Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness

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Modernity through the Prism of Jesuit History

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Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ways of Proceeding within the Society of Jesus

Edited by

Robert Aleksander Maryks

Published for the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies
at Boston College

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Notes on Contributors

Jeffrey D. Burson
is an associate professor of history at Georgia Southern University, specializing in modern French history and the Enlightenment. He is the author of *The Rise and Fall of Theological Enlightenment: Jean-Martin de Prades and Ideological Polarization in Eighteenth-Century France* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010) and the co-editor of *Enlightenment Catholicism: A Transnational History* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014) and *The Suppression of the Jesuits in Global Context: Causes, Events, Significance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). He is the editor-in-chief of the *Eighteenth-Century Thought* journal and has published numerous articles and chapters, including contributions to *French Historical Studies, French History, Réflexions historiques, Intellectual History Review*, and *Church History.*

Cristiano Casalini
is a researcher and professor at the University of Parma. He is currently a visiting professor at the Lynch School of Education and a visiting fellow at the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies, Boston College, where he is working on early Jesuit pedagogy. His research focuses on sixteenth-century Jesuit education. He has worked on critical texts and commentaries of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century classics of education, especially those concerning the Jesuit order, and has written a book on *Cursus Conimbricensis*, the first philosophical textbook published by the Jesuits of Coimbra at the end of the sixteenth century.

Daniele V. Filippi
studied musicology in Pavia/Cremona and in Heidelberg. His scholarly interests include early modern music and spirituality, historical soundscapes, and intertextuality in Renaissance music. He has published critical editions, books, articles (*Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, *Revista de musicología*, *Early Music*, *Early Music History*), and chapters on composers such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Luca Marenzio, and Philippe de Monte. In 2012–14, he worked as a research fellow at Boston College's Jesuit Institute on a project entitled "The Soundscape of Early Modern Catholicism," which investigated a range of topics including the use of music and sound in Jesuit missions, the sonic experience of the Tridentine mass, and the connections between devotional songs and spiritual practices. He has edited a forthcoming special issue of the *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, titled "Their *Sound Hath Gone Forth into All*

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the Earth": Music and Sounds in the Pastoral Practice of Early Modern Jesuits." He is currently part of a research team on a project about late fifteenth-century sacred music ("Motet Cycles, *c*.1470–*c*.1510: Compositional Design, Performance, and Cultural Context"), funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation and based at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis (Basel, Switzerland).

Bryan Green
holds a PhD in Hispanic languages and literatures (University of California, Los Angeles, 2012), and currently works as an assistant professor at the Instituto de Literatura y Ciencias del Lenguaje at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Chile, where he teaches courses on colonial Latin American literature and culture. In 2014, he was awarded a multi-year grant by the Chilean government to research ascetic discourses and the problem of theodicy in colonial Spanish America (FONDECYT Iniciación en Investigación #11140527, "El ascetismo y el problema de la teodicea en la Hispanoamérica colonial"). He has published articles on Jesuit hagiography and natural history from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish America, and is completing a new translation of Miguel Venegas's, S.J. (1680–1764) and Andrés Marcos Burriel's, S.J. (1719–62) *Noticia de la California y de su conquista temporal y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente* (1757), to be published by the Institute of Jesuit Sources in 2016.

Paul Gwynne
is a professor of medieval and Renaissance studies at the American University of Rome. He received his PhD from the Warburg Institute, University of London. His research focuses on late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italy and the rise and diffusion of Italian humanism. These subjects are reflected in a number of articles and chapters in books as well as a trilogy of monographs which review the production of neo-Latin poetry in Rome from 1480 to 1580: *Poets and Princes: The Panegyric Poetry of Johannes Michael Nagonius* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); *Patterns of Patronage in Renaissance Rome: Francesco Sperulo, Poet, Prelate, Soldier, Spy*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2015); and *Francesco Benci and the Rise of Neo-Latin Epic* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

Henrique Leitão
is a senior researcher at the Center for the History of Science (CIUHCT), University of Lisbon, where he teaches on the MA program in the history and philosophy of science. His research interests include the history of science in Europe and Portugal from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. He is also interested in the history of scientific books and collaborates regularly with the Portuguese National Library in Lisbon. He heads the scientific committee

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overseeing the publication of the complete works of the sixteenth-century mathematician and cosmographer Pedro Nunes. Leitão is a member of various learned societies, including the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (Lisbon Academy of Sciences), the Académie Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences, the European Society for the History of Science, and the History of Science Society.

Andrew Redden
is a senior lecturer in Latin American history at the University of Liverpool. His first book, *Diabolism in Colonial Peru 1560–1750*, was published with Pickering & Chatto (2008), and, together with Fernando Cervantes of the University of Bristol, he has also published a co-edited collection of essays entitled *Angels, Demons, and the New World* with Cambridge University Press (2013). Both of these publications are part of his Leverhulme-sponsored project entitled "Angels and Demons in the Early Modern Hispanic World." His next project is on global martyrdom with a focus on the Americas and a forthcoming bilingual, critical edition entitled *The Collapse of Time: The Martyrdom of Diego Ortiz (1571) in the Chronicle of Antonio de la Calancha (1638)* (Warsaw: DeGruyterOpen, forthcoming in 2016). He has published various articles linking to these projects and, more broadly, the evangelization of the Americas (in particular by the Jesuits) and the interface of indigenous American, African, and European cosmovisions extant at the time.

Rady Roldán-Figueroa
(ThD, Boston University) is an associate professor of the history of Christianity at Boston University School of Theology. He specializes in the early modern period, global Christianity, and the history of Christian spirituality. He is the author of *The Ascetic Spirituality of Juan de Ávila (1499–1569)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), co-editor of *Exploring Christian Heritage: A Reader in History and Theology* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2011), co-editor of *Collected Works of Hanserd Knollys*, vol. 1 (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2016), and associate editor of the *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*. His publications in the field of Jesuit studies include "Martín de Roa, S.J. (1559–1637) and the Consolidation of Catholic Literary Culture in Spain," *European History Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (2015), and "Father Luis Piñeiro, S.J., the Tridentine Economy of Relics, and the Defense of the Jesuit Missionary Enterprise in Tokugawa Japan," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History* 101 (2010). He has also contributed to *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola: Life, Writings, Spirituality* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), edited by Robert Aleksander Maryks. His other publications have appeared in journals such as the *Seventeenth Century*, the *History of European Ideas*, among many others.

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Francisco Malta Romeiras
is a postdoctoral researcher at the Center for the History of Science (CIUHCT) at the Faculty of Sciences, University of Lisbon. His research interests include the history of science in Portugal, the history of the scientific activities of the Society of Jesus, and the history of scientific popularization. In recent years, he has studied the scientific and pedagogical activities of the Portuguese Jesuits in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, topics discussed in his *Ciência, prestígio e devoção: Os jesuítas e a ciência em Portugal* (*séculos XIX e XX*) (Cascais: Lucerna, 2015). He is currently working with Henrique Leitão on the publication of the selected works of the notable Portuguese geneticist Luís Archer, S.J. (1926–2011), which will be published by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in 2016. He is a member of the editorial board of the Jesuit journal *Brotéria*.

Jolanta Rzegocka
is an associate professor at the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Cracow (Poland). She is a historian of early modern theater and drama, and is currently researching early modern Jesuit playbills from the Jesuit province of Poland–Lithuania in the context of civic virtues and values as part of a project entitled "Civic Education in Jesuit School Theatres of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth Playbills in the Jesuit Archives of Vilnius, Rome and Selected Polish Libraries" (funded by the National Science Centre of Poland). In 2011–14, she was a member of a research team working on an NSC-funded project, "Subversive Publishing in Modern England and Poland," where she researched English recusant themes in Polish–Lithuanian Jesuit school theater and productions of plays by the Jesuit Edmund Campion in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Her research interests include vernacular biblical drama, playtexts, and performance records (including playbills and play synopses), early modern performance culture in Poland, and modern Central European literature.

Claudia Schindler
studied classics (Latin, Greek, and archeology) at the universities of Münster and Munich. She was awarded her PhD at the University of Münster in 1998. In 1998–2005, she worked as a senior lecturer at the University of Tübingen where she submitted her habilitation in 2005. From 2003 to 2004, she spent a year at the University of Salzburg on a Lise-Meitner scholarship awarded by the Austrian Science Fund, Vienna. In 2006/7, she began working on a research project funded by the German Research Fund on humanistic lectures in Cicero's speeches at the University of Leipzig. She is the chair of Latin and neo-Latin studies at the University of Hamburg. Her fields of research include

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Greco-Roman and neo-Latin didactic poetry, late antique verse panegyric, epic poetry, and neo-Latin poetics. She has published articles on Ovid and Seneca, the history of classical scholarship, and neo-Latin supplements of classical poetry. She is currently working on a study of the literary microculture of the Neapolitan Jesuits.

Spencer J. Weinreich
is presently pursuing an MPhil in theology, specializing in ecclesiastical history, at the University of Oxford, where he is a Mica and Ahmet Ertegun Graduate Scholar. His work explores the personal, polemical, and religious significance of historiography and life-writing in medieval and early modern Spain and England, and the exchange of ideas and texts across borders, languages, and confessional divides. Weinreich completed his BA in history at Yale University in 2015, receiving the Warren Memorial High Scholarship Prize for the humanities. His senior essay on Mercedarian hagiography and early modern composition practices received the Theron Rockwell Field Prize, the Andrew D. White Prize for European History, and the Elizabethan Club Award. His work has appeared in *Early Science and Medicine* and the *Sixteenth Century Journal*, and he serves as an assistant editor for the *Journal of Jesuit Studies* and a correspondent for the New Sommervogel Project. His current projects include an annotated translation of Pedro de Ribadeneyra, S.J.'s *Historia eclesiástica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra*, and a translation of Cándido de Dalmases, S.J.'s doctoral dissertation on the *Vita Ignatii Loiolae,* both for Brill's Jesuit Studies series, as well as textual histories of Cistercian and Mercedarian hagiography.

Linda Zampol D'Ortia
is a PhD candidate in the Department of Theology and Religion at the University of Otago (New Zealand). She received her BA in Asian languages and cultures from Ca' Foscari University, Venice, and her MA in religious studies from the University of Padua (Italy). Her PhD dissertation focuses on the negotiation of Jesuit identity in Japan in relation to Europe and Asia at the end of the sixteenth century. She is a research assistant on a project entitled "Interactions between Rivals: The Christian Mission and Buddhist Sects in Japan (*c.*1549–*c.*1647)," at the Portuguese Centre for Global History (CHAM) of the New University of Lisbon (Portugal). She has taught courses on the history of Christianity and on Orientalism in Western representations of Asian religions. Her other interests include early modern constructs of masculinity and Orientalism in science fiction.

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Introduction

Robert Aleksander Maryks

The following twelve essays are a selection of papers presented at the first International Symposium on Jesuit Studies held at Boston College's Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies in June 2015. The symposium theme was the distinctiveness of Jesuits and their ministries. The participants explored the *quidditas jesuitica*, or the specifically Jesuit way(s) of proceeding in which Jesuits and their colleagues operated from historical, geographical, social, and cultural perspectives. They asked whether there was an essential core of distinctive elements that characterize the way in which Jesuits lived their religious vocation and conducted their various works and how these ways of proceeding were lived out in the various epochs and cultures in which Jesuits worked over four and a half centuries; what changed and adapted itself to different times and situations, and what remained constant, transcending time and place, infusing the apostolic works and lives of Jesuits with the charism at the source of the Society of Jesus's foundation and development.

As John W. O'Malley stressed in his inaugural keynote address,[1] the main reason why the Society of Jesus became so distinctive among other religious orders of the Catholic Church was that the Jesuits were founded in the sixteenth and not in the thirteenth century, as the Franciscans or the Dominicans had been. The historical context of the sixteenth century—the Age of Explorations and the Renaissance, among others—offered the Jesuits some opportunities that facilitated a distinct definition of their identity. Certainly, the Protestant Reformation also shaped the Jesuit identity but probably not to the extent it has been claimed by traditional historiography. Interestingly enough, the shaping of anti-Protestant Jesuit identity took a different turn after the death of Ignatius in 1556, whose eyes were turned more towards Jerusalem than towards Wittenberg.[2] As the chapters by Spencer Weinreich and Rady Roldán-Figueroa testify, the early Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra played a special role in the new definition of the Society's distinctive place in the church and society.

1 See John W. O'Malley, "The Distinctiveness of the Society of Jesus," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1–16.

2 See William David Myers, "Ignatius of Loyola and Martin Luther: The History and Basis of a Comparison," in *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola: Life, Writings, Spirituality, Influence*, ed. Robert Aleksander Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 141–58.

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The Jesuits situated themselves within the late medieval monastic tradition of devotions and ministries, yet—as Loyola's close associate Jerónimo Nadal put it—they were not monks and the world was their house.[3] Hence they proposed radical (and controversial) changes to the traditional concept of religious life: they wore no distinctive habit; they did not recite or chant the liturgical prayers in choir; they resided in houses and colleges and not in monasteries; and they were governed by an authoritative superior general rather than provincial or general chapters. They were hence "a species within a genre, albeit a quite special species."[4]

These new features allowed the Jesuits to establish an international and centralized network of missions that was fostered by frequent and detailed correspondence between the Roman headquarters and the periphery. Following their distinctive fourth vow to be missionaries, they embarked on the colonial ships to reach territories as distant as India, Japan, and Brazil, among others. The characteristically international groups of Jesuits were not always the first missionaries to arrive at Portuguese, Spanish, or French colonies, but their distinctive adaptability and accommodation policy—which find its roots in Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* and the Jesuit *Constitutions*—prompted them to enter into dialogue with various indigenous and local cultures, with varying degrees of success. These interactions have been studied in Andrew Redden's chapter on the Jesuit martyrdom in Paraguay; in an analysis of José de Acosta's treatise on Amerindians by Bryan Green; in Linda Zampol D'Ortia's piece on the dress policies of the Jesuits in Japan; and in Daniele Filippi's chapter on devotional music.

The Jesuit ministries became even more distinctive after 1548—the year of the foundation of the first Jesuit school for boys (Messina, Sicily). The Society became the first teaching religious order and created a new ministry of schooling in the Catholic Church. Espousing the Renaissance ideal of civic humanism—sometimes even more enthusiastically than their Italian predecessors—exposed the Jesuit teachers to secular culture and led them to offer curricula that were distinctive through their combination of the sacred and profane. Their mission became, therefore, not just religious but also cultural.[5] As Paul Grendler stated in his keynote address at the symposium,

3 See John W. O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation," in John W. O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate? Studies in Jesuit History* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 147–64.

4 See O'Malley, "Distinctiveness," 2.

5 See John W. O'Malley, "The Pastoral, Social, Ecclesiastical, Civic, and Cultural Mission of the Society of Jesus," in O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate?*, 37–52.

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teaching was fundamental to the distinctive Jesuit identity,[6] and the Jesuit superiors employed psychological insights into discerning the proper skills to foster that identity, as Cristiano Casalini's chapter suggests. Again, the roots of this unique approach can already be found in the Jesuit *Constitutions*, in which, as O'Malley pointed out, the ideal of the superior general (and of any formed Jesuit) was described with the use of Ciceronian vocabulary.[7] Ignatius, less trained in the classics than his secretary Juan Alfonso de Polanco, did not object to this obvious reference to a pagan classic. Nor did he object to the printing of Martial's epigrams—the very first book released by the press at the Jesuit Roman College. The Roman College was also an exemplary center for the Jesuit practice of the scientific method and the study of natural philosophy. The chapter by Jeffrey Burson shows the ramifications of this tradition during the Enlightenment, and the chapter by Francisco Malta Romeiras and Henrique Leitão demonstrates how, following the earlier Jesuit tradition, the Portuguese Jesuits in recent centuries were distinctively engaged in promoting sciences in the Luso-speaking world.

But as exemplified by Yasmin Haskell's symposium keynote address,[8] the Jesuits did not stop at simply teaching *studia humanitatis* to their pupils. They themselves engaged at the corporate level in producing copious literature inspired by the best examples of classical form and content by which their worldview was intrinsically shaped. The chapters by Paul Gwynne on Benci's epic, by Claudia Schindler on Giannettasio's didactic poetry, and by Jolanta Rzegocka on Polish school plays corroborate Haskell's point.

The variety of ministries and interactions with virtually every facet of modern culture in which the Jesuits had been engaged was so distinctive that no book will be ever able to cover all aspects of their *quidditas*. But I hope the essays that follow offer a sufficiently wide window onto a historical exploration of how distinctive, and hence worthy of study, the Jesuits have proved themselves to be.

6 See Paul F. Grendler, "The Culture of the Jesuit Teacher, 1548–1773," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, no. 1 (2016): 17–41, here 25.

7 O'Malley, "Distinctiveness," 8–9.

8 Yasmin Haskell, "Suppressed Emotions: The Heroic *Tristia* of Portuguese (ex-)Jesuit, Emanuel de Azevedo," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, no. 1 (2016): 42–60.

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CHAPTER 1

Francesco Benci and the Origins of Jesuit Neo-Latin Epic

Paul Gwynne

The *Quinque martyres e Societate Iesu in India* (Venice: Muschius, 1591) by Francesco Benci, S.J. (1542–94), professor of rhetoric at the Collegium Romanum, is a remarkable poem for many reasons, not least because it is the first poem of a new genre: the Jesuit epic.[1] The six-book poem centers upon the first Jesuit mission to India (1580–83) and culminates in the journey of five Jesuits led by Rodolfo Acquaviva (1550–83) to the province of Salcete in the summer of 1583; their attempt to found a new church; their subsequent martyrdom in a local riot; and reception into paradise.[2] This narrative is set within the broader context of Jesuit missions across the world, and articulated via the medium of classical epic in which the heroism of the ancient warriors is redefined in terms of the Jesuit vocation. Indeed, the honor and virtue of these new heroes is no longer derived from military achievement, but rather from a heroic Christian piety which it is the poet's intention to immortalize in epic encomium: "Non decet in tenebris longa sub nocte iacere, / Lumine quae seros accendent uisa nepotes" (These events which will inspire later followers, when seen in the light, should not lie hidden in the shadows of a long night, *Quinque martyres*, 5.551–52).

1 Repeated publication attests to the popularity and success of Benci's poem. The *Quinque martyres* was first published in Venice in 1591, and a second, corrected version issued from the Vatican Press a year later. The poem was reprinted throughout the seventeenth century in Benci's collected poems and afterwards in his collected works. It was also included in the massive anthology of Jesuit epic poetry, the *Parnassus Societatis Iesu* printed in Frankfurt in 1654. All references are taken from the second, corrected, Roman edition of 1592. For Benci, see Renzo Negri, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 80 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–), 8 (1966): 192–93.

2 For Acquaviva see Pietro Pirri, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 80 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–), 1 (1960): 183–84; for the Jesuits in India see Ines Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006); Alexander Henn, *Hindu–Catholic Encounters in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

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The Epic Structure of the *Quinque martyres*

Virgil's (70–19 BCE) *Aeneid* is Benci's primary—though not exclusive—epic model. Yet, it is a reading of Virgil's *Aeneid* mitigated both through Christian exegesis, and the Stoic philosophy of Seneca's (4 BCC–65 CE) moral essays, Marc Antoine Muret's (1526–85) edition of which Benci had seen through the press in 1585.[3] Neo-Latin epic also had an effect; most importantly, Marco Girolamo Vida's (1485–1566) *Christiad* (probably in the edition with extensive commentary made by Bartolomeo Botta [Pavia, 1569]).[4] The prize-giving events at the Collegium Romanum show that Jesuit education continued to promote the *studia humanitatis*.[5] Editions of Homer (eighth century, BCE), Lucan (39–65), Silius Italicus (26–101), Statius (*c*.40/50–*c*.96), and Valerius Flaccus (first century CE), as well as the early Christian epicists Juvencus (fourth century CE), Sedulius (fl. 425–50), and Arator (sixth century CE), were awarded for composition in the ancient languages.[6] Neo-Latin epic was also admired. The *De partu Virginis* by Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) and Vida's *Christiad* were also singled out for praise:

> Quid praesentia saecula
> Frustra deprimimus turpiter invidi?
> Est hoc nobile par virum
> Quos laudent etiam pristina saecula.

3 *L. Annaeus Seneca a M. Antonio Mureto correctus et notis illustratus* (Rome: Bartholomaeus Grassius, 1585).

4 See Paul Gwynne, "Epic," in *Readings in Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Victoria Moul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

5 However, "it is certainly worth reminding ourselves that the supreme *telos* of Jesuit education was not the production of impressive or sensitive scholars of the classical language or cultures, but of pious and persuasive champions of the Catholic Church." Yasmin A. Haskell, *Loyola's Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: British Academy at the Oxford University Press, 2003), 9.

6 The prize-giving was held after performances of Benci's plays *Ergastus* (October 30, 1587) and *Philotimus* (December 29, 1589); see Francesco Benci, *Carminum libri quattuor eiusdem Ergastus et Philotus dramata* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1592), 250–56; 318–24. By the late seventeenth century, however, tastes in literature had changed. Ranieri Carsughi (1647–1709), lecturer at the Collegium Romanum, advised his students to resist the temptations of Lucan, Statius, and Claudian, and look only to Virgil when writing epic verse. See Yasmin A. Haskell, "Practicing What They Preach? Vergil and the Jesuits," in *A Companion to Vergil's* Aeneid *and Its Tradition*, ed. Joseph Farrell and Michael C.J. Putnam (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 203–16; 203; also Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, 258–68.

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(Why do we enviously denigrate our own times? The men of our own age, whom the ancients would praise, are equally fine.)[7]

Benci's poem references this entire epic canon, both ancient and modern. Indeed, the six-book structure deliberately echoes Vida's *Christiad*; yet, it is[8] Aeneas's divinely ordained journey to found Rome which provides the key point of reference for the dramatic account of the mission to Salcete. The opening lines of the proem resonate with references to the *Aeneid* while at the same time contrasting the classical world with the Christian:

Felices sociorum obitus, qui littore in Indo,
Finitimam qua Goa uetus Salsethida tangit,
Christum animis pulchroque olim per vulnera fuso
Sanguine testati, laetis meruere piorum
5 Adscribi ordinibus, sit fas mihi munere uestro
Dicere caelicolae; vos o memorate canenti,
Quae mens, qui sensus fuerit morientibus, et quae
Gloria tanti operis sublimes aethere tollat.
Vicerunt illi uobis spectantibus: illis
10 Ante oculos interque manus data munera uestras:
Cum Deus aeternum stent ut sua praemia laudi,
Aurea uictrici uelauit tempora fronde,
Et dedit emeritis pretium uictoribus ingens
Ferre mano aurifera decerptam ex arbore palmam.
15 Ad nos tam longo tractu terraeque marisque
Tam celebris facti vix nuntia peruenit aura:
Tamque procul semota oculis transmittere mente
Vix datur, et causas gestarum exponere rerum.
Vos clarum in tenebris tantis praetendite lumen.

BENCI, *Quinque martyres,* 1.1–19

(The blessed martyrdoms of those companions, who, upon the shores of India where ancient Goa joins neighboring Salcete, some time ago bore witness to Christ by their courage and by their noble bloodshed, have deserved

7 Benci, *Carminum libri quattuor*, 254. The verse form is Asclepiadean II, consisting of one Glyconic and one Lesser Asclepiadic found in Hor. *Carm.* I.3, 13, 19, 36; III.9, 15, 19, 24, 25, 28; IV.1, 3.

8 It should be noted that Benci encouraged his students to compare and contrast ancient and contemporary Rome in rhetorical debate. Three of these student orations on the old and new city were published among his *Orationes et carmina* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1592).

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to be inscribed among the happy ranks of the pious, if I may be permitted to sing with your gift, you who dwell in heaven. Recall for the poet their resolution, what emotions they felt as they were dying, and how the glory of their great enterprise now raises this exalted band to heaven. As you looked down, those illustrious men were triumphant, their rewards were given before your eyes and in your midst: when God wreathed their golden temples with a victorious garland so that their trophies may stand eternal in glory, and he gave to those deserving victors the great reward of holding a palm plucked from the golden tree. The wind bringing news of such a famous deed has only just reached us from distant lands and seas. One can scarcely imagine such remote events or set forth the occasion of their achievements. Spread forth your clear light in such darkness.)

In line 1, *Socius* is the regular word used by Aeneas when addressing his companions (e.g., *Aen.* 1.198), and *littore in Indo* (the shores of India) recalls Aeneas's arrival on "the shores of Lavinium" (*Lavinia litora*, *Aen.* 1.3). However, the *felices obitus* (blessed martyrdoms) of the Jesuit brothers contrasts with the *difficilis obitus* (difficult death) of Dido (*Aen.* 4.694); the word *obitus* is used uniquely of Dido; while the adjective *felices*, used only twice throughout the *Aeneid*, recalls the *felices animae* (blessed spirits) sought by the Sibyl and Aeneas in the Underworld (*Aen.* 6.669–70). These are relatively small points, but they are not minor. They confirm that Benci was consciously using his Virgilian model, and that we ought to expect more evidence in the rest of the poem. Yet, at line 5, Benci does not appeal to the Muses of antiquity for inspiration but rather to "those who dwell in heaven" (*caelicolae*), thus subsuming a Christian message within the epic structure.[9] Moreover, Benci's poem is intended not merely to narrate the martyrs' story in heroic episodes and images but also to evoke the emotions and feelings (*sensus*) they experienced throughout their dangerous mission. His aim was to provide inspiration for the burgeoning group of Jesuit scholastics being trained to pursue equally dangerous enterprises. An address to the readership, and more specifically to students at the Collegium Romanum, equates the Jesuit missionaries with the wandering heroes of epic and, like Aeneas's frequent addresses to his companions, is intended to bolster their fortitude and resolve:

20 At vos, o socii, quibus almi nomen Iesu
Et nova praefixit pietas, et fervidus ardor,
Ignati patris exemplo: quos sancta secutos
Signa, per ignotas divinae lumina legis
Ferre iuvat terras: longinqua per aequora uectos

9 Cf. "Sing heavenly Muse," John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1.6.

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25 Seu procul Ammerice, seu uos diuersa Sinarum
Ora tenet, quacumque plaga vos dividit orbis
Extremus, vitae incertos, certosque pericli:
Quae vos cumque agitant curae, quae munera, quisquis
Vos labor exercet, fructu minuente laborem:
30 Si vacat, et tenuem vatis non spernitis orsum,
Accipite haec, vestras acuant quae carmina mentes,
Instillentque acres perfuso melle liquores.
Nam simul insinuans nostrorum cognita uirtus
Affectos tacita alliciet dulcedine sensus;
35 Perque obitus similes caelum sperare iuuabit.
Vestra quidem nequicquam alto non spectat Olympo
Vota Deus, magnosque animos cupientibus addit.

BENCI, *Quinque martyres,* 1.20–37

(But you, my companions, upon whom sweet Jesus's name and a new piety and a burning love has been fastened by Father Ignatius's example; this assists you when you have followed the holy standards to bring the light of divine law through unknown lands; borne across far oceans, whether distant America or the foreign shores of China detain you, wherever seas and far-flung lands send you, fearing for your life, and into certain danger; whatever cares oppress you, whatever tasks, whatever duty harasses you, the rewards lessen your hard work; if you have leisure, and you do not despise the meagre undertaking of the poet, then take these verses to sharpen your resolution and instill courageous draughts with their honey coating. For our brother's valor, acknowledged and affecting you at the same time, will elicit emotions influenced by a hidden sweetness, and will encourage you to hope for heaven by means of a similar death. Indeed, God in lofty heaven does not regard your prayers in vain, but gives great courage to those who long for it.)

After this exordium, the narrative starts *in medias res* (in the midst of events). Rodolfo Acquaviva has already spent three years at the court of the Mughal emperor Julāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad Akbar (1542–1605), trying, in vain, to procure his conversion to Christianity.[10] An advocate for religious tolerance, Akbar

10 Their meetings are depicted in an exquisite miniature, illustrating a deluxe copy of the *Akbarnāma* [The history of Akbar] written by Abu'l Fazl ibn Mubarak (1551–1602), which is believed to have belonged to Akbar himself (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 03.263b). For a discussion of this popular image, see Amina Okada, "The Representation of Jesuit Missionaries in Mughal Painting," in *Goa and the Great Mughal*, ed. Nuno Vassallo e Silva

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was interested in the religion professed by the Europeans on the coast and so invited the Portuguese to send representatives from Goa to debate their Christian beliefs with Muslim doctors at the weekly discussions held in the "Ibādat-khāna" [Hall of worship] at his court in Fatehpur Sikri. Antonio Monserrate kept a detailed account of the weekly meetings that he attended with Acquavuva.[11] Realizing the impossibility of his task, Acquaviva has returned reluctantly to Goa. News of the recent execution of the Jesuit Edmund Campion (1540–81) in London adds further to his feeling of dejection and misery.[12] While meditating upon these events, Acquaviva is visited by his guardian angel who transports him into the heavens in order to witness a glorious cavalcade of Christian martyrs. Christ, invoked as the *rex gloriosus martyrum* (the glorious king of martyrs), heads the procession. Through his example, passage into heaven is assured: "For all these people the love of Christ and a great desire for Heaven extinguish their fear of death and the bitter pain, while they are scorning their wounds and pressing on with their great undertaking," the guardian angel observes.[13] Just as Vida in the *Christiad* had imagined Christ's procession to Calvary in terms of a victorious Roman general's triumph to the capitol (*Christiad*, 5.420–47), so here the martyrs' magnificent parade is seen as a celebration:

425 Sed nec cuncta licet paucis percurrere, nec sunt
Omnia clara procul spectantibus; aspice summa
Ora virum, densosque humeros, huc dirige gressum,
Victricem aspicies diverso funere gentem.
Pars rapido submersa mari, pars stipite fixa,

---

and Jorge Flores (London: Scala, 2004), 190–99; also Gian Carlo Calza, ed., *Akbar: The Great Emperor of India* (Milan: Skira, 2012), 73; and Jorge Flores, *Mughal Padshah: A Jesuit Treatise on Emperor Jahangir's Court and Household* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), and more generally, Jeremiah P. Losty and Malini Roy, *Mughal India: Art, Culture and Empire* (London: British Library, 2012), 26–79.

11 *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J., on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, trans. by J.S. Hoyland with annotations by S.N. Banerjee, (New Delhi: J. Jetley for AES services, reprint. 1992; original edition 1922); also A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign. Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 146–9.

12 For Campion, see Thompson Cooper, Oxford *Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000* (ODNB), ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 61 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3:850–54.

13 Omnibus his mortisque metum, crudique doloris,
Vulnera dum spernunt, et coeptis grandibus instant,
465 Christi extinguit amor, caelique immensa cupido.
BENCI, *Quinque martyres*, 1.463–65

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430 Pars pice, pars oleo, liquentis et unguine cerae
Perfusa, admotis facibus, lamnisque perusta,
Aurea cum volucri penetravit ad astra favilla.
BENCI, *Quinque martyres,* 1.425–32

(Yet it is neither appropriate to race through all this in a few words, nor is everything clear to the spectators at a distance. Look at the men's proud expressions and the dense line, turn your attention here and you will see a people victorious in the diverse manner of their deaths. Some were drowned in the fast-flowing sea, some crucified, some covered in pitch, some in oil, or the grease of melting wax, then ignited with torches or scorched with red-hot sheets of metal; with their flickering ashes, they have gained entrance to golden heaven.)

The pageant culminates in the vision of the English martyr Edmund Campion and his companions Alexander Briant (1556–81) and Ralph Sherwin (1550–81), who had recently been brutally executed at Tyburn (December 1, 1581) and whose deaths are thus ennobled and universalized through the precedent of the early Christian saints.[14] Indeed, their example leads Acquaviva to exclaim: "O new examples of ancient virtue, which future ages will soon admire! O blessed piety! O the brave hearts of these brothers, whom Christ has deemed worthy with such a great honor!"[15] According to contemporary sources, when news of Campion's death reached Goa, Acquaviva was observed lamenting that he had not yet been given a similar opportunity for martyrdom. Book 1 closes with Acquaviva's resolve to embrace a similar fate.[16]

The first half of book 2 comprises a dialogue between Rodolfo Acquaviva and João Vicente da Fonseca, archbishop of Goa (1582–87) on the forthcoming Jesuit mission and introduces Acquaviva's companions: the Spaniard Afonso Pacheco (*c.*1551–1583), the Italian Pietro Berno da Ascona (1553–83), and two

14 For Briant, see ODNB, 2:1217–18; for Sherwin, see ibid., 50:343.

15 Hosne igitur, meus Edmundus, fortisque Briantus,
Seruinusque, ducesque alii, duxere triumphos?
Excipit exultans Aquiuiuius. O noua priscae
Virtutis, ueniens quae olim mirabitur aetas,
Exempla! O felix pietas! O fortia fratrum
Pectora, quos Christus tanto est dignatus honore!
BENCI, *Quinque martyres*, 1.579–84

16 *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, SJ, on His Journey to the Court of Akbar*, trans. J.S. Hoyland with annotations by S.N. Banerjee (New Delhi: J. Jetley for AES services, reprint. 1992; original edition 1922). The new and revised annotated edition of this work is forthcoming from the Institute of Jesuit Sources at Boston College.

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Portuguese, Francisco António (d.1583) and Francisco Aranha (1551–83).[17] Berno had already been working in the area and had personally destroyed many images:

> 265 "An illuc Ibitur," exclamat laetanti pectore Bernus,
> "Nos ubi (pro miseri, quis tantus mentibus error!)."
> Mutorum delubra palam, simulacraque diuum
> Fregimus, et fumo inuisas inuoluimus aras,
> 270 Et circum iniecto late populauimus igni?
> Qui etiam, immanem candenti corpore uaccam,
> Cui (scelus) effusis precibus sacrisque litabant,
> Strauimus, et caeso uellentes uiscera uentre,
> In labrum solido positum de marmore, templi
> 275 Pro foribus, quo se facturi sacra lauabant,
> Mersimus, et sanie fontes turbauimus atra.
>
> BENCI, *Quinque Martyres,* 2. 265–76.

("Are we going to that place (on behalf of those wretches, whose minds are enmeshed in such great error!)," exclaims Berno with his heart racing, "where we smashed the shrines and images of the mute gods in broad daylight, and enveloped the hated altars in smoke, and laid everything round and about to waste with firebrands? We even knocked to the ground a huge white cow, to which (wicked!) they were making sacrifice with excessive prayers and sacred rites; we ripped open its stomach, tore out its entrails and threw them into the marble pool before the temple doors, where they were usually washed themselves before attending their sacred rites, and we made those fountains foul with black gore.")

Hindu ritual here is equated with pagan sacrifice (compare Dido at the altars, *Aen.* 4.56–64); moreover, intertextual references in the previous lines associate Berno's actions with the aged boxer Entellus (*Aen.* 5.394–484); Berno's destruction of the sacred cow is thus paralleled with Entellus's sacrifice of a great white ox to Hercules, thereby associating these Jesuit missionaries with victorious classical athletes.

In book 3, the brothers assemble and Afonso Pacheco describes previous missions and the problems encountered. If book 1 offers a glimpse of paradise, then the journey to Salcete in book 3 is a classical *katabasis* (descent). The crossing is described in language that echoes Aeneas's descent into the Underworld; for

17 The Metropolitan See of Goa, known as "the Rome of Asia," had jurisdiction from the Cape of Good Hope across South and East Asia.

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example, the brothers' ferryman recalls Charon, while the description of Hindu rites and practices (perhaps the ancient cobra festival Nag Panchami?) evokes the monsters assembled at the entrance to the Underworld. This association continues into book 4, where Acquaviva offers an account of the religious debates at the court of Akbar.[18] He dramatically presents Christ to the Mughal emperor: *Hic vir, hic est* (This is the man, here he is; Benci, *Quinque martyres*, 4.317); these are the words Virgil used to introduce Emperor Augustus at the conclusion of the parade of future Roman heroes (*Aen.* 6.792). The bold quotation suggests that Virgil was wrong and that Christ's empire surpasses the temporal empire of Augustus (and by association, that of Akbar). The explanation of the Christian message affords Benci an opportunity for an epyllion on the life of Christ in the tradition of Sannazaro and Vida. A break in the narrative between Christ's ministry and his passion and a direct quotation from Virgil: *maius opus moveo* (I set in motion a greater work; *Aen.* 7.45) marks the second half of the poem in which Christ's passion will prefigure Acquaviva's own inevitable martyrdom. Book 4 concludes with Pentecost. As the apostles disperse, particular emphasis is given to Thomas's mission into India.

The premonitions of martyrdom, revealed to Acquaviva in the prophetic visions of book 1, are realized in book 5 when the local population attacks. In a divine council, Christ, Ignatius, and Xavier approve their imminent deaths:

> 725 Omnibus his decus eximium; mens omnibus una,
> Omnes laetifico declarant gaudia vultu
> Cum Deus ostendit socios sancire profuso
> Sanguine, quam sermone Fidem docuere, paratos.
>
> BENCI, *Quinque martyres,* 5.725–28

(The extraordinary honor was for them all; all were of the same mind, they all declared their joys in their happy expression when God revealed that the companions were prepared to confirm their faith, which they had shown in their speech, by the shedding of their blood.)

Book 6 opens with the reception of the martyrs in paradise.

> Difficili adscensu. multi potuere vocati
> Ferre gradum, paucis res obtigit, aequus amavit
> Quos Pater, et miserans vultu respexit amico.
> 15 Agnovit Rodulphus iter, nam lacteus ibat

18 For a contemporary account, see John Correia-Afonso, S.J., ed., *Letters from the Mughal Court: The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar, 1580–83*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1981).

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Purpureo liquor immistus, procerumque piorum
Effigies memorem revocabat cognita mentem.
Quos inter cum se ipse nova sub imagine vidit
Et virtute pares socios, hoc munere laetus
20 Promissamque fidem superumque agnovit amorem.
Benci, *Quinque martyres*, 6.12–20.

(The ascent was difficult. Many have been summoned who had the power to mount the steps, but few manage; our father loved them equally, and pitying them looked back with a kindly expression. Rodolfo recognized the way, for a milky liquid mixed with red went on before, and he remembered the images of those pious lords. When he saw himself in a new form among their number and equal in virtue, overjoyed by his reward, he acknowledged the promised loyalty and the love shown by heaven.)

Two distinct classical motifs are here combined. At the beginning of *Bellum civile*, book 9, Lucan describes Pompey's (106–48 BCE) reception among the stars after his murder in Egypt:

> But the spirit of Pompey did not linger down in Egypt among the embers, nor did that handful of ashes prison his mighty ghost. Soaring up from the burning-place, it left the charred limbs and unworthy pyre behind, and sought the dome of the Thunderer. Where our dark atmosphere—the intervening space between earth and the moon's orbit—joins on to the starry spheres, there after death dwell heroes, whose fiery quality has fitted them, after guiltless lives, to endure the lower limit of ether, and has brought their souls from all parts to the eternal spheres: to those who are coffined in gold and buried with incense that realm is barred. When he had steeped himself in the true light of that region, and gazed at the planets and the fixed stars of heaven, he saw the thick darkness that veils our day, and smiled at the mockery done to his headless body.[19]

While the Stoics taught that the souls of the virtuous ascended to the bright ether beyond the moon's orbit, an alternate tradition imagined the Milky Way unfurling across the sky from the north to the south, as the "celestial palace" promised to the ancient heroes.[20] Benci, however, was on dangerous ground theologically, as none of the martyrs had been officially recognized by the

19 Luc. 9.1–14; trans. J.D. Duff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 505.
20 Manilius. *Ast*. 1.762–808.

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church, and neither Ignatius nor Xavier had yet been canonized.[21] Acquaviva himself appears to the archbishop of Goa while he was celebrating an anniversary mass on the feast day of the Jesuit martyr Inácio de Azevedo (1527–70).[22] Unlike the classical ghosts who return from Elysium, bloody and torn, Acquaviva is radiant with his wounds and, in a dense patchwork of Virgilian echoes, glows with his divinity:[23]

Pulchrius at multo diffundens corpore lumen
Affuit ante oculos, et nota maior imago.
Purpureo insignem iaciebat vertice flammam,
420 Aurea pendebant demissa monilia collo,
Corpus honos Tyrio redimibat regius ostro,
Et rutilo clarum lucebat sidere pectus.
BENCI, *Quinque martyres,* 6.417–22

(But a much more beautiful light pouring from his body appeared before his eyes, and an image greater than the one he knew. He was giving off a remarkable flame with a red tip, a golden collar hung down from his neck, royal honor redeemed his body with Tyrian purple and his chest was gleaming bright with a red star.)

The narrative continues with the recovery of the martyrs' bodies and their funeral. The numerous torches of the cortege turn night into day to unusual effect:

Ipsae etiam ueluti concusso stipite frondes
760 Defluere arboribus (Tristes cognomine dicunt)
Et uario flores nimbo consternere campos
Decidui, insolita decepti luce, diemque

21 Ignatius was beatified by Pope Paul V (r.1605–21) on July 27, 1609; Francis Xavier by the same pope on October 25, 1619; both were canonized by Pope Gregory XV (r.1621–23) on May 22, 1622; see Simon Ditchfield, "Coping with the *beati moderni*: Canonization in the Aftermath of the Council of Trent," in *Ite inflammate omnia: Selected Historical Papers from the Conference Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, ed. Thomas McCoog, S.J. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010), 413–39.

22 July 15 (Julian calendar). Acquaviva was killed on the same day on which thirteen years before (1570) Inácio de Azevedo and his forty companions had been thrown overboard by the Huguenot skipper Sourie en route to the West Indies. Benci offers a dramatic description of their martyrdom at 6.235–94.

23 His appearance recalls Ascanius (*Aen.* 7.278); while "Tyrio redimibat regius ostro" (6.421) combines "ut regius ostro" (*Aen.* 7.814) and "Tyrius conspectus in ostro" (*Geo.* 3.17).

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Ac Solem fulsisse rati: namque arbore flores
E Tristi gelidae recreantur noctis in umbra,
765 Nec perferre ualent radiati lumina Solis:
Nocturnis uiguere horis, cecidere diurnis.
BENCI, *Quinque martyres,* 6.759–66

(Yet this blossom itself, as though the tree trunk had been shaken, flutters down from the branches [they have named it "the Tree of Sorrows"] and the falling petals, deceived by the unaccustomed light, believing that it was day and the sun was shining, bestrew the plains in a colored cloud; for the flowers from "the Tree of Sorrows" bloom in the shade of the cold night but are unable to withstand the light of the shining sun; they thrive in the hours of the night and close during the day.)

In a remarkable piece of botanical observation, Benci is here referencing Indian Night-flowering Jasmin (*Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*) whose large white flowers open at dusk and fall at dawn. The pathetic fallacy of Mother Nature mourning the loss of the five companions is enhanced by a distinctly Jesuit interest in the nascent sciences.

The poem concludes with laments for the individual martyrs and closes with the inscription placed on the tomb as the five brothers are interred together: "until the final day will destroy the world and their commanded souls will return into their own bodies."[24]

The *Heldenschau*

As we have seen, at the end of book 1 Acquaviva is transported into the heavens to witness a tableaux of early Christian martyrs, identified for him by his guardian angel. Whereas Anchises had indicated the great Romans who will follow on from Aeneas, the cortege here culminates in the present with the expectation of Acquaviva soon joining the march. Benci thus emphasizes the continuity of the Christian empire from its very beginnings to the present.[25]

24 Donec summa dies terrarum diruet orbem,
Et sua sese animae referent in corpora iussae.
BENCI, *Quinque martyres*, 6.944–45

25 See Simon Ditchfield, "What Was *historia sacra*? (Mostly Roman) Catholic Uses of the Christian Past after Trent," in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 72–97.

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Acquaviva is also seen to fulfil the prophecy of Saint Paul's words to the Corinthians: "For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels and to men."[26] In this context, the angel's frequent direct question, *Aspicis?* (Do you see? l.351) is particularly striking. Echoing Anchises's words to Aeneas as future Roman heroes parade past on the Plains of Elysium, the question is not only directed at Acquaviva. It is also directed at the seminarian readership with the intention of inviting them to share Acquaviva's vision, meditate on their own vocation, and prepare for their work as professed members of the order. Benci references the recent cycle of paintings that had been added to the fifth-century circular church of Santo Stefano Rotondo on the Caelian hill:

> 240 Hunc spectat magis atque magis, secumque volutat
> Maxima quae impressa in gyrum spectacula pandit.
> Qualia, quae vivis hominum simulacra figuris,
> Qui Christum impavidi quondam cecidere professi
> Artifices pinxere manus, temploque sacrarunt
> 245 Roma tuo, Caeles ubi primum insedit Etruscus,
> Caelius e cuius deductus nomine collis;
> Pannonii hic sedem Stephano posuistis et aram.
>
> BENCI, *Quinque martyres,* 1.240–47

> (He looks at this more and more and ponders to himself what the wonderful sights depicted in the circle mean. Like the paintings with the living images of those people, who long ago acknowledged Christ and died fearlessly, which skillful hands have painted and dedicated in your church, Rome, where once Etruscan Caeles, from whom Caelian hill takes its name, had his abode;[27] here the Hungarians have a house and have placed an altar to Saint Stephen.)

On the orders of Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r.1572–85), the complex was given over to the Hungarians for use as a Jesuit seminary and in 1580 it was joined with the German College to become the Pontificum Collegium

26 *Puto enim quod Deus nos apostolos novissimos ostendit tanquam morti destinatos, quia spectaculum facti sumus mundo et angelis et hominibus* (1. Cor. 4:9).

27 Caeles Vibenna, see Cic. *De off.* 3.16.66; *Rep.* 2.18.33; Tac. *Ann.* 4.65: "The hill was originally called Oak Hill because of its dense growth of oak trees, and was later named 'Caelian' after Caeles Vibenna, an Etruscan chief who, for helping Rome, had been granted the hill as a residence by Tarquin Priscus."

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Germanicum et Hungaricum. Its walls were redecorated with a new fresco cycle by Niccolò Circignani, known as "il Pomarancio" (*c.*1530–97) (and later Antonio Tempesta [1555–1630]) of thirty-two scenes of early Christian martyrdom arranged chronologically according to the persecutions of the Roman emperors, beginning appropriately with an image of the Proto-martyr Stephen after whom the church is named. It has been convincingly argued that the format of frescoes is based upon the *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (1593), an illustrated book of Gospel meditations commissioned from the Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal (1507–80) by Ignatius himself.[28] These frescoes, and the popular series of prints and engravings based upon them, were intended to provide the novices with material for meditation and prayer. Their central idea was not to depict martyrdom and death for their own sakes but as a means to salvation. Benci's *ekphraseis* of martyrdom in the *Quinque martyres* function in the same way, and were expected to be similarly engaging for the novice readership.[29] The description of the recent execution of Edmund Campion is particularly striking:

Ecce illis aures ferro terebrantur acuto,
Perque ignem densa eiectant caligine fumum,
Striduntque incensae. uirgae illis terga, genasque
Concidere truces. Tum sacra in ueste sacerdos
520 Protrahitur, festisque urbem concursibus implet
Turpi impostus equo, manibus post terga reuinctis,
Ingenti clamore hominum, qui illudere capto
Certantes, rabidi in caelum conuicia iactant.
Hic abit, ex aede atque ipsis diuulsus ab aris.
525 Illum etiam saeuo resupinum in robore palmasque
Atque pedes tractum digitis nexuque rotarum,
Membrorum ut laxis corpus compagibus omne
Diffluat, et torto soluantur pectore crates,
Cernere erat. Iacuit nudo porrectus in antro

28 However, Ignatius did not live to see the work. The *Evangelicae historiae imagines, adnotationes et meditationes* was eventually printed at the press of Martin Nuntius in Antwerp in 1593 and 1594; see Thomas Buser, "Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome," *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976): 424–33; also Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2003), 122–23, 132–52; illustrations 38–51.

29 On ekphrasis, see Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

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530 Et capite, et tergo iuuenis, cui uincla retentant
Et uexant sublime pedes: non ulla dolorum
Nec mora, nec requies; sunt, et qui corpora tardae
Imposuere trahae, ut media raptentur in urbe
Summum ad supplicium, uerrentes uertice terram.
535 Nec procul infelix arbor, sed morte beatos
Felici factura uiros, gladiique cruenti
Visuntur, iuxtaque ignes: nec defit aquae uis
Flammifera, aerato, uulsas e corpore fibras
Exceptura lacu: longis hastilibus horrent
540 Praefixa hinc capita: et suspensi compita circum
Informes artus: et membra fluentia tabo.

BENCI, *Quinque martyres,* 1.516–41

(Look, their ears are sliced off with a sharp knife, and, burnt on a fire, they give out a thick cloud of smoke and hiss and crackle. Cruel rods have lacerated their backs and legs. Then the priest dressed in his sacred vestments is dragged out, and sat upon an old nag with his hands bound behind his back, he fills the city with a holiday crowd; the enraged mob, vying with each other to mock the prisoner, hurl abuse into the sky with a great clamor. He goes away, wrenched from the church and from the altars themselves. That renowned man could be seen lying spread-eagled upon his back on a savage wooden frame with his hands and feet tied to winches so that, with loosened joints, his whole body may be pulled in different directions and his limbs disengaged from his racked torso. Stretched out, the young man lay in a hollow with a bare head and back with chains binding him fast and his feet shaking in the air. There is no pause or respite from the pain. Those men are here who have placed the bodies upon slow-moving hurdles so that they may be drawn violently into the city center for execution, sweeping the ground with their heads. The miserable gallows is not far off, which will make these men blessed in a happy death; and the bloody knives are seen, and the fires standing nearby; the water, which will receive their entrails torn from their bodies, is boiling furiously in a bronze cauldron. Thence their heads, stuck on tall pikes, shudder; and their shapeless limbs, suspended at the cross-roads, and their privy parts flowing with gore.)

Leaving aside, as much as one can, the brutality of the punishment meted out to Campion and his companions, the inclusion of these horrific scenes can be explained as a rhetorical *demonstratio* where "an event is so described in words

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that the business seems to be enacted and the subject to pass before our eyes."[30] Here the repeated appeal to sight, *ecce* (l.516), *cernere erat* (l.529), *visuntur* (l.536), and the present tense of the first three lines makes the scene particularly powerful, while the senses of touch (*terebrantur*, l.516) and hearing (*stridunt*, l.518) are also elicited, turning Benci's readers into engaged spectators. Indeed, these specific details, cataloged impressionistically, combine in the imagination to create vivid tableaux that are greater than the sum of the parts.[31] In his lectures on poetry, Benci had argued that this imaginative involvement should be the norm of the educated student. While discoursing on a simile from Vergil's *Georgics* (*Ut saepe ingenti bello*, 4.279–83) in his eighth oration ("In Praise of Poetry"), Benci concludes: "Who, when they read such lines, is so completely stupid or deaf, that he does not seem to be in that very battle, in the midst of the heat of the fighting and bloodshed?"[32] More importantly, this rhetorical "demonstration" coincides with specific Jesuit meditation practices as expounded in the *Spiritual Exercises*, where *applicatio sensuum* involves vision, hearing, and touch. Thus Benci's audience not only knew what happened but through his vivid *ekphraseis* felt as if they were eyewitnesses sharing the experience imaginatively and emotionally.

