

A MULTIMEDIA JESUIT EVENT: THE CELEBRATION FOR ST IGNATIUS AND ST FRANCIS XAVIER (MILAN, 1622)

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ABSTRACT

The events organized in April 1622 in Milan to celebrate the canonization of St Ignatius and St Francis Xavier clearly show how the Catholic Church of the time, the Jesuits especially, used a combination of different sensory elements to reinforce Christian belief in the congregation. The deeds of the two Saints were represented in large pictures, displayed in the Jesuit area of Milan, and were recounted by choirs singing hymns and prayers. Moreover, there was a procession of allegorical carts representing the arts taught at the local Jesuit college of Brera. The event was recorded in a *Breve relatione* (1622) which allows us not only to reconstruct what happened, but also to understand why the Jesuits placed such great confidence in the efficacy of this multimedial communication strategy.

Keywords: Catholic Reformation; Baroque; multimediality; mass communication; Jesuit history; senses in religion; rhetoric; urban culture

Introduction

In the Catholic Reformation, or in Counter-Reformation Catholicism, the relationship between word and image became, if possible, even closer than ever before.¹ As is well known, the controversies of the Reformation world around the use of images in religion and devotional practices strengthened the reliance of the Roman Catholic Church on the power and importance of images. Not only did religious practices benefit from the use of images, but images also served new and fashionable conceptual developments, such as in the complex treatise by Gabriele Paleotti or the most popular writings of Remigio Nannini.² At the very heart of the Catholic use of images lies the evangelical message, based on the Incarnation of the Word, the Word made flesh, which became visible and tangible in Christ. For Catholics, the efficacy of religious imagery and the power of the visual arts to stimulate the human mind to bridge the distance between God and the believer relied on this theological foundation; for Protestants, non-sensory human experience was superior to the mediated power of the Word, for the human being's distance from God could not be bridged by anthropomorphic representation of the divine: faith relies on the unseen,

and the Bible should be sufficient to reveal all that is necessary for a good life (according to the principle of *sola Scriptura*).³

The use of images by Catholics in the sixteenth century therefore not only became an application of the Gregorian didactic principle of images as a *Biblia pauperum*, but also served as a reminder of the theological foundation of images as a vehicle of the transcendent with a pedagogical role, exciting the believer's spirit and helping their memory and devotion.⁴ The immense power attributed to visual communication by the Roman Catholic Church was proved and indeed implemented by the use of the new technology of the printing press, which permitted sophisticated representations and a widespread diffusion in religious discourse of combined images and text.⁵ The union of image and word became so deep and effective that in the early seventeenth century spoken discourse even took on an 'iconic' structure, as we will see in certain Italian homilies discussed in this article.

The controversies that shook all sides of Christianity during the sixteenth century made much use of the printing press and of the connection between words and images for persuasive purposes. Improved techniques for woodcuts also meant that a large illiterate population could be reached, and could moreover benefit from visual stimuli, and perhaps even be the targets of propaganda. Even the Protestant side, with its iconoclasm, did not disdain the use of images for instructing, converting and reinforcing the identity of their believers, as Eva Janssens's essay in this *Talking Point* richly demonstrates. As Andrew Pettegree states, 'The first generation of the Reformation witnessed an enormous outpouring of woodcut art. Printers and publishers developed rich new genres to tempt the buying public, including, from the first years of the evangelical movement, a range of flattering and somewhat idealized portraits of Luther the reformer.'⁶ Beside the hagiographical representations of the reformers, woodcuts were also produced to ridicule the Pope and Catholic clergy as well as for educational purposes. In order to be effective, the viewer sometimes needed to read the text or, if illiterate, required a reader to be on hand to decipher the message conveyed. As such, the effectiveness of the union of image and word was not questioned, even in the Protestant world.⁷

The union of *eikon* and *logos* was even more complex and sophisticated during religious events, when they interacted with many other forms of sensory communication. Renaissance religious celebrations were heavily indebted to courtly festivals (and vice versa), as they employed similar tools in order to engage spectators and generate civic involvement with a complex system of symbols.⁸ Religious events were very creative, using theatre and other types of performance, art, poetry and music to project a religious ideal to a mass audience through coherent representation and ritual. These ritualized public events mobilized people, objects and spaces in organized and articulated ceremonies with strong symbolic meanings, emotionally engaging crowds of spectators. Such events were intensely involved with the material world, and their religious dimension was conveyed through sensory experience, which in turn had a persuasive effect upon the hearts, minds and wills of those in receipt of the sensory experience.⁹ Indeed, during these devotional events the senses were intended to be 'the portals of the soul, the links between the inner and the

outer worlds'. In early modern spirituality the senses therefore became increasingly important as 'channels for experiencing and communicating with the divine'.¹⁰

Milan 1622: The decorations

Proclaimed on 20 March 1622, the canonization of St Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order, and of St Francis Xavier, one of the most important early members of the new movement, was an event that Jesuits celebrated to the full across the world.¹¹ The festivities that took place in Milan show how the order, which arrived there in 1563, was rich, influential and popular. The Jesuits had been strongly supported by the local Church: St Charles Borromeo, Bishop of Milan at the time of their arrival, had welcomed and aided them because they supported the renewal of the Church that he had envisaged.¹² At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits owned both a house with a church, San Fedele, in the very centre of Milan, and the important College of Brera nearby. In both the church and the College, a sumptuous celebration in honour of the two newly canonized Saints was organized, lasting for more than a week, from 17 to 26 April 1622 (around a month after Easter, which fell that year on 27 March).

A *Breve relatione* of the event, written immediately afterwards (the imprimatur is dated 8 May, the dedication 11 May) by the publishers themselves, Melchiorre Malatesta and Giovan Battista Piccaglia, summarizes the richness of the communicative signs used for the celebration and highlights their impact within the Milanese urban context.¹³ The pamphlet is dedicated to Francisca Fernandez de Cordova y Cardona, Duchess of Feria. She was the daughter of Antonio Fernandez de Cordova y Cardona (Spanish Ambassador to Rome between 1590 and 1604) and the wife of Gomez Suarez Figueroa, Duke of Feria and Governor of Milan, which was at that time part of the Spanish empire. Gomez had been nominated Governor of Milan in 1618; he later controlled the territory as Viceroy as well. Francisca died the following year, but she participated in the 1622 event, as we can deduce from the dedication.¹⁴

The report (of which there is only one extant copy, held by the Biblioteca Braidense, Milan) is succinct (thirty quarto pages), but it is enriched by eight beautiful engravings showing the locations and allegorical carts.¹⁵ It repeatedly underlines the richness of the decorations and the many different arts and artists who had congregated and either worked together or individually to portray the deeds and sanctity of the two newly canonized Jesuits. It is evident from the description of the festivities that an erudite triumphalist programme celebrated an apotheosis of the new Saints. The many modes of communication used made the event a multimedial affair, and the combination of media had, as we shall see, a great impact on the congregation.

