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ABSTRACT
The 1609 beatification of Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, prompted the publication of the Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae, printed by the Galle workshop in Antwerp (1610), which uniquely incorporates a birds-eye view of Rome. Titled Roma Ignaziana, the map features the facades of Jesuit houses, colleges, and churches rising up through the existing urban fabric, dwarfing recognizable structures, such as the Colosseum and Pantheon. It highlights the Society's transformation of the city of Rome, especially in the central area near the Capitoline Hill, following its 1540 foundation. The largest buildings are the Chiesa del Gesù, mother church of the Society, and the their school, the Collegio Romano. In their first years, the Jesuits focused their attention on this neighborhood, establishing social service organizations here. Situating their headquarters in the heart of the urban center allowed the Jesuits to serve those who needed them most, and to this day the Society of Jesus remains a religious order strongly associated with cities. Yet, Roma Ignaziana is not a completely original design. The dominant Jesuit structures are laid on an earlier map of the city, an engraving from Braun and Hogenberg's Civitates Orbis Terrarum (Cologne, 1572), itself adapted from Ugo Pinard's 1555 map of Rome. The Jesuit reworking of this map is but one aspect of their ongoing, strategic adaptation of extant images, here allowing them to weave themselves into the existing fabric of Christian Rome. This study investigates the very literal placement of the principal Jesuit buildings into a representation of Rome, revealing a portrait of how the Society saw themselves as an integral aspect of the reforms underway in post-Tridentine Rome.

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Roma Ignaziana: The Jesuits' Strategic Adaptation of Christian Rome in Cartographic Form

1
Roma Ignaziana map, engraving from *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae* (Antwerp, 1610). Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

The 1609 beatification of Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, prompted the publication of numerous illustrated biographies, intended to promote his cause for canonization. Notable among them is the *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae*, printed by the Flemish workshop of Cornelis Galle in Antwerp in 1610. This engraved *vita* consists of a titlepage and fifteen plates, and it uniquely incorporates a map of Rome. This aspect may be an unexpected addition to the biography of a would-be saint, yet it served a particular goal for a religious order just seventy years old: it connected Ignatius to Rome, the city where he appealed to the Pope for direction, established a religious order in the wake of the Protestant Reformation, and lived out his life as Superior General of the Society. It also situated the order into the heart of Christian Rome, and is one example of the manner in which the Jesuits strategically adapted existing elements to integrate themselves into the Christian world. This map offers a birds-eye view of Rome, a collection of buildings and monuments situated within the city walls and the Tiber River. **Fig. 1**

However, recognizable structures – including the Colosseum, the Pantheon, and Castel Sant'Angelo – are dwarfed by those associated with the Society of Jesus. Often titled *Roma Ignaziana* (Ignatian Rome), the plan features the facades of Jesuit houses, colleges, and churches rising up through the existing urban fabric. It highlights the way in which the Society began to transform the city of Rome, especially in the central area near the Capitoline Hill, immediately after its establishment in 1540. In this essay I investigate the map of Ignatian, or Jesuit, Rome, an image that has received minimal scholarly attention. First, I review its context in the 1610 *vita*, paying particular attention to the ways in which the artists who created these engravings represented space in order to effectively guide the viewer through the life of Ignatius of Loyola.

Then, I examine the notable features of the young Society, and how it developed as a religious order in the seventy years following its foundation, especially within the city of Rome. In this section I also survey the ways in which the Jesuits embarked on a deliberate program of adapting and re-formulating existing buildings, images, and ideas for their own, as a method of integrating their institution into Christian Rome. Finally, I consider the fact that the map was not created specifically for this *vita*, but adapted from a map made three decades earlier, and I evaluate why the Jesuits purposefully utilized that map for their own.

2
"The Convalescence of Ignatius at Loyola," engraving from *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae* (Antwerp, 1610). Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

THE *VITA BEATI PATRIS IGNATII LOYOLAE* (1610) AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SPACE

The *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu fundatoris* was printed by the workshop of Cornelis Galle in Antwerp, in 1610, to commemorate the 1609 beatification of Ignatius, and promote his cause for canonization.[1] The book is an illustrated biography of the Jesuit founder, closely modeled on the written account of his first biographer, Jesuit historian Pedro de Ribadeneira, who commissioned both this *vita*, and a series of paintings that were used as models for these prints.[2] While that cycle, painted by Spaniard Juan de la Mesa c.1600, is no longer extant and little can be said about the relationship between the sets of images, the thirteen plates that comprise the narrative component of this book faithfully reprise Ribadeneira's original text.[3]