It should also be recalled that epic tradition going back to Homer had sanctioned descriptions of the hero's mutilation after death (for example, the multiple wounding of Hector's corpse, *Il.* 22.369–750). Silver Latin epic is equally replete with explicit scenes of torture and dismemberment which, in turn, affected accounts of the passion of the early martyrs by Christian writers (compare, for example, Prudentius, "On the Crowns of the Martyrs," *Peristephanon,* 11). As the historian Stanley F. Bonner has shown, rhetorical exercises of this kind were a favorite subject of the declamation schools in imperial Rome.[33] He observes that "audiences long inured to the butchery of the gladiatorial shows in real life readily gloated over still more lurid details provided by over-imaginative declaimers," and compares Lucan's long account

30 [Cicero], *Rhet. ad Her.* 4.55.68; trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, reprint. 1981), 405.

31 The effect is described by Quintilian, who admitted that when reading certain vivid passages in Cicero the image that arose in his mind contained details that were not in the text (*Inst.* 8.3.65).

32 *Quis enim est usque adeo tardus et surdus, quin ea cum legit, esse sibi in eo proelio, in medioque ardore pugnae caedisque videatur?* Francesco Benci, *Oratio octava, eiusdem argumenti* (Duae: Johannes Bogardus, 1597), 50v. Here, Benci echoes the precepts outlined by Vida in *De arte poetica*, 2.367–94 and defined earlier by Quintilian (*Inst.* 6.2.32).

33 Stanley F. Bonner, "Lucan and the Declamation Schools," in *Lucan: Oxford Readings in the Classics*, ed. Charles Tesoriero (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 69–106.

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of the Sullan proscriptions (*Bellum civile*, 2.134–232) with the manner in which declaimers describe the sufferings inflicted on beggar-children: "this [child] has had the joints of his feet torn and his ankles wrenched, this one has had his legs crushed; he smashed that one's thighs without harming his feet and legs; raging in a different way against each that bone-breaker cuts off the arms of one, slices the sinews of another; one he twists, another he castrates; the shoulder blades of one he beats into an unsightly hump and so tries to get a laugh from his cruelty."[34] Benci would have had first-hand knowledge of these texts, not only in his official capacity as professor of rhetoric at the Collegium Romanum but because he had also completed and supervised the publication of Muret's edition of Seneca's philosophical and rhetorical works after Muret's death.[35]

This passage also suggests a triptych narrating Campion's arrest and journey to London (ll.519–24); torture in the Tower (ll.525–32); and execution at Tyburn (ll.532–41).[36] Circignani also decorated the walls of the medieval church of the English College with scenes of mission and martyrdom (*c.*1582–83). Although the original series is now lost, a complete set of engravings was immediately published under the title *Ecclesiae Anglicanae trophaea* (1584). Three scenes are similarly devoted to Campion's torture, journey to Tyburn, and dismemberment, and thus suggest a further link between Benci's poem and Circignani's fresco cycles.

Moreover, these extended descriptions of the martyrs' sufferings counter the *damnatio memoriae* of their execution and act as funeral orations which magnify their acts of bravery in terms of classical heroism. Polybius (*c.*200–*c.*118),

34 "Huic convulsi pedum articuli sunt et extorti tali, huic elisa crura; illius inviolatis pedibus cruribus femina contudit; aliter in quemque saeviens ossifragus iste alterius bracchia amputat, alterius enervat, alium distorquet, alium delumbat; alterius diminitas scapulas in deforme tuber extundit et risum in crudelitate captat" (Sen. *Contr.*, 10.4.2); cited in ibid., 94.

35 *L. Annaeus Seneca a M. Antonio Mureto correctus et notis illustratus* (Rome: Bartholomeus Grassius, 1585). The rhetorician Lucius Annaeus Seneca "the elder" (*c.*55 BCE–*c.*37 CE) and his son, the philosopher and playwright Lucius Annaeus Seneca "the younger" (*c.*4 BCE–65 CE), had not yet been distinguished.

36 Note also the contemporary publication of Cesare Baronio's Oratorian colleague: Antonio Gallonio, *Trattato degli instrumenti di martirio, e delle varie maniere di martoriare usate da gentili contro christiani* (Rome: Ascanio e Girolamo Donangeli, 1591) with forty-seven engravings by Antonio Tempesta; later republished in Latin with cruder woodcuts (1594); see Jetze Touber, *Law, Medicine and Engineering in the Cult of Saints in Counter-Reformation Rome: The Hagiographical Works of Antonio Gallonio* (*1556–1605*) (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 101–54.

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it will be recalled, had claimed that the most important consequence of the funeral oration was to inspire young Roman spectators "to endure every suffering for the public welfare in the hope of winning the glory that attends upon brave men."[37] Benci's account of each martyr's death in book 5 acts in a similar way. The protracted description of the torture of Pietro Berno, who appears to have suffered a double martyrdom at the hands of the enraged mob, punctuated by Berno's dialogue with his tormentors, is supplemented by frequent authorial asides which direct the readers' response to the account being read (or heard) and the vivid image it has evoked:

Ille autem caelum intendens uix uulnera sentit
Plurima, letiferos animo superante dolores.
"O Pater omnipotens, quas possum dicere grates
1130 Pro Nato qui posse tuo me hoc ducere letum
Dignatus, tales uoluisti corpore poenas
Posse pati laetanti animo? Pater, adde dolorem:
Adde etiam patientem animum, Fideique tenacem.
Argue nec sceleris populum, quem decipit error."
1135 Vix ea. Cum iuuenis crocea uelatus ab alto
Veste uenit, sertumque uirens insignia palmae
Nobilis ostentans. "O caeli aucture triumphus
Miles," ait, "persta, et summis ne defice rebus.
Victori datur aeterna cum laude corona."

BENCI, *Quinque martyres,* 5.1127–39

(Yet that renowned man [Berno], concentrating upon heaven, scarcely feels his multiple wounds as his soul defeats the death-bringing suffering. "Omnipotent Father, what thanks can I give to your Son, who considered me worthy to endure this death, and because you wished that such torments could be endured by my body while my mind rejoices? Father, increase the pain; even prolong the suffering soul, and its tenacity to faith. Do not condemn the crime of the people whom error has deceived." He had scarcely finished uttering these words, when a youth, veiled in a golden cloak, descended from on high, displaying the badges of noble palm and a green garland. He said, "Stand firm soldier, who will increase heaven's triumph, do not be found wanting in these last moments. The crown is awarded to the victor with eternal glory.")

37 Polybius, *Hist.* 6.54.3, trans. W.R. Paton, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 3:390–91.

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Conclusion

As we have seen, this first Jesuit epic was programmatic. It was written in response to contemporary (confessional) circumstances, with a specific purpose and for a select audience. It was composed primarily for the edification of students who would perhaps face similar situations in Jesuit global missions. The graphic scenes of martyrdom provide an exemplary model of resolve and determination by making the audience feel present and emotionally engaged, for these *ekphraseis* were intended to transport the audience directly to the scene where they would not merely see the event but feel it as well.

Two epigrams on martyrdom reveal that Benci also thought of these acts of sacrifice in emblematic terms:

De martyribus emblemata duo
  Silex ferro percussa.
Icta silex differ scintillas, et iacit ignem:[38]
  Si non icta foret, frigida et atra foret.
Dia fides vexata odiis, iactata periclis,
  Quae latuere pio pectore prodit opes.

  Tus incensum.

Tus honor est superis, odor est mortalibus, ut se
  Leniter in ventos explicuisse potest.
Irrita sed spes fit tenues evadere in auras,
  Flamma nisi in nubem soluit odoriferam.
Casta fides terris grata est, gratissima caelo:
  Hoc animos, illae fortia facta vident.
Nec memoranda aeque, quam cum pietatis amore
  Splendet in accensis inviolata rogis:
Laetus et in mediis martyr canit ignibus, "Uror,
  Uror, ut hoc Christi fragret odore domus."

(Two emblems about martyrs.
Flint struck by Iron.

38 A classical commonplace; but cf. *ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem*, Verg. *Geo*. 1.135.

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> Flint when it is struck emits sparks and casts out a fire. If it were not struck it would be cold and dull. Divine faith injured by hatred and cast about by dangers projects the resources that have lain hidden in a pious heart.
>
> Burning Frankincense.
>
> Incense is an honorary gift for those who dwell in heaven, its perfume is a reward for mortals, as it is gently diffused into the air. But hope has no effect, evaporating in a light breeze, unless a flame has dissolved it into a perfumed cloud. Chaste faith is pleasing on earth, most pleasing in heaven: mortals witness the brave deeds, heaven sees the courageous souls. Inviolable faith which shines bright at the stake with the love of piety must not be commemorated in the same way. The happy martyr sings in the midst of the flames, "I burn, I am burning so that Christ's house may be sweet with this perfume.")[39]

As Kristof van Assche has observed: "Ignatius Loyola himself created in the *Spiritual Exercises* (1548) an image-language, strictly coded in order to lead the associative powers of the image in desired, controlled directions."[40] Benci's new epic, replete with sensory *ekphraseis* of martyrdom, was conceived in the same spirit. As part of the propaganda battle with the Protestants over the significance of saints, martyrs, and their relics, the descriptions in this new type of epic were intended to replace the terrestrial glory promised to ancient heroes with the eternal glory of entry into paradise. Like a modern paperback, the first editions were printed in a pocket-sized format between soft vellum covers to enable these books to be taken and read everywhere as the author had wished, thus ensuring that "these events would not lie hidden in the shadows of a long night."[41]

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39 Francesco Benci, *Carminum libri quattuor* (Ingolstadt: David Sartorius, 1592), 181. Note that in the second poem the language of Latin erotic elegy (*Uror*, "I burn with passion") is recast in a Christian context to emphasize the martyrs' chaste passion.

40 Kristof van Assche, "Louis Richeome, Ignatius and Philostratus in the Novice's Garden: Or, the Signification of Everyday Environment," in *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*, ed. John Manning and Marc van Vaeck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 3–10; 4.

41 Rodolfo Acquaviva was beatified in 1893. In Jesuit churches, the post-communion prayer on July 27 is as follows: "Grant, O Lord Jesus Christ, that we who have been strengthened by participation in this salutary sacrifice may imitate the unconquered constancy in faith and charity of Thy blessed Martyr Rudolf and his companions." Cited by Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London: Vintage, 1960; first published 1932), 40.

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CHAPTER 2

Exploring the Distinctiveness of Neo-Latin Jesuit Didactic Poetry in Naples: The Case of Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio

Claudia Schindler

The Jesuit Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio (1648–1715) was one of the most intriguing and influential authors of seventeenth-century Naples.[1] Born in 1648, in Parthenope (i.e., Naples), as he used to call his home city, he entered the Jesuit order at the age of sixteen, having lost his family during the plague of 1656. Like other members of the Society of Jesus, Giannettasio was a highly educated man with a wide range of interests: he studied Scholastic philosophy at Palermo, taught mathematics at the Collegio Massimo in Naples for more than ten years, traveled in Egypt,[2] and designed the Santa Maria del Gesù church in Sorrento, which was built near the Jesuit residence La Cocumella and is still extant today.[3]

1 This chapter is a revised version of my German-language article, "Wissen ist Macht! Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio (1648–1715) und die neulateinische Jesuitenkultur in Neapel," *Scientia poetica* 18 (2014): 28–59. For the revision of the English text and for the Latin–English translations, I would like to thank Ronald Mayer-Opificius. For Giannettasio's biography, cf. Claudia Schindler, "Nicolò Partenio Giannettasios *Nauticorum libri VIII*. Ein neulateinisches Lehrgedicht des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 3 (2001): 146–48; Yasmin Haskell, *Loyola's Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 70–76. The information provided by the biographical and bibliographical dictionary of Christian Gottlieb Jöcher (*Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon* [Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1751], 3:309) and by the *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1861), 34:col. 428–29, as well as the text of the *Biografia degli uomini illustri del regno di Napoli, ornata de' loro rispettivi ritratti* (Naples: Nicola Gervasi, 1815), 3: s.v. "Giannettasio," are based upon the (partly autobiographic) pieces of information given within the biography which precedes the edition of Giannettasio's *Opera poetica omnia* of 1715.

2 Cf. Yasmin Haskell, "Let the Mountain (Vesuvius) Come to Mahomet: The Healing Powers of Travel and Neapolitan Simpatia in Niccolò Giannettasio's Herculanean Spring (1704)," in *Neapolitan Affairs* (*Variantology 5*): *On Deep Time Relations of Arts, Sciences, and Technologies*, ed. Siegfried Zielinski and Eckhard Furlus (Cologne: Walther König, 2011), 273–90.

3 Giannettasio, *Opera poetica omnia* (Naples: Raillard, 1715), 1:7: "Ecclesiam a fundamentis ad culmen erexit, quae suis laboribus, etsi non satus aptum, at certe commodius theatrum esset futurum, cuius idem ipse Author fuit ac Architectus" [He built an entire church (from its foundation up to its roof), so that it—because of his labors—would be—if not entirely

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Giannettasio was among the most productive of all neo-Latin authors. In prose, he composed two panegyrics (in 1699 and 1700) for Pope Innocent XII (r.1691–1700); the *Historia Neapolitana* (1713), a history of Naples, which consists of three volumes with more than fifty books; and the *Annus eruditus* (edited after Giannettasio's death by Antonio Fiani in 1722), which tackles scientific, philosophic, and historiographic problems in the manner of a Ciceronian dialogue.[4] His poetic production comprises an epic poem on the life and voyages of the co-founder of the Society, Francis Xavier (1506–52), *Saberides* (1722), which he started in his early youth but left unfinished,[5] the *Piscatoria* (1685), a collection of thirteen eclogues (fourteen in the second edition of 1686) situated within the idyllic landscape of the Bay of Naples,[6] and an impressive amount of didactic poetry, totaling thirty-five thousand hexametric verses. The first of these poems was the *Nautica* (1685), a work in eight books on the construction of ships and Mediterranean and transatlantic seafaring. The work was followed by the ten books of the *Halieutica* (1689), dedicated to the description of various types of fish and methods of fishing. In 1697, Giannettasio published the *Bellica*, fifteen books on different techniques of warfare (such as battle strategies, weapons, fortresses), and, finally, the *Naumachica* (1697), five books on warfare at sea. All of Giannettasio's didactic poems were extremely successful: the *Nautica*, for example, was published in four editions (Naples 1685, 1686, 1692, and 1715), and copies of his works can still be found in major European libraries.[7]

These works initiated a very particular form of Jesuit literature, one which can be described as Virgilian-style didactic poetry. In Naples, at least two poets seem to have imitated Giannettasio's didactic poems: Francesco Eulalio Savastano (1661–1717) and Camillo Eucherio de Quinzi (1675–1733). At the

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proper—certainly a quite suitable theater in the future whose author and architect was the very same]. For the church, cf. Michele Errichetti, S.J., "La Cocumella," *Societas* 5–6 (1978): 65–70; for the whole complex, see Filippo Iappelli, "Da residenza gesuitica a grande albergo: La Cocumella," *Societas* 5–6 (2003): 247–57.

4 For Giannettasio's writings, cf. Schindler, "Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio," 146–47.

5 For this work, see Elisabeth Klecker, "'Liebe verleiht Flügel': Ein neulateinisches Epos über die Missionsreisen des Heiligen Franz Xaver," in: *Franz Xaver—Patron der Missionen: Festschrift zum 450. Todestag*, ed. Rita Haub and Julius Oswald, S.J., Jesuitica 4 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2002), 151–81; Florian Schaffenrath, "Ein angekündigtes Columbus-Epos im Xaverius viator: Niccolò Giannettasios Verweise auf frühere und kommende Werke," *Antike und Abendland* 53 (2007): 178–89.

6 Cf. Claudia Schindler, "*Vitreas crateris ad undas*: Le egloghe piscatorie di Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio (1648–1715)," *Studi umanistici piceni* 23 (2003): 293–304.

7 Schindler, "Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio," 147.

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beginning of the eighteenth century, Savastano composed four books on medicinal herbs,[8] and de Quinzi published six books on the thermal baths of the island of Ischia.[9] Giannettasio mentions Savastano's poem in his *Naumachica*,[10] and de Quinzi alludes explicitly to the poetic works of Giannettasio.[11] The relationship between Giannettasio and Tommaso Strozzi (1631–1701) and his poem on chocolate (*De mentis potu seu de cocolatis opificio*, Naples, 1689) is not clear, although its poetic concepts are quite close to Giannettasio's and the latter mentions chocolate and its therapeutic value within his *Annus eruditus*.[12] The Croatian poet Bernardo Zamagna's (1735–1820) didactic poem on airships, the *Navis aeria*, which was published in Ragusa (modern-day Dubrovnik) in 1768, uses Giannettasio's *Nautica* as a model but belongs to a different neo-Latin tradition, which starts in the middle of the eighteenth century and focuses on technical and philosophical subjects.[13]

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8 *Francisci Eulali Savastani Botanicorum seu institutionum rei herbariae libri IV* (Naples: Novelli de Bonis, 1722).

9 Camillo Eucherio de Quinzi, *Inarime seu de balneis Pithecusarum libri VI* (Naples: Felix Mosca, 1726). For an Italian translation (with a long introduction), see Camillo Eucherio de Quinzi, *Inarime* (*De balneis Pithecusarum*), trans. Raffaele Castagna (Ischia: La Rassegna d'Ischia, 2003). See also Gennaro Xavier Gamboni, S.J., *Ischia e il suo poeta, Camillo Eucherio Quinzi S.J.* (Naples: Stiped, 1952); Antonietta Iacono, "Gli umanisti e le acque di Ischia," in *Intorno ai Campi Flegrei: Memorie dell'acqua e della terra* (Naples: Grimaldi, 2011), 74s.

10 Giannettasio, *Naumachica* (Naples: Raillard, 1715), 19: *Ipse vel in primis Vati charissimus olim / ad Medicas capiet felix Eulalius Herbas*.

11 De Quinzi, *Inarime*, book 4 (Naples: Felix Mosca, 1726), 175: *Nec sola suos det Olympica vates / acta, Sophocleo tractent qui barbiton oestro: / et varios plectro cursus, pelagique recursus, / et piscandi artes, et Martia praelia discant / seu campo, seu velivolis tenenda carinis* [Not just the Olympian shores shall provide their poets, that they may play the lyre with a Sophoclean frenzy and with a plectrum (quill) teach the various departures and returns (on the sea), the arts of fishing and the Martian battles to be fought either on land or on sail-bearing ships].

12 Tommaso Strozzi, S.J., *Poëmata varia* (Naples: Parrino e Muzio, 1689); Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, 82–117; Cf. also Haskell, "Poetry or Pathology? Jesuit Hypochondria in Early Modern Naples," *Early Science and Medicine* 12 (2007): 187–213; Haskell, "Bad Taste in Baroque Latin? Father Strozzi's Poem on Chocolate," in *Tous vos gens a latin: Le latin, langue savante, langue mondaine* (*XIVe–XVIIe siècle*), ed. Emmanuel Bury (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 429–38. As the poem is dedicated to the last Medicean grand duke of Tuscany, Gastone de' Medici (1671–1737), it seems to have a Florentine rather than a Neapolitan context. On the other hand, Strozzi mentions several Neapolitan personalities, such as Archbishop Ascanio Filomarino (1583–1666), who also plays a certain role in Giannettasio's poems.

13 Edition and translation of the poem by Diane Bitzel, *Bernardo Zamagna. Navis aeria. Eine Metamorphose des Lehrgedichts im Zeichen des technischen Fortschritts*, Studien zur klassischen Philologie 109 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997).

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With his poems, Giannettasio thus initiated one of the literary microcultures (or, as Yasmin Haskell calls it, "Jesuit microtraditions"),[14] which are typical of neo-Latin literature, and especially neo-Latin Jesuit literature, but which have thus far been insufficiently explored owing to the sheer amount of material. This chapter consequently seeks to highlight some intra- and extra-literary aspects of this specific and distinctive Neapolitan Jesuit microculture in order to explain the great popularity of Giannettasio's poems in seventeenth-century Europe.

The neo-Latin didactic poetry of Giannettasio and his Neapolitan confreres at the end of the seventeenth century features two themes, both of which played a role in their success: the local references to the Bay of Naples and its literary and cultural traditions, and the Jesuit doctrine and networks. With regard to the former, Giannettasio's poems, as well as the poems of his poetic successors, show conspicuous connections to the city of Naples and its surroundings, the Bay of Naples and the Sorrento Peninsula. Giannettasio presents the city of Naples, and the bay area adjacent to Mount Vesuvius, as a mythological landscape, an area soaked with cultural and ecclesiastical heritage,[15] as an ideal area for poetical studies. Giannettasio viewed Naples as the center of poetic inspiration. This role was indebted to the city's history: Naples was founded by the Siren Parthenope; thus, Giannettasio calls his home city *patria Siren* or *Siren Parthenope*, and connects it with three other Sirens, which seem to have sprung out of his poetic imagination: Megare, Aegle, and Olympia.[16] These Sirens assume the role of the Muses, as they provide him with poetic inspiration. On the other hand, the term *Olympides* (daughters of the Olympian Zeus), which he uses as a synonym for Muses,[17] reminds the reader of the Siren Olympia. Aside from these constructions

14 Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, 6.

15 E.g., Giannettasio, *Halieutica*, 25: *Haec eadem Musas, et doctas extudit artes, / Campanoque sonum dedit aere; et pyxida Nautis / protulit, et tenui telas intexuit auro. / Haec vates lauro insignes, rubroque galero / Romuleos patres, clarosque Heroas in armis, / et tot Pontifices tulit* [...] [The very same produced the Muses and the learned arts, generated sound with the Campanian ore, discovered a small box for seamen and (inter)wove delicate gold threads. She produced poets famous for their laurels, Roman fathers with red glimmering helmets, and famous heroes in arms and as many priests].

16 Giannettasio, *Naumachica*, book 5, 80: *atque coronatas ad littora vertere proras, / quo me festivis compellant vocibus illinc / Parthenope, Megareque, et Olympia dulcis, et Aegle* [and to turn the wreathed bows to the shores whereto (and from where) Parthenope, Megare, sweet Olympia, and Aegle invite me with fine voices]. The names of Megare, Olympia, and Aegle do not stem from the classical tradition.

17 Giannettasio, *Piscatoria*, ecloga 1.36 (with note).

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based upon the heritage of classical mythology, Giannettasio presents Naples as the home city of two famous neo-Latin poets, Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503) and Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530), whose *Manes* he mentions explicitly in his *Piscatoria* when alluding to Sannazaro's tomb in the Santa Maria del Parto church, not far from Sannazaro's former home, the Villa Mergellina.[18] But in the first place, Naples is the city of Virgil, who, according to the late antique biographic tradition, also has his tomb there, not far from Sannazaro's tomb, near the Santa Maria di Piedigrotta church,[19] and wrote his *Georgics* during an "ignoble leisure time at Naples" (*ignobile otium*), as he declares in the *sphragis* of this work.[20]

Giannettasio and his other Neapolitan colleagues made use of these "environmental" circumstances and advantages to justify their decision to use didactic poetry as a literary form and to stylize themselves as Virgil's natural heirs. But they were not the first to adopt the neo-Latin didactic poetry on the basis of Virgil's *Georgics*. In the fifteenth century, Italian humanists had discovered that the "classical" Roman didactic poetry, especially Virgil's *Georgics*, could be used as an instrument to present agricultural themes and themes of natural science. In the late seventeenth century, Pontano's *Urania* (1476), his poem *De hortis Hesperidum* (completed *c.*1500), as well as the Veronese physician Girolamo Fracastoro's (*c.*1478–1553) poem on syphilis (1530), had become canonic texts, which Giannettasio and Strozzi knew very well.[21] Concerning the Jesuit tradition of Virgilian-style didactic poetry, the Neapolitans could also refer to the *Hortorum libri* of the French Jesuit René Rapin (1621–87),

18 E.g., Giannettasio, *Piscatoria*, ecloga 1.38: *Synceri applaudunt, Manes Manesque Maronis*; Schindler, "*Vitreas crateris ad undas*," 298. As Sannazaro was buried in the church Santa Maria del Parto, which he had erected himself, Giannettasio wanted to be buried in *his* church, Santa Maria del Gesù.

19 On the location of Virgil's grave, cf. John Webster Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934); Joseph B. Trapp, "The Grave of Vergil," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984): 1–31; Michael C.J. Putnam and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008). Giannettasio discusses the location of Virgil's grave in his *Historia Neapolitana* (Naples: Michele Luigi Muzio, 1713), 6, and in the *Hyemes Puteolanae* (Naples: Raillard, 1722), 170–71.

20 Virgil, *Georgics*, 4.563–66: *illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat / Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti, / carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa, / Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi* [At this time sweet Parthenope nourished me, Virgil, flourishing in the pursuits of obscure peace; who played with shepherds' songs, and, in my youth sang boldly of you, Tityrus, in the shade of the wide-spreading beech-tree].

21 Cf. Schindler, "Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio," 159–60.

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a poem on French horticulture, which was published in Paris in 1675. Giannettasio, who curated a Neapolitan edition of Rapin's poem in 1685,[22] adored his poetic predecessor and mentions him in the proem to the fourth book of his *Nautica*.[23] Rapin also found didactic successors among the French Jesuits: at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, French Jesuits wrote didactic poems on a wide range of subjects, such as music, dreams, coffee and tea, and the education of children, a great number of which are collected in the 1749 edition of François Oudin (1673–1752).[24]

Yet the didactic poems of Giannettasio and his successors seem to present a distinct form of neo-Latin didactic poetry which departs considerably from the "French" tradition. By placing their didactic poems in the Neapolitan environment and recalling the mythological and literary traditions of classical antiquity, which are exclusively connected with the Bay of Naples, they present themselves as the legitimate heirs of Virgil. While the French Jesuits in their didactic poems could refer to Virgil as "the classic of all Europe," the Neapolitans could rely on a strong local tradition and invoke the Sirens as well as the *manes Maronis*—the soul of the dead Virgil—and the *Campania felix*, the fertile landscape adjacent to Mount Vesuvius, as a fountain of poetical inspiration.

Giannettasio, in particular, highlights his indebtedness to Virgil as his Neapolitan predecessor. The openings of his didactic poems are closely linked with the proem of Virgil's *Georgics*, whose syntactical structure the baroque poet maintains: for example, the *Nautica* are opened by *Quae veniant nemora apta mari, quo sydere pinus / Caedere*, […] / *Conveniat:* […] / *Hinc canere* […] *incipiam* (I shall begin to sing of […] which trees may be suitable for the sea,

22 René Rapin, *Hortorum libri IV*, new ed. (Naples: Raillard, 1685).

23 Giannettasio, *Nautica*, book 4 (Naples: Raillard, 1715), 113–14: *Quod si aliquis forsan, ruris qui nuper amore / captus odoratis halantes floribus hortos, / et nemora, et fontes cecinit, croceisque corollam / floribus aeternam sibi texuit, alta Maronis / tendentis coelo vestigia pone secutus, / atque per ora virum plausu volat undique victor: / Jam nunc bella paret, Magnique illustria Regis / facta, et victrices etiam contexere palmas / carmine Maeonio. Felix, cui numine multo / se penitus totum inspirat per pectora Phoebus: / atque opus in tantum properat deus* [If perhaps anyone, recently smitten by a love for rural life, sang of gardens smelling of fragrant flowers and woods and springs, wreathed himself an eternal crown of saffron-colored flowers, following the deep tracks of the skywards striving Maro and, universally applauded as a conqueror, flies through the mouths of men, he may already intend to combine wars, illustrious deeds of a great king, and the victor's palms in a Homeric poem. Lucky whom Phoebus inspires with much divine might so thoroughly in his heart: God quickens such a great work].

24 François Oudin, *Poemata didascalica, primum vel edita vel collecta studiis*, ed. Joseph Oliveto, 3 vols. (Paris: Au. Delalain, 1813).

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under which star one should […] fell the pine), which is a close imitation of the opening of Virgil's *Georgics*: *Quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram / Vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vites / Conveniat* […] / *Hinc canere incipiam* (I shall begin to sing of what causes the crop to be abounding, under which star one should plow the earth, Maecenas, and fasten vines to elms).

In a similar way, the closing lines of the *Nautica* allude to the *sphragis* of the *Georgics*. The same observation can be made for the other Neapolitan didactic poets. Prominent narrative passages of the *Georgics*, such as the myth of Aristaeus or the Corycian gardener, which are often imitated in neo-Latin didactic poetry,[25] also reappear in Giannettasio's didactic poems, with the aim of multiplying, surpassing, rivaling, and even correcting the classical predecessor. In the *Halieutica*, the famous *Laudes Italiae* of Virgil's *Georgics* are transformed into *Laudes Campaniae*,[26] where the poet celebrates the idyllic landscape and the fertility of the region adjacent to Vesuvius. Giannettasio's successor, Savastano, employs a similar literary technique in the third book of his *Botanicorum libri*, but his *Laudes Campaniae* not only follow Virgil's *Laudes Italiae* but also the *Laudes Campaniae* of his literary Neapolitan predecessor.[27]

Giannettasio's competitive attitude towards Virgil is also evident in his adoption of the academic name "Parthenius," which at the same time is an allusion to the mythological name of Naples, Parthenope, as well as the tradition of the "virgin Virgil," *Vergilius Parthenius*, of the late antique biographical tradition.

Giannettasio, the "new Virgil," seems to have been a kind of literary trendsetter who revitalized Virgilian-style didactic poetry at Naples in the 1680s. But how do the secular topics of his poems, his "archaizing" poetic concepts, and the manifold references to Virgil and the Bay of Naples fit into the major goals of the Society of Jesus? Observing the particularities of their literary technique, Giannettasio's poems as well as the other poems of the Neapolitan literary

25 Cf. Schindler, "Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio," 157–60; Heinz Hofmann, "Aristaeus und seine Nachfolger. Bemerkungen zur Rezeption des Aristaeus-Epyllions in der neulateinischen Lehrdichtung," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 52 (2003): 367–69; Ruth Monreal, "Vergils Vermächtnis: Die Gartenpraeteritio in den *Georgica* (4,116–148) und Typen ihrer Rezeption im neulateinischen Lehrgedicht," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 54 (2005): 1–47.

26 *Halieutica*, book 1, 24–25.

27 Savastano, *Botanicorum libri* (Naples: Novelli de Bonis, 1712), book 3, 88–90. De Quinzi's poem has *Laudes Aeneariae* (De Quinzi, *Inarime* [Naples: Felix Mosca, 1726], 104–7), in which the poet says that the world's other baths, except for the Aquae Carolinae, will never reach the healing power of the baths of Ischia.

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microculture, could strike the modern reader as a highly intellectual game, written, as the poet himself declares, during his time of leisure on the peninsula of Sorrento; an intellectual game which, in an extremely referential way, makes use of the Neapolitan environment, its local traditions, and the spirit of the famous Virgil to vitalize the ancient literary genre of didactic poetry. I argue that Giannettasio's learned poems were not only efficient instruments to spread Jesuit doctrine but that his Virgilian-style didactic poetry, on a certain level, was also a far more subtle means to advertise Jesuit ideas than any theological treatise. For this reason, it is important to take a closer look at the contents and topics of Giannettasio's poems.

As has been mentioned, the subject matter of Giannettasio's poems is exclusively secular. To a modern reader, seafaring, fishing, and warfare as topics of neo-Latin poems may sound odd. But in effect, these topics are more closely connected to Giannettasio's cultural surroundings than one might expect. Seafaring, fishing, and warfare require several natural and technical sciences such as mathematics, physics, zoology, astronomy, geography, and engineering. They thereby match the scientific interests of the Jesuits, who extended their influence to the field of education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through their global system of schools and universities.[28] As scholars have pointed out, these activities fit perfectly into the theological concept of the Society. As an "active prayer,"[29] learning obtained a status equivalent to the spiritual exercises, as is testified by the Jesuit *Constitutions* (4.4.2): *Litteris dare operam, quae syncera cum intentione divini servitii addiscuntur, et quodammodo totum hominem requirunt, non minus, quam in illis versari tempore studiorum, immo magis Deo ac Domino nostro gratum erit* (To devote oneself to learning, which they acquire with the sincere intention of divine service and in some way require the entire man, is not less, no on the contrary, it is even more welcome to God our Lord than to dwell on those religious matters during the time reserved for studying).

The Jesuits' scientific studies in engineering, mathematics, and the natural sciences were designed for the major glory of God, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. As the human intellect's spirit of research and its inventiveness testify to the creative power of God—who provided humans with intelligence in order to make use of it—Jesuit scientific research sought to use people's intellectual capacities to achieve this goal as well as adoring God's creation in an adequate

28 On the Jesuits' scientific interests, cf. Steven J. Harris, "Transposing the Merton Thesis: Apostolic Spirituality and the Establishment of the Jesuit Scientific Tradition," *Science in Context* 3 (1989): 29–65.

29 Ibid., 50–51.

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manner.[30] By choosing scientific topics, the Neapolitan Jesuits met the requirements of their order.[31]

Far more complicated is the question of why Giannettasio, to promote his scientific topics, was so successful when he preferred the genre of didactic poetry to a treatise in prose. Although a sense of local patriotism certainly influenced his decision, it should also be noted that the Jesuits viewed Virgil as an authoritative author. In the seventeenth century, the French Jesuit Charles de la Rue (1643–1725), as well as his Spanish confrere Luis de la Cerda (1558–1643), published voluminous commentaries on Virgil's entire work.[32] The fact that the *Georgics* offered an ideal pretext "for figuring and affirming the Ignatian wedding of action and contemplation," as Haskell suggests,[33] should also be taken into account. Nevertheless, to understand the motifs of Giannettasio, and his successors, I will now turn to another aspect of his poetry.

Giannettasio was a well-trained and erudite man with a stupendous amount of knowledge on different fields of knowledge, but he was no more of an expert on fishing, seafaring, and warfare than any contemporary erudite. In his poems, he did not include his own breathtaking insights, but relied on scientific treatises, which he quotes explicitly in the prosaic forewords to his poems or in explanatory footnotes.[34] Although the pieces of information he gives are based on accurate research, his didactic poems are not "schoolbooks" in a strict sense. The instructions for shipbuilding in the second book of the *Nautica*, for example, are incomplete, and the author's geographical remarks are unreliable.[35] In the preface to the *Nautica*, Giannettasio informs his readers that these "gaps" are not a result of his negligence, but of an elaborated poetic concept. He admits that he has left out the mathematical aspects of navigation, for such technical details would not match the elegance of his poem: *Cum nullam carmini decorem allatura essent*.[36] The "didactic" passages of the poem sometimes

30 Cf. ibid., who also speaks about a "sanctification of learning."

31 Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, 13–14.

32 Charles de la Rue, *P. Vergilii Maronis opera interpretatione et notis illustravit*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Simon Bénard, 1682); Luis de la Cerda, *P. Vergilii Maronis Bucolica et Georgica, argumentis, explicationibus, notis illustrata, auctore*, 3 vols. (vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main: Zacharius Palthenius, 1608; revised ed.: Lyon: Horatius Cardon, 1618; vol. 2, Lyon: Horatius Cardon, 1612 and Frankfurt am Main: Zacharius Palthenius, 1613; vol. 3, Lyon: Horatius Cardon, 1617 [reprints]).

33 Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, 15.

34 Cf. Schindler, "Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio," 149. Strozzi adds explanatory footnotes to his poem, and Savastano and de Quinzi adopt this technique.

35 Schindler, "Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio," 151–53.

36 Giannettasio, *Nautica*, "Praefatio," 47.

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give the impression of a "Wunderkammer," a baroque collector's closet, who gathers *mirabilia mundi* from the remotest parts of the earth.[37] As Haskell has shown, Giannettasio's *Halieutica* tend to be more "poetry of wonder" than a scientific text.[38] The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, for the *Nautica*. His literary technique, derived from the antique models, also plays an important role. Geographical places, natural phenomena, and zoological curiosities are arranged in highly sophisticated catalogs, and technical equipment for seafaring is described in extended ecphraseis, which challenge not only the author's but also the reader's knowledge of Latin.

Giannettasio represents himself in the *Nautica* as well as in his other poems as a poet rather than a scientist. Aesthetic aspects are prioritized over scientific accuracy. The overwhelming success of his didactic poetry, especially of the *Nautica*, seems to be based on this concept. While Jesuit scientific research tended to be marginalized at the end of the seventeenth century,[39] the Neapolitan poet and his successors developed an innovative form to communicate technical knowledge: a form that explicitly declares it is *not* engaging with current scientific discourses, but which presents knowledge in an aesthetic, readable, and even entertaining manner and provides pieces of information without asking too much of its reader.[40] The idyllic landscape of the Bay of Naples and the strong relationship to Virgil and his neo-Latin didactic successors underline the aesthetic aims of Giannettasio's poems. Not meant to rival current scientific discourses, the poems envisage a readership of aristocratic intellectuals, the community of *virtuosi* and *cognoscenti*, who were in close contact with the Jesuits during the seventeenth century. These intellectuals, who show up in the dedicatory prefaces to the poems, seem to have been particularly susceptible to the Jesuits' new approach to communicating

37 Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, 79–81. For the baroque Wunderkammer, cf. Dieter Pfister, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer in Praxis und Theorie: Aspekte des manieristischen Universalsammlungswesens* (Basel, 1982); Steffen Siegel, "Die 'gantz accurate' Kunstkammer: Visuelle Konstruktion und Normierung eines Repräsentationsraums in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Visuelle Argumentationen: Die Mysterien der Repräsentation und die Berechenbarkeit der Welt*, ed. Horst Bredekamp and Pablo Schneider (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2006), 157–82.

38 Cf. Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, 70.

39 Cf. William B. Ashworth Jr., "Catholicism and Early Modern Science," in *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 136–66, 154–60.

40 As Haskell (*Loyola's Bees*, 101–17) has shown, Francesco Eulalio Savastano's *Botanicorum libri* have a more scientific approach. Perhaps this is why they were less successful than Giannettasio's poems.

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knowledge about the wonders of the world. Reinventing the ancient but well-established genre of didactic poetry, Giannettasio strengthens this literary form as a unique feature of Jesuit poetry.

As for Giannettasio's *Nautica*, another aspect is even more important. As well as being a distinct form of Neapolitan neo-Latin poetry, this poem is also a distinct piece of Jesuit literature, an important contribution to the seventeenth-century Jesuit intellectual culture. When Giannettasio assumed the academic name Parthenius, he not only referred to Virgil and to the city of Naples but also to the Virgin Mary, whom he himself dubbed *Parthenia genetrix* in the dedicatory inscription of his church, La Cocumella in Sorrento, which reads: *Partheniae genetrici vates Parthenius*. The secular appearance of the poem and the various allusions to classical antique mythology and to Neapolitan Virgil tend to disguise the fact that the secular didactic is soaked with Jesuit values and doctrine. This observation is less surprising than it might sound. It is quite obvious that in a piece of poetry composed by a member of the Society of Jesus, nothing is written that contradicts the rules and regulations of the Society, and hence Jesuit poetry, in Haskell's words, tends to present a world that is "informed, if not forged by the values of the Society of Jesus."[41] What is interesting about this observation is that Giannettasio's *Nautica* communicate Jesuit doctrine on different levels. In the prosaic preface of this poem to the reader, Giannettasio points out that seafaring is a moral discipline (*moralis disciplina*) which could be learned more easily by examples than by bare instructions.[42] Several copies of the *Nautica*'s second edition are illustrated by nine copperplate engravings by François de Louvemont (1648–?) on the basis of patterns by Francesco Solimena (1657–1747).[43] These engravings do *not* illustrate technical aspects of shipbuilding and seafaring, as one might expect. On the contrary, they depict motifs from the mythological and autobiographical passages of the poem, such as the launch of Hiero's state barge (book 2), Nisus being instructed about magnetic deviations (book 3), Giannettasio's farewell to Naples (book 5), his rescue from a storm at sea (book 6), and Columbus's ships crossing the ocean (book 8). As in emblematic art, the

41 Haskell, *Loyola's Bees*, 15.

42 Giannettasio, *Nautica*, "Praefatio," 47.

43 For the illustrations, see Giuseppe De Nitto, "L'arte tipografica napoletana del Seicento," in *Seicento Napoletano: Arte, costume e ambiente*, ed. Roberto Pane (Milan: Edizioni di comunità, 1984), 479; Filippo Iappelli, S.J., "Gesuiti e Seicento Napoletano—III," *Societas* 34 (1985): 110–13. For the relationship between Giannettasio and Solimena, cf. Harold Samuel Stone, *Vico's Cultural History: The Production and Transmission of Ideas in Naples* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 20–23.

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illustrations are furnished with a caption showing a motto from the book they illustrate: *Coeptis insistere multum est* (It is a great deal to persist in [one's] undertakings) for the first book; *Quae non miracula rerum ingenium facit acre manusque operosa magistri* (What kind of miracles are not achieved by a keen intellect or a teacher's laborious hand) for the second; and *Principio venerare deos, quorum aequora curris* (First of all venerate the gods whose seas you are traveling) for the fourth. These maxims are not exclusively bound to the subject of the *Nautica*. On the contrary, they can be read as mottos for the Jesuit life.

Giannettasio's "Jesuit" attitude can be observed throughout the entire poem. In the proem to the first book, the poet invokes the Jesuit missionary in the East, Francis Xavier (*Saberides*), as his patron saint. In the *Nautica*, Xavier replaces Octavian, who had been introduced as Virgil's patron in the proem of the first *Georgic*. Furthermore, the co-founder of the Jesuit order officiates as inspiration for the poet as well as an authority on all matters of seafaring.[44] The sailors, before setting sails, should therefore not only say a prayer to the Holy Trinity and to Virgin Mary but also to Francis Xavier;[45] he is also to be

44 Giannettasio, *Nautica*, 50: *At tu, qui Superos inter spatiaris Olympo, / SABERIDE, mihi dexter ades: tu dius Apollo / magnam Vati animam, et divini carminis oestrum / inspira; nostrisque volens allabere coeptis. / Nam te, nec fallor, magnarum numen aquarum, / rectoremque maris, tempestatumque potentem / Gangaridae quondam dixere, et creditus Indis / Oceani immensi magnus Deus, humida parent / Neptuni cui regna, vagique per aera nimbi, / et se pacato submittunt murmure venti. / Sed quamvis* (*tibi mentitum non fingimus ultro / numen, et immeritos aris adolemus honores*) */ non deus Oceani, verum tibi gurgitis alti / imperium Pater Omnipotens dedit, ut tua nautae / numina rite colant: placidos tu tollere nutu, / turbatosque potes nutu componere fluctus* [You, however, Xavier who you walk among the heavenly powers in heaven, help me graciously: as a divine Apollo grant great inspiration to the poet and the enthusiasm of a divine poem and join our undertaking willingly. For the inhabitants of the Ganges's banks called you once—and I am not mistaken in this—divinity of the great seas, mighty director of the seas and tempests and by the Indians you were believed to be the great god of the immense ocean whom the watery kingdoms of Neptune and the clouds, roaming the sky, obey and to whom the winds submit with a pacified murmur. Yet even if you are not the god of the ocean (we do not invent a made-up divinity for you and bring undeserved honors as offerings on altars), the omnipotent father gave you dominion of the deep sea so that the seamen worship your divine/supreme authority duly: you are able to disturb placid waves with a nod and (also) calm agitated seas with a nod. And finally, Palinurus, call the oceans influential divine/supreme authority of the great Xavier. He overwhelms tornadoes with a mighty right and appeases hearts and minds].

45 Ibid., 117.

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invoked during a typhoon together with other divine authorities.[46] These instructions are confirmed by the author's own experience: traveling from Sorrento to Egypt, the author reports, he was hit by a terrible storm at sea. This "autobiographical" sea-storm is transformed into a literary sea-storm, as Giannettasio narrates it by using traditional elements of sea-storms from pagan and Christian Greco-Roman literature: uproar of the elements, desperation of the passengers, encouraging words of the ship's helmsman.[47] But there is something distinct about Giannettasio's sea-storm. As a Jesuit, he prays to Xavier, who appears immediately and appeases the storm; Giannettasio then makes a vow to praise Xavier in a poem, which the saint graciously accepts.[48] The numerous references to Xavier show that, for Giannettasio, religiosity surpasses technical progress. At the same time, by referring to Xavier, he also emphasizes the fact that it is the Jesuit co-founder whom God established as the sailors' patron.

In addition to this emphasis on Xavier's role in seafaring, many of the instructions in the *Nautica* were drawn from the Jesuit spirituality, with obedience, discipline, and labor, as well as piousness, being essential for successful seafaring. Giannettasio's instructions sometimes correspond verbally with the summary of the Jesuit *Constitutions*. As the poet points out, sailors never have to be without employment during the voyage: *Hic sed praecipiam queis artibus otia pubes / Interea vitet: semper vitanda Magistro, / Et vitanda mari in medio sunt otia Nautis:/ Quippe animi robur frangunt, viresque remittent* (Yet here I shall teach how the men may avoid idleness in the meantime: the captain always has to avoid lulls/leisure and the seamen have to avoid idleness in the middle of the ocean. For they break the strength of mind and will sap the physical strength).[49] This reads like a versification of rule 44 from the *Summarium Constitutionum* (*Regulae Societatis Jesu*, Antwerp 1635, 21): *Otium vitandum. Omnes, quamdiu corpore bene valent, in spiritualibus vel exterioribus habeant in quo occupentur, ne otium malorum omnium origo,* [...], *Domi nostrae locum habeat* (Idleness has to be avoided: everyone shall have something among spiritual or secular matters to occupy himself as long as he is physically able to, so that idleness, the origin of all evil, [...] has no place in our house).[50]

46 Ibid., 231: *Ac demum Oceani praesentia Numina magni / SABERIDAE, Palinure, voca: premit ille potenti / dextra Typhones, animosque, et pectora mulcet.*

47 Ibid., 173–75.

48 Ibid., 175.

49 *Nautica*, 130.

50 Cf. also *Constitutiones*, 3.1.6.

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Connecting the subject matters of his poetry with Jesuit rules, in his *Nautica* Giannettasio can take advantage of the fact that "ship" and "seafaring" are traditional metaphors for the church and faith, and he exploits these metaphorical subtexts. Diligence (*diligentia*), for example, is an important Jesuit value,[51] and thus, in the first book of his poem, Giannettasio stresses the fact that the shipbuilder has to select the wood for his ships most carefully. But soon the diligent shipbuilder will be rewarded, as he will construct a ship that will easily brave all storms.[52] As well as practical advice for the craftsman, these verses can be read as an instruction for true faith, which should be based upon a solid fundament, for the faithful will then be able to cope with the storms of life. To a certain extent, the author's own salvation from the sea-storm, aside from its biographical impact, can be regarded as a metaphor for his "conversion" to the Society of Jesus. The *Nautica* can therefore be read according to the *quattuor sensus scripturae* (the four kinds of meaning of the scripture): literally, as a source for nautical details, allegorically, as a statement on faith, ethically, as a guideline for right behavior, and, anagogically, as an instruction for further actions.

This interpretation of the *Nautica* according to the *quattuor sensus scripturae* is consistent with the fact that Giannettasio's most important literary model, Virgil, had been read allegorically since late antiquity.[53] But another aspect should also be stressed in this context. Apart from the allegorical lectures of his poem, late antique church fathers tended to regard the Roman national poet as a Christian author and the fourth eclogue as an announcement of Christ's birth;[54] imitating Virgil's poetry therefore served as an instrument

51 Cf. Ibid., 4.16.5.

52 *Nautica*, 51.

53 Cf. Harrison C. Coffin, "Allegorical Interpretation of Vergil, with Special Reference to Fulgentius," *Classical Weekly* 15 (1921/22): 33–35.

54 For Christian adaptations of Virgil, cf. Harald Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers* (Gothenburg: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1958); Pierre Courcelle, *Lecteurs païens et lecteurs chretiens de l'Eneide*, 2 vols., Mémoires del Academie des inscriptions et des belles-lettres n.s. 4 (Paris: De Boccard, 1984); Eberhard Heck, "Vestrum est—Poeta noster: Von der Geringschätzung Vergils zu seiner Aneignung in der frühchristlichen lateinischen Apologetik," *Museum Helveticum* 47 (1990): 102–20. For allegoric readings in the Renaissance, cf. Craig Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1989), 101. On the fourth eclogue, see, e.g., Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, 7.24.11; Vinzenz Buchheit, "Vergil als Zeuge der natürlichen Gotteserkenntnis bei Minucius Felix und Laktanz," *Rheinisches Museum* 139 (1996): 254–59.

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to uncover its alleged Christian elements. Giannettasio, who seems to follow this concept, reinterprets his Neapolitan predecessor according to the Society's goals. At the beginning of the seventh book of the *Nautica*, he announces that in India, at the mouth of the River Ganges, he will construct a marble church, whose doors will be decorated with reliefs molded from silver, gold, and ivory.[55] Although Giannettasio, as has been said, came forward as a "real" architect, his Indian church is not a real, but a virtual church. The reliefs on its doors are products of Giannettasio's poetic imagination. This becomes clear from his description, where Giannettasio alludes to a prominent Virgilian praetext. In the proem of the third book of the *Georgics*, the poet announces that he will build a temple at the shore of the Mincius River, and that the temple's doors will be decorated with depictions of Octavian's triumph.[56] The Jesuit commentary of Juan Luis de la Cerda interprets this triumph as a *triumphus poeticus*.[57] Imitating Virgil, Giannettasio strengthens this allegorical (and even poetological) interpretation. He transfers the sacral building (*templum*) from Italy to India, and its doors no longer represent the triumph of Octavian, but the successful eastern Jesuit mission. Despite the manifold verbal and syntactical allusions, the Jesuits' *triumphi* surpass the triumph of Octavian—and they establish the Jesuit order as a legitimate heir of the Roman Empire. At the same time, Giannettasio, by presenting his Neapolitan predecessor in this way, denies other institutions any Roman heritage.