The night before 20 March, as the news of the canonization reached Milan, the Church of San Fedele and Brera's tower had already been decorated and illuminated. 'Lumi chiari et ardenti' ['bright and shining lights'] adorned the buildings, attracting the eyes, while the sound of trumpets delighted the ears.¹⁶ By order of the Archbishop, Federico Borromeo, all the bells of the city pealed for two hours that

night, to excite devotion and the desire to honour the Saints. The following day, Palm Sunday, at the end of Mass the *Te Deum* (the Catholic hymn used to thank God for His mercy in creating a saint) was sung with 'squisita musica' ['exquisite music'] in the College of Brera and then in San Fedele Church; in the evening at the College the students lit many fireworks, with trumpets and happy acclamations ('molti, et artificiosi fuochi, con trombe, e fauste acclamazioni', p. 6). The celebrations were interrupted, however, because of the approaching Holy Week.¹⁷

The real feast then started on the third Sunday after Easter, on 17 April. The *piazze*, squares, churches and buildings in the two Jesuit areas of Milan, San Fedele and Brera, had been decorated in advance with arches, columns, statues, friezes, pictures, emblems, inscriptions and torches which emphasized the sanctity of the two Jesuits.¹⁸ San Fedele square was divided into seven spaces by seven arches, four devoted to Ignatius's deeds (praising his efforts in founding schools, preaching, supporting the sacraments and fighting heresy), and three to Francis's actions (miracles, major acts and conversions) (Figure 1).¹⁹ Each of the seven arches had its own inscriptions in Latin, referring to the qualities of each Saint, and was accompanied by emblems and pictures of the virtues they possessed.²⁰ The deeds of the Saints were also represented in twenty-two paintings on the facades of the square, along with another five paintings representing Jesus, all painted by the Della Rovere brothers, Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Mauro, who were known as the Fiamminghini (p. 11).²¹ On the sides of the arches the miracles of the two Saints were also represented by smaller paintings by Paolo Stella Tedesco (p. 10).²² The images were accompanied by explanatory cartouches.

The doors of the Church of Saint Fedele and of the Jesuit house were decorated with coats of arms and inscriptions referring to the Pope and to the Spanish Governor of Milan. The cloister of the Jesuits (near their church) was also decorated with tapestries and pictures by the painter Panfilo Nuvolone,²³ showing more than one hundred Jesuits martyred in England, Ireland, France, Germany, the East and West Indies and elsewhere (p. 11). An inscription speaks directly to the reader with an exhortation to admire the sacrifices of the Jesuits for the evangelization and salvation of all the world: 'Spectator salve centum religiosos quos sanguine purpuratos vides, scito intra LX annos ob Christo Fides Interfectos', p. 11 ['You, who regard, hail, you are looking at one hundred pious persons of red blood, killed within their first sixty years of life for following Christ']. One final picture, by the painter Isaac the Fleming ('Isaac Fiammingo'), represented Ignatius going to Jerusalem and miraculously being saved from a shipwreck.²⁴

These rich and complex decorations were only those adorning the square and the exterior of the building. The interior of the Church of San Fedele itself was also richly adorned (Figure 2). A portrait of each of the two Saints (that of Ignatius by Il Cerano, and that of Francis by Giulio Cesare Procaccino, p. 11) were situated in the two first lateral chapels.²⁵ Other portraits of the two Saints, embroidered on rich tapestries, were also on the main altar, accompanied by portraits of two other beatified Jesuits, 'Luigi' and 'Stanislao', who were depicted on tapestries above the minor altars.²⁶ On both sides of the main altar there was a 'teatro', that is to say a

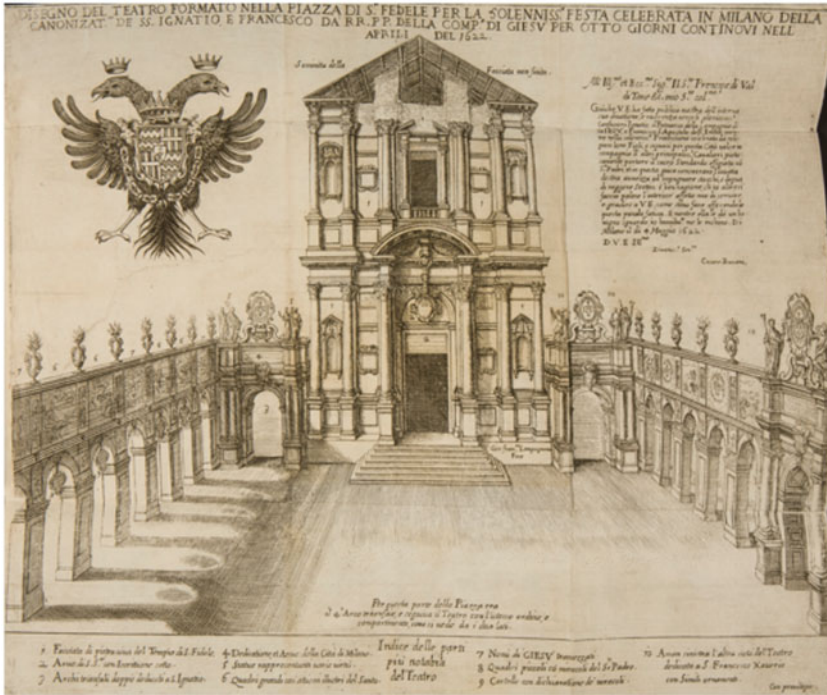


Figure 1: *Breve relatione delle sollemnissime feste, apparati, et allegrezze fatte nella città di Milano, per la canonizzazione de' santi Ignatio Loyola fondatore della Compagnia di Giesu, e Francesco Sauerio suo compagno.* Data in luce da Melchior Malatesta, e Gio. Battista Piccaglia (Milan: Pandolfo Malatesta e Giovan Battista Piccaglia, 1622), p. 32. Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Miscellanea XIV. F3. 10.5. With the permission of the Italian Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo. Any reproduction or duplication by any means is forbidden.