They are augmented by the *Roma Ignaziana* map, and a plate representing nine miracles of Ignatius in small vignettes. The map is an unusual addition to Ignatius's *vita*, and one not found in any of the numerous other illustrated biographies of the saint.[4] However, this map is appropriately situated here, as the book as a whole reveals a treatment of space – in terms of both the built environment and the landscapes represented – unlike any of the other *vitae*. Each engraving effectively places Ignatius within a specific environment, and varied architectural elements serve to separate figures and scenes into discrete components so that each part of Ignatius's life is told in detail. Additionally, within each engraving, individual scenes are identified by letters, and a legend at the bottom of each print explains the details of the narrative, in sequence, with references to Ribadeneira's written biography.[5]

The first engraving, executed by Theodor Galle, depicts the convalescence of Ignatius, after he was severely wounded in the Battle at Pamplona in 1521. **Fig. 2** He recovered in his family's castle at Loyola, represented here by an architectural framework that separates Ignatius's bedroom, on the left, where St. Peter appears to encourage him in his conversion to a spiritual life, from views through an arched loggia of Ignatius, kneeling in prayer, and alternately tormented by demons and engaged in a vision of the Virgin and Child. Upon recovering from his leg injury, he embarks on the first stage of his transformational journey, traveling to the Benedictine Abbey at Montserrat. The second engraving, by Cornelis Galle, shows Ignatius first making his general confession in the church, then positioned in front of the church where he gives his fine clothes to a beggar, then standing before the altar of the Virgin Mary during an overnight vigil where he laid down his sword, and finally departing for Manresa. **Fig. 3** That place is the location of the next two engravings. In the first one, created by Adrian Collaert, a central interior space where Ignatius lies in rapture for eight days separates a gathering of people in the town square (left) from the banks of the Cardoner river where Ignatius prayed and wrote the *Spiritual Exercises* (right).

3
"Ignatius's Vigil in Montserrat," engraving from *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae* (Antwerp, 1610). Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

Fig. 4 In the second plate, by Charles van Mallery, a broad church interior is the setting for Ignatius's revelatory visions concerning the Trinity and the Eucharist, and through a window in the left background we see him subsequently at work writing in response to these experiences.

The engraving that follows similarly allows the viewer to follow Ignatius on his voyage to – and through – the Holy Land, using elements of architecture and landscape to separate multiple events. The experiences of Ignatius in Barcelona, where he begins his education, the vow he made with his first companions in Paris, and his subsequent return to his hometown of Azpetitia, in the next three engravings, also include architectural devices to separate components of the narrative, although none include any site-specific elements. However, the remaining engravings are all set in Rome, and they incorporate elements that make this readily apparent.

The scene of Ignatius's life-changing vision of Christ and God the Father at La Storta, where Ignatius was told by Christ that he would be favorable to him in Rome, was created by Cornelis Galle. **Fig. 5** It takes place entirely outdoors, however the skyline of Rome, specifically labeled, in the background, situates the episode clearly. In the next engraving, by Charles van Mallery, Pope Paul III approves the establishment of the Society of Jesus in September 1540, and through an opening in the room's wall we view the church of Santa Maria della Strada, with the Society's IHS monogram affixed to the exterior wall, and Ignatius seated inside writing the *Constitutions* of the order. **Fig. 6** The remaining scenes, of the death and funeral of Ignatius, respectively by Charles van Mallery and Adrian Collaert, are both set in vast interiors, with secondary scenes viewed through doors and windows, or as visions.

In summary, the distinctive treatment of space in all of the plates allows the viewer to connect Ignatius with the events of his life that took place in different locations, by visually moving though well-defined and often identifiable spaces. At the end of the book, the map of Ignatian Rome builds upon that experience, and presents a concrete guide to what Ignatius and the first Jesuits did upon their arrival in Rome and how they made their physical mark on this city.

JESUIT ARCHITECTURE AS SPACES OF MERCY

On the *Roma Ignaziana* map, the largest buildings are the Chiesa del Gesù, mother church of the Society (A), and positioned adjacent to the Roman College (B).[6] Both loom large over the nearby Pantheon, which is almost lost in their shadow. In the early years, the Jesuits focused their attention on this section of the city, establishing many organizations connected to the social service needs in the community. These included orphanages, houses for destitute women, poor girls, and Jewish catechumens, and a soup kitchen. The early Jesuits also collaborated with a number of local hospitals to care for the sick. Situating their headquarters in the heart of the

4
"Ignatius in Manresa," engraving from *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae* (Antwerp, 1610). Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

urban center allowed the Jesuits to serve those who needed them most. A proverb of the period regarding the places associated with the founders of religious orders reinforces this idea: "*Bernardus Valles, Montes Benedictus Amabat; Oppida Franciscus, sed Magna Ignatius Urbes*". ("Bernard loved the valleys, Benedict the Mountains, Francis the towns, but Ignatius loved the great cities").[7]

As the decades progressed, the Jesuits' enterprises expanded outward in the city – they later established their Novitiate on the Quirinal Hill – and to this day the Society of Jesus remains a religious order strongly associated with dense urban centers, an idea reinforced by the map incorporated in the *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae.* It should be noted that even in maps of Rome created outside the Society, such as those of Antonio Tempesta (1593) and Giovanni Maggi (1625), these buildings are prominently featured. Moreover, we see them at the center of a crowded urban environment, where we can well imagine the people who were in need.

