth century witnessed a great effort from Goa, especially under the guidance of Alessandro Valignano, who was the uncontested reorganiser and consolidator of the Asian Jesuit missions. Jesuits began to radiate from the coastal towns to establish other stations located from India to Japan. After Xavier had inaugurated the mission in the Orient in 1542, the Jesuit progress was very steady. In 1546, they reached the Moluccas. In 1549, they reached Japan. In 1557, they entered Ethiopia, and, in 1560, they penetrated East Africa up to the Monomotapa.

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1 Document creating the Jesuit Province of India, Rome, 23 of December of 1549, in "MI", vol. XII p. 304-305.
Fig. 56: The Portuguese Assistancy

Fig. 57: The Estado da India with the Jesuit stations (italics)
Rapidly, this geographically ever expanding endeavour proved impossible to
govern effectively from Goa alone.2 Plans were forged to reorganise its structure.
Stemming from the process designed to tackle this rapid expansion, in 1601, the
Province of India spawned itself into the Province of Goa, also known as the Province
of the North, and the Province of Malabar, also known as the Province of the South. The
Province of Goa stretched from Goa to Cambay. Its far-flung responsibilities included
the Jesuit settlements in the cities of Bassein, Chaul, and Daman as well on the Islands
of Salsete and Diu. The missions to the Prester John of Ethiopia, to Cathay, to Mogul
and Persia (1556-1605) were also placed under the supervision of Goa. The Province of
Malabar had its headquarters in Cochin. It comprised all stations located in South India,
and in Bengal, Malacca, and on the Moluccas. In 1581, China and Japan were
constituted as a vice-province. In 1611, the Province of Japan was promoted to the
Third Jesuit Province of Asia while the missions in China reached the same status in
1623.3

1.2 The role of the various priests in authority (Provincial, Procurators of
the Provinces, Procurator to India at the Royal Court) in artistic
undertakings

In its basic design, the Province of India resembled any province of the Order and it
maintained its pattern though its history. Further to the geographical organisation, the
establishment of a province comprised a permanent pyramidal top-down organisation,
_ i.e., the establishment of a body of priests with clear functions and decision-making

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2 “En las Indias de Portugal creo abrá no menos lugares que en Italia.” (Diego Lainez to Juan de la Veja,

powers. The Province of India had all levels of membership proper to the Society of Jesus: professed fathers, both spiritual and temporal coadjutors, scholastics and novices. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the peculiar group of the indifferent (members of the Society who entered it without a pre-defined position, *i.e.*, spiritual or temporal coadjutors), and slaves.⁴

From 1549 onwards, like all Jesuit provinces, the Province of India was headed by a Provincial nominated to the post by the General and directly subject to him. The Constitutions decreed that the duration of this post should be of three years, unless it was *ad majorem Dei gloriam* shortened or lengthened.⁵ Indeed, Clement VIII (1592-1605), extended the term of the Provincial of India to five years in order that the good local leaders could occupy their positions longer as the great distances made impossible the frequent consultation of Roman headquarters.⁶ However Provincial Antonio Quadros, for example, was the Provincial of India for twelve years, from 1559 to 1572. Indeed, no fixed practice was ever established for the East.⁷ Generally speaking, the task of the Provincial consisted in the supervision of the progress and perfection of the territory under his responsibility and “ad mentem Constitutionum”.

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⁴ The Roman headquarters prohibited all Jesuit provinces, except the provinces of Sicily, Brazil and Portugal from keeping slaves. (WICKI, Joseph, *Aufzüge*, p. 22)

⁵ *Constitutions, part 9, chapter 3*, p. 316.

⁶ “Sobre la dispensación que se le alcanzó de Sua Santidad, para que el orden que dio a la Compañía que los superiores no durassem más de tres años en sus oficios, no se entendiese en las Provincias transmarinas, (...), nos devemos todos consolar con ella porque, (...), así también sería grande inconveniente limitar cierto y preciso tiempo, de manera que no pudiese la Compañía largar el tiempo aquellos que con fructo, satisfacción de Dios hazen y pueden sin inconveniente tener más espacio su oficio de esas partes tan faltas de subjectos, adonde se requieren tantos talentos e los que governan pollos negocios de importancia que ocorren, y sin las ayudas para se poderen consultar por estaren tan distantes de sus cabezas.” (Claudio Acquaviva to Francisco Cabral, *Provincial of India, Rome, December 1597*, in “DI”, vol. XVIII, p. 865.

The Provincials supervised a corps of rectors and superiors, and collateral advisers. In time, the Provincial of India was vested with faculties almost identical to those of the Father General, as, on many occasions, response from Rome could not be waited for. The Generals increasingly delegated some of their common and most essential tasks to the Provincials of India. Notwithstanding the fact that General Claudio Acquaviva (1585-1615) was often accused of being despotic, he authorised the Provincials of India to suspend or even change orders emanating from Rome. In brief, the Provincial of India thus held extensive powers concerning all fields of religious life, administration, legislation and economics.

General Borja (1565-1585), in particular, gave extensive powers to the Provincial of India. For example, Provincial Quadros was authorised to change the location of the missionary stations nisi assentiente Generali when it was absolutely necessary. The Second General Congregation decreed that it was the General's

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8 "Una es, que cada praepósito provincial, o local, o rector de collegio, donde ay algún número, tenga un collateral, (...). Otra es que que los dichos praepósito y rectores tengan algunas personas, de las más maduras y discretas, deputadas para consejo, con las cuales deven consultar de las cosas de alguna importancia que tratan." (Juan de Polanco on behalf of Ignatius of Loyola to Francis Xavier, Rome, 5 July 1553, in "DI", vol. III, p. 8.)

9 "La prima è, perché questo Provinciale ha da tenere (...) quasi l'istessa facoltà che tiene il Padre Generale per posser governar questa Provincia bene, perché non si possono aspettare in molte cose, anchorché gravissime, risposte di Roma." (VALIGNANO, Alessandro, Summarium Indicum, Malaca, between the 22nd November and the 8th December 1577, in "DI", vol. XIII, p. 77.)

10 "Quanto a la faculdad que V. P. da al Provincial de la India, de poder suspender o mudar los órdenes que de Roma vinieron (...)." (Alessandro Valignano to General Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 12 December 1584, in "DI", vol. XIII, p. 590). (For a comprehensive analysis of the Generalship of Claudio Acquaviva, see: GUERRA, Alessandro, Un generale fra le milizie del Papa, La vita di Claudio Acquaviva scritta da Francesco Sacchini della Compagnia di Gesù, Milano, 2001)

11 "Ordenando havia N. Padre, de santa memoria, que se embiasse a V. R. una patente, (...), en la qual se le embiasse su benediction muy complida para el Giappón y la China, y aquellas regiones, aunque siempre quedando V. R. debaxo de la obediencia del Provinciao de la India, el qual podría ci fuesse menester, mudar la mission de una parte a otra, (...)." (Juan de Polanco, Secretary-General of the Society of Jesus, Rome, to Fernando de Alcaraz, Rome, 15 February 1565, in "DI", vol. VI, p. 441.)
responsibility to approve of both the style and the plans of any new projects. However, Borja exempted the Provincial of India from this general decision. The urge for new settlements to fulfil the increasing needs of a geographically and humanly expanding body was certainly the reason behind this. As Borja wrote in 1565, it was clear that it was not always possible for the General to approve each and every building in India. Thus, he authorised Quadros to allow the beginning of work on any new building when he thought it necessary. General Acquaviva also invested the priests in authority in India with further important powers, including that of founding new settlements. In 1585, he decreed that the Provincial of India was not allowed to order the construction or the demolition of houses or colleges belonging to the Society. He could, however, institute *ad tempus* residences and build small churches for the use of the Jesuits and until the General could be informed. Two years later, he allowed the Provincial of India to build churches, hospitals, and all other buildings proper to the Society on the sites of houses and places which had already been accepted by the Society, and in the places in which churches would be necessary for the conversion of the Gentiles. The Jesuits in the Orient had to wait for the permission of the General when they wanted to abandon or to found a permanent residence. However, the Provincial of India was

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12 "It seems good that the style and plans for any building proposed for construction by Ours should be submitted to Reverend Father General, so that, according to the decree in the letter acta of the previous congregation, he may decide what he seems proper in the Lord." (Second General Congregation (1565), D. 84, p. 129.)

13 "Que los provinciales no comiencen obra ninguna sin licencia del general, aunque en estas partes se puede observar, en esas estar claro que no se puede, y asi V. R. tendrá facultad para comenzar las que parecieren en Domino." (Francisco Borja, General, to António Quadros, Provincial of India, Rome, 29 November 1565, in "DI", vol. VI, p. 526-527.)

14 "Non poterit erigere domos et collegia Societas vel ea dissolvere. Poterit tamen residentias ad tempus instituere, donec moneatur Praepositus Generalis, non autem in illis ecclesia aedificare, nisi quae parvi momenti sint et usum nostrorum necessaria." (Special faculties conceived by Claudio Acquaviva to the provincials of India, Rome, January 1585, in "DI", vol. XIII, p. 830.)

allowed to send *ad tempus* some priests as missionaries to a new settlement. At the same time, Acquaviva was concerned that the Provincial of India might yield to extensive powers. The Provincial of India was thus required to hear advisers or experts before taking important decisions. For instance, he had to consult three or four advisers when he took an important decision concerning a house or a college of the Society. Before the Provincial of India sold buildings, he was to consult non-Jesuit experts. He could temporarily accept parish churches until the General determined the contrary.

Ignatius conceived of his Order that, as far as possible, Rome, where the Superior General lives, should govern the missions. As the Society became more and more widespread throughout the world, two special figures were created in order to help the General in the government of the more distant provinces. These were the so-called commissars or visitors to the missions and the procurators of the missions. Considering the first, Ignatius, recognised that the Province of India was too large to be visited by the Provincial alone because the visitation of the whole province would take up to five or six years. The Provincial of India should not leave India on his inspection tours. He could visit some places in India itself but had always to return to Goa. This town was more appropriate to serve as the ordinary residence of the Provincial of India. Under

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16 "As residencies firmes não se devem deixar sem licença do P. Geral, (...). Nem também de devem de tomar de novo pela os nossos estar de assento em ellas sem licença do mesmo Geral, (...), ainda que se podem mandar por via de missão a ellas, (...). Mas que não se possam aceitar de novo outras empresas, obrigando-nos a ellas com residencia ordinaria." (Summary by Valignano of the rules for the Province of India, Goa, April 1588, in "DI", vol. XIV, p. 832-833.

17 Claudio Acquaviva to Francisco Cabral, Provincial of India, 1594, in "Auszüge", p. 141.


19 "Que las missiones procedan de Roma; que quanto es posible todo el meneo de la Compañía, aun quanto a las missions, salga de Roma, donde está el superior general, como de la cabeza procede el movimiento a todo el cuerpo; (...)" (Twelfth Industry, in "MI", vol. II, p. 761).

20 "Quenquiera que se ynbie por prouncial á la India aqué dese en ella, y no la dexe, aunque su deuotión mucho le mueua. Para otros reynos podrá ynbiar gente, sí la tuviera para hazerlo, mas el quede en la
General Lainez, in August 1558 to be exact, the question arose in Rome as to whether a Commissar or Visitor should be sent to India. His tasks would be the definition of the instruments for the conservation and growth of the Christian faith and the inspection of the Province’s material and human resources. In spite of the fact that this idea of sending a Visitor to India and to Brazil pleased General Lainez, the Visitors to all provinces were effectively sent by Borja in 1567.

The Visitor was chosen by the General as his personal delegate. Therefore, initially, the term of the Visitor ended with the death of the General. The Visitor was intended to act as a link between the General and the provinces, for instance, by taking recent official documentation to the province. His decisions and ordinances should be immediately put into effect. Ideally, the Visitor would be someone that knew the entire territory personally and that could therefore co-ordinate the activities of the various parts of the province. He was very important as a sort of regional inspector of all the houses owned by the Society in a certain area. He was to examine the origin and the progress of all houses and assess their spiritual and temporal condition (number and quality of buildings, churches, number of inhabitants) and was to study and solve

India; y aunque visite diversos lugares della, tornará á Goa, pues aquelle puesto conuiene más, según la información que tenemos, para la residentia ordinaria del provincial de la India. (Ignatius of Loyola to Miguel Torres, Provincial of Portugal, Rome, 21 November 1555, in “MI”, vol. X, p. 173.)


22 Curiously, since Borja considered that it was more important to send a Visitor to India than to the other provinces (this province had not been visited at all up to that date), Gonçalo Alvares, the Visitor to India, was the last Visitor to be elected and sent abroad. (WICKI, Joseph, *P. Gonçalo Álvares, der erste Ordensvisitation der Indischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu* (1568-1573), p. 268, note 1, PHILIPPART, Guy, *Visiteurs, commissaires et inspecteurs 1540-1572*, in AHSI” (37), 1968, p. 44)

23 In 1588 Gregory XIII responded positively to the Jesuits’ request that had been put by General Mercurian in 1578 and decreed that the Visitor’s term would not end with the death of the General. (Request from Mercurian to Gregory XIII to change the law concerning the end of the Visitor’s tenure, Rome, 16 December 1578, in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 462-463.

24 Answer of Claudio Acquaviva to Alessandro Valignano (1585), in “Auszüge”, p. 131.
eventual difficulties *in situ*, by giving precise instructions. Furthermore, the Visitor sometimes took plans for new houses to the provinces.

In 1546, Lancellotti suggested to Loyola that a "reporter", or in the Jesuit’s vocabulary, a "Procurator" should be sent from India to give full intelligence on progress of the Province of India to Rome. In 1552, Xavier chose the Portuguese André Fernandes, a person in whom he had confidence, to go both to Portugal and to Rome in order to inform the highest authorities of the Society about various things. However, this was an *avant la lettre* act. Only in 1556 did the Second General Congregation institute the so-called Procurator of the Provinces. Except in extreme situations, he would be a Professed Father and would report to the General *viva voce* about the state of ‘his’ province. At the same time, he was charged with carrying out the exchange of official documentation issued by Rome and by the Province. The Procurator also acted as an ambassador, a fund-raiser, and a recruiter for his province as it was a common practice for him to lead new recruits on their way back to India.

Until 1554, the provision of the missions fell to royal employees. Then, a Jesuit, the so-called Procurator for the missions of Brazil and India was instituted at the Royal Court in Lisbon in order to ensure the financial and legislative support of the Crown. The Procurator to India, who lived in Portugal, was to be subordinated to the Procurator elected by the Province of India or by Brazil, and was to inform the latter of the

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26 The Procurators from India and Brasil are to be admitted to the general congregations, when there is a general congregation to which they could come, they should be present at the congregation on behalf of their provinces. (*Second General Congregation, Decree 75, p. 128. (See also: WICKI, WICKI, Joseph, Die Ernennung der Provinzialen und Visitatoren, p. 339-378.)*)

expenditure and of all further information required. He was to ask the King for the confirmation of the foundation of houses, as well as for all the financial and legal privileges conferred to the Society.\textsuperscript{28}

1.3 Membership (Portuguese and others)

When one attempts to assess the subject of membership in the Oriental Jesuit settlements, a first and general contention commonly made is that the Jesuits formed the largest religious order overseas. The growing number of requests made by European young men to die for Christ in India, the so-called \textit{Epistolae Indiapetarum} or \textit{Indiapaetae}, and the lists of missionaries, demonstrate that, from the 1560s, Europe increasingly became more receptive to the recruitment drive launched by the publication of Jesuit missionary accounts and annual letters. Indeed, their numbers went on growing until the beginning of the seventeenth century. From twenty-six in the 1540s, a record was achieved in 1602 when sixty-two new recruits arrived safely in Goa.\textsuperscript{29}

The Roman hierarchy considered it essential that the missions in Orient be supplied with valuable missionaries. General Diego Lainez strongly recommended to Miguel Torres, the Provincial of Portugal, that he provided India with good missionaries.\textsuperscript{30} The Fifth General Congregation (1593) declared the missions to be the principal ministry of the Society and recognised the necessity of sending suitable

\textsuperscript{28} WICKI, Joseph, \textit{Die Anfänge der Missionsprokur der Jesuiten in Lissabon bis 1580}, p. 321.

\textsuperscript{29} ALDEN, Dauril, \textit{The Making of an enterprise}, p. 47 and ALDEN, Dauril, \textit{Some considerations concerning Jesuit enterprises in Asia}, p. 54 and p. 56.

\textsuperscript{30} "N. Padre encomienda mucho a V. R. El proveer de gente y buena para la India, porque partido el Patriarca (...), quedan muy desprovecidos, y todavía son más obligados a la India que a tomar nuevos colegios." (Juan de Polanco to Miguel Torres, Rome, 1 January 1561, in "DP", vol. V, p. 2.)

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When choosing the priests for India, recruits with certain abilities and traits of character were given preference. For example, Xavier was of the opinion that the priests sent to India should be young men of virtue with experience of life. Considerations of health were a further requisite. The Provincial had to be particularly careful when choosing people for religious life. He should distribute them based on their specific capacities and qualities. The men with particular talents for prayer and 'of letters' would stay among the Portuguese. Care was to be taken that the priests sent to the smaller missions in "remote Gentile areas" were obedient and observant of the rules; they also had to be virtuous and prudent since they were living far away from their superiors - epistolary contact also being limited. At the beginning of each year, the General faced a choice as to which men to send to Goa and which to the other missions. The provincials, in particular, the Provincial of Portugal and the Provincial of Italy, were also consulted. At least, in case of Valignano, before he set sail for India as a Visitor in 1573, he was asked by General Mercurian to help in choosing the missionaries for the East Indies. Despite these measures, the quality and quantity of the

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31 "The missions (namely, apostolate on which are sent, for example by the Supreme Pontiff) are strongly recommended. Let Father General see that this ministry is carried out with diligence. A request was made that the missions, which are among the principal ministries of the Society and are especially appropriate for the professed, are hereafter over and above more and more the responsibility of the Superior General. The congregation decreed moreover that apt and well selected workers are to be sent." (Fifth General Congregation (1593), D. 46, p. 200.)

32 As pessoas que a estas partes mandumdes, (...), por amor de N. Senhor que sejam pessoas muito provadas em sua vida e virtude, porque os azos e ocaziões para o mal são muitas nestas partes.” (Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues, Provincial of Portugal, Malacca, 23 June 1549, in "EX", vol II, p. 155).