In this context, another transformation of a Virgilian model should be pointed out. At the end of the second book of the *Nautica*, which mainly deals with how ships should be launched, the author inserts an aetiological myth,[58] which is opened by the following verses (83): *At si quem forte ars prorsus defecerit omnis, / Nec, quo sylva modum pelago mittatur habebit:/ Tempus et Ortygii memoranda inventa magistri / Pandere, quoque modo turritam mole carinam / In mare deduxit pueri manus. Altius omnem / Expediam antiqua revocans ab origine famam* (But when perhaps all arts will have deserted someone and he will have no manner to launch a ship, it will be time to spread out the memorable inventions of Ortygia's teacher and in which manner the hand of a boy

55 *Nautica*, 195–96.

56 Verg., *Georg.*, 3.26–33.

57 De la Cerda, *P. Vergilii Maronis Bucolica et Georgica, argumentis, explicationibus, notis illustrata, auctore*, 1:348.

58 For this narration, cf. Claudia Schindler, "L'invenzione della realtà: Alcuni brani biografici e storici nei poemi didascalici di Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio (1648–1715)," *Studi umanistici piceni* 22 (2002): 247–48.

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conveyed a ship with towers to the sea. I shall tell the entire story at greater length beginning with its ancient origin).

These verses show literal parallels with the introductory verses of the so-called Aristaeus-myth in the fourth book of Virgil's *Georgics* (4:281–86): *Sed si quem proles subito defecerit omnis, / nec genus unde novae stirpis revocetur habebit, / tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri / pandere* [...]. *Altius omnem /expediam prima repetens ab origine famam* (Yet if someone's whole offspring has suddenly deserted, and he has no option from which to revive a new line, then it is time to reveal the memorable inventions of the Arcadian teacher [...]. I shall tell the entire story in depth, tracing it from its ancient origin).

Virgil's aetiological narration tells the story of the beekeeper Aristaeus, who, after having lost his bees as a result of plague, asks his mother Cyrene for help. Cyrene sends Aristaeus to the elderly Proteus, who informs him about the causes of the plague and, as a remedy, tells him he could regain his bees via the miracle of *bugonia*, bees ascending from a cow's carcass. This narrative pattern became extremely popular in neo-Latin literature and was taken as a starting point for countless neo-Latin aetiological myths.[59] Despite the verbal allusions in the introductory verses, Giannettasio's narration is completely different. While Virgil's Aristaeus is a mythological figure, the protagonist of Giannettasio's *epyllion* is Hiero II (*c.*308 BCE–215 BCE) of Syracuse. Hiero's engineers constructed a state barge, but because of its enormous dimensions it was impossible to launch the ship in the traditional way. Therefore, Hiero asks Archimedes for help and the mathematician constructs a cable- and rack-wheel-winch, which allows him to slide the ship into water. Giannettasio not only substitutes a mythical with a historical figure in his narration. While the Virgilian Aristaeus, as the reader learns, is responsible for the loss of his bees (by attempting to rape her, he had caused Eurydice's death because she was bitten by a snake when trying to escape), no guilt attaches to the protagonist of Giannettasio's story. And though Virgil's Proteus tends to retain the essential pieces of information, transforming himself into various figures and forcing Aristaeus to

59 Georg Roellenbleck, "Erzählen und Beschreiben im neulateinischen Lehrgedicht," in *Acta conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani* (*Wolfenbüttel 12.–16. August 1985*), ed. Stella P. Revard, Fidel Rädle, and Mario A. di Cesare (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1988), 420–21; Heinz Hofmann, "*Adveniat tandem Tiphys qui detegat orbes!* Columbus in Neo-Latin Poetry, 16th–18th Centuries," in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Reinhold Meyer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), 1:632–42 (Columbus-myth at the end of the book 8 of the *Nautica*); Hofmann, "Aristaeus," 367–69; Schindler, "Nicolò Partenio Giannettasio," 158n35.

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dupe him, Archimedes is cooperative from the beginning. Of course, he rejects any reward except for *aeternum* […] *laus et decus ortum ex illo* (eternal glory) (84). The mathematician Archimedes is thus presented as an alter ego of the mathematician Giannettasio, as a Jesuit *avant la lettre*—serving the powerful by the means of intellectual superiority, always acting *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, for the greater glory of God.

Giannettasio's Greco-Roman antiquity, as can be shown, is an antiquity viewed through Jesuit eyes. His indebtedness to local Neapolitan traditions and his numerous references to Virgil are, in the end, vehicles to communicate distinctive Jesuit values and doctrine—vehicles that, indebted to local patriotism as they might be, point to the humanistic tradition in all of Europe.

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CHAPTER 3

Civic Education on Stage: Civic Values and Virtues in the Jesuit Schools of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth

Jolanta Rzegocka

The Jesuit order and its theater have played a vital part in the history of Europe and its cultural heritage.[1] Ever since the founding of the Society in 1540, the Jesuits have been active preachers, distinguished theologians and disputants, and have served as confessors and tutors to sovereigns and members of royal families across Christendom.[2] However, it is the order's emphasis on education and the Jesuits' role as teachers that put the activities of the Society at the heart of the present chapter. Jesuit colleges modeled after their prominent school, the Collegium Romanum (1551), offered a combination of high-quality teaching based on the study of the classics and a new type of instruction promoting critical thinking, modern piety, eloquence, and drama skills. It was through exercises in rhetorical skills and drama that the civic virtues were taught to students of Jesuit colleges. This seems especially true in the case of Jesuit schools in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, as attested by plays

1 The chapter presents preliminary results from the research project "Civic Education in Jesuit School Theaters of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth Playbills in the Jesuit Archives of Vilnius, Rome, and Selected Polish Libraries," funded by the National Science Center of Poland UMO-2014/13/B/HS2/00524. The principal investigator is Prof. Jan Okoń, author of pioneering studies on Jesuit school theater and playbills. His seminal study is *Dramat i teatr szkolny: Sceny jezuickie XVII wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1970). I am indebted to Prof. Okoń for his sharing ideas on Jesuit theatre season, for drawing my attention to the Lublin 1726 playbill, and for his continuous encouragement and critical comments on this chapter.

2 Stanisław Obirek, a historian of the Jesuit order in Poland–Lithuania, notes that Jesuits were advised to maintain political neutrality, and the 1565 General Congregation only allowed short periods of one or two-month stays at ducal and royal courts. During a 1576 *interregnum* in Poland, Superior General Everard Mercurian (1514–80) reminded the Polish Jesuits that they should stay politically neutral and abstain from preaching at parliamentary sessions and political assemblies of the Polish–Lithuanian nobility. Stanisław Obirek, *Jezuici na dworach Batorego i Wazów 1580–1668: Wpływ kapelanów dworskich i wychowawców książąt na postawy panujących i politykę państwa* (Cracow: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1996), 5–6.

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and playbills from the Polish and Lithuanian provinces of the Society.[3] The interest of the Polish–Lithuanian Jesuits in history teaching and the production of school plays based on historical sources suggests they attempted to tune their model of education to the needs of a country which cherished classical republican ideas and whose political thinkers constantly discussed the nature and goals of political community, the arrangement of its political institutions, and the roles and duties of its citizens and rulers.[4] As a closer analysis of playtexts and playbills shows, the Jesuit school theater of the Polish–Lithuanian province played a distinctive role in shaping models of virtuous citizenry in Poland–Lithuania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Europe as a whole, there were two distinctive features of Jesuit school theater: its regularity, which created a "theater season," and the Jesuit insistence on teaching virtues in order to achieve *docta et eloquens pietas* (learned and eloquent piety). In the case of Poland–Lithuania, Jesuit theater also used an abundance of national themes in dramatic performances, while addressing questions of the republican political system as a *respublica mixta*—the mixed state which was the foundation of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.[5] It is only by examining selected plays and playbills that the distinctiveness of the school theater of the Polish–Lithuanian province can be appreciated in full.[6]

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3 *Dramat staropolski od początków do powstania sceny narodowej: Bibliografia*, vol. 2: *Programy drukiem wydane do r. 1765*, part 1: *Programy teatru jezuickiego*, ed. Władysław Korotaj et al. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1965). Playbills of the school theater of the Piarists, Theatines, and Basilian fathers are listed in *Dramat staropolski od początków do powstania sceny narodowej: Bibliografia*, vol. 2: *Programy drukiem wydane do r. 1765*, part 2: *Programy teatru pijarskiego oraz innych zakonów i szkół katolickich*, ed. Władysław Korotaj et al. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1978).

4 Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Ład Rzeczypospolitej: Polska myśl polityczna XVI wieku a klasyczna tradycja republikańska* (Cracow: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012); Pietrzyk-Reeves, "O pojęciu *Rzeczypospolita* (*res publica*) w polskiej myśli politycznej XVI wieku," *Czasopismo prawno-historyczne* 1 (2010): 38–64; Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Regina libertas: Wolność w polskiej myśli politycznej XVIII wieku* (Gdańsk: Słowo/Obraz Terytoria, 2006).

5 English-language studies on the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth include: Robert Frost, *The Oxford History of Poland Lithuania*, vol. 1: *The Making of the Polish–Lithuanian Union, 1385–1569* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Benedict Wagner-Rundell, *Common Wealth, Common Good: The Politics of Virtue in Early Modern Poland–Lithuania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. 1: *The Origins to 1795*, revised ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Goslicius' "Ideal Senator" and His Cultural Impact over the Centuries: Shakespearean Reflections* (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2009).

6 Major studies on Polish–Lithuanian school theater include: Jan Poplatek, *Studia z dziejów jezuickiego teatru szkolnego w Polsce* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1957); Jan Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny: Sceny jezuickie XVII wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1970); Okoń,

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The Polish–Lithuanian Province

The Jesuits began to establish colleges in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards, and it was the outstanding education offered at these schools that led Bishop Stanisław Hozjusz (1504–79) to invite the Jesuits to Poland in 1564 to open their first college, the Collegium Hosianum in Braniewo, or Braunsberg (Fig. 3.1).[7] The Jesuit college in Wilno (Vilnius), the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in a long-lasting political union with the Kingdom of Poland, was founded in 1570 with the support of the bishop of Wilno, Walerian Protaszewicz (1514–80). The Wilno college was granted the status of an academy in 1579 by the royal charter of King Stephen Báthory (1533–86, r.1575–86) and the bull of Pope Gregory XIII (1502–85, r.1572–85).

In the period between the foundation of the Wilno Academy and Pope Clement XIV's (1705–74, r.1769–74) dissolution of the order in 1773, the Lithuanian colleges operated within the Austrian province (until 1575) and the

Na scenach jezuickich w dawnej Polsce (*rodzimość i europejskość*) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2006); Jerzy Axer, "Polski teatr jezuicki jako teatr polityczny," in *Jezuici a kultura polska*, ed. Ludwik Grzebień et al. (Cracow: WAM, 1993), 11–21; and *Europejskie związki dawnego teatru szkolnego i europejska wspólnota dawnych kalendarzy*, ed. Irena Kadulska (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2003). Publications on Polish Jesuit school theater in other languages include: Jan Okoń, "Recherches sur le théatre jésuite en Pologne au XVIe–XVIIIe s.," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 41 (1972) and "Sul teatro dei gesuiti nell'antica Polonia," *AHSI* 51 (1982); Okoń, "L'umanesimo gesuitico nella Polonia del Cinque e Seicento—Tra Occidente e Oriente," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bariensis: Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Bari 29 August to 3 September 1994*, ed. Rhoda Schnur, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 184 (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), 461–68; and Okoń, "Das Jesuitentheater in Polen und in Europa," in *Bohemia jesuitica 1556–2006*, ed. Petronella Cemus (Prague: Karlova University, Karolinum Publishers, 2010), 2:971–80.

7 Studies on the history of the Polish–Lithuanian Jesuit province include: *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy, 1564–1995* [Encyclopedia of information on the Jesuits in the territories of Poland and Lithuania, 1564–1995], ed. Ludwik Grzebień (Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004), http://www.jezuici.krakow.pl/bibl/enc.htm; Kazmierz Puchowski, *Jezuickie kolegia szlacheckie w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2007); Stanisław Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Księży Jezuitów, 1933/Cracow, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2003); *Jezuici a kultura polska*, ed. Ludwik Grzebień et al. (Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 1993); Ludwik Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej* [History of Wilno Academy], vol. 1: *Początki Akademii Wileńskiej, 1570–1599* (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1983). On Cardinal Hosius and the earliest Jesuit settlement in Poland, see also Jan Okoń, "Marcin Kromer a jezuici," in *Marcin Kromer: Polski Liwiusz z Biecza*, ed. Zdzisław Pietrzyk (Gorlice: Starostwo Powiatowe w Gorlicach, Dwory Karwacjanów i Gładyszów w Gorlicach, 2014), 14–41.

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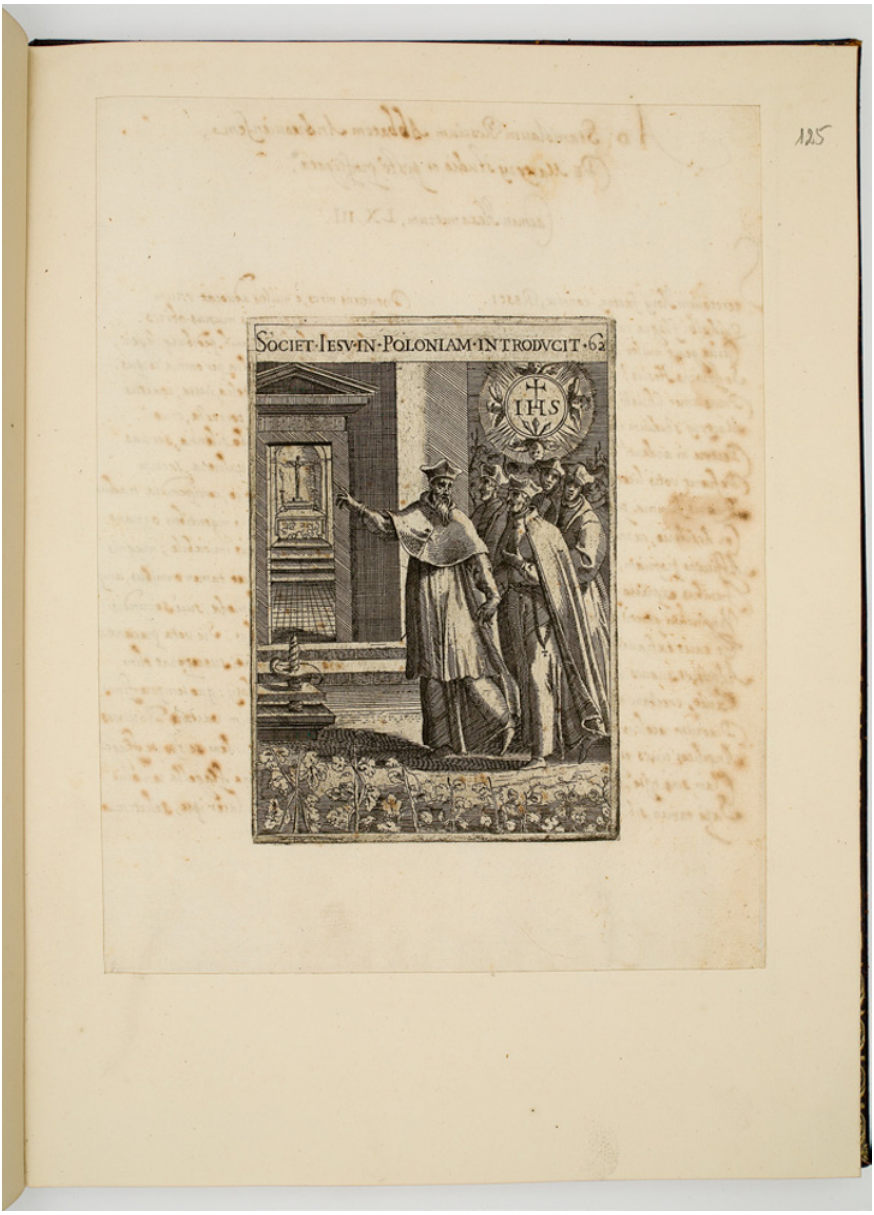

FIGURE 3.1 *Cardinal Hosius brings Jesuits to Poland*
FROM THOMAS TRETTER, *THEATRUM VIRTUTUM D. STANISLAI HOSII* (ROME, 1588). MS CZARTORYSKI LIBRARY 2921, FOL. 125. COURTESY OF THE CZARTORYSKI LIBRARY IN CRACOW

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Polish province (until 1608). The Lithuanian province, established in 1608, was further divided into the Lithuanian and Mazovian provinces in 1759, with colleges in Warsaw, Polotsk, and Vitebsk. Each of these colleges proudly staged elaborate plays and dialogues, as witnessed by the playbills in the libraries of modern Poland and Lithuania—important and little-known documents detailing the Jesuits' educational efforts.[8]

The Polish Jesuits adopted the model of teaching used in the Collegium Romanum. However, at the same time, they took into account the specific Polish need for the civic education of youth, as expressed by Polish parents, school patrons, and donors.[9] They not only educated their pupils in a modern fashion but also prepared them for their future public roles as members of the political elite by instilling ideas of justice, truth, benevolence, and reverence in the students. The Jesuits arrived in the country during the critical period of the Counter-Reformation, engaging themselves in religious disputations with the Protestants. In doing so, they were able to benefit from the policies adopted in the multiethnic and multireligious Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which enshrined the principle of religious toleration.[10] By taking the country's socio-political context into account, the Jesuits were able to establish themselves as tutors, educators, and intellectual leaders of the youth, thus preparing young people for their future public roles as civil servants, state officials, parliamentarians, councilors, and leaders of their communities, people who would be ready to serve their

8 In 1599, there were eleven Jesuit colleges in the Polish–Lithuanian province, and fifty-one in 1700. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 21; Ratio studiorum: *Ustawa szkolna Towarzystwa Jezusowego*, ed. Kalina Bartnicka et al. (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Ateneum, 2000), iii. *Dramat staropolski*, 2: part 1, xxii–xxiii, lists sixty-nine Jesuit colleges within the political borders of Poland–Lithuania. No playbills have so far been found in sixteen colleges of the list.

9 Kazimierz Puchowski, "Jezuickie kolegium i konwikt szlachecki w Kaliszu: Ze studiów nad edukacją w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej," in *Jezuici w przedrozbiorowym Kaliszu*, ed. Mariusz Bigiel (Kalisz: Edytor, 1996), 29; see also Puchowski, "*In bello Mars, in pace Apollo*: Z dziejów edukacji w kolegiach jezuickiej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów," in *Jezuicka* ars historica, ed. Marek Inglot et al. (Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2001); and Puchowski, *Edukacja historyczna w jezuickich kolegiach Rzeczypospolitej* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 1999).

10 Poland had a long tradition of legislation encouraging religious and political toleration, starting with the Statute of Kalisz (1264). "Religious toleration was not only official policy in sixteenth-century Poland; it was the law, codified in the 1573 Warsaw Confederation, reputed to be the first document in European history to constitutionalize religious toleration." See Daniel H. Cole, "Poland's 1997 Constitution in Its Historical Context," Faculty Publications, no. 589 (1998), Indiana University, Maurer School of Law, http://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/facpub/589.

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country in times of war and peace. They offered a firm grounding in the arts, introduced elements of national history into the curriculum, and encouraged their pupils to take part in theatrical activities to make them better citizens. The quality and scope of their innovative schooling system were unmatched by any other educational project of the time.

Jesuit School Theater Season

Jesuit theater was a remarkable artistic phenomenon in the history of early modern Europe and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Yet, somewhat paradoxically, elaborate theater plays were not recommended in the *Ratio studiorum* of 1599. According to these regulations, professors of rhetoric were responsible for composing plays and dialogues, and they were occasionally allowed to stage eclogues, scenes, and dialogues with the students as part of their training in rhetorical skills—this was to be done in the classroom, without any costumes or props, and each student was to have a part.[11] The general principles of Jesuit education set out first in the Jesuit *Constitutions* (part 4) and in the *Ratio studiorum* were to vary with time, place, and circumstance, and were to be adjusted to the particular environment.[12] Even though the Polish–Lithuanian province had its local schooling customs written down in the custom books, the use of theater in the province's schools went beyond what was contained in these books. They do not provide a satisfactory explanation to the fact that is attested by the plays and playbills, namely that the school theater in the Jesuit schools of the Polish and Lithuanian province was a well-established institution and an integral part of the system of education, with plays open to visitors and guests.[13] The *Consuetudines* (Custom book) for the Polish and Lithuanian province for 1604–20 expanded the range of theatrical activities in which students could take part, allowing solemn dialogues or comedies with props and decorations,[14] prologues and intermedia in vernacular

11 Bartnicka, *Ratio studiorum*, 95.

12 *Konstytucje Towarzystwa Jezusowego: Część czwarta* [Constitutiones Societatis Iesu], trans. Jan Ożóg, in Bartnicka, *Ratio studiorum*, chapter 13, [454], 25.

13 The number of plays in the Polish–Lithuanian province between 1564 and 1773 has been estimated at thirty thousand, with some performance records still undiscovered, see Bartnicka, *Ratio studiorum*, v.

14 "Singulis annis haberi potest dialogus semel tantum cum apparatu solemni pro commoditate temporis collegiorum, aliquando loco dialogi comoedia. *Consuetudines scholasticae Provinciae Poloniae et Lituanae SJ 1604/1620*," in Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 502. Polish translation by Dr. Katarzyna Gara.

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(provided they served as explication of the Latin part of the play),[15] and vernacular Corpus Christi dialogues staged in churches for the public, with sets and decorations.[16] They also allowed the Shrovetide dialogues to be staged exclusively for insiders, the Jesuits and their pupils, with the doors closed.[17] Although provincial regulations concerning school performances were less rigid, this does not explain the outburst of theatrical production in the Jesuit schools of Poland–Lithuania. As the historian Jan Okoń states in his groundbreaking study of Jesuit school theater in the Commonwealth, the plays were staged as part of a "theater season"—a yearly cycle involving plays for the inauguration of the school year and prize-giving, plays for college feast days, patron saints' feast days, plays for the visits of important guests, and Shrovetide, Holy Week, and Corpus Christi plays.[18] The idea of plays being performed at regular intervals in the school year was a novelty, and it therefore has to be underlined as a remarkable and distinctive feature of Jesuit theater. Moreover, the theater season in Jesuit schools became an important educational tool in and of itself.

The regular performance of theater plays is attested by the surviving playtexts and playbills from the colleges of the province that contain information on the occasion, contents, and audience of a given play. With respect to theatrical production and school theater, the Polish (from 1575) and Lithuanian (from 1608) province of the Society went beyond the regulations in the *Ratio studiorum* both in terms of developing a regular theater season,[19] and in adjusting the rules to the requirements of the local environment, with philosophy and history being taught much more extensively in Polish–Lithuanian colleges

15 Ibid.: "In huiusmodi dialogis prooemium et intermedia fieri possunt vernaculari lingua, si non sint aliud, quam explication argument subsequntis partis."

16 Ibid.: "In festo Corporis Christi et explicatione doctrinae christianae haberi possunt aliquando breviores et simplices dialogi vernaculari lingua ad populum excitandum in templo, cum aliquot apparatu scenico extemporaneo."

17 Ibid.: "Potest concedere tempore Bacchanaliorum dialogus brevis, etiam scenicum, quasi extemporaneous congregationis nomine, sed privatim intra scholam pro solis scholasticis, ianuis clausis."

18 In his *Dramat i teatr szkolny* (1970), Jan Okoń has argued that Polish–Lithuanian Jesuit school theater can be viewed in terms of a "theater season." The idea was developed in Okoń, "Barokowy dramat i teatr szkolny w Polsce: Wśród zadań publicznych i religijnych," in *Popularny dramat i teatr religijny w Polsce*, ed. Irena Sławińska et al. (Lublin: Tow. Nauk. Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1990), 7–26. He argues that the "theater season" concept is applicable to the Jesuit school theaters all over Europe.

19 Bartnicka, *Ratio Studiorum*, v.

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than was the case elsewhere;[20] the Jesuits also favored the Baroque rather than the prescribed Ciceronian style in the teaching of rhetoric in the Polish–Lithuanian colleges.[21] As Kazimierz Puchowski, a historian of Jesuit schools in Poland, suggests, the inclusion of history teaching and national themes in Polish–Lithuanian school theater stemmed from the social background of the second and third generation of the Polish–Lithuanian Jesuits, together with pressure from the students' parents, as the schools were expected to educate members of the political elite, defenders of *fides et patria* (faith and country).[22]

Hence while extensive theater practice was part of the curricula of all Jesuit educational institutions, this was especially the case in the colleges of the Polish–Lithuanian province. Dramatic performances and full-fledged plays were a means of practicing rhetorical skills, public speaking, and, last but not least, a way to promote the school's achievements in a given town and region. They were also intended to shape their pupils' personalities, with the aim of molding them into responsible members of their communities who could serve their republican country—"the Republic of Nobles"—presided over by an elected king.

An examination of plays and playbills from the perspective of the calendar for the school year shows that the beginning of the year (*renovatio autumni*) was accompanied by plays on the virtue of individual prudence, as each student was called to work on his character, develop personal piety, and broaden his knowledge.[23] In addition, beginning-of-the-year plays were usually an

20 Roman Darowski, "Filozofia jezuitów w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku: Próba syntezy," in Grzebień et al., *Jezuici a kultura polska*, 51–74; Darowski, "Przepisy dotyczące nauczania filozofii w uczelniach jezuickich w Polsce w XVI wieku," in *Studia z historii filozofii: Księga pamiątkowa z okazji 50-lecia pracy naukowej ks. Pawła Siwka S.J.*, ed. Roman Darowski (Cracow: WAM, 1990). Teaching of history went on in the Polish and Lithuanian Jesuit province before 1599; for example, in Poznań it was taught by Jan Laus (1557–91) from Flanders between 1585 and 1590, and in Lublin. Ludwik Piechnik, "Działalność jezuitów na polu szkolnictwa (1565–1773)," in Grzebień et al., *Jezuici a kultura polska*, 246.

21 Rather than the Ciceronian style recommended in the *Ratio studiorum*, seventeenth-century Polish–Lithuanian colleges practiced the florid "Baroque" style of rhetoric, represented, for example, by Jan Kwiatkiewicz, S.J. (1629–1703), author of treatises on Baroque rhetoric: *Phoenix rhetorum* (1627) and *Eloquentia reconditor* (1698). Bartnicka, *Ratio studiorum*, v. For more on Kwiatkiewicz, see Puchowski, "Jezuickie kolegium i konwikt szlachecki w Kaliszu," 31–32, and Zofia Rynduch, "Jana Kwiatkiewicza *Phoenix rhetorum* jako traktat o wymowie barokowej," *Zeszyty naukowe Wydziału Historycznego WSO w Gdańsku* 1 (1962).

22 Puchowski, "Jezuickie kolegium," 30.

23 The school year began on September 1; holidays lasted one month (August); and holiday breaks were very short (four days at Christmas and Easter). July was set for revision and

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accompaniment to the prize-giving (*pro distribuendis praemiis*), as in most colleges the exam results which had been privately announced to the students in July would then be announced in public in September.[24] Mercury, Apollo, and the Muses made frequent appearances on the school stage at that time of year to give prizes and to pass on congratulations and words of instruction to students for the coming school year.[25]

Shrovetide plays (*Bacchanalia*) focused on the virtue of temperance and moderation. The approaching period of Lent also called for themes of abstinence and moderation to be presented on stage.[26] While in the days before Lent it was the class of poetry students who performed allegorical plays about the duties and obligations of a member of a community,[27] the Holy Week dialogues and passion plays were most often the domain of the class of rhetoric.[28] The end of the school year had the richest conceptual framework: communal wisdom and prudence were at the center of the plays. Appropriate role models—of prudent kings and leaders—were selected for the stage, as the general

examinations. Exam results were announced to students privately in the last days of July and the college closed on the Feast of St. Ignatius of Loyola (July 31). On September 1, examination results were officially announced, followed by solemn speeches, dialogues, and prize distribution. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 109. It was for the inauguration of the 1592 school year that *Ambrosiana*, a play by Edmund Campion (1540–81), professor of rhetoric in Prague, was performed in Kalisz. The context of the performance is discussed in my chapter "English Recusants in the Jesuit Theatre of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth," to be published in a volume as part of Brill's Library of the Written Word series (Brill, forthcoming).

24 Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 109.

25 Occasionally, prize-giving was organized at the end of the school year, as for example with a 1690 play from Wilno, *Pietas literata de ambitione, fraude, rebellione triumphans in Arcadio*; playbill discussed in *Dramat staropolski*, 2: part 1, no. 531. The play celebrates the power of wisdom and its triumph over brute force. See Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny*, 34, 45, 217–18, 231, 252, 329–30.

26 In Poland–Lithuania, Jesuits were the promoters of the Forty Hours' Devotion in the Lenten period, and therefore Shrovetide plays would often conclude with a call to begin the devotion.

27 In Poland, the class of *humanitas* was called a class of poetry and prepared students for the study of rhetoric. The instruction focused on reading historical works: Cicero's *De officiis*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Horace's *Odes*, Caesar's *De bello gallico*, epigrams by Martial (38/41–102/4 CE), and selected works by Hesiod (fl. *c.*700 BCE) and Gregory of Nazianzus (*c.*330–*c.*389). Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie*, 107.

28 The class of rhetoric focused on the theory and practice of rhetoric in order to achieve *perfecta eloquentia*. The students studied Cicero's works on rhetorical theory: *De oratore* and *Partitiones oratoriae*, a treatise on rhetoric *Ad Herennium*, Cicero's speeches, works by Seneca, Livy, Tacitus, *Iliad*, and epigrams and speeches by Demosthenes. Ibid.

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understanding was that after a yearly period of study the students would go back home and become wise and pious members of their communities.

The idea of a school theater season is most evident in the college playbooks where plays by college authors were written down, rather than those imported from other colleges. However, where possible, playbook information has to be supplemented with information from the playbills and from the *Litterae annuae* (yearly reports on the progress of the college), since plays that were "borrowed" from other colleges would only be mentioned in the regular reports sent from each country to the main provincial archive in Rome.[29] A very early example of a Jesuit school theater season can be found in a playbook from the college of Kalisz in Greater Poland (Collegium Karnkovianum) in the so-called Pawlikowski Codex (1584–1703).[30] It is one of three surviving playbooks from the second half of the sixteenth century, and therefore of exceptional value to historians of theater.[31]

The Pawlikowski playbook gives a glimpse of what a typical school theater season was like as it copies playtexts or play titles produced in the college in the order of the school year (with minor deviations from the established order). Interestingly, some of the play titles contain a note, "you will find this play in the book of comedies," which suggests there was another book of plays in the college.[32] The Pawlikowski Codex lists plays for the inauguration of the

29 The Polish province sent its *Litterae annuae* to Rome from 1581: Polonica *w Archiwum Rzymskim Towarzystwa Jezusowego*, vol. 1: *Polonia*, ed. Andrzej Paweł Bieś et al. (Cracow: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2002), 1. This is the case with Campion's play *Ambrosiana*, performed in Kalisz in 1592 and mentioned in the *Litterae annuae*, of which there is no sign in the surviving college playbook, MS Ossol., Bibl. Pawlikowskich no. 204 from roughly the same period.

30 MS Ossolineum Library, Bibl. Pawlikowskich no. 204. The codex lists full-text plays, speeches, and intermedia of the Kalisz Jesuit school theater from 1584 to 1703. The contents of the manuscript can be found in Ludwik Bernacki, "Dwa najstarsze jezuickie intermedia szkolne," *Pamiętnik literacki* 2 (1903): 101–14, and *Bibliografia literatury polskiej: Nowy Korbut*, vol. 1: *Piśmiennictwo staropolskie*, part 1, *Hasła ogólne i anonimowe*, ed. Roman Pollak, no. 11 (Warsaw: IBL, 1963), 206–7.

31 The only other two late sixteenth-century playbooks from Poland–Lithuania are: MS Ossolineum Library 1137 (the so-called *Pętkowski Codex*), which contains plays and dialogues in Greek and Latin written by Kasper Pętkowski (Gaspar Pentkovius) (1554–1612) from the Wilno Academy, and MS Uppsala Library R 380 (the so-called *Codex Upsaliensis*), containing plays from the Poznań Jesuit college.

32 MS Ossol., Bibl. Pawlikowskich no. 204, fol. 107r: "Hos in libro comediarum invenies." Under the year 1588, on fol. 106v of the same MS, there is a note next to the title of *Philoplutus comoedia*: "quae est in libro comediarum." Thus, it can be concluded that Kalisz had at least two playbooks at the time, one of which is perhaps yet to be discovered.

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school year and prize-giving (*renovatio autumni*);[33] numerous plays and dialogues for the Feast of St. Catherine of Alexandria (287–305), the patron saint of Jesuit students;[34] Christmas tide plays (including Christmas Day and the Feast of the Holy Innocents on December 28);[35] plays for the beginning of the spring term (*verna renovatio*);[36] plays for Shrovetide;[37] plays for the Holy Week; plays for the beginning of the summer term (*renovatio aestiva*);[38] vernacular plays for the Feast of the Corpus Christi (including plays for the Corpus Christi octave);[39] and plays for the Feast of St. Ignatius of Loyola, which concluded the school year (July 31).[40] Each of these plays highlights a moral stance, a virtue,

33 *Dialogus, in renovatione prima studiorum*, Calissii, *anno Domini 1584 tempore autumni facta, exhibitus*, MS Pawl. 204, fol. 1–22; *In renovatione autumni tempore facta anno (15)85. Mercurius pro distribuendis praemiis etc.* (*praesesserunt carmina*), fol. 29–30. *In autumno* [1588] *Philoplutus comoedia* [...] *quae est in libro comoediarum*, fol. 106–7 (notes). *In autumno* [1590] *Tragicomoedia Philocarchangelus. Hos in libro comaediarum invenies*, fol. 106–7 (notes), *Anno Domini tragoedia Juditae in autumn fuit exhibita*, fol. 106–7 (notes).

34 *Dialogus in festo S. Catharinae exhibitus anno Domini 1584*, fol. 30–36; *Dialogus de vera Christianorum philosophia in festo sanctae Catharinae exhibitus anno Domini 1586*, fol. 37–56.

35 *Dialogus in Natali Domini habitus anno Domini 1586*, fol. 56–65.

36 *Mopsi adolescentis de vitae genere in dialogum redacta deliberatio* (*in verna renovatione studiorum a.D. 1585*), including *Carmen ante dialogum recitatum, gratiarum actione post dialogum*, fol. 29–30. *Verna renovatione A.D. 1590 comoedia Diogenes*, fol. 106–7 (a note).

37 *Dialogus Ergastus seu modesti adolescentis in Bach. Idea*, fol. 108–14. *Dolus doloris comes seu improvisa Mahometis supreme Tartarorum ducis eadem, quam fratri intentaveramt poena, celsio* [...] *infra ferias Bacchanaliorum exhibita*, fol. 213–21, includes *intermedium cantus*: *De licentia juventutis*, a choir and epilogue in Polish.

38 *Renovatione aestiva exhibitus est dialogus tempori serviens, anno Domini 1588*, fol. 106–7 (notes).

39 *Anno 1608 Dominico die infra octavam Corporis Christi datus est in templo dialogus polonus de puero a patre Iudaeo in fornacem ardentem ob sumptum Venerabile Sacramentum coniecto*, fol. 115 (a note). *Anno 1609 Dominico die infra octavam Corporis Christi exhibitus est sequens dialogus in templo nostro horis praemeridianis. Viator: Dialogus de ligno vitae* [in Polish], fol. 117–26. Some of the early seventeenth-century plays, including *Viator: Dialogus de ligno vitae* (Kalisz, 1609) have been edited by Jan Okoń in *Dramaty eucharystyczne jezuitów: XVII wiek* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1992). On the tradition of Corpus Christi plays in Poland, see Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny*, 80–107, *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 2 (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1975), Okoń, "Les processions baroques de la fête: Dieu comme exemple de spectacles des rues," in *La commedia dell'arte, le théâtre forain et les spectacles de plein air en Europe XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Irène Mamczarz et al. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 217–30, and Andrzej Dąbrówka, "Anything but a Game: Corpus Christi in Poland," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi novae* 7 (2002): 245–70.

40 *Terminus anni literarii principiis S. Ignatii coronatus seu Heroica ab Ignatio saeculi conculcatio in scenam data ad decursum anni literarii 1699 a rhetoribus Karnkoviani Collegii*, fol. 135–41.

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or an attitude the Jesuits thought necessary to pass on to their students. For example, a prize-giving play from Kalisz features Mercury, god of eloquence and thus of poetry, as well as an ancient patron of communication. He is the one who brings good news to the students regarding their promotion to the next class and asks them to be persistent in their studies. The group of plays and dialogues dedicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria celebrates her as the person who denounced the worship of false gods and effected numerous conversions. The Jesuits chose her as the patron saint in their apostolic work in the challenging environment of multireligious Poland–Lithuania, and *Litterae annuae* regularly note the number of converts who went through the college of Kalisz. The Pawlikowski Codex clearly breaks into two parts, the second one beginning around 1608, when extremely long and elaborate plays start to appear (including night performances, full plays in Polish, and historical plays on Polish saints and rulers).[41] However, this is exactly the point where information on Kalisz school theater is superseded by that contained in the playbills, which, despite their limitations in other respects, expand the context in which Jesuit school drama can be analyzed.

The Playbills—A Forgotten Treasure

School theater playbills constitute part of the fascinating and largely forgotten heritage of early modern Poland–Lithuania. As dramatic records, they are important documents of early modern cultural life. The playbills' content and structure suggest they were employed in early modern literary culture to influence student actors and audiences—either by confirming their beliefs and viewpoints or by trying to change their moral, religious, or political convictions and conduct. The wealth of information contained on four pages of a typical Jesuit playbill allows for a close analysis of the topics selected for the stage in a given college at a particular time, and how and to what extent the use of classical sources for drama was balanced by topics and themes in national history.[42]

41 St. Stanisław Kostka plays on fol. 130–32 (1698), fol. 178 (*c.*1704). *Drama de S. Casimiro*, fol. 182–87 (1705).

42 Polish studies of theater playbills include: Wanda Roszkowska, "Uwagi o programowości teatru barokowego w Polsce," 47–79; Władysław Korotaj, "Z problematyki staropolskich programów teatralnych," 81–109; and Tadeusz Bieńkowski, "Na marginesie lektury staropolskich programów teatralnych," in *Wrocławskie spotkania teatralne*, ed. Wanda Roszkowska (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1967), 111–19. The "grammar" of playbills has been discussed by Okoń in *Dramat i teatr szkolny*, 12–79.

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Playbills also inform us about the context of the performance, its patrons, theater groups, and the names of the actors involved.

The earliest playbill from the Polish–Lithuanian province is a 1614 print summarizing a Corpus Christi procession in Wilno.[43] The existence of several playbills produced in the years that followed testifies to their use in the other main colleges of Poland and Lithuania.[44] There are a number of playbills from Kalisz that do not have a corresponding playtext from the Pawlikowski Codex. In fact, playbills from Kalisz are one of the earliest surviving playbills from Poland–Lithuania. In 1623, the Polish king Sigismund III Vasa (1566–1632, r.1587–1632) visited the college of Kalisz and a play was staged on that occasion entitled *Sigismundus I rex Poloniae*—a play about his predecessor, King Sigismund of the Jagiellonian dynasty (1467–1548, r.1506–1548).[45] The staging of the play was clearly an attempt to build an elaborate analogy between the great king of what was later called Poland's Golden Age and the present ruling monarch who, through his mother, the Jagiellonian princess Catherine (1526–83, queen of Sweden 1569–83), was heir to the Jagiellonian throne. The playbill summarizes the play: an allegorical representation of the victory of King Sigismund I at the Battle of Orsha against the Muscovites in 1514. The leader of the Muscovite army Ivan Chelyadnin (d.1514 in Wilno), is punished for his vanity by the Polish king and taken into captivity. In the final scene, the student actors tell King Sigismund III Vasa that his predecessor's personality and the deeds depicted in the play symbolize the present king and his deeds.[46] The Polish playbill of the same play[47] summarizes elaborate scenes of legendary Polish rulers as well as early Polish princes and kings sending their support from the heavens.[48] Both the Latin and Polish synopses of the play show that it was based on an extensive selection of works on the history of Poland–Lithuania and the Grand Duchy of Moscow.[49] This would

43 Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny*, 16. It is not listed in *Dramat staropolski* 2: part 1. The earliest playbill from Wilno in the catalog is *Summarium tragoediae Eustachianae* (1616), listed as no. 509, 419–20.

44 Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny*, 16.

45 *Dramat staropolski* 2: part 1, no. 140 and no. 141., 94–56. There were two playbills printed on the occasion, a Latin and a Polish one; the Polish is more elaborate and detailed.

46 Ibid., 94.

47 *Na szczęśliwy przyjazd Nayiaśnieyszego Zygmunta III, króla polskiego i szwedzkiego, Zygmunt I, król Polski, w kaliskiem kollegium Societatis wystawiony* (Kalisz: A. Gedeliusz, 1623). *Dramat staropolski*, 2: part 1, no. 141, 95–96.

48 Lech sends Verve (Animusz), Boleslaus the Brave sends Stateliness (Stateczność), Boleslaus the Wrymouth sends Courage, *Dramat staropolski*, 2: part 1, 96.

49 Iodocus Ludovicus Decius, *De Sigismundi I temporibus*, Stanisław Sarnicki (Stanislaus Sarnicius), *Annales sive de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum et Lituanorum*. Lib. 7, Maciej

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not have been possible had the professors and students of the college not studied the national history and familiarized themselves with the works of the major historians of Poland–Lithuania: in this case, mainly with the works of Maciej Stryjkowski (*c.*1547–before 1593). It can be concluded that the *Sigismundus I* play from Kalisz, with its clear allegorical line and well-spelled out historical analogy, illustrates an early trend in Polish–Lithuanian school theater for combining classical education with themes in national history.

As a later playbook from the same college shows, the focus on national themes in Kalisz continued well into the eighteenth century.[50] In the plays from this collection, an allegorical figure of Polonia (Poland), dressed as an ancient goddess, Pallas, makes frequent appearances, as well as the legendary Polish rulers, including the country's first legendary ruler, Lech.[51] A play from the 1712/13 school year features the Polish eagle of freedom and members of the Polish nobility being urged by Fortuna not to fall into Morpheus's trap when Mars is approaching.[52] Ancient Polish rulers appear in yet another dialogue from 1712/13, whose playbill can be found in the same manuscript. The main theme of the play is the traps set by ambition and immaturity, and the students are encouraged in a Polish intermedium to be prudent and thoughtful.[53] Next comes a play fragment on the victorious Battle of Khotyn (Chocim) in 1621,[54] which testifies to the interest of the college's Jesuit professors in Polish history.

Historians of Jesuit school theater tend to agree that the Jesuit stage was completely immersed in historical topics.[55] Indeed, upon looking at the playbills

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Stryjkowski, *Kronika polska, litewska*, Alexander Guagninus, *Compendium chronicorum Poloniae*, Paulus Jovius, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, *Dramat staropolski*, 2: part 1, 94, 96.

50 MS Jagiellonian Library 182, the so-called *Jagiellonian Codex IV* from 1711–26. The contents and the authors of plays are discussed by Okoń in "Autorzy tekstów dramatycznych w rękopisie 182 Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej," *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 21 (1971): 105–33.

51 Polonia Pallas in a 1712/13 play, *Sol in agno serenum scientiis*, MS Jagiellonian Library 182, fol. 28r, playbill in MS in fol. 28r–28v. Polonia appears in St. Stanisław Kostka's play (1712/13), *B. Stanislaus Kostka Ganimedes Lechicus*, fol. 51v.

52 *Somnus Timothei retia inducit in Poloniam libertatem aquilae unguibus facile disrumpenda* (1712/13), fol. 97v–98v.

53 *Menstrua major senium ambitionis in immaturo Ratislao Lesci filio* (1712/13), fol. 66v–67, playbill in MS in fol. 67v–74v.

54 *Triumphus Poloniae ad Chocimum*, fol. 95v.

55 Małgorzata Puchowska, "Wątki historyczne na scenie jezuickiej w Kaliszu," in Bigiel, *Jezuici w przedrozbiorowym Kaliszu*, 78–85, Kazimierz Puchowski, "Recepcja dzieł Marcina Kromera w polskich kolegiach jezuickich do 1773 roku," *Studia warmińskie* 26 (1989): 113–20, Puchowski, "*In bello Mars, in pace Apollo*," 479–97.

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from just one source, such as the Academy of Wilno, one is immediately struck by the variety and invention in the use of themes from national history and historical allegories. After the 1683 battle of Vienna, for instance, the Jesuits launched a series of plays to celebrate the victory, some of which were based on King John III Sobieski's (1629–96, r.1674–96) letter to his wife, written on the night after the battle.[56] The bibliographical collection of Jesuit playbills from the Wilno Academy lists numerous plays on the legendary pagan rulers of Lithuania as well as military leaders and local saints.

Republican Ideas and Civic Virtues on Stage

The Jesuit educational system in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Poland–Lithuania fostered civic virtues in their students. Most of the playbills reveal the literary and historical sources used in making the play. In the *dramatis personae* part, they frequently enumerate the allegorical figures who appear on stage. These figures personify the cardinal virtues, passions, and qualities of a person who was to become a responsible member of a "Noble's Republic." Although many school plays were panegyric—especially those staged to mark visits by distinguished guests—the general underlying assumption was that the presence of guests was a good occasion to promote virtuous conduct and set an example to the students who came from the same political class. One of the main tasks of the colleges was

> to train a future public speaker for the country, to educate a politician and a debater who would support the kingdom with his counsel at local parliamentary sessions, in Sejm [the Diet], during various public and special meetings and deliberations, home and abroad, at war and peace.[57]

The culture of disputation in Poland–Lithuania was a direct consequence of a political system based on the concept of freedom and political consent within

56 [Puciłowski, Krzysztof], *Victoria Mariae seu Vienna Austriae* [...] (1686), *Dramat staropolski*, 2: part 1, no. 522, a discussion of Vienna battle plays in the Polish–Lithuanian Jesuit theater by Okoń in *Giovanni Sobieski e il terzo centenario della riscossa di Vienna: Una crociata o una svolta politica*, ed. Richard C. Lewański (Udine: Istituto di Lingue e Letterature dell'Europa Orientale dell'Università di Udine, 1986), 251–67, Kazimierz Puchowski, "Wiktoria wiedeńska (1683) w teatrze jezuickim," *Horyzonty wiary* 13 (1992): 67–80.

57 Jan Bielski, *Widok Królestwa Polskiego* (Poznań, 1763), quoted in Puchowski, "Jezuickie kolegium i konwikt szlachecki," 41. Translation mine. See also Puchowski, "*In bello Mars, in pace Apollo*," 479.

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the equestrian estate. Parliamentary sessions, as well as sessions of local assemblies (*sejmiki*), consisted of a series of speeches. The themes of civic virtues and the model citizen were frequently chosen for speeches and disputes by the students in the class of rhetoric in Jesuit colleges; the same themes were presented on the school theater stage too. The Jesuits presented their students with classical models of perfect rulers, kings, and statesmen. At the same time, they would look for role models among mythological, biblical, and classical (Greek and especially Roman) heroes, as well as heroes and rulers of ancient Poland and Lithuania. For panegyric reasons, when offering praise to a distinguished guest, they would draw an analogy between the guest's accomplishments and a historical character (anti-heroes would be presented in much the same allegorical vein). Thus, in Polish school plays, King Władysław IV Waza (1595–1648, r.1632–48) was presented as the new Alexander or Mars (the names used for the characters in the plays when performed were Alexander Sarmaticus, or Mars Polonus); the fourteenth-century reformer King Kazimierz the Great (1310–70, r.1333–70), who was called the Sarmatian Lycurgus; and Kęstutis (*c*.1297–1382), the pagan grand duke of Lithuania (r.1342–82) who was regarded as a chivalrous warrior, protector of the nation, and guardian of the ancient faith, was called Odysseus and Achilles, representing wisdom and courage.[58] The Jesuit students learned about these historical figures in extensive detail, which in turn helped them become virtuous and responsible citizens while learning about their national history and taking pride in the historical achievements of Poland–Lithuania.[59]

Grandia monumenta, Lublin 1723

An interesting example of a Jesuit play produced in a civic context is *Grandia monumenta religionis Clodoaldi Daniae regis*, which was staged on August 8, 10, and 11, 1726, in the town of Lublin in eastern Poland.[60]

58 Puchowski, "Jezuickie kolegium," 32, 38–40.

59 Dramatic argument was often based on an allegorical interpretation.

60 Title page: "GRANDIA MONUMENTA RELIGIONIS CLODOALDI DANIAE REGIS ET FORTITUDINIS CAROLI MAGNI Per Haeresis & temporis injuriam COLLAPSE ZELO ORTHODOXO ILLUSTRUSSIMORUM & REVERENDISSIMORUM TRIBUNALIS REGNI, COLLEGII SPIRITUALIS JUDICUM Et Fortitudine. ILLUSTRISSIMORUM EXCELLETISSIMORUM AMAENIORIS PURPURAE PROCERUM, RESTAURATA. In Publico Theatro Collegii Anno Domini 1726. Mense Augusto Die 8, 10, 11. Typis Collegii Societatis JESU. BJ 33629–III. Prof. Okoń kindly brought to my attention the playbill of *Grandia monumenta* (Lublin, 1726) and the fascinating interplay of political, cultural, and didactic themes in

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A careful study of the playbill's title and dedicatory pages reveals that the students of the Jesuit college had an extended school year in 1726 so they could participate in a play for the members of the Crown Tribunal—the highest appeal court in the Polish kingdom and one of its most remarkable republican institutions.

The status of the Lublin performance becomes clear once the role of the Crown Tribunal is considered in the political life of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Crown Tribunal was established in 1578 following a parliamentary resolution to exclude members of the noble estate from royal jurisdiction.[61] The tribunal held judicial power in the Republic of Nobles and was separated from the executive power of the king and the legislative power of the parliament. The court's deputies (secular and spiritual) were elected at local parliaments for one year. According to Oswald Balzer (1858–1933), a historian of the Crown Tribunal, its sessions "incited such a vast interest among the nobility that it sometimes exceeded that shown in the sessions of the parliament."[62] The tribunal had been based in the town of Lublin since the early days of the institution. Interestingly, the Crown Tribunal's judges were not expected to have any formal legal training; however, they did have to be prudent, honest, and trustworthy. Much emphasis was placed on their familiarity with the laws, traditions, and customs of the land. All decisions of the Crown Tribunal were made by consensus.