An investigation of the urban site upon which the Society rose will help us understand how the focus of the order aligns with the physical environment, and how physical spaces function with regard to the concept of mercy.

The churches and chapels, hospitals and hospices, shelters and other spaces for social assistance and ministering to the poor relates specifically to the distinctively urban character of the Society.[8]

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AND THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN CENTRAL ROME

The first Italian Jesuit, Pietro Codaccio, used his connections at the papal court to secure a benefice for the new order in November 1540. The small church of Santa Maria della Strada –also called Santa Maria degli Astalli or Santa Maria degli Altieri, both names associated with old, noble, Roman families living in this neighborhood – was in a central location near the Capitoline hill and the Papal palace at San Marco.[9] This area was also close to the Jewish quarter, a neighborhood filled with prostitutes, and thus was ideal for ministering to the citizens of Rome. This church was accepted by the Society over others, despite its small size and poor condition, because of the location. In the words of Ignatius, "the site was best suited to what the Society intended".[10] Even before the official Papal Bull was issued establishing the Society, in the very harsh winter of 1538–39 the Jesuits were assisting people in the neighborhood to secure housing, clothing, and food.[11] This became central focus of their mission, particularly in their desire to imitate the actions and ministry of Christ, who had a special concern for the poor and disadvantaged. As John O'Malley has noted, the performing of acts of mercy or charity was specified in the foundational documents of the Society, notably the *Formula of the Institute* of 1540, and the *Spiritual Exercises*. Moreover, this was one reason indicated by the first Jesuits for the fact that they could not be bound by choir.[12] It is important to understand that this practice was in place even before the

5
“Ignatius’s Vision at La Storta,” engraving from *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae* (Antwerp, 1610). Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

6
“The Establishment of the Society of Jesus in Rome,” engraving from *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae* (Antwerp, 1610). Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

7
Ignatius and the Jesuits serve the public in Rome map, engraving from Vita Beati Patris Ignatii (Rome, 1609). Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

official foundation of the order, and has always been a point of emphasis. Because of this, Ignatius and his first companions knew it was essential to be physically located amongst those who needed their help.

Many early Jesuits served by teaching and preaching throughout the city. They used the church of Santa Maria della Strada to teach catechism. The establishment of schools and colleges would become an increasing focus over the next few decades. Multiple educational institutions are marked in the *Roma Ignaziana* map: the Roman College (B), the German College (K), and the English College (L). These schools trained young Jesuits in a variety of roles, including the important missionary work for which the Jesuits would become known.

During the first years there was a specific focus on establishing public works of piety in Rome; many would become hallmarks of the Society. Most developed in the immediate area around Il Gesù, where the Jesuits saw certain needs and created institutions. Farther out in the city they frequently worked with existing institutions, especially hospitals. While not all of these buildings still exist, we do know what organizations were created and where they were located, and most are indicated on the *Roma Ignaziana* map.[13]

In the nearby Jewish quarter, *Casa dei Catecumeni*, houses for Jewish catechumens (G), were established on the street leading to the Capitoline hill.[14] Established in 1543, these were considered a kind of *halfway house* where these men and women (separately) could live and receive instruction while preparing for their baptism. These were confraternities run by first by priests but soon after by the laity.

The *Compagnia delle Vergini Miserabili* for the education of poor girls (I), often the daughters of prostitutes, was established at Santa Caterina dei Funari.[15] This is another example of a social service organization started by the Society that became a confraternity run by the laity (many others followed this model). The 1609 *vita* of Ignatius includes an image of Ignatius at this site, with caption: "At Rome he founded public works of piety: hospices for women in bad marriages; for virgins at Santa Caterina dei Funari, for (orphan) girls at Santi Quattro Coronati, also for orphan boys wandering through the city as beggars, a residence for (Jewish) catachumens, as well as other residences and colleges, to the profit and with the admiration of everybody".[16] **Fig. 7** A soup kitchen was founded on Via dei Delfini, next to S. Caterina dei Funari.

Just north of Il Gesù, the *Compagnia della grazia* at the Casa Santa Marta (H) was established on 16 February 1543 with support of Pope Paul III.[17] It was designed for the rehabilitation of women, largely prostitutes, and was located in the Piazza del Collegio Romano. The church is still extant, although no longer functioning in this capacity, and undergoing renovation. For unmarried prostitutes Ignatius sought to find them dowries

and husbands, or facilitate their entrance into convents. For prostitutes who were estranged from their husbands he emphasized reconciliation.[18] This innovative institution quickly became the model for similar institutions in other cities. Farther north, an orphanage for boys, the *Compagnia degli orfani* (E) at Santa Maria in Aquiro, in Piazza Capranica near the Pantheon, was established in 1541.[19] It is still in existence, and is one of two orphanages noted on the *Roma Ignaziana* map.