33 "Para los colegios y casas que están entre los portugueses es necesario que viengan siempre algunos letrados que tengan talento de predicar." (VALIGNANO, Alessandro, Summarium Indicum (changed), Shimo (Japan), August 1580, in "DI", vol. p. 253-254.)


35 WICKI, Joseph, Die Anfänge der Missionsprokur der Jesuiten in Lissabon bis 1580, p. 249.
priests sent to India varied much from Generalship to Generalship. Mercurian sent more than one hundred missionaries to India. Finally, he decided to choose the persons who would go to India because, otherwise, only the imperfect and restless of the Province would be sent.\textsuperscript{36} Actually, both Mercurian and Acquaviva made great efforts to provide the Indian Province with valuable spiritual and temporal coadjutors. According to Joseph Wicki, many outstanding Jesuits set sail for India under Ignatius (1540-1556) and Mercurian (1573-1580). He gave a very negative assessment of both the epochs of Lainez (1556-1565) and Borja (1565-1571) when he affirmed that the latter sent but few and not especially industrious priests.\textsuperscript{37}

This pre-selection did not prevent Goa from having the greatest number of Jesuits. Thus, in the late 1590’s, a superfluity of priests was registered. Jesuits were in excess in many towns while their presence was lacking in the far-flung missions.\textsuperscript{38} Particularly illustrating this fact is that the many unoccupied priests living in Goa concerned General Borja. Accordingly, he instructed both the Visitor and the Provincial of India to assure that only the necessary priests stay in Goa\textsuperscript{39} However, the situation did not significantly improve as in 1623, the Procurator of the Province of India asked the

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\textsuperscript{36} "La seconda cosa hè, che il P. Everardo di buona memoria mandò a India più di cento sogetti nel tempo del suo generalato, (...). Et ultimamente il buon P. Everardo haveva determinato di nominare lui medesimo li sogetti che di Portogallo havevano di venire a India, perché altrimente non mandavanqua se non li imperfetti e imquiti della Provincia. ("Francesco Pasio S.J. to Claudio Acquaviva, Malaca, 22 June 1582, in “DI”, vol. XII, p. 587-588)."

\textsuperscript{37} WICKI, Joseph, \textit{Die Anfänge der Missionsprokur der Jesuiten in Lissabon bis 1580}, p. 249.

\textsuperscript{38} Particularly illustrating is the fact that the many unoccupied priests living in Goa caused Borgia a lot of worry. Therefore, he instructed both the Visitor and the Provincial of India to ensure that only the necessary priests stay in Goa. (\textit{Instruction by Francisco Borja to Gonçalo Álvares, Visitor of India, Roma, 10 January 1567}, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 188, and \textit{Instruction by Francisco Borja to Quadros, Provincial of India, 11 January 1563}, in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 663.)

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Instruction by Francisco Borja to Gonçalo Álvares, Visitor of India, Roma, 10 January 1567}, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 188, and \textit{Instruction by Francisco Borja to Quadros, Provincial of India, 11 January 1563}, in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 663.)
King to provide better distribution of missionaries. The scantiness of priests with certain skills was also a constant problem in Goa. Due to the lack of fathers capable of becoming good superiors, the local priests occupied the higher posts for overly long periods, something that Acquaviva wanted to correct and avoid. Similarly, priests with artistic skills were always short in the number so that the First Congregation of the Province of India (1575) made the suggestion to Mercurian of even employing Spaniards in artistic activity, although, as will be seen later, they were objects of suspicion to the Portuguese. They would come to practise their trade and not to convert.

As it can be observed in the Appendix, I discovered 33 people who had been employed in artistic activity in Goa from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century. The larger proportion of the Jesuits with artistic skills was Portuguese (18 out of 33). Some of the most distinguished artists come from several other nations. Among them, there were several Spaniards, Flemings and, in particular, Italians. Luis Castanho, who, due to his skills in architecture, participated in the construction of the College of Margan in Salsete, was Indian while the neo-Christian Emanuel Alvares, who arrived in India in 1562, was one of the best painters working in Goa in the second half of the sixteenth century. The composition of the body of artists in India reflects the general composition of the Jesuit settlements in India. Due to the fact that the Province of India was part of the Assistancy of Portugal (a group of seven

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40 BNL, Ms. 9718, The Procurator of the Province of India to the King, 23 January 1623, fl. 3v.

41 Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro Martins, Provincial of India, Rome, 14 December 1589, in “Auszüge”, p. 138

42 “(...), que no se imbieen coadjutores si no fuessen algunos muy virtuosos y oficiales, como pintores, arquitectos, y estos que vengan para hazer sus officios y non con intencion de ir a convertir infieles, (...).” (First Congregation of the Province of India, point 37, Choran, 6 to 8 December 1575, in “DI”, vol. X., p. 283.)
provinces formed a assistancy), Portugal had the main responsibility for supplying India with sufficient suitable priests. As a matter of fact, the missionary lists, as well as the First and Second Catalogues permit us to have no doubts that most Jesuits working in the lands of the Portuguese Patronage were of Portuguese nationality and had first been trained in Lisbon or in Coimbra.43

Nonetheless, many Jesuits in India came from different nations. Already the first group of Jesuits sent to India was international in its composition. Francisco Mansilhas and Diogo Rodrigues were Portuguese whereas Francis Xavier was Navarrean, and Micer Paolo (also called Paolo Camerte) was Italian. Nearly half of the Jesuits in Goa at the end of the sixteenth century were not Portuguese.44 Generally speaking, there were some outstanding talents among them and many non-Portuguese occupied important posts in the local hierarchy of the Society of Jesus.45 Explaining this, the headquarters made great efforts to assure that missionaries from many different countries were sent to the Portuguese India and that the leading positions were also occupied by non-Portuguese countrymen so that one can affirm that the Generals of the Society of Jesus always tried to transform the Jesuit missions into an international body.46. On the other hand, I shall argue that this multinational character of the Jesuit missionary body in

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44 “Among the sixteenth-century catalogues for the province of Goa, the most revealing is that of 1584 that demonstrates that 57.1 percent of the province’s 350 subjects originated within Portugal.” (ALDEN, Dauril, *Some considerations concerning Jesuit enterprises in Asia*, in Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, (ed.), “A Companhia de Jesus e a Missãoção no Oriente”, Lisboa, 2000, p. 54.)

45 Here, it is enough to recall that the Order grew out of the activity of Xavier, and that the Neapolitan aristocrat Alessandro Valignano was, after Xavier, the most influential personality in the moulding of the Jesuit overseas enterprise.

India was mainly dictated by necessity rather than by a conscious policy. The Jesuit documentation on the Province of India testifies to a constant need of reinforcements. The scarcity of the Portuguese population, the vastness of the Assistancy (according to Niccolò Lancellotti, India was so vast that even a hundred thousand very learned men would not be sufficient to convert it), the high mortality rate (shipwrecks, plagues), the fact that many priests proved unsuitable, the growing demand for priests for Brazil (the first Jesuits arrived there in 1549), and the economic difficulties were some of the reasons that certainly hindered Portugal from training and sending sufficient workers overseas.48

Until the 1620s, most Jesuits were Portuguese, Spanish and Italian; thereafter Frenchmen and other Northern Europeans began to arrive in great numbers.49 Among the non-Portuguese Jesuits, at first, the missionaries coming from Spain formed the most numerous non-Portuguese group and this is probably related to the fact that the first three Generals of the Society were Spanish. Indeed, circa two thirds of the non-Portuguese missionaries departing to the Orient between 1542 and 1560 were Spanish.50 The last years of the 1560s witnessed a great change in the composition of the Jesuit missions in Indian. In a period characterised by the growing dispute between Portugal and Spain, the rumour was spread that the Spanish priests were unfaithful to the

47 For instance, in 1598, no Jesuits sailed from Portugal to India, due to the British sea attacks. (WICKI, Joseph, Liste der Jesuiten Indienfahrer, p. 255).


50 ALDEN, Dauril. Some considerations concerning Jesuit enterprises in Asia, p. 54.
Portuguese Crown. For this reason, the King of Portugal refused Spanish candidates on various occasions and the General was requested to bar them from higher posts. This state of things was reinforced by the Iberian Union as Philip II of Spain opted to keep the two areas of influence completely separate. The Spanish Crown was also more concerned with the evangelisation of its American territories (Florida, Peru, and Mexico) than with the evangelisation of the Portuguese Orient. For this reason, the Spanish missionaries should embark for the Western Indies instead for the Eastern Indies.

The Jesuit fathers meeting at the Fourth Congregation of the Province of India (Decree 15) in 1594 expressed the intention that only the Portuguese and Italian priests be sent to the missionary field. As a matter of interest, numerous Italian Jesuits served in India during the period of my study. With a short interregnum from 1610 to 1613, due to a Royal Decree forbidding Italians to go on mission to India as they were considered unnecessary there and their loyalty to the King was put in question, the Italian priests were also, by norm, favoured by the political authorities. The deep interest of Italian youth in the Asian missionary field may constitute an interpretative

51 “Et sapia V. Reverenzia che li clamori, che venivano così dell’India come di Castella, dicevano che li forestieri, ma molto specialmente li castigliani, non guardavano ivi la fedeltà che se gli deve.” (Maurizio Serpe, S.J., to Alessandro Valignano, Almeirim, 29 February 1576, in “DI”, voi. X, p. 513.)


54 “Primum, ut deinceps sex e nostris hominibus Iusitanis, (...) ad nos mittat. (...) duos ait tres singulis annis ex nostris italos (...) ad hanc Provinciam mittat.” (Fourth Congregation of the Province of India (1594), Decree 15, in “DI”, vol. XVI, p. 657-658.)

From my viewpoint, however, a more important reason was that Italy posed no threat to the Portuguese hegemonic pretensions overseas. Or, as Valignano beautifully expressed it, the Italians were highly regarded and they often occupied leading positions because of their ability to establish harmony between the Spanish and the Portuguese communities. In 1555, Ignatius declared that despite the fact that the Italian Provinces had to supply many provinces, such as Italy, Sicily, France, Flanders and Germany, with missionaries, the necessary manpower was nonetheless guaranteed. In spite of the scarcity of men in Italy, Lainez, in particular, sent very good labourers of Italian nationality to India. These two last sentences indicate that, from the beginning, the Generals went to great pains to send a large number of Italian Jesuits to the Indian missionary field, due to the importance of this Province for the Society.

Both Girolamo Imbruglia and more recently Gian Carlo Roscioni provide very interesting approaches to some of the more common reasons expressed by the young Italians in order to be sent to the Indies as missionaries. (IMBRUGLIA, Girolamo, Ideali di civilizzazione: La Compagnia di Gesù e le missioni (1550-1600), in Adriano Prosperi and Wolfgang Reinhardt (ed.), “Il Nuovo Mondo nella coscienza Italian e tedesca del Cinquecento”, Bologna, 1992, p. 287-308, and ROSCIONI, Gian Carlo, Il desiderio delle Indie, Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani, Torino, 2001.)

“L’una è che V. P. mandi alcuni buoni soggetti d’Italia et atti per governare, perché questi sono recevuti assai bene et come sono neutrali terranno più facilità et libertà [per] unire queste due nations (...)” (Alessandro Valignano to Everard Mercurian, at sea between Cochin and Goa, 4 December 1575, in “DI”, vol. X, p. 151.)

“E aunque de Roma sea menester acudir aora á tantas partes de Italia, Sicilia, Francia, Frandes y Alemaña, y estas otras nationesa, fuera de España, tooquia, si Dios será seruido, abrá su parte la India de los que aquí se instituyeren, (...)” (Ignatius of Loyola to Miguel Torres SJ., Rome, 21 November 1555, in “MI”, vol. X, p. 173.)

Neither the *Institute* nor the *Constitutions* of the Order excluded Jews or New-
Christians from the Society of Jesus. Both General Diego Lainez and Juan Afonso de
Polanco, the powerful secretary of the Society of Jesus between 1547 and 1572, were
New-Christians. The catalogues of the Jesuits active in the Province of India mention
various New-Christians. Some of them, such as, for example, Henrique Henriques, who
was the superior of the Jesuit house at the Fishery Coast from 1549 to 1576, occupied
important posts in the local hierarchy of the Order. However, they suffered
discrimination from the first years. In particular, Simão Rodrigues, the First Provincial
of Portugal, Xavier and Valignano definitely wished to keep them out of the Society.60
For instance, Alessandro Valignano, in a letter to General Mercurian dated December
1575 expressed the opinion that no priests with Jewish blood should be sent to India.
The fathers meeting at the Provincial Congregation on the Island of Choran in 1575
shared his opinion. Moreover, especially in 1581, accusatory letters against Jesuits of
Jewish descent working in India poured into Rome.61

In answer to a critical comment made by General Acquaviva on a possibly
excessive number of novices in India, the Portuguese Francisco Martins, by then
Provincial of India, argued that the vastness of the Province of India, the lack of
reinforcements coming from Europe, and the wish to release the European provinces
from part of the burden, were some of the reasons why a great number of people had to
be admitted to the Order in this area.62 This statement shall introduce my next point: in

61 WICKI, Joseph, *Die “Cristãos Novos” in der Indischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu von Ignatius bis
Acquaviva*, in “AHSI” (49), 1977, p. 357-359.
62 “Quanto a parecer grande el número de los novíos a V. P., esta Provincia es muy ampla y muy
estendida, y tiene necesidad de muchos sujetos, y de allá vienen muy pocos para las empresas que
acá tenemos, y por eso po acá se procura de aumentar la Compañía, no dando tanta pena a las
spite of the continuous stream of arrivals from various European provinces, the pleas for new hands in Asia never stopped. Thus, the chance of admitting Europeans born in Asia, as well as non-Europeans among their ranks arose most naturally. Ignatius was interested in the Society taking firm roots in India and he clearly supported an "Indianisation" of the local stations. As a consequence, candidates to the Order were received in Goa as early as 1548, and he instructed the European missionaries on several occasions to practise their profession overseas as they would be more acquainted with the local reality. They could better develop the virtue necessary to accomplish their tasks. Moreover, he believed that through the education of the young separated from their milieu as well as through the careful selection of the Indians who showed the best capacities and qualities to fulfil the Institute (choosing the better inclined, dismissing the others, taking them from their countries), valuable native vocations could originate. This was exactly the line taken by Niccolò Lancellotti, for example, who thought that the natives did not face the difficulty of adaptation that hindered the Europeans from fulfilling their duties in the "Society's way".

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This does not mean that all the leadership marched to the same drummer, both as regards the acceptance of Europeans born in Asia, as well as of non-Europeans. From the early days, there was a difference of opinion among the Jesuits. Many Jesuits in India and Brazil shared the view that the candidates admitted in India turned out to be mediocre in virtue. Thus, they soon came to oppose the admittance of native Indians and Brazilians into the Society. Xavier himself argued that the Society could not expect to perpetuate itself by recruiting its priests in the Orient because the local rulers often prosecuted neophytes. Similarly, from the viewpoint of Valignano, except for the Japanese and Chinese, all Asians should be excluded from entering the Society. In addition, he raised objections against the admission of the Portuguese or of other Europeans born outside Europe, on the grounds that the European Portuguese always occupied the highest positions in the local hierarchy and this fact was a continuous cause of dissension between the Portuguese coming from Europe and those born in India. His prejudice against local candidates further stemmed from a concern for respectability in the eyes of the indigenous people. In his opinion, the natives demonstrated far less respect towards Europeans as towards non-Europeans. The Roman headquarters ended up approving this course of action as in 1579, General Mercurian ordered that neither mix-blooded candidates nor Asians (with the exception of the Japanese) should be enlisted. He had been informed that many mixed-blooded

66 "Por la experiencia que tengo destas partes veo claramente, padre mío único, que por los indios naturales de la tierra no se abre camino como por ellos se perpetúa nuestra Compañía; (...), y la causa desto es las muchas persecuciones que padecen los que se hacen cristianos, (...)." (Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, 12 January 1549, in "EX", vol. II, p. 8.)

67 "(...), verdad es que siempre uvo y averá en la India alguna manera de desunión entre los que vienen de Europa y los nacidos en ella, (...)." (Reflections of Alessandro Valignano on the Third Provincial Congregation (1588), in "DI", vol. XV, p. 285.)

68 "Y los que biniieren, es bien quanto fuere posible que se ordenen en Portugal, porque son recibidos con más autoridad e en la misma navegación hazen más fructo." (Summarium Indicum (changed) by
candidates, who had grown up in the Indies, had been admitted to the Society, but that very few remained, and those who did were of no use to the Society. Thus, as had been the practice in Brazil and Peru, no mix-blood or local candidates were to be received in India, except the Japanese. Moreover, Europeans born in the Orient would only be received if they were at least 18 years old and if they had asked for admittance at least two years before, and could be dismissed from the Order before having completed the noviciate. At the request of the Third Congregation of India (Point 5), General Acquaviva authorised the Provincial of India to revoke this law. However, in 1600, Acquaviva countermanded Mercurian’s decision. He definitively closed the door of the Society to Indians. Indeed, the Brahman Pedro Luis (1575) was the only Indian priest ordained by the Society so that the Jesuit Oriental mission remained European in every sense of the word.

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69 "Avemos entendido que muchos mezttisos y otros criados en esta tierra recibidos en la Compañía han quedado en ella poquísimos, e aun éssos con quasi ninguna esperança de aver de ser útiles a la Compañía, por donde nos parece en el Señor que conviene apretar la mano, como hase ordenado en las Provincias del Brasil y Perú por la instancia que sobre ello los han echo. Y assú juzgamos que ultra de los que sobre ellos los que son de todo naturales de la tierra (los quales en ninguna manera se deven por agora recebir sino en Japón) non conviene tambien recibir mezticos. Y quanto a los castiços o del todo europeos, pero nascidos o criados en esass partes no se deven recebir sino muy raro y con las condiciones seguintes: La 1ª que sean alo menos de desoito annos de edada acabados; la 2ª que ayan perservado en desear y pedir la Compañía dos annos; la 3ª que después de despedidos primero que salgan del noviciado, si no dieren en él la satisfacción que se desea." (Everard Mercurian to Rodrigo Vicente, Provincial of India, Rome, 16 November 1579, in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 749-750.)