The composition of the Crown Tribunal and its modus operandi were largely based on the virtuous conduct of its members, on their knowledge of the past, and on their virtuous conduct. The deputies were to live a virtuous life, to practice virtue, and to serve the common good of the multi-denominational country. It was to the citizens who shared these political and civic values that the Jesuit students addressed their play based on the story of King Clodoaldus, the Dane.

The front matter of the playbill consists of an elaborate title page and dedication listing the names and titles of thirty-four spiritual and secular Crown Tribunal judges, with special honors paid to Rev. Hieronim Wysocki and Stanisław Potocki, president and marshal of the Crown Tribunal respectively.[63]

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this performance for the members of the Crown Tribunal. The playbill was discussed in a separate chapter in Okoń, *Dramat i teatr*, 140–55. The playbill is listed in *Dramat staropolski*, 2: part 1, no. 183, 137–38.

61 Oswald Balzer, *Geneza trybunału koronnego*, trans. Piotr Woźniak (Warsaw: Muzeum Historii Polski, 2009), 354.

62 Ibid.

63 BJ 33629–III, fol. A2r–B2v.

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The list of the judges' names is followed by a dedication starting with an invocation, "Celsissimi Iudices," signed by "Oratores Collegii Lublinensis Societatis Jesu."[64] It is only after the elaborate dedicatory part that the synopsis of the play is presented to the reader.

The play is a dramatic rendition of the story of a Danish king, Clodoaldus, based on the chronicle of Albert Krantz (*c.*1450–1517), C*hronica regnorum aquilonarium Daniae, Sveciae, et Norvegiae* (Strasbourg, 1546), and on the work of a French Jesuit, Nicolas Caussin (1583–1651).[65] In the play, Clodoaldus, king of the Danes, loses a battle with Charlemagne and signs a peace treaty. The play features legendary characters and fictitious events including a court conspiracy, an attack by pirates at sea, an army rebellion, and a scene reminiscent of the biblical story of Jephthah, whereby a Clodoaldus, the father, is about to fulfill a rash vow to the pagan god Irminsul by sacrificing one of his sons. Clodoaldus undergoes a religious conversion, and his sight is restored as a result of his spiritual enlightenment. Despite the twists of the plot, the play's main theme stands clear: the fall of heresy and injustice and the restoration of faith, justice, and communal wisdom.

What makes the performance stand out in the series of Jesuit allegorical plays is its political and civic performance context. Since the playbill contains a dedication to the members of the Crown Tribunal, it is worth looking at the ways Jesuit educators addressed the deputies of the highest court of the Polish nobility. The entire speech is based on the principle of paradox and employs legal as well as theological jargon.[66] In the opening lines, Lublin rhetoricians admit that the "theatrical Pallas" is guilty of a crime. Pallas, the ancient goddess of wisdom, courage, law, and justice, as well as the arts, is evoked to link law and legal proceedings with the art of the theater. "What is her offense?"—ask the Jesuit rhetoricians. They answer that nearly two generations have passed, and neither Comus (the comic actor) nor Tragedus (the tragic actor) has made their appearance on the stage to praise the Polish Areopagus. The rhetoricians consider this fact an offense and a sin of neglect, since they believe "Sarmatian Justinians" deserve the highest praise in theater as the principal guardians of the country's common good. The argument is carried on in the form of the legal speech of the defense and concludes by stating that it is right and just to use theatrical means to help recover those who tend to the country's good. "Theatrical Pallas" is portrayed in the speech as a shrewd, if somewhat procrastinating, companion of

64 The dedicatory speech is on fol. B2r–B2v.

65 Albert Krantz, *Chronica regnorum aquilonarium Daniae, Sveciae, et Norvegiae* (Strasbourg, 1546), Nicolas Coussin, S.J., *De symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia*.

66 Translation from Latin by Dr. Katarzyna Gara.

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the deputies. The Crown Tribunal deputies who are present at the performance are invited to ponder the effects of idolatry represented in the story of Clodoaldus and the blessings of the true faith (represented in the play by Charlemagne).

Just as the dedication written by the Jesuits extolled the ancient Sarmatian legal tradition upon which the Polish Commonwealth and its principal legal institutions was built, so the play itself revolved around the model of the Christian prince, virtuous statesmen, and the defeat of heresy. The play, its synopsis, and the Crown Tribunal itself belong to the same cultural space in which civic values and virtues were defined, discussed, and promoted. The playbill attests to the way in which theater interacted in form and content with civic institutions. The 1726 Lublin performance of *Grandia monumenta* and the Crown Tribunal session held in the town at the same time can be considered as participating in the same world, interacting, referring to, and complementing each other. They stand as parallel expressions of the same ideas and, what is more, they engage in a dialogue in which their creators drew from viewers' experience and knowledge about the common good from other fields.

Conclusion

Despite their strong didactic and panegyric twist, the playbills document the fact that the Jesuit school theater of the Polish–Lithuanian province had a distinctive role in shaping the models of virtuous citizenry in Poland–Lithuania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The cardinal virtues of prudence, courage, justice, and temperance were to be learned and practiced through drama to secure the divine gift of freedom for the nobility. In other words, the play helped the nobility develop national pride and strengthened their sense of responsibility and solidarity.

It was through drama that the civic virtues were taught to students of Jesuit colleges in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The interest of the Polish–Lithuanian Jesuits in teaching history and in the production of school plays based on historical sources suggests they attempted to tune their model of education to the needs of a country which cherished classical republican ideas and whose political thinkers constantly discussed the nature and goals of political community, the arrangement of its political institutions, and the roles and duties of its citizens and rulers.

The introductory part of a typical playbill from the Polish and Lithuanian province includes an anti-prologue (*antiprologus*, *archiprologus*, *protoprologus*), which came before the prologue proper and presented a symbolic interpretation of the main character and the argument of the play. Interestingly, the

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antiprologus was often based on a symbolic interpretation of the coat of arms of the main addressee of the play and the person praised. As the historian Kazimierz Puchowski notes in his research on the seventeenth-century Polish Jesuit treatises on rhetoric, the professors of rhetoric, Jan Kwiatkiewicz (1629–1703), Bogumił Teofil Rutka (1622–1700), and Albert Ines (1619–58), put great emphasis on the use of the coat of arms in the study and practice of rhetoric, since their origins could be traced back to moments of bravery and military accomplishments in the service of the country. Thus, each coat of arms was a token of virtuous conduct of the first generation of a noble family and therefore deserved to be celebrated to promote virtuous conduct among the young members of the nobility.[67] The history and symbolic imagery of the noblemen's coats of arms were used in the dramatic argument, and they provided the narrative structure to school dialogues and short allegorical scenes. In fact, their widespread use in the Jesuit school theater of Poland–Lithuania marks the moment when the Jesuit educational aim, *docta et eloquens pietas*, met the expectations of the students and their parents who belonged to the politically dominant equestrian estate and cherished the idea of an elective monarchy.

The predilection for heraldic symbols, the insistence on the teaching of the cardinal virtues, and setting role models more than met the educational ideal established by early Jesuits. In Poland–Lithuania, a political nation which cherished liberty, government by consent, and self-reliance, instruction in the virtues had political as well as religious roots and consequences. As the Latinist and historian Jerzy Axer has stated, the Latin school drama in Poland–Lithuania was a unifying element for the political nation of the nobility; it was instrumental in safeguarding some of the common principles and virtues that kept Polish and Lithuanian nobles together.[68]

In 1648, Łukasz Opaliński (1612–66), one of the most prominent political writers in seventeenth-century Poland and marshal of the Polish diet, responded to an opinion expressed by a Scot, James Barclay,[69] which he considered unfair:

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67 Puchowski, "Jezuickie kolegium," 32–33.

68 Axer, "Polski teatr jezuicki jako teatr polityczny," 14, 21; see also, Axer, "Teatralne echa klęski pod Cecorą," *Pamiętnik teatralny* (1974): 71–82; "*De vita aulica dialogus*—Jezuicka przypowieść o służbie bożej i służbie królewskiej," *Meander* (1974): 179–86; Robert Aleksander Maryks, "'De vita aulica dialogus': L'inedito testo teatrale gesuitico del Codice di Uppsala R 380," *AHSI* 72 (2003): 323–404.

69 Barclay wrote that Poles "abhorre the very name, not only of slavery, but of obedience to a just and lawful Scepter. Their King by force of armes is compelled to observe their country lawes. The Nobility have bestowed upon themselves most mischievous prerogatives, by which they may safely abuse and hunt each other; because the King hath not Power

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> It is true that we abhor slavery [...] and we love freedom. We conduct matters of state and take responsibility for our country not out of pressure or by orders, we do it because we enjoy and cherish our freedom. We do not know informers or spies—the kind of people invented to make the rest unhappy, we do not know severe punishment, prison, exile, or death without a cause—all this is unknown to us and we abhor it because ours is a free country and we have been blessed by God with freedom.[70]

This is the attitude that the Latin school drama of the Jesuits in Poland–Lithuania had to take into consideration when instructing their students.[71] The cardinal virtues of prudence, courage, justice, and temperance were to be learned and practiced through drama to secure the divine gift of freedom for the nobility. The Jesuits arrived in a country where public disputations were at the heart of social and political life, whose most numerous estate adopted the rule of consent on all levels of local and national government. The practice of drama in Jesuit colleges adapted to the fashion of disputation among the Polish and Lithuanian nobility, as well as giving a new creative impulse for eloquence paired with virtue to enter the public sphere. In so doing, it helped members of the nobility develop a sense of responsibility, solidarity, and pride in their country's history.

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enough to punish their offences in that kinde." John Barclay, *Icon animorum or the Mirror of Minds*, trans. Thomas May (1631), ed. Mark Riley (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).

70 [Luca Opalinius], *Polonia defensa contra Ioan. Barclaium: Vbi, occasione ista, de regno genteque Polona multa narrantur, hactenus litteris non tradita* (1648), in *Dla dobra Rzeczypospolitej: Antologia myśli państwowej*, ed. Krzysztof Budziło et al. (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1996), 88. Translation mine.

71 The cumulative number of playbills from those three congregations constitute a third of the Jesuit playbills from Poland–Lithuania.

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CHAPTER 4

"Ask the Jesuits to Send Verses from Rome": The Society's Networks and the European Dissemination of Devotional Music

Daniele V. Filippi

1581: Vienna, Rome—A Composer, a Young Jesuit, and the Superior General[1]

In the summer of 1581, Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), the chapel-master of Emperor Rudolf II (r.1576–1612) of Habsburg, published his first book of spiritual madrigals (*Il primo libro de' madrigali spirituali a cinque voci*) in Venice. He dedicated it to the newly elected superior general of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), and in the dedicatory letter—printed, as was customary, at the beginning of each partbook—he explained why. "When the news came that Your Reverend Fatherhood had been elected with broad consensus Superior-General of your most holy order, it seemed to me, that, in the general joy of the good, I could show my satisfaction by sending you some madrigals set to music, which I had just finished."[2] After this, Monte specifies that he would not have dared to present his *madrigali* to Acquaviva "if they had not been spiritual and pious" (the spiritual subgenre of the madrigal was still young, and the master genre's secular connotation made this prudent annotation necessary). It is in the last part of the dedication, however, that Monte provides some crucial information: he felt "almost obliged" to dedicate the book to Acquaviva because the texts of the madrigals had been sent to him by a member of the Society, Father Lorenzo Cottemanno, who "once was among my pupils, during his service in the chapel of his Imperial Majesty Maximilian II of happy memory."

1 In this essay, I expand—from the perspective of Jesuit studies and for an interdisciplinary readership—on some of the information contained in an earlier musicological article, complementing it with new findings and new reflections: see my "Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies: Philippe de Monte's First Book of Spiritual Madrigals (1581)," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3, no. 2 (2011): 208–34. For a more technical discussion of Monte's spiritual madrigals, see also my study in *Companion to Music in Rudolfine Prague*, ed. Christian Thomas Leitmeir and Erika S. Honisch (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

2 For the whole text and translation, see Filippi, "Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies," 211.

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What do we know about the obscure Lorenzo Cottemanno? The unlikely Italianized version of a clearly non-Italian name used by Monte has caused, until recently, some confusion in the musicological literature. In an article of 2011, I tried to sum up the available information and, on the basis of archival documents brought to light by other scholars, I suggested that his family name was probably Coteman (as we read in a document of 1575), and he must have come from what I then described as a "Germanophone" area: he had been a choirboy in the imperial chapel in the early 1570s and, shortly after his voice changed, he left Vienna (1576).[3] How, where, and when he joined the Society was by no means clear. Furthermore, I could only speculate about his whereabouts in 1581: based on some characteristics of the texts he sent to Monte, and in general on his access to Italian spiritual poetry, I suggested Rome or Tuscany. In 2013, however, I was able to retrieve information about him from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu: from a catalog of the Roman province of 1579 (MS ARSI, Rom. 93, Catalogi breves et triennales 1571–97, fol. 47r) we learn that Laurentius Cotemannus (Laurent Coteman?)[4] was from Liège (the hometown of many other members of the imperial chapel in the mid-sixteenth century);[5] that in 1579 he was twenty-two (so he must have been born in 1557); that he was in good shape ("valde robustus"); that he had entered the Society in 1577; and that he had spent one year studying *litterae humaniores*. Even though this is the only record I have found about him, and several details of the chronology deserve further investigation,[6] we now know for sure that after leaving Vienna Coteman had entered the Society of Jesus, and that in the late 1570s he was in the Roman province. In all likelihood, then, he sent the texts to Monte from Italy, probably from Rome, sometime between the late 1570s and the first months of 1581. Having expanded on the no-longer-so-elusive Coteman, and before adding a few reflections about the genesis of the book, I will now focus briefly on the madrigals themselves: what kinds of texts did Coteman send to his former teacher and music director?

The texts (see table 4.1) consist of fifteen sonnets, which Monte set in five-voice polyphony, with a characteristic balance of austere counterpoint and

3 Ibid., 212–13.

4 This is the form suggested by musicologist Bénédicte Even-Lassmann, who did not know this document but conjectured that he must be from Liège, based on the surname alone: see Bénédicte Even-Lassmann, *Les musiciens liégeois au service des Habsbourg d'Autriche au XVIème siècle* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2006), 85.

5 Ibid.

6 For instance, contrary to what I wrote in 2011 (see Filippi, "Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies," 212), I now think that Coteman was not yet a priest in 1581, and that he was labelled "P[adre]" (father) by Monte in the generic sense of "member of the Society."

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madrigalian imaginativeness. They deal with a broad spectrum of spiritual subjects, including, if I may quote my own words, "the opposition between carnal and spiritual senses, the travails of this world and the importance of divine grace, the aspiration to heaven [...], the battle of the soul, the struggle between desire and reason,"[7] as well as, interestingly, the connections between mystical and musical experiences. If we turn to the authors of the texts, what we find is somewhat surprising: the only identified authors, responsible for two-thirds of the sonnets in the collection (the other third remain unattributed), are two women poets, Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati and Vittoria Colonna. This deserves a brief, twofold digression.

TABLE 4.1 *Philippe de Monte*, Il primo libro de' madrigali spirituali a cinque voci, *1581: poetic texts*

Incipit	Author of the text
1. *Se gli occhi innalzo a rimirar talora*	Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati[a]
2. *L'alto consiglio, allor ch'elegger volse*	Vittoria Colonna[b]
3. *Mentre io sciolto correa da me lontano*	
4. *Un foco sol la Donna nostra accese*	Vittoria Colonna
5. *Signor, chi n'esporrà gli alti tuoi modi*	
6. *Quando il turbato mar s'alza e circonda*	Vittoria Colonna
7. *Su l'alte eterne ruote il pie' fermasti*	Vittoria Colonna
8. *Se 'l breve suon che sol quest'aer frale*	Vittoria Colonna
9. *Fido pensier, se intrar non puoi sovente*	Vittoria Colonna
10. *Puri innocenti, il vostro invitto e forte*	Vittoria Colonna
11. *Vorrei l'orecchia aver qui chiusa e sorda*	Vittoria Colonna
12. *Ben che da dotta man toccata sia*	
13. *Oggi, Signor, non con molt'oro ed ostro*	
14. *Or che non più di te né d'altro calmi*	
15. *Quand'io scorgo i larvati basilischi*	

a A modern edition of this sonnet is available in Daniele Ponchiroli (ed.), *Lirici del Cinquecento*, 2nd ed. (Turin: UTET, 1968), 400, and Victoria Kirkham, ed., *Laura Battiferra and Her Literary Circle: An Anthology* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 234.
b Modern edition of all these texts by Colonna in Vittoria Colonna, *Rime*, ed. Alan Bullock, Scrittori d'Italia (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1982).

7 Ibid., 221–22.

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Laura Battiferri (1523–89), author of the opening sonnet in Monte's book (*Se gli occhi innalzo a rimirar talora*), was a highly educated woman who lived in Urbino, Rome, and Florence, and was in close contact with some of the most remarkable men (and women) of letters of the time, from Annibale Caro (1507–66) to Benedetto Varchi (1503–65).[8] After the death of her first husband (a musician at the court of Guidobaldo II della Rovere [1514–74]), she married the sculptor and architect Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511–92) in 1550. Her early works were essentially in the vein of contemporary Petrarchism and Bembism, but she also showed a fine sensibility for religious themes. In the mid-1560s, she converted to a more ascetic Christian life, and from the early 1570s, together with her husband, she associated with Florentine and Roman Jesuits. She corresponded with Acquaviva, and after his election wrote a sonnet for him; some of her other sonnets praised the Society. In the 1580s, the Ammannati couple contributed financially to the construction of the Jesuit college in Florence and the extension of the Church of San Giovannino: Bartolomeo, moreover, designed and supervised the whole project.[9] After Laura's death, Acquaviva promised Bartolomeo that the Society would take care of the publication of his wife's *rime spirituali*, but for unknown reasons this did not happen, and the manuscript remained forgotten at the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome until the recent rediscovery by the Italianist Victoria Kirkham.

Vittoria Colonna (1490–1547), marchioness of Pescara, is probably one of the most intriguing characters of sixteenth-century Italy, a typical representative, as Italianist Giorgio Patrizi has written, of the "knot of culture, power, and religion" that held together the lives of so many Renaissance intellectuals.[10] Recent and less recent scholarship has underscored her connections with borderline Catholic reformers and even some future "heretics"; in the 1530s and early 1540s, she associated with some of the most notable players in the diverse arena of church reform, from Juan de Valdés (*c.*1500–41) to Reginald Pole (1500–58), and from

8 See Laura Montanari, "Le rime edite e inedite di Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati," *Italianistica: Rivista di letteratura italiana* 35, no. 3 (2005): 11–27; Victoria Kirkham, ed., *Laura Battiferra and Her Literary Circle: An Anthology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

9 See Pietro Pirri, "L'architetto Bartolomeo Ammannati e i Gesuiti," *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu* 12 (1943): 5–57. According to Pirri, an obituary for Bartolomeo Ammannati is included in Antonio Possevino's famous *Bibliotheca selecta*.

10 My translation from Giorgio Patrizi, "Colonna, Vittoria," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1982), 27:448–57, online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vittoria-colonna_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. On Colonna, see also Abigail Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Maria Forcellino, *Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e gli "spirituali": Religiosità e vita artistica a Roma negli anni quaranta* (Rome: Viella, 2009).

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Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542) to Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564/65). In light of this, it is hardly surprising that Colonna, who in those years had strenuously defended the newly founded Capuchins from their influential Roman opponents, also established connections with the members of another promising group of committed religious men: in the late 1530s, she was in touch with Ignatius of Loyola (*c.*1491–1556) and some of his first companions. In Ferrara, she met Claude le Jay (1504–52) and Simão Rodrigues (1510–79), with whom she shared the dream of traveling to the Holy Land.[11] Pending further research, these early contacts with the nascent Society may help explain the persistent circulation of her poetry in Jesuit environments (even when her popularity had begun to decline), attested by the fact that Coteman sent de Monte some of her sonnets—something which modern scholarship, to my knowledge, has not yet sufficiently explored.

In all, Monte set sixteen of Colonna's sonnets in his books of spiritual madrigals (eight in the first book of 1581 that we are discussing here, a block of five consecutive pieces in the first book for six voices of 1583, and three in the second book for six and seven voices of 1589). He was one of the very few sixteenth-century composers to set a substantial number of texts by Colonna.[12] As we have seen, we know that the input for Monte's first and most substantial experiment with Colonna's texts came from his Jesuit acquaintance: it seems likely that his later settings of Colonna's spiritual sonnets may also derive from further contacts with members of the Society. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that one of Colonna's sonnets set by Monte in 1583, *Vergine pura, che dai raggi ardenti*, was to appear in a slightly later collection of Italian songs (laude), meant as a teaching aid for the schools of Christian doctrine run by the Jesuits in Genoa, *Lodi devote per uso della dottrina christiana* (Genoa: G. Bartoli, 1589).[13] Similarly, Gabriele Fiamma's (1533–85) *Son questi i chiari lumi*, which

11 John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 34. See also Ignatius of Loyola, *Letters to Women*, ed. Hugo Rahner (Freiburg: Nelson, 1960), index.

12 See Emil Vogel, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, ed. Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori, 3 vols. (Pomezia: Staderini, 1977), index; Katherine Susan Powers, "The Spiritual Madrigal in Counter-Reformation Italy: Definition, Use, and Style" (PhD diss., University of California, 1997); Franca Trinchieri Camiz, "Music Settings to Poems by Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna," in *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*, ed. Katherine A. McIver (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 377–88; Filippi, "Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies."

13 Giancarlo Rostirolla, Danilo Zardin, and Oscar Mischiati, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento: Poesie e canti devozionali nell'Italia della Controriforma*, ed. Giuseppe Filippi et al. (Rome: IBIMUS, 2001), 398. Only the text was printed in the booklet (a copy of which is

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Monte set in the same book of 1583, had been included in another collection of catechetical songs issued by the Jesuits, this time in Turin: *Lode e canzoni spirituali* [...] *per cantar insieme con la dottrina christiana* (Turin: Appresso gli heredi Bevilacqua, 1579).[14]

Let us summarize the sequence of events which brought about the publication of Monte's first book of 1581: Coteman sent to the composer some spiritual poems in Italian to be set as polyphonic madrigals; Monte set the texts to music; after Acquaviva's election (February 19, 1581), Monte decided to dedicate the book to him; in June 1581, he penned the dedicatory letter (dated June 10) and published the book with the Venetian firm of Angelo Gardano. Many questions remain unanswered: did Monte request the texts, or did Coteman spontaneously send them? Or rather, did anybody else in Coteman's Jesuit entourage suggest to him that he should send the texts to Monte? Furthermore, how many texts did Coteman send? Did Monte choose these fifteen sonnets among a larger selection? At present, we cannot ascertain whether the whole enterprise started essentially as an outcome of the personal relationship between Monte and Coteman, or as a more deliberate, planned operation. In any case, the dedication to Acquaviva made public the connection of the book with the Society: Monte asked the prelate "to accept [these madrigals] gladly, and as [his] own property." The relevance of all this becomes fully apparent when we realize that, as I have discussed in detail elsewhere,[15] the choice of publishing an entire book of spiritual madrigals was a pioneering one at this time: Monte was one of the first composers to publish such a book, and one of the very few to cultivate the spiritual subgenre of the madrigal north of the Alps.

Another passage in Monte's dedicatory letter to Acquaviva (whose tone and content might also have been inspired by a third person: Coteman?) explicitly underscores the potential advantages of this enterprise in light of the Society's mission: "If our music could do what is said of the ancient, [these spiritual madrigals] would be useful to the purpose pursued by your society for the benefit of the whole world and the glory of God."[16] Whatever the original inspiration

preserved at the British Library), in the fashion of the so-called "cantasi come": a method for singing a spiritual text to a well-known tune, which could be a secular song, another spiritual song, or an all-purpose melodic formula.

14 Rostirolla, Zardin, and Mischiati, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento*, 352; a copy is preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan.

15 Filippi, "Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies," 208–10.

16 "Sì che se la nostra musica potesse quello che dicono de gli antichi, non sariano forsi se non utili a quel fine per il quale la vostra religione si adopera continuamente con tanto beneficio di tutto il mondo e gloria di Dio." Notice, in the final clause, the echo of the Jesuit motto "Ad maiorem Dei gloriam."

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behind this project, its public repercussions are thus obvious, and it seems fully coherent with the broader missionary strategies of the Society (more on this in the conclusion).

1582: Vienna, Munich—"The Appropriate Method Is to Ask the Jesuits"

An example of these public repercussions (where "public" clearly does not refer here to any mass audience, but rather to the sophisticated elites who populated European courts) can be seen in two documents dating from the following year, 1582. Ludwig Haberstock, a former alto in the Wittelsbach court chapel in Munich, was now Duke Wilhelm V's (r.1579–97) agent at the Habsburg court in Vienna.[17] He must have heard Monte's madrigals performed there, and have been informed about the origin of their texts. Impressed by the results, Haberstock, in two letters addressed to his master in the spring of 1582, suggested that the duke's chapel-master, the famous Orlando di Lasso (1532–94), should follow Monte's example:

> [April 24, 1582]
> I hope as well that as soon as Your Princely Lordship will sing or hear [Monte's spiritual madrigals], Herr Orlando [di Lasso] will take the opportunity to ask the Jesuits (who have provided those texts) for similar texts from Italy too, since the Germans have until now shown little interest in them.
>
> [May 29, 1582]
> Should all the other compositional commissions leave your Herr Orlando the leisure to enjoy such things [i.e., the spiritual madrigals], then the appropriate method is to ask the Jesuits to send him such verses from Rome, just as Herr Philippo [de Monte] and others have done before.[18]

17 See Horst Leuchtmann, *Orlando di Lasso*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1976–77); Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit 1532–1594: Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance*, 3 vols., new ed. (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 1999), index.

18 "Ich hoffe auch wann Sy E[uer] f[ürstlich] g[naden] singen oder ainst Hören werden [Montes geistliche Madrigale], Herr Orlando werde hieraus ursach nehmen, bej denen Herren Jhesuiten (von denen dise worth heerkhommen) gleichsfalls anzehallten, daß Sy Ihme, weil sich die Teütschen bisheer wenig darauff geben, dergleichen worth aus italien bekhommen."/"So uerr H[err] Orlando von annderen Ihme anbeuolhnen Compositionen

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As is often the case, information about the reception of Monte's first book is scant: Haberstock's letters, however, attest that the spiritual madrigals were performed and disseminated in Vienna, that the novelty was well received, and, most importantly from the perspective of the present chapter, that the Jesuits (the Jesuits in Rome, to be precise) were now recognized as potential (and even exclusive) providers of texts for spiritual madrigals.[19]

We do not know whether Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria followed Haberstock's suggestion. As a matter of fact, Lasso turned to the spiritual madrigal in the following years, notably in two books printed in the mid-1580s,[20] and then, famously, in his last work of 1594, the *Lagrime di San Pietro* (on the namesake poem by Luigi Tansillo [1510–68]). Lasso's spiritual settings of the 1580s, however, mostly of texts by Petrarch and Gabriele Fiamma, do not betray any explicit connection with the Society; as to the *Lagrime*, in an article of 2007, musicologist Alexander Fisher proposed reading them as a sort of sonic representation of an examination of conscience, resonating with Ignatian themes.[21] Be that as it may, the Haberstock incident confirms the ground-breaking character of Monte's 1581 project, as well as the potential interest—in Catholic courts such as Vienna and Munich, open to the influence of the Jesuits—for settings of Italian texts with spiritual and devotional subjects.

1589: Prague—Setting Canisius's Ode

Monte continued to produce books of spiritual madrigals in the following years, and further connections with the Jesuits repeatedly emerge in his works. His

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so mueßweilig were, dz Er sich mit dergleichen belustigen wollt, were der weeg, dz Er durch mittl der Herrn Jhesuiten Ihme solche verß von Rhom khomen ließ, dann heer Er s Philippo diese unnd anndere, durch dasselbe mittl Zuwegen gebracht" (Leuchtmann, *Orlando di Lasso*, 2:26n17; see also Thorsten Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte* [*1521–1603*]*: Komponist, Kapellmeister, Korrespondent* [Göttingen: Hainholz, 2002], 102).

19 Moreover, the first sentence in the first quote implies that Haberstock expected the duke to be able to access Monte's scores in the near future ("as soon as Your Princely Lordship will sing or hear [Monte's spiritual madrigals]"). Thus, either Haberstock was attaching the score to his letter, or he knew that a copy would have soon reached the duke one way or another.

20 A book for five voices (Nuremberg: Katherina Gerlach, 1585; reprinted in Venice by Angelo Gardano in 1587) and one for four to six voices (Nuremberg: Katherina Gerlach, 1587).

21 See Alexander J. Fisher, "'Per mia particolare devotione': Orlando di Lasso's *Lagrime di San Pietro* and Catholic Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Munich," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132, no. 2 (2007): 167–220.

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Secondo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei et sette voci (1589), dedicated to Archduke Charles II of Austria (r.1564–90), uncle of Monte's employer, Rudolf II, also comprises three Latin-texted compositions. Are we to label them as motets, instead of spiritual madrigals, because of their language? The distinction is probably not too relevant in this case, and, despite the traditional musicological obsession about clearly defined genres, recent scholarship has profitably studied motets and madrigals side by side as sonic vehicles for Christian spirituality.[22] Two of these Latin-texted works require our attention here.

Michael Silies, author of a thorough study of Monte's motets,[23] has hypothesized that *Proh quae tenero vis in amore est* (second part: *En Samsonem pronubus alterum*) may derive, in view of its peculiar characteristics, from a theatrical chorus, possibly within a Jesuit drama.[24] We know that some of Lasso's motets were connected with Jesuit dramas: musicologist Franz Körndle has shown, for instance, that six of Lasso's motets were used as choruses for Stefano Tucci's (1540–97) play *Christus iudex*.[25] The connection seems plausible in this case too, even though we cannot demonstrate it. It should be noted, however, that the mention of Samson, which leads Silies to speculate about possible connections with contemporary Samson-plays (such as the one by Andreas Fabricius, staged by the Jesuits in 1568 for the wedding of Wilhelm of Bavaria), is only incidental: the main subject of the text is the incarnation and nativity of Christ.[26]

We are on firmer ground with *Virgo vetustis edita regibus*, whose Jesuit connection is unmistakable. The text of this Marian composition is taken from Peter Canisius's (1521–97) book *De Maria virgine incomparabili et Dei genitrice sacrosancta* (Ingolstadt, 1577), dedicated to Albrecht V (r.1550–79) of Bavaria.[27] The Marian ode, composed in a sonorous and elaborate neo-Latin, is printed at the conclusion of Canisius's book, after the general index, and thus in an

22 See, for instance, Erika S. Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague, 1580–1612" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2011).

23 Michael Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte* (*1521–1603*) (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009).

24 Ibid., 250–54 and the literature quoted there.

25 Franz Körndle, "Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 479–97.

26 See the full text printed in Piet Nuten, De madrigali spirituali *van Filip de Monte* (*1521–1603*), 3 vols., Verhandelingen van de koninklijke vlaamse academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België—Klasse der schone kunsten 14 (Brussels: Paleis der Academien, 1958), 3:viii–ix.

27 See Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 207.

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emphatic position; titled "Hymnus ad Deiparam Virginem," it is followed by the prayer/motto "Laus Deo, Virginique Matri." Monte set it for seven voices and divided it into seven parts, each setting three stanzas: he omitted the second of the original twenty-two stanzas, probably to achieve this sevenfold symmetry, which has been interpreted as referring to Marian numerology, in line with other contemporary examples.[28]

No other composer, as far as I can ascertain, ever set this text. There is surely no need to remember Canisius's fame as the "second apostle of Germany" (the first being St. Boniface) and his role as a herald of Catholicism in German-speaking lands. Given the availability of innumerable Marian texts, the inclusion of this poem, taken from the second part of Canisius's apologetic *magnum opus* "against new and old errors of sectarians" seems a very deliberate and conspicuous act on the part of Monte. As usual in these cases, it is difficult to discern the expressions of personal convictions from statements imposed by the conformist mechanisms of patronage. Be that as it may, Monte's choice embodies a strong confessional stance, perfectly in line, for that matter, with the tone of his dedication to Charles II, where he praises the House of Habsburg as the "sostentamento della vera religione in questi miseri tempi" (buttress of true religion in these miserable times).[29]

1590: Prague, Munich—Madrigals for St. Michael's

One year later, in 1590, the situation of 1581, when Coteman had sent the texts to Monte, seems to repeat itself, but this time with a different, markedly institutional character. Monte publishes his third book of six-voice spiritual madrigal (*Il terzo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci*, Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1590) and advertises right on the title page the special character of this collection: the madrigals were composed on the occasion of the dedication of the Jesuit

28 See Willem Elders, *Symbolic Scores* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 167; Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 267–68, 572–73.

29 For a transcription of the whole dedication, see Nuten, De madrigali spirituali *van Filip De Monte*, 1:93–94. See also Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 268. In the dedication of his first book of six-voice spiritual madrigals (1583) to Hans Fugger (1531–98), Monte congratulates the latter for having remained "sald[o], fra tante tempeste et naufragii, nella vera et santissima religion Catolica" (staunch, among so many storms and wrecks, in the true and most holy Catholic religion). See the whole dedication in Nuten, De madrigali spirituali *van Filip De Monte*, 1:84–85. Monte himself remained faithful to Catholicism and, late in his life, even became a priest (surely after 1585: see Filippi, "Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies," 224n70).

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church of St. Michael in Munich, sponsored by Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria ("fatti nella dedicazione della Chiesa de' Padri del Gesù in Monaco dedicata a San Michele Arcangelo, dal Serenissimo Duca Guglielmo di Baviera etc.").[30]

This time, it was a certain Father Girolamo Ferricelli who sent the texts to Monte from Munich. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any relevant information about Ferricelli;[31] this is especially frustrating, because Monte states that the texts had been written in part by Ferricelli himself, in part by other Jesuits. The only identified poet is, however, Giovanni Della Casa (1503–56), author of the sonnet *Questa vita mortal*.

St. Michael's Church (Michaelskirche), with its companion college, was the most ambitious architectural project of the Society in Munich, and surely the most conspicuous—and financially burdensome—sign of the duke's endorsement. In 1590, the church was still under construction (the final consecration took place in 1597), but, according to Fisher, masses began to be celebrated there as early as 1591.[32]

Some of the texts seem to be directly related to the occasion (especially no. 1, *Densi nembi d'intorno e fieri venti*, an acrostic sonnet for Duke Wilhelm, and no. 3: *Fondar in vivi sassi i fondamenti*, second part: *Tu sol, Michel, mentre soccinto stai*, addressed to St. Michael). In general, the whole project of the book, as explained in the dedicatory letter, involved a triangular relationship between the Jesuits, the duke, and the composer: in Monte's words, first came the duke's "most magnificent devotion and religion," which led him to sponsor the construction of the new church; this in turn caused Father Ferricelli and his fellow Jesuits to write and collect spiritual verse in praise of Archangel St. Michael and on other related subjects; then, the Jesuits sent the poems to Monte, now in Prague, and he set them to music; finally, Monte felt bound to offer his compositions back to the duke, whose piety (he was called *der Fromme*, "the pious") was matched by his love of music and his generous sponsorship of musicians ("for your love of music and of those who practice it—of whom your royal court is so rich"). Doing this under the form of a printed book, and divulging the whole story in the dedicatory letter, Monte made sure that a relatively

30 The dedicatory letter deserves to be transcribed and translated in its entirety—see the appendix to this chapter.

31 It seems that at least two southern Italian Jesuits living in that period bore this name, and I have not found connections with Munich in the 1580s–90s for any of them: see, for instance, Jan Krajcar, "The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time (1591–1604)," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 31, no. 1 (1965): 90–91.

32 Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 53.

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"local" episode of patronage could circulate, become exemplary, and thus be to the advantage of all the three parties involved. Furthermore, the fact that this was a *music* book, and that the compositions it contained could be brought to life in performance—by professional musicians at a different court, or by skilled amateurs in a Jesuit house—quite literally amplified the resonance of the event.

1603: Capua, Rome—Bellarmine's *Hausmusik*

We would like to know more about Monte's relationship with the Jesuits, but all we have, besides the texts and the dedications, are fragments of contextual evidence, signs of a contiguity which was quite natural in that environment: in 1586, a Jesuit chronicler noted in a manuscript journal that Monte had presented some of his printed motets ("moteta aliqua impressa") to a member of the Clementinum, the Jesuit college in Prague;[33] in the mid-1590s, Monte contributed to a music collection of polyphonic litanies edited by Georg Victorinus (d.1639), *praefectus musicae* at St. Michael's in Munich, and dedicated to the Marian congregations established by the Jesuits in the Upper German province;[34] on a more everyday level, in 1586, Monte had to move out of his house in Prague when it was bought "to house singers from the Jesuit church choir";[35] and, as we learn from a memorial written by the composer in 1588, his housekeeper Maddalena regularly attended Mass and confessed at the Jesuit church.[36]

Similarly, we would like to know more about the Jesuit reception of Monte's music. An interesting document, published in *La Civiltà Cattolica* in 1919 but which has apparently gone unnoticed in recent scholarship about Monte, provides us with a rare glimpse into this subject.[37] In February 1603, Robert Cardinal Bellarmine (1542–1621) wrote from Capua, where he had been appointed archbishop the year before, to one of his correspondents in Rome,

33 Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague," 72, 75.

34 *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Munich, 1596): see Alexander J. Fisher, "Celestial Sirens and Nightingales: Change and Assimilation in the Munich Anthologies of Georg Victorinus," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 14 (2008), http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v14/no1/fisher.html.

35 Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague," 66.

36 Richard Wistreich, "Philippe de Monte: New Autobiographical Documents," *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 295.

37 See [Angelo De Santi], "Il Ven. Card. Roberto Bellarmino e la musica," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 70, no. 3 (1919): 385.

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Giovanni Battista Confalonieri (1561–1648), asking him to send the first book of Monte's six-voice spiritual madrigals (1583), "the first of which is about Mary Magdalene, and begins with *Sparse il bel volto di color di Tiro*." Immediately before this passage, Bellarmine explained that he had rehearsed some of Monte's motets, finding them, however, insipid and graceless ("insipidi e disgraziati") (!). Even more remarkable is what follows in the letter: "Together with it, please get us the third book, since we already have the second one, as well as the first for five voices. If they are not to be found in Rome, you can order them from Venice through any Roman bookseller." The Italian phrasing of the sentence is slightly ambiguous, and it is difficult to tell with absolute certainty whether Bellarmine meant that he already owned the first book for five voices or that he wanted it together with the books for six voices. I am inclined, however, to prefer the first interpretation, based on syntactic nuances and on the fact that copies of Monte's first book (the one dedicated to Acquaviva) must have been sent to the Jesuit headquarters in Rome.[38] In any case, we learn from this document that Bellarmine possessed copies of Monte's motets (and disliked them), of his second book of spiritual madrigals for six and seven voices (1589: the one with Canisius's *Virgo vetustis edita regibus*), and probably of the first book for five voices (1581); and that he wanted to have the first book (1583) and the third for six voices (1590: the one for St. Michael's in Munich).

As other documents show,[39] Bellarmine was an amateur musician, an author of devotional *poesia per musica* and of spiritual *contrafacta*; he had practiced these skills in various Jesuit houses in Rome and Naples, during recreation times. A testimony taken during the beatification process and referring to Bellarmine's tenure as provincial in Naples (1594–97) gives us some details:[40]

> *Quando era nella Compagnia et anche provinciale in Napoli, si delettava molto della musica. Nella ricreation cantava in concerto con altri dei nostri di buona voce; e così anche in Capodimonte nel tempo che si mangiava in terrazza. Egli non aveva buona voce, ma faceva la sua parte con arte, e componeva mottetti su le note, che faceva poi cantare* [...] *Diceva che con quel trattenimento si evitavano le murmurationi et altri difetti della ricreatione.*

38 This is confirmed also by the version of the letter given in Alfred Bernier, "Le zèle du Cardinal Bellarmin pour la beauté du culte," *Gregorianum* 18 (1937): 280–81.

39 See again [De Santi], "Roberto Bellarmino e la musica"; also, Giancarlo Rostirolla, "Laudi e canti religiosi per l'esercizio spirituale della dottrina cristiana al tempo di Roberto Bellarmino," in Zardin, Mischiati, and Rostirolla, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento*, 277.

40 [De Santi], "Roberto Bellarmino e la musica," 378.

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> Throughout his life in the Society, even when he was provincial in Naples, he took much delight in music. During recreation time, he sang in harmony with others of ours with good voices; the same happened in Capodimonte, when we ate on the terrace. He himself did not have a good voice, but he did his part with talent; he even re-texted some songs providing them with Latin words [*literally*: he composed motets on the notes], and then he had them sung [...].[41] He said that thanks to this entertainment one could avoid gossip and other misbehaviors during leisure time.

Bellarmine had probably imported into his new diocese the habits of many Jesuit houses, and set up musical recreations with the music teachers and the students of the local seminary.

Conclusion

In the period during and immediately after the Council of Trent (1545–63), a series of interconnected factors converged to highlight the importance of songs as tools in pastoral practice. One of these factors was the expansion of music printing and publishing, which substantially increased the accessibility of music and created a market for private consumption.[42] This in turn fueled and was fueled by the growth of dilettantism among elites and the middle class: many contemporary treatises on education and good manners, such as, famously, Baldassarre Castiglione's (1478–1529) *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528), recommended the practice of vocal and instrumental music.[43] Old and new genres of vocal music, especially with vernacular texts, attained an unprecedented level of popularity: probably the richest, most complex, and culturally influential tradition is that of the Italian madrigal.[44] Vernacular vocal music loomed, thus, as a sonic space to be

41 My interpretation of this passage (*literally*: he composed motets on the notes) rests also on other documents produced by De Santi, from which we learn that Bellarmine sometimes partially or completely re-texted pre-existent secular songs, according to the time-honored procedures of *contrafactum*, spiritual parody, and the like (see ibid., 376–77).

42 For a concise discussion, see Giulio Ongaro, *Music of the Renaissance* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), Chapter 6, "Music Printing and Publishing in the Renaissance," 173–83. See also Iain Fenlon, "Music, Print, and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *European Music, 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 280–303.

43 See Stefano Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità nobiliare nell'Italia del Rinascimento: Educazione, mentalità, immaginario* (Florence: Olschki, 2003).

44 The literature on the madrigal is immense: for a useful and up-to-date orientation, see Susan Lewis-Hammond, *The Madrigal: A Research and Information Guide* (London: Routledge, 2011).

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Christianized and Catholicized—especially because songs marked practices, identities, and daily habits which were collective, even if not necessarily "public." The usually strong erotic and "lascivious" connotations of the secular repertoire often elicited a negative response from religious leaders. Still, many of these leaders shared a fundamentally favorable notion of music: usually, a combination of a functional conception (music as a neutral vehicle, able to attract and provide delight) and a more optimistic one, heir of a long tradition, which, integrating ideas deriving from classical antiquity, the Bible, patristic and medieval thinking, and the living practice of liturgy, saw music as a gift of God, a sign of the harmony of creation, and a foretaste of heaven.[45] In light of this positive approach to music, it was thus possible to counter the attack with the same weapons, changing the bad words and keeping the good music.[46] The encouraging outcome of several experiments demonstrated that, after all, it was not a losing battle: the most emblematic case was that of Philip Neri's (1515–95) Oratorio in Rome and Naples, whose "laude spirituali" (tuneful settings of strophic songs with devotional subjects, revived from an earlier Florentine tradition) enjoyed a remarkable success from the 1560s on.[47]

In the vast repertoire of devotional music in vernacular which was produced in those decades, we can distinguish at least two categories of songs: those which fulfilled a specific function, and those which, being less functionally characterized, were open to diverse performing options. To the first category belong, for instance, the catechetical songs: used as didactic tools in catechism classes, they conveyed doctrinal contents in an attractive and easily memorizable way. As I have discussed elsewhere, the Jesuits were among the most important developers of this method: starting from a local Spanish tradition, they exported it and made it an international (better still: global) and long-lasting phenomenon.[48]

As for the "less functionally characterized" songs, there was of course a whole range of cultural and musical levels. Among Italian genres, we can contrast the lauda, as a relatively low, easy, and light genre, with the aesthetically

45 See the present writer's *Selva armonica: La musica spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), Chapter 1.2, "Musica e spiritualità cristiana dalle origini al 1600," 17–34; and "Sonic Afterworld: Mapping the Soundscape of Heaven and Hell in Early Modern Cities," in *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918*, ed. Ian D. Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (forthcoming).

46 Sometimes quite literally, as we have just seen apropos of Bellarmine's *contrafacta*.

47 For a recent and comprehensive study of the lauda, see Anne Piéjus, *Musique et dévotion à Rome à la fin de la Renaissance: Les laudes de l'Oratoire* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

48 See Daniele V. Filippi, "A Sound Doctrine: Early Modern Jesuits and the Singing of the Catechism," *Early Music History* 34 (2015): 1–43, with up-to-date literature.

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more ambitious spiritual madrigal. On the one hand, the Jesuits clearly embraced the former genre, promoting the publication of countless booklets of laude, destined primarily for the pupils of the schools of Christian doctrine.[49] On the other, the letter of Bellarmine discussed above shows that Jesuit houses were among the places where the spiritual madrigal was cultivated as pious entertainment: the blend of sophisticated poetry and contrapuntal invention appealed to an educated audience, and provided a valid alternative to a more worldly repertoire. Besides Monte's books, we know of at least another collection of spiritual madrigals which was "the result of patronage by a Jesuit College":[50] Lelio Bertani (1553/54–1612) and Costanzo Antegnati's (1549–1624) *Madrigali spirituali a tre voci*, published in Brescia in 1585 and dedicated to the rector and fellows of the College of Sant'Antonio.[51]

The secular madrigal had a remarkable success abroad, as part of the significant contemporary interest for Italian and Italianate culture: reprints and anthologies issued from Nuremberg to Antwerp (as well as the English appropriation of the genre) attest to this. As to the spiritual subgenre, it did not have a comparable diffusion beyond the Alps. Only a handful of original collections exclusively or prevailingly consisting of spiritual madrigals were published outside Italy before 1599, most of them by Lasso.[52] This observation, however, extrapolated from Katherine Powers's listing of spiritual madrigal books printed *c.*1526–99, should not be given too much importance: for instance, Monte, as we have seen, had his works printed in Venice, and Luca Marenzio's (1553/54–99) book of spiritual madrigals (Rome, 1584) was reissued abroad only after 1599. Moreover, mapping the dissemination of music is never a simple task, and a systematic survey of printed anthologies, manuscript sources, and archival records might change our perception of what now seems a marginal phenomenon. In any case, despite the relatively modest follow-up (which needs to be understood against this problematic background), it is surely significant that one of the most prestigious projects in this field—a project which involved the chapel-master of the emperor, and indirectly the one of the duke of Bavaria—was a fruit of the Society's intensive networking.

As is well known, the missionary initiative of the Tridentine church knew neither cultural, nor social or geographical boundaries, and the Jesuits were often at the forefront. The stories told in these pages spotlight some distinctive

49 See Rostirolla, Zardin, and Mischiati, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento*.

50 Powers, "Spiritual Madrigal in Counter-Reformation Italy," 118.

51 Ibid., 118–25; for further information about the cultivation of the spiritual madrigal in Jesuit houses, see also 100–12.

52 Ibid., appendix B.

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features of their modus operandi. The Society was eminently capable of attracting young talents (as in the case of Coteman) and talking to people from different walks of life, including leading artists such as Bartolomeo Ammannati, musicians such as Philippe de Monte, women poets such as Vittoria Colonna and Laura Battiferri. The example of Colonna and Battiferri also reminds us that in the central decades of the sixteenth century the Society managed to appeal to some of those Italian intellectuals who had inhabited the gray areas of the age of reform and Reformation: as Italianist Abigail Brundin has written of Battiferri, "That such an individual ended her life as a devoted Jesuit patron, leaving her entire estate to the Society of Jesus in her will, suggests that in that Society she found an outlet for a reform-minded, poetically charged spirituality that the previous era of Catholic reform had failed to provide."[53]

Early Jesuits were obviously not the only religious of their time to read poetry, perform vocal music, and understand the potential of vernacular songs as tools for evangelization and (re-)Catholicization. Not many other orders, however, had ready access to such diverse personalities as those we have met in the previous pages. On the other hand, Loyola's disciples knew better than anybody else the importance of addressing both the lower classes and the elites, particularly in confessionally contested Mitteleuropa. Thus, they were eager to handle and experiment with a most diverse range of cultural artifacts: from the simplest catechetical songs—which attracted young and "simple" people, and helped them memorize the contents—to the exquisite combination of Colonna's verse and Monte's polyphony, which could become part of first-rate performances at court or provide a pious pastime in noble and religious houses. On both levels, one of the main goals was to occupy and missionize that sonic space, substituting and obliterating "bad" songs—be they erotic or heretical ("les [chansons] lascives et heretiques, controuvees de Satan," to quote from a famous treatise by the slightly later French Jesuit Michel Coyssard [1547–1623]).[54]

All in all, the study of sixteenth-century devotional songs suggests that Jesuit distinctiveness lay more in a combination of factors than in any individual aspect; it was a matter of improvement, intensification, systematization—of

53 Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna*, 189.

54 Michel Coyssard, *Traicté du profit que toute Personne tire de chanter en la Doctrine Chrestienne, & ailleurs, les Hymnes, & Chansons spirituelles en vulgaire: & du Mal qu'apportent les Lascives, & Heretiques, controuvees de Satan* [Treatise of the profit that everyone derives from singing, in the (classes of) Christian doctrine and elsewhere, hymns and spirituals songs in vernacular; and of the damage produced by the lascivious and heretical (songs) fabricated by Satan], printed at the end of his *Sommaire de la Doctrine chrestienne* [...] *avec les Hymnes & Odes spirituelles* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1608).