Situating their headquarters in the heart of the urban center allowed the Jesuits to best serve those who needed them, and the Jesuits, notably Francis, the first Jesuit Pope, continue such activities in the city today.

This pattern is followed in other cities where the Society moves, in accordance with instructions that they settle in places where there is the greatest need – to focus on teaching, preaching, hearing confessions, visiting the sick, and performing corporeal acts of mercy – and also allowed them space to grow. The *Roma Ignaziana* map highlights most of these sites.

For the most part, we do not see the first Jesuits building brand-new structures, but adapting older ones.[20] Most of the buildings we discover in this context were those given to them in the early years. Certainly money was a constant concern – and there are some spaces that were rebuilt when the Society could afford to do so, for example, the church of Il Gesù –, but there is also, I would argue, an important aspect of adaptation. Connecting the new order to physical spaces associated with the long Christian tradition in Rome was important; it added legitimacy to their organization.

There are a number of ways in which the Society does this, and many of them are revealed by an analysis of the transformation of the church of Santa Maria della Strada, and other properties acquired in the early years.

Eventually the structure of Santa Maria della Strada, dating probably to the eleventh century – but maybe as early as the fifth century –, would be replaced by the church of the Gesù, but not before strong connections to the past were identified, preserved, and adapted by the Jesuits.[21] The only physical remnant of the old church is the late thirteenth century fresco fragment depicting the Madonna and Child, cut out of the medieval wall. It was later installed above the altar in a new chapel dedicated to the Madonna della Strada in the left transept, designed by Jesuit artist Giuseppe Valeriano, in the 1580s.[22] This fresco, an image known to Ignatius, who regularly knelt before it in prayer, provides both a reminder of the Jesuits strong devotion to the Virgin Mary and deliberate continuity to the earlier church.

In addition, this space was also the site where St. Bernardino of Siena established the Confraternity of the Holy Name, and the Jesuits sought to connect themselves to this event as well.

THE *IHS* CHRISTOGRAM

St. Bernardino of Siena established the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus in 1427.[23] Bernardino, a Franciscan observant preacher, was active in Rome in the 1420s promoting the power of Christ's name. His preaching on this topic included holding up a large tablet adorned with the vibrant gold sunburst surrounding the letters IHS set against a blue field.[24] The Christogram IHS stands for the abbreviation of the name of Jesus in Greek (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ), although some believe it to be an abbreviation for the Latin phrase *Iesus Hominum Salvator* (Jesus, savior of humanity).[25] While Bernardino was not the first to celebrate the Name of Jesus or to employ this monogram, he popularized it.[26] He found it was an abbreviation easily seen by the crowds who gathered for his sermons; a monogram serving as both text and image that was easily recognized and remembered".[27] When Bernardino was brought to trial (in 1426), he defended his devotion to the Holy Name, and the use of the monogram as "a healthy, orthodox substitute to such superstitious devices as talismans, charms, and magic formulae" and he quoted scripture to justify it, namely Philippians 2:10 "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those in heaven, and of those on earth, and of those under the earth".[28] His stated goal was to unite people: "It is my intention to renew and make clear the Name of Jesus, as in the days of the Early Church".[29] Emily Michelson has aptly labeled his use of monogram as a "visual stimulus to faith",[30] and Iris Origo has identified this "visible symbol of power" as characteristic of the period but offering a "nobler substitute".[31]

Bernardino, holding his tablet, delivered sermons evoking the name of Christ as a form of protection:

At the name of Jesus, the demons flee and have no power. God left and granted the name of Jesus first to the Apostles and then to us to use over the demons […]. In the last chapter of St. Mark […]. Jesus said: "In my name you will cast out demons" […]. So holy and terrible is the name of Jesus. Holy for the saints and good people, terrible for the demons and evil people and those in the clutches of the Devil […]. Serpents flee at the odor of the flowers of certain fragrant vines. So, too, the demons at the fragrance of the name of Jesus.[32]

When the Society of Jesus assumed possession of the church of Santa Maria della Strada they almost immediately adopted Bernardino's IHS monogram, embracing his ideas regarding the power of the name of Christ as a tool in the fight against heresy, and an integral link to the early Church.[33] Their similar devotion to Jesus Christ and his name, established years before by common agreement and then restated in official designation, and strengthened by the vision of Christ appearing to Ignatius at La Storta, allowed them to recognize how this relationship could serve them. The monogram appears abundantly starting in the 1540s, and is seen in the aforementioned engraving in the 1610 *vita.* **Fig. 6**

The continuous usage of the IHS monogram by the Jesuits remains a recognizable element. Gauvin Bailey has described it as "almost a corporate logo" for the Society.[34] Yet the specific connection to the church of Santa Maria della Strada, and the nuances of this strategic adaptation, are often overlooked. The building project that transformed the small, rundown church of Santa Maria della Strada into the magnificent mother church of Il Gesù recognizes the aspiration of the Society to follow Christ and honor his name, and it is an indication of their fervent desire to promote reform and renew faith through devotion. Certainly, funds – or rather, a lack of funds –, often directly affected their use and re-use of spaces. However, it was also essential for the Jesuits to create continuity with Christ and the Christian heritage of Rome.