2. The benevolence of the people in authority in the Jesuit enterprise in India
(Papacy, Crown and the local elites)

The favour of various popes was certainly decisive in the success of the Jesuit
enterprise in India. The support of the Holy See to the Society often expressed itself in
special recommendations to the religious authorities. For example, in 1562, Pius V
issued a brief in which he reminded the Goan Archbishop that the privileges enjoyed by
the Society of Jesus should not be curtailed. Instead, his highest representative in Goa
was expected to promote the work of these priests.71 As a matter of fact, the Jesuits
secured a series of bulls and briefs from the Papacy which gave them widest latitude in
all fields of religious activity. When Francis Xavier arrived in India, he carried with him
some crucial documents granting him important privileges. The brief Cum sicut
charissimus of the 27th of July 1540 appointed him the first Apostolic Nuncio or Papal
Nuncio for all the East. This nomination was a very important distinction because, by
definition, the Apostolic Nuncio is a permanent diplomatic representative of the Holy
See accredited to a civil government. He is supposed to act as a link or intermediary
between Rome and the Church in the State to which he is sent. Focusing on the
document itself, whoever made difficulties to Xavier’s activity ran the risk of
excommunication. Xavier was invested with plenipotentiary or full powers during his
stay in the East. This document authorised him to pray, teach, hear confessions, delegate
functions to subordinates, transmute vows into other good works (except the vow to go
on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to Santiago de Compostela or to the altars in the
Churches of Saint Peter and of Saint Paul in Rome; to enter into an order and to observe
chastity) and even absolve or indulge (remission of temporal punishment or time in

71 Pius II to D. Gaspar de Leão, Archbishop of Goa, Rome, 1 December 1562, in “DL”, vol. V, p. 566-
purgatory for all sins committed until that moment) in all cases except for those reserved by the Bull Coena Domini. Later, the papacy reinforced and extended these privileges to the other members of the Society. In 1545, Paul III (Brief Cum inter cunctos) granted any member of the Society permission to preach and exercise all the common functions of priests anywhere in the world on any occasion provided that he was allowed to by his superiors. These privileges were again renewed. The Bull Exponi nobis (23 and 24 of March 1567) authorised all members of the Society of Jesus to pray, confess, and perform all other sacraments in all areas which were at least one day distant from the residence of the bishop. Of no less significance for the present work, another brief taken by Xavier from Rome to the Orient in 1541 was the Brief Hodie pro part. This document allowed Xavier, in the absence of the bishop, to found, allot, or order the refurbishment of monasteries, churches and hospitals for the poor and to introduce the reforms he considered necessary. In brief, this document was thought to allow the ‘first Jesuits’ in India to build a vast network of settlements in a short period of time.

I shall illustrate next that Papal benevolence towards the Jesuit enterprise in India also expressed itself in the dispensation of many indulgences, thus contributing to the promotion of Jesuit churches as important stations in the Oriental itineraries of faith. For example, in 1549, Paul III (Bull Licet Debitum) gave complete absolution to the visitors to all Jesuit churches and oratories in Asia, except during the Jubilee years. In

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72 SCHURHAMMER, Georg, Facultates et gratiae spiritualis S. Francisco Xaverio pro India Orientali concessae, in “Studia Missionalia”, 1947, p. 133-134.


75 SCHURHAMMER, Georg, Facultates et gratiae spiritualis S. Francisco Xaverio pro India Orientali concessae, p. 133-134.
1550, on the occasion of a Holy Year, Julio III (Bull Exposit Debitum) did away with this restriction for all those who were under the obedience of the Society (para todos os que están à la obediencia da Sociedade). In general, all members of the Society could benefit from the Jubilee wherever they were, provided that they visited four churches or the same church four times on thirty successive or alternating days. Moreover, the Jesuits were empowered with the exclusive right to issue indulgences to their communities.76 Another important landmark was established in 1554 when the visitors of the Jesuit churches in India and Brazil were given full indulgence for ten years.77 In 1558, the laity was dispensed from hearing mass in their respective parish churches when they heard mass in Jesuit churches, except on Easter day.78 By the Brief Unigenitus Aeterni Patris, the 2nd of February 1563, Pius IV gave indulgences to the visitors of Jesuit churches in India, Malacca, Brazil, Libya, Ethiopia, China and Japan on the day of the Conversion of Paul and on the Feast Day of the Circumcision.79

There is absolutely nothing new in the assertion that the cultivation of the religious, political, social and political elites was essential to the Society's “way of acting”. Ignatius constantly instructed the Jesuits to concentrate their energies on princes and other ‘important public persons’. Polanco, in a memorandum probably compiled for the First Congregation in 1558, already stressed the importance of the


77 “También hago saber á V. R. que hemos del papa alcanzado por diez años indulgentia plenaria cada año para en todas las yglesias donde los nuestros residen en las Indias, (...).” (Ignatius of Loyola to Tiago Mirão S.J., Rome, 24 February 1554, in “MP”, vol. VI, p. 371.)


79 Indulgences conceived by Pius IV to the visitors of the Jesuit churches in India, Malacca, Brazil, Libya, Ethiopia, China and Japan on the feast-day of the Conversion of Paul and on the feast-day of the Circumcision of Christ, Rome, 2 February 1563, in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 1-3.
support of the secular authorities for the efficiency of apostolic works, and said that "the benevolence and love of princes should be preserved in order to foster the Divine service."\textsuperscript{80} Previously, in the memorandum for India (1555), Ignatius advised Luís Gonçalves to do his best to move the King to demonstrate his love for the Jesuits by helping them in their temporal matters. Luís Gonçalves was also required to convince the King of Portugal to write a letter to the Governor of India D. Pedro Mascarenhas, in which he was to request his representative to support the colleges, persons and works of the Society.\textsuperscript{81} In more practical terms, the "benevolence" of the Portuguese Crown towards the Jesuit enterprise in India was perhaps on no occasion as important as in the first years. Here, it goes without saying that the Jesuit enterprise was launched thanks to the initiative of King João III. Still in Lisbon, the Viceroy and other royal employees often sought advice from distinguished Jesuits and were given royal orders favouring them in relation to the other missionary agents.\textsuperscript{82} Sometimes, the Visitors took the opportunity of their voyages to Europe to contact the King directly, and the institution of the Procurator to the Indies at the Court was intended to maintain the link between the Crown and the Jesuit overseas mission (Xavier initiated the custom, of the leading figures in the Orient to stay at the Royal Court before living for the Orient) and thus assure the continuous favour of the Crown towards the Jesuits' overseas enterprise. The Portuguese Crown also helped the Society by defending its interests at the Holy See.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{80} Fifth General Congregation (1593), p. 200-201.

\textsuperscript{81} "Procúrese que el rey scriua una letra al governador de la India Don Pedro, encomendándole que favorezca los colegios y personas y cosas de la Compañía, (...)." (Instruction by Ignatius of Loyola to Luís Gonçalves S.J., Provincial of Portugal, Rome, 22 October 1555, in "MI", vol. X, p. 24.)

\textsuperscript{82} D'COSTA, Anthony, The Christianisation of the Goan Islands, p. 66-67.

\textsuperscript{83} For instance, the Pope conceded several spiritual graces to the Overseas provinces, and especially to India, at the request of the King of Portugal. (Ignatius of Loyola to the Bishop of Goa, Rome, 15 December 1549, in "MF", vol. II, p. 612)
infer from all this that the success of the Jesuit enterprise in India relied first of all on the capacity of the Jesuits to make personal connections with the Portuguese Crown in order to attain subventions and favourable legislation for the interests of the Society.

Beginning with Xavier, the provincials of India made their services available to the Bishop of Goa upon arrival. The Jesuits were to demonstrate great respect for him, render him all services they could and, in every possible way, try to keep him favourable towards them. The governors and the viceroy often confessed and received the Eucharist at Jesuit houses. Some received the Spiritual Exercises. Implicitly, even the austere Acquaviva sanctioned the policy of hospitality developed by the Jesuits in India when he condemned the practice of having lay people as guests, but instructed his subordinates in India to show special consideration towards persons of merit. Thus, in Goa, as in Rome and Lisbon, the Jesuits did their utmost to secure the support of local political and religious institutions of power. Not infrequently, the highest dignitaries, especially the Viceroy, were related to the Kings of Portugal. Such a close relationship made it possible for the Jesuits to put into practice the maxim that a lot of good could be expected from the influence of those in a position to influence others.

In financial terms, an enormous outlay was needed to maintain a structure dispersed throughout various continents (Asia, Europe, and Africa). Besides the stations under its direct supervision, the Province of Goa was also responsible for the maintenance of the Procurator to India and Brazil, as well as for the priests destined to

84 “Se mire de se ayudar también al modo de la conversión que se usa en la India (...), y especialmente se encomende que los nuestros tengan mucha observancia y veneración al Arzobispo de Goa, y sean muy unidos con él haziéndole particularmente todos los servicios que pudieren y en todas maneras se esforcen tenerle benévolo(...)”. (Statutes by Jerónimo Nadal for the Orient, Lisbon, Summer 1561, in “DI”, vol. V, p 159.)

85 Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro Martins, the Provincial of India, Rome, 14 December 1589, in “Auszüge”, p. 138.
the Orient and first stationed in Lisbon. The Jesuits clearly proved most successful in
their task of fund-raising as they became the most conspicuous Order in the Portuguese
world. In this sense, in the estimate of a historian of the Portuguese Overseas
Expansion, Michael Pearson, circa one half of the royal expenditure for religious
activity went to the Society of Jesus during the sixteenth century. Moreover, according
to Charles Borges, the great expert on the economics of the Jesuits in Goa,

"they were absolute masters of a great part of the Island of Goa, and the property
they had in Salsete was sufficient to maintain all the religious houses in Goa".

In addition to the royal and well-paid jobs often held by members of the Society,
their income derived to a large extent from lands, rents, and both direct (cash and
goods) and indirect subventions handed over to them by the Crown. D. João III (King of
Portugal from 1521 to 1557), as well as D. Sebastião (King of Portugal from 1568 to
1578) were particularly magnanimous in sponsoring the Society of Jesus in Portugal as
well as in its overseas territories. However, the subsequent kings became less liberal.
The Jesuit sources of the late 1580s' contain the frequent complaint that Philip II of
Portugal (1578-1621) had refused the benefices sought on behalf of India. The
Monarch was determined to reduce the priests' grants. As has been pointed out by
Dauril Alden, royal payments to the Society in the Orient seem to have been quite

86 PEARSON, M. N., The Portuguese in India, p. 120.
87 BORGES, Charles J., Foreign Jesuits and native resistance in Goa, 1542-1579, in Theotonio de Souza
88 Jerónimo Cardoso (Procurator of India) to Claudio Acquaviva, Lisbon, 19 April 1586, in "DI", vol.
XIV, p. 326 and Jerónimo Cardoso to Claudio Acquaviva, Lisbon, 25 September 1586, in "DI", vol.
XIV, p. 337-338.
89 Filipe I, King of Portugal, to Matías de Albuquerque, Viceroy of India, Lisbon, 16 January 1591, fourth
regular until the 1620s. Then, they went into arrears four years. Thus, the Jesuits quickly had to face the bitter truth that the royal subventions were not enough to support a rapidly expanding series of stations. They learnt that the Crown’s offers were not always respected by the employees overseas. The royal rents were uncertain as they depended very much on the disposition and good will of the Governor. Often the royal will was given scarce enforcement in India, because of disorganisation and bad government. From the end of the sixteenth century onwards, people complained that the finances of the State were very much impoverished due to the general corruption among officials and functionaries and due to the deteriorating economic situation.

The Jesuits were thus constrained to find different sources of subsistence. They proved to have a striking ability to improve their economic situation by attracting a great number of patrons and developing an impressive range of imaginative sources of income. Their financial sources included legacies and donations from private people in Asia, Europe and Africa, land-owning, commercial activities and other especially lucrative commissions such as banking, customs revenues, agricultural estates, urban investments, the lending of capital, the leasing of assets of their property or establishments and trade (silk from Japan or the pearls). Their talent in attracting the generosity of patrons soon provoked the envy of other orders. The latter complained that the Jesuits always had enough money to start the construction of new houses.

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90 ALDEN, Dauril, The making of an enterprise, p. 372.

91 For instance, the well-known work O Soldado Prático by Diogo do Couto deals with corruption among the Portuguese employees overseas. The author argued that the employees of the Estado Português do Oriente dedicated themselves to the systematic plundering of the State. Indeed, his essay is so critical of the Portuguese Overseas Empire that this work was published only in 1790. (For an interesting discussion of Couto’s arguments, see: WINIUS, Georg, The black legend of Portuguese India: Diogo do Couto, his contemporaries and the Soldado Práctico: a contribution to the study of political corruption in the empires of Early Modern Europe, New Delhi, 1985)
whenever they wished to. Moreover, the Generals attempted to limit the Jesuits' economic activities, first of all, by keeping a pretty watchful eye on such practices. Whenever possible, the Curia Generalizia was to be informed about the activities of the local Jesuits. Lainez authorised his subordinates to involve themselves in trade, after they had asked their superiors for permission. Mercurian afterwards prescribed that the investment of legacies and gifts in other good works of the Society required his authorisation. Single priests were prohibited from asking their relatives and friends for goods, as this ran against the spirit of poverty of the Society. In cases of great necessity, the priests had to ask their superior for permission before asking for alms.

Secondly, headquarters made the serious attempt to restrict some of the most common economic Jesuit practices in India. Everard Mercurian authorised the superiors of Jesuit residences to accept royal salaries and alms. Only residences that could later be transformed into colleges were permitted to dispose of regular rents. When the rents or goods were donated on the condition that they would not be sold, they could be

92 "Parece que nos teem em conta de fazermos tudo o que queremos e que não nos falta dinheiro pêra qualquer obra." (Henrique Henriques to Claudio Acquaviva, Tuticorin, 14 December 1589, in "DI", vol. XV, p. 452.)

93 WICKI, Joseph "Auszüge", p. 126.

94 "En la del no trattar negocios seglares, parece no convendrá que ayz se guardasse estrechamente, pues esse médio es eficaz para los negocios spirituales, a los quales se enderszan los otros. Y ayz con obedientia y licencia del superior puédanse trattar essos negocios seglares al modo que V. R. Scrive." (Juan de Polanco on behalf o f General Diego Lainez to Antônio Quadros, Rome, 31 December 1560, in "DI", vol. IV, p. 861.)


96 "Non est ferendum ut petant quicquam a parentibus, cognates vel amicis in proprium commodum, ut sunt libris, vestes et huiusmodi quae petuntur tanquam a suis: tunc enim et videratur habere quondam speciem proprietatis et fiducia quaedam colloceratur in huiusmodi hominibus a qua longe abesse debent vere pauperes. Si autem nostrorum aliquis aliquio mittatur et re vera in eo statu constituator, ut illi petenda eleemosyna sit, poterit superior concedere si cum aedificatione et nomine eleemosynae fiat, ut sicut ab aliis petere potest, ita et ab his petat." (Second Congregation o f the Province o f India, Goa, 13-25 November 1583, in "DI", vol. XIII, p. 343).
accepted as alms, and subsequently sold and used for the maintenance of the priests in
the residences. Otherwise, they could not be sold, but were either to be handed over to
the Bishop so that they could be used in pious works or inherited by the family of the
benefactor. The rents and goods left to the Society without reference to any particular
residence were not included in this decision. They could be used by the nearest
college. Jesuit houses were authorised to receive alms consisting of bienes stables, or
real estate, on the condition that these were destined to the fathers living there, and
without limitations concerning their sale. The Jesuit houses, however, were forbidden to
receive real estate when this was destined for other churches or devout works. When it
was completely bequeathed to the Society, it belonged to the nearest college. Only
residences that would later become colleges were allowed to receive real estate in
perpetuo. Moreover, the monetary gifts were to be kept separately. If not, property
donated was to be handed over to the Bishop so that he might use them in charitable
works or give it as a donation. The colleges could not ask for gifts, but could accept
them, on condition that they would not betray the trust of the donors. The Jesuits were
not allowed to write testaments for others, and donations could only be accepted when
the Jesuits had not written the testament of the donor.

Sometimes, the Jesuits were even instructed to give up certain economic
activities that went against the spirit and the nature of the Order, of the Modo Nostro. In

97 (VALIGNANO, Alessandro, Summary of the rules of the Province of India (1588), in “Di”, vol. XIV,
p. 868.)
98 Everard Mercurian to Alessandro Valignano, Visitor, and Rui Vicente, Provincial, 1575, in Joseph
100 “Quod attinet ad testamenta, iam regula nostris sacerdotibus praescripta est, quam cum aliis sequenter.
Si quando autem charitibas et necessitas aliquem e nostris urgeret ad testamentum scribendum, nihil
admittetur pro Societate nostra.” (Answers of Everard Mercurian to the First Congregation of the
particular, several decrees and instructions enacted by Claudio Acquaviva for India demonstrate the concern that the economic activities of the Jesuits in the Orient are not contrary to the spirit of the Order. He had been informed that the priests in Goa and Cochin were involved in the acquisition and shipping of goods for laymen and similar matters. Thus, he required Pedro Martins, Provincial of India (1587-1592), to take measures against this abuse of the regulations. Moreover, in his opinion, nowhere, especially in India, should the Jesuits engage in the secular affairs of their relatives. The rules for the Province of India compiled by Alessandro Valignano decreed that no goods were to be sent to other places in order to be exchanged, except those necessary for the upkeep of the colleges. These goods had to be allowed by the laws and by royal prescriptions. When a profit resulted from the exchange, the goods acquired had to be kept for a period of one year. Acquaviva threatened to cancel this permission if his orders were disrespected. Unsurprisingly, the involvement of the members of the Order in illegal trade much displeased General Acquaviva. He opposed the widespread practice of exchanging reis or reales and he combated the "scandalous trade in silks and cloves".