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magis, we could say, to use a common catchword of Jesuit parlance.[55] Other orders, such as Philip Neri's Oratorians, pioneered the use of vernacular songs for pastoral purposes, but they lacked an extended network. Other groups and organizations, such as the Colegios de Niños de la Doctrina in Spain, used songs to teach the catechism, but on an essentially local, not global, basis. Early modern Jesuits often took the ideas (and songs) of others and then developed, perfected, adapted, and disseminated them, thanks to an unparalleled international network and a global vision of their calling, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

Appendix: Philippe de Monte, *Il terzo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci*, 1590: dedicatory letter to Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria.[56]

Dovendo uscire in luce questo volume di madrigali messi da me in musica, mi sarebbe paruto di peccar gravemente se l'avessi mandato fuori sotto nome d'altri che di V[ostra] A[ltezza] Serenissima, alla quale di ragion è devuto come suo, per ciò che i versi non solo mi sono stati mandati di costì dal P. Hieronimo Ferricelli napolitano, parte composti da lui, parte da altri Padri della Compagnia del Iesù tanto onorati e favoriti da lei; ma sono anco, si può e dee dire, nati dalla magnificentissima pietà e religione di V[ostra] A[ltezza], l'ha quale n'ha data loro materia nell'edificazione dello splendidissimo Tempio eretto da lei in onore di S. Michele Arcangelo. Sì che quel che io dono a V[ostra] A[ltezza] del mio è poco verso di sé, se ben molto se ella risguarda al grand'amore e ardore con che mi son forzato di accompagnarli di quella grazia che merita ed il suggetto e la leggiadria loro. Onde mi confido che per la solita sua benignità e clementia, e anco per l'amore che ella porta alla Musica e ai professori d'essa, de' quali è sì abondante la sua Real Corte, non li debba in tutto dispiacer il dono, almeno in segno, come dico, della molta osservanza e devozione che porto al nome di V[ostra] A[ltezza] Serenissima, alla quale inchinandomi fo umil riverenza.

Di Venezia, il dì 10 novembre 1590.
Di V[ostra] A[ltezza] Serenissima

55 Latin for "more" or "to a greater degree." On its somewhat controversial use, see Barton Geger, "What *Magis* Really Means and Why It Matters," *Jesuit Higher Education* 1, no. 2 (2012): 16–31.

56 See the facsimile in Nuten, De madrigali spirituali *van Filip De Monte*, 1:100–1. In my transcription, punctuation, accents, and spellings have been integrated and modernized according to standard procedures.

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devotissimo servitore
Filippo de Monte

Since this book of madrigals which I have set to music was ready to be published, it seemed to me that I would have greatly erred if I had issued it under a different name than the one of Your Most Serene Highness. Rightly I owed it to you as your property, not only because the poems were sent to me from there [i.e., from Munich] by Fr. Girolamo Ferricelli (partly composed by him, who is from the Kingdom of Naples, partly by other fathers of the Society of Jesus, whom you honor and support so much); but also because they were born, we may—in fact we must—say, from the most magnificent devotion and religion of Your Highness: you gave them cause to write [these poems] by having built the most splendid temple which you dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. Thus, what I give to Your Highness of my own is not much in itself, but it is much if you consider the great love and fervor with which I have tried to complement [those texts] with the grace they deserve for their subject and their elegance. Therefore I am confident that, for your usual benevolence and mercy, and also for your love of music and of those who practice it—of whom your royal court is so rich—you will not completely dislike this gift, at least as a sign, as I am saying, of my great respect and loyalty towards the name of Your Most Serene Highness, to whom I humbly bow.

From Venice, on the 10th of November, 1590. The most faithful servant of Your Most Serene Highness, Philippe de Monte.

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CHAPTER 5

Priestly Violence, Martyrdom, and Jesuits: The Case of Diego de Alfaro (Paraguay, 1639)

Andrew Redden

> It does not diminish his glory in any way [...] to say that he died of a bullet [while] fighting with a shotgun in his hand, captaining the Indians [for] it is licit, just and holy to kill the one who attacks the innocent, defending him or her when he or she would otherwise be defenseless.[1]

The question of what makes a Jesuit, the *quidditas jesuitica*, is thrown into stark relief by the extraordinary case of Diego de Alfaro (d.1639) and its apologia, written in 1644 by the former provincial of the Paraguayan province, Diego de Boroa (d.1657).[2] Alfaro—superior of the missions of Guairá in the province of Paraguay—took up arms in 1639 and fought alongside his Guarani faithful against *bandeirantes* (slave raiders) from the Portuguese city of São Paulo; in the gunfight with these slavers, Alfaro was killed. Portuguese and Spanish detractors of the Society alike decried the scandal of a priest under arms, yet the Jesuits of the Paraguayan province rallied around their provincial in defending Alfaro's actions as both heroic and virtuous. From their perspective, his actions were necessary, and he was, according to Boroa's apologia, even a martyr for the faith.

Documented cases of fighting Jesuits are, it would seem, extremely rare, and Boroa's letter defending Alfaro's actions is also remarkable in the claims it makes. Yet, the contention of this essay is first that the presence of the Jesuits in frontier missions around the Paraguay and Uruguay rivers was essential to the way events unfolded in the region, the very same events that brought about Alfaro's violent death. Second, it was Alfaro's Jesuit formation and mission that

1 Diego de Boroa, "Apología y defensorio de la gloriosa muerte del P.e Diego de Alfaro, 18 Enero 1644," ARSI, *Paraq. 11*, fol. 263r. This and all other translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own. My thanks are due to Mauro Brunello of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI) for his assistance in the research of various aspects of this essay.

2 Boroa was provincial of Paraguay between 1634 and 1640 after which he once again became rector of the College of Córdoba de Tucumán until 1644. Thus he was provincial of Paraguay when Alfaro was killed, and rector of the College of Córdoba when he wrote the apologia (*Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín Ma. Domínguez [Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2001], 1:495).

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led him to act in the way he did; while third, the essay will argue that the *quidditas jesuitica* was fundamental to the way in which Jesuits (and Boroa in particular) perceived and portrayed these events in order to defend the missions and their populations against their enemies. In order to make this argument, the essay draws primarily on Jesuit sources from the province of Paraguay and, in particular, the above-cited apologia by Boroa, who wrote the letter in 1644 with multilayered intentions. In the first instance, it was a necessary justification of the actions of the Jesuits of the province to their superiors in Rome—in particular, the superior general Muzio Vitelleschi (in office 1615–45) and his successor Vincenzo Carafa (in office 1646–49).[3] Ultimately, the superior general was the one who had to advise and instruct his subordinates on what they should or should not do, especially under such conflictive circumstances, always maintaining the difficult equilibrium between correct moral action based on sound theology and pragmatic politics in a context that could potentially have much wider implications for the work of the Society in those areas controlled by the Spanish and the Portuguese.[4]

Second, the letter was crafted to refute those detractors of the Society who were using the scandal of a Jesuit under arms to their advantage (and to the Society's disadvantage). Boroa more than managed to repudiate the accusations of the Society's enemies, as we shall see below, by drawing on his own highly versatile Jesuit education, the *Ratio studiorum*, which was a program whose aim was, "to develop intellectually curious thinkers who could do more than simply repeat dogma."[5] His apologia exemplifies the success of this

3 The letter was directed to Muzio Vitelleschi who was the superior general until his death (February 9, 1645). According to a note on the back of the copy held in the ARSI, Boroa's letter was replied to on November 30, 1646. As such, the reply would have come from Vincenzo Carafa who was elected superior general on January 7, 1646, or either of the secretaries of the Society: Alexander Gottifredi (in office 1644–46) or Ludovico Bompiani (in office 1646–April 24, 1649) (Johannes B. Goetstouwers, *Synopsis historiae Societatis Iesu* [Leuven: Typis ad Sancti Alphonsi, 1950]), 29–30, 82, 86.

4 Unfortunately, the copy of the reply to Boroa's letter (in Epp. Gen.) that would normally be kept in Rome is not held by the ARSI—I am grateful to Mauro Brunello of the ARSI for verifying this. Further research is necessary to discover if the original letter can be located in the Jesuit collections in the Archivo General de la Nación de Argentina or the regional archives of Córdoba de Tucumán. As yet, I have not been able to locate the reply and so, unfortunately, a consideration of the superior general's response (and thus the *official* Jesuit position) is beyond the scope of this particular essay which will therefore be limited to a consideration of the opinion of the Jesuits of the province of Paraguay, linked to broader currents of (Jesuit) scholarly thought.

5 Benjamin Hill, "Introduction," in *The Philosophy of Francisco Suárez*, ed. Benjamin Hill and Henrik Lagerlund (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 16.

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Jesuitical pedagogical goal by combining a range of genres and sources (contemporary and historical context, historical precedent, scripture, Scholastic and casuistic treatises—a number of those also written by Jesuit intellectuals) in order to construct a discourse that successfully deflected and inverted contemporary anti-Jesuit vitriol. What is more, it turned what could have become a public relations disaster for the Society—the scandal of a priest breaking canon law and bearing arms—into a powerful eulogy for Jesuit action and even a martyrology for Alfaro.

The third goal of the letter was to add an authoritative intellectual argument to the intense and ongoing lobbying by the Society to persuade the Spanish authorities (in particular the viceroys of Peru, the Council of the Indies, and King Philip IV [r.1621–65]), to take action against the *bandeirantes* while also permitting the mission populations to be trained in modern warfare so they could properly defend themselves. The support of the papacy was also crucial and it is perhaps no coincidence that Pope Urban VIII (r.1623–44) promulgated *Commissum nobis*—a bull directed primarily at those who enslaved indigenous populations in the Río de la Plata region—in April 1639, only four months after Alfaro's death. This is not to suggest that Urban VIII was swayed by knowledge of Alfaro's death; it would have been too soon after the event for this news to have reached Rome and generated such a speedy response.[6] Rather, Urban VIII's bull and the excommunication of the Paulista *bandeirantes* who continued to engage in the slave trade coincided with the climax of assaults on the missions (which included the death of Alfaro) and the subsequent beginning of the turning of the tide in the mission-Guarani's favor. Boroa's apologia formed part of this urgent Jesuit campaign to bolster support for the missions, to deflect political attacks against the Society in the province of Paraguay, and to gain approval for an appropriate military response from the mission populations themselves.[7] The contextual Jesuit sources also used in this essay, such as the

6 The earliest letter in the ARSI to recount this specific event to outside of the province of Paraguay was an unsigned letter (although presumably written by Boroa) to the king, dated October 11, 1639, written in Córdoba de Tucumán (with a copy sent to the superior general Muzio Vitelleschi, in Rome): Diego de Boroa (?), "11 Oct 1639, tanto de una mi[siv]a p[ar]a el Rey ñro S[eñ]or en q[ue] le doy quenta de las agresiones de los portugeses y muerte del P.e Diego de Alfaro. Para ñro P.e General," ARSI, *Paraq. 11 1600–1695*, fols. 258r–259v. The letter is dated "October" in the title details but ends with the date "September 11, 1639."

7 It is worth bearing in mind that this lobbying by Jesuits of the crown for greater protection of the indigenous peoples and for the protection of their rights as subjects of the crown that they ministered to was part of a much wider tradition of ecclesiastical lobbying throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most famous of these clerical campaigners was the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas (d.1566) who wrote numerous polemics including

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earlier letters to Rome by Simón Maceta (d.1658), Justo Mancilla van Surque (d.1666),[8] and Boroa when he was still rector of the College of Asunción (1626–30), together with the chronicle *La conquista espiritual* written by Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (d.1652), similarly formed part of this wider political campaign to lobby both Rome and the Spanish crown for intervention.[9] Ruiz de Montoya, for example, was sent by Boroa (who was then provincial) as special procurator to the Spanish court in 1637 to persuade the king to enact and enforce laws to protect the Guarani population.[10] After much debate in the Spanish court, the king finally signed the decree permitting the Guarani to use firearms on May 21, 1640, but deferred the decision to the viceroy in Lima, Pedro de Toledo y Leiva, the marquis of Mancera (d.1654; in office 1639–48).[11] Thus, the Jesuit victory in the court of Madrid did not signal the end of their lobbying, just as the laws decreed by Philip IV did not end the attacks on the missions. It is possible to speculate that news of Alfaro's killing had reached Madrid by the time of the May 1640 decree; indeed, this is likely as a copy of the letter to the king informing him of

Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias (Seville: 1552) and the *Apología o declaración y defense universal de los derechos del hombre y de los pueblos* (*c.*1552) among others (for versions in English see *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, ed. by Anthony Pagden [Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1992] and *In Defense of the Indians*, trans. and ed. by Stafford Poole [DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1992]). Las Casas presented his *Apología* to the court in Valladolid between the years 1550–1 in what became known as "The Great Debate" against the Aristotelian rhetorician Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (d.1573).

8 Mancilla's Flemish name was Josse van Suerck.

9 Justo Mancilla van Surque, "Octub 2 de 1629," ARSI, *Paraq. 11*, fols. 223r–224v; Simón Maceta, "Deste Colegio dela Bahia, y 3 de octubre de 1629," ARSI, *Paraq. 11*, fols. 225r–226v; Diego de Boroa, "Relacion de la persecucion que la Comp.a ha padecido en el Paraguai desde el fin del año de 1628 [h]asta el de 31. A ñro muy Reuerendo Padre Vitelleschi Preposito General de la Comp.a de Jesus," ARSI, *Paraq. 11*, fols. 123r–128v; Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús en las provincias del Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay y Tape* (Madrid: En la Imprenta del Reyno, 1639). An English translation is available as Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest Accomplished by the Religious of the Society of Jesus in the Provinces of Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay, and Tape: A Personal Account of the Founding and Early Years of the Jesuit Paraguay Reductions* (*1639*), trans. and ed. Clement J. McNaspy et al. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1993). The revised annotated translation of this work is forthcoming from the Institute of Jesuit Sources at Boston College.

10 Ruiz de Montoya had been the superior of the missions of Guairá between 1622 and 1636 and subsequently of all the Guarani missions until 1637. Clement McNaspy, "Introduction," in McNaspy et al., *Spiritual Conquest*, 15–17.

11 Ibid., 18.

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these events was sent to Rome in November 1639.[12] Nevertheless, just as it is not the purpose of the essay to speculate on the influence of Alfaro's death on the pope, nor will it speculate on the specific impact on the Spanish court. Rather, the point is merely to place his death and Boroa's apologia in a context of intense lobbying by the Society of Jesus and, in the frontier regions of Paraguay, one of general warfare that was perceived and portrayed by the Jesuits as apocalyptic.

Further Jesuit sources to be considered and compared in this essay will be the relevant Scholastic and casuistic treatises written by Boroa's near contemporaries Francisco Suárez (d.1617) and Luis de Molina (d.1600).[13] Both *De charitate* (On charity) from *De triplici virtute* (On the three virtues) by Suárez and *De iustitia et iure* (On justice and law) by Molina were written in an academic context, yet both aimed to provide casuistic moral guidance for figures of authority (in particular for princes and their confessors) on matters of violence and war.[14] Boroa uses these and other similar treatises that consider the moral implications of warfare, of who might legitimately participate, and under what conditions.[15] With the exception of Suárez, all the authorities he cites consider cases of the rights of princes and peoples to wage war and the rights of people to defend themselves. Although he does not specify which texts he has used, Boroa cites these authorities to give direct support to his argument about the justice of Alfaro's actions and the obligation of other priests to follow in his footsteps.

One might still object that Alfaro's specific actions and even Boroa's apologia would never have been approved by the superior general of the Society and as such could not be considered distinctively Jesuit. Unfortunately, if it still exists, the reply sent from Rome on November 30, 1646, just a few months after

12 Boroa(?), "11 Oct 1639, tanto de una mi[siv]a," fols. 258r–259v.

13 For Molina, I will be using João Manuel Fernandes, "Luis de Molina: On War," in *A Companion to Luis de Molina*, ed. Matthias Kaufmann and Alexander Aichele (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 227–55. For Suárez, I will be using an edited scholarly translation of the original text: Francisco Suárez, "The Three Theological Virtues: *On Charity*; Disputation XIII: On War," in *Selections from Three Works of Francisco Suárez* [...], ed. and trans. Gwladys Williams et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944), 2:800–65.

14 Suárez's *De triplici virtute theologica, fide, spe & charitate* was published after his death in 1621. James Brown Scott, "Introduction," in Williams et al., *Selections from Three Works of Francisco Suárez*, 2:9a–10a.

15 The other Jesuit theorist that Boroa cites was Leonard Lessius (d.1623) who was Suárez's pupil in the Collegio Romano, Rome. Boroa also cites Archbishop Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva (d.1577) and the theologian Martino Bonacina (d.1631). It is beyond the scope of this study to consider all of these theologians and thus the analysis will be limited to Suárez and Molina as exemplars.

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Carafa was elected in January of that year, has yet to be located so it is impossible to know his precise response. Nevertheless, some tentative possibilities can be inferred based on the fact that missives from Rome tended to discourage actions that could lead a Jesuit into danger and certainly discouraged the seeking of martyrdom.[16] Were a Jesuit to be martyred, the most commonly lauded image to inspire young novices to missionary work was that of the martyr accepting death with saintly resignation. Alfaro was himself represented in this way alongside other Jesuit martyrs in the late seventeenth-century martyrology by the Jesuit Matthias Tanner (d.1692) (see fig. 5.1).[17] In this hagiographical image, Alfaro kneels submissively before his assassin with his eyes (and soul) fixed on heaven, while the battle rages in the background. What Alfaro is not doing is charging into battle, and his shotgun is nowhere to be seen.

In a similar vein, the *Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus*, approved in 1550 by Pope Julius III (r.1550–55), makes clear that while the Society considered a Jesuit to be a "soldier of God," he was to dedicate himself to charitable works rather than commit acts of violence.[18] Ultimately, according to the *Formula*, a Jesuit's role was to "exercise whichever other works of charity that seem most convenient for the glory of God and the common good."[19] It is here, perhaps, that Jesuit distinctiveness manifests itself most clearly. In emphasizing the need to work for the glory of God and the common good in one of its foundational documents, the Society of Jesus (and its founder Ignatius of Loyola [d.1556]) gave considerable leeway to its members to interpret what this meant according to the specific circumstances they encountered. Boroa, as we

16 See, for example, instruction 6 of the "Instructions" given to Jerónimo Ruíz de Portillo (d.1590) the first superior of the province of Peru (1568–76) prior to his departure for the Americas in 1567 by the superior general Francisco de Borja (in office 1565–72): "Instrucción [*sic*] de las cosas que se encargan al Padre Portillo y a los otros Padres que van a las Indias de España en Março 1567," in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (hereafter *MHSI*): *Monumenta Peruana*, ed. Antonio de Egaña (Rome: MHSI, 1954), 1:120–24: 123; and Juan Alfonso de Polanco, "Industrias con que vno de la Compañía de Iesús mejor consiguirá sus fines…" [1567], in *MHSI: Polanci complementa* (Madrid: Gabrielis López del Horno, 1917), 2:776–807.

17 "P. Didacus de Alfaro in America Laxamae illustri Sanguinie natus […]" [The martyrdom of Diego de Alfaro], in Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans* (Prague: Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandeae, in collegio Societatis Jesu ad S. Clementem, per Joannem Nicolaum Hampel Factorem, 1675), 503.

18 San Ignacio de Loyola, *Fórmula del instituto de la Compañía de Jesús: Fórmula del año 1550 aprobada y confirmada por el papa Julio III*, Section 1, www.raggionline.com/saggi/scritti/es/formula.pdf, accessed March 30, 2015.

19 Ibid.

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FIGURE 5.1 *The Martyrdom of Diego de Alfaro*
IN MATTHIAS TANNER, *SOCIETAS JESU USQUE AD SANGUINIS ET VITAE PROFUSIONEM MILITANS* (PRAGUE: 1675), 503. REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE ARCHIVUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS IESU

shall see, was no exception, even if he pushed beyond the boundaries of what might have been considered acceptable. The glory of God as manifested through justice and the salvation of the Guarani together with the common good—that of the defense of the people of God and the Catholic Church—form the backbone of his apologia. As such, while the content may arrive at remarkable conclusions, the letter itself is distinctively Jesuit.

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One still might legitimately ask the same about Alfaro's actions, however, in particular when the very constitutions of the Society insist on works of charity rather than violence. Furthermore, there were also precedents in relatively contemporary Hispanic and Lusophone history in which other clergy (non-Jesuits) did take up arms, thus placing Alfaro's actions in a broader, non-Jesuit clerical tradition. A prime example of such a case would be the licenciado Pedro de la Gasca (d.1567), the royal commissioner sent by Charles I (d.1558, r.1516–56) to restore Peru to the crown after the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro (d.1548) in 1545. While Gasca's campaign was largely successful due to his astute negotiations and his willingness to compromise in order to draw less committed rebels over to the king's side rather than engaging in a series of pitched battles, he himself led the king's forces against Gonzalo Pizarro at the decisive battle in Jaquijahuana (Sacsahuana, Cuzco) on April 9, 1548, notwithstanding the fact that he had taken holy orders prior to entering the king's service.[20] With this in mind, it could be argued that Alfaro's actions went against Jesuit norms while forming part of a much broader tradition of fighting clergy that goes back to the early medieval period; indeed, as we shall see, Boroa establishes a weighty lineage of ecclesiastical precedent in order to make precisely the point that Alfaro was by no means a clerical deviant.[21] He is similarly careful to ensure that this precedent is drawn from the actions of primarily non-Jesuit clergy in order to protect the Society from accusations that the Jesuits themselves are members of a subversive and violent order. Thus it might be suggested that Boroa's apologia itself demonstrates that Alfaro's actions are less Jesuit than they are part of the wider tradition of the church. As a counterpoint to this criticism, however, this chapter maintains that Alfaro's actions were distinctively Jesuit precisely because he was fighting for the just defense of his parishioners. This, as Boroa would argue, was how he put into action the Jesuit obligation to work for the glory of God and the common good. In so doing, he fulfilled his obligations as a Jesuit and a priest and died as a good shepherd defending his flock; as such, Boroa argued, in the manner of his death Alfaro became like Christ.

20 Pedro de la Gasca was acting under the express orders of Charles I to put an end to the rebellion in Peru, which he did. There is nothing in the historiography that appears to consider his actions (a priest under arms in contravention of canon law) controversial. Alfaro, by contrast, was not acting on the orders of the king and his actions were deemed controversial by the Society's enemies in Brazil and Paraguay. I am grateful to Gabriela Ramos for drawing my attention to this particular aspect of the chronology of Gasca's career.

21 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio, 18 Enero 1644," ARSI, *Paraq. 11*, fols. 263, 267r–269v.

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In 1639, in the frontier regions of Paraguay, circumstances had gone beyond mere representation and lobbying and required urgent action. According to Boroa, not only was Alfaro right to go into battle (contrary to the common interpretation of canon law) but he was effectively a martyr for justice. What is more, when it came to the question of homicide, he argued that not only would it be right to kill someone who oppresses the innocent, but that *it would be a mortal sin not to do so*. This was an argument that drew on scriptural precedent and Catholic eschatological and scholarly tradition and combined it with a graphic and detailed description of the contemporary reality in order to present highly controversial conclusions in a righteous call for action. What, one might ask, could be more Jesuit than this?

Historical Context: The Jesuit Perspective

Since the first mission foundation that the Jesuits made in 1609 through to the year 1632, the Jesuit province of Paraguay had undergone rapid expansion; during these years, more than twenty-one reductions had been founded. Nevertheless, from approximately 1620, the Jesuit missions in the frontier regions bordering the rivers Uruguay and Paraguay (Guairá, Itatín, and Tape) had been the target of systematic and violent attacks from militia made up of Portuguese from São Paulo and their indigenous Tupi allies.

These raiders sacked the new missions with the prime objective of enslaving the mission populations. The Jesuit Ruiz de Montoya describes, for example, how: "their objective is to destroy the human race [...] They spend two or three years hunting men [and women] as if they were beasts."[22] From the point of view of the *bandeirantes*, it was of course much more efficient to let the Jesuits do the work of founding the reductions and concentrating the Guarani into large towns. Once that was done, they could attack the missions when they were already populated instead of having to hunt the Guarani down in the forests, a task that was both arduous and dangerous.

For their part, the Jesuits of the province did not stand idly by while this was happening, and it is easy to see in their accounts a tremendous frustration at not being able to protect their neophytes even though they attempted various different strategies. They attempted to pressure the Spanish and Portuguese

22 Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, cap. 35, fol. 45v. It is notable that he associates the Guarani with "the human race" and that he perceives the Portuguese attacks as so destructive that this immediately places them outside the human race and alongside the hosts of Lucifer who strive to destroy humanity.

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authorities and even lobbied Urban VIII to condemn these slaving expeditions, but they only managed to augment the violence against the Society and its missions. Three months after Alfaro's death (and as a result of extensive lobbying by the Society in Rome), Urban VIII promulgated *Commissum nobis* (April 1639), reiterating the bull of Pope Paul III (r.1534–49), *Sublimus Deus*, promulgated in 1537, that forbade the enslavement of indigenous Americans, and specifically intended it for the regions of Brazil, La Plata, and Paraguay. His language was strong, insisting that "no-one dare or presume to reduce the Indians to slavery, sell them, purchase them, exchange them or give them away, separate them from their wives and children, despoil them of their belongings and goods, move them to other places and displace them, or deprive them of their freedom in any manner whatsoever." All those who continued to take part in slaving expeditions were to be excommunicated.[23] Nevertheless, we read in Boroa's apologia that when the Jesuits in São Paulo published the bull in 1640:

> In a mob they [the citizens of São Paulo] rioted in hatred of the apostolic bull and attacked our college […] and in a rage they hacked at the doors […] with machetes and axes, striking many blows at a bronze Jesus […] in hatred of the pope […] and of his bull […]. They talked as if they were heretics, saying that if [the pope] were to come there they would hang him for having promulgated that bull […] and they would throw out the members of the Society and their schools just like they had done in Holland and England, and attacking with great fury and alarm, the soldiers gathered […] and with a large army made up of all of them, together with their false Tupis, and true captives of our reductions, they attacked [the missions] last March with the intention of destroying everything.[24]

Nearly a decade earlier, in 1631, the Society ordered a disastrous relocation of those missions that remained close to the frontier.[25] As Ruiz de Montoya himself writes: "Famine, disease and the variety of opinions caused a tremendous confusion: because how would there not be hunger among such an immense

23 Cited in Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Jesus Christ* (New York: Orbis, 1993), 311–12; Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Christianity in Latin America*, trans. Stephen Buckwalter (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 163.

24 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fols. 269r–v.

25 James Schofield Saeger, "Warfare, Reorganisation and Readaptation at the Margins of Spanish Rule: The Chaco and Paraguay (1573–1882)," in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, vol. 3: *South America*, part 2, ed. Frank Salomon and Stuart Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 275.

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gathering of youngsters and adults, who on that journey could only carry a limited amount of food on their shoulders and backs for want of any other help? And, how would there not be disease among such necessity when merely the thought that they were running out of provisions caused hunger and, as a result, disease?"[26] In fact, Ruiz de Montoya's order provoked rebellions in reductions such as San Cosme, Natividad, Santa Ana, San Damián, San José, and San Nicolás on the part of Guarani neophytes whose enthusiasm for the missions was only lukewarm and was waning fast.[27] The result was the flight and deaths of many thousands of Guarani en route. Of the twelve thousand or so Guarani who underwent the forced march, only four thousand managed to arrive at the areas chosen for relocation.[28] Those who fled could be hunted down by the *bandeirantes*. Those who survived had left their ancestral lands and had to integrate into lands already occupied by other ethnic groups, potentially causing or exacerbating tensions. Yet, as the Jesuits saw it, what other options remained? Even though the Guarani were themselves warriors, for the first twenty years of suffering these assaults they were unable to defend themselves adequately against the relatively massive attacks of the Portuguese who used firearms, and their Tupi allies, who fought with traditional bow and arrows.

All those involved knew that this was key. Throughout this period of turbulence, the Society had been petitioning the Council of the Indies and successive viceroys in Lima to allow the Guarani to form militias that could be trained in the use of firearms. In 1637, Ruiz de Montoya was sent to lobby Philip IV for such a solution. His representation to the court met with success in May 1640 when the monarch signed the decree permitting the use of firearms.[29] Yet, such a move had met substantial opposition from secular authorities and colonists in Paraguay and La Plata and also in the court itself, concerned about the implications of semi-autonomous standing indigenous armies trained in modern

26 Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, cap. 38, fol. 48v. He describes the exodus from the missions of Loreto and San Ignacio in chapters 38–39 (fols. 48v–53v).

27 Branislava Súsnik and Miguel Chase-Sardi, *Los indios del Paraguay* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1995), 20; Ernesto Maeder, "La población de las misiones de guaraníes (1641–1682): Reubicación de los pueblos y consecuencias demográficas," *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* 15, no. 1 (1989): 49–80, here 52. According to Maeder, the Jesuits closed all debate by ordering the burning of the villages as they left—a drastic measure aimed at pronouncing the finality of the decision to relocate.

28 Alberto Armani, *Ciudad de Dios y ciudad del sol; El "estado" jesuita de los guaraníes (1609–1768)*, (México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), 80. See also, Barbara Ganson, *The Guarani under Spanish Rule in the Río de la Plata* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 46. The sources do not record how many refused to locate as opposed to those who died en route.

29 McNaspy, "Introduction," in McNaspy et al., *Spiritual Conquest*, 18.

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warfare and which would vastly outnumber Spanish militia from the region. As a result, the king deferred his decision to the authority of the viceroy in Lima, Pedro de Toledo y Leiva. The situation was so desperate in the missions, meanwhile, that they could not wait for the arrival of such a controversial license, should the viceroy even deem it expedient.[30] As a result, the Guarani and the Jesuits seized the initiative and beat the Portuguese in 1641 at the Battle of Mbororé after gathering together a large army capable of using a variety of weapons, including firearms.[31] Overall command of the Guarani mission forces was in the hands of the powerful *cacique* (indigenous leader) Don Nicolás Ñeengirú, but his captain was the Jesuit coadjutor and ex-soldier Domingo Torres.[32]

The Guarani victory at Mbororé in 1641 nevertheless took place after the death of Alfaro—January 1639—which for the Jesuits and the mission populations was arguably the nadir of the conflict. By the time Alfaro was killed, according to the Jesuit letters and the chronicle of Ruiz de Montoya, thousands of mission Guarani had been taken as slaves or killed, towns had been sacked and burned, churches and sacred images had been profaned, and the "City of God" that the Jesuits had tried to institute on the Paraguayan frontier appeared to be on the verge of annihilation.

Jesuits and Salvation: An Eschatological Context

In the letters and the polemics of the Jesuits who depict the successive invasions of the missions by the *bandeirantes* of São Paulo, it is quite clear how a

30 Approval was finally granted (or at least acknowledged as a fait accompli) by the viceroy García Sarmiento de Sotomayor in 1649.

31 Mercedes Avellaneda and Lía Quarleri, "Las milicias guaraníes en el Paraguay y Río de la Plata: Alcances y limitaciones (1649–1756)," *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* 33, no. 1 (2007): 111. Saeger writes that the viceroy "had given the King the necessary assurances that let the men of the missions carry firearms" by 1646 (Saeger, "Warfare, Reorganisation and Readaptation," 275).

32 Armani, *Ciudad de Dios*, 85. Ganson incorrectly identifies Torres as a Jesuit priest (*Guarani under Spanish Rule*, 46). That he was a lay coadjutor can be verified in Josephus Fejér, *Defuncti secundi saeculi Societatis Jesu, 1641–1740* (Rome: IHSI, 1990), 5:S–Z, 202 (http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/Digital_Repertory.cfm). Torres died in Apóstoles in August 1688. In 1628, after the killing of three Jesuits in an indigenous uprising, Ñeengirú, the most powerful cacique in the missions, led the mission forces to suppress it. Pedro Romero(?), "1628–1629, Relacion del Glorioso Martyrio [...]," ARSI, *Paraq. 11,* fols. 172r–179v, fols. 176r–v (the letter is unsigned but was written by the superior of the mission of Candelaria, who at the time was Pedro Romero).

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distinctive form of Jesuit spirituality influences their way of seeing these events and, of course, their subsequent choices. They leave no doubt in the minds of their readers that these were infernal attacks instigated by the antichrist and carried out by his hosts—the Portuguese. In 1628, Boroa, then rector of the College of Asunción, asserted this explicitly in a letter to Muzio Vitelleschi: "I have described to you, my Father, the terrible persecution that the Devil and his ministers have stirred up in various ways against the missions of Paraguay—this new plant of the Lord."[33]

There are numerous other examples in which the Jesuits of Paraguay depict the Portuguese as instruments of the devil. Ruiz de Montoya, for example, summarizes his own arguments in the chronicle, *The Spiritual Conquest*, by writing:

> In the second section it describes the precaution that more than twenty years ago the Divine Majesty took in sending [Jesuits] to the Province of Guairá so that the predestined might be gathered up before the Antichrist could disturb them; and there I noted the signs. The demons that I described in section sixteen explained this and they appeared in their customs to be very similar to those from São Paulo and the coast of Brazil, taking their form with their shotguns and weapons. And they even said they were their friends.[34]

According to his summary, when demons appeared to the people of the missions, they took on forms identical to the *bandeirantes* of São Paulo, admitting to being their friends. Of course, this might easily be interpreted from a modern secular perspective as the appearance of scouts from larger raiding parties attempting to turn the people of Guairá to their side and against the Jesuit mission organization. Such an interpretation would certainly add complexity to the narrative of relentless Portuguese attacks on the reductions; these demons then were not mimicking the Portuguese and taking on their form, they actually were the Portuguese. As might be expected on a typical frontier society, there was space for negotiation and for alliances to shift between opposing sides.[35] Nevertheless, such an interpretation can and should be reread from the perspective of the Jesuits and the many thousands of mission Guarani who remained loyal to the Society of Jesus. These individuals who

33 Boroa, "Relacion de la persecucion," fol. 123r.

34 Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, cap. 74, fol. 91r.

35 This is borne out by a point Ruiz de Montoya makes in his chronicle when he describes the siege of Villarrica. Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, cap. 37, fol. 48r.

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appeared in the midst of the indigenous inhabitants of Guairá may have taken human form—that of the Paulistas—but their false promises that led to the destruction of the Guarani communities in the region betrayed their demonic nature. Ultimately, the Paulistas and the hordes of Satan were part of the same faction—that of the antichrist. Without a doubt, from the perspective of the Jesuits—due to their Ignatian (and, in this respect, one might argue Augustinian) spirituality, which facilitated their seeing the world divided eschatologically—the attacks on the missions that the Portuguese were carrying out in the frontier region of Guairá were part of the same quasi-eternal struggle the devil was leading with his hosts against the City of God and, in the *Exercises* of Saint Ignatius, against all the cities and individuals of the world. The meditation on the two standards for the fourth day of the second week is demonstrative of this point, as it encourages the practitioner to

> imagine the leader of all the enemy in that great plain of Babylon. He is seated on a throne of fire and smoke, in aspect horrible and terrifying. Consider how he summons uncountable devils, disperses some to one city and others to another, and thus throughout the whole world, without missing any provinces, places, states, or individual persons.[36]

In actual fact, it was not even necessary to state explicitly on whose side the Paulistas were fighting in this total war between the armies of the devil and Christ; all the Jesuits had to do was describe the atrocities they were committing against the Guarani and the acts of sacrilege they were carrying out against the church for readers (whether they be Jesuit superiors in Rome, the king, or his councilors and dignitaries) to be quite clear about what was happening. The attackers were so degenerate (according to how they were described) that not even the presence of the Blessed Sacrament calmed their fury. Ruiz de Montoya explains:

> Not just in this reduction but in others, the Fathers asked me to expose [Our] Lord [the Blessed Sacrament] with every reverence and place Him at the entrance of the church to impede their entry. "Do you want," I said, "to give these heretics the opportunity to seize the Blessed Sacrament and throw it to the ground in front of our eyes before trampling and burning it?" And so it was necessary to consume it and take it down from the

36 Ignatius of Loyola, *The* Spiritual Exercises *of Saint Ignatius*, trans. and ed. George E. Ganss (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1992), 65–66.

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> Altar where it was venerated by people who yesterday [very recently] were pagan infidels.[37]

Ruiz de Montoya knew that exposing the Blessed Sacrament would have no other effect than giving rise to the worst possible sacrilege. The previous destruction of other missions assured him this would be the case. For example, when the Portuguese fell on the reduction of Jesús María on the Feast of Saint Francis Xavier (1637):

> The enemy decided to burn the church; I confess that I have heard it said that they are Christian, and even on this occasion they carried Rosary beads quite correctly. Without doubt they have faith in God [but] *their deeds are of the devil* [my italics].[38]

While the people who had taken refuge inside the church building screamed in fear, the Portuguese celebrated that the building had caught fire. The desperate people inside decided to risk coming out so as not to die roasted in the flames and so:

> They made a small opening and came out in the same way that sheep leave their pen to graze. As if possessed, those fierce tigers gathered around the opening and with swords, machetes and scimitars[39] they cut off heads, lopped off arms, sliced off legs, pierced bodies through, killing with the most barbarous fury that the world has ever seen. […] They tested the steel of their scimitars by slicing children in two, splitting their heads open and chopping up their delicate limbs. The shouts, yells, and howls of these wolves, together with the piteous cries of pain of the mothers on seeing their children chopped up and who [themselves] were run through by the barbarous swords caused a horrendous confusion.[40]

One might accuse Ruiz de Montoya of exaggerating the horror of the event for rhetorical effect, and certainly detractors of the Jesuits did not hold back from

37 Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, cap. 35, fol. 46r.

38 Ibid., cap. 75, fol. 93r.

39 Ruiz de Montoya uses the term *alfanje* which translates as "cutlass" or "scimitar." Given that he was portraying the Paulistas as enemies of God, and that another term to refer to them was "mamelucos," "scimitar" seems to be the appropriate rendition as the descriptive imagery links the Paulistas to the Turks, supposed enemies of Christianity par excellence.

40 Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, cap. 75, fol. 93r.

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making this type of accusation. In 1638, both the governor of Paraguay, for example, Pedro de Lugo y Navarra (1634–41) and the *cabildo* (town council) of Asunción had written to Philip IV accusing the Jesuits of falsely representing the success of the conversion of the Guarani and petitioning him not to allow them to be armed as they might turn on the Spanish colonists; the Jesuits, for their part, were locked in dispute with Lugo y Navarra who bitterly opposed their proposals for the defense of the missions and arming of the Guarani militia.[41] Following the death of Alfaro, meanwhile, Boroa took Lugo y Navarra to task for refusing to punish Alfaro's Paulista killers, who had been captured by Don Nicolás Ñeengirú and handed over to the governor. This refusal to punish the Portuguese, he said, "caused scandal among the Indians."[42] Thus, there was no love lost between the Society of Jesus and the secular Spanish authorities in Paraguay, and Jesuit accounts of the scale and horror of the *bandeirante* attacks were contested at every stage: what sense did it make for the Portuguese to kill those who they were originally intending to enslave? A modern reading of these accounts might also tend towards skepticism, albeit perhaps less cynical; after all, members of the Society of Jesus were renowned for their mastery of rhetoric, both in oratory and writing. Yet, a reader should also take into account that these massacres formed part of a specific strategy of war in order to achieve a number of ends. In the first instance, their goal was to terrorize the population so that they did not resist (and the reduction of Jesús María *had* resisted). Second, such tactics were designed to eliminate those captives who (for them) had no value—that is to say, those who were too young, too old, or sick, and who could not be marched to São Paulo or who could not work. Third, they intended to persuade the population not to trust the Jesuits (who bitterly opposed the Paulista policy of enslaving indigenous people) by demonstrating that these priests were utterly powerless to protect them. Fourth, the brutality of these attacks was designed to terrorize the surviving captives so that they did not flee.

Despite the fact that, for the Paulistas, at that moment in time and in that region there was a surplus of people to enslave, the massive destruction of the region which included three Spanish towns (Villarrica, Guairá, and Jeréz)[43]

41 Adalberto López, *The Colonial History of Paraguay: The Revolt of the Comuneros, 1721–1735* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2005), 42.

42 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fol. 266r.

43 Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, caps. 37–38, fols. 48r–50r. López states that by 1631 the Spanish towns of Villarrica and Ciudad Real had been destroyed (López, *Colonial History of Paraguay*, 35). Ciudad Real refers to Ciudad Real de Guayrá; Jeréz refers to Santiago de Jeréz in Itatín.

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also indicates that this was an expansionist conflict in which the Portuguese were stamping their new dominion on the survivors through terror. In fact, the atrocities the Jesuits recounted (and in particular those that can be read in the chronicle of Ruiz de Montoya) bear a marked resemblance to testimonies given by survivors of various dirty wars that were carried out primarily against rural populations in numerous Latin American states during the twentieth century.

As an example, to demonstrate the plausibility of the Jesuit accounts one can compare the testimony of a young girl who survived an attack by the same group of *bandeirantes* who assaulted the reduction of Jesús María with others from twentieth-century conflicts. Given the importance of the details included in the testimony, it is worth quoting in full:

> Father Diego de Boroa, our Provincial, wanted to talk to the enemy—as if they were capable of reason—[and] a few of us priests accompanied him. In San Cristóbal we found twenty dead bodies with cruel machete wounds and bullet wounds. We delayed to bury them. We found a pagan girl of about seven years old wandering lost through those woods. She had two cruel wounds; one was very long and had been cut across her face, the other was on her head. Both [wounds] were covered in maggots. She recounted her disastrous story to us as follows: "I was with my parents and their children. These men suddenly attacked our houses. They divided us up between them, and another took me and a younger brother of mine, and seeing we were orphans, slaves, the two of us escaped to try to find you [the Jesuits] so that as our Fathers you could protect us; [but] they tracked us and in a terrible rage they gave me these wounds and another to my brother on his neck leaving him unable to move his head, and then they left us for dead. I came to and saw that my brother was still alive. Terrified I fled into the forest carrying my little brother in my arms. I was with him for three days, without eating or drinking, keeping going with the hope that when he came to we could carry on our journey. But seeing that he was dying and I was as you see me, I left him still alive. Wracked with pain I tried to carry him on my back and I couldn't." We healed her body and then her soul with baptism. Everywhere we trod there were dead bodies, decapitated, pierced with arrows and hacked to death.[44]

While it is clear that the precise words of the girl's account have been edited in the retelling by the Jesuits, and possibly even added to (such as the section

44 Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, cap. 77, fol. 95r.

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where the children seek out the Jesuits specifically for protection rather than simply fleeing their captors when they saw the chance), the stark and shocking plausibility of this account is revealed by comparing it to testimonies from recent genocidal civil wars such as that which occurred in Guatemala between 1977 and 1996:

> I was playing there when I saw the soldiers coming up. As they came, my mom told me to run. Since my dad's house had two doors, one in front and the other leading out among the coffee bushes, I fled; I knew that they had already started killing. I ran alone among the coffee bushes, and my mother did not follow me. At about four o'clock in the afternoon, I went back to the village. They had already burned the house and my family. No one was left. [Case 10066 (massacre), Aldea Kajchiljlaj, Chajul, Quiché, 1982]
>
> Because the truth is, so many innocent children died! They didn't even know why this happened. The truth is, when you went to places like that, you saw dead people all over. They left them all cut up, an arm here, a leg there; that's how it was. [Case 3024, Aldea Panacal, Rabinal, Baja Verapaz, 1981][45]

The point here is not to reduce all conflicts to the same explanation or cause, but rather to demonstrate with such recent examples that in the context of a conflict in which generalized terror is used as a strategic weapon, and in which the testimonies of the surviving victims are documented as truth and as part of institutional Truth Commissions, these Jesuit descriptions from seventeenth-century Paraguay are inherently plausible and, alongside such recent comparative examples, do not appear at all exaggerated. By the same token, one comment by Ruiz de Montoya describing what the Jesuit party witnessed as it passed through a nearby village on returning to the reduction of Jesús María to bury the dead is spectacularly striking for what it says about the strategy of the aggressors to wipe out even the memory of what went before their attack. This too has been a significant part of the ideological struggles so symptomatic of the dirty wars of the twentieth century:

45 REMHI, *Guatemala, Never Again: Recovery of Historical Memory Project: The Official Report of the Human Rights Office, Archdiocese of Guatemala* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1999), 32–35. For an academic study of this genocide, see in particular Victoria Sanford, *Buried Secrets: Truth and Human Rights in Guatemala* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

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> Here we found rational people burned alive: children, women, and men. We saw one woman burned with two twins who were burned with her in her arms. A common strategy of these murderers when they leave with their prisoners is to burn the sick, the old and those who cannot walk: *because if any remain alive, those who go return to the memory of those who stay* [my italics].[46]

According to this stratagem, then, not one trace of the past could survive so that the new slaves had nothing to which they might return. It was a total war of absolute domination in which all traces of the past existence of the indigenous populations of Guairá must be erased so that they had no choice but to accept their new condition of slavery. From the perspective of the Jesuits, it was waged against the people of God, and by extension, the church, and for this reason it was all the more perverse. Worse still, at this moment in time, it seemed that the hosts of the devil of São Paulo were winning. In 1629, Father Justo Mancilla van Surque wrote to Rome, practically despairing of the situation, saying: "We turn to you [my Father], given your zeal for the honor of God [and] of the salvation of souls so appropriate to our Society, [and beg] that you find us some solution as quickly as possible, because here there is none."[47] It seemed there was no remedy to this desperate situation and the salvation of the souls of the indigenous populations was in grave danger. Yet what more could the Jesuits do? It was no longer sufficient to beg for help from the authorities, although they continued to do so. According to a letter written by Boroa in 1631, Father Diego de Torres, provincial of Paraguay in 1607–15 "has written to us many times […] encouraging us to suffer for such a just cause as it is and has been, to defend these poor, defenseless Indians."[48]

However, the question might be asked, what exactly did the term "defend" mean? Given that this unjust war against the Guarani was continually escalating and that all the measures the Jesuits had tried thus far had failed, it had become necessary to take their physical defense seriously. According to the thought of the Jesuit Scholastic, professor of theology, and near contemporary to the Paraguayan missionaries, Francisco Suárez, "whoever begins a war without just cause sins not only against charity, but also against justice; and hence he is bound to make reparation for all the harm that results. The truth of this

46 Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, cap. 77, fol. 95v.

47 Mancilla van Surque, "Octub 2 de 1629," fol. 224r.

48 Boroa, "Relacion de la persecucion" ARSI, *Paraq. 11*, fol. 123r.

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conclusion is manifest."[49] So, there was a need to draw a line in the sand and use all possible means to combat these demonic hosts and defend the defenseless.[50] The Paulistas were fighting perversely for injustice, while the City of God, on the other hand, needed to battle for justice.[51] Not surprisingly, in this context of total war, the resistance of the mission populations against their persecutors increased, as we read in Ruiz de Montoya's account of the attack on the reduction of Jesús María:

> Two priests and two of our brothers were there and on seeing themselves caught in the midst of flying bullets, the brothers and Indians dedicated themselves to the just defense of the mission and the fathers to encouraging them. They fought for six hours, from eight in the morning until two in the afternoon.[52]

Ruiz de Montoya is careful here to distinguish the activities of the brother coadjutors from the priests as he would have been well aware of the canonical prohibition on priests taking up arms. It must be remembered that he was writing this chronicle as part of his campaign in the Spanish court and in the context of a bitter dispute. He had to take every care not to give away information that could be used against the Society and against the common good of the mission populations. By contrast, the problem of brothers of a religious

49 Francisco Suárez, "The Three Theological Virtues: *On Charity*; Disputation XIII: On War," in Williams et al., *Selections from Three Works of Francisco Suárez*, 800–65, Section 4:8, 820. Even this seemingly emphatic statement is somewhat ambiguous. If someone starts an unjust war and then makes reparations, does that absolve them of their responsibility for the sin? If so, arguably this might permit people to wage unjust wars for personal gain as long as they have the intention of making reparations at some point in the future.

50 The notion that the Guarani were defenseless was the Jesuit discourse. They were not defenseless and needed no encouragement to fight, but in these early years the odds against them were overwhelming. Relatively speaking, then, the Jesuit discourse was true.

51 A note of caution is necessary here. According to João Fernandes, the Jesuit theorist Luis Molina defined "justice" more narrowly than might be done today, as something that had to do with "the acquisition and loss of property" and the "violent change in the order of property" (Fernandes, "Luis de Molina: On War," 95). Suárez's call for restitution suggests a similar definition, but Suárez also positions the sin of an "unjust war" as both sin against charity and justice, thus moving towards the broader definition of "justice" that might be applied today. Boroa's use of "justice" and "unjust" also seems to be broader and more attune to our modern understanding of these terms with respect to the deprivation of rights. In Boroa's understanding, these would be considered "natural" rights as part of the "natural law."

52 Ruiz de Montoya, *Conquista espiritual*, cap. 75, fol. 92v–93r.

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order taking up arms was more open to interpretation. Suárez, for example, when considering this same issue, wrote that "it is forbidden under the gravest penalties and censures [that clerics should engage in war]. [...] As to others, however, constituted in minor orders, since they participate but imperfectly in the clerical state, it is probable [...] that they are in no way bound."[53] Thus, brother coadjutors might in all probability (according to Suárez) not be bound by the canonical prohibitions on fighting, and if coadjutors could and were now fighting side by side with the Guarani populations of the missions, and the priests were encouraging them, arguably this was but a few steps away from the moment in which a priest—following the clear obligation to combat evil as a soldier of Christ—took up arms and joined in the defense of his people. This is precisely what we read in Boroa's letter to the superior general in Rome defending the actions of Alfaro after he was killed by the Portuguese:

> I write to you, [my Father], this letter or apologia about the blessed death of Father Diego de Alfaro [margin note: died January 14, 1639] [...] who died as a good shepherd in defense of his flock, [...] with the greatest and most heroic act of charity, as Christ Our Lord teaches us, giving his life for his sheep for the salvation of whom he [Alfaro] willingly offered himself in true sacrifice to the divine majesty, shedding his blood out of love in imitation of [Christ], who as God, shed it for them [Christ's flock].[54]

Immediately, Boroa names Alfaro a good shepherd, of the kind described in the Gospel of John, who defends his sheep from the wolves even if this costs him his life.[55] According to the Gospel, it is Jesus who self-sacrifices to defend his sheep. Thus, Alfaro, according to the apologetic discourse of Boroa, died in *imitatio Christi*, fulfilling the duty that Jesus had left to his followers. Of course, the paradoxical argument that equated the actions of a soldier in war with Christ's unresisting sacrifice would not be lost on his readers. The scriptural passage in which Jesus heals the ear of the high priest's servant in the Garden of Gethsemane after it had been cut off by one of his disciples was a clear counterpoint to such an argument. Jesus even told the disciple to put the sword away and that he who lived by the sword would die by it.[56] Nevertheless, John

53 Suárez, "The Three Theological Virtues: *On Charity*; Disputation XIII: On War," 800–65:§3:5, 812. He cites other Scholastic theologians and philosophers as authorities on these points.

54 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fol. 263r.

55 John 10:11–18.

56 Matt. 26:52.

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10:11–18 is also explicit in its counsel: the good shepherd should defend his flock from the wolves even if he might be killed in the process. There is an unresolved scriptural tension here that Boroa deals with by focusing on the latter and ignoring the former while turning the reader's attention to the virtue of charity that obliged a priest to fight against an injustice that endangered the souls of his flock, the Guarani of the missions.