semicircular structure (a kind of choir), in azure, gold and silver, with two niches in which there stood statues of the two recently canonized Saints, overlapped by heavenly angels celebrating their glory, painted by Giovan Battista Secco, better known as Caravaggio (p. 12).²⁷ In addition, ten large paintings by the Fiamminghini, again representing the heroic deeds of the two Saints ('azioni eroiche', p. 12 – a condition of canonization) were situated in the five chapels on both sides of the church. Above them an inscription explaining these pictures was hung from the arch, accompanied by triangular paintings in the angles depicting the virtues of the two Saints. The miracles attributed to them were represented on each of the twenty-two columns using a series of features: a large picture, a cartouche with an explanation, a Jesus (it is not clear if this was simply the abbreviation JHS or an image), an emblem, another painting (the paintings were by Paolo Stella Tedesco) and 'elogi bellissimi', p. 12 [very beautiful praises], with other inscriptions at the bottom of the columns. Moreover, atop the columns there were silver candleholders which illuminated the scene.

Milan 1622: The celebrations

These static decorations formed a rich ceremonial backdrop, and the ceremonies themselves were overwhelmingly spectacular and triumphant. They started on Saturday (17 April) with a procession bearing the relics of the two Saints from Brera College to San Fedele Church, accompanied by flags, candles, decorated horses, weapons, canopies and richly dressed participants. The effect was evidently powerful:

Erano le strade per dove doveva passar la processione vestite d'arazzi, e le contrade piene di gente quasi innumerabile concorsa a vederla, ed essendo giorno feriale pareva giorno di solennissima festa. [...] [T]utte le finestre e loggie delle case erano piene di gente che con stupore stavano mirando cosa tanto bella, che durò per alcune sere. (p. 13)

[The walls of the streets, where the procession passed, were covered by tapestries, and the streets were full of innumerable people who had poured in to witness the event. Even though it was a weekday, it seemed a day of solemn feast. [...] All the windows and balconies of the houses were full of people gazing with wonder at such a beautiful event, which lasted for several evenings.]

In parallel, another procession, led by the Governor, with more than a hundred superbly dressed knights riding horses adorned with embroidered clothes, and preceded by soldiers with arquebuses and lancets, moved from the Court towards San Fedele, passing via the Castle and eventually reaching the other procession.²⁸ In the Church the Vespers were solemnly sung, and then after dark the Church was illuminated with lights covered with multicoloured paper, among which was a lofty figure of Jesus, also made of lights. These scenes had a profound effect on those who crowded around to see, as described above.

On the following day, Sunday, a sung Mass (with a concert of eight vocal choirs and two trumpet choirs) was celebrated by the Theatine Paolo Aresi, Bishop of Tortona, who preached comparing the two Saints to the sun and moon, with the biblical motto *Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna* (Genesis 1. 16).²⁹ In the afternoon, six hundred students, arranged as soldiers (St Ignatius, after all, was a soldier), left Brera and started towards San Fedele square, where they were intended to perform military exercises. Because of the crowd, however, they had to move towards the Court, where they carried out their display perfectly, surprising the bystanders. Then, the same Paolo Aresi celebrated Vespers, 'con solennissima musica, trombe e con indicabile concorso', p. 14 ['with very solemn music, trumpets and an incredible pouring in of people']. On each of the following days of the week there were similar ceremonies, celebrated by different priests who gave sermons featuring various comparisons praising the two newly canonized Saints.³⁰

On the Saturday afternoon, at the end of the week's celebrations, there was another procession, this time including carts made by Brera's students. As they went through the streets, they attracted huge crowds, and people came from across the city and even the surrounding villages. Firstly, there were students carrying flags adorned with friezes and tassels, representing Jesus and the two Saints in their liturgical dress, accompanied by the coats of arms of the participants (p. 16); then the

carts representing the disciplines and elements of devotion taught at Brera: Grammar, Poetry, Eloquence, Philosophy (which included Metaphysics, Physics, Mathematics, Logic and Ethics), and Sacred Letters, followed by Piety and Devotion (with Love, Charity, Faith, Hope, Chastity and Prayer).³¹ The procession of carts went through the streets of the Jesuit area of the city, and then on to the Court, where a throng of people was waiting. The carts were wildly popular and enthusiastically applauded:

E se bene l'espettazione era grande con tutto ciò l'esito l'ha superato di gran lunga. Erano tutte le strade, per dove passarono, piene di gente, botteghe, anditi delle porte, e finestre addobbate di tappezzerie d'ogni sorte; anzi le loggie, tetti et altri poggi, che in qualche modo corrispondevano alle strade, ugualmente carichi di persone, che anzi stanche che sazie, facevano a gara per vedere più volte in varii luoghi, sì nuovo et gratioso spettacolo. (p. 16)

[And even if the expectation was great after all that, the results far surpassed it. The streets where the procession passed were full of people, shops, halls and windows adorned with various tapestries; indeed the loggias, roofs and other balconies were like the streets, equally full of people, who, being tired but not satisfied, competed to see this new and gracious spectacle many times in different places.]

In the main square the procession of carts turned and made a tribute to the Court, then returned to San Fedele. Having arrived, the students entered the church, and representatives of each cart recited on stage a few lines of verse in Italian on the art to which their cart was devoted.

The following day, another Sunday, there was a Mass, celebrated by the Archbishop of Lodi, Michelangelo Seghizzi, who also preached a sermon (p. 22). In the afternoon other groups of people came to praise the two Saints: merchants, foreign students and other students from Brera. A group of two hundred of them, belonging to the Penitent Confraternity, came dressed in sacks, with flags, torches, flowers and trumpets, playing excellent music, and impressing the spectators with their devotion (p. 22). They also recited Italian poetry, all in all offering an extraordinary example of devotion and knowledge to the watching crowd.