With regard to private benefactors, the Portuguese soldiers, merchants, and women, especially widows, ranked among the most generous supporters of the Jesuit enterprise in the Orient. Members of the European nobility and the local converted

101 General Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro Martins, Provincial of India (1587-1592), in "Auszüge", p. 135.
102 Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro Martins, Provincial of India, 14 December 1589, in "Auszüge", p. 138-139.
103 Claudio Acquaviva to Provincial Pedro Martins, Provincial of India, 14 December 1589, Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro Martins, Provincial of India, 22 January 1590, and Claudio Acquaviva to Francisco Cabral, 14 January 1597, in "Auszüge", p. 138, Extracts of letters by Claudio Acquaviva to Pedro de Mascarenhas, Rome, 1588-1592, in "DI", vol. XIII, p. 811-812, and Claudio Acquaviva...
Christians also played a fundamental role in this process. Notwithstanding the fact that
the Jesuit documentation contains few references to the less conspicuous benefactors,
they were, however, particularly numerous in the Eastern part of the Portuguese
empire.\textsuperscript{104} Moreover, private generosity expressed itself best through the confraternities,
which were particularly fostered by Ignatius and by Claudio Acquaviva.\textsuperscript{105} All Jesuit
churches had confraternities attached to them, which had up to two thousand
members.\textsuperscript{106} The Jesuits were the only missionaries in many places in India. Thus, their
supporters considered them essential to assure the cult and the proper upkeep of their
churches and altars. Without them, it would have been too expensive for the Society to
maintain its churches and altars properly.\textsuperscript{107} By contrast, General Borja was of the
opinion that the Jesuits taking care of souls in churches, hospitals and confraternities
was not in conformity with the Institute. Therefore, he ordered that the Jesuits in India
to give up these activities.\textsuperscript{108} Some of the arguments commonly used by both the
defenders and the opponents of the confraternities in the Indian area can be found in the
text of the First Congregation of the Province of India. Point 16 is precisely entitled “on

\textit{to Alessandro Valignano S. J., Provincial of India, Rome, 24 December, 1585, p. 151 and p. 155.}

\textsuperscript{104} ALDEN, Dauril, \textit{Some considerations concerning Jesuit enterprises in Asia}, p. 57-58 and ALDEN,
Dauril, \textit{The making of an enterprise}, p. 367-368.

\textsuperscript{105} WICKI, Joseph, \textit{Dois Compendios}, p. 389.

\textsuperscript{106} Luis Frós to his companions in Coimbra, Goa, 1 December 1552, in “DI”, vol. II, p. 476-477.

\textsuperscript{107} “Quanto poi alle confrarie, militano l’istesse, perché in molti luoghi della India non sta altra religione
che la Compagnia; et si ivi nelle sue chiese non usassero delle confrarie, mancarebbe questo culto et
questa divozione di queste congregazioni et perciò, se non fossero queste confrarie che tengono cura
delle chiese ornamentandole et provendole di molti altre cose et aiutando et che stiano bem al ordine,
non si potrebbero se non con molto travaglio et dificilità sostentare et tenere com decencia che
conviene;” (Diogo da Cunha S. J. to Everard Mercurian, Coulan, 2, January 1578, in “DI”, vol. XI,
p. 126.)

\textsuperscript{108} “Porque es muy ageno de nuestro Instituto y intento encargarnos de la cura de las ánimas, (...),
descárgase la Compañía de todo lo que parece ser cargo de almas en yglesias, hospitales, confarrias,
institución de niños, etc.” (\textit{Instruction by Francisco Borja to the Visitor of India} (1567), \textit{Rome, 10
confraternities”. It begins by declaring that some priests shared the opinion that the Society should abolish confraternities as soon as possible, but that they should pay attention not to cause a scandal. Those retained should be limited to helping the “confrade” in spirit, and should not give the impression that they were maintained for temporal use or ceremony. The defenders considered the confraternities to be a necessary instrument to the Order as they were part of the Catholic cult and religion. Their existence in the Orient was deemed essential both for the care of the Christians and as a fundamental instrument to foster the conversion of the “gentiles”. They were the property of the bishop, not of the Society. The Jesuits were not members (confrades) of these confraternities, and consequently, to run them was not against the Constitutions.109

3. Wide ranging conversion strategy (tabula rasa versus accommodation)

There is nothing new in the affirmation that the main aspect of the Jesuit presence in India was its activity of conversion. In the first official document, which was submitted to Paul III and incorporated in the bull which approved of the new order—the Regimi militantis ecclesiae (1549), the Jesuits stated that their purpose was to spread the faith, i.e., the well-known and revolutionary fourth vow to obey the Pope with regard to missions- or being sent to work among the non-baptised. Secondly, India played a particularly important role in the Jesuit missionary enterprise. The Province of India was the oldest Jesuit province outside Europe, and it constituted the first experimentation field for its missionary vocation. Until 1542, the few missionaries who

had been sent to the Orient had achieved few conversions. The arrival of the Jesuits marked the beginning of the firm establishment of the Catholic agents and of the development of missionary strategies. As it shall be seen later on, the Jesuits were the uncontested leaders of the Christian missionary effort within the Padroado.110

Be it individually or in groups, all work of evangelisation had a specific target. A remarkable feature of the Jesuits' missionary activity was the fact that they were able to minister to all social classes. The Jesuits were apparently the first to recognise the necessity of converting the upper classes. Underlying this strategy lays the assumption that if the leaders were converted, the subjects would follow more easily. The conversion of the higher social and economic groups would also hopefully contribute for the increase of patronage.111 In this sense, as early as 1540, Paul IV granted an important document concerning missions, the Cum nos super, to the Society of Jesus. This papal document, which was to introduce Xavier to the Ethiopian and Asian princes, was intended to ensure that the latter would permit and promote Christianity in the countries they governed.

Ignatius considered Christ to have been sent into the world especially for the sake of the poor.112 Jeromino Nadal (1507-1580), who with his celebrated phrase “contemplation in action”, articulated the idea of Jesuit mission best, believed that one

110 BOXER, Charles Ralph, The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, p. 49.

111 “Et como si convertono anchora le caste honorate et sta tanto vicino a Goa, è più facile et più dilettevole impreza pera se sostentare et alla quale si applicano li nostri piu volontieri.” (VALIGNANO, Alessandro, Summariun Indicum, Malacca, 22 November to 8 December 1577, in “DI”, vo. XIII, p. 22.)

112 “Tanti sono grandi li poveri nel conspecto divino, che per quelli specialmente fu mandato Jesù Xpo. in terra, propter miserarium inopum et gemitum pauperum nunc exurgam, dicit Dominus; et in altro luogo, evangelizare pauperibus misi me. (...)” (Ignatius to the Jesuits in Padova, Rome, 7 August 1547, in “MI”, vo. I, p. 573-574.)
of the main ministries of the Society was to care for the souls which no one wanted.\textsuperscript{113} Echoing these approaches, the Society did not fail to cast its nets in order to catch persons from the lower classes, as well. Together with the Franciscans, who organised, for example, the mass conversions in the Bassein area in the 1540s, the Jesuits were the main actors in the conversion of unprivileged groups in India. In this context, it goes without saying that the Jesuits introduced the practice of mass baptisms there. They were the main responsible for the mass conversion of the major part of the Goa inhabitants between 1540 and 1570.\textsuperscript{114} By 1600, 100,000 out of the 175,000 people converted to Catholicism there were the low caste fishermen and pearl divers who Xavier and later Jesuits had converted on the South West Coast.\textsuperscript{115} Along the same lines, it is reported that, in 1560, 20,000 inhabitants of Goa converted to Catholicism, of whom almost 13,000 were due to the Jesuits.\textsuperscript{116}

In their procedure of conversion, Jesuits in Asia were no exception to the contemporary politics of intolerance and bigotry. Francis Xavier was one of the first to demand the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa.\textsuperscript{117} When he heard that somebody had constructed a temple, he went there and ordered it to be razed to the ground.\textsuperscript{118} In 1567, the destruction of the temples on the Peninsula of Salsete (Goa) was undertaken at the insistence of the Jesuits.\textsuperscript{119} In his \textit{Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{113} O'MALLEY, John, \textit{The first Jesuits}, p. 73.
\item \textsuperscript{114} D'COSTA, Anthony, \textit{The Christianisation of the Goan Islands}, p. 119.
\item \textsuperscript{115} PEARSON, Michael N., \textit{The Portuguese in India}, p. 121.
\item \textsuperscript{116} WICKI, Joseph, \textit{Das Portugiesische Padroado}, p. 276.
\item \textsuperscript{117} WICKI, Joseph, \textit{Die ältere katholische Mission in der Begegnung mit Indien}, p. 279.
\item \textsuperscript{118} SCHURHAMMER, Georg, \textit{Francisco Javier: su vida y su tiempo}, vol. II, p. 431.
\item \textsuperscript{119} D'COSTA, Anthony, \textit{The Christianisation of the Goan Islands}, p. 14.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
de Jesús (1583), Alessandro Valignano affirmed proudly that it was due to the Jesuit Francisco Rodrigues that, in 1557, Governor Francisco Barreto passed some discriminatory measures (the interdiction of public jobs to the gentiles, the prohibition of all gentile ceremonies and of non-Catholics, the rule according to which the Converted natives would have the same privileges as the Europeans) against non-Christians. The Jesuits used force in converting people until the early seventeenth century, at least. They were, indeed, widely condemned for undertaking forced conversions. Third parties accused them of not respecting the decrees of the councils and of the Constitutions of the Province, which declared that the heathen should be converted by the gentle methods of the law of Christ and through preaching.

At the same time, however, the Jesuits were at the forefront of the politics of accommodation or modo soave as a substitute strategy for a policy of severity and intolerance in many places and on many occasions. One letter written by Francis Xavier from Malacca on 20 January 1548 marks the decisive turning point in Xavier’s mission. One fundamental reason underlying this policy was that the Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rated much more the “civilised” Japanese and

120 VALIGNANO, Alessandro, Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañía de Jesús, p. 345.

121 A report written by a missionary of the Propaganda Fide in 1624 contains the information that the Jesuits had forcibly baptised many of the inhabitants of Salsete. For this reason, the Hindus escaped to the neighbouring territories, and the Society appropriated their goods. (Report by Visitor Francisco Donati, of the Order of the Predicants, 22 February 1624, in “SOCG” 138, f. 236-236r.)

122 First Council (1567), Second Session, First Decree, in “Documentação”, p. 341, and First Constitutions for the Archdiocese of India (1568), First Title, in “Documentação”, p. 487.

123 “Estando en una ciudad de Malaca me dieron grandes nuevas unos mercadores portugueses, (...), de unas islas muy grandes, de poco tiempo a esta parte descubiertas, las cuales se llaman las islas de Japón, donde, segundo parece delles, se faría mucho fruto en aumentar nuestra sancta fe, más que en nengunas otras partes de la India, por ser ella una gente desesa de saber en grande manera, lo que tienen estos gentes de la India.” (Francis Xavier to his companions in Rome, Malacca, 20 January 1548, in “EX, vol. I, p. 390, and LACOUTURE, Jean, I Gesuiti, La Conquista (1540-1773), Casale Monferrato, 1993, p. 154.)
Chinese than they did of the “less developed” Indians. In his De procuranda, José de Acosta (1540-1600) distinguished three categories of barbarians according to their availability to learn Christianity. The Chinese, the Japanese and the natives of certain parts of India occupied the leading position as they were able to read and to write. 124

Generally speaking, the Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries classified the people of the world as white (Europeans, Japanese, and the inhabitants of the Muslim empires) and black (Amerindians, Filipinos, Indonesians, Indians, Africans). 125

Hence, under the guidance of Alessandro Valignano, the Jesuit missions to China and Japan became the most popular ones. 126 It comes also therefore as no surprise that the Jesuits employed in those stations often showed a particular readiness to adapt, and to strip non-essential elements from Christianity. 127 They devised ingenious ways of transmitting a model of Christianity, which, in some cases, was profoundly imbued with local coordinates. One originality of this conversion policy laid precisely in their insistence on making the possible converts know and understand the veracity and superiority of Christianity vis à vis other religions, at least in the eyes of the Europeans.


125 BAILEY, Gauvin Alexander, Arts on the Jesuit missions, p. 33.


127 For instance, the China missionary Matteo Ricci, who was one of the more distinguished adepts of the Modo Soave, dressed in oriental manner, was a vegetarian and refused to be called a “Parangue”, i.e., a European, in the local language. He was also one of the first Europeans to write theological treatises in an Indian language. As it is also of general knowledge, the Italian Jesuit Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656) guided a similar accommodation process in in Madura (Malabar). (CLOONEY S. J., Francis X. Roberto de Nobili’s Dialogue on Eternal Life and an early Jesuit Evaluation of Religion in Southern India, in Gauvin Alexander Bailey and John O’Malley, “The Jesuits, The Cultures, Sciences and the Arts”, 402-438 and ROSS, Andrew C. Alessandro Valignano and Culture in the East, in Gauvin Alexander Bailey and John O’Malley (ed.), “The Jesuits, The Cultures, Sciences and the Arts”, p. 336-349. and ZUPANOW, Ines, Disputed mission: Jesuit experiments and Brahmanical knowledge in seventeenth-century India, New Delhi and New York, 1999, p. 5.)
The barbarians should freely convert.\textsuperscript{128} As a matter of fact, several priests labouring in Asia quickly recognised the impossibility of converting the indigenous population by force as they had particularly strong and entrenched religious and socio-cultural backgrounds. It is also crystal clear that the strategy of accommodation was the only possible strategy in regions located in non-Portuguese territories or in which the Portuguese were militarily weak.

In a letter dated 1569 and addressed to General Borgia, Visitor Gonçalo Alvarez complained that the ornaments and objects that had been sent from Europe for the sacristies of churches in India were not sufficiently decorated for the local standards. He went on declaring that the external ceremonies were essential for the recently converted people to worship God.\textsuperscript{129} This statement shall demonstrate my next point, which is that, in their conversion strategy, the Jesuits in India particularly relied on the appeal through the senses for the excitement of religious emotion. They performed imposing ceremonies in order to make the neophytes forget the religious ceremonies of their previous religion. Various things which had been prohibited by the Council of Trent were permitted in India because they were common in Portugal and they were especially useful in converting.\textsuperscript{130} Also particularly illustrative is the fact that official

\textsuperscript{128} PROSPERI, Adriano, Tribunali della Coscienza, p. 586-587.

\textsuperscript{129} "Vi os ornamentos e list das cousas da sachristia; não me parecem sobejamente ricos para estas partes, onde as cerimonias exteriores ajudão tanto a estes novos christãos que sem ellas non ita in solo spiritu adorarent Dominum." (Gonçalo Alvares, Visitor to India, to Francisco Borja, Goa, 5 December 1569, in "Dl", VIII, p. 116).

\textsuperscript{130} "Y antes de todas las cosas digo qe en esta parte las cosas destes reynos de Portugal no se puedem juzgar conforme al uso de Roma y de toda Italia, adonde los bailes y máscaras y villanos, y otras semejantes inveniciones son muy estrañados en las yglesias, processiones y otros actos publicos y solemnnes que hazen los prelados y religiosos en sus yglesias, y aun son prohibidas conforme al decreto que sobre esto hizo el Consilio Tridentino. Mas en los reynos de Portugal no solo non son prohibidas ni si estrañan estas cosas, mas antes en las processiones quanto más son solemnnes más son acompañadas de danças y bailes de muchachos y niños y de folias, y de gigantes y otras representaciones mostruosas, y aun de villanos y diabletes que hazen reyr las gentes. Y en la India aun creo que es más, (...), y assí se hazen grandes castillos y naves que pelean unas con otras, y
documentation and private letters constantly express the wish to combat the excessive
pomp of religious festivities such as processions. The Third Congregation even forbade
the Order to organise processions (they had introduced the important Procession of the
Santos Passos in Goa in 1551) unless the General decided otherwise.\footnote{Acts of the
Third Congregation of the Province of India with the answers, Goa, October 1588-Rome,
1590, Decree 12, in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 17.}

Relics were practically always exposed by day- and sometimes at night and they
were object of special ritual on occasion of all main festivities. Actually, the same as the
local Jesuits, headquarters in Rome recognised the importance of relics in India in order
to foster devotion.\footnote{... imo et reliquias sanctorum, et alia, si quae sunt, quae isthie
fovere religionem ac pietatem christianem possint, et collegio civitatique vestrae et
regionibus usitis expedere iuducatibitis. (Juan de Polanco to Niccolò Lanciloti, Rome,
22 November 1547, in “DI”, vol. I, p. 207.)} To a great extent, these relics were associated with persons whose
cult was mainly due to the Jesuit Order, such as the heads and other bodily relics of the
Eleven Thousand Virgins, and especially to the “local figures”: Francis Xavier and the
Martyrs of Salsete. The Feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins was one of the high
points in the agenda. More precisely, as early as 1559, the 21st October, the feast day of
Saint Ursula and of the Eleven Thousand Virgins was the official starting date of the
school year at \textit{S. Paulo}. In time, this practice became the norm for all colleges of the
Society of Jesus in the Orient. One of the Jubilees was given and disputations also took
place on this feast-day. Thus, this festivity was celebrated with great splendour and
display as the Jesuits in the various Indian towns and the lay members of the
confraternities of these Holy Virgins competed with each other to celebrate the feast in

\footnote{Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Acquaviva, Cochim, 16 December 1584, in “DI”,
vol. XIII, p. 735.}
the greatest form of splendour and spending considerable sums of money.\textsuperscript{133} They excelled in the decoration of the streets and of their churches. Branches, richly coloured rugs and cloth from China and Flanders were profusely used.\textsuperscript{134} Moreover, decorative structures or settings, such as pyramids, were set inside or outside churches and marked out the processional routes.\textsuperscript{135} The Jesuits used visual means in all possible ways. In the 1560’s, the Jesuits used to raise a small altar with pictures and candles on the streets in Goa.\textsuperscript{136} Furthermore, in 1560, they decided to print images in Goa in order to distribute them among the indigenous population.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{133} WICKI, Joseph, \textit{Die Konzilien}, p. 247.