This point is worthy of further scrutiny. According to this reasoning, the unjust captivity and killing of the Guarani (together with the sacrilegious destruction of the mission churches and of religious objects), aside from being a mortal sin that all Christians should oppose, meant that those captured would neither receive sacraments nor catechesis. This placed their very souls in mortal danger, especially when they were in danger of death. The Jesuit testimonies describe how the Paulistas, out of hatred for the Society, did not permit the Jesuits to administer the sacraments, not even to those who were dying. For this reason, we read in Boroa's letter that

> it is certain that the Portuguese of Saint Paul and the Saints [São Paulo] not only impede the Indians that they unjustly capture from receiving the Blessed Sacraments, but of twenty or thirty thousand that they ordinarily capture in one of these raids, more or less three quarters die: the pagans without baptism and the Christians with neither confession, nor any other Sacrament. They take many of these lives with their steel [swords] through inhuman cruelty, and the rest [die] as a result of mistreatment [and] they leave the forests and countryside strewn with dead bodies. And even those who survive given the large numbers that they take, on arriving in Brazil they either die of hunger, of excessive work, or of sadness on seeing themselves captive in a foreign land, many of them deprived of their wives and children without parents, without churches and Sacraments as the very same Portuguese certify. And this was proven before his Catholic Majesty [the king] as his royal proclamation of [16]39 declares.[57]

This injustice, against which the rigors of charity obliged the Jesuits to fight, did not therefore merely embody a temporal injustice that caused suffering, pain, and poverty (caused without doubt by the sins of the Paulista slavers); rather it was an eternal injustice that endangered the salvation of the innocent, depriving them of the necessary measures to be saved and undoing everything that had been done to place them on the path to divine glory. Even

57 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fols. 263v–264r.

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worse, it was increasing the probability that they would die either before receiving baptism or in a state of sin, either of which would render their salvation impossible. Faced with such a tremendous injustice, what should a Jesuit priest do? He could either "keep quiet and cry," as the Jesuit priest Simón Maceta explained after he tried to intercede for a Guarani cacique who had been captured and merely worsened the situation,[58] or he could do what Alfaro did and take up a weapon and fight to the death: "encouraging the Indians to the natural defense of themselves, their wives and children, of their churches, and of the faith and good customs."[59]

Jesuit Thought and Conscience: Casuistry, Violence, and Martyrdom

The apologetic letter of Diego de Boroa exemplified contemporary Jesuit thought by establishing that resistance to injustice (and not just pacific but also armed resistance) necessarily became a weight on the Christian conscience. Furthermore, if the Christian had an obligation to fight for good, from the perspective of the Jesuits of Paraguay, the priest himself needed to fight to defend his spiritual charges. In other words, Boroa, speaking for the Jesuits of his province, inverted the discourses of those who were scandalized by the fact that a priest had been killed in the midst of a battle in order to put forward an argument which demonstrated to the contrary, that first it was a scandal if a priest did not fight and, secondly, that such righteous violence formed part of the salvific spirituality of the Society.[60]

Before continuing with Boroa's 1644 apologia, it is useful to glance briefly at a letter he wrote nearly two decades earlier in 1620 in which the reader can see the sense of obligation he felt towards the Guarani. In it, he explains that

> by leaving their lands, their fields and whatever else they had, trusting in the [Jesuit] Fathers *they* [the Guarani] *surrendered themselves and their*

58 Instead of ameliorating the situation, Maceta's intercession provoked the summary execution of the *cacique* along with other victims who had invoked the names of the priests for protection. Simón Maceta, "Deste Colegio dela Bahia, y 3 de octubre de 1629," fol. 225r.

59 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fol. 263r.

60 Readers may be interested to compare this casuistic defense of Alfaro with parallel cases of equivocation by missionaries in southeast Asia in order to work around canonical prohibitions on missionaries acting as healers and medical doctors. See Tara Alberts, *Conflict and Conversion: Catholicism in Southeast Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 113–19.

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> *children completely* in order to be taught the law of God and be saved. They gathered in large townships where they had beautiful churches, music and Christian virtue, and frequent access to the sacraments [my italics].[61]

The phrase that the Guarani "surrendered themselves [...] completely" and trusted in the Jesuits' word to permit themselves to be gathered (lit. reduced) into Jesuit missions deserves emphasis. Of course, we know that the reality was very different, because the Guarani had diverse reasons to accept or reject the proposition to relocate to the Jesuit reductions; indeed, the deaths of three Jesuit priests in 1628 during an indigenous uprising in the new mission territories of the Caaró and the subsequent conflict between the mission Guarani and their non-Christian relatives are testament to the complexity of this process.[62] Nevertheless, one can still see here the perception of the Jesuits that the Guarani as a people had clearly taken a step on the path towards salvation, but that the consequence of that decision, by contrast, had caused them horrendous suffering (as a result of the demonic actions of the Portuguese) in both this life and the next. Although this early letter does not say it explicitly, the obligation of these priests was to avoid at all costs the damnation of these people who had placed their trust in the care of the Society of Jesus. This sense of responsibility endures throughout Boroa's career and is carried forward into his apologia of 1644 in which he loses no time in launching his polemic by proclaiming that "[Alfaro's] glory is neither diminished by his detractors nor by those of the Society who seek to tarnish it by saying that he was killed by a bullet while fighting with a shotgun captaining the Indians."[63]

The gossip of the Spaniards and Portuguese was not important. Despite the fact that Boroa initiated his discourse by attempting to blur the certainty around the facts—stating that Alfaro was not actually fighting, but that he was just using his weapon to encourage the Guarani to defend themselves as was

61 Boroa, "Relacion de la persecucion" fol. 123r.

62 The priests (proclaimed martyrs immediately by the Society and canonized in 1988) were Roque González, Alonso Rodríguez, and Juan del Castillo. See, in particular, Michael W. Mathes, ed., *Primeras noticias de los protomártires de Paraquaria: La historia panegírica de Juan Eusebio Nieremberg. León Francia: 1631* (Santo Tomé, Baja California: Casa de la Cultura "Concepción Centeno de Navajas," Carem, 2004). See also José María Blanco, *Historia documentada de la vida y gloriosa muerte de los padres Roque González de Santa Cruz, Alonso Rodríguez y Juan del Castillo, de la Compañía de Jesús, mártires del Caaró e Yjuhí* (Buenos Aires: Sebastián de Amorrortu, 1929).

63 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fol. 263r.

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their natural right[64]—the focus of his argument was not so much to deny that he fired his weapon; that much was conceded. Instead, the former Jesuit provincial immediately moved to an argument that essentially said it was not important that people were saying Alfaro died while fighting under arms because, even if he did, what he was being accused of was merely doing his priestly duty.

Boroa began by citing a powerful array of theologians like Archbishop Diego de Covarrubias, Martin Bonacina,[65] his Jesuit contemporary Leonard Lessius, and his near contemporaries Molina and Suárez (all of whom published academic treatises discussing the legality and morality of warfare in a context of providing Scholastic, casuistic, and theological council to authorities who may need to make the difficult decision to go to war or use violence). He wrote:

> It is plain to see, as Covarrubias, Lessius, Suárez, Bonac[ina], and Molina, and others prove at great length, *that it is licit, just and holy to kill someone who attacks the innocent*, defending him or her when there is no other means to do so without the cleric incurring irregularity [my italics].[66]

Boroa thrusts directly to the heart of the polemic. To this first declaration, he adds another, proclaiming:

> This is not just licit and just, rather, *it would be obligatory and a mortal sin not to do it if one can*. All this occurred in the present case of Father Diego de Alfaro, [given that] this obligation is all the more pressing for parish priests [my italics].[67]

64 This claim may shed some light onto Ruiz de Montoya's assertion that the priests of Jesús María limited themselves to "encouraging" the defense of the mission (see above).

65 The letter cites a theologian named "Bonac." This is most likely to be Martino Bonacina, who, according to the *Universal Biography* was "an ecclesiastic of Milan in the service of Urban VIII [who] died in 1631" (William A. Beckett, *A Universal Biography: Including Scriptural, Classical, and Mythological Memoirs*, 3 vols. [London: W. Lewis, 1836], 1:486).

66 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fol. 263r. Boroa cites these Scholastic theologians who, in turn, keep the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas at their core, yet Aquinas finds the opposite, that "clerics, even if they kill someone in self-defense, incur irregularity, although they intended only to defend themselves, not to kill" (*Summa theologica* II–II, question 64, reply to the objections 3) in Thomas Aquinas, *On Law, Morality and Politics*, ed. William Baumgarth and Richard Regan, trans. Richard Regan (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2002), 171.

67 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fol. 263r.

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As this is such a powerful (and counterintuitive) assertion, it is worth turning to at least a couple of those authors whom Boroa cites as authority such as the opinions of the Jesuit Scholastics Molina and Suárez. The Scholastic and casuistic discussions of various moral and philosophic topics by both these authors were hugely influential in their time and for many years afterwards, generating controversy and further scholarship.

Molina began publishing his treatise on justice and law (*De iustitia et iure*) in 1593, drawing from lectures he taught at the University of Évora on Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologica*. In it, he considered the rights and morality of warfare in a series of case studies, or casuistic counsels, aimed at providing guidance to his intended readership (either confessors of princes and dignitaries, or the princes themselves).[68] Given the intricate detail his Scholastic method required, not surprisingly he also considered the question of whether clerics could legitimately fight, and concludes that in some exceptional circumstances it was legitimate for them to do so. Such circumstances might be "in defense of the state or of the army, which otherwise would be destroyed or captured."[69] The circumstance that was particularly pertinent for the case of Alfaro and the besieged Paraguayan missions was "when this is necessary to obtain a just victory, from which peace and the common good of the church depends, and could not be obtained or would be endangered if they fail to fight."[70]

Once again, this particularly Jesuit notion of the "common good" comes to the fore. In the context of the time for the Society of Jesus (and, thus, for Molina himself), the good of the church was intrinsically intertwined with the "common good." Any attack on the church therefore constituted an attack on the people of God and vice versa. It is worth noting that Molina was teaching and writing contemporaneously to the Jesuit cardinal Robert Bellarmine (d.1621), who in 1587, drawing from Augustine's *City of God*, gave explicit voice to the notion that the church was under eternal, diabolical attack.[71] Right-thinking Christians needed to be very sure which side they fought on in this endless war.[72] Under such circumstances, Molina reasoned that if a war was advantageous to the church—and, in the context of defending the missions of Paraguay and their populations from assault by the Paulista *bandeirantes* there was no doubt in the minds of the Jesuits that this was the case—then it could always

68 Fernandes, "Luis de Molina: On War," 228.

69 Ibid., 242.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., 240.

72 In fact, the war could not be "eternal" or "endless" because teleology itself is finite. The book of Revelation made it clear that the war would end and Satan would be destroyed.

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be justified.[73] Perhaps more troublingly, according to Molina's argument this was true "regardless of the way or the intention with which it was waged."[74] This of course had much wider and potentially very disturbing implications for the justification of warfare and required a careful policing of what being "advantageous for the church" actually meant. Nevertheless, in the case of the assaults on the missions in Paraguay, here was authoritative intellectual support for Alfaro's actions and the wider participation of Jesuit priests in the active defense of the missions and the mission populations as the people of God.

A few decades later, another Jesuit scholar, Francisco Suárez, one of the most eminent Scholastic philosophers of the early seventeenth century, meticulously discussed various moral themes and problems of conscience with respect to participation in war in his disputation on charity. At the beginning of the disputation, he asserted that by the tradition of the church (and, in particular, Saint Augustine in his polemic against the Manichees) it was even heretical to say that participation in war was an intrinsic evil, because one had to distinguish between two types of war, defensive and aggressive.[75] According to his argument, participation in war was neither an intrinsic evil (in absolute terms) nor was it prohibited for Christians. According to natural law (and, by extension, divine law), one had the right to defend one's life or property, or the common good. The right to take part in a war was not prohibited to anyone (including clerics) by natural law.[76] Nevertheless, Suárez then complicated the matter by distinguishing between that which natural law does not prohibit, and that which canon (or ecclesiastical) law does prohibit. According to canon law, he affirmed, it was indeed forbidden for a cleric to participate in war.[77]

This prohibition, he nonetheless argued, referred to an offensive war. Added to which, given that this was canon and not divine law, it could be set aside (if only for a temporary period) with permission from the pope.[78] Furthermore, he said, if it were a just war, then the sin of participating would be merely one

73 Fernandes, "Luis de Molina: On War," 244.

74 Ibid.

75 Suárez, "Three Theological Virtues: On Charity; Disputation XIII: On War," 800–65: §1:1, 800. In fact, this is not quite what Augustine is arguing and he does not use the term "heretical." The tenor of Augustine's argument is instead to berate Faustus for not considering that violence might be done righteously (and with God's permission) to correct wrongs.

76 Suárez, "Disputation XIII: On War," §3:1, 811.

77 Ibid., §3:3, 812.

78 Ibid., §3:4, 812.

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against obedience which was not as grave as a sin against justice.[79] Even more significantly, if the war were unjust, then all those who participated (on the side of the unjust) would sin against justice no matter whether they were soldiers or priests.

Nevertheless, there did exist cases of "grave necessity, if the common good of the church is at stake" in which clergy "may even be obliged by natural law to engage in [defensive] war."[80] In this, he is in complete agreement with Molina. This did not necessarily excuse the priest from the sin of homicide (were he to kill someone in the course of the war) but Suárez continued with the equivocation that a cleric, if he fights legitimately and kills or wounds someone in self-defense, would not sin.[81] More significantly, he highlighted a number of theologians who argued that it could even be obligatory for a cleric to commit homicide in defense of the common good given that defending the common good is much more meritorious than defending oneself. It was, he argued, practically certain that in such a case, a cleric would not sin, because it went against reason to think that evil could originate in an action that was obligated by charity.[82] Although he emphasized that there were opinions to the contrary, he continued by asserting that in cases of defending the common good and the lives of others against unjust aggressors, killing was not "homicide"; rather, it was "an act of fortitude and justice."[83]

In the case of the war against the Guarani missions, there was no doubt from the Jesuit perspective that this was one of the most unjust wars, and as such it was absolutely just to oppose the aggressors. This would unquestionably be in defense of the common good and in defense of the lives of others. In order to support the case for Alfaro, however, Boroa also needed to turn to scriptural precedent over and above the Scholastic arguments of his Jesuit contemporaries. Not surprisingly, then, Boroa began by citing the case of Moses who killed the Egyptian who was unjustly whipping a Hebrew slave as an authoritative precedent with which to judge the case of Alfaro.[84] It was necessary, he argued, to participate in that fight against the *bandeirantes* in order to defend his people; given that, to the contrary, after having gathered the Guarani

79 Ibid., §3:5, 812. It is important to note here that this particular point refers only to the sin of participating in war and not to the sin of killing.

80 Suárez, "Disputation XIII: On War," §3:4, 812.

81 "He does not contract an irregularity." Ibid., §3:6, 813.

82 Ibid., §3:6, 814.

83 Ibid., §3:7, 815. On this point in particular, rather than talking about the priest participating in war, he was discussing the act of encouraging soldiers to go or to participate in a just war. He compares this to exhorting a judge to make a just decision.

84 Exodus 2:11; Boroa, "Apología y defensorio, 18 Enero 1644," ARSI, *Paraq. 11*, fol. 263r.

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together in "towns to receive the faith and then after having taken them in to not defend them, would be an insult to the faith, to those who preach it and it would obstruct the benefits that receiving the faith would otherwise bring, which is their eternal and spiritual salvation."[85] If they were not defended, any attempt to compare the Jesuits with the good shepherd would be absurd, because it would give the impression that the Jesuits "gather them together like sheep for the slaughter."[86]

Boroa continued his argument by asserting that "the obligation that parish priests have to defend their parishioners is so strict that […] they must fulfil it even if their own lives were to be put at risk."[87] Nevertheless, he did not limit himself to citing theoretical works in order to support his reasoning, but instead wove together a net of cases of precedent in which clergy, bishops, and even popes had fought against those they considered to be enemies of the church.[88] This lineage of eminent warrior clergy included Popes Leo IV (r.847–55) who saw to the defense of the city of Rome and the port of Ostia which were under attack by marauding Saracens; Leo IX (r.1049–54) who led an army to their defeat against Norman invaders of the Byzantine territories on the Italian peninsula; and Alexander VI (r.1492–1503), the controversial Borgia pope who formed an alliance against Charles VIII of France (r.1483–98) to retake the kingdom of Naples.[89] Boroa recounted that throughout history "friars, priests, and even prelates of the holy orders of Saint Dominic, Francis, Augustine, the Carmelites, Mercedarians and the Society of Jesus, [have] arm[ed] themselves and gird[ed] their swords about their habits, and when the occasion demand[ed] it, they [have] fire[d] harquebuses to defend the sections of wall that the governors and magistrates assigned to them."[90] Among these priestly musketeers he mentioned a Capuchin monk and a Jesuit (both anonymous) who directed the artillery in the Spanish army in Flanders apparently for no other reason than "because they were very good at it" and who, in one particular

85 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fols. 263r–v.

86 Ibid., fol. 263v.

87 Ibid. Boroa cites one of the Visigothic councils of Toledo (although he does not specify which, merely referencing Toledo, book 4, and Aquinas's *Summa theologica*, Chapter 10, article 3) to support this argument. Aquinas in fact opposes clerics taking up arms. See the *Summa theologica*, part 2:2, question 40, "War," article 2, "Answer" and "Reply to the Objections," http://www.newadvent.org/summa/3040.htm, accessed April 6, 2015.

88 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fols. 263, 267r–269v.

89 Boroa, while not naming him, states that in 1037 a pope (Leo IV) "also with weapons in hand cast the Turks out of the kingdom of Rome" ("Apología y defensorio," fol. 263v), yet only Leo IX is generally said to have led his army into battle.

90 Ibid., fol. 267r.

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bombardment, killed the French ambassador who was standing alongside "the heretic Dutch prince of Orange."[91] The warrior prelates, meanwhile, included Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (d.1517) who, in 1509, led the forces of Ferdinand of Aragón (d.1516) against the Moors of Oran and took the city by siege; the prince archbishop of Toledo, Sancho of Aragón, who was killed in 1275 fighting the Moors in Andalucía; and the bishop of Brazil, Don Marcos de Teixeira (d.1624), who coordinated the combined Portuguese and Spanish fight against the Dutch in Salvador da Bahía, and whose death was attributed to the burden of strategic and military governance.[92] Boroa concludes his tour of militant clerical precedent with the mention of Paraguay's own bishop, Cristóbal de Aresti (d.1638, in office 1628–35), who found himself besieged by the Paulistas in Villarrica while he was carrying out the visitation of his diocese and "rode out in person to the attack."[93] All this weight of precedent he entwined with a detailed reworking of the atrocities committed by the Paulistas against the Guarani:

> More than eighty thousand have been killed by arms, overwork and bad treatment without sacraments, killing both bodies and souls. This is not counting the double numbers from Guayrá, as has been proven before his Catholic Majesty, filling the countryside, roads, and fields with dead bodies and [filling] hell with the souls of these poor [victims], who fell into their hands.[94]

Thus, in the midst of the chaos described here, Alfaro shone like the Good Shepherd

> who sweated and labored many years defending and helping his flock against those carnivorous and bloody wolves the Portuguese of Brazil. He did not carry just one lost sheep like a good Shepherd but more than fourteen thousand that he carried not just on his shoulders but also in his

91 Ibid., fol. 267r. Boroa does not try to justify this, perhaps because the justification of fighting against a heretic army would be self-evident to a Catholic readership.

92 For the bishop Marcos de Teixeira, see Thomas Tamaio de Vargas, *Restauración de la ciudad de Salvador i Baía de Todos-Sanctos de la provincia del Brasil por las armas de don Phelippe IV el Grande, rei catholico de las Españas i Indias* (Madrid: Por la viuda de Alonso Martín, 1628), fols. 42v–46r.

93 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fol. 269v.

94 Ibid., fol. 264v.

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> heart from the Mountains of Tape to Uruguay and Paraná, rescuing them from the rabid fury of those fierce lions.[95]

It was not surprising, then, that the priest who followed to the letter the role of the Good Shepherd in the parable of the lost sheep[96] would become the Good Shepherd of Saint John's Gospel who loses his life defending his flock from the wolves:[97] "And given that the heart of this conscientious Pastor could not bear to see his flock in danger […] he decided to assist even though it would put himself into danger."[98] In this defense, he was killed by the blast of a shotgun, and here we reach a key moment in Boroa's discourse, because he is not merely highlighting the obligation that all parish priests have to defend their parishioners; rather, he is constructing an entire trajectory of the spiritual progression of Diego de Alfaro. He began his journey by becoming a Jesuit priest and in so doing became responsible for souls through preaching and the administration of the sacraments. He became a healer of souls in other words or, as they are known colloquially in Spanish, a *cura*. The next step on his journey was to become an imitator of Christ, not merely because he was carrying out his office of priest and minister of the Eucharist but because he took on the role of the Good Shepherd who went out in search of his lost sheep and who ultimately sacrificed his life in their defense. Thus, he died as a martyr in imitation of Christ:

> His most blessed soul flew to the tribunal of God Our Lord to present his blood that had been shed for the defense of the faith preached in those reductions, and for those poor people that had received it, and for the faithfulness of those who Our Lord had commanded to his care, for charity and love to his sheep.

Conclusion

In Boroa's apologetic account of the death of the Jesuit Diego de Alfaro, we see a confident declaration of the martyrdom and the rightness of his actions. This affirmation was notwithstanding the fact that Alfaro was participating in violence: he

95 Ibid. His reference to the exodus of the fourteen thousand must be referring to the catastrophic translocation of the mission populations in 1631.

96 Matt. 18:12–14 and Luke 15:3–7.

97 John 10:11–18.

98 Boroa, "Apología y defensorio," fol. 265r.

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had a shotgun in his hand and it was known that he had fired it prior to his being killed. Nevertheless, he was acclaimed by his apologist as having died in imitation of Christ, as the Good Shepherd who defends his flock from the wolves and is killed in the process. The case itself is remarkable in that a Jesuit was killed fighting to defend his parishioners, while Boroa's apologia of Alfaro's actions is also remarkable in the way it draws from a wide range of materials and genres including contemporary events, historical precedent, scriptural exegesis, and Scholastic treatises in order to construct a discourse that inverted the accusations of the detractors of the Society of Jesus in the province of Paraguay and create a powerful argument for the necessity of violent resistance by the clergy to those who waged unjust war.

The extraordinary nature of both the case itself and its apologetic analysis may lead to the logical conclusion that, while distinctive, it is not distinctively Jesuit. This argument holds particular weight when, in the absence of the reply to Boroa's apologia, it is necessary to refer back to the early rules and instructions of the Society which exhorted charity rather than violence in the actions of its members and pragmatic caution when faced with situations of danger. As a counterpoint to this, however, this essay has argued that what makes the case an exemplar of the *quidditas jesuitica* is, first, that it was charity that obliged them to defend the defenseless; while, secondly, that this was understood by the Jesuits of the province of Paraguay as taking place in the context of the eternal war that was being waged on the City of God by the devil and his hosts. The Jesuit perception of this war, meanwhile, framed their understanding and representation of the catastrophic attacks that the Paulista *bandeirantes* were carrying out on the frontier missions—these were part of the diabolical assault on the church and the people of God. Thus, effective resistance was imperative, in whatever ways they could, whether that was through lobbying the papacy to excommunicate those who participated in the raids, and the Spanish crown and its representatives in a campaign to permit the Guarani to use firearms and to be trained in the techniques of modern European warfare, or whether it was to participate themselves in the urgent and necessary defense of their communities. According to the Jesuit theorist Luis de Molina, any war could be considered just if it were fought in defense of the church and the common good, and under these circumstances, it was also legitimate for clergy to fight. So too, Francisco Suárez argued that in order to defend the common good, clergy could participate in battle. The canonical prohibitions were of secondary importance compared to the obligation to protect the common good. And this is what unified the Jesuits in the province of Paraguay in their determination to protect the missions and their populations. It was what lay at the heart of the founding document of the Society—the *Formula of the Institute of the Society*—the exhortation to carry out those works of charity

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most convenient for the glory of God and for the common good. All this, Boroa drew on, as well as his vast experience as a Jesuit missionary on the Paraguayan frontier and the wealth of rhetorical learning his Jesuit formation had given him, in order to create a passionate argument that centered on the obligations of charity and justice to act. Could a priest take up arms against the hosts of the antichrist? As Boroa would have it, basing his argument on the evidence of the atrocities committed, the Scholastic shield walls provided by his fellow Jesuits Molina, Suárez, Lessius, and others, the weight of historical precedent and the scriptural imperative to imitate Christ as the Good Shepherd, the answer was a resounding yes. Not only could a priest take up arms but it would be a mortal sin not to do so.

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CHAPTER 6

Colonial Theodicy and the Jesuit Ascetic Ideal in José de Acosta's Works on Spanish America

Bryan Green

This chapter aims to demonstrate the centrality of the problem of theodicy in José de Acosta's (1540–1600) scientific, ethnographic, and historical writings on Spanish America.[1] Based on Acosta's experience as the Jesuit provincial of Peru and his active participation in the political and ecclesiastical reforms initiated under the viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1515–82), these works bear witness to the moral evils running rampant among his fellow Spaniards and the concomitant suffering inflicted upon the indigenous population.[2] While Acosta recognizes the moral evil at the root of Spanish sovereignty, namely greed in the ruthless pursuit of precious metals, his colonial theodicy nevertheless maintains that this evil is a means to the greater good of the Amerindian's salvation. In his guidelines for missionary conduct, Acosta offers a response to this ethical impasse through the performance of a distinctly Jesuit ascetic ideal, which

1 This chapter was written at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso with the support of a research grant from the Chilean government (FONDECYT Iniciación en Investigación no. 11140527, 2014–17).

2 The son of a prosperous merchant from Medina del Campo in Spain, Acosta entered the Society in 1552 and completed the first years of his studies at the Jesuit college in his hometown. Having distinguished himself as a student and grammar teacher in several Jesuit schools throughout Iberia, Acosta moved on to study philosophy and theology at the renowned University of Alcalá de Henares in 1557. After years of petitioning Jesuit authorities in Rome, he was sent to Peru as a preacher and theology professor in 1571. In Peru, Acosta directly participated in Toledo's reforms, traveled extensively throughout the viceroyalty, oversaw the Jesuit reduction at Juli (the model for future Jesuit missions throughout Spanish America), acted as the Jesuit provincial from 1576 to 1581, and authored the acts of the Third Council of Lima (1582–83), which provided the foundation for his most important works on the Americas. After a year's sojourn in Mexico, Acosta returned to Europe in 1587 and remained embroiled in the political and theological controversies surrounding the Society of Jesus until the end of his life. Upon returning to Spain, Acosta published his *De procuranda Indorum salute* in 1589 and the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, the work for which he is best known, in 1590. Though primarily an apologetic account of Acosta's "Renaissance theological humanism," Claudio M. Burgaleta, S.J., has authored the most complete biography of the sixteenth-century Jesuit available in English: Claudio Burgaleta, *José de Acosta, S.J. (1540–1600): His Life and Thought* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1999).

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combines active and contemplative vocations in the execution of the order's inner-worldly activities, and thus reaffirms the moral foundation of the evangelical enterprise in the face of the radical evil that underlies Spanish political dominion. The prolific corpus of Jesuit writings from colonial Spanish America, particularly missionary chronicles and hagiography, can thus be read as symbolic acts which attempt to resolve this fundamental theological and philosophical problem through the actualization of a uniquely Jesuit vocation rooted in the Christian tradition and adapted to the context of early modern colonial rule.[3]

Although Acosta does not submit the problem of evil to a strictly philosophical or theological treatment in his works on the nature and nations of the New World, he does forward a strong theodicy in his recognition of concrete, horrific, and seemingly senseless evils that are justified as part of God's providential plan for bringing about a greater good.[4] Succinctly put, Acosta denounces

3 On the uniqueness of the Jesuit vocation as a rejection of the cloister for more inner-worldly apostolic activities, see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 62–69. William Bangert (d.1985) cites Jerónimo Nadal's epigrammatic "spiritu, corde, practice" as summarizing the Jesuit vocation as serving "God by his alertness to the inspirations of the Holy Spirit, by his loving and ardent acceptance of his mission, and by the embodiment of his aspirations in solid and practical action." William Bangert, *Jerome Nadal, S.J., 1507–1580: Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1992), 218. In her recent work on Jesuit spirituality in the age of global expansion, J. Michelle Molina employs phenomenology and affect theory to demonstrate how Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* fomented a modern sense of self through the embodiment of a particular Christian vocation combining both active and contemplative dimensions. Molina maintains that the *Spiritual Exercises* united the Jesuits' global apostolic vocation with a method of self-scrutiny and Christian piety. This uniquely Jesuit ethic, according to Molina, was predicated upon the circulation of bodies and texts throughout the Society's global network and was popularized through the order's multifarious activities in both Europe and the Americas. J. Michelle Molina, *To Overcome Oneself: The Jesuit Ethic and the Spirit of Global Expansion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 25–31. I would add that this Jesuit ethic likewise offered a unique resolution to the problem of evil, which addressed the fundamental, and disquieting, relation of bodies in the new and expanding networks of global exchange. This confrontation with radical evil in the colonial world was essential to the articulation of action and discourse in Jesuit writing.

4 Though the term refers to a fundamental problem of religion and philosophy, "theodicy" is of relatively recent coinage, first appearing in the eponymous work (*Essais de Théodicée*, 1710) of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who derived the word from the Greek *theos* [God] and *dike* [justice]. As the German intellectual historian Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945) noted, the "riddle of theodicy" became a central preoccupation of Enlightenment philosophy upon rejecting the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, which subsequently gave way to an "empirical psychology" concerned with a rationalist calculus of pleasure and pain in human existence.

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the prevalence of moral evil among Spanish colonists and the concomitant suffering inflicted upon innocent Amerindians in the pursuit of wealth and power, yet he insists that God has used Spanish greed as a means to attract Christians to the New World and subsequently spread the Gospel, which the Jesuit deems an inestimable good. In Acosta's cosmological argument, there is nothing of the sophistication of the Jesuit theologian Francisco Suárez's (1548–1617) development of the "middle-knowledge" as a way to reconcile God's foreknowledge with human freedom to commit sinful acts.[5] Nonetheless, through his missiological guidelines, Acosta adapts and develops the Jesuit vocation as a response to the contingencies of Spanish imperial expansion, in particular to the exceptional violence upon which Spanish sovereignty is founded.

When examined through Max Weber (1864–1920) and Clifford Geertz's (1926–2006) conceptions of religion as a symbolic system elaborated as a reference for ethical conduct in the face of crisis, Acosta's work is thoroughly theodical. According to Weber, the most basic religious need of any community is to satisfy the demand of the theodicy problem, which he defines as the ethical inquiry into the unequal and unjust distribution of fortune among God's servants, essentially addressing the need to justify human suffering and mortality.[6] This fundamental dilemma for religion and culture is not only a problem of constructing a meaningful model of the world but more importantly that of providing an object to the will, that is, of reconciling ideal and material interests through purposive action. Though Weber focused on the Calvinist as the purest embodiment of the fusion of ethical and practical inner-worldly action, he also cited the Jesuit inner-worldly ascetic ideal as "a systematically formed

Though post-Kantian philosophy was generally dismissive of the problem, in the twentieth century theodicy became a concern for sociologists and anthropologists interested in how religion and culture provide a basis for meaningful action in all spheres of human activity. Not surprisingly, the problem of evil again became a concern for European philosophers following the Second World War, as evidenced by the work of Paul Ricoeur (1913–2005). In addition to its interest to contemporary Christian apologetics, such as the work of Alvin Plantinga (1932–), there is a renewed interest in theodicy as a central problem of early modern philosophers predating Leibniz. Ernst Casirrer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. Fritz C.A. Koelin and James P. Pettegrove (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 137–60. Elmar J. Kremer and Michael J. Latzer, introduction to *The Problem of Evil in Early Modern Philosophy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 3–9.

5 Alfred J. Freddoso, "Suárez on God's Causal Involvement in Sinful Acts," in *The Problem of Evil in Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Elmar J. Kremer and Michael J. Latzer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 29–33.

6 Max Weber, "The Social Psychology of World Religions," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. Hans Gerth and Charles Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 270.

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method of rational living, its aim being to overcome the *status naturae*, to release man from the power of irrational impulses and from dependency on the world and nature, to subject him to the supremacy of the purposeful will, and to subordinate his actions to his own continual control and to the consideration of their ethical consequences."[7] In a world of manifest and horrific injustice, the Jesuit ascetic ideal that Acosta adapted to the contingencies of Spanish America legitimated action by posing both the corrupt colonial and the recalcitrant Amerindian as obstacles to overcome in a trial of the will that would ultimately reaffirm the providential order realized through the Spanish occupation of the New World.[8]

While Geertz notes Weber's monotheistic bias in examining the problem of suffering and the problem of evil as one and the same, he nevertheless adopts Weber's view of religion as essentially addressing the problem of meaning through symbolic action.[9] For Geertz, religious texts and rituals are cultural performances that serve as models for and of the world, that is, they not only

7 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Routledge, 1992), 81.

8 Using Weber's sociology of religion as a starting point, the Spanish philosopher and historian José Luis Villacañas (1955–) analyzes the foundation and development of the Society against the backdrop of Spain's imperial ambitions. Villacañas argues that the strictly regimented production of spiritual consolation carried out between director and exercitant in the *Spiritual Exercises* reflects the order's contribution to the ethical rationalization of the modern secular worldview, not through an economic ethic, but rather through internalized relations of worldly power. As the Jesuit subject was both director and exercitant, he embodied both the ideal of charismatic direction of conscience and the submission to authority and the exercise of an inner-worldly vocation: "Hombres que a la vez," explains Villacañas, "son directores soberanos y siervos dirigidos y que, en uno y otro caso, reconocen una decisión sobre lo concreto, propia o ajena, asentada en la buena conciencia y en la certeza de ser instrumentos de Dios encaminados a su gloria" [Men who are at the same time sovereign directors and subordinate exercitants, and who in both cases recognize a decision over the concrete, which is founded on a clear conscience and the certainty of being instruments of God guided towards his glory]. José Luis Villacañas, *¿Qué imperio? Un ensayo polémico sobre Carlos V y la España imperial* (Madrid: Almuzara, 2008), 428–57.

9 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 105–6. Geertz suggests that the two problems reflect the affective and ratiocinative dimensions of religious ethics: "For where the problem of suffering is concerned with threats to our ability to put our 'undisciplined squads of emotion' into some sort of soldierly order, the problem of evil is concerned with threats to our ability to make sound moral judgments. What is involved in the problem of evil is not the adequacy of our symbolic resources to govern our affective life, but the adequacy of those resources to provide a workable set of ethical criteria, normative guides to govern our action" (106).

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reflect the social order but also attempt to shape this order through symbolic action. Acosta's work epitomizes this enactment of a religious tradition as means of rescuing order from contingency. In fact, his cosmological argument is aptly summarized by Geertz's definition of the religious response to the problem of evil: "the formulation, by means of symbols, of an image of such genuine order of the world which will account for, and even celebrate, the perceived ambiguities, puzzles, and paradoxes of human experience."[10] Nevertheless, Acosta's colonial theodicy does not simply stop at expressing awe at the workings of providence. As a basis for inner-worldly activities complicit with Spanish dominion, Acosta's theodicy implied a thorough examination of conscience, a methodical discipline in daily affairs, a thoroughgoing respect for hierarchies, and the assurance of a God-willed vocation as a means to achieving goals that were in the last instance performed *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

In addition to the focus on Acosta's euro-centric theory of cultural evolution and alphabetic writing, most contemporary readings of Acosta's works on Spanish America have focused on his taxonomy of pre-Hispanic idolatries and insistence on diabolic intervention in the New World.[11] In his study of diabolism and commodity fetishism from the colonial period to twentieth-century Spanish America, the anthropologist Michael Taussig (1940–) cites Acosta as an example of the dualism that pitted Christian virtues against the demonically inspired vices of the Amerindian: "For the Spaniards the world could be said to be divided into two opposed parts, the virtues and the vices. Christians cultivated virtue, and the infidels fomented evil—the servants of God and the agents of the devil, locked in a death struggle."[12] However, this is a reductionist reading of the Jesuit's thought on the problem of evil; in fact, in its association of greed and exploitation of Amerindian labor for personal gain, Acosta's theodicy

10 Ibid., 108.

11 David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 188. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 70–73. Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 26–27. Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 249–80. Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 83–86. Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 146–97.

12 Michael Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 169.

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is much closer to the pre-capitalist critique of the market economy found in the religious practices studied by Taussig. Moreover, Fermín del Pino Díaz, the editor of the latest edition of Acosta's *Historia natural y moral* (1590), has argued that many of the Jesuit's comments on demonic influence are strategically placed in order to appease the Inquisition, which would have otherwise censored his detailed descriptions of Amerindian religious practices.[13] While Acosta's work remains imbued with a belief in demonic influence, particularly with respect to pre-Hispanic religious practices, these studies have overlooked the fact that Spanish greed and cruelty figure just as prominently as manifestations of evil in Acosta's works on the Indies. In fact, in *De procuranda Indorum salute*, Acosta explains that "the devil, the enemy of the human race," employs three primary impediments to the propagation of the faith, the first of which is the conduct of many arrogant, greedy, lustful, and cruel Spaniards.[14] Thus, Acosta explicitly links the workings of the devil in the New World with the moral evil of his fellow Spaniards.

For Acosta, the violence perpetrated in the New World is evental, that is, it is associated with an unprecedented historical rupture as the underside of the new global order ushered in by the "discovery" of the Americas. In Chapter 12, book 1 of *De procuranda*, aptly titled "Violence, a Serious Obstacle to the Faith," Acosta describes the extent of Spanish greed and savagery, declaring that "never was there such cruelty in any invasion of the Greeks among the Barbarians."[15] Assuring his readers that he could cite a litany of similar incidents, "which are neither unknown nor exaggerated by the fantasy of historians," Acosta goes on to describe a specific case as related to him by a reliable witness:

> An eyewitness, who had participated in the war against the Incas in this territory, told me with tears and despair of how it was a common practice to place in the public square women hanging from the gallows, whose infant children were likewise hung from cords piercing their breasts so that as the mothers were subjected to the torment of strangulation they

13 Fermín del Pino Díaz, introduction to José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008), xxxviii–xxxix.

14 José de Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute,* in *Obras de P. José de Acosta de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. P. Francisco Mateos (Madrid: Atlas, 1954), 457.

15 José de Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, ed. Luciano Pereña (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984), 1:193. "Vix enim in ulla vel graecorum vel barbarorum irruptione ita unquam saevitum est." All quotations from *De procuranda* are my translations from the Spanish in Pereña's bilingual edition. From here on I will include the original Latin in the footnotes for reference.

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> would also be forced to be the instrument and witness of their own infants' strangulation. What an unheard of act of cruelty![16]

While the overall condemnatory tone of Chapters 11, 12, and 13 of the first book of *De procuranda* and other evidence of Spanish brutality was redacted from the 1589 edition of Acosta's work, as the Jesuit's modern editors note, this shocking passage remained from the original manuscript.[17] Acosta likely used this anecdote as a rhetorical amplification chosen to move his audience, yet it is important to bear in mind his criticisms of Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566) for abusing just such strategies in his condemnation of Spanish conquest.[18] Moreover, Acosta explicitly frames the anecdote by excluding it from those "exaggerations" peddled by less scrupulous historians. Though the image defies allegorical interpretation, Acosta's description of this scene as "an unheard act of cruelty" ("novo crudelitatis exemplo") is conspicuous. This phrase, along with the statement comparing the ancient Greek incursions against the Barbarians, underscores the singular, new ("novo") mode of violence unleashed in the Americas, as if the dispute of the ancients and moderns no longer concerned the perfection of human knowledge in the age of discovery but rather the scale and intensity of violence ushered in with the new global order.

The use of "novo" to describe this unjustifiable act of cruelty likewise resonates with the original Latin title of Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las*

16 Ibid. "Neque obscura res aut exagerationibus scriptorum amplifacata. In hoc ipso regno cum bellum gereretur adversus ingas, feminas in triviis ex alto suspensas ipsos suos infantulos uberibus perforatis pariter suspensos tenentes exponi solitas, ut uno supplicio strangulatae matres filiorum fieri suspendia cogerentur, novo crudelitatis exemplo, mihi narrabat dolenter ac luctuose qui et his interfuit et quorum pars magna fit."

17 Pereña, introduction, 21. The literary scholar Rolena Adorno (1942–) states that the censorship of *De procuranda* "reduced the work from a treatise on colonial ethics rooted in a historical perspective into a merely prescriptive guide to missionary pedagogy." Although Adorno exaggerates the extent of the censorship and the focus of the final published work, her characterization of Acosta's intent is accurate. Rolena Adorno, *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 208.

18 José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, ed. Fermín del Pino Díaz (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008), 270. Don Paul Abbott, *Rhetoric in the New World: Rhetorical Theory and Practice in Colonial Spanish America* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 66–75. Burgaleta, *José de Acosta, S.J.*, 106. Both Abbott and Burgaleta have focused on Acosta's rhetorical prescriptions and emphasis on affect in preaching to Amerindian neophytes, yet they have overlooked the many examples of amplification that Acosta uses in works intended for Christian European audiences.

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Indias (*De natura Novi Orbis*), which was originally the introduction to *De procuranda* and was later expanded and translated into Spanish in Europe for publication as a separate work.[19] Considering Acosta's frequent yet undervalued use of irony and wordplay, this resonance with the advent of the New World and the unveiling of its nature to the European gaze was very likely intentional. The *Historia natural y moral*, in fact, begins by explaining that knowledge of the lands and peoples of the Americas was withheld from the ancients, "Yet now we can say that to the great joy of our times befell the realization of those to marvels: to wit, the navigation of the Ocean with great ease and man's enjoyment of the most temperate climate of the Torrid Zone" (23).[20] While Acosta's works on the New World open with the triumphant historical vision epitomized by Hernando de Acuña's (1518–80) famous sonnet celebrating the "glorious age" reserved for the Spanish Empire under Charles V (r.1516–56), he likewise presents us with the horrific images from which Walter Benjamin's (1892–1940) angel of history inexorably retreats into the future of our present.[21]

The violence decried by Acosta is evental not only as a historical rupture signaling a new age or, *pace* Benjamin, as a messianic claim on the present, but also as the crisis of a subject facing the contingency of radical evil. Acosta not only confronts the problem of evil but more broadly that of the unjustifiable.[22] According to the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur (1913–2005), the unjustifiable

19 Pereña, introduction, 26.

20 Acosta, *Historia natural y moral*, 23.

21 Hernando de Acuña, "Al Rey Nuestro Señor," in *Poesía lírica del Siglo de Oro*, ed. Elías L. Rivers (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002), 109. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1968), 253–64.

22 In an early essay on Jean Nabert's (1881–1960) *Essai sur le mal*, Ricoeur critically examines rationalist theodicies that would reduce evil to a violation of norms defining a rule-bound subjectivity. Instead of evil as such, Ricoeur, following Nabert, focuses on the unjustifiable as that which surpasses the bounds on any opposition between the valid or the invalid: "telle cruauté, telle bassesse, telle inégalité extreme dans les conditions sociales me bouleversent sans que je puisse designer les norms violées; ce n'est plus un symétrique que je comprendrais encore par opposition au valable; ce sont des maux qui s'inscrivent dans une contradiction plus radicale que celle du valable et du non valable et suscitent une demande de justification que le accomplissement du devoir ne satisferait plus" [such cruelty, such baseness, such extreme inequality of social conditions overwhelms me without being able to determine the norms that are violated; it is no longer the inverse of what I could still comprehend in opposition to the valid; these are evils that are inscribed within a more radical contradiction than that of the valid and invalid, and they provoke a demand for justification that the fulfillment of duty will never satisfy]. Paul Ricoeur,

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event reveals the impasse of a moral subject brought into being as an affirmation against the course of the world (the originary act of the will) at the same time that this affirmation is always already the recognition of a purer self never realized through contingent action. Just as this contingency produces a fissure between the pure and particular self, it likewise signals a rupture between individual subjects constituted through a relation of reciprocity. For Ricoeur, this double rupture within the self and between the self and other is constitutive of subjectivity and implies, contrary to Geertz's anthropological approach, a fundamental unity of the problems of sin and suffering. "All evil committed by one person," affirms Ricoeur, "is evil undergone by another. To do evil is to make another person suffer. Violence in this sense, constantly recreates the unity of moral evil and suffering."[23] The reciprocity of evil within the unity of sin and suffering is present throughout Acosta's writings, particularly in his emphasis on the vice of greed and the pursuit of precious metals in the New World. This unity is explicit in Acosta's description of the infernal conditions in the silver mines of Potosí: "A horrible thing to behold and to even imagine: such is the love for money, in the pursuit of which so much is done and suffered."[24] The unfettered desire for personal gain and the horrific suffering of the Amerindian are two aspects of the unjustifiable event that, for Acosta, has brought the New World into being and must be subsumed into an ethical framework for continuing the imperial and evangelical projects with a sense of legitimacy.

In *De procuranda Indorum salute*, Acosta returns to the hellish conditions of Amerindian laborers in Potosí and expounds his theodicy, in which ruthless greed and abject suffering are intimately linked. In a passage echoing his description of mining techniques in book 2 of the *Historia natural*, Acosta begins with a jeremiad condemning the greed and lack of compassion among his compatriots but ends with his astonishment at the mysterious workings of providence:

> Seen from this perspective, I am not sure what would be better. On the one hand, I should denounce the calamity of our times in which charity has grown so cold, and faith is almost nowhere to be found on the face of

"L'Essai sur le mal," in *Lectures 2: Le contrée des philosophes* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1999), 239.

23 Paul Ricoeur, "Evil, a Challenge to Philosophy and Theology," in *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative, and Imagination*, ed. Mark I. Wallace, trans. David Pellauer (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1995), 259.

24 Acosta, *Historia natural y moral*, 109. "Cosa horrible y que, en pensalla, aún pone grima: tanto es el amor del dinero, por cuya recuesta se hace y padece tanto."

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> the earth, as cited in the Gospels. Is not the salvation of so many souls through the faith of Christ sufficient payment to awaken and move the souls of our people? Is gold and silver so important to us that, if they are not to be found, we are not interested in the salvation of souls? But on the other hand, one must profoundly admire the goodness and providence of God, who adjusts to the condition of mankind, and in order to attract such remote and barbarous nations to the Gospel he copiously endowed these lands with precious metals in order to awaken greed in our people. If charity towards other souls does not move us, will then our thirst for gold at least lure us? And just as the incredulity of the Israelites caused the salvation of the gentiles, so now the avarice of Christians is converted into the cause of the evangelization of the Indies.[25]

Acosta's colonial theodicy presents an approach to the problem of evil similar to Hegel's *Aufhebung*, the German philosopher's concept for the dialectical overcoming of error, which, according to Ricoeur, "makes the tragic and the logical coincide at every stage. Something must die so that something greater must be born. In this sense, misfortune is everywhere, but everywhere it is surpassed, to the extent that reconciliation always wins out over what is torn apart."[26] This providential dialectic—derived from a wager for coherence in the face of radical evil—provides an alternate genealogy for the transmutation of private vices into public benefits, generally attributed to late seventeenth-century English political philosophy and the changing relations between the private and public spheres in Europe.[27] Nevertheless, Acosta goes on to compare

25 Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, 1:533. "Equidem nescio utrum potius faciam, querarne nostrorum temporum calamitatem et charitatem refrigescentem fidemque raro in quoquam inventam iuxta Domini verbum, tot animarum milliaut Christo lucrifant non satis merces videri dignas quae nostrorum animos excitent, auri argentique cupiditatem longe plus valere apud nos, ut ista si desint, animarum salus pro nihil fiat? An vero Dei bonitatem summaque providentiam admirer qui pro nostrorum hominum ingenio, ut gentes adeo remotas et barbaras Evangelio adiungeret, aurum argentumque in his terris tam copiose donavit hisque veluti illexit nostrorum cupiditatem, ut si charitas non invitaret animarum, auri saltem cupiditas inescaret? Et quemadmodum olim incredulitatis Israelis salus fuit gentium, ita nunc christianorum avaritia indorum vocatio facta est."

26 Ricoeur, "Evil, a Challenge to Philosophy," 256.

27 Acosta by no means condones these vices, nor does he relegate them to a private sphere beyond the intervention of the state. Nevertheless, his reconciliation of moral evil with a providential design for the New World is taken a step further by the early seventeenth century. Acosta's near-contemporary Bernardo de Balbuena's (1562–1627) early Baroque ode to Mexico City, *Grandeza mexicana* (1604), perhaps stakes the most legitimate claim

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the suffering of the Amerindian with the Roman persecution of Jerusalem, and declares that God often "shows wrath with his own people and mercy with foreigners" in order to realize a greater good.[28] This analogy undermines the dualist, triumphalist interpretation of Acosta's work: here the Jesuit subtly recasts the Amerindians as God's chosen people and the Spaniards as pagan invaders.

Though Acosta insists on the moderate use of coercive violence as a means of preserving Spanish sovereignty and forwarding the conversion of the Amerindian, he repeatedly references the illegitimate and morally corrupt foundations of Spanish dominion. For example, in the *Historia natural y moral*, Acosta candidly remarks that the "idolatry" of precious metals was not as prominent among the Amerindians as among "those bad Christians that have committed great excesses in pursuit of gold and silver."[29] Acosta's explicit linking of the Spanish obsession with precious metals and the evil of idolatry is particularly remarkable in light of his extensive and oft-cited categorization of Amerindian idolatries in book 5 of the *Historia natural y moral*.[30] Nevertheless,

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as a precursor to Bernard Mandeville's (1670–1733) *Fable of the Bees* (1705). Balbuena celebrates the pursuit of self-interest as the force behind the greatness of Mexico City, not only in arts, architecture, and manufactures but also in holiness: "Por todas parte la codicia a rodo/Que ya cuanto se trata y se practica/Es interés de un modo o de otro modo/Este es el sol que al mundo vivifica/Quien lo conserva, rige y acrecienta/Lo ampara, lo defiende y fortifica" [On all sides greed abounds/For all that is done or dealt/Is somehow in one's self-interest/For his is the sun that warms the world,/Conserving, ruling, and increasing/Sheltering, defending, and fortifying all]. The Mexican poet and essayist Octavio Paz (1914–88) observed the strangeness of this paean to the vices of urban life, which starkly contrasts with the Spanish pastoral tradition from Garcilaso de la Vega (1501–36) to Luis de Góngora (1561–1627), yet Balbuena's moral vision seems a natural evolution of Acosta's providential dialectic, and even foreshadows the predominant moral vision of modern political economy. Bernardo de Balbuena, *Grandeza mexicana y fragmentos del Siglo de Oro y el Bernardo* (México, DF: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma, 1954), 15. Octavio Paz, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, o las trampas de la fe* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983), 72–73.