This, however, was only the first part of the celebrations – those involving the Church of San Fedele. Brera's celebrations were centred on the square and buildings of Brera, which were also decorated in advance. In the square a triumphal arch had been built, which formed a kind of corridor with columns, perches, lintels and capitals (p. 24); in the spaces between the columns were two statues of the Saints representing their main victories (St Ignatius treading on heresy and the devil; St Francis Xavier treading down infidelity, the flesh and the world), and statues of the four Cardinal Virtues. Inscriptions in Latin explained the accomplishments of the Saints, and various emblems, symbols and conceits ('*imprese, simboli, concetti*', p. 25) were hung from the arch. Red tapestries covered the front of the Church of Brera as well as the interior, the columns and the walls. Two huge pictures of the Saints were hung on either side of the altar, while another eighteen pictures, representing the deeds of the two Saints, hung in the central nave, interspersed with

pictures of other saints, the Apostles and Jesus. This decoration was accompanied by another poetic and literary display.³²

The students, in order to show their gratitude to the founder of their educational institution, built a model in which architectural buildings (two pyramids) were decorated with images of the sun and moon accompanied by two mottoes taken from the Bible: 'Quasi sol refulgens sic ille effulsit in templo Dei' ['And as the shining sun, so did he shine in the temple of God'] for St Ignatius, and 'Quasi luna plena in diebus suis lucet' ['In his days he shone as the full moon'] for St Francis Xavier, both derived from Ecclesiasticus 50.6–7. They also indirectly reproduced the first comparison made by the first preacher of the week, Paolo Aresi, who compared the Saints to the main celestial bodies. Moreover, the large pictures in which the two Saints were represented on both sides of the Church were accompanied by depictions of the constellations, with inscriptions, friezes, frames, ribbons, transoms and capitals, on which were cartouches with Greek and Latin verses, emblems, conceits and witty compositions of various kinds, all pleasingly written or painted (p. 27). Furthermore, the provinces of Europe, Asia and America, which benefited from the two Saints, were represented.

In the Brera Court other decorative representations, specifically 'Elogi, geroglifici, emblemi, concetti figurati, et altri bellissimi componimenti', p. 28 ['praises, hieroglyphics, emblems, figurative conceits and other beautiful compositions'], were displayed through inscriptions, tapestries on the walls and praise of the four major Gregories (the Great, and the three recent Popes Gregory XIII, XIV and XV).³³ In the Court various beautiful praise paeans and poems were recited over the course of several days, accompanied by exquisite music in honour of the two Saints ('si recitano altresì per alcuni giorni varie e belle orationi, e poemi in lode de' santi con ottima musica', p. 29). On the evening of 25 April, fireworks were set off from the bell tower, and pyramids of lights were lit on the balconies and on the roof. These lights were covered with coloured papers so that the effect induced even greater wonder. A marvellous iron tree standing among them, covered in long-lasting fireworks, caused spectators to marvel all the more:

ne' vicini e anche ne' rimoti contorni meraviglia e diletto [erano suscitati], come ne facevano indubitata fede le fauste acclamazioni Viva S. Ignazio, Viva S. Francesco, che fra la scambievole melodia d'armoniose campane, e di trombe squillanti rimbombando ne gl'orecchi di tutti, cavavano da gli occhi di molti lagrime d'un tenero, e tanto affetto verso que' due gloriosi confessori di Christo. (p. 30)

[in areas near and far marvel and delight [were aroused], as was witnessed undoubtedly by the happy acclamations 'Viva S. Ignazio', 'Viva S. Francesco', which with the reciprocal melody of harmonious bells and blaring trumpets resounding in everybody's ears caused a lot of tears in many eyes, tears of a tender and huge affection towards those glorious witnesses of Christ.]

In Brera College the ceremonies were more political than those held in San Fedele Church, comprising a visit from the Spanish governor, Gomez Suarez Figueroa, accompanied by Spanish noblemen living in Milan, Milanese

noblemen, and representatives of the religious authorities. On 26 April a pontifical Mass was celebrated with all the canonical members of the Cathedral. As part of the solemn Mass, a famous preacher, Ascanio Ordei, gave a sermon in praise of the two Saints, based on the subject of the decorations and drawing on all the previous sermons delivered in San Fedele, again using the comparison of the sun and moon (p. 30).³⁴ In the afternoon, solemn Vespers were sung, accompanied by four choirs.³⁵ This was the last event, as the octave of celebration was completed. The *Breve relatione* ends with praise of the nuns of the Monastery of Sant'Agostino di Porta Nuova, who since 20 March had participated in the celebrations, displaying purpose-made lights in windows, stairs and buildings in order to display their talent and the devotion they bore towards St Ignatius and St Francis Xavier, and the Jesuits ('non meno diedero mostra dell'ingegno loro, che della divotione che portano a SS. Ignazio, e Francesco, et alla Compagnia di Giesù', p. 30).

Sensory impact

The richness of this event is immediately evident, as is the interconnection of multiple media, which were intended to have a strong effect by striking the senses of the participants and the spectators. The visual and aural senses were moved, and a profound impression was evidently created through the combination of elements such as fireworks, processions and performances which engaged the spectator on many levels, contributing to the creation of joy in the senses and the acclamation of the Jesuits who had organized the event.

In reading the *Breve relatione*, a modern reader may be struck by the porousness of the border between sacred and profane. All the elements are intended for a religious purpose – the celebration of the two newly canonized Saints – but some aspects, such as the military exercises, the procession on horseback or the fireworks, seem more indebted, as in fact they were, to the ancient triumphant celebrations of the Roman world than to Christian piety.³⁶ But such a modern ritual had new efficacy as a strong vehicle of identity.

The *Breve relatione* repeatedly underlines the effect which the combination of media (lights and fireworks, sound and hymns, inscriptions and emblems, with a host of multiplied images in pictures, tapestries and statues) had on the congregation. This is a good example of how the dynamics between different media actually worked, affecting different senses and engendering shared marvel and admiration for the power on display. This resulted in emotional involvement and the desire to be part of the success, leading to a greater degree of personal identification with the subject celebrated and thus with the Catholic faith.

The intense stimulation of the senses in this sacred event celebrating the sanctity and spiritual qualities of two Saints may seem surprising, but modern scholarship has shown clearly that Christianity was heavily engaged with the material world at the point where the Reformation had generated fractious disputes on the interconnected nature of soul and body.³⁷ Catholicism, for which sensory experience had

always been central in worship and piety, in many ways reinforced its use of the senses as a gateway to the soul and as intersections between matter and spirit. It was precisely the effort to discipline the body and the mind, as stressed in Counter-Reformation and early modern Catholic spirituality, that necessitated a 'sensory education' for the purposes of a more intense engagement with the divine.³⁸ The celebration described here was based on a clear conviction that the senses are an interface between the subject and the world, and even the divine and transcendental sphere. Direct appeal to the senses generally characterized experiences of worship in the Jesuit order at this time, but here the sensuous became part of an aesthetic enjoyment evoking deep emotions, which in turn stirred the imagination and the will.