The Jesuits' acquisition of the church of Santa Maria della

8
Roma map, engraving from Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne, 1572).

Strada in Rome set in motion a number of initiatives. They acknowledged that this church was the site where St. Bernardino of Siena had established the confraternity of the Holy Name in 1427, and they adapted his radiant IHS monogram as a means of invoking the name of Jesus Christ as a protective force against evil. The Society embraced Bernardino's monogram as it reinforced the idea that the power of Christ's name was an important tool in the fight against heresy. This adaptation reflected the Society's very name and their stated goal to serve as companions of Jesus. This was a key way in which Ignatius and the early Jesuits strategically incorporated elements of the Santa Maria della Strada site as a way to connect the weighty heritage of Christian Rome to the contemporary fight for reform.

By 1610 the Society of Jesus had existed for seventy years. Their efforts to move into existing structures and transform them to serve as spaces of mercy where they could aid the citizens of Rome had borne fruit, and they had become lasting and well-developed institutions. The *Roma Ignaziana* map incorporated into the *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae* highlights the advancements that the order had made, and the manner in which they had made themselves valuable to the city. The map itself is an excellent example of the Jesuits' use of strategic adaptation.

THE STRATEGIC ADAPTATION OF BRAUN AND HOGENBERG'S *CIVITATES ORBIS TERRARUM*

As noted, this cartographic view of *Roma Ignaziana* is notably not a completely original design.[35] The Jesuit structures placed emphatically on the plan – and noted in the legend below – are laid on an earlier map of the city: an engraving **Fig. 8** depicting a bird's eye view of Rome from the first volume of Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (published in Cologne, 1572).[36] Ultimately comprising six volumes of city maps created over a thirty-five year period, the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* served as a compendium to the 1570 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius, and quickly became celebrated as a way to understand how cities across the globe were laid out. In addition, it must be noted that while the *Roma Ignaziana* plan is adapted from Braun and Hogenberg, their plan originated as a map of Rome created by Ugo Pinard. **Fig. 9** His plan, dating to 1555, was engraved by Jacob Bos and published by Antoine Lafréry.[37] The city is laid out as a view from the Janiculum Hill, and is rendered in great detail. Jessica Maier has stated that, "the inclusion of Pinard's prototype in Braun and Hogenberg's collection meant that it was disseminated internationally, becoming the defining image of sixteenth-century Rome".[38] This widespread recognition of the map of Braun and Hogenberg could have been what drew

9
Urbis Romae Descriptio map, design by Ugo Pinard, engraving by Giacomo Bos, published by Antoine Lafréry (Rome, 1555).

the Jesuits' eye to it. As a map may serve as a placeholder for actual travel, a viewer might imagine himself in Rome even if he was unable to be there physically. In Jesuit terms, this map may have facilitated the practice of *placing oneself* into a specific environment. The next step would be to transform a general image of the city into Jesuit (or, Ignatian) Rome.

The map of Rome envisioned by Braun and Hogenberg positioned the city between the bending Tiber River and city walls at the bottom, and the hills above. The monuments of ancient, and more recent, Rome pop up from the plan, appearing in recognizable elevation drawings. These include the Castel Sant'Angelo on the left, the Pantheon near the center, the Papal Palace at San Marco (labeled as such, although today more widely known as the Palazzo Venezia), and atop the Capitoline Hill: the Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli and the Statue of Marcus Aurelius. Other notable structures include the Theater of Marcellus, Tiber Island, and the Colosseum; the letters and numbers scattered across the map help the viewer identify them. However, it should be noted that only a very few (major) churches are identified explicitly in the legends at the bottom of the engraving, which otherwise label the city gates, bridges, hills, baths, and aqueducts, along with obelisks, palaces and significant houses, theaters, circuses, *templa* (churches). While the most significant aspects of the natural environment and the built structures are clearly visible, and the layout is roughly accurate, it is clear that this version of Rome is limited to the highlights. As a result, it is very general in nature. It is likely that the Jesuits recognized this as a foundation on which to build – almost literally – their world.