\textsuperscript{134} “Dia das Omze Mil-Virgens, que há a vinte e hum de Octubro, ..., foi a festa muy celebrada, asi em louvor da virgem, cuja cabeça aqui temos, (...). A igreja se concertou ricamente, armando a capela-mor com a tapeçaria do Viso-rei e por cima com panos da China bordados. Fez-se para a mesma festa hum frontal novo de brocado, os altares muy acompanhados de alampadas e castigáis de prata, o corpo de godomecis e panos da Flandres, e por sima muitas bandeiras; e o terreiro da igreja até o principio das escolas, com ariqueiras frescas arvoradas de huma banda e de outra.” (Luís Fróis to his companions in Europe, Goa, [before 12] October 1559, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 294)

\textsuperscript{135} As we can read in the account of the Italian Pietro della Valle, who was a testimony to the festivities celebrating the canonisation of Ignatius and of Xavier in Goa in 1624, the Order organised then imposing cavalcades of its scholars accompanied by chairs where there stood musicians and men holding flags who set decorated pyramids in front of the Jesuit buildings, as well as in front of the Palace of the Viceroy and in front of the Cathedral. (Seventh Letter by Pierre della Valle from Goa, Goa, 31 January 1624, p. 302-303) (For other descriptions of these festivities in Goa see also SCHURHAMMER, Georg, \textit{Festas de Goa no ano de 1624}, in Georg Schurhammer, Gesammelte Studien-Varia, vol. IV, p. 493-495).

\textsuperscript{136} “E pera a festa ser mais solene, en cada lugar onde se há-de dizer a doutrina armão hum altar pequeno na rua, com ymagens devotas e velas acesas, (…)” (Gomes Vaz to Leão Henriques, Goa, 29 Novembro 1566, in “Documenta Indica”, vol. VII, p. 50.)

\textsuperscript{137} “Ho Padre Patriarcha sabendo disto, como tinha grande zelo da honnra de Deus e do bem desta christandade, ordenou com o P.e Francisco Rodríguez que se impressim esse aqui, de forma, algumas ymagens de Christo curcificado com a Virgem Nossa Senhora de huma parte e São João da outra, para se repartirem com estes christáos, e asi terem com ellas a memória mais fresca do mistério de sua redenção. Este domingo passado, vinte e quatro de Novembro, levarão cada hum dos Hirmãos obra de huma dúzia para darem nas igrejas aos principais por serem as primeiras que se fizerão. (….) Agora se ficão começando a imprimir oito ou dez mil cartas destas, para que se possão dar polas aldeas em todas as casas dos christáos. (Luís Fróis to his companions in Portugal, Goa, 8 December 1560, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 797-798). On the subject see also WICKI, Joseph, \textit{IV Centenário da Primeira Imprensa em Goa}, Lisboa, 1956, p. 8-9.
Dances performed by the children of the converted natives were a constant part of the mass baptisms. Moreover, in India, as everywhere else, *teatro sacro* was a convenient apostolic instrument of instruction and indoctrination. They encouraged the converts to stage theatrical performances of Christs’ Life (they introduced the performance of the Passion of Christ in Goa in 1551), of the life of Saints, Martyrs, local figures and of special local devotions, such as the cult of the Guardian Angel and of the Conversion of Saint Paul. Sometimes, these plays lasted for several days.

All fathers, except one, who met at the first Congregation for the Province of India, agreed on keeping music in the churches. Music was particularly helpful in the conversion of the indigenous people. Thus, if they would extinguish music in the churches, conversion would suffer. All in all, similarly to other missionary areas (Brazil, Paraguay, Filipinas), a far flung musical tradition developed in Goa and throughout India. From the early days, music was widely used on feast days, such as

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138 “Fez-se este bautismo (at Eastern) com muito apparato de danças, musica et caet., de que os gentios que alli morão ficarão confusos. O 4.º bautismo se fez no collegio com maiores festas e apparatos que todos os demais, por serem, os que nelles se bautizarão, filhos da principal gente de Salsete, (...), e alguns brachmenes principaes (...). Sairão da seeem procissão com danças e muitos tangeres, (...), até ao collègio.” (Annual Letter of the Province of India, Goa, November 1588, in “DI”, vol., p. 98-99)


141 Deliberations concerning questions related to the Province of India, Choran, 6-18 December 1575, in “DI”, vol. IX, p. 258-259.

142 For example, the Jesuits founded the first music school in Brazil in 1553. (O’MALLEY, John, *The First Jesuits*, p. 159.). As regards music and Jesuits in Brazil, see, for instance CASTAGNA, Paulo, *The use of Music by the Jesuits in the Conversion of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil*, in O’MALLEY, John (et all), *The Jesuits, Cultures, Sciences and the Arts*, p. 641-658. William summer in his “The Jesuits in Manila, 1581-1621: The role of Music in Rite, Ritual, and Spectacle” offers us a good entrée in subject of the Jesuit ceremonial in the Filipinas. (SUMMERS, William, *Jesuits in
requiems for important people, mass baptisms, Christmas, Easter and the days of
patrons. A variety of musicians was also employed. Besides the Jesuits’ own choirs,
Franciscans and Dominicans often sang at Jesuit churches during the solemn masses,
and choirs of boys, slaves and visitors (laymen) and all sorts of instruments embellished
the Jesuit ceremonial.143
Chapter 5: Conclusions

I hope to have explained and justified the expression *Modo Goano* as a designation for an artistic production that resulted from a series of elements found exclusively in this cultural and geographical area, and which, at arm's length, contradicted some of the essential features of the *Modo Nostro*. The Society of Jesus was a centralised order. Most of the important decisions were reserved for the headquarters in Rome, especially for the Generals and the General Congregations. Moreover, the Order created two extraordinary posts, the "Visitor" and the "Reporter" of the missions, whose task was to assure that the General was informed of all main aspects regarding the development of even the most distant provinces and that the General's orders would be respected. Nonetheless, one first assertion that I should like to make is that, in Goa, the local ecclesiastical leaderships often took fundamental decisions on art independently and without reference to Rome. Underlying this, the specific rules and instructions which applied to India gave local priests more powers than the priests in Europe had. For instance, both Francisco Borja and Claudio Acquaviva authorised the Provincial of India to begin any new building when he considered it to be necessary. At the same time, it is well-known that practical contingencies (wars, shipwrecks, etc.,) prevented the delivery of orders and the answers from Rome from reaching Goa. The ground-plans were to be created in the province, then went to Rome for approval and were later sent back to the provinces. However, I know with certainty of only one occasion on which a plan for a new settlement - the plan for the Professed House - was *de facto* sent to Rome for approval, and that the approval afterwards returned to India. In addition, and contrary to the prescribed way of acting in art, Valignano did not use this plan, but preferred to use another one that he considered more adequate to the local conditions. Also particularly illustrative is the
fact that Acquaviva, who was deeply concerned about the Jesuits maintaining the spirit of poverty in the architecture and decoration of their buildings, failed to enforce among his subordinates his orders to reduce the exaggerate decoration of the Professed House. The history of the foundation of both the Professed House and of S. Paulo Novo against the will of the main local authorities and even against the will of the Crown shows the power of the Jesuits in Goa. The local Jesuits were so powerful that, at times, they took the liberty to begin artistic enterprises without asking for the authorisation of either the secular or the non-Jesuit ecclesiastic hierarchies, or without waiting for their permission.

Undoubtedly, the great construction and decoration campaigns undertaken by the Jesuits in Goa were possible, first of all, due to their ability to cultivate the favour of the political, social and religious authorities. Gregory XIII (1572-1585) founded many colleges of the Society, which, in geographically terms, extended as far as Japan. This was not the case of Goa. Neither Gregory nor any other Pope is reported to have ever been involved in commissioning Jesuit artistic undertakings in Goa. However, I affirm that the favour of the Papacy was fundamental for the creation and progress of Jesuit settlements. For instance, Xavier was authorised to decide on any artistic undertakings without Rome asking for approval, which shortened the time it took to build crucially. The Goan Jesuits founded their main settlement, the Professed House, *intra canna* as, in contrast to the other orders the Jesuits in India were exempted from the “rule of the *canna*”. Such an exemption was essential for them to build their houses in the best available places. Visitors to Jesuit churches could profit from special indulgences, and could also leave legacies and donations, thereby making a contribution, which enabled Jesuits to make their churches particularly attractive to the faithful. While the Papacy contributed to the progress of the Jesuit settlements through legislation that was
favourable to the interests of the Society, the Portuguese Crown and their local representatives, the Viceroy s, were perhaps even more decisive in the success of the Society of Jesus in India. King D. João III was a great supporter of the Jesuit enterprise and Jesuit sources often described Martim Afonso de Sousa (1542-1545), Governor of India, as a very good friend of the Society. In addition, the Crown was fundamental in the development of Jesuit buildings, as they were sponsored by means of large sums of money both at their foundation and as rents. In 1554, Viceroy D. João de Albuquerque allotted them with more and better land than was given to the Franciscans or to the Dominicans. Thus, the Jesuits were also privileged in the attribution of missionary areas.

The immense artistic activity undertaken by the Jesuits in India, including Goa, was only possible because they were the richest order there. In addition to the Crown, the Jesuits drew much of their income from the emergent noble class of colonial administrators and from the increasing mercantile groups. They supported all artistic procedures, such as the founding of new houses and conservation, enlargement and ornamentation works. For instance, the main church of the Society, the Bom Jesus, was exclusively founded thanks to the liberal donation of Jerónimo Mascarenhas, who was the brother of some Jesuits in Goa and who had been Captain of Hormuz, later becoming a very successful merchant. The patrons were certainly very generous, so much so that the Society was even able to reject a donation to the Bom Jesus. Besides the Portuguese, many other Europeans, who were mainly traders, visited and inhabited Goa. However, they apparently had no interest in sponsoring Jesuit art in Goa. Except for the shrine for Xavier that was partly made at the expense of the devote Marcello Mastrilli and of Ferdinand, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, all patrons associated with Jesuit art in Goa were Portuguese living in the Orient and converted natives. Under
Borgia and Mercurian, the usefulness and the legality of lay confraternities in India were questioned. However, confraternities of both Portuguese and Indians were important sponsors of Jesuit art in Goa as all churches had confraternities attached to them.

The Province of India was the first Jesuit province outside Europe. Consequently, the oldest Jesuit installations outside Europe were those erected in Goa and they are dated from the 1560's. They ranked among the first *proprium domicilium* of the Order. Indeed, Jesuit architecture *latum sensum* dates mainly from the 1580s. Goa was at the forefront of the educational vocation of the Jesuits, and the College of S. Paulo Velho was one of the first educational institutions owned by the Society. The Province of India, later of Goa, had all levels of membership proper to the Society of Jesus: professed fathers, spiritual and temporal coadjutors, scholastics and novices. As Goa was the capital of the Province, the complex structure of the interlocking but tendentiously independent institutions that exemplified the wide-ranging “*consuetudinum ministeria*” developed by the Society was established there. With the exception of houses for the practice of the Spiritual Exercises within less than fifty years after their arrival, the Jesuits ran all the different kinds of houses of the Order in Goa. Besides the many churches, the most important buildings worth mentioning are the three colleges (1555, 1574 and 1618), the Professed House (1583), the male and female Catechumenates (1553), the Noviciate and the two houses of recreation.
Visual and documentary evidence demonstrate that Jesuit Goan buildings reflect some of the main principles fostered by the Order, such as centralia, urbana, utilia, sana, romana. Both S. Paulo Velho and S. Paulo Novo were located on two of the most populated quarters of Goa. The construction of the Professed House at the heart of the city and near the centres of power (the cathedral and the residence of the viceroy) represents the policy to choose sites in the centre of populated towns and cities, in accordance with the general policy of the Society in the construction of its houses. When I described the history of the main settlements, I referred to the constant moves and to the controversies that these moves caused. In addition to the attacks by non-Christian natives (which was the case of the College and of the smaller settlements on the Peninsula of Salsete), practical reasons, including health concerns, were common causes for these transfers. As everywhere else, the Jesuits in Goa placed a very high value upon Italian art as a model to be imitated. For instance, the style of the façade of the second church of S. Paulo Velho (1560-1572) was inspired by a drawing by Sebastiano Serlio. This church was externally and internally characterised as “obra a romana”, or “che compete con le migliori di Roma”. As most churches in Goa, the architecture of Jesuit churches belonged mainly to a Mannerist tradition of Italian origin. Unsurprisingly, the interiors of Goan Jesuit churches reflected some of the typical Jesuit liturgical concerns. Illustrating this point, the Sacred Host was reserved in a lavish tabernacle on the High Altar in the first church of S. Paulo as early as 1552. The importance of the confession for the local Jesuits led them to build special chapels for the Viceroy so that he could receive the sacrament in a comfortable way and to the use of all side chapels of the Bom Jesus as places to confess the faithful.
At the same time, the application of Jesuit concepts of accommodation and flexibility to a local context that was much determined by Portuguese traditions, as well as by the need of conversion, meant that the Goan Jesuit buildings and churches had certain features that were uncommon in Jesuit buildings *latum sensum* and even contradicted the *Modo Nostro*. In the nineties, the Professed House was to take on the direction of the entire organisation in the Asian territory due to the fact that its inhabitants were the ones who directed the Jesuit missionary enterprise in the Orient.

Thus, in Goa, a different evolution is apparent from that which occurred in most of the provinces, where the colleges led in importance. Moreover, let me again repeat that the Society ran institutions in Goa that were often viewed with suspicion by Roman headquarters. General Borgia vehemently opposed the Jesuits administering the “odious orphanage” in Goa and he was greatly concerned about the fact that the Goan Jesuits were in charge of parishes. As a matter of fact, the Constitutions of the Order forbade the Jesuits to be parish priests. Nevertheless, the Jesuits never stopped running them once and forever. The numerous Jesuit settlements on the Peninsula of Salsete had a rural character, in contradiction with the above-mentioned urban principle. In spite of the Order’s rules, which limited the musical activity of its members, music was as important in Goa as it was in other missionary areas, in particular in America. The Jesuits in Goa never stopped their musical activities as they recognised their importance in conversion. As a consequence, the Goan Jesuit churches were characterised by the presence of organs. Along the same lines, the influential Alessandro Valignano justified the more imposing processions and ceremonial than in Rome by claiming that they were essential in converting and were a Portuguese custom. In the memorial written in 1590, Francisco de Monclaro, the Visitor to India, argued that the professed house in Goa should be simpler rather than grandiose. The headquarters considered both the plans of
the professed house and of the College in Salsete to be too lavish. Both artistic and written evidence bears testimony to a conscious betrayal of the norms of simplicity (nec sumptuosa, nec curiosa) that should have presided over the construction of Jesuit civil architecture as had been defined by the Decree 113 of the First General Congregation.

Secondly, I argue that the Modo Nostro decisively shaped the Modo Goano. The Jesuit buildings were thus essential in the transformation of Goa from an Indian city into a European-Christian one. Firstly, the Goan Jesuits were active participants in and main benefactors from the tabula-rasa policies as they raised most of their buildings in the sites of former mosques and pagodas and the former rents of the Hindu temples were the main source of income of the Jesuit buildings. Furthermore, both S. Paulo Velho and the College of Margan were fundamental in attracting converted inhabitants and in creating new Catholic quarters. The Jesuits formed the largest community in the Estado Português do Oriente, including Goa. Accordingly, they ran the largest number (three buildings in the city of Goa alone) and a greater variety of buildings than any other religious agents did. In addition, Jesuit buildings extended across a vaster area than the other orders. Only the Franciscans could rival them in the sense that both the Franciscans and the Jesuits had urban and rural settlements. As I stated in chapter IV, the nature of their houses resulted first of all from the land distribution in 1554. Secondly, the fact that both orders ran rural buildings shall be linked to the subject of the conversion strategies because they worked among the lower rural communities. From S. Paulo Velho onwards, the Jesuit houses were usually located in the best available places. The Professed House was located in the very heart of the city and near the centres of power. S. Paulo Novo was built upon the hills and thus in a very healthy place. Especially on account of a multinational body of artists, the Jesuits certainly contributed to the creation of the Modo Goano as an art blended from European and
non-European styles and artistic traditions that characterised the Goan Catholic art and that spread to other Indian towns. Most of the lay brothers with artistic skills related to Jesuit art in Goa (18 out of 33) were Portuguese. However, Spaniards, Flemings and, in particular, Italians ranked among the most talented artists. Simultaneously, at first glance, the Jesuit art in Goa clearly renders visible the massive employment of Indian craftsmen and artists in the carving of wood altars and retables, as painters and as goldsmiths and silversmiths.\(^1\) Diogo do Couto, the official chronicler of the *Estado Português da Índia*, compared *S. Paulo Velho* to the best contemporary colleges and expressed his astonishment at its magnificence. The local Jesuits conceived the second church of *S. Paulo Velho* as one of the most sumptuous in India. Thus, the Jesuit churches in Goa show a Triumphant Catholicism represented by large spaces that were not only adequate to the performance of imposing ceremonies, but also able to house a variety and quantity of furniture and a vast assortment of relics. They were further characterised by display of wealth both in the choice of materials and in their profuse ornamentation in the form of stately painting and rich golden woodcarving. Therefore, they contributed decisively to an architecture of power, frequently epitomised by contemporaries as “*Goa, the Rome of the Orient*” or “*Goa Dourada*”.

The description of the favourite subjects of the decoration of Jesuit buildings in Goa allows us to infer that they boasted a rich and varied iconography. A favourite model for Jesuit façades in the Orient started with the second church of *S. Paulo Velho*. More importantly, I hope that my dissertation has demonstrated the leading role played by Goan Jesuit art in the reciprocal exchange between the devotions and the iconography of the New World and the Old World during the Early Modern Period.