Analysing the *Breve relatione* of these Jesuit festivities, it is evident how this interaction of signs, such as words, images, hymns, performances, rituals and preaching, worked in the Milanese setting to express and reinforce religious principles, and to increase support for the Jesuits. Together, they were supposed to engender marvel and thereby to reinforce not only the convictions of the believers, but also their gratitude towards the main players, the Jesuits. As Wietse de Boer writes: 'The senses were deeply involved in eliciting precise affective responses, and creating desirable states of mind and soul by balancing gravity and *delectatio*. The Jesuits were at the forefront of theorizing and enacting this project.'³⁹

The multimedial nature of these Milanese ceremonies became, then, a means for the senses to engage in a complex religious experience in an urban setting.⁴⁰ Descriptions of double effects on both eyes and ears are numerous, such as: 'alcuni sonatori di trombe, i quali a vicenda sonando e provocandosi, tanto dilettaevano gli orecchi, quanto i fuochi trattenevano gli occhi dei riguardanti', p. 5, ['some trumpet players, playing in turn and responding to each other, pleased the ears as much as the fireworks pleased the eyes of the spectators']. In other passages, the consequences of the sensory experiences are underlined, proving that multiple media were perceived as affecting not only the devotion of the congregation, but also, through their deeper feelings, the entire person: 'si senti quasi per un'ora il suono confuso e misto di quasi innumerabili campane che assordando quasi li orecchi, nodriva ed accresceva la divozione e l'affetto di onorare questi santi', pp. 5–6, ['for almost an hour we heard the confused and mixed sound of countless bells which, nearly deafening our ears, nourished and increased our devotion and the affectionate impulse to honour these Saints']. Using the word 'affetto' ['affectionate impulse'], the author stresses the emotional side of human participation, which in turn acts on the will, thereby encouraging adherence to the ideals of the Jesuits and the Saints celebrated.

The attitude of the spectators was carefully managed through the sounds, sights, words and multiplicity of signs, which effectively intensified the message, engendering wonder and immediate participation. As we have seen, the *Breve relatione* takes pains to note that every spectator participating in the feast subsequently praised the Saints.

The narration itself therefore allows us not only to reconstruct what happened, but also to understand why the Jesuit order placed great faith in the efficacy of its multimedial communication strategy. The *Breve relatione* relates both the richness of

the decorations and ceremonies, as well as the efficacy of the propaganda. Fireworks and sounds together with decorations and inscriptions engendered wonder, enthusiasm and a response of genuine affection, considered at the time an appropriate means to move the will. Moreover, speeches, images, icons and mottoes all worked together to affect the audience both intellectually and spiritually, and to possess them totally. At the same time, processions and military drills were 'powerful vehicles for the identity formation of individuals, groups, and by extension, the city as a whole' and 'offered an ideal vision of a disciplined body of civic and religious institutions in which every individual and group had its own established place and ranking'.⁴¹

The preachers also intended to create images in the minds of the congregation with their words; ideas expressed in their sermons were then reinforced by the images displayed around the church, whose meaning, when emblematic, was clarified by mottoes. In this way, the rhetorical intent of every oratorical speech, *delectare, docere, movere* ['to delight, to teach, to move'], was, in accordance with classical rhetoric and Augustinian oratory, easily achieved. Studying the *Breve relatione* and the sermons preached during the liturgical celebrations, we may understand how this interaction of signs worked in an urban setting to express and reinforce religious principles.⁴² By comparing these homilies with the related iconography and by studying narrative accounts of the events, it becomes possible to reconstruct the reactions of the congregation and to ascertain how the principal messages were received. The invocations were a symptom of the enthusiastic and collective adherence to the Jesuits' principles, showing how in this case the Jesuit theory of images was used to its fullest effect. Thus, we clearly see how a typically Baroque multiplicity of signs functioned within a mass urban context to integrate people into a modern hegemonic culture such as that of the Spanish Empire, to which Milan belonged at the time. This event clearly shows how a combination of different sensory elements was used to communicate and reinforce Christian belief and identity in the congregation.⁴³

Visual preaching

One of the many multimedial aspects of the event described is the connection of image and word within most of the sermons delivered to the masses. In fact, the information we have on the sermons given in both San Fedele and in Brera states that they were all based on the technique of emblematic speech, which meant that each sermon was organized around one central comparison. After the Theatine Paolo Aresi, who compared Ignatius and Francis Xavier to the sun and the moon, the Dominican Sebastiano Borsa compared the two Saints to two worlds, the Old World and the newly discovered one. Then Alessandro Merate, a Pauline cleric, compared them to the lilies of the Temple of Jerusalem, and the Somaschan Alberto Spinola compared them to the two cherubim of the Temple of Solomon; finally, in Brera, Ascanio Ordei compared them again to the sun and the moon.

The sermon centred on comparison (or emblem) became the typical form of the age for all the preaching orders. Seventeenth-century Italian preachers developed this new kind of experimental communication in order to convey an interesting and memorable message to an audience accustomed to, and even bored by, sermons.⁴⁴ The sermon was constructed around one single metaphor. The object of the comparison was first represented in all its characteristics, and then the subject of the sermon (a saint, a virtue, etc.) was drawn from a long series of correspondences. The relationship between the two terms of the comparison was explicated with the help of a motto taken from the Bible.

It is not easy to trace the earliest origins of this kind of sermonizing, as we are dealing with an art form that ends in a publicly performed, and thus non-permanent, act. However, for the testimony of printed material we can look to Turin, to the Sermon on the Shroud of 1608. The Dominican friar Camillo Baliani preached a sermon for the Feast of the Shroud in which he used the Shroud as a metaphor for a book in which Christ had written words of salvation with his own blood.⁴⁵ The entire sermon is constructed around elements of this metaphor. Later, the poet Giovan Battista Marino, who was in Turin at the time and probably had the chance to hear Baliani's sermon, published three sermons with the same emblematic structure, his *Dicerie sacre*.⁴⁶ Marino was a layman, who had probably guessed that the homiletic genre would be popular and correspondingly proved himself in it, even though he did not have the chance to deliver the sermons himself. His sermons are each structured around a central metaphorical motif: the sky representing the order of Sts Mauritius and Lazare, music representing the seven last words of Christ on the cross, and painting representing the Shroud. The *Dicerie sacre* were extremely successful, to the extent that they became models for preachers.

Generally, at this time, a well-received sermon (or collection of sermons) was published immediately and circulated widely. The sermon was a popular literary genre, with audience satisfaction as its main aim. Hence, emblematic speech, even though it was based on the ancient concept of technical memory, with its attention to the readers' tastes, pleasure and satisfaction, is a good example of Baroque taste and of the importance of the preacher in that cultural and literary setting. With their emblematic sermons, preachers had an agenda of creating images with their words in the minds of the congregation in order to arouse interest and help memorization of the sermon's message.