28 Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, 1:533–35.

29 Acosta, *Historia natural y moral*, 98.

30 Acosta, of course, was not the first to suggest that the Spanish conquistadors' pursuit of precious metals was a form of idolatry. In his *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552), Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566) famously ridiculed the Spanish idolatry of gold with the inclusion of a speech supposedly given by the Taino leader Hatuey. Whereas Las Casas links the Spanish desire of precious metals to idolatry through analogy, Acosta maintains that this desire is literally idolatrous and represents a moral evil underlying the new world order. A comparison between the positions of the Dominican

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the abundance of precious metals in the Indies that provokes this idolatry is, according to the Jesuit, further evidence of the "wisdom of the eternal Lord" who employs human vices as a means of spreading Christianity to regions of the world that otherwise offer no incentives to explorers, merchants, or empires.[31] Using a colorful analogy, Acosta explains that just as the father of an ugly daughter must offer a generous dowry in order to interest suitors, so too has God endowed the Indies with precious metals in order to lure Christians to an otherwise unattractive land.[32]

If, as Acosta argues, the idolatry of precious metals is an evil God permits as a means to consummating a universal order, then what are we to make of Acosta's attribution of the proliferation of idolatries in pre-Hispanic America to the machinations of the "enemy of men"?[33] From the outset of his "Moral History" of the Indies, Acosta informs his reader that he only intends to relate the history of the Indies prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, that is, "up to the doors of the Gospel," or the event that brings about the new order.[34] Nevertheless, while describing the devil's free reign in the Americas prior to and outside of the universal order of Christendom, Acosta returns to that evil inside, or at the origin, of this order as a means permitted for the greater good. For example, Acosta turns to the vice of greed in his description of the cult of Quetzalcoatl in Cholula, which he portrays as a republic known for engaging in commerce both before and after the arrival of the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés (1485–1547).[35] According to Acosta, the "cholulanos" worshipped the Nahuatl deity because of his power to bestow riches upon his followers, just like the cult of Mammon referenced in the New Testament: "And truly," asserts the Jesuit, "the name that the Cholulans gave their god was appropriate, although they did not understand it themselves: they called him Quetzalcoatl, which means 'serpent of rich plumage,' for such is the demon of greed."[36] As if to drive home the subtle parallel with the Spanish desire for precious metals, Acosta returns to the Cholulan cult of Quetzalcoatl in the conclusion of book 5, in which he offers a detailed description of the merchant festival dedicated to the Nahuatl deity. Acosta punctuates this description

and the Jesuit on the subject of idolatry and evil is the topic of a forthcoming work. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, ed. André Saint-Lu (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999), 91–92.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., 164.

34 Ibid., 151.

35 Ibid., 164.

36 Ibid.

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with a seemingly dualistic opposition between the Old and the New Worlds, or between Christianity and Amerindian idolatry: "For the same Spaniards, over there or wherever they may find themselves, this history may cause us to feel grateful to Our Lord God, giving infinite thanks for the great good of giving us his holy Law, which is entirely just, clean and beneficial. This is well recognized in comparison with the laws of Satan, under which so many wretches have lived."[37] Yet this dualism does not necessarily neatly divide the Spanish from the Amerindian. Acosta ambiguously laments that such a great part of the world still lives in "blindness and darkness" and calls upon those with a Christian heart to "grieve for those who still continue on the path to their perdition, and to urge the father of mercy to reveal the treasures and riches of Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit reigns for all eternity. Amen."[38] Given Acosta's condemnation of Spanish vices throughout both the *Historia natural y moral* and *De procuranda*, he seems to weave an intentional ambiguity with regard to who exactly is on the path to perdition. The evocation of the "treasures and riches of Jesus Christ" suggests a direct opposition, not to Amerindian idolatry, but rather the ruthless pursuit of precious metals that Acosta views as the immediate cause of the Spanish occupation of the Americas.

The subtle reference to Spanish greed becomes more explicit in the conclusion of his "moral" history of the Indies, as Acosta describes the excesses of the Spanish soldiers left behind by Hernán Cortés in Tenochtitlan and their ignominious retreat during the so-called "Noche Triste." Acosta explains that the Spaniards were forced to fashion portable bridges to make their escape across the canals of the island city, but upon reaching the second canal "more than three hundred men fell wounded and trampled where today there is a shrine (impertinently and without reason) called the 'shrine of the Martyrs.' Many could not escape because of the jewels and gold they carried; others, who stopped to pick these up, were taken prisoner by the Mexicans and cruelly sacrificed before their idols."[39] In stark contrast to the providential discourse of Hernán Cortés's official historian, Francisco López de Gómara (1511–64), who portrays the conquest of Tenochtitlan as a heroic enterprise in which military domination and evangelization seamlessly converged, Acosta focuses on the base motives of the Spanish soldiers and adds a heavy dose of indignation at the suggestion that the fallen should be considered martyrs.[40] In concluding

37 Ibid., 198.
38 Ibid., 199.
39 Ibid., 268.
40 Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 132–34.

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the "Moral History" with the fall of Tenochtitlan, Acosta seems to place the first wave of Spanish conquest prior to the "doors of the Gospel," which he announces as the temporal limit at the beginning of book 5. However, this is an ambivalent threshold, as it does not neatly divide Spanish virtues and Amerindian vices; in fact, Acosta's historical relation would seem to place the evil of Spanish greed within the pre-history of the new global order ordained by Providence. Nevertheless, the moral evil of Spanish greed and cruelty persists as the exception permitted in order to bring about a new order that is never fully realized, as Acosta demonstrates throughout his works on the Americas.

In the concluding chapters of the *Historia natural y moral*, Acosta again emphasizes the excesses of the Spaniards during the first wave of conquest, but he reasserts his awe at the "marvelous designs" employed by God in order to spread his Gospel.[41] In the final chapter, titled "On the Plan Ordained by Divine Providence for the Entrance of the Christian Religion in the Indies," Acosta brings together the two most prominent figurations of evil that appear throughout his work: the greed of Spanish conquerors and merchants, and the diabolic influence behind Amerindian idolatry. As had also been the case in the Mediterranean world during the first centuries of the Christian era, Acosta asserts that the existence of vast empires with their own lingua franca facilitated the spread of Christianity in the Indies; nevertheless, the Jesuit laments that this new wave of evangelization was spearheaded by "merchants and soldiers who with the fever of greed and worldly concerns search out and find new nations where we follow with our own merchandise."[42] With an acid irony that is difficult to convey in translation, Acosta refers to the Gospel as mere "merchandise" that missionaries are obliged to trade following the lead of men solely concerned with worldly gains, but who eventually prove to be the means by which the Gospel is spread in modern times.[43] Acosta goes on to argue that the Amerindians' "servitude and subjection to the devil" was likewise part of

41 Ibid., 270.

42 Ibid., 271.

43 In his analysis of the concluding chapters of the *Historia natural y moral*, the otherwise rigorous modern biographer of Acosta, Burgaleta, omits this explicit reference to the moral evil of Spaniards as a means to the fulfillment of a providential order alongside the diabolically inspired evils that existed in the Americas prior to the event of "discovery" (99–101). Acosta seems to contradict the doctrine of Aquinas on *malum poenae* [evil suffered] and *malum culpae* [evil done]: while the "Angelic Doctor" asserted that the former could be a lack of being used as the means to an eventual greater goodness, the latter could never be a means to an end within a providential plan. Brian Davies, *Thomas Aquinas on God and Evil* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 117.

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the providential plan, "which from these very evils brings forth goods, and reaps his own good from another's evil, which he did not sow" (271). The Jesuit explains that those very nations that suffered under the yoke of Satan were the same who most warmly embraced the more just law of Christianity, even though this justice was only rarely on display, as Acosta demonstrates throughout his work. Furthermore, these nations were already vaguely familiar with Christian rites, as the devil had perversely mimicked communion, confession, and the triune deity through pre-Hispanic religious practices.

Curiously, Acosta's conjectures about the existence of a northern passage linking the Atlantic and Pacific oceans (the fabled Strait of Anian) are also framed within the colonial theodicy used to justify the moral evil underlying Spanish dominion. In this case, however, the immediate cause of a new providential order is not the expansion of the Spanish Empire spurred on by the desire for precious metals but rather the expeditions of the English pirate Francis Drake (1540–96). Acosta asserts that the "secret" of the northern passage will soon be revealed, for "it is a truth worthy of awe that just like little ants men will follow after the traces and reports of novelties until they come upon the sweetness of greed and human glory."[44] The insect analogy emphasizes both the smallness of human ambitions in relation to the inscrutability of providential designs as well as the Jesuit's undisguised contempt for the vices run rampant in the New World. Acosta's reproachful tone is again eclipsed by his awe at the wisdom of a Creator who employs European vices as the means to "communicate the light of his holy Gospel to people who still live in the dark shadows of their errors."[45] This theodical argument, however, unexpectedly equates the expansion of the Spanish Empire with piracy, both, according to Acosta, driven by greed and lust for worldly power though unwittingly executing a divine will. Acosta thus raises the specters of those two fundamental enemies of the *nomos* of international law (the tyrant and the pirate) as the figures of a foundational violence upon which the sovereign decision, and the law itself, is based.[46] Acosta explicitly addresses this problem in *De procuranda*:

44 Acosta, *Historia natural y moral*, 75.

45 Ibid.

46 The German political philosopher Carl Schmitt (1888–1985) explains that the tyrant and the pirate represented complementary figures of the enemy that "not only obtained their meaning from, but affirmed the existence of the concrete order of the international law of empire." While Schmitt limits this complementarity to the medieval concept of *imperium*, the religious studies scholar Gil Anidjar argues that this medieval concept of spatialized enmity (i.e., a figure existing outside the legal order, an "outlaw") is fundamental to the political theorist's concept of a sovereign decision based on the exception or suspension of the law. Anidjar furthermore relates these two figures of the enemy to Saint

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"For what kingdom or empire is there that does not owe in great part its first origin to violence? It was not in vain that the Ancients used the same word to refer to kings and tyrants."[47] As the Latin American literary scholar Ivonne del Valle argues, Acosta struggles with this fundamental political aporia throughout his work, if only to conclude that the evangelical project trumps the illegitimacy of Spanish dominion in the New World.[48] Though the solution to the problem of Spanish sovereignty remains underdeveloped and unsatisfactory in Acosta's work, he nevertheless offers a partial resolution of this impasse through symbolic action, that is, through the performance of the missionary vocation detailed in *De procuranda*.

Throughout the *De procuranda*, Acosta details the implementation of the Jesuits' particular vocation of contemplatives in action, which called for an ascetic self-denial in the execution of spiritual, intellectual, and inner-worldly activities performed *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.[49] The guidelines elaborated in *De procuranda* are essentially instructions for a cultural performance that would bring order out of chaos through the actualization of an ascetic ideal deeply rooted in Christian tradition. In his call for stringent discipline, intellectual rigor, and irreproachable conduct among missionaries, Acosta not only applies the Jesuit vocation as a response to the intractable moral dilemmas of the Indies but also forwards an implicit rebuke to the opinion, expressed by no less an authority than Jerónimo Nadal (1507–80), that only less qualified Jesuits should be sent for missionary work in the Indies while

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Augustine's equation of piracy and monarchy, which, as Anidjar notes, not only links the state of exception and sovereignty but also the global order of commerce and international law. Considering his often direct and acid criticism of Spanish conduct in the expansion of empire in the Americas, it is very likely that Acosta had Augustine's anecdote in mind when writing this passage. Carl Schmitt, *The* Nomos *of the Earth in the International Law of the* Jus Publicum Europaeum, trans. Gary L. Ulmen (New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2003), 65. Gil Anidjar, "Terror Right," *New Centennial Review* 4, no. 3 (Winter 2003): 59.

47 Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, 1:401. "Quod enim regnum est, quod non violentia magna ex parte initio quaesitum sit? Ut non inepte pud veteres et reges et tyranni eodem nomine censeantur."

48 Ivonne del Valle argues that the contradiction between the violence of Spanish conquest and Acosta's faith in a providential order leads him to develop a third way between Machiavelli's realpolitik and Las Casas's utopianism, which she defines as the "Baroque as a Christian-political solution to the problem of dominion." Ivonne del Valle, "José de Acosta, Violence and Rhetoric: The Emergence of Colonial Baroque," *Calíope* 18, no. 2 (2013): 49.

49 William V. Bangert and Thomas M. McCoog, *Jerome Nadal, S.J., 1507–1580* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992), 246–69.

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more talented candidates should be reserved for ministry in Europe.[50] Citing Saint Ambrose (340–97), Acosta claims that the ministers chosen to govern both the civil and ecclesiastic spheres in Spanish America should be carefully vetted for their Christian virtue, as they are all "pedagogues" to the Amerindians through their example.[51] As the success of the evangelical mission in the Americas depends upon the prior establishment of a civil order, Acosta argues that virtuous officials, both secular and ecclesiastic, are crucial. This model of virtue is performed not only against the foil of Amerindian idolatry but even more importantly as a counter-example to the rampant vices Acosta has observed among his fellow Spaniards.

According to Acosta, the missionary's example is especially important because of the lack of a tradition or institutions to guide the conduct of both colonizer and colonized: "Everything is new. There are no established customs. Except for natural law, the laws are not at all firmly set down. The traditions and examples from past times are either inexistent or unworthy of imitation."[52] While this statement seems to suggest that the blame lies with pre-Hispanic customs, the Jesuit is equally severe with the colonizers' vices. Acosta relates a scene in which Amerindians ironically evoke a biblical verse to criticize the misconduct they observe in their Spanish overlords:

> The very prophet Ezekiel, though he seems to speak of the people of Israel, with more certainty could be said to refer to the men of our age, when he attributes to God that lamentation: *But when they came to the nations, wherever they came, they profaned my holy name, in that it was said of them, "These are the people of the Lord, and yet they had to go out of his land."* A testimony to their disgust and disapproval, the gentiles frequently apply these words, full of irony, when they speak of us among themselves, and they even throw them in our faces when we chastise them excessively, because they see us doing the same things that we reprehend in them (1:411).[53]

50 Ibid., 244.

51 Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, 1:403.

52 Ibid., 407. "Omnia nova, nullae consuetudines certae; leges iuraque omnia, naturali excepto, nihil propemodum firma; auctoritas exemplaque superiorum temporum vel nulla vel non imitanda."

53 Ibid., 411. "Propheta sane Ezechiel, etsi de suo Israele narrare videtur, verius tamen de nostri aevi hominibus vaticinari credendus est, cum illa divinie doloris et querimoniae plena pronuntiat: *Et ingressi sunt ad gentes ad quas introierunt; et polluerunt nomen sanctum meum, cum diceretur de eis: populus Dei iste est, et de terra eius egressi sunt*. Quas sane ironicas voces fastidii et despicentiae testes, cum inter se gentes de nobis saepissime

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It is not only the fact that Spaniards are the focus of the scrutinizing gaze of the Amerindian subject that makes the election of virtuous officials so important; the distance from the controlling gaze of both the sovereign and the pontifex also extends "a broad field of action for licentiousness and low passions."[54] The Americas then become a symbolic space for the exercise of self-discipline and control where the Amerindian would be edified by the example of his or her secular and ecclesiastic authorities, and where the very justification of Spanish rule was put on trial against the backdrop of customs and cultures that required an absolute reform. This performance is nonetheless trapped in a double-bind: while the missionary ostensibly embodies a model of virtue in order to draw the Amerindian away from the darkness of pre-Hispanic idolatry into the light of Christianity, the example extolled by Acosta derives its symbolic potency in relation to the Spanish vices that paradoxically undergird this evangelical project.

In his reaffirmation of the evangelical virtues of chastity, poverty, and obedience, Acosta indirectly reflects the lack of strict observance among his peers. Interestingly, Acosta again turns to greed as the most nefarious vice among Christian apostles in the New World: in the chapter titled "On Chastity and the Necessary Sacrifices for Preaching the Gospel," he declares, "But if the depravity of lust makes the apostle despicable, the filth of greed makes him hateful."[55] The contrast of Acosta's ideal missionary with the reality of the Americas is reflected in a supposed dialogue, between himself and an unnamed priest from Callao, in the viceroyalty of Peru. In this dialogue, Acosta criticizes the priest not only for his avarice and lust but also for his ignorance of the language spoken by his catechumens, concluding that Amerindians may be condemned for their infidelity but that a much more severe judgment awaited this remiss apostle.[56] Acosta impugns not only the priest's lack of virtue but also his ignorance: he has not taken the time to observe, study, and master the language of his catechumens in order to draw them into the fold.[57] In addition

usurpant, tum vero cum acrius obiurgantur etiam in os nobis iactare non verentur, eadem quippe ipsi agimus quae in illis maxime reprehendimus."

54 Ibid., 409. "licentiae ac libidini praefectorum campus late patens ostenditur."

55 Ibid., 187. "Quemmadmodum vero impudicitiae foeditas despicabilem reddit praedicatorem, ita avaritiae sordes faciunt odiosum."

56 Ibid., 389.

57 According to Francisco Leonardo Lisi, this insistence on the command of Amerindian languages was one of Acosta's principal contributions to the ecclesiastical reforms of the Third Council of Lima. Francisco Leonardo Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio Limense y la aculturación de los indígenas sudamericanos* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1990), 65.

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to the evangelical virtues that the Jesuits' attempted to embody through their missionary activity in the Americas, this intellectual discipline, which Acosta reflects in his own meticulous and prolific works, increasingly becomes central to the order's ideal of self-mastery. This ascetic ideal, developed as a response to the problem of colonial theodicy, thus becomes a mode of symbolic action for reconciling the contradictions underlying Spanish sovereignty. The prolific Jesuit missionary hagiographies and histories published by the order throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries document this self-mastery, which includes the willingness to suffer the dangers and deprivation of the colonial frontier while remaining a model of virtue and intellectual discipline.

Though a relatively understudied work within Acosta's corpus,[58] his edifying letter on the life of the coadjutor Bartolomé Lorenzo, one of the earliest contributions to this canon of Jesuit missionary hagiography, vividly illustrates the conjuncture of the Jesuit ascetic ideal with a particular narrative mode as a symbolic performance that serves as a "resolution of determinant contradictions."[59]

58 Though considered a "minor" work, Acosta's letter, written in 1586 and addressed to the Jesuit general Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), can perhaps stake a claim to being the most widely circulated of his writings behind the *Historia natural y moral* given that it was later included in Alonso de Andrade's *Varones ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús* (1666). As further testament to the circulation of Acosta's edifying letter, a modified version was included in the Novohispanic Jesuit Juan Antonio de Oviedo's (1670–1756) menology of the Society's distinguished coadjutors, which was published in New Spain in 1755. In his detailed study of the publication history and content of the edifying letter, Lorenzo Rubio González recognizes its "literary form" and "providentialist character," yet he fails to connect the work to the concerns at the center of Acosta's other writings. José Juan Arrom more forcefully argues for the strictly literary character of Acosta's letter, which he places within the genealogy of the twentieth-century Latin American novel. Juan Antonio Oviedo, *Elogios de algunos hermanos coadjutores de la Compañía de Jesús que vivieron, y murieron con opinión, y fama de santidad* (Mexico: Imprenta de la viuda de don Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1755), 2:324–44. Lorenzo Rubio González, "Sobre la 'Peregrinación de Bartolomé Lorenzo' (Relato de aventuras por las Indias Occidentales)," *Castilla: Estudios de literatura* no. 1 (1980): 81. José Juan Arrom, "Precursores coloniales de la narrativa Hispanoamericana: José de Acosta o la ficción como biografía," *Revista Iberoamericana* 44, no. 104–5 (1978): 369–83.

59 I am invoking Frederic Jameson's (1934–) classic description of narrative as a socially symbolic act. Though Jameson's analysis is almost exclusively limited to the modern novel, it is nevertheless applicable to the prolific corpus of hagiographic narratives that the Society of Jesus produced for a broad reading public from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The performance of the Jesuit ascetic ideal and its concomitant articulation through narrative as a model of spiritual heroism and virtue enacted against the backdrop of

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In his peregrination throughout the Caribbean, Central America, and finally the viceroyalty of Peru, where he is drawn to the example of the Jesuits, Lorenzo's eremitic love of solitude and self-denial provides a stark foil to the vices rampant among Europeans, who are not only represented by Catholic Spaniards and Portuguese but also by Lutheran French pirates. In a subtle foreshadowing to the climax of Acosta's account, Lorenzo begins his journey aboard a ship transporting African slaves from Cape Verde to Hispaniola, thus underscoring the conjunction of greed, commerce, and violence that sustained the Spanish imperial enterprise in the Americas. Acosta molds the story of Lorenzo's misfortunes and exemplary piety into a parable for his resolution of the problem of colonial theodicy: though the young Portuguese is drawn to the New World through commerce and the promise of mining wealth, these prove to be the means by which he discovers his true vocation within the Society of Jesus. In Hispaniola, Lorenzo's modest commercial and mining endeavors fail miserably, and he is forced to flee when colonial officials discover he has entered Spanish territories without permission. While Lorenzo is a witness to the marvelous natural landscapes of the Americas, for which he was an important source for Acosta's *Historia natural y moral*, these landscapes are likewise the refuge of escaped Amerindian and African slaves who are a reminder of the violence of the Spanish colonial system. In Jamaica, Lorenzo comes upon a solitary old man who remained hidden for twenty years from the "oppression and mistreatment of the Spaniards."[60] In Panama, he is accosted by escaped slaves who have turned to banditry and murder, but who are moved by Lorenzo's simplicity, generosity, and humility.[61] In perhaps the most ambiguous episode of Lorenzo's journey, he lives as a hermit for eight months in the proximity of a priest who, "with the covetousness [*codicia*] of losing his slaves [*negros*]," has followed a group of Africans who have fled into the "desert" of the Central American jungles to escape their overseer.[62] When Lorenzo finally comes upon an indigenous

conflicts inherent to a given society is a consummate example of this "resolution of determinant contradictions." Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), 66.

60 José de Acosta, *Peregrinación de Bartolomé Lorenzo*, in *Obras de P. José de Acosta de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. P. Francisco Mateos (Madrid: Atlas, 1954), 308: "la opresión y malos tratamientos de los españoles."

61 Ibid., 311.

62 Ibid., 312–13: "con la codicia de no perder sus negros." Though this passage is confusingly written, Acosta, as elsewhere, seems to employ "codicia [covetousness or greed]" ironically: i.e., the priest was covetous of the salvation of his catechumens, who were driven away by the material greed of their Spanish overseers. Tellingly, the passage is omitted from Oviedo's eighteenth-century version.

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community that is trusting and welcoming of Spaniards, it is just prior to his arrival in Portoviejo in Ecuador, where he is promptly forced to participate in slave raids against peaceful Amerindians.

An exemplar of Christian charity and rejection of worldly comforts throughout his travails as a shipwrecked, wandering hermit, Lorenzo is dragooned into the local militia by the captain and mayor of Portoviejo, to whom he vehemently protests that "he would not endeavor to deprive anyone of their freedom, and that those Indians against whom the expedition was planned had done nothing to offend him that would justify war."[63] Despite his "repugnance," Lorenzo is nevertheless forced to participate under threat of execution and bears witness to scenes of cruelty that Acosta elsewhere denounces as the underside of the "new" world order. The future Jesuit coadjutor redeems himself by saving the life of a six-year-old child and by immediately freeing the three slaves he receives as payment. When Lorenzo refuses to participate in a second slave raid and seeks refuge in a convent, a coronel is sent to compel him but ends up repenting when the hermit admonishes him to reflect upon his sins. Acosta explains that Lorenzo abandoned Portoviejo not for fear of reprisal from the mayor but rather for fear that the rest of the populace might take justice into its own hands and hang him for insulting the colonel and deserting the militia. Read in light of Acosta's other works, this episode, the most detailed in his edifying letter on the life of Brother Lorenzo, demonstrates how deeply the political, social, and economic life of the Spanish colonies was rooted in a continuous state of exception dominated by the ruthless pursuit of wealth.[64]

63 Ibid., 317: "que él no había de ir a quitar a nadie su libertad, y que aquellos indios, contra quien se encaminaba esa jornada, no le habían a él ofendido para que los fuese a guerrear."

64 This case of the imminent threat of mob violence as a means of upholding respect for the law exemplifies Walter Benjamin's well-known reflections on sovereign violence and the state of exception: "For the function of violence in lawmaking is two-fold in the sense that lawmaking pursues as its end, with violence as the means, *what* is to be established as law, but at the moment of instatement does not dismiss violence; rather, at this very moment of lawmaking, it specifically establishes as law not an end unalloyed by violence but one necessarily and intimately bound to it, under the title of power." Benjamin, Walter, "Critique of Violence," in *Selected Writings*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 1:248. Acosta's writings bring into relief the paradoxical nature of the sovereign decision and the state of exception as expressed by Giorgio Agamben (1942–): "The state of exception is not so much a spatiotemporal suspension as a complex topological figure in which not only the exception and the rule but also the state of nature and law, outside and inside, pass through one another." Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 37.

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Acosta's edifying letter fittingly ends when Lorenzo happens upon Father Cristóbal Sánchez[65] of the Society of Jesus and observes the Jesuit vocation, which is clearly distinguishable from the other religious orders:

> He did not know which religious order the Society of Jesus was, nor did he have any news of the order. But he carefully watched those fathers, and he was drawn to them; and he especially took note of their great charity in not denying themselves to anybody, regardless of the low condition of the petitioner, and how they attempted to procure the salvation of all. He was also pleased by the fact that they maintained a strict reclusion at the inn, and upon seeing that they used the common habit of the clergy he was further drawn to them, as he had never liked to wear a hood.[66]

Lorenzo is accepted into the order as a coadjutor and becomes an edifying example to his brethren in Lima and to future members of the order through Acosta's letter, which was republished throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Though Acosta's narrative on Brother Lorenzo lacks many aspects of the Jesuit missionary vocation in Spanish America that are prominent in seventeenth-century chronicles—particularly the gift for languages applied to the evangelization of Amerindians with no history of contact with Europeans—the story observes the increasingly familiar pattern of an ascetic ideal performed against the backdrop of vices inherent in colonial rule. Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's (1585–1652) *Conquista espiritual* (1639), which narrates the confrontation between Jesuit missionaries in Paraguay

65 According to the Jesuit historian Ruben Vargas Ugarte, Sánchez was a canon priest from Cuzco who joined the Society of Jesus in Lima in 1568 at the age of thirty-five. In his seventeenth-century manuscript history of the Peruvian province, Giovanni Anello Oliva (1572–1642) writes that Sánchez died ten years later (1578) in the city of Chachapoyas, where he was renowned for his saintliness. Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú* (Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1963), 1:53. Giovanni Anello Oliva, *Historia del reino y provincias del Perú*, ed. Carlos M. Gálvez Peña (Lima: Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1998), 231.

66 Acosta, *Peregrinación*, 320. "Él no sabía qué religión era la Compañía de Jesús, ni tenía noticia de ella; pero miró mucho a aquellos padres, y pareciéronle bien; y especialmente notó su mucha caridad en no negarse a nadie, por bajas que fuesen las personas, y que con todos trataban de su salvación. Y también le agradó mucho que a sus solas en la posada guardaban grande recogimiento, y el ver que traían hábito común de clérigos le tiró la inclinación, porque siempre se le había hecho de mal ponserse capilla."

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and slave-raiders from São Paulo, is perhaps the most captivating example of this structure already present in Acosta's brief edifying letter.

In a phrase redacted from the 1589 edition of *De procuranda Indorum salute*, Acosta despairs, "We are the dregs of Spain, so that it seems that we have been shipped here to free her from her garbage instead of taking charge of the government of these peoples."[67] This indictment of Spanish conduct, which seems to throw the entire civilizing and evangelizing project into doubt, is nevertheless subsumed into the Jesuit's colonial theodicy, which ultimately turns to the rationalization of colonial administration as a means to achieving a universal order that is announced by the advent of the New World yet perennially postponed. In the context of colonial Spanish America, the Jesuit vocation thus becomes a reaffirmation of order and coherence in the face of the radical evil that founds this order and remains evident in the everyday experience of the colonial world. In Acosta's providential dialectic, the scrutinizing gaze of the victim of colonial violence is only incorporated insofar as it is a reminder of this providential mission and the importance of self-discipline and mindfulness in carrying out one's duties. This reaffirmation of a global order emerging from the exception (moral evil, violence, suffering) on the expanding colonial frontier of Spanish America merits further examination within contemporary inquiries into the influence of religious ethics in the shaping of modernity.

67 Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, 1:413–15. "Quae Hispaniae faeces, ut illius exonerandae causa potius huc appulisse videamur quam reipublicae huius capessendae."

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CHAPTER 7

Purple Silk and Black Cotton: Francisco Cabral and the Negotiation of Jesuit Attire in Japan (1570–73)

Linda Zampol D'Ortia

On September 10, 1573, Francisco Cabral (1533–1609), superior of the Jesuit mission in Japan, informed the superior general in Rome (Francisco de Borja [1510–72], who had already died by that time) that the ship of Visitor Gonçalo Álvares (1527–73) had sunk in front of the port of Nagasaki, with immense loss of lives and funds. At least the state of the Japanese mission was finally acceptable:

> Thanks to God's goodness, there is no small improvement [in the situation of the mission], especially in the matter of the silks, that the fathers wore, and the other luxuries they had, under the pretext that this was the better service of God and the preaching of his law; this was the cape that the devil was using to cover up the evils that [this practice] entailed. Now thanks to God's goodness they finally all wear clothes of black cotton with cassocks.[1]

Even if this might seem a small aspect of the missionary project in the archipelago, the contextualization of the change of clothes in the battle against the devil highlights the importance of the matter. The regulation of the garments worn by the Jesuits was in fact at the forefront of Cabral's missionary policy for the first years of his stay in the archipelago (1570–81), and appeared frequently in his correspondence.[2]

1 Cabral to Francisco de Borja, September 10, 1573, in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth ARSI), JapSin 7, I, 166Av. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

2 Considerations about what garments could be allowed in early modern Catholic missions were often found at the heart of the debates on missionary strategies. Notable examples of the use of a local dress by the members of the Society of Jesus include Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in China, and Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) in southern India. See R. Po-chia Hsia. *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) and Sabina Pavone, "Spie, mandarini, bramini: I gesuiti e I loro travestimenti," *Il capitale culturale* 7 (2013): 227–43.

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This chapter will examine Cabral's attempts at policing Jesuit identity in Japan through the imposition of specific garments upon the missionaries. It will consider the importance assumed by dress in sixteenth-century Europe, and its relation to the attitude of Ignatius of Loyola (*c.*1491–1556) regarding the body and its modifications in the form of garments. It will consider how the use of silk garments by some Jesuits caused an internal division in the Japanese mission, highlighting Cabral's central role as he attempted to implement the orders of the visitor, who requested the end of the use and ownership of silk by the missionaries. He did so by refuting the motivations the missionaries produced to justify the use of silk garments, and by finding a niche in Japanese traditions that would make the policy alteration acceptable to the local converts. The chapter will then contextualize the complexities surrounding the use of silk garments in the larger understanding of what it meant, for Cabral, to be a Jesuit missionary in sixteenth-century Japan.

Dress in the Society of Jesus

Clothes have always been closely connected to the making of identity. Dress is defined in the seminal works of Mary E. Roach-Higgins and Joanne B. Eicher as "an assemblage of body modifications and/or supplements displayed by a person in communicating with other human beings."[3] It is a means that discloses information about the wearer, creating expectations in the interlocutors.[4] These expectations are what made dress policy such a key element for early modern Jesuit missionaries.

Starting in the twelfth century, the changes introduced in the European production of garments (such as technological innovations, and the use of new materials), and the growing demand for shapes that fitted tighter to the body, led to the modification of the shape of clothes. This contributed to a gradual change in the understanding of the body: its social importance was augmented by dress, and this in turn led to the emergence of a close link between appearance and identity.[5] Clothing therefore assumed a specific social weight: discourses

3 Joanne B. Eicher and Mary E. Roach-Higgins, "Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, ed. Ruth Barnes and Joanne Eicher (New York: Berg, 1992), 15.

4 Ibid. See also Mary E. Roach-Higgins and Joanne B Eicher, "Dress and Identity," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 10, no. 4 (1992): 1–8. Ruth Barnes and Joanne Eicher, "Introduction," in Barnes and Eicher, *Dress and Gender*, 1–7.

5 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7, 16–18.

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on clothes were pushed to the forefront of the public arena by sumptuary laws. By the early modern period, garments acted as social shapers of the body, and were an integrant part of the identity of the wearer.[6]

In the case of religious people, the dress announced their separation from the world, and assumed a sacred nature by being "the external form of the religious."[7] The body and the soul were considered permeable by the positive or negative characteristics ascribed to garments.[8] Consequently, wearing clothes that were not considered acceptable for religious life could have worrying consequences. In the case of religious orders, the habit also physically indicated the belonging and affiliation of the wearer, becoming a tangible reminder of their identity.[9]

Influenced by attitudes developed between the twelfth and the fifteenth century, bright-colored garments assumed a negative characterization: they were forbidden to dignified people and considered at odds with Christian modesty. The black color, redeemed from its previous connection with sin, was now often found in clothing. From the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the clergy had become the managerial structure of the new nation-states and the teaching staff of universities, the use of priestly black cassock and cape expanded to the secular world. University students wore similar gowns too. This practice led to the connection between black and professionalism, austerity, and virtue. The color's popularity was also linked to its prevalence in the Spanish court, which in turn influenced the fashion of European nobility and civic leaders.[10]

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6 Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 7–13. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2–3.

7 Evonne Levy, "Jesuit Identity, Identifiable Jesuits? Jesuit Dress in Theory and in Image," in *Le monde est une peinture: Jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder*, ed. Elisabeth Oy-Marra and Volker R. Remmert, Beiträge zu den historischen Kulturwissenschaften, Bd. 7 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 137. Elizabeth Kuhns, *The Habit: A History of the Clothing of Catholic Nuns* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 45.

8 Lesley K. Twomey, "Poverty and Richly Decorated Garments: A Re-evaluation of Their Significance in the *Vita Christi* of Isabel de Villena," *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 3 (2007): 123.

9 On material memory, see Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*.

10 Michel Pastoureau, *Black: The History of a Color* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 95–98. John R. Harvey, *The Story of Black* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 97. John H. Munro, "The Anti-red Shift—To the 'Dark Side': Colour Changes in Flemish Luxury Woollens, 1300–1550," *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 3, no. 1 (2007): 55–98.

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This was the context in which Ignatius of Loyola lived: he spent the first twenty or so years of his life among courtiers and noblemen, and was certainly conscious of the social importance of dress. In his youth, he learned the significance of appearance for a religious person: even if he had received tonsure, he was refused clerical immunity during a trial, since he had never worn the appropriate clerical garments.[11] When he decided to embrace the spiritual life, he gave away his rich colorful clothes to a beggar, and changed into sackcloth.

After moving to the University of Alcalá de Henares in 1526, he preached and begged together with a group of "sack wearers."[12] Their activity soon attracted the attention of the Inquisition. Suspicious of *alumbrado* activities,[13] the inquisitors initially ordered Loyola's group to dye their garments different colors. Later, they changed the order to wearing the same clothes of the other students.[14] Loyola obeyed, stating that clothing was of little importance.[15] The student's black uniforms, similar to the clerical dress, stuck with Ignatius: after his first companions joined him, they would move through Paris and travel through French regions wearing the same garment.[16]

When it came to the composition of the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus, Loyola decided not to choose any specific habit for its members. Under the header of "What Pertains to Poverty and Its Consequences," it reads:

> [577] The clothing too should have three characteristics: first, it should be proper; second, conformed to the usage of the region where one is living [L]; and third, not contradictory to the poverty we profess, as would

11 James Brodrick, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: The Pilgrim Years, 1491–1538* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1998), 45–46.

12 John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 27.

13 The term *alumbradismo* indicates a broad spectrum of Spanish religious trends, considered heretical, and centred on interior, individual illumination. See Stefania Pastore, *Un'eresia spagnola. Spiritualità conversa, alumbradismo e Inquisizione* (*1449–1559*) (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2004).

14 Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, "Acta S. Ignatii a P. Consalvo," in *Monumenta ignatiana, ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta: Scripta de sancto Ignatio de Loyola* (Madrid: G. López del Horno, 1904), 1:71–4. Rafael M. Sanz de Diego, "Ignacio de Loyola en Alcalá de Henares (1526–1527)," in *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, ed. Juan Plazaola (Bilbao: Mensajero, Universidad de Deusto, 1992), 891.

15 Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, "Memoriale P. Gonsalvii," in *Monumenta ignatiana, ex autographis vel ex antiquioribus exemplis collecta: Scripta de sancto Ignatio de Loyola* (Madrid: G. López del Horno, 1904), 1:219–20.

16 O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 32. Jean-Marie Glorieux, "Saint Ignace et la manière de se vêtir," *Vie Consacrée* 2 (1984): 117.

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> happen through the wearing of silk or expensive clothes [M]. These ought not to be used, in order that in everything humility and proper lowliness may be preserved, unto greater glory to God.
>
> [578] *L. Or at least, it should not be altogether different.*
>
> [579] *M. This refers to those to whom the house gives clothing anew. But if those entering the house are wearing some expensive cloth or similar item, it does not forbid them. Further, if someone in some circumstance or necessity wears better but decent garments, it does not forbid him either; but these ought not to be used for ordinary wear.*[17]

In another passage, it is stated that the function of clothing is essentially for "protection from cold and indecorum" (*Cons*. [297]), and that this purpose should always be kept in mind. A third rule refers to uniformity of clothing, among other things, as a tool to maintain unity among the members of the order (*Cons.* [671]).

Loyola therefore determined that the dress should be proper, in conformity with local use, and observant of the vow of poverty. The first feature is given in Latin as *honestus*, meaning respectable, dignified, or appropriate. In a similar vein, the second aspect reads as a suggestion to avoid any garment that would cause scandal. Lastly, the upholding of the vow of poverty represents the most important characteristic of the Jesuit clothing in usual circumstances, but equal importance is given to the practicality, and humanity, of the dress.

With an attitude that was common among religious founders, Loyola also did not describe the garments in detail, and never specified a color, a shape, or a material. At the same time, in his response to the 1554 condemnation by the University of Paris, he was adamant that the Jesuits should wear a specific dress, declaring that this should be the same cassock worn by the clergy of the region where they lived, and concluded that by wearing this dress, they would be able to carry out their duty to be everything to everyone.[18]

The Ignatian preoccupation with the appearance and external behavior of the Jesuits is also explicit in the *Memorial* (1555) written by Luís Gonçalves da Câmara (1519/20–75): "Modesty and external composure were very valued by

17 *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans. George E. Ganss (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 258. All the quotes from the *Constitutions* are taken from this edition.

18 "Responsio data decretum parisiensis," in *Monumenta ignatiana part I: Epistolae et instructiones S. Ignatii* (Madrid: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1911), 12:614–29.

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our Father in the members of the Society."[19] Loyola believed that humility and manners would provide a good example and edification for both the Jesuits and the people with whom they came in contact.

Loyola therefore maintained some restrictions on the external appearance of the religious (the dress), just as he did on the external behavior of the Jesuits. The black cassock of the secular clergy fit with the requirements, since its color was understood as dignified and modest. No distinctive white collar was yet in use. A black beret cap, or biretta, was used as head cover in the house.[20] The attire was common enough to avoid setting the Jesuits apart from the secular world, but it still permitted the recognition of the Jesuits performing an important social role. As Loyola himself noted, it fostered the sense of community, belonging, and solidarity of the Society, answering to a need for identification and uniformity.[21]

Problems with Clothing in the Japanese Mission

Considering these preoccupations regarding dress among Jesuits, it is not a surprise that the Asian headquarters of the Society, in Goa, became extremely worried when they received word that their brethren in Japan traded and owned silk.[22] Up to the 1560s, the management of the Japanese mission had met with approval: India vice-provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto (1519/22–71) visited Japan in 1556 and described the mission to Superior General Diego Laínez

19 Câmara, "Memoriale P. Gonsalvii," 163. This attitude of Loyola appears in other episodes from his life (such as ibid., 241–42). A brief example of how Loyola's opinion on external composure (as described by Câmara) is reflected in the regulations of the Society is found in the Spanish critical edition of the *Memorial*: Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, *Recuerdos ignacianos: Memorial*, ed. Benigno Hernández Montes (Bilbao; Santander: Mensajero; Sal Terrae, 1992), 53–54.

20 Aside from this common dress, there were some local variations: for example, the Spanish assistancy's was a brown dress, except in Aragon, where they wore fine black robes until 1630. See Levy, "Jesuit Identity, Identifiable Jesuits?" 140, 144.

21 These aspects reflected the tension between the tendency to conformity and the push towards uniqueness, which is often found in early modern Catholicism. Ibid., 127; 140–41. See also Thomas M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 39–40.

22 For an overview of the history of the Japanese mission in these years, see M. Antoni J. Üçerler, "The Jesuit Enterprise in Japan (1573–1580)," in *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture, 1573–1580*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2004), 831–75.

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(1512–65) in rather positive terms.[23] The use of silk, according to Cabral, began around 1564/65.[24] In these same years, Cosme de Torres (1510–70), superior of the mission, was asking to be substituted, requesting a younger but experienced Jesuit for the task of returning harmony to the mission.[25]

In 1568, Cabral was nominated for the role. Born on the island of São Miguel to a family with noble origins, Cabral traveled to India in 1550 as a soldier at the orders of Viceroy Afonso de Noronha (in office 1550–54). At the end of 1554, he entered the Society of Jesus, where he held the positions of master of novices, and superior of the missions of Bazaim and Cochin.[26] In 1568, he was tasked by the father provincial Antonio de Quadros (*c.*1529–71) to undertake a general visitation to the mission in Japan, to investigate and solve potential problems that the local superior could not solve on his own. Only, while already traveling, he was reached by the precise orders of Visitor Gonçalo Álvarez: to get rid of all the silks and the share the Jesuits had in the trade with Macao.[27]

When he reached Japan in 1570, Cabral's assessment of the mission was not positive. The first letter he sent after landing is lost, but in 1571 he described his work to both General Francisco de Borja[28] and Diego Miró , who was at that time assistant of the Portugal assistancy in Rome.[29] According to Cabral, at the outset of the mission, the first missionaries, Francis Xavier (1506–52), Cosme de Torres, and Juan Fernández (1526–67), endured a period of extreme poverty. The situation changed with the entry of Brother Luis d'Almeida (1556) into the Society:

> [D'Almeida] brought four or five thousand *cruzados*, with which the trade and the dealings started, here in Japan as well as in China. With this abundance, this situation began to expand, together with the capital,

23 Barreto to Laínez, Cochin, January 15, 1560, published in Josef Franz Schütte, *Monumenta historica Japoniae*, vol. 1 (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1975), 39–43.

24 Cabral to General Borja, Nagasaki, September 5, 1571, in ARSI, JapSin 7, I, 21r. The transcription is found in Pedro Lage Reis Correia, "Francisco Cabral and Lourenço Mexia in Macao (1582–1584): Two Different Perspectives of Evangelization in Japan," *Bulletin of Portuguese–Japanese Studies* 15 (December 2007): 47–77.

25 Torres to General Laínez, Kuchinotsu, October 20, 1565, printed in Schütte, *Monumenta historica Japoniae* 1:69–70.

26 For an overview of Francisco Cabral's life, see Alexandre Pelúcia, "Francisco Cabral," in *Encontro Portugal Japão*, vol. 3: *Biografias* (Lisbon: Grupo de trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as comemorações dos descobrimentos portugueses, 1994), 1–13.

27 Cabral to the superior general, Macao, November 20, 1583, in ARSI, JapSin 9, II, 187. The transcription can be found in Correia, "Francisco Cabral and Lourenço Mexia in Macao (1582–1584)."

28 ARSI, JapSin 7, I, fols. 20r–22v.

29 Cabral to Diego Miró, Nagasaki, September 6, 1571, in ARSI, JapSin 7, I, fols. 23r–24v.

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> until seven or eight years ago when they started introducing silks and colored clothes and together with them the couple of servants they had now. As this required eating well and sleeping well, even the bed pillows and the cushions of some were made of silk and a father I saw even had a mattress in damask [...]. Father Baltasar da Costa went to welcome the incoming ship of the Portuguese [merchants], with many people accompanying him and he was wearing purple silk [...]. A Portuguese man went to embrace him [and] he put forward the fan he held in his hand and told him not to get close, because it would scandalize [the Japanese].[30]

The first years of Cabral's stay in Japan were highly conditioned by the instructions given to him by Álvarez, and by the idea that his position would be temporary. While making clear that his hands were tied by Álvarez's orders, Cabral never suggested that he did not agree with the general gist of them.[31] However, in his correspondence from Japan, he is mostly silent on the topic of the Jesuit practice of selling a share of the silk brought by the Portuguese merchants of Macao. Although he had been ordered to put an end to it, he never did. It is possible that he saw the trade as the only way to sustain the mission economically, and justified it as a service to God.[32]

Cabral, however, showed no doubt about the necessity to dispose of the silk clothing and to return to the black cassock that was in use in the Portuguese assistancy. To support his position, he stated that the colored silk clothes were not in accordance with the poverty and humility of the Society, and that the biggest part of the expenses of the mission was caused by this pomp. This behavior also prevented the good care of the Japanese Christians.[33] To further back up his assertions, he referred to the example of the first fathers who had preached in Japan in absolute poverty, such as Francis Xavier, as the proper way of proceeding. However, he never mentioned the well-known episode in which Xavier changed his cassock for a silk dress to appear in front of the lord of Yamaguchi and obtain permission to preach.[34]

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30 ARSI, JapSin 7, I, 23r.

31 Ibid., 21v.

32 However, years later, as provincial of India, he criticized the visitor Alessandro Valignano for not suppressing it. For more information on the silk trade debate, see Joseph F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London: Routledge, 1993), 119, 123.

33 ARSI, JapSin 7, I, 21r–23r.

34 Josef Franz Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan.* Vol. 1: *From His Appointment as Visitor until His First Departure from Japan* (*1573–1582*) (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980), 210.

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In the first general description Cabral wrote of the country, he also described Buddhist monks to the general, highlighting how "[their] habit is generally made of silk, but some [sects] are prohibited from wearing it and wear only cotton clothes or linen, of black or white color; even so, they are not less venerated than those that are loaded with silk." By mentioning this specific use, he was preparing the ground for his argumentation in favor of the black Jesuit cassock.[35]

Cabral perceived the refusal to change garments as coming from the mission at large:

> I would not be able to describe to Your Paternity the work I had to do for this, and the temptations, because, aside from Father Cosme de Torres and Father João Baptista [de Monte], to whom also it did not appear a good thing, most [of the Jesuits] were against [changing clothes] and they told me that taking away the silks was to close the doors to the conversion of these lands because the Japanese only look at the exterior, as we did not wear silks. And if we wore black not only would no gentile lord pay us any attention, but not even the Christian converts, and other issues that were based on vanity and the excessive license that had been introduced.[36]

He was deeply troubled by the whole ordeal. He complained that Fathers Melchior de Figueiredo (1528–97) and Baltasar da Costa (*c.*1538–?) still used silks, and how, even in 1571, he had to destroy silk pillows, and a green sleeping gown made of Chinese damask; Father Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo (*c.*1530–1609) also wrote to him opposing this reform.[37]

The lack of respect for obedience that the fathers were showing troubled Cabral deeply. As much as he lamented the poor state of the Japanese mission, and dearly missed his previous life in the college of Goa and in Macao (locations where Portuguese customs were the norm),[38] he started working on rebuffing the various justifications that the missionaries presented to preserve their silk garments. He also spent much ink describing his work in detail, leaving behind a great deal of information on the rationale behind it. It is therefore possible to identify, from his letters, three situations in which the Jesuits would

35 ARSI, JapSin 7 I, 20v.

36 Ibid., 20r.

37 Ibid., 23v.

38 Cabral to unknown Father, Kuchinotsu, September 23, 1571, in ARSI, JapSin 7, III, fols. 36r–38v.

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use garments that were not the standard black cassock: for Catholic rites that required special solemnity; for reasons of personal safety; and for reasons of prestige among the Japanese.

The Dress Question in Japan: Church Rites

With the growth of the communities of Christian converts, the Jesuits assumed the role of pastors of their flock during processions and special rites.[39] They therefore had to represent the solemnity of the church's rites, and to present themselves accordingly. Rites that were deemed particularly important made use of silks and colors: in 1565, Father Gaspar Vilela (1526–72) headed a funeral procession in a red litter, donning a cape made of brocade. He was aware of the importance of the event, particularly for the impact it would make in the eyes of the non-converts, and used opulence to highlight the solemnity of the occasion. This tradition of grandiose funerals and memorial masses continued well into the seventeenth century.[40]

In his *Historia de Japam*, Luís Fróis (1532–97) was very careful to point out how the major glory of God was always behind this sort of behavior: on Vilela, he wrote that he was "intrepid and zealous for the honor of God and knew how important this [ceremony] was, since it was the first public funeral done with solemnity."[41]

Solemnity was considered a key element in baptisms too, and the accompanying ornaments were much appreciated by the Japanese. In 1581, Visitor Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) recommended that the officiators should wear a surplice and a stole when officiating this rite. Organtino asked Gregory XIII (r.1572–85) to send ornaments made of brocade and velvet; in 1592, Valignano made a similar request, "either for the Society or for the bishop,"

39 "We are forced to spend all our life like secular clergy," lamented Valignano in his report on the Japanese mission, written to the general, October 27, 1580. Quoted in Alessandro Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japón (1583): Adiciones del sumario de Japón (1592)*, ed. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1954), 134*.

40 Evidenced by the memorial masses of some Christian noblewomen, such as Hosokawa Tama Gracia (1563–1600). Hélène Vu Thanh, "Between Accommodation and Intransigence: Jesuit Missionaries and Japanese Funeral Traditions," *Journal of the LUCAS Graduate Conference* 2 (2014): 121. See also Haruko Nawata Ward, *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549–1650* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 235; 281–85; 324–25.

41 Luis Frois, *Historia de Japam*, ed. Joseph Wicki (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional Portugal, 1981), 2:104.