\(^1\) Here, it should be recalled that the Jesuits were among the main promoters of the conversion of the Goan artists in 1559 and 1560.
through the circulation of images and saintly bones from Europe to the Orient and vice versa. For instance, from S. Paulo Velho onwards, many Jesuit churches and altars were consecrated to the typical Jesuit devotion of the Apostle Saint Paul, and great celebrations, such as mass baptisms were often held on the feast-day of his Conversion. In the simultaneous process of the peripheral influence on the centre or the universalisation of the particular as brilliantly argued by Simon Ditchfield, pride of place clearly goes to Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Orient, who, in 1622, was raised from a local, regional level to the Universal pantheon of the Catholic Church. Notwithstanding the fact that the martyrs of Salsete were blessed only in 1893, they found their way into Jesuit devotion and art immediately after they had met their fate.
Appendix I: Biographies of the artists who worked in Goa from 1542 to 1655

1) Bartolomeu ALVARES was a temporal coadjutor skilled in painting. He joined the Society of Jesus in Lisbon in 1589. He was reported in Goa at the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹

2) Manuel ALVARES (also known as Emanuel Alvares) was one of the most distinguished painters to have worked in Goa. Manuel Alvares was a Portuguese New Christian.² He was born either in 1526 or in 1529, and he joined the Society of Jesus in Coimbra in 1549, having taken his vows in Lisbon in April 1553. He arrived in India in 1562 and he died in 1571.³ Three drawings of the shipwreck that he suffered near the Saint Paulo Island, Sumatra, in 1560 are all that remains of his many works.⁴ While he was still in Portugal, he painted some pictures for the college of Coimbra and for some buildings located on the outskirts of the same town. He also painted a retable representing the Passion that Vice Provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto took to Japan in 1554.⁵ In Goa, he made a large picture representing the Conversion of Saint Paul for the high altar of the new Church of the College of S. Paulo Velho (before 1571), an altarpiece representing Saint Jeremy (before 1569), a picture of the apostle Thomas for the Noviciate Chapel, a picture representing Our Lady of Mercy for the Chapel of the

¹ ARSI, Goa 15, Alberto Laterzio to João Alvarez, Cochim, second way, fl. 232.
² WICKI, Joseph, Die Christãos Novos, p. 351.
³ WICKI, Joseph, Die Todesfälle, p. 271.
Hospital and a retable for the Capela de Santo Agostinho in the garden of the Colégio de São Paulo (before August 1566). He is believed to have decorated the retable of the Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Graça on the Island of Chorão.

3) Francisco ARANHA, who was one of the five martyrs of Salsete (1583), was the architect of the Igreja de S. Filipe e S. Tiago (after 1574) in Cortalim, Salsete. He was born to an important family in Braga in 1554 or 1555, being the nephew of Archbishop Dom Gaspar de Leão. He came to Goa in 1568 and was settled in the status of coadjutor temporal in 1571 because he did not know any Latin.

4) Cristovão ARAÚJO helped in the construction of the second church of S. Paulo Velho between 1560 and 1561.

5) Cosme CARDOSO worked as mason in the construction of the College of S. Paulo Velho between 1560 and 1561.

6) Luis CASTANHÔ was an Indian temporal coadjutor born in Goa in 1542. He was admitted to the Society of Jesus in Goa in 1580 and he died in Goa in 1610. Being an outstanding architect, he was in charge of directing the construction of the Professed

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7 “O nosso P.e Manoel Alvarez era pintor insigne, como se vê nas obras que nos deixou, quass sam o retable da Igreja de S. Paulo de Goa, o do apostolo Sam Thomé, que estava na capella dos noviços, e N. Senhora da Piedad que está na capella dos noviços e, se não me engano, também pintou o de N. Senhora da Graça da ilha de Chorão.” (GONÇALVES S.J., Sebastião, Primeira parte da História dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus, vol. III, p. 118-119.)


11 Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of India, Goa, before 12 November 1559, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 304, Catalogue of all members of the Jesuits in the Province of India, Goa, 1561, in
House in Goa and he was one of the architects of the College at Margan of Salsete around 1606.12

7) Gaspar COELHO, a lay brother skilled in sculpture, was born in the Portuguese town of Portalegre in 1593. He was admitted to the Society in Goa in 1608.13

8) Giovanni DE MANOLIS, known in India as João Manuel, was born in Venice circa 1542. He joined the Society of Jesus in Italy at the age of 32 (1574) and he set sail from Lisbon in April 1583.14 He died in 1589.15 He had good skills both in architecture and in sculpture.16

9) António DIAS was born in Portugal in 1525.17 He was admitted to the Society in Coimbra in 1557, and he arrived in India before November 1559.18 He was employed as an architect in Goa. He supervised the construction of the second church of S. Paulo Velho between 1560 and 1565.19


15 Document by Pedro Martins, Provincial of India, with the answers of Claudio Acquaviva to the Fourth General Congregation (1594), in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 50.


18 Catalogue of the Jesuits in India (1559), in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 303.

10) The Jesuit and smith Gonçalo DIAZ travelled to India in 1618. He died the following year in Goa.\(^{20}\)

11) Belchior or Melchior DIAS was born in Europe (Portugal?) in 1534. He entered the Society of Jesus in Lisbon in 1551 and, in the same year, he sailed for the Orient. He was dismissed from the Society of Jesus in 1582.\(^{21}\) As regards his artistic activity, all I know is that he practised as an artist before he entered the Society.\(^{22}\)

12) João DIAS, who was a novice in Goa in 1559, died probably there in November 1610.\(^{23}\) According to some sources he co-operated in the construction of the new church of S. Paulo Velho around 1561.\(^{24}\)

13) Manuel DIAS was employed as mason in the works undertaken at the College of Salsete around 1618.\(^{25}\)

14) João DE FARIA was born in 1539 and entered the Society in Goa in 1563, having taken his vows as temporal coadjutor in 1565.\(^{26}\) He passed away in Goa in 1581. His

\(^{20}\) Breve Raguagli, 1614-1621, p. 117.


\(^{22}\) Cabral to General Lainez, Goa, 25 November 1559, in “DI”, vol. IV, p. 45.

\(^{23}\) Luis Frôis, Goa, 16 November 155 to his companions in Portugal, in “Documentação”, vol. VII, p. 314, and ARSI, Historia Societatis Iesum 43\(^{a}\), fl. 27.

\(^{24}\) ARSI, GOA 24, List of the Jesuits at S. Paulo Velho and in other places of the Province of Goa (1561), ff. 35-36v.

\(^{25}\) ARSI, GOA 27, Catalogue of the Jesuits in Goa in 1618, fl. 37r.

main work was the magnificent arches of the second church of S. Paulo Velho in 1560.\textsuperscript{27}
In addition, he is reported to have carved images in iron, metal and wood, and to have been an exceptional print-maker.\textsuperscript{28}

15) Domingos FERNANDES, who was an architect of considerable merit, was born in Melo (Coimbra) in 1549.\textsuperscript{29} He entered the noviciate in Coimbra in 1562. Before sailing for the East Indies in 1578 he lived in Jesuit houses in Braga, Almeirim, and Lisbon.\textsuperscript{30} He ended his days at the Professed House in Goa in February 1613.\textsuperscript{31} He supervised the construction of the Professed House together with the Chief-Engineer to the Estado da India, Júlio Simão.\textsuperscript{32}

16) Diogo FERRÃO was born in Gouveia in 1551. He was admitted to the Society in 1578, and he died in Goa in 1624. He was employed as a mason in the construction of the church of the Bom Jesus in Goa between 1596 and 1597.\textsuperscript{33}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{27} SOUSA, Francisco, Oriente Conquistado, p. 963, FONSECA, José Nicolau, An historical and archaeological sketch of the city of Goa, p. 265.

\textsuperscript{28} Annual Letter of the Province of India (1581), in "DI", vol., XII, p. 602.

\textsuperscript{29} First and Second Catalogues of Jesuits of the Province of Goa (1594), in "DI", vol. XVI, p. 934.


\textsuperscript{31} ARSI, GOA 33.II, Annual Letter of the Province of Goa (1613), p. 407.

\textsuperscript{32} Eduardo Teixeira S. J. to Claudio Acquaviva General, Goa, 25 November 1584, in "DI", vol. XIII, p. 551.

\end{footnotesize}
17) Manuel FIGUEIREDO was born in Torres Novas in 1571 and he died in Goa in 1629.\textsuperscript{34} He was one of the architects of the works undertaken at the noviciate (1610) and at the college of S. Paulo Novo in Goa (around 1614).\textsuperscript{35}

18) The Jesuit painter Bartolomeo FONTEBUONI was born in Florence to a painter's family in 1585 or in 1577. He was a brother of Anastasio Fontebuoni.\textsuperscript{36} Bartolomeo Fontebuoni entered the Jesuit Noviciate of St. Andrea al Quirinale, Rome, in 1600.\textsuperscript{37} He was sent to the Orient in 1606 and his life ended in Bengal in 1627.\textsuperscript{38} He was probably the most important painter in Goa during the period under study. While still in Europe he is reported to have depicted two frescoes of \textit{putti} as an ornament for a marble image of the Virgin Mary that was placed at the angle of Borgo degli Albizzi, near the subsequently demolished Church of San Pietro Maggiore, Florence.\textsuperscript{39} Moreover, Fontebuoni executed many paintings for the Church of San Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, Rome, either before or after he had entered the Society.\textsuperscript{40} However, his masterpiece was the ceiling of the Church of the Bom Jesus, Goa, made between 1613 and 1617. Also in

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Catalogue of the Jesuits in Goa (October 1614)}, in "GOA" 25, f. 4 and "Historia Societatis" 44, f. 47r.

\textsuperscript{35} ARSI, GOA 27, \textit{Catalogue of the Fathers of the Province of Goa (1610)}, fl. 13, ARSI, GOA 27, \textit{Catalogue of Jesuits in Goa (1614)}, fl. 29r and ARSI, GOA 27, \textit{Catalogue of the fathers and brothers in Goa (1620)}, fl. 41r.


\textsuperscript{37} ARSI, ROM. 54, Cat. Trienn. 1600-1622, fl. 5r.

\textsuperscript{38} WICKI, Joseph, "Auszüge", p. 158.


Goa, he decorated the church of the *Colégio de S. Paulo Novo* towards 1621.\(^{41}\) He also painted the church at the Jesuit Mission of Chandragiri that was the capital of the Kingdom of Vijaynagar between 1604 and 1606 and he executed some pictures of the Blessed Mary with Jesus around 1607.\(^{42}\)

19) **Domingos FRANCISCO** was born in 1549 in Melo (Coimbra). He made his vows as coadjutor temporal in 1594.\(^{43}\) He collaborated in the construction of the Professed House of Goa between the end of the sixteenth century and 1608.\(^{44}\)

20) **João GONÇALVES** was born in 1523 or 1525.\(^{45}\) He entered the Society in Lisbon in 1554, having made his vows as coadjutor temporal in Goa in 1565.\(^{46}\) He died in the same city in 1579.\(^{47}\) He was a distinguished engraver, locksmith and watchmaker. He made clocks for all the Jesuit colleges in the Orient as well as for other monasteries.\(^{48}\) In particular, he collaborated in the construction of the church of *S. Paulo Velho* between 1566 and to 1568. He was further commissioned to engrave the tabernacle of the same

\(^{41}\) WICKI, Joseph, “Auszüge”, p. 158.

\(^{42}\) Doc. 1.

\(^{43}\) ARSI, *GOA 24.11*, First Catalogue of the Province of Goa (1605), fl. 562.


\(^{46}\) Catalogue of the Jesuits in India, Goa, 2 December 1566, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 77.

\(^{47}\) Rodrigo Vicente, Provincial of India, to General Everard Mercurian, Goa, 29 March 1579, in “DI”, vol. XI, p. 554-555.

\(^{48}\) “L’altro è un Fratello antiqua nella Compagnia, ingensissimo in tutto quello che li domandaran faccia de ferro et legno etc., va facendo et per altri monasterii de religioso ha fatti.” (Francisco Mercado to his companions in Sicily, Goa, 12 November 1564, in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 279.)
church and to execute works in metal and iron, such as a clock for the college of S. Paulo Velho in 1559.\textsuperscript{49}

21) Diogo GUERREIRO was born in the village of Almodovar (Évora), Portugal, around 1548. He made his vows as coadjutor temporal in Bragança in 1584. He went to India in March 1591 and he died in Bassain in 1621.\textsuperscript{50} He worked as an architect in the construction of the College of Bragança (before 1591), of the College of Goa until 1596 and of the College of Bassain until 1610.\textsuperscript{51}

22) Luís JORGE was born in 1538. While he was attending the Noviciate in Goa in 1565 he co-operated in the construction of the second church of S. Paulo Velho.\textsuperscript{52}

23) Markus MAECHT or MAECH (in India also called Marcos Rodrigues) was born in Flanders, in Brugges, in 1526.\textsuperscript{53} He entered the noviciate in Rome in 1557 and was sent to India in 1563.\textsuperscript{54} He passed away in Goa in August 1601.\textsuperscript{55} There, he depicted three retablos for the new church of S. Paulo Velho between 1570 and 1589.\textsuperscript{56} Moreover, he engraved images for his companions in Goa and also for non-Jesuits. It


\textsuperscript{50} FEJER, Josephus, Defuncti Primi Saeculi Societatis Ies (1540-1640), vol. II, p. 102.

\textsuperscript{51} ARSI, Lus. 25, Catalogue of the Jesuits in Goa, (1610), fl. 20.

\textsuperscript{52} Catalogue of the Jesuits in Goa, (1565), third way, in "DI", vol. VI, p. 626.

\textsuperscript{53} ARSI, HS. 176, 19r.

\textsuperscript{54} Catalogue of the fathers sent to India in 1563, in "GOA 27", f. 1v, and SCADUTO, Mario, Catalogo dei Gesuiti d’Italia, 1540-1565, Roma, 1968, p. 88.

\textsuperscript{55} FEJERT, Josephus, Defuncti Primi Saeculi Societatis Iesu (1540-1640), vol. II, p. 201.

\textsuperscript{56} Catalogue of the Jesuits at the College of Goa in 1571, in "DI", VIII, p. 421 and Lopo de Abreu to General Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 4 December 1589, in "DI", vol. XV, p. 373.
was also his intention to engrave some images for the churches in Salsete whether he did it or not. 57

24) The Portuguese Jesuit and architect António MAGRO was born in Lisbon in 1554 and he made his vows as temporal coadjutor in Bassain in 1600. 58 He was one of the architects of the Professed House of Diu (before 1608) and of the College of Salsete around 1608. 59

25) The Spaniard Juan MARTIN made his vows as coadjutor temporal in Azequipa, Spain, in 1590. He sailed for India before 1608 and he died in Goa on the 21st January 1617. 60 He worked as an artist both in Goa and in Diu. In Goa, he was employed at the works done at the Noviciate around 1608 and he also supervised the construction of the College of S. Paulo Novo around 1614. 61 He directed the construction of the Jesuit Residence at Diu by 1610. 62

26) Balthazar NUNES was born in 1523 or 1525. 63 He entered the Jesuit noviciate in 1544 and died in Goa in 1569. 65 He was a good builder and smith. 66 He was probably

57 “He verdade que, ainda que pera os forasteiros de todo ponto estou for a de me ocupar em cousas de imagens e pinturas, todavia pelo amor grande que tenho a esta Provincia, onde me criei, e pelo muito que sei ser de todos nella amado, desexo de fazer pera cada Padre e Irmão hum crucifixo de calaim (tin in Malay) oco por dentro, que hé de pouco peso e cá val o calaim de graça e com facilidade se achará. Estes crucifixos folgaria eu que se não mudassem nunca dos cubículos. Também para as igrejas da christandade de Salcete queria fazer outros maiores, e por aqui dar o último valle a estas ocupações.” (Markus Maecht to Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 1 December 1593, in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 503).

58 ARSI, Lus. 26, f.13.

59 ARSI, GOA 24.1I, Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of Goa (1608), fIs. 408, 414, and 452.

60 ARSI, GOA 24.1I, Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of India (1608), fl. 411.

61 ARSI, GOA 24.1I, Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of Goa (November 1608), fl. 411, and ARSI, GOA 27, Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of Goa in 1614, fls. 29v and 32.

62 ARSI, GOA 27, Catalogue of the Province of Goa, November 1610, fl. 12.

63 Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of India (1566), in “DI”, p. 78 and Catalogue of the members in the College of Goa, in “DI”, vol. VI, p. 625.
employed in the construction of the church of Coulan towards 1550 and in the
construction of the New Church of S. Paulo Velho between 1560 and 1561.\

27) Martin OCHOA was born in Cáceres (Spain) around 1525. He entered the Society
of Jesus in Rome in 1563 and he made his vows as temporal coadjutor the following
year, also in Rome. He died in Goa in February 1576. During his stay in Lisbon (1565-
1566) he engraved some images. In Goa, he engraved images (1568-1569) for the
church of S. Paulo Velho and also excellent wood crucifixes. He assisted in the last
works done at the second church of S. Paulo Velho between 1571 and 1572. Finally,
he engraved a rich tabernacle for the church of the College of Cochin in 1576.

28) The Jesuit brother and architect João RODRIGUES supervised the construction of
S. Paulo Novo around 1614.

29) Inofre or Onofre RODRIGUES was employed as mason at Salsete in Goa in the
1580’s. He was born at the village of Batalha, Portugal, in 1548. He was admitted to
the Society of Jesus in Villarejo or Alcalá (Province of Toledo, Spain) in 1568 or 1569,

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65 WICKI, Joseph, Todesfälle, p. 269.
67 Niccolò Lancelotti to Ignatius of Loyola, Coulan, 27 January 1550, in “Di”, vol. II, p. 17, and
Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of India, Goa, 17 December 1560, in “Di”, vol. IV, p. 865
71 Catalogue of the priests of the College of Goa, 1571, in “Di”, vol. VIII, p. 424 and ARSI, GOA 24.1,
Catalogue of the Jesuits in the College of S. Paulo Velho, 1573, fl. 68.
73 ARSI, GOA 27, Catalogue of the Goa Province (1614), fl. 29v.
and left for India in 1574.\textsuperscript{74} The Provincial dismissed him in 1588 because of disobedience and scandal.\textsuperscript{76}

30) The Brother Sebastião RODRIGUES, apothecary, was working as mason at the works being carried out at the Colégio de S. Paulo Velho around 1586.\textsuperscript{77}

31) Jacob PAUO, who decorated some images for the Professed House around 1653, had been born in Groningen (Holland) in 1621.\textsuperscript{78} He travelled to India in 1645 and he died in Goa in February 1682.\textsuperscript{79}

32) António PIRES was born in 1564 in Biera, near Braga, Northern Portugal, and he died in 1595. He learnt the elements of masonry before he entered the Society and he worked as a mason in Goa.\textsuperscript{80}

33) Júlio SIMÃO, who supervised the construction of the Bom Jesus together with Domingos Fernandes, was the only non-Jesuit artist I encountered during my research. He was probably born in Goa to Portuguese parents, but he was trained in Portugal and in Spain. In his task of Chief-Engineer to the Estado da Índia (1595/6-1622?) he supervised the construction of fortresses of the city of Goa (1598), the refortification of

\textsuperscript{74} Joseph Wicki, in "DI", voi. IX, p. 29*.