Paolo Aresi built his very successful sermon for San Carlo, delivered in Milan in November 1610, around one image: a thunderbolt, or rather, a picture of a thunderbolt, from its origin to its manifestation.⁴⁷ In Aresi's sermon, San Carlo's life and virtues are compared to this atmospheric phenomenon in all its characteristics: naturalistic, mythological and literary. Then, probably encouraged by the success of these emblematic speeches, Aresi composed a seminal work for preachers, a kind of encyclopaedia. The *Imprese sacre (Sacred Emblems)*, published between 1615 and 1640 in seven volumes, proved to be a turning point in sermon writing in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁸ It circulated widely in Italy and, once translated into Latin, also in Europe. We know that it was present in the libraries of Italian orders devoted

to preaching, that it influenced artistic creation, and that it was used by preachers in their homilies.

In order to respond to the needs of a sophisticated audience, preachers developed sophisticated techniques of communication. Not only did they draw freely on classical treatises on oratory and on literature, but they also used other means, such as voice, action and memory, in a new, efficacious way. Seventeenth-century preachers developed this new kind of experimental communication in order to convey an engaging and memorable message. Emblems provided a metaphor revealed by its visual and literary context, and were readable via a web of interrelated meanings, thereby enriching the message. They were a special kind of multimedial phenomenon. The emblematic image also became a way of structuring a public speech, not simply because preachers found it to be a way of memorizing a sermon, but mainly because symbolic images were a means by which the audience could memorize what they had heard.

Conclusion

This last example of the importance of an image in the organization of a speech is a clear illustration of the permeability of the borders of different media in the Baroque age and raises many issues worthy of further research. Baroque art was centred on a multiplicity of signs and on the ability to use them playfully to overcome the distressing perception of the fragility of human life in a world that had lost its stability and centrality in facing a new cultural wave. Baroque religious events, as with other forms of the art of the same period, tried to reconcile two irreconcilable dimensions, the human and the divine, and it used bodily sensations as a means to do so. In the process of affirming a mass culture, the Jesuits, the originators of the event discussed here, were able to win hearts and minds through their use of persuasive strategies centred on sensory experiences.

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NOTES

¹ On the naming of this controversial period of the history of Christianity, see Wietse de Boer, 'The Contest and Terms of Reformation History', in *Martin Luther: A Christian between Reforms and Modernity (1517–2017)*, ed. by Alberto Melloni, 3 vols (Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 2017), Vol. 1, pp. 43–58; Massimo Firpo, 'Rethinking Catholic Reformation: What Happened in Early Catholicism – A View from Italy', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 20 (2016), 293–312; John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

² Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre et profane diviso in cinque libri: Dove si scuoprono varij abusi loro, et si dichiara il vero modo che christianamente si doveria osservare nel porle nelle chiese, nelle case, et in*

ogni altro luogo (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1582), modern anastatic edition: Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane*, ed. by Paolo Prodi (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1990); Remigio Nannini, *Discorso dell'uso dell'immagini*, published since 1570 with Nannini's translation of the *Epistole e vangeli* (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1586), pp. 488–96. On the origin of the question of the veneration of images, see Wietse de Boer, 'Trent, Saints, and Images', in *Trent and Beyond: The Council, Other Powers, Other Churches*, ed. by Michela Catto and Adriano Prosperi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 121–44; on its history: Giuseppe Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992); on its application to art: John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Adriano Prosperi, 'Tra venerazione e iconoclastia: Le immagini a soggetto religioso tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento', in Adriano Prosperi, *Eresie e devozioni: La religione italiana in età moderna*, 3 vols (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2010), Vol. 3, pp. 307–34.

³ The controversy around iconoclasm lasted for centuries in the Christian world. See for example: Charles L. Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Carlos M. N. Eire, *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁴ On the theoretical foundation of the use of images and on their power, see Olivier Boulnois, *Au-delà de l'image: Une archéologie du visuel au moyen Age, Ve–XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 2008); Ottavia Niccoli, *Vedere con gli occhi del cuore: Alle origini del potere delle immagini* (Bari & Rome: Laterza, 2011); *Image and Incarnation: The Early Modern Doctrine of the Pictorial Image*, ed. by Walter Melion and Lee Palmer Wander (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2015), and David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

⁵ On the use of images in religious discourse, see *Visibile teologia: Il libro sacro figurato in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, ed. by Erminia Ardisino and Elisabetta Selmi (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012); *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by Celeste Brusati, Karl A. E. Enekel and Walter S. Melion (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011); *Emblemata sacra: Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images*, ed. by Ralph Dekoninck and Agnès Guiderdoni-Bruslé (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Frédéric Cousinîé, *Images et méditation au XVIIe siècle* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007); and specifically on Jesuits: *Jesuit Image Theory*, ed. by Wietse de Boer, Karl A. E. Enekel and Walter S. Melion (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2016).

⁶ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 103.

⁷ For a very early understanding of the importance of images in Protestant propaganda, in addition to Pettegree's essay, there is the seminal essay by Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). See also Eva Janssens's essay in this *Talking Point*.

⁸ On festivals, sacred and profane, see *Italian Renaissance Festivals and their European Influence*, ed. by James R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Leiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992); *Les Fêtes urbaines en Italie à l'époque de la Renaissance: Vérone, Florence, Sienne, Naples*, ed. by Françoise Decroisette and Michel Plaisance (Paris: Klincksieck-Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1993–94); *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. by James R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Paola Ventrone, *Lo spettacolo religioso a Firenze nel Quattrocento* (Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 2008); Paola Ventrone, *Teatro civile e sacra rappresentazione a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2016); *Images, cultes, liturgies: les connotations politiques du message: Actes du premier atelier international du projet: Les vecteurs de l'idéal: Le pouvoir symbolique entre Moyen Age et Renaissance (v.1200–v.1640)*, ed. by Paola Ventrone and Laura Gaffuri (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne – Rome: École française de Rome, 2014).

⁹ On sensory religious experience at the time, see Wietse de Boer, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Senses', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. by Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 243–60; *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, ed. by Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Gottler (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013).

¹⁰ This and the previous quotation are from Wietse de Boer, 'Introduction: The Sacred and the Senses', in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by de Boer and Gottler, pp. 3–4.