Thus, the Galle workshop in Antwerp utilized this as a *tabula rasa* in which to insert the major works of mercy built by the Society.[39] Il Gesù, the order's mother church, and the adjacent professed house, where Ignatius and the first Jesuits lived, stands at the center (A). Next to it is the Collegio Romano (Roman College), foremost among the educational institutions they established (B). In reality they are closely situated, however, these two structures are surrounded by other marked sites scattered around the city, not all of which are positioned as accurately. These include the Penitential College adjacent to the Vatican (C), The Novitiate on the Quirinal Hill (D), the orphanages (E) and (F), the house for the Catechumens (G), the Casa Santa Marta (H), the hospice for girls at Santa Caterina dei Funari (I), the German College (K), the English College (L), the Roman Seminary (M), and the Maronite College (N). Some of these spaces, predominantly those in the immediate geographical vicinity of the Gesù (such as the Casa Santa Marta, a house for the rehabilitation of women), were built by Ignatius and were projects closely connected to him. Construction of

10
Sette Chiese di Roma map, engraving attributed to Étienne Duperac, published by Antoine Lafréry (Rome, 1575).

others, farther away, such as the Novitiate at Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, began after his death. Yet together they comprise the Rome that Ignatius envisioned, as he began to weave the early Society into the fabric of the city through the establishment of works of mercy. The appropriation of the Braun and Hogenberg map of Rome for this Ignatian *vita* positioned them within the recognizable framework of a well-known map, and allowed them to become even more firmly situated into the city.

Another map that may have influenced the creation of the *Roma Ignaziana* plan is the *Sette Chiese di Roma* map **Fig. 10** published for the 1575 Jubilee. While unsigned, it is commonly attributed to Étienne Duperac (also known as Stefano Duperac), and was published by Lafréry.[40] A "God's-eye" view[41] of the seven principal churches of Rome visited by pilgrims, this map includes something very few other maps of the period did: people.[42] These people – lay pilgrims, religious, and members of confraternities – process through the city, linking the churches. The buildings are represented in elevation, characterized by their unique architectural elements, and carefully identified by name. The principal structures in the *Roma Ignaziana* map are similarly embodied, although perhaps only the Church of Il Gesù and the Collegio Romano are distinctive enough to be recognizable to most viewers. Additionally, both maps include the notable, sacred figures connected to these spaces. In the *Sette Chiese* map, the saints associated with four of the seven churches (San Pietro, San Paolo, San Giovanni in Laterano, and Santa Maria Maggiore) stand in front, welcoming pilgrims. In the *Roma Ignaziana* map, we see Ignatius standing with four companions next to the Collegio Romano. That both of these maps are focused on sacred buildings and organizations is likely not a coincidence. Both serve as portraits of Christian Rome.[43]

The *Sette Chiese* map was reproduced in large numbers and disseminated widely. Pilgrims visiting Rome for the Jubilee would have used this plan to organize their itinerary, visiting the major churches each in turn. While this map disregarded all other facets of the city, what remained was all they really needed for a successful pilgrimage. In the case of the *Roma Ignaziana* map, the dense urban fabric of the city is included, but other buildings are not labeled, nor are they emphasized, as the large elevations of Jesuit structures are. In this map, the Society of Jesus has successfully imprinted itself upon – and integrated itself within – the city of Rome.

CONCLUSION

The Jesuit reworking of an existing map is but one aspect of their strategic adaptation of extant images – the other examples considered include the adoption of St. Bernardino of Siena's IHS Christogram, and the preservation of the medieval Marian icon in their first church of Santa Maria della Strada (transformed into Il Gesù) –, which similarly allowed them to knit themselves into the existing fabric of Christian Rome. The very literal placement of the Society and their principal buildings in this map of Rome is a bold statement of how integral they saw themselves as a reforming order in post-Tridentine Rome. The *Roma Ignaziana* map is a portrait of the Society of Jesus (and their founder, Ignatius of Loyola), fashioned in order to emphasize how their physical position in the city allows them to serve the seventeenth-century Christian world.

[1] Ignatius was canonized in 1622, at which time this *vita* was reprinted under the modified title *Vita sancti patris Ignatii Loyolae*. For more on this book see: Walter S. Melion, "Pedro de Ribadeneira S.J., *Vita beati/sancti patris Ignatii Loyolae* (1610, n.d.)," in *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries 1540-1773, A Selection from the Maurits Sabbe Library*, edited by Paul Begheyn, Bernard Deprez, Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2009), 12–7; Walter S. Melion, "'In sensus cadentem imaginem': Varieties of the Spiritual Image in Theodoor Galle's Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola of 1610," in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 63–107.

[2] Pedro de Ribadeneira's biography of Ignatius was first published in Latin (Naples, 1572) and subsequently translated into other languages. A recent translation is by Claude Pavur (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2014).

[3] The paintings were commissioned by Ribadeneira for the Jesuit College in Madrid. See: Melion, "Pedro de Ribadeneira," 12.