\textsuperscript{75} ARSI, GOA 28, List of the Jesuits departing to India, fl. 6, ARSI, GOA 24, List of the Jesuits departing to India in 1574, fl. 79, Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Orient, Lisbon, 6 February, 1574, in “DI”, vol. IX, p. 147.

\textsuperscript{76} Pedro Martins, Provincial, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 7 December, 1591, in “DI”, vol. XV, p. 731.

\textsuperscript{77} Sebastião de Morais S. J., Provincial of India, to Claudio Acquaviva S. J., Lisbon, February or March 1586, in “DI”, vol. VII, p. 322-324.

\textsuperscript{78} ARSI, GOA 27, Catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of Goa (1653), fl. 61 and ARSI, GOA 25, First catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of Goa, September 1649, fl. 106v.

\textsuperscript{79} WICKI, Joseph, Liste der Jesuiten Indienfahrer, p. 298

\textsuperscript{80} First and Second Catalogues of the Province of India (1594), in “DI”, vol. XVI, p. 965, Jorge Gomes S.J. to Claudio Acquaviva, Bassein, 4 November 1595, in “DI”, vol. XVII, p. 145.
Cochin (1611) and the repair of all the fortresses of the Coromandel Coast. Furthermore, in Goa he directed the reconstruction of the Inquisition Palace (1616) and the initial works of the Cathedral (inaugurated in 1619 and concluded by 1631).\(^{81}\)

Appendix II: Manuscript Sources

Doc. 1:

ARSI, Goa 16, Bartolomeo Fontebuoni to Claudio Acquaviva,
Velur, 7 November 1607, f. 95r-v.

(In this letter, Bartolomeo Fontebuoni informed General Acquaviva that he was making some very good engravings, in particular, one that depicting Jesus Christ and another depicting Our Lady. The King liked them very much and looked at them daily. Moreover, Fontebuoni rejoices at the news that a very good painter had been sent to Goa. The latter was to carry out the painting of the Professed House that had been begun by Fontebuoni. In his opinion, if the church was completed, it would be a very handsome church.)

"Não quis deixar de dar novas da minha saúde ao P. e como estamos nesta Corte com muita minha Consolação vendo este Rey que nos mostra tanto amor quanto se pode desejar. Não mando a V. P. novas desta Residencia porque o P Belchior Coutinho com o qual estou juntamente soube que tinha escrito na Carta Anua tudo como o P. verá. Eu me ocupo cada dia pintando alguma cousa diante do mesmo Rey o qual gosta tanto de ver que não poder ser mais, e tenho lhe feito algumas imagens hum painel duma Nossa Senhora donde sobre a mesma imagem passarão frequentemente praticas. Como o P.e Belchior Coutº terá escrito, e fazendo muito oferecimento somos nunca aceitar nada porque o Padre Provincial nos proibio que não tomassemos nunca direito donde ficara tão espantado dizendo publicamente e diante de todos os grandes que hum oficial tão grande que lhe pedimos mas depois fazerse honras, e que mandou fazer hum par de manilhas de ouro e pedrarias para me dar, e cuido que me dará no fim. Actualmente estou fazendo em sua presença, algumas laminas pequenas muito bem acabadas particularmente huma do Salvador e outra duma Nossa Senhora. Estimou muito e disse-me que a tem muito bem guardada. Cada dia está olhando pare elas muito tempo. Senhor e Senhora lhe queira abrir os olhos do Coraçao para que adore, e se merece. Como merece disseram-me Este ano vinha hum irmão pintor muito bom Eu folguei muito porque veio a muito bom tempo para acabar a casa Professa de Goa que eu tinha...
começada, e acabada a quarta parte E se se acabar será huma das ferosas Igrejas que
(illegible). As cousas da India vão sempre de pior em pior, e não faltam perseguições
muito grandes Deus seja aquelle que ponha a mão nas Suas obras porque os homens do
mundo (para?) que lá [queixe] mais a que manter. Encomendo muito a V. P. o meu
Irmão e que lhe faça fazer algum bom lavor porque [sei] que há de fazer também quanto
qualquer outro que estejão em Roma. Não serei mais Compondo encomendando-me
muito a V. P. e aos seus sanctos (?) muito me encomendo, de Velur de 7 de Novembro
de 1607.

Doc. 2

ARSI, Goa 33, Extract of the Annual Letter of
the Province of Goa (1617), third way, fl. 594
(The transcribed part of the Annual Letter of 1623 describes in detail the paintings of the ceiling of the
Bom Jesus that had been painted that year and makes further reference to some other work of decoration
undertaken at the church and some ornaments that had also been bought in the same year.)

"Neste ano se acabou de pintar o tecto da igreja repartido em dezoito paineis, asfora
ocruzeiro, etres meios paineis que estão sobre o coro imediatos ao frontispicio da igreja,
e começando por eles, no do mio as virtudes cardinais. Nos paineis grandes estão postas
ordem seguinte alguns milagres emisterios da vida de Nosso Senhor Nosso. O pr. O
misterio e serviços dos Anjos no deserto quando Cristo Nosso Senhor teve fome. O
segundo as Bodas de Cana de Galileia. O terceiro o Colloquio do Salvador do Mundo
com a Samaritana. O quarto o Milagre dos pões e peixes. O 5º quando os sarou na. de
Jerusalem o endemoinhado. O 6º a petição que fez(?) a Cananea polla filha que estava
endemoinhada. O 7º a Conversão da Madalena. O 8º a Ressurreição de Lázaro. O 9º o
Triumphant recebimento de Cristia na Cidade de Jerusalem. O deçimo a Cena Ultima,
nacional o Redemptor do Mundo instituiu os Santos Sacramento do Altar. O Undeçimo a
oração do Horto. O Duodeçimo a prisão. ODeçimoterçio, quando foi atado, eacoutado
na coluna, o deçimooquarto, quando Coroa de Espinhos o deçimooquinto, quando Pillatos
mostrou oSnr. Aos Judeus dizendo Ecce Homo. Odeçimo sexto quando o Senhor levou
o pesado madeiro da Cruz as costas. O deçimo setimo quando entre os ladrões foi
crucificado; o deçimo oitavo o descimento da Cruz. Segue-se o maior painel de todos
tão grande como o Cruzeiro-no meio do qual está p Santíssimo Nome de Jesus do mesmo Senhor da Terra, lançado abenção; segue-se logo odevoto passo de São Paulo, innomine Jesus omnegenefluxetur esse, onde os spiritos Angelicos conhecendo a Majestade do Senhor adorão prostrados diante delle; os Monarcas do Estado Ecclesiastico imitão os Anjos, eo que mais he os que estão no inferno confessão ser Nosso Senhor Jesus digníssimo de toda a reverência e acatamento. Toda esta pintura he de boas tintas,oleos, eamayor obra prima que na India se pintou. Acabou-se de pintar polla festa de N. Padre Ignacio que os Religiosos, e seculares mto folgarão dever. No mesmo dia se deu primeira vez mostra da Capela mor, que para celebrar a festa se pintou, edourou sobre levado arco aobra da capela; e toda ela da singular lustre aos painéis do corpo da Igreja. No mesmo dia se pintou hum fermo retabulo de maçenaria dourada com ouro brinido com seu nicho que esta na capela do cruzeiro junto ao altar de N. Sra, destinado para o B. Padre Mestre Francisco; porem enquanto a See Appica(?) onao canoniza sse pos o nicho aymage do menino Jesu eyadea de doze anos ricamente dourado, esmaltado. Na outra capela do cruzeiro defronte desta se lavrou outro retabolo damesma obra, esse pintou nelle a vinda do Spirito Sancto sobre os Aplos. E dourado pollo naçimento da Snora festa celebre nesta Igra, e sefizerao logo cortina deseda de varias cores pa estes dous retabolos. Celebramos a mesma festa de N. P. S. Ignasio cosinco vestimentas de tela de milao, capa edamatica domesmo; porq os frontaes devrocado não tinhao mais q hua vestimenta damesmalho. Também se mandou da China p hu ornamento inteiro de sete capas, enqto houver missas cantadas. Também se fizerao quatro castgaes deprata pêra algr, seacomodou hua das capelas co retabolo de quatro colunas, naqual aos dias Santos seouve missa os moços desta casa. Nas oito capelinhas dos Confessionários se pintarão vários passos co suas tarjas acomodadas aos penitentes co suas letras aomesmo propósito; S. Pedro chorado seu pecadio; S. Joao no deserto pregando penitencia, S. Francisco e S. Irm N. Sra das Angustias, e Sancta Magdalena, omenino Jesus cõa a cruz as costas, em hu cestinho co os instrumentos de Suamorte; e N. Sto. Pe Ignacio co’sobrepeliz estola ouvindo da confissão ahu soldado que pos parte aespada co’chapeo, aletra DEgo teabsolvo apecatis tuis. Nestas pinturas e leiteiros assi da Igr como das crastas os novamente convertidos [leem] os mistérios da fe.
Doc. 3:

ARSI, Goa 34.II, Catálogo dos Benfeitores
da Casa Professa de Goa, sec. XVIII, fl. 48r-v.)

(This text enlists the benefactors of the Professed House at Goa. It begins by the reference to the royal rents. Afterwards, it indicates the name of the various benefactors, followed by a short bibliography of them and the amount of their legacies.)

Aesmola de mais consideração dequesta casa se sustenta, he a de mil eiscentos, eoitenta eis x.es, sua igreja, evinte eoiito bazarucos, que S. M. manda dar todos os annos; ainda q não he couza segura, por ter clausula: Em que não’ mandar ocontrario.

___________________________________________________________________ 1686:1.28

Affonso Rodrigue deGuevara Secretr.° qfói doEstado da India, deixou pór herdeira esta casa, quando pagos os legados, cobrou nove mil, e oito centos x.e, e quatro tgas Mas como sua mulher fosse viva em Lisboa, .. pella sua metade, que montou cinco mil x.e, e julgo se deve descontar na forma precedent, porque não vejo nisso mais clareza; edaqui resultou a demanda desta casa a Prov.a de Japão*, vendendo-se em Lisboa duas casas daquela Provincia para satisfação desta divida_________________________ 04800.4.00

Acho mais esta Lembrança nos Livros antigos: Legados de Fernão de Lemos, cinco mil, duzentos, eoitenta X.e _______________________________________________05280.0.00

D.Miguel de Aragao, (...) emq viveo na Comp°, Miguel Bonastre, foi denação Aragonez, depois de expulso da Comp°, deixou a esta casa a sua morte seis mil quatrocentos, eoitenta, ehum x'es. afora outras miudezas demoveis___________481.0.00.

Sendo preposito desta Casa pelos annos de51. OP° Stanislao Malpica, faleceo nesta Ci.° de Goa Phelippe deAbreu Portuguez natural do Seixoal, freguesia da(); (de João Fernandez, e de Catharina, que se passou à India na era de 1603 na nao Salvador, de que veio pór capitão Vasco Fernandez Pimentel, e (illegible) de moço da Camara; aonde viveu sem nunca ser casado. Deixou por herdeira sua alma; ecumpridos seus legados, fez oP° obras Preposito Stanislao Malpica petição aoProc.° mor dos defuntos,
qaplicasse a esta Casa orestante da herança, oq elle fez avendo respeito à necessidade della. Ouve o P.º Preposito Suacertidao do Bemfeitor Pereira procurador então desta Casa, em que certifica, fazendo o P.º Preposito entrega detudo oq.º estava em casa deFelippe deAbreu; enao obstante esta certidão, achaose no Livro da receita varias adições doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias addigões doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias addigões doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias addigões doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias addigões doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias addigões doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias addigões doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias addigões doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias addigões doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias addigões doqmesmo P.º Preposito foi entregando na procuradoria pconta dalma deFelippe de Abreu, etodas montao oitomil, novecientos, setenta,ehum x. tres tangas, trinta tangas, trinta, enove baz.ºs Edesta forma he m.º inferior aoq entao sedise desta casa deFelippe de Abreu, econdem no Livro da receita varias ad para matérias de receita, cento, enoventa, eoito X.º duas tg.º trinta, esseº bazarucos, qreceby deAgostinho Delgado depositario dos quatrocentos, etrinta X. sobre odefunto Philippe de Abreu andava em demanda co Luis Fer.º, eJoanna Mendes

08971.3.39

00198.2.39

315
Lanço em receita dous mil, equatrocentos X. restos dos cinco mil centos, e vinte, etres X. que estavam depositados pelo P. Stanislao Malpica no Collg.° de S. Paulo; pq. co’ademazia deste depozito, eco’oqse cobrou noREino, (illegible); conforme as cartas q mandou o P.° Ant.° deBauer, proc.° De S. Roque 02400.0.00

Ecomo nestas duas addições semontao somente dois mil equinhentos, enovenmenta, eito X.° duas tg.° etrinta, esete bazarucos, não severifica dellas, qfosse aaremeca de Portugal devinte mil X.°. Juntas pores’ doqse receitou notempo do P. Stanislao Malpica, faze’o todo 11570.1.01

Isto he oqseacha nos Livros aplicado aesta Casa do dr.° dePhelippe deAbreu, coo já naquelles tempos se falou m.° largo sobre esta matr.°, em Roma se poderá deslindar este enredo; ou estar pelo P.° Malpica lá escreveo, p° efeito da determinaçãodasMissas qse mandarao dizer pela alma do defunto; porque não sey do superior desta Provincia, se pedisse contas deste legado, nem que as aja mais claras, das que aqui se apontão, sendo bem claros os recibos do galeão S. João, Baçaim e Agra.

Faleceo tambem nesta Cid.° acinco deNovembro de 1662. Gonçalo Pinher.°deFreitas, recebido na Companhia; e deixou pherdr° esta Casa Profesa. Acho receita dos desua herança nove mil, oitocentos, eoitenta, enove X.° duas tg.° trinta, esete baz°, afora outras miudezas 09889.2.37

Napraga de Chaul, ano de1666. Faleceo Joao Martis’ Cabral, recebido pomorte na Companhia. Foi natural do Cartaxo, filho legítimo de Antonio Lopes, e de Isabel Lopes; e nesta India duas vezes casado, a primeira em Damão com Maria Botelha, de que teve sua filha que casou, e hum filho que foi prisioneiros dos Olandezes, e lá morreo. A segunda vez em Chaul com Maria de Avelar, da qual não teve filhos. Deixou pherdr.
aesta Casa Professa, qcobrou desua herança dez milsetecentos, oitenta, equatro X.⁵, e
dezanove bzs.______________________________________________________10784.4.19
Outrasesmolas grossas de monr contia derao' varias pesoas aesta Casa em vida, eem
morte, assim p.⁶ sua fabrica, como p.seu sustento; etem se observado q⁷ nos maiores
apertos da India forao maiores as esmolas, eLegados; demodo q'athe otempo presente,
nunqua Deos lhe faltou osustento necesr.⁸

Doc. 4

HAG, Cod. 2118, Lembranças de quando se começou
Sanchristia Nova do Bom Jesus (1652-1654)
(This report of the construction of the second sacristy of the Bom Jesus describes the beginning of the
construction of the sacristy and informs the readers of the names of its benefactors.)

Lembranças de quando se começou Sanchristia Nova do Bom Jesus: Em dous
de Fev.ro demil seiscentos, sincoenta, edous annos secomesou aderrubar asanchristia
velha, emaos onze domesmo mês, sabrio osalicerces para anova, eaos vinteenove
sebotou a primeira pedra asolenidades seguintes. Armouse hum altar nolugar desta
Capella, enelle suacrus depao, nbensio apedra, oses. Patriarca Donafonso Mendes;
empedra tinha emcaixa hua lamina de cobre dourada enella demeyo relievo tinha as
images de Sancto Ignacio, ede Sao Fran X.er abertaa Jesus Mª Joze, epor baixo tinha
oletreiro seguinte: Baltazar de Viegas cidadao desta cidade de Goa pordeva^ao que
 tinha aesta igreja do Bom Jesus, lhe fez esta sanchristia asua custa es selan^ou esta
primeira pedra, aos 24 de Fevereiro de 1652. (...). Em 20 de Setembro de 1652 [se
começou] a fechar as janelas, em janeiro de 1653 seacabou de fechar toda abobada
desanchristia. A parede que sefechou nobra sacra no lanso da capella de Sao Franº de
Borgia qhade servir para acapella de Sao Fran.º Xavier. (...). A capelinha da
Sanchristia, o Retabolo tudo se fez porordem domesmo Baltazar da Veiga easua custa
que deu o Pe. Gonçalo Martins as despesas necessarias p⁸ tudo aperfeiçoar emforma
emque está. Os quadros pequenos, que são vinte e dois q'estao pp'sima dos caixos' grandes co' os quatro grandes que estão' nas paredes, mandou fazerevir deCochim, o P.e Gonçalo Martins' pª aqual obra lhe deu Dom Francisco deLima trezentos Xes. DEsmolas. ACapella deSão Francisco Xavier, com seus dourados, eperfeiçoada (illegible) esta pintura do Arco, grande eseu douramento, d'reformação erenovação dasduas capellas defora, assy' ade São Francisco Xavier com deSão Franco. de Borgia, em que se não darao' aspinturas davida doSanto, ehª pª a outra. Asabobadas detoda a Via Sacra, assy' q'estevay pª aogleira, como pª acrasta, com aobra da Escada Nova da Sanchristia Nova, tudo fez o P.e Gonçalo Martins (fl. 130v).

Doc. 5

BNL, Cod. 708, extract of the document Carta de D. João de Olivares, Provincial da Companhia, 20 de Janeiro de 1744, Notícia 3ª das Reliquias insignes que se achão nos Santuarios dos fl. Pp.es da Companhia de JESU da Prov.ª de Goa na Índia, fl. 4
(This text enlists the many relics that were kept at the Professed House in Goa and at the Noviciate on the Island of Choran)

Ecomeçando pella Caza Professa he primeira, emais principal o Corpo do Gloriozo Apostolo daÍndia Saô Francisco Xavier Collocado em Eum sumptuozo Sepulchro deMarmore, que à custa degrandes insculpidos em Bronze quatro principaes passos davida doSanto. Sobre oSepulchro eem roda estão collocados outros Anjos de jaspe, q sustentão hum grandiozo tumulo, deprata dentro doqual emhu Caixão taõbe de prata descança o Corpo do Santo. Está este Sepulchro em huã Capella Sita noCruzeiro peradentro daparte daEpistola enriqueçida Com preciosos ornamentos, epessas deouro, eprata, q lhe oferceço adevação dos fieis. Sercão o Sepulchro oito alampadas deprata dentro daCapella; efora della estão tres q alumerão oaltar, adonde está alimagem do Santo, noqual em dia deSua festa Sepoem Euã Imagem domesmo Santo deprata
denotável grandeza, q foy data de húa Sua devota da Europa. Dentro da Capella do Santo
nodi de Sua festa sediz missa em dois Altares, q p.º isso se tornão ricam.te no mesmo
Sepulcro.