¹¹ On the event, see Paolo Tacchi Venturi, *La canonizzazione dei santi Ignazio di Loiola, fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù e Francesco Saverio, apostolo d'Oriente: Ricordo del terzo centenario, 12 marzo 1922*, ed. by the Comitato romano per le centenarie onoranze (Rome: Grafia, 1922). The feast was celebrated in many places in Italy and worldwide, including Mexico City, Peru, India, Goa and Hormuz, facilitated by the missionary network: see also Pamela M. Jones, 'Celebrating the New Saints in Rome and across the Globe', in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692*, ed. by Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2019), pp. 148–67. For Italy, we have accounts of those in Milan (discussed here); for Rome, see Giovanni G. Soprani, *Breve relatione della vita, miracoli, & canonizzazione di S. Ignatio di Loiola fondatore della Compagnia di Gesu [...] Cavata da processi autentici, & relationi della Rota, & Congregazione de riti fatte per la sua canonizzazione* (Rome: Herede di Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1622), and for Turin, see *Breve relatione delle feste, apparati, e trionfi fatti in Torino. In honore de' gloriosissimi santi canonizzati dal gran pontefice Gregorio XV: Ignatio Loiola fondatore, e Francesco Sauerio apostolo dell'Indie, della Compagnia di Gesu* (Turin: Ubertino Meruli, 1622).

¹² On the Jesuits in Milan, see Giuseppe Schio, *S. Carlo Borromeo e i Gesuiti*, ed. by Diego Brunello (Gallarate: Archivio dei Gesuiti dell'Italia Settentrionale, 2014).

¹³ *Breve relatione delle sollemnissime feste, apparati, et allegrezze fatte nella città di Milano, per la canonizzazione de' santi Ignatio Loyola fondatore della Compagnia di Gesu, e Francesco Sauerio suo compagno: Data in luce da Melchior Malatesta, e Gio. Battista Piccaglia* (Milan: Pandolfo Malatesta e Giovan Battista Piccaglia, 1622).

¹⁴ On these Spanish political figures, see Fausto Nicolini, 'Fernandez de Cordoba', in *Enciclopedia Treccani, Appendice* (1938), <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fernandez-de-cordoba_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/> [accessed 3 August 2020].

¹⁵ The 'incisore' of the engravings was Cesare Bassano (Milan 1584–1646), a well-known artist, who worked extensively on engraved books. A list – incomplete, as the *Breve relatione* is not included – is given in Fabia Borroni, 'Bassano, Cesare', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 7 (1970), <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cesare-bassano_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cesare-bassano_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>) [accessed 3 August 2020]. In the first engraving of the *Breve relatione* he wrote a dedication to his protector, the Prince of Val di Taro, dated Milan, 4 May 1622. The engraving of San Fedele Church in the first image was prepared by Giovanni Francesco Lampugnani, a famous painter of the Scuola Lombarda: see Anna Chiara Fontana, 'Lampugnani, Giovanni Francesco', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 63 (2004), <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-francesco-lampugnani_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-francesco-lampugnani_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>) [accessed 3 August 2020].

¹⁶ The quotation is from the *Breve relatione*, p. 6. The transcription is accurate apart from changing *u* for *v* as appropriate, and *&* to *et*. Punctuation and accents accord to modern usage. Hereafter quotations from the *Breve relatione* are indicated only with the page number.

¹⁷ Only on the first Thursday after Easter did the Archbishop come to San Fedele, where a musical concert with four choirs ('un concerto di musica a quattro cori') was held and the saints' litanies were sung 'with great piety and devotion by the people, who came in great numbers to admire such a pious and majestic devotion' ('con grandissima pietà, e divotione del Popolo, che in gran numero era concorso a rimirare, così pia, e maestosa divotione', p. 6). Finally, he led a procession through the streets. This event preceding the week of celebrations created continuity with those before Easter and raised expectations for future events.

¹⁸ In the *Breve relatione*, at the end of the description of the event in San Fedele, the name of the architect overseeing the decorations is given as Aurelio Trezzo (p. 23). I have not found any information about him, but he is mentioned in the *Supplemento della Nobiltà di Milano di Paolo Morigi: Raccolta da G. Borsieri* (Milan: G. B. Bidelli, 1619), p. 62.

¹⁹ The engravings' intertitles do not correspond exactly to the description in the *Breve relatione*: for example the *Relatione* says that four of the seven arches were dedicated to St Ignatius and three to St Francis Xavier. The image shows two lots of seven arches, and the intertitle says that each saint had seven arches dedicated to him (Figure 1).

²⁰ The seven inscriptions in Latin are all reported in the *Breve relatione* (pp. 8–9).

²¹ On these painters, active in Milan at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, see Leonardo Caviglioli, 'Della Rovere, Giovanni Battista, detto il

Fiamminghino', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 37 (1989), <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/della-rovere-giovan-battista-detto-il-fiamminghino_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 3 August 2020]. On the lively Milanese artistic world at the time, see Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

²² I have found no information about this painter.

²³ From Cremona, also active in Milan in the first half of the seventeenth century: see Francesco Frangi, 'Nuvolone, Panfilo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 79 (2013), <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/panfilo-nuvolone_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/panfilo-nuvolone_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>) [accessed 3 August 2020].

²⁴ I found no information about this painter.

²⁵ Giovanni Battista Crespi, called Cerano, was active in Milan at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century: see Marco Rosci, 'Crespi, Giovanni Battista', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 30 (1984), <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/crespi-giovanni-battista-detto-il-cerano_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/crespi-giovanni-battista-detto-il-cerano_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>) [accessed 3 August 2020]. Giulio Cesare Procaccino, from Bologna, was active during the same period, mainly in Milan: see Anna Manzitti, 'Procaccino, Giulio Cesare', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 85 (2016), <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-cesare-procaccino_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 3 August 2020].

²⁶ Luigi and Stanislaw are not more precisely identified, but Luigi is definitely Luigi Gonzaga, who became a Jesuit in 1585 at the age of seventeen and died very young, six years later, and Stanislaw is Stanislaus Kostka, a prominent Polish Jesuit who also died young, at the age of just eighteen.

²⁷ A recent essay on this painter, who worked in Milan, is Giacomo Berra, 'Inediti d'archivio sul pittore Giovan Battista Secco da Caravaggio', *Arte Cristiana*, 101 (2013), 344–65. For general information, see Mariolina Olivari, 'Secco Giovanni Battista detto il Caravaggio o il Caravaggio', in *Dizionario degli artisti di Caravaggio e Treviglio*, ed. by Enrico De Pascale and Mariolina Olivari (Treviglio & Bergamo: Fiber-Bolis, 1994), pp. 208–10.