[4] In addition to the 1610 *vita* under consideration here, a *vita* with 79 engravings by Jean-Baptiste Barbé was printed in Rome in 1609, and reprinted in 1622 with an additional engraving of the canonization; another *vita* was produced in Rome in 1622 with 20 engravings by Valerién Regnard; the Wierix workshop printed a short *vita* with 13 engravings in Antwerp c.1613; a very extensive *vita* was published in 1622 in Augsburg with 100 engravings by Wolfgang Killian; and in Paris c.1638 yet another *vita* with 31 engravings was released by Petrus Firens. For more on the diversity in the Ignatian *vitae*, see: Alison C. Fleming, "Combining & Creating a Singular Vita of Ignatius of Loyola" *Kunsttexte.de* 3 (2014): 1–14.

[5] This format is employed in other Jesuit artistic projects of the period, including the cycle of martyrdom frescoes by Niccolò Circignani at Santo Stefano Rotondo, Rome (1581–82), and the prints by G.B. Cavallieri based upon them, as well as in the celebrated prints of the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* of Jerome Nadal, printed in Antwerp in 1593.

[6] For more on Jesuit architecture, see: Richard Bösel, *Jesuitenarchitektur in Italien 1540-1773* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986); Richard Bösel, "Jesuit Architecture in Europe," in *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1563-1773*, edited by John O'Malley and Gauvin Bailey (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2003), 63–122; more recently, *La arquitectura jesuítica: Actas del Simposio Internacional, Zaragoza, 9, 10 y 11 de diciembre de 2010*, edited by María Isabel Alvaro Zamora, Javier Ibáñez Fernández and Jesús Fermín Criado Mainar (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando El Católico, 2012).

[7] This proverb is cited by John Padberg, in "How we live where we live," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 20, no. 2 (1988).

[8] The principal sources examining the urban character of the Jesuits are: the exhibition catalog *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome, and Jesuit Urbanism*, edited by Thomas Lucas (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990); Thomas Lucas, *Landmarking: City, Church & Jesuit Urban Strategy* (San Francisco: Loyola Press, 1997). For the Society's early activities regarding works of mercy, see: John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), especially chapter 5.

[9] Lucas, *Saint,* 30–1.

[10] As quoted by Lucas, *Saint*, 30.

[11] Lucas, *Saint,* 29.

[12] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 165–66.

[13] Giovanni Battista Nolli's *Pianta di Roma* (1798) shows buildings in plan (not facades) and is quite accurate for locating these spaces.

[14] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 190–91.

[15] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 187.

[16] *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii* (Rome, 1609). The engraving (#63) is by Jean-Baptiste Barbé. The translation is by James P.M. Walsh, in *Constructing A Saint Through Images: The 1609 Illustrated Biography of Ignatius of Loyola* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2008).

[17] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 182–85.

[18] According to O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 183, much of what we know about the Casa Santa Marta comes from 1551 document written by Juan de Polanco.

[19] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 185–86.

[20] See Bösel, "Jesuit Architecture in Europe," for a discussion of both new and repurposed buildings of the early Society.

[21] The most detailed sources on the church and its history are Giovanni Sale, *Pauperismo Architettonico e Architettura Gesuitica* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2001), and Pio Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma* (Rome: Società grafica romana, 1952).

[22] The chapel of the Madonna della Strada incorporates the icon into a luxurious space replete with colored stonework and oil paintings narrating the life of the Virgin Mary. For more on the design of the space, see: Pietro Pirri, *Giuseppe Valeriano, SJ, Architetto e Pittore (1542-1596)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1970). The paintings have recently been cleaned and conserved and are the subject of *Le storie della Vergine nella Cappella della Madonna della Strada*, edited by Giorgio Leone (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2017).

[23] Gauvin A. Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 196–97. Key sources on St. Bernardino are Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), and Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[24] Emily Michelson, "Bernardino of Siena Visualizes the Name of God," in *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, edited by Georgiana Donavin, Cary J.

Nederman and Richard Utz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 157–79.

[25] For much more on the origins of the letters, see: Michelson, "Bernardino of Siena," 159–61.

[26] Michelson, "Bernardino of Siena," 162–63, provides some important background, and Origo, 117 cites specific sources: Paul, Duns Scotus, Bernard, Francis of Assisi. Bernardino identified these sources at his heresy trail in 1426.

[27] Michelson, "Bernardino of Siena," emphasizes that the use of the monogram helped make Bernardino's message clear and easily understood to a wide number of people.

[28] Michelson, "Bernardino of Siena," 170.

[29] Origo, *The World of San Bernardino,* 118.

[30] Michelson, "Bernardino of Siena," 165. She attributes the success of the tablet to the fact that viewers could understand it on many levels: it had an immediate visual impact, but could also lead to deeper thought (see page 167).