Tem maus esta Caza Professa em hum Santuario, q fica na Capella de S. Francisco as
seguintes Reliquias insignes. De S. Modesto Martins, de S. Victor M., de S. Ciryaco M,
de S. Maximo M, de S. Felix Byspo, de S. Casimiro Conf; de S. Vitorino M, de S. Cristina
Virg.eM, de Maximino M, de S. Satornino M, de S. Victorino M, de S. Marsscilino M;
de S. Gervacio M, de S. Pio Papa, ettc, de S. Faosto M, de S. Generoz M; de S.
Antonio M, de S. Clemente M. de huá das onze mil Virges, de S. Fausta M, de S.
Paolino M, de S. Honorato M, de S. Paulina M. Reliquias, quese veneraõ no Coll.º de S.
Paulo

Tem muitas, eadmiraveis Reliquias do S. Lenho, de N. Senhora, de S. Rozalia Virg, dos
SS. MM, de S. Benigna M; de S. Valentim M; de S. Conçepza M; de S. Victoria M;
quatro Cabeças das Ss. 1000 v.v; hum dente de Sáo Luis Gonzaga, hu Caixão, emq
esteve, Segundo atradição, [depozitado] algum tempo o Corpo do Apostolo do Oriente
S. Fran.co Xavier, (illegible) tocaos em H-u das verdadr.es de Xpo Nosso Redemptor,
efinalm.te mais outras varias Reliquias aSim de SS. Canonizados; Como devarões
illustres, q conserva em grande veneração o Coll.o de S. Paulo.

Reliquias do Noviciado do Chorão

Achase esta Caza enrecoçida compreçiozo thesouro das Reliquias dos ossos, ealgun
vestidos dos Sinco veneraveis Martyres de Salçete os Pp. Rodolfo Aquaviva [72],
Affonço Pacheco, An.to Fran.co, Pero Berno, oIrmão Fran.º Aranha, todos da Compº
de JESU: osquaes estão depozitados em hu caixão m.to bem ornado, oqual está emhum
Sala interior damesma Caza; entre as quaes Reliquias está hu barrete, qo veneravel P.
Rodolfo Aquaviva tinha na Cabeça, naoccazião do Seu Martírio, oqual seacha athe
oprezente illeso datraça eCorrução, oq Cauza não pouca admiração; p q sendo este clima tão umido, assim pellas mesmas invernadas, Como pella mesma natureza destes ares, q Comçom-e, eCurrompem omsmo ferro, Como aexperiencia nolo mostra todos os dias esteja este barrete illezo detantos anos; pois Sendo oMartirio aos 15 de Julho de 1583, não Seache nelle outra Senao mas qade h-u golpe deCatana; Comq abrirão acabêça ao Veneravel Padre. Tem mais Reliquia do S. Lenho, huã Cabeça das 11 000 V.V., e huã Cruz Coberta Com filigrana deprata, esta Cruz he huã das m.tas qu seformarao milagrozam.te em japão emotronco dehuã Arvore, donde os inimigos deste tinhao cortado paos p.º fazerem Cruzes p.º Martianizarem osMartyres q la padecearaô.

Doc. 6
BNL, Cód. 708, extract of the document Carta de D. João de Olivares, Provincial da Companhia, 20 de Janeiro de 1744, Noticia 4ª das sepulturas que seachão nos Santuários dos Pp.es da Companhia de JESU da Prov.ª de Goa na Índia, fl. 73
(This extract describes some of the tombs of the Bom Jesus at the time)
Na Caza Professa em huã Capella, q fica naSanchristia está Sepultado Balhtazar daVeiga com Sua Campa emSima daSepultura, emsigne bemfeitor desta Igr.º
Navia Sacra entre aIgrº, eSanchristia junto do Sepulcro deS. Xavier está Sepultado D. Rodrigo da Costa, Gov.or da India, , q Sendo General dos Galiões, Syçedeo p via aberta ao Conde deAlvor: Governou tres annos, seias meses, edez dias; faleço aos 23 deJunho de1590: tem sua campa Com as Suas armas abertas nella.
Nacapella Mor junto aosdegraos doAltar naparede naparte da Epiistola esta aSepultura deS.Hieronimo Mascarenhas Capitão q foy de Cochim, eormuz, açuca custa sefez esta Igr.º, em Cuja gratificação a Compº lhe irigio esta Sumptuoza Sepultura, q Sustentão dois Leões demarmore: tem varios Sucessos deSua vida, enavegações abertas aoburil, eporsima, eem roda he toda dourada. Tem seu titulo, doqual consta anno, emqfalleceo, qfoy o demil, qunhentod, enoventa tres, tem as suas armas emsima abertas em bronze.

320
Na Capella de S. Francisco de Borja esta Sepultado, Com Sua Sepultura, João Machado Tom-e Contratados. Era este varão muy pio, emuy catholico, muy liberal p.ª com os pobres, Com as religiões, ecom o Culto Divino, emq nodiscuro de Sua vida despendeom.ta fazenda, eq sua morte fes asima de 30 mil Xes. Delegados p. sua alma.

Namesma Capella junto aSeu Irmão João Machado, senterrou Paulo Machado, home de Santa Vida, nunca fouy cazado, m. esmolas, assim pera os Conventos, Como ospobres; Insigne bemfeitor desta Igrª, àqual deo mais de 26 moil X.es

Hum anno depois daSua morte, Eindo tirarmos seis ossos, Selhe achou amao direita in Currupta, estando o mais Corpo , aqual assim, Como estava Semeteo cõoq em hu Caixao namesma Capella.

Debaixo doarco daCapella Mor, esta sepultado Ant.º Machado de Brito, General do Estreito, qmatarão violentam.te aos 30. deJan.ro de 1594.

No Altar de S. Xavier esta sepultado oVRey Francisco Prep.to deSampayo e Castro, qfaleceu aos 13 deJulho de 1730; athe agora selhe não tem posto campa.
Doc. 7

ARSI, Goa 9, André Palm eira, Visitor, to Claudio Acquaviva,

Goa, 26 of January of 1624, fl. 78

(In this letter to the General, Visitor André Palm eira referred to the general consultation of the professed fathers had been assembled in Goa in order to decide on the foundation of the Noviciate. Two places were taken into special consideration: *S. Paulo Velho* and *S. Paulo Novo*. Most of the professed fathers, including him, were in favour of *S. Paulo Velho*).

"Em hua das cartas que V. P. me escreveu falando do noviciado me diz (illegible) aquella materia me escreveu outra, esta não chegou pergunteis ao P. Provincial que tudo sobre este reino, elle me disse, e para responder ao que V. P. perguntara ajunteis todos os professos, que avia nesta casa - tocando prover, que estando ocupados, (illegible) e logo adaoção do dote do noviciado; E pareceria a todos, que conforme a elle se não poderá confundir a renda do noviciado com a do colegio; E que devia o Noviciado ser casa separada, na renda, e no mais. Isto supposto pergunteis em que lugar podia estar este noviciado, e porque se podia fallar em quatro lugares. Rachol, S. Paulo Velho, S. Paulo Novo com separação, ou outra casa nova. Fallando de Rachol pareceo que não convinha, tambêm julgaram todos, tirando dous que não convinha fazzermos outra casa nova, porque a cidade, o Vice Rei não permitirão. E nos meteriamos em novos trabalhos, se intentassemos novos edificios; e que nos bastará na India tres casas em hua cidade. A duvida toda foi sobre o collegio novo e velho de S. Paulo. Os mais disserão que estivesse no Collegio Velho de S. Paulo; os menos que em bom numero, que no collegio novo; E vendo-os taò divisos, não quis declarar nem parecer: a todos pedi escrevesse a V. P. o negocio he da importancia, pois há de ser perpétuo. [Assim] me parece que tem melhoras fundamentais do seu parecer que estejam os noviços em S. Paulo Velho. V. Prep. Perguntou quando se mudou o collegio para o sitio de S. Roque, huma das condições com que se mudou foi que o noviciado..."
estaria no collegio velho, como consta do teor do alvará. E não quis D. Jerónimo de Azevedo esta mudança com as condições no alvará (illegible) E huma delas he esta de Sua majestade em carta escrita a 25 de Janeiro de (illegible) e mudaríamos para ali o noviciado, e suposto isto (illegible) mudança de D. Jeronimo dAlmeida, que o fez com a condição de os noviços ficarem naquele sítio.

2º O Conde Vice Rei que toma para compor os Religiosos de S. Agostinho com nossos trazia hua carta escrita a 5 de Março de 1619 em que dizia que não havia em S. Paulo menor fábrica, nem mais religiosos, com os necessarios para os efeitos pelo que se permitia aquela mudança: e estes efeitos era para ali morarem os estudantes: e como se trata deste negocio, he muy grande, e na forma desta carta se ordena que os nossos estudantes fique neste sitio, e nos obrigão a cumprir a condição, [a] mudança, e o que a El Rei dissemos quando pedimos esta mudança.

3º (illegible) por razão de importância a intenção, e a vontade do fundador, da qual se tinha (illegible) hum irmão muy antigo António da Fonseca que era naquele tempo fundador do Noviciado, outros muitos (illegible) se escreverão a V. P. por esta parte. (illegible) que tomão das incomodidades (illegible) muito para ponderar; e em (illegible) os não (illegible). Quando (illegible) esta matéria ao V. P. não há mais alguma nova, donde hao de aver, (illegible) de ambos os casos se aqui (illegible) noviciado, e donde se hade (illegible) alguma freguezia o serviço de ambos os casos, (illegible words). Para os noviços não haverá cerca (illegible) de alguma consideração. Não poderão Ter (illegible). Vão ficando no corredor de baixo de todo o collegio, não no sitio necessário, e que estivesse, apareço outro inconveniente muy grande, porque o lugar , onde se havia de fazer a nova portaria, ainda arrendando-nos a cidade hum espaço do seu campo, os frades impedem, só he bastante para huma casa de grandeza (illegible) sem se poder fazer casa (illegible). E ainda portaria do Noviciado não
(illegible), necessário fallar com os homens o corredor ordinaria serventia e passagem de noviços. (illegible) este aperto por dous ou tres annos; nos fazer casa que fique . Encomendadas são he de grande consideração.

Pera se (illegible) os noviços de S. Paulo Velho, hé (illegible) inconveniente tão grande, como lhe (illegible) doenças. (illegible) aquella casa mais tem, e he certo que está todo. (---). E esta he a verdade, se outra cousa se escrever não (illegible); porem já nos tempos atrasados aquele sitio esteve por vários anos e depois voltou ao seu. Contudo diz o (illegible) em hum sitio daquele colégio, onde antigamente por (illegible). Moravão os de (illegible) muito prover, e que alli caberão osnoviços; (illegible) se aponte casos, e erão estes antigos se deu mais lugar ao vento, que fique aquela casa de muito maior condição, e se aponta, que se pode ainda acomodar melhor de forma que aja melhor saude. Ficando ali os noviços a cidade ficará mais satisfeita e ainda se (illegible) desta mudança; o collegio (illegible) trabalho estando ali os noviços. por todas estas regras (illegible) se escreverão a V. P. a pormos nos noviços naquela casa de S. Paulo o Velho; e quando necessário doenças então nos ficará uma maior (illegible) para fazer afinal mudança. Mas em tudo se fará o que V. P. ordenar; (illegible) pôr maior. Súplicas de V. P. muito me encomendo.
(In this letter to Claudio Acquaviva, the converted inhabitants of Salsete complain about the transfer of the College from Margan to Rachol. In particular, they complained about the fact that this transfer made them abandon their fruit gardens and the quarters in which they had been born and where they had their sources of income. Moreover, they expressed their opposition to the Crown’s project of handing the churches and the college on Salsete over to other priests. When these lands were handed over to the Society, they were inhabited by Gentiles and there existed many temples. In contrast, in 1607, twenty-six churches and chapels existed there. They further argued that this transfer would certainly damage the work of conversion, as these lands bordered non-Portuguese lands, and they were thus afraid that other clerics would be less successful both in reconstructing the churches that were often damaged by Gentile attacks and in assuring their upkeep.)

"[No] anno passado de [1606]] escrevemos a V. P. quanto sentimos a mudança do Colégio de Margão onde somos moradores para Rachol, porque como nos (illegible) aqui junto deste colegio e deixamos nossas hortas e bairro onde nascemos e tínhamos do nosso interesse por estarmos perto da igreja e fazermos nisto o gosto dos padres - tem feito huma grande povoação em Margão e estando que nós e nossos filhos e netos mimosos do bom trato e coração dos padres e da frequência dos sacramentos (illegible) daqui o collegio que tiram-nos o coração do peito, e os olhos do rosto explicar a V. P. este sentimento quanto direito tínhamos para em pedir e mudança do Collegio não queremos apontar, porque o nosso intento não he de o governo e ordens dos padres que nos criarão e a quem tudo devemos, senão amor que lhe temos e quanto desejamos começada fazermos esta. Bem sabemos que os padres de Salçete tem necessidade de ter hum collegio em Rachol por ter fortaleza del Rey e não he bem (illegible) Que esteja arriscado a cada (illegible) os infieis como já algumas vezes fizerão, e por isso connésemos em que se passe embora o collegio (para) Rachol. Porem deve ser isto que pelo menos nos fiquem em Margão collegio como Residencia, mas também, sendo caso que os padres de Chaul, Baçaim, tempo larguem as freguezias de Salsete o que Deus
nunca queira. Residencia sera sempre nosso vigário. (illegible) e ainda que se largassem as demais igrejas os padres pedimos a V. P. que no nos faça ficarmos consolados e quietos de V. P. Há setenta e tantos annos a conversão das terras del Rey de Portugal del Rey entregou à Companhia onde não avia semão tudo gentios nem suas nalgerejas e Pagodes. Hoje há vinte e seis igrejas das quais dezassete são curadas e as outras ermidas, Ate o presente administrou a Companhia esta Cristandade em paz, e grandes satisfações e de todos os visoreis (illegible) sempre se deram pôr bem servidos dos trabalhos que os Padres têm na tal administração. Estando estas Igrejas e Cristãos gozando desta paz o ano de – e cinco o Vice Rei Dom Martim Afonso de Castro mandou notificar os Padres da Companhia largassem estas igrejas ao Prelado dizendo ser ordem d’el Rey – posto que se disse que não acalmando para os Padres de Salsete senão para os religiosos que estavam em Bardez e Ilhas de Goa, contudo os Padres da Companhia respondendo que estão muito prestes para as largar a esta coroa. E porque – eles o fica sendo ao serviço de Deus e das nossas almas me pareçeu como bons filhos de avisar a V. P. do que nisto (illegible) fazendosse este requerimento dos Padres sem nós sernos ouvidos - parece razão que já que estavam na posse que nos não mudasse para outros que sabíamos que não são tão suficientes como estes. (illegible) relações senão tirarem a da Cristandade antes devem ser obrigados pór V. P. a que administrassem as seguintes. A primeira pelo muito serviço que os tais padres devem a Deus (illegible) desta Cristandade com fervor apostólico, e temos pôr certo que entregandosse a clérigos seculares enfraqueça e se esfrie o ardor que agora procede da Cristandade. A segunda que grande parte de Salsete está pôr converter e como Salsete está (illegible) aos infieis (illegible) Mouros retrocederá. A terceira é que estas terras são fronteiras e cada dia estão expostas a (illegible) dos inimigos e com o risco queimar-se todas as igrejas como
(illegible) fazer estiverão as igrejas só com ramadas de palha se faltara para a refazer.

**Doc. 9**

**ARSI, Goa 34.1, Extract of the Annual Letter of the Province of Goa, 1647, fls. 199-200**

(This extract of the annual letters (1647) referred to three very important devotions in Goa. The miracles produced by the intercession to the Holy Mary were innumerable. The devotion to Saint Anthony was very important. Finally, many people were healed by touching the relics of Francis Xavier and the land workers (curumbins) had offered themselves to finance the acquisition of a picture of Francis Xavier.)

Le meraviglie, che ogni giorno opera in questa Christinita la Beatissima Vergine sono senza numero. Tre chiese sotto l’invocazione della Madonna del Calvario, del Rosario de Navelim, e dell’Aiuto. La devotione di S. ANTONIO DA PADOVA, e singolare in questa Christianita; operando costrui miracoli, specialmente in un villaggio di Deffuà, in cui e una Cappella del Santo di gran divotione frequentata da questa gente per le molte gratie.(...). Presso alla Chiesa Parochiale de Benaulim e una cappelletta la quale artisticamente era detta di NOSTRA SIGNORA DELLA PIETÀ, e di S. ANTONIO. Qui c’è fatto di nuovo un quadro, in cui essendo dipinti da’ due lati S. ANTONIO, e S. FRANCESCO SAVERIO; in mezzo e collocata la MADONNA DELLA PIETÀ. (fl. 199). Nell’altre parochie ancora sperementano il favore di S. FRANCESCO SAVERIO. Sono innumerabili gli’infermi che han ricuperato la sanità per essere stati tocchi da una crocetta del legno di quella cassa, in cui si conferma il corpo di S. FRANCESCO SAVERIO; la quale crocetta tiene apresso di se il P. Vicario della Parochia di NOSTRA SIGNORA del PILASTRO a Seraulim. Onde la gente di questo distretto ha concepita una singolare fede, e divotione verso del santo; especially I curumbins che sono quei, che cultivano I campi, I quali chiesero con instanza al P. Vicario, che procurasse per loro un ritratto di S. FRANCESCO, offerendosi alla spesa, che farlo vi sarebbe andata. Essendo stata dal Padre questa loro
intenzione, di quello che ognuno di essi contribuì della sua povertà, se fecce una bella
statua del santo."
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