²⁸ In seventeenth-century Milan, the Court was in the Palazzo Gonzaga, moving later to the Palazzo Reale near the Duomo: see Enrico Colle and Fernando Mazzocca, *Il Palazzo Reale di Milano* (Milan: Fondazione Cariplo-Skira, 2001).

²⁹ Paolo Aresi, from a noble Milanese family, was one of the most famous Italian preachers at the time: see Erminia Ardissino, *Il Barocco e il sacro: La predicazione del teatino Paolo Aresi tra letteratura, immagini e scienza* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2001).

³⁰ On Monday, the preacher was Sebastiano Borsari; on Tuesday, Alessandro Merate; on Wednesday, Alberto Spinola; on Thursday, the invited preacher could not come, so another took his place; the same happened the following day (Friday) and on Saturday. On the content of their sermons, see the section entitled *Visual preaching* in this article. On Friday morning, the paintings of the church were moved outside in order to allow women to contemplate them, as it was forbidden at this time for women to enter the Jesuit church (*Breve relatione*, p. 15).

³¹ Each cart was accoutred according to the characteristic features of the art represented, and driven by the students. The *Breve relatione* devotes quite a lot of attention to these carts (pp. 16–22) and adds a picture of each. It would be too lengthy to describe the carts in full here; they may be the topic of another paper.

³² This is not clearly described in the *Breve relatione*: 'un altro [apparato] poetico e letterario, di quelli che nelle scuole s'usano e da giovani allievi delle Muse s'aspettano', p. 26, ['another [display], poetic and literary, like those found in schools, and usual for young students of the Muses']. We assume that it is a series of poetic and literary inscriptions created by Brera's students.

³³ The Popes mentioned are Gregory XIII, who was Pope from 1572 to 1585; Gregory XIV (1590–1591), and Gregory XV (1621–1623).

³⁴ Ascanio Ordei (1582–1651), who is better known today for his pastoral drama *I fidi amanti* (Venice, 1600), an early form of melodrama put to music by Gaspare Torelli, was a famous preacher from Lombardy who preached successfully around Italy: see Filippo Picinelli, *Ateneo dei letterati milanesi* (Milan: Francesco Vigone, 1670), pp. 58–59.

³⁵ The names of the composers were Cesare Ardemanio (p. 23) for San Fedele, a Milanese composer, <<http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01197>> [accessed 26 February 2019], and Melchiorre Biglia for Brera (p. 30). I found no information about the second composer.

³⁶ For the similarities between the Jesuit propagandistic style of the time and modern forms of propaganda, see Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

³⁷ On the use of the senses in the Roman Catholic Church after Trent, see Wietse de Boer, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Senses', in *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, pp. 243–60; Tracy E. Cooper, 'The Sensuous: Recent Counter-Reformation Research', in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, pp. 21–27; Wietse de Boer and Christine Gottler, 'The Sacred and the Senses in Early Modern Europe', in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 1–13. On the use of the senses in the Jesuit order in particular, see Steffen Zierholz, 'To Make Yourself Present: Jesuit Sacred Space as Energetic', in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 419–60.

³⁸ On the Counter-Reformation as a social and individual discipline, see Paolo Prodi, *Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994); *Salvezza delle anime disciplina dei corpi: Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo*, ed. by Adriano Prosperi (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2006).

³⁹ Wietse de Boer, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Senses', pp. 253–54.

⁴⁰ On religion in urban settings at the time, see *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500*, ed. by Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Also useful, if focused on the spatial consequences of conversion, is *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective*, ed. by Giuseppe Marcocci, Wietse de Boer, Aliocha Maldavsky and Ilaria Pavan (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2014).

⁴¹ Minou Schraven, 'Roma Theatrum Mundi: Festivals and Processions in the Ritual City', in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome*, pp. 247–65 (pp. 250–51).

⁴² A thoughtful comparative study on the influence of preaching on the emotions is Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁴³ For Jesuit propaganda as a phenomenon which closely involved the urban population, see Levy, *Propaganda and Jesuit Baroque*. Still useful is José A. Maravall, *Cultura del Barocco: Analisis de una estructura historica* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1980).

⁴⁴ On Italian preaching after Trent, see Corrie E. Norman, 'The Social History of Preaching: Italy', in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. by Larissa Taylor (Boston & Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 125–92; Giorgio Caravale, *Predicazione e Inquisizione nell'Italia del Cinquecento. Ippolito Chizzola tra eresia e controversia antiprotestante* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012); Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); the three volumes edited by C. Delcorno and Maria L. Doglio, *La predicazione nel Seicento, Predicare nel Seicento and Prediche e predicatori nel Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009, 2011, 2013); Erminia Ardisino, "'Il condottiere dei Predicatori": Maurizio Di Gregorio e la retorica sacra di primo Seicento', in *I Domenicani e la letteratura*, ed. by Paola Baioni (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2016), pp. 69–80.

⁴⁵ Camillo Baliani, *Ragionamenti della sacra Sindone di N.S. Giesu Christo* (Turin: Luigi Pizzamiglio, 1610).

⁴⁶ Giovan Battista Marino, *Dicerie sacre* (Turin: Luigi Pizzamiglio, 1614). See also the modern critical edition by Erminia Ardisino (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2014). This work went through twenty-three editions within the space of fifty years.

⁴⁷ Paolo Aresi, *Panegirici fatti in diverse occasioni* (Milan: Francesco Mognaga, 1644), pp. 1–46. It had already been published three times: in Milan in 1610, and in both Vicenza and Florence in 1611.

⁴⁸ Paolo Aresi, *Imprese sacre* (Verona: Angelo Tamo, 1615) Vol. I; Paolo Aresi, *Imprese sacre* (Milan: Eredi di Pacifico Da Ponte e Giovanni Battista Piccaglia, 1621), Vols I–III; Paolo Aresi, *Imprese sacre* (Milan: Eredi di Pacifico Da Ponte e Giovanni Battista Piccaglia, 1625), Vol. IV; Paolo Aresi, *Imprese sacre* (Tortona: Pietro Giovanni Calenzano e Eliseo Viola, 1630), Vol. V; Paolo Aresi, *Imprese sacre* (Tortona: Pietro Giovanni Calenzano, 1634–5), Vol. VI; Paolo Aresi, *Imprese sacre* (Genoa: Pier Giovanni Calenzano, 1640), Vol. I.