[31] Origo, *The World of San Bernardino,* 118.

[32] Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons,* 104.

[33] For more on the monogram as used by the Jesuits, see: Pedro Campa, "Devotion and Onomasiology: The *Impresa* of the Society of Jesus," in *Emblematic Images and Religious texts: Studies in Honor of G. Richard Dimler, SJ*, edited by Pedro Campa and Peter Daly (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2010), 1–9.

[34] Gauvin A. Bailey, "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting under the Jesuits and Its Legacy Throughout Catholic Europe, 1565-1773," in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, 189.

[35] For an excellent overview of the increasing number of maps and their popularity in early modern Rome, see: Jessica Maier, "Mapping Rome's Rebirth," in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, edited by Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 285–304.

[36] Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum "The Towns of the World" 1572-1618*, Facsimile (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1965), I:45. For more on this project, see: Joannes Keuning, "The 'Civitates' of Braun and Hogenberg," *Imago Mundi* 17 (1963): 41–4; Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of A Representational Language," *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 105–28.

[37] Pinard's map – and its relationship to the one published by Braun and Hogenberg – has been examined by Christian Hülsen, *Le Piante di Roma: catalogo della piante iconografiche e prospettiche dal 1551 al 1748* (Rome: Arbor Sapientiae, 2014), 19–20 e 45–9; Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le Piante di Roma* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1962), 162–63, 171–74 e 182; Jessica Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern maps of the Eternal City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 115–16.

[38] Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 116. Hülsen, *Le Piante di Roma*, 20, also notes that Pinard's plan was much copied.

[39] The *Roma Ignaziana* map has been briefly examined by Lucas, *Saint*, catalog entry 71, 133–34; as well as Frutaz, *Le Piante di Roma,* 199, and Marcello Faggiolo, "Piante di Roma antica e moderna: l'ideologia e i metodi di rappresentazione," in *Piante di Roma dal Rinasciamento ai catasti*, edited by Mario Bevilacqua and Marcello Faggiolo (Rome: Artemide, 2012), 55.

[40] The best analysis of this map is Barbara Wisch, "The Matrix: *Le sette chiese di Roma* of 1575 and the Image of Pilgrimage," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 56/57 (2011/2012): 271–303. See also: Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 157–59.

[41] Wisch, "The Matrix," 281.

[42] Where people are included in other maps, such as in Braun and Hogenberg, they are decorative elements in the margins, not integrated within the city.

[43] For more on the concept of equating a map with a portrait, see: Jessica Maier, "A 'True Likeness': The Renaissance City Portrait," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (2012): 711–52.

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Roma Ignaziana: L'adattamento strategico in forma cartografica della Roma cristiana da parte della Compagnia di Gesù

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KEYWORDS

Roma Ignaziana; Gesuiti; Roma; cartografia; raffigurazione della città

ABSTRACT

La beatificazione, nel 1609, di Ignazio di Loyola, fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù, portò alla pubblicazione di Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae, stampato nel laboratorio di Galle ad Anversa (1610), che straordinariamente include una vista a volo d'uccello di Roma. Intitolata Roma Ignaziana, la mappa rappresenta le facciate delle dimore dei Gesuiti, i collegi, e le chiese che emergono dal tessuto urbano preesistente, facendo sembrare minuscoli edifici celebri, come il Colosseo e il Pantheon. Ciò evidenzia la trasformazione, da parte della Compagnia, della città di Roma, soprattutto nella zona centrale vicina al Campidoglio, dopo la sua fondazione nel 1540. Gli edifici maggiori sono la Chiesa del Gesù, chiesa madre della Compagnia, e la sua scuola, il Collegio Romano. Nei primi anni i Gesuiti concentrarono la loro attenzione su questa area, organizzando qui servizi rivolti alla comunità. La collocazione del loro quartier generale nel cuore della città permise ai Gesuiti di servire coloro che ne avevano più bisogno, e ancora oggi la Compagnia di Gesù continua a essere un ordine religioso fortemente connesso con le città. Tuttavia, Roma Ignaziana non è un disegno del tutto originale. I dominanti edifici dei Gesuiti sono disposti su una precedente mappa della città, un'incisione dal Civitates Orbis Terrarum di Braun e Hogenberg (pubblicato a Colonia nel 1572), a sua volta adattata a partire dalla mappa di Roma di Ugo Pinard, del 1555. La rielaborazione, da parte dei Gesuiti, di questa mappa è solo un momento del continuo, e strategico, riadattamento di immagini esistenti, che in questo caso permise loro di innestarsi nel tessuto urbano della Roma Cristiana. Questo studio indaga il posizionamento dei principali edifici dei Gesuiti in una rappresentazione di Roma, facendo emergere un quadro di come la Compagnia vedesse se stessa come un elemento integrante delle riforme in atto nella Roma post-tridentina.

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