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signaling that the Jesuits were still covering the role of secular clergy.[42] Cabral himself is described as wearing a splendid cope during a sumptuous baptism ceremony in 1574.[43]

It seems, therefore, that in keeping with both European and Japanese customs,[44] starting from the beginning of the mission, the use of luxurious items and clothing on special religious occasions was widespread. Even if Cabral's intent was to eradicate all luxury, he never censored this aspect of the Jesuits' activity. The fact that he himself was part of a rite that made use of expensive instruments, decorations, and garments suggests that he comprehended and accepted both the role of the Jesuits as secular clergy, and the deep connection between luxury and sanctity that was found in both Japanese and European traditions. He probably allowed this use in the understanding that it was done for reasons of edification, and ultimately for the glory of God.

Dress Question in Japan: Safety

The second reason that supported the use of luxurious clothes stemmed from a fear for the personal safety of the missionaries. In the initial years after the establishment of the mission, Japan was in a continuous state of war. The roads were often unsafe, and the political situation was very unstable. This frequently left the missionaries with no other solution than to escape the turmoil, leaving behind their communities of converts and most of their belongings.

Very soon the Jesuits started following the practice of disguising themselves as poor traveling monks. In 1559, Father Vilela, Brother Lourenço of Hizen (1525/26–92), and a *dōjuku* (lay auxiliary) named Damião (*c.*1536–86), moved to Miyako (Kyōto) to found a new mission. According to Frois, they traveled "like it is customary in the land, with shaved heads and beards, wearing their poor *kimono*."[45] He did not mention any specific feature of the *kimono* worn by the group, except for it being described as poor. This need for safety was one of the reasons given to Cabral to persuade him to change into local garments.

42 Jesús López Gay, "La liturgia en la misión del Japón del siglo XVI," *Studia missionaria* 4 (1970), 93–94.

43 Frois, *Historia de Japam*, 2:415.

44 Jesuit descriptions of Japanese funerals, with specific attention given to the clothes of the monks officiating, can be found in López Gay, *La liturgia en la misión del Japón del siglo XVI*, 197–208.

45 Luis Frois, *Historia de Japam*, ed. Joseph Wicki (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional Portugal, 1976), 1:137–8.

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Describing his visit to Miyako in the previous year,[46] on September 23, 1572, he wrote to Quadros, provincial of India:

> They tried to frighten me and importuned me with reasons to change my dress, and leave behind the cassock and the cape, and cover my cap [*corona*] so that I would save my life [by being] anonymous.[47] But since I already had experienced fears and difficulties that other times had been fantasies of uncertain [*desconfiada*] people, I trusted God, who can make fierce lions meek as lambs when he so wishes, and the virtue of the holy obedience which was the reason why I was undertaking that voyage; I decided that neither I nor the brother would change the garments of the Society, and so without any silk or insignia of monk, we went on our voyage, always declaring myself a father of the Society, even if unworthy. And my hope was not misguided, and when we boarded the ship, we started feeling the Lord's mercy, because not only the sailors and the heathen passengers did us no offense, but they treated us with politeness and courtesy.[48]

Cabral explicitly mentioned silk clothes when speaking of travel in disguise, in opposition to the poor travel *kimono* used by Vilela in 1559. Since this is a date antecedent to the beginning of the use of silks, it is possible that they were introduced over time, both as domestic garments and as traveling clothes. There is in fact no mention of the poor kimono for traveling in any of Cabral's letters.

In a letter written some days earlier, Cabral had explicitly explained his strategy: "I trust in God Our Lord that with his help I shall work and he has to grant me to be a true servant of this holy Society of Jesus."[49] This topic of being a "true Jesuit" to obtain divine favor was touched on again in another letter:

> As for news about me, I have recently come back from Miyako, where God Our Lord gave me so many mercies that I cannot emphasize them

46 See also Frois, *Historia de Japam*, 2:357–65.

47 Together with the black cassock and a collar, the Jesuits of the Indian province did not wear a biretta, but instead "a kind of cap which resembled in form a hat from which the brim had been removed." It is possible that Cabral is speaking about such a head cover. Charles J. Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542–1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall* (New Delhi: Concept, 1994), 31–32.

48 Cabral to Antonio de Quadros, Nagasaki, September 23, 1572, in RAHM, Cortes, 9/2663, 85r-v.

49 Cabral to Juan Batista de Ribera, Nagasaki, September 19, 1571, in ARSI JapSin 7, I, 95r–v.

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> more, because, even if they frightened and alarmed me with great concerns, [telling me] it was necessary to change the dress and travel anonymously with silk clothes, I nevertheless wanted to travel more confident in God and in the obedience for which I was doing that travel, than in the [earthly] means they gave me; so I went with my cassock and my cap, calling myself, in all kingdoms and lands I passed, a father of the Society of Jesus, and preaching his name through a Japanese brother who was coming with me; not only when going, but also when coming back, no peril they had foretold happened, but in this manner the shōgun and [Oda] Nobunaga and all the great lords of those parts gave much honor and favors to me, who was dressed so poorly, that all the Christians and heathens were surprised; some noblemen converted, and many others too, and they asked for preaching from many places.[50]

These passages show how Cabral adamantly refused the reason of personal safety as a valid concern. Even if he always mentioned the fact that the monks' robes were made of silk, their luxury here is not the problem: when it comes to travel, according to Cabral, it does not do to disguise oneself, no matter if the disguise is generic (silk) or a more specific one (insignia of a monk). The proper way to travel, for a Jesuit, was to announce himself as such, and to preach the name of Jesus Christ, without fear.

While Cabral thanked divine Providence for the lack of accidents during his voyages, he also forged a more direct connection between the clothes he was wearing and God: "I nevertheless wanted to travel being more confident in God and in the obedience for which I was doing that travel, more than in the means they gave me." His refusal to wear silk clothes, and to keep wearing his cassock, was presented as a direct proof of his faith. He strongly implied that Oda Nobunaga (1534–82) and the shōgun, as well as all the other noblemen, honored him thanks to his clothes and not despite them; this perspective was made explicit also in his 1593 letter to Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615): "And God Our Lord helped with [the change of clothing], so that immediately his law started to gain reputation. The fathers were honored more by king[s] and lords of Japan when they were dressed with black cloth cassocks, than when they wore silk clothes and carried all that paraphernalia."[51] Divine favor was also the cause of the many conversions (as was the kindness of other travelers: "we started feeling the Lord's mercy").

50 Cabral to a man outside the Society, Kochinotsu, September 29, 1572, in ARSI 7, III, 99r.

51 Cabral to Acquaviva, Cochin, December 15, 1593, printed in Joseph Wicki, *Documenta Indica XVI (1592–1594)* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1984), 546.

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In Cabral's opinion, therefore, the Jesuit practice of traveling while dressed as monks was indicative of a lack of faith in God and in holy obedience (and therefore in the Society). Moreover, this attitude was particularly alarming since it took the shape of a dangerous nicodemism, both when refusing the cassock, and when using a monk's attire. For Cabral, this camouflaging would also push the Jesuit asunder from the Society's origins and core, which were central to their ministries. Instead, the way to show faith was to declare oneself openly as a Jesuit by dressing like a Jesuit. In doing so, one could become "a true servant of this holy Society of Jesus"; that is, be a Jesuit. Conversions, and a successful mission, would then follow.[52]

Dress Question in Japan: Prestige

This point of view is further clarified by the last instance in which the Jesuit would use silk clothes: prestige among the Japanese. This was articulated through two different but correlated aspects: prestige in the larger community, and prestige among the higher classes. Regarding the former, Cabral related a test he did in 1572 in the city of Sakai:

> Father Organtino and the Japanese brother Lourenço came to visit me dressed in silks. Before changing clothes, they gave me some reasons, even [telling] me that we should not change: summarizing these reasons, the hindrance it would be to the growing of Christendom for the ridicule they would subject us, since we wore a more vile habit than their monks; but since I had experience that these were human fears and wrong persuasions, I wanted to see how many stones they would throw at me, so I went out in the streets of Sakai to sightsee, with my cotton clothes, and Brother Juan in the same way; Lourenço came with us with his silk dress, while Father Organtino stayed in the house. And walking through the main streets of the city, only in one some children followed me, without

52 The maintenance of the spirit of the Society as one of the keys for successful missions was not just Cabral's interpretation; Câmara, for example, was of the same opinion, as can be seen in one of his letters to Nadal: "Many souls depend on [the Portuguese province], as many as are in the East, to whom nothing lacks to convert, except to send from here many people well taught and brought up in the spirit of the Society." Joseph Wicki, *Documenta Indica V* (*1561–1563*) (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1958), 18*.

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> doing anything worse than looking at me as if frightened by a new thing, and sometimes they would call me *Deus* (*Dios*) [God].[53]

This was a very limited examination, since Sakai had an established Christian community and was relatively safe, but it was enough to convince Cabral that the Japanese would not ridicule the fathers in the streets, and conversions would not suffer. Cabral also conferred with some honored Christians:

> I asked for advice from the owner of the house [where Cabral was staying] (who is the most important Christian of Sakai) about the change of our clothes, asking him to clarify to me if maybe he felt that using our cassocks and capes without any silk would be of any impediment, because they are so alien to our vows; he replied that he thought it very good, that we dressed like priests and, although in the beginning it would be a novelty to some, later everybody would think it good. After three or four days, some of the most important citizens of Sakai, among whom a Christian, came for a banquet [...]. After giving some explanations, they concluded that it was very well done.[54]

After speaking with some of the local leaders,[55] therefore, and testing his clothes on the streets of Sakai, Cabral came to the conclusion that the assumption that they might lose their reputation had no real foundation. He attributed it to misgivings and lack of faith ("human fears"), as he had done with the concerns about safety.

The Jesuits seem more interested in describing what was scandalous or curious in their eyes than what was actually worn, and the surviving descriptions of clothes are vague at best. Cabral especially tended to refer to the clothes worn by his brethren as "the silk garments," "the silks," "colorful silk clothes." It is therefore difficult to understand what exactly the missionaries were wearing. One of the few descriptions in Cabral's letters that offers some detail is the

53 Cabral to Antonio de Quadros, Nagasaki, September 23, 1572, in RAHM, Cortes, 9/2663, 90r–v.

54 Ibid., 90r.

55 Among these leaders there was Sancho Sangadono, head of the Shirai family who served in the fortress of Iimori, and was one of the oldest converts of the country. Maria Grazia Petrucci, "Pirates, Gunpowder, and Christianity in Late Sixteenth-Century Japan," in *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers: Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Greater China Seas*, ed. Robert J. Antony (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 67–69.

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outfit worn by Father Baltasar da Costa in an infamous incident. Dressed lavishly during the welcoming of the yearly carrack, in front of the Christian community of Nagasaki, Costa failed to impress both the Portuguese and his superior. The Jesuit was described as wearing a "vestido de seda roxa" (dress of red silk) and carrying a fan; nothing is said of the shape of the dress.[56] This is possibly the only case in which Cabral mentioned the specific color of the garment he was discussing: purple.[57]

Cabral seemed to find this incident particularly worrying, since it represented everything he held against the use of silk garments. Not only was a priest of the Society dressed in a material explicitly prohibited in the *Constitutions* (*Cons.* [577]) but it was also a colorful garment, in a way that was not proper at all. A *fidalgo* (member of the gentry) like Cabral must have been familiar with the importance of somber colors to display austerity and virtue, and with the permeability of the soul in relation to the clothes that covered the body. The color purple might have been particularly offensive, being specific of the garments of bishops, and also a liturgical color. A Jesuit wearing a purple silk garment could not be, in Cabral's eyes, a Jesuit at all, and he would not jeopardize the integrity of the Society for a lesser concern such as social prestige.

The second aspect regarding the prestige among the Japanese was related to the Jesuits' relationship with the higher classes. Francis Xavier had learned very quickly that Japanese lords would not grant him audience unless he presented himself as respectable enough in their eyes. Considering the need for official authorization and formal support from the authorities for preaching, and Cabral's own top-down strategy for conversion, without audiences there would be no way of proselytizing.[58]

On this topic, Frois gave a description of the dilemma the fathers of Miyako had to face in the first years of the mission there:

56 Cabral to Diogo Mirão, September 6, 1571, Nagasaki, in ARSI, JapSin 7, I, 23r.

57 While some doubts can arise regarding the actual hue of the color *roxo* in Japan in the sixteenth century, in the 1595 *Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*, the entry "Violaceus-a-um" read "roxa ou de cor de violeta, murasaki o naru mono," therefore "*roxo* or violet" in Portuguese, and "purple" in Japanese. João Rodrigues also translated *shie* 紫衣 [Buddhist purple robe] as "vsam de roxo" (quoted in Alessandro Valignano, *Il cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone*, ed. Josef Franz Schütte [Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1946], 328–89).

58 In his letter to the general, he explicitly said that the feudal lords were their best apostles. ARSI, JapSin 7 I, 20r.

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> Aside from the ordinary obligation that existed [to visit the shōgun for the New Year], the heathens could not understand the law of God, nor regard with esteem the fathers, if they saw them defrauded or excluded from this visitation that is so honorable and solemn to them. And also because the Japanese commonly do not esteem foreigners more than their exterior and the dress they wear, because even the monks in these days work to make a great display of themselves: therefore, the old Christians of Miyako, whose expertise the father [Gaspar Vilela] had to follow, insistently begged the fathers to allow as much flexibility as possible in the clothes, since these great lords were proud, and would be affronted and insulted if the fathers had appeared in front of them with common and ordinary clothes; [good clothes] would reflect better credit and reputation on the Christians, at least in those initial origins, when the gentiles did not know yet the dignity of the clergy and of Christian religion.[59]

As stated above, at this time the Miyako mission did not have enough funds to buy silk Japanese clothes, so Vilela apparently used what they already had: clerical vestments. For his first visit to the shōgun, he wore a surplice and a stole; then a mantle and a new cassock of Portuguese cloth. For his third visit, in 1565, he wore a *loba aberta* (open cassock) made of camlet, an old cope with orphreys, made of brocade, and his hat. On this same occasion, Frois wore a mantle, a cassock, and Chinese slippers of twisted sewing silk.[60]

Once extreme poverty was overcome, it seems the Jesuits preferred to use local clothes, and their choice fell on silk kimono. It is possible that they were later prompted to use silks every day, instead of only when visiting influential people, because "[good clothes] would reflect better credit and reputation on the Christians." This would explain the diffuse use of silk in daily situations and during travel, especially in the mission of Miyako.

The monks were apparently taken as models to follow to forge the missionaries' new identities, and to calibrate their behavior. When they understood that "even the monks in these days work to make a great display of themselves," the solution they adopted was not to dress like a monk, but to wear European garments that the Jesuits hoped would help achieve the same result. When references to direct adaptations are found, they are presented as a form of disguise.

59 Frois, *Historia de Japam*, 2:13.

60 Ibid., 13–14.

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As mentioned above, Cabral also personally visited both the shōgun and Nobunaga; on both occasions, he was very careful to follow Japanese etiquette, declaring himself a "good *cortesano* [courtier]." Nobunaga (who had his retinue dressed in rough clothes instead of silk) was interested in their change of clothing and seemed to be happy with the explanation given: that these were the clothes their order wore in India and now it was not necessary to wear silk because they were well known in Japan too. After this meeting, Cabral was certain that the Japanese lords would not object to any change of clothing, and considered the matter closed on all fronts.[61]

Missionary Policy and Jesuit Dress

After this initial period of discussion, the missionaries accepted the change, if not necessarily wholeheartedly. The modifications made to the mission policies by Valignano, at the end of the 1570s, maintained the spirit of the decision, even if he regulated the use of clothing in more detail.[62] The use of silk was resumed only with the beginning of the persecutions in 1588, on grounds of safety,[63] and various disguises were used until the end of the mission.[64]

Following the orders coming from India, Cabral had decided that the silks used by the missionaries should be banned, in keeping with the rules of the Society of Jesus and, possibly more importantly, with the practice of using the black cassock, implemented in the Indian province. Regardless of the *Constitutions*' openness to adaptation, Cabral believed that the cassock was too important a part of Jesuit identity to be disregarded. The obedience due to his superiors, and the need of divine grace for the conversions, sealed his opinion. The resistance he met from his brethren, however, obliged him to deal with the question extensively, considering it from various points of view.

Silk clothing was not part of the Jesuit identity that Cabral was familiar with, in the same way as it was not part of any Catholic order that professed a vow of

61 The visit is described in Cabral's letter to Antonio de Quadros, Nagasaki, September 23, 1572, in RAHM, Cortes, 9/2663, fols. 85r–107v.

62 Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas de Japón*, 231–32.

63 At least in Miyako, as Organtino informed his confrères in his letter to the priests and brothers in Hirado, Miyako, November 25, 1588, printed in *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos reynos de Iapão e China* (Évora: Manoel de Lyra, 1598), 2:225v–31v.

64 The missionaries dressed as Portuguese merchants, Buddhist monks, or Japanese laymen, as described in Matteo Couros's letter to the general, Nagasaki, February 25, 1618, in Schütte, *Monumenta historica Japoniae* 1:773.

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poverty. Even more important, Cabral saw the respect of the Jesuit way of proceeding, and faith in God, as the basis for the missionary policy for Japan, since it was the only way to obtain God's favor. Believing that conversion was a matter of divine intervention on the hearts of the Japanese people, he considered earthly matters decidedly less important.

However, instead of simply banning silk on these grounds, Cabral elaborated his response to the problem considering the objections to the black cassock. The matter of safety was barely dignified with an answer, since he considered it a problem for lesser men who lacked faith. Against the point that poor clothes would be a hindrance to conversion, he had two replies: the first was that some Japanese monks wore black cotton and they were respected just like the others, so there would be no scandal if the Jesuits adapted to this tradition and, following the *Constitutions*, "conformed to the usage of the region where [they were] living." In this instance, he did not reject adaptation per se, but provided a solution by giving an alternative (if self-serving) interpretation of the same culture, finding a secondary tradition that could be used to bridge the distance between the Japanese monks' garb and the Jesuit cassock. Secondly, since he was also aware of the possibility of offending the key people in the conversion of the country, he confirmed with them that this was acceptable, moving in a cautious way to avoid scandal.

In delineating his policy, Cabral shows his proximity to the Ignatian understanding of the body and its modifications. He preserved the flexibility of the way of proceeding, by demonstrating an awareness of the context in which he operated. At the same time, his ability to accommodate was severely restricted by Portuguese Jesuit customs regarding clothing, which he was set to follow. He finally solved the problem by finding a space to negotiate between Jesuit European customs and Japanese traditions. His ability to find a compromise was successful in the sense that his guidelines left their mark on subsequent missionary policies that were adopted in Japan: they persisted through radical changes, and were abandoned only under the duress of the persecutions.

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CHAPTER 8

Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola* (1583) and Literary Culture in Early Modern Spain

Rady Roldán-Figueroa

On June 23, 1584, Fray Luis de Granada (1504–88) wrote a letter to his friend, Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526–1611), exalting the latter's literary qualities, including the candor of his prose.[1] Writing from Lisbon, the prolific Dominican was moved to write in a spirit of gratitude and admiration after reading Ribadeneyra's *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la Compañía de Jesus* (1583).[2] In the letter, he expressed the deepest admiration for Ribadeneyra's style and clarity. He also commended his Jesuit counterpart for his balanced account of the origins of the Society of Jesus as well as for his evenhandedness in praising the other religious orders. "May the Lord be blessed," Fray Luis exclaimed, "for he guided you in this path, in such an unbending trail, that without envy you praise your order, and without grumbling you magnify the others." He was clearly impressed by Ribadeneyra's ability to demonstrate the uniqueness and distinctiveness of the Society, without casting stones on the other institutes. As he stated:

> To all my friends, without fear of recrimination, I have indicated what I feel about this book, and the fact is that I have not seen to date in our language a work written with such prudence and pronounced eloquence, as well as singular display of spirit and doctrine in history, not to mention the sobriety with which it praises its institute, without prejudice to other religious orders; instead, with great words of praise towards all of them,

1 For a cursory discussion of the relation between Fray Luis de Granada and Pedro de Ribadeneyra see Álvaro Huerga, *Fray Luis de Granada: Una vida al servicio de la Iglesia* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1988), 282–83, 288–89.

2 Pedro Ribadeneyra, *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la religión de la Compañía de Jesús. Escripta en latín por el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra de la misma Compañía y aora nuevamente traduzida en romance, y añadida por el mismo autor. Dirigida al illustre y reverendiss. señor don Gaspar de Quiroga, cardenal y arçobispo de Toledo, inquisidor general, etc.* (Madrid: Alonso Gómez Impresor de su Majestad, 1583). I am following the spelling and grammar as found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources with minimal modifications.

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> and even more circumspect and conclusive reasons to defend and approve his own [...] more than in any of those that in these or similar matters are written.[3]

Fray Luis expressed similar feelings of high regard and praise in a second letter, dated July 28, 1584.[4] He exchanged these letters with Ribadeneyra just four years before his death in 1588. The octogenarian was a well-known and well-established author whose devotional works circulated widely in Spain and the rest of Europe.[5] The value of Fray Luis's personal endorsement did not go unnoticed. In 1586, María Ruiz (fl. 1584–95) published a second revised and expanded edition of Ribadeneyra's *Vida*.[6] She was the widow of Alonso Gómez (fl. 1580s), printer to the king and the publisher of the 1583 Spanish work. Either she or her late husband placed these letters in the opening pages of the 1586 edition. In an anonymous prefatory note, the publisher explained the decision to reproduce Fray Luis's letters without Ribadeneyra's consent.[7] The publisher resolved to do so on account of the Dominican's fame and literary repute. "It has occurred to me," the publisher wrote in the note, "to place them here in

3 Luis de Granada, "Carta del padre Fray Luis de Granada, para el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra, de la Compañía de Jesús," in Pedro Ribadeneyra, *Vida del Padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la religión de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Por la Viuda de Alonso Gómez, 1586), no pagination.

4 Luis de Granada, "Capítulo de otra del mismo padre, respondiéndole a una del Padre Ribadeneyra," in Ribadeneyra, *Vida del Padre Ignacio de Loyola* (1586), no pagination.

5 Keith Whinnom, "The Problem of the Best-seller in Spanish Golden Age Literature," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 57 (1980): 189–98; Elizabeth Rhodes, "El *Libro de la oración* como el 'best seller' del Siglo de Oro," in *Actas del X Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Barcelona 21–26 de agosto de 1989*, ed. Antonio Vilanova (Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1992), 525–32.

6 The 1586 printing was the second edition of the Spanish version. A second printing of the first edition, without revisions or additions, was made in 1584. See Pedro Ribadeneyra, *Vida del Padre Ignacio de Loyola, fundador de la religión de la Compañía de Jesús. Escripta primeramente en latín por el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra de la misma Compañía, y aora nuevamente traduzida en romance, y añadida por el mismo autor* (Madrid: Por la Viuda de Alonso Gómez, 1584). The 1586 edition, on the other hand, incorporated revisions and rewritings of the 1583 edition as well as the addition of new material.

7 María Ruiz, "El impressor al lector," in Ribadeneyra, *Vida del Padre Ignacio de Loyola* (1586), no pagination. The publisher's, or printer's, note appears unsigned. However, it clearly claims to be of the publisher's authorship. María Ruiz ran her late husband's print shop from 1584 to 1595. See Lourdes Gutiérrez, Purificación Lafuente, and Laura Carrillo, *Mujeres impresoras* (Madrid: Servicio de Información Bibliográfica, Departamento de Referencia, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2014), 4–5.

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order to make the Christian reader aware of what this excellent man, so well known and beloved around the world for his holy life and admirable doctrine, feels about this present work."[8]

Fray Luis de Granada's letters give us a good sense of the importance of the 1583 *Vida*, the Spanish translation of the author's *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*.[9] It intimates that Ribadeneyra's learned contemporaries welcomed his book. Moreover, the 1583 work was not simply a translation but in reality was a new composition. It was prepared with a new context in mind and in order to address different needs; needs that Ribadeneyra did not find as pressing in Italy where he composed the first Latin version. The 1583 *Vida* calls for special attention as Ribadeneyra's attempt to explain *de novo* the mission of the Society of Jesus to a complex and multilayered Spanish audience.

Ribadeneyra achieved considerable literary success after the publication of the 1583 *Vida*. Moreover, he earned the admiration of many to the extent that he was favorably compared to Fray Luis de Granada. Writing about Ribadeneyra's life, Cristóbal López (fl. 1611)—his companion of thirty-three years—reported that some "praised the accuracy of his writings as well as the good quality of his style, and they claimed that his was better than Fray Luis de Granada's."[10] Ribadeneyra's *Vida* not only marked the beginning of his literary career as a Spanish author writing in the vernacular but also the beginning of an unequalled period in Spanish literature in which Jesuit voices contributed

8 Ruiz, "El impressor al lector," in Ribadeneyra, *Vida del Padre Ignacio de Loyola* (1586), no pagination.

9 Pedro Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae, Societatis Iesu fundatoris, libris quinque comprehensa* (Naples: no publisher, 1572). The Jesuit scholar Cándido de Dalmases dealt with the claims of Jean Marie Prat in *Histoire du Père Ribadeneyra, disciple de saint Ignace* (Paris: Victor Palme, 1862), 496–97, to the effect that Ribadeneyra first wrote a Spanish version and then translated the work to Latin in order to produce the first published Latin *Vita*. In response, Dalmases maintained that this is an error and that Ribadeneyra first wrote the original work in Latin, and that there is no evidence to the contrary. Cándido de Dalmases, ed., *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignacio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis*: *Vol. II. Narrationes scriptae annis 1557–1574*, MHSI 73 (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1951), 19n14. Dalmases based his argument on Enrique del Portillo, "El original manuscrito de la primera edición castellana de la vida de N.P. San Ignacio, por el P. Rivadeneira," *Razón y fe* 42 (1915): 289–98.

10 Cristóbal López, *Vida del p. P. de Ribadeneyra, religioso de la Compañía de Jesús, escrita por el mismo p. al modo de las Confesiones de s. Aug., añadida por su compañero que lo fué treinta y tres años el her* [*mano*] *Xpoual. López, en Madrid año de 1612*, in *Patris Petri de Ribadeneyra, Societatis Jesu sacerdotis, Confessiones, epistolae aliaque scripta inedita, ex autographis, antiquissimis apographis et regestis deprompta*, vol. 2: *Ribadeneyra II*, MHSI 60 (Madrid: La Editorial Ibérica, 1923), 429–88, here 444.

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decisively to the shaping of the Spanish literary landscape. The present essay explores Ribadeneyra's methodical approach as a hagiographer, his place in the emerging Catholic literary culture of late sixteenth-century Spain, and the immediate context of his 1583 *Vida*.

Ribadeneyra as Interpreter of the Society of Jesus

Ribadeneyra had almost unrivaled credentials to act as an interpreter of the identity and mission of the Society of Jesus. He was a privileged witness of the early years of the Society as someone who could not claim the place of one of the founders, but could claim to have been one of Ignatius's closest disciples. He was born to a *judeoconverso* family in Toledo, where he also spent his childhood and early adolescence.[11] It was here that he met Alessandro Cardinal Farnese (1520–89), while the cardinal was attending the funeral ceremonies of the Holy Roman empress, Isabella of Portugal (1503–39).[12] He left for Rome at the service of the cardinal in May 1539, at the tender age of twelve.[13] After fourteen months in the cardinal's service, and running into difficulties with his patron, he was forced to seek the aid of Ignatius, who was settled in Rome about that time.[14]

His experience at the service of Cardinal Farnese left a deep impression on young Ribadeneyra. In fact, it colored his encounter with Ignatius and the nascent Society of Jesus. The contrast he observed between the careless lifestyle of the cardinal's courtiers and the piety and devotion Ignatius fostered among his disciples was one that was to shape his understanding of the distinctiveness of the Society. It certainly informed his representation of the Society as he endeavored to interpret its character and mission to others. Later in life, in his *Confessiones*, Ribadeneyra made quite an explicit criticism of the cardinal's lax way of life as well as that of his courtiers. He claimed to have lived

11 Manuel Ruiz Jurado, "Ribadeneyra, Pedro de," *DHCJ*, 4:3345–46; José Carlos Gómez-Menor Fuentes, "La progenie hebrea del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra S.I. (Hijo del jurado de Toledo Álvaro Husillo Ortíz de Cisneros)," *Sefarad: Revista de estudios hebraicos y sefardíes* 36, no. 2 (1976): 307–32.

12 Pedro Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, in *Patris Petri de Ribadeneyra, Societatis Jesu sacerdotis, Confessiones, epistolae aliaque scripta inedita, ex autographis, antiquissimis apographis et regestis deprompta*, vol. 1: *Ribadeneyra I*, MHSI 58 (Madrid: La Editorial Ibérica, 1920), 6, henceforth *Confessiones*. The first English translation of Ribadeneyra's autobiography is forthcoming from the Institute of Jesuit Sources at Boston College.

13 Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, 7, 84.

14 Ibid., 8.

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for fourteen months without regard for God and that he "walked the streets of Babylon with his associates, blinded and miserable."[15] He also remarked that during his service to the cardinal he "drank of the bitter chalice and golden cup that others drank from."[16] He continued praising God for delivering him from the "silt and quagmire of the court, so sticky and dangerous." It pleased God, however, to bring him to "his house, holy house, house and residence of your servants." He juxtaposed unholy Babylon with the band of faithful disciples that had gathered around Ignatius, those "who with new spirit and new fervor, despising and treading all worldly things," set out to "establish the holy and blessed religion of the Society of Jesus, for [God's] glory and benefit of the world."[17]

Ribadeneyra had a distinguished trajectory as a member of the Society of Jesus. His association with the Society commenced as soon as he met Ignatius. Indeed, he joined the Society of Jesus on September 18, 1540, a few days before Pope Paul III (r.1534–49) approved the new institute (September 27, 1540).[18] Ignatius took personal care of his religious formation, as he was barely fourteen at the time. Later in life, he often referred to himself as Ignatius's Benjamin. He spent a few months studying at Leuven and a little more in Rome. It was, however, at Saint Mary Magdalene in Padua that he received a robust humanist formation.[19] He was in Padua from 1545 to 1549, and then in August 1549 he went to Palermo where he served as a reader of rhetoric.[20] He was ordained to the priesthood on December 8, 1553, and became a professed Jesuit on November 3, 1560.[21] He went on to serve the Society in several capacities, but all of them outside Spain. For instance, he was the provincial of Tuscany and Sicily and in 1565 became the superintendent of the Roman College.[22] In fact, Ribadeneyra had spent a considerable part of his adult life in Italy before he returned to the Iberian Peninsula in 1574.[23]

In the beginning, he felt alienated in Spain. In the *Confessiones*, he noted how he regretted his return, leaving behind many friends, and after many years, meeting new people, even those of the Society who did not know him or had heard of his labors. It was, in his view, "humanly impossible not to have great

15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid., 9.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid., 48–50.
20 Ibid., 51–54.
21 Ibid., 73.
22 Ruiz Jurado, "Ribadeneyra," *DHCJ*, 4:3345–46.
23 Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, 81.

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difficulty" in those circumstances.[24] His own mother, whom he had not seen since he left with Cardinal Farnese in 1539, passed away in the same year of his return.[25] Yet, it was here where he had a long literary career until his death at the age of eighty-five. He became the chief literary interpreter of the Society of Jesus of his generation. In the 1580s, he assumed in earnest the project of carving a niche among the Spanish literati. He used his literary labors to cultivate relations of patronage with well-positioned supporters of the Society. It was not just a matter of achieving literary fame, although he did accomplish this rather quickly. Instead, it was about the crystallization of a comprehensive vision that consisted of advancing the mission of the Society while furthering the consolidation of a national Catholic literary culture. He lauded God in the *Confessiones* for permitting him to accomplish that which he never foresaw and no one could ever have imagined; namely, that he, after so many years away from Spain, could have written as he did and been so well received by many.[26]

Ribadeneyra and the Literary Mission of the Society of Jesus in the *Vida* (1583)

Ribadeneyra's first major work was the *Vita Ignatii*, the earliest published biography of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556).[27] Francisco de Borja (1510–72) commissioned him to write the biography. Although he was a fine Latinist, his literary production in Spanish was far more copious than in Latin. In this regard, he mirrored the main trend in Iberian religious writing, which was characterized at the time by a sharp turn to the vernacular. Indeed, eighty-eight percent of all works published in the Iberian Peninsula before 1601 were in Spanish.[28] Moreover, Ribadeneyra's literary output has to be considered under the rubric of religious literature. Accordingly, it has to be interpreted as literature that was primarily produced from a very specific institutional location. He wrote as a Jesuit and with Jesuit interests in mind. He often wrote in the execution of specific tasks related to a particular office within the Society or in discharge of

24 Ibid., 83.

25 Ribadeneyra to Everard Mercurian, June 1, 1577, in *Ribadeneyra* 1:762–68, here 762; Cristóbal López, *Vida del P.P. de Ribadeneyra*, in *Ribadeneyra 2*:435.

26 Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, 84.

27 Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* (Naples, 1572).

28 Alexander S. Wilkinson, "Mapping the Print World of Early Modern Iberia," in *Iberian Books: Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601*, ed. Alexander S. Wilkinson (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

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a specific writing commission. Thus, as a religious writer, he performed a critical task for the Society; namely, he interpreted the character and distinctiveness of the still young religious institute for a readership that was made up of both clerical and lay readers. For religious writers such as Ribadeneyra, writing was conceived as mission; mission at the service of the religious institute, mission at the service of the church.

He pursued his literary endeavors with a clear awareness of the importance of writing for the future of the Society of Jesus. He articulated his views on this point in the 1583 Spanish edition of the *Vida*. The 1583 edition has to be treated as a different document on account of the numerous instances in which he rephrased the Latin original as well as the addition of substantial amounts of new material. It was in this work that he sought to re-introduce, so to speak, the figure of the founder of the Society to a broader readership, mainly constituted by lay members of the Spanish aristocracy. One of the new emphases was that of the literary mission of the Society. In 1583, Ribadeneyra offered his vision of a Society of Jesus actively involved, through its educational institutions and prolific writers, in the forging of a national Catholic literary culture.

Ribadeneyra dedicated the new *Vida* to Gaspar Cardinal de Quiroga y Vela (1512–94). The association with the cardinal marked an important turning point for the Society in Spain. The previous archbishop of Toledo, Juan Cardinal Martínez Silíceo (1486–57), had been a stern and persistent opponent of the Society.[29] He was especially notorious for his persecution of those Spanish Jesuits who—like Ribadeneyra himself—had a *judeoconverso* background. Quiroga, on the other hand, was a very close ally of the Society of Jesus. He developed intimate ties with the Society during his period of service to the Spanish crown in Italy, from 1555 to 1564.[30] He befriended Ignatius of Loyola and had many encounters with him before he died. He also benefited greatly from his close association with the Jesuits. He formed part of a faction of the Spanish aristocracy that had close ties to Portugal. At the center of this faction was Joanna of Austria (1535–73), princess of Portugal, and the king's advisor Ruy Gómez de Silva (1516–73).[31] Francisco de Borja was part of this political network and he also had an active hand in Quiroga's career. Hence, there was much to celebrate when, in 1577, Quiroga was elevated to the see of Toledo as the successor of the ill-fated Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda (1503–76).

29 Isabella Ianuzzi, "Mentalidad inquisitorial y jesuitas: El enfrentamiento entre el Cardenal Silíceo y la Compañía de Jesús," *Cuadernos de historia moderna* 24 (2000): 11–31.

30 Henar Pizarro Llorente, *Un gran patrón en la corte de Felipe II: Don Gaspar de Quiroga* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2004), 49–95.

31 Ibid., 104.

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While Quiroga had been personally acquainted with Ignatius of Loyola, the audience that Ribadeneyra was aiming at had no access to a full account of the life of the cleric from Azpeitia. Hence, the *Vida* offered a unique opportunity to accomplish several vital purposes. First of all, it allowed Ribadeneyra to introduce the figure of Ignatius of Loyola as well as the spirit of the Society of Jesus to a complex audience, including his own Spanish Jesuit brethren. As his first major Spanish work, the *Vida* allowed him to address a need he had already identified and articulated in his correspondence of 1577 with Everard Mercurian (1514–80). In his view, the Society of Jesus was not well known (or not as well known as it should be) in Spain.

In his letter of June 1, 1577, he shared with Mercurian some deep impressions about the province of Andalusia.[32] He described the ethos of the province as one characterized by extreme rigor and strict observance. Such strict discipline was causing rifts between Andalusia and other provinces. As he pointed out: "From their greater observance of minute and exterior things, which seem to bloom in their province, some of them take their government to be holier, and more proper, and sincere, and in agreement with our institute, [...] taking the other provinces to be less observant, and to tell the word that I have heard, even 'conventuals.'"[33] According to him, some in the province followed a "strict spirit of mortification" inspired by the figure of Gonzalo González (fl. 1570s), who was known for his austerity.[34] Although they took their discipline to be in line with the spirit of the Society of Jesus, it was causing more harm than good and it reflected their less than proper understanding of the Society's spirituality. Hence, since he had known Ignatius and was so experienced, some asked him to weigh in. "Thinking that I," he continued, "for having been brought up from childhood in the Society at the feet of our Father Ignatius, I could tell this in the true spirit, they asked me for my advice, but I did not say it but only to their superior, in whose presence I made an exhortation about this."[35] Ribadeneyra was sensing important differences that would make him feel uncomfortable in Spain as time progressed.

32 Ribadeneyra to Everard Mercurian, June 1, 1577, in *Ribadeneyra* 1: 762–68.

33 "Di questa maggior osservanza di cose minute et steriori, che par' a loro fiorir' nella sua provincia, vengono alcuni a tener' per più santo il loro governo, et per più proprio, et sincero, et conforme al nostro instituto, et a far' poco conto degl'altri, tenendo quelli dell' altre provincie per meno osservanti, et per dir la parola ch'io ho inteso, per conventuali." *Ribadeneyra* 1:765.

34 Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España* (Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1914), 2:457–58.

35 *Ribadeneyra* 1:765–66.

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In another letter, dated September 30, 1577, Ribadeneyra enunciated the main rationale for the writing and publishing program that he would pursue in the following decade.[36] It is telling that in his letter Ribadeneyra was asking Mercurian if he could return to Rome. He had been in Spain for just under three years after his arrival in Barcelona in November 1574. Nevertheless, the tone of the letter indicates that despite his ill health he wanted to return to Rome as he felt underutilized in Spain and somewhat alienated from the other Spanish Jesuits. It is clear he preferred the situation in Rome and that he aspired to return there in order to better serve his institute.

In the letter, he listed reasons for staying in Spain as well as reasons for returning to Italy. Among the reasons for leaving Spain, he listed his desire to serve the Society either as an advisor or as a writer. "I can serve the Society," he declared, "either advising or writing some things related to the Society." He was well aware of his unique position in the Society as a close disciple of Ignatius, but at the same time twenty years younger than a towering figure such as Jerónimo Nadal (1507–80). He had both the experience and energy to assist Mercurian in some administrative capacity. He felt that in either case it would be better for him to be in Rome. That was especially true if he were to pursue writing, since, as he noted, that is where "all the documents from which any writing that will be gathered are found as well as the people with whom it can be discussed and corrected."[37]

Moreover, he found that there was a considerable lack of knowledge in Spain and among Spanish Jesuits about the history of the Society. "I see new people, young, without experience in governance, raised by people of good will but lacking a proper understanding of our institute, absolutist in their authority, and with little regard, and who measure holiness—if I am not wrong—with a different measure from our Father Ignatius and reason calls for."[38] Consequently, among the reasons for staying, he indicated that in Spain there were no older Jesuits with a broad and general experience of the affairs of the Society. Thus, he believed that he could, on account of his age and knowledge, help mitigate the situation. He even mentioned that he could address these needs by visiting all the *colegios* in the four Spanish provinces, lecturing on the ways and character of the Society of Jesus.[39]

His sense that there was a lack of understanding of the Society of Jesus in Spain ran very deep. In another letter he wrote to Mercurian, on October 7,

36 Ribadeneyra to Everard Mercurian, September 30, 1577, in ibid. 778–84.

37 Ibid. 782.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., 783–84.

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1577, he revisited the subject but from a different angle.[40] Here he argued that the Spanish court did not have a clear perception of the Society. He went further by suggesting that the Society had neglected the court in Madrid and that it lacked a robust presence there. He wrote: "The most important arena in the world, and where it is most beneficial that the Society shows what it is made of, after Rome, is the court of Philip II."[41] He went on to remind the general that Madrid was the seat of every governing council of the Spanish monarchy, "a great machine and theater of the world." Nevertheless, he continued, "the Society does not have what is needed in place."[42]

In the end, of course, Ribadeneyra did not return to Italy. His friendship with Quiroga, a man who had also spent a considerable amount of time in Italy, must have alleviated some of his sense of alienation. Furthermore, Quiroga's elevation to the see of Toledo must have changed his perception of the situation in Spain. In any case, it should be clear that his letters of 1577 help explain how Ribadeneyra envisioned his future work as an interpreter of the Society of Jesus for the Spain of his day.

In fact, by October 8, 1577, he was already at work on a new project, the translation of the *Vita*.[43] By the following year, he already had a full manuscript of the new Spanish *Vida*.[44] In a letter of January 8, 1582, to Ribadeneyra, Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615) assured him that his new translation and the new additions would be welcomed by their brethren.[45] Yet the manuscript had not been revised a year later. Finally, in his letter of January 3, 1583, Acquaviva informed him of the positive outcomes of the examination.[46] In 1584, after the publication of the new translation in 1583, Acquaviva congratulated Ribadeneyra for his accomplishment.[47]

The book constituted a public display of the kind of political and ecclesiastical support that the Society enjoyed. Ribadeneyra was making a clear statement with his work. He was declaring to his Spanish audience that the once persecuted Society of Jesus, maligned by many as a "synagogue of Jews" and a hotbed of *alumbrados*, was now well established with a robust network of patrons within its reach. Moreover, he advanced the Ignatian vision of reform in manners and militant response to heresy by means of Catholic literacy.

40 Ribadeneyra to Everard Mercurian, October 7, 1577, in ibid., 784–94.

41 Ibid. 791.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., 797.

44 *Fontes narrativi* 2:19n14.

45 *Fontes narrativi* 4:22.

46 Ibid., 23.

47 Ibid.

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He inserted a new discourse on the importance of the *colegios* and their role in the crystallization of a Catholic literary culture. The section—found in book 3, Chapter 22—was of crucial significance as it explained the overall educational vision of the Society and it is the best example of the kind of emphases he wanted to convey to his Spanish readership.

The opening lines introduced the central concern of the discourse. Ribadeneyra pointed out that the *colegios* were among the "principal ministries" of the Society and that Ignatius himself instituted them for the instruction of the young in "virtue and letters." However, there were some people of weight for whom the *colegios* appeared to be something "new," "indecent," and even "alien" to religious gravity. A special source of concern for these skeptics was the Society's involvement in elementary education through the foundation of grammar schools for children. "They ask," he pointed out, "the causes and motivations Ignatius had to institute these *colegios* and schools and to embrace with such care an occupation that on the one hand is so laborious and troublesome and on the other is so distant and not proper of the religious."[48]

He dedicated the remainder of the chapter to answering the skeptics' objections. His answer was summarized in the origins of the Society. According to Ribadeneyra, the Society was instituted by God to fight heresy. Ignatius, he argued, saw that it was necessary to "raise children in the holy fear of God, and to teach them to be Christians from an early age."[49] He elaborated this point extensively, drawing on the experience of the Society of Jesus throughout Europe, but especially in Germany. Catholic literacy was the solution for the Protestant challenge and the *colegios* were the instrument of the Society to spread it. The children the Jesuits were educating in them would become the new prelates and rulers; the canons, bishops, rectors, judges, and governors of the Christian commonwealth.[50] Children were brought up to become leaders.[51] He used an example drawn from John the Deacon's (d. before 882) *Vita S. Gregorii papae* (*The life of St. Gregory, the pope*) in which Pope Gregory the Great (r.590–604) was represented as teaching children to sing. "Can it be less important," he asked with derision, "to teach virtue and letters to children, with which they may become living temples of God and good rulers of the republic, than to teach them to sing?"[52] For Ribadeneyra, this would be the great achievement of the *colegios*; namely, a robust Roman Catholic literary culture built from the ground up.

48 Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vida del P. Ignacio* (1583), 164r–164v.

49 Ibid., 165v.

50 Ibid., 173v–174r, 177v–178r.

51 Ibid., 174v.

52 Ibid., 176v–177r.

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Ribadeneyra and the Interlocking of Jesuit and Spanish Literary Cultures

Ribadeneyra's literary career illustrates how writing took on a distinctive character for the Society of Jesus. As a Jesuit, he was able to align writing as a devotional practice with the fulfillment of paramount organizational objectives. The nascent religious foundation had pressing institutional needs, analogous to the needs of similar religious bodies. The Society of Jesus needed to recruit new members, train them properly, and secure the material resources that could ensure its perpetuation. Its fast expansion made these demands even more urgent. Writing, and especially writing that was meant for publication, facilitated the creation of a positive public opinion regarding the Society. It was in this sense that writing and publishing furthered the institutional aims of the Society of Jesus. Books could be used to attract new members, introduce them to the core tenets of the religious institute, provide the new recruits with ideal models of piety and loyalty, and enlist the patronage of wealthy admirers.

Yet, he also pursued writing as a spiritual practice. For instance, in his *Confessiones* he recorded the abiding motives that inspired him and guided him to write. Reflecting upon the writing of the *Confessiones*, he asked, "Why then, for what reason do I write about things that are long gone?" "I write," he responded, "in order to have memory of your gifts and to thank you for them, in order to confess my miseries before Your Reverence, and to cry for them, and to ask that you may forgive them."[53] He saw writing as a way of serving God, and he was forever grateful to God for allowing him to offer such service. As he stated, he was grateful to God for "availing yourself of me in the books that by your will—as shown to me by your ministers and my superiors—I have written so far."[54] He wrote with two additional ends in mind: to build up the faithful and for the well-being of the Society of Jesus.[55] He conveyed a similar feeling in a letter of March 1, 1604, to Ana Manrique (d.1615), countess of Puñonrostro. Referring to his *Manual de oraciones*, he declared, "In the beginning, I wrote it in order to have some relief of my old age, and to ask the favor of the Lord through the intercession of his saints; I also wanted to make myself joyfully useful in something that could be of benefit."[56] On one occasion he called writing a "precise, grave, and continuous" occupation.[57]

53 Ribadeneyra, *Confessiones*, 89.

54 Ibid., 84.

55 Ibid.

56 Ribadeneyra to Ana Manrique, March 4, 1604, in *Obras escogidas del Padre Pedro de Rivadeneira de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Vicente de la Fuente (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1952), 606–7.

57 Ribadeneyra, *Obras escogidas*, 601.

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He articulated an image for the Society of Jesus that was exceptionally useful for the advancement of important institutional ends. However, of equal or greater value was the lasting influence he had on the formation of two distinctive literary cultures. The primary literary culture he contributed to was that of the Society of Jesus itself. Here, he laid the foundations for a historiographical style of major consequence. Of great importance in this regard are his biographies of the first three generals of the Society: Ignatius of Loyola, Diego Laínez (1512–65), and Francisco de Borja. In his biographical works, he set a model and pattern that later Jesuit historians followed.

While the historiographical virtues of Ribadeneyra's work are often recognized, the Bollandists are the ones who customarily get noticed on account of their "modern" historiographical sensibilities.[58] In 1910, the Belgian scholar Hippolyte Delehaye (1859–1941)—himself a Jesuit and a Bollandist—coined the term "hagiology" to describe a historical science, the foundation of which he attributed to the Jesuits Heribert Rosweyde (d.1629) and Jean Bolland (1596–1665).[59] He characterized their approach as "hagiographie scientifique"; a historiographical style that consisted of methodical source criticism, analysis of literary styles, and the study of local history.[60] According to Delehaye, these were the tools that the hagiologist would use to discriminate between facts and myths found in the hagiographical remains. The Bollandists' ultimate aim was to distinguish what is "really historical" from what is nothing more than the invention of the "imagination of the pious writers."[61]

Certainly, Delehaye's perspective was profoundly shaped by the historical positivism of Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886).[62] Indeed, von Ranke emphasized

58 Among the scholars who have noted Ribadeneyra's novel hagiographical approach are Jodi Bilinkoff, "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52 (1999): 180–96; Jonathan Edward Greenwood, "Readers, Sanctity, and History in Early Modern Spain: Pedro de Ribadeneyra, the *Flos sanctorum*, and Catholic Community" (MA thesis, Carleton University, 2011); Miguel Gotor, "Hagiografía y censura libraria: El quinto capítulo sobre los milagros de la *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola de Pedro de Ribadeneyra entre corte de reyes y obediencia romana*," in *Los jesuitas: Religión, política y educación* (*siglos XVI–XVIII*), ed. José Martínez Millán, Henar Pizarro Llorente, and Esther Jiménez Pablo, 3 vols. (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2012), 2:1007–28.

59 Hippolyte Delehaye, "Hagiology," in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 29 vols. (New York: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1910–11), 12:816–17. See also Jan Machielsen, "Heretical Saints and Textual Discernment: The Polemical Origins of the *Acta Sanctorum* (1643–1940)" in *Angels of Light? Sanctity and the Discernment of Spirits in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Jan Machielsen and Clare Copeland (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 103–41.

60 Ibid., 817.

61 Ibid.

62 On von Ranke's historical positivism, see Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 9–12.

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the importance of "documentary research" (*urkundliche Forschung*), calling it the "historical principle" that distinguishes history from philosophy and theology.[63] He was convinced that the golden standard of historical inquiry is for it to be "documentary" (*urkundlicher*) and "exact" (*genauer*) research.[64] From the standpoint of modern positivist historiography, therefore, historical inquiry into the facts was harnessed by the methods of the humanistic discipline of philology.[65] Consequently, Delehaye designated the Bollandists' as practitioners of the "scientific" discipline of hagiology on account of their use of documentary sources.

Yet, if the stress on documentary sources was the hallmark of a new, modern style of hagiography, then Ribadeneyra has to be recognized as one of its earliest exponents. Moreover, if "the whole modern method of historical research is founded upon the distinction between original and derivative authorities," as the Italian historian Arnaldo Momigliano (1908–87) maintained, then Ribadeneyra was practicing a very novel brand of hagiography.[66] Indeed, in his hagiographical works he displayed an exceptional historical sensibility that set him apart from other Spanish hagiographers of the period.[67] The historian and hispanist Jodi Bilinkoff (b.1955), who did not hesitate to treat Ribadeneyra as a "biographer" or as someone practicing "life-writing," rightly observed that his hagiographical writings defied conventional categories of genre and style.[68]

In the *Vita* (1572), he declared the core principles that would guide his hagiographical work for the next forty years. Among these, his disciplined approach to hagiography as such has to be highlighted. He described hagiography as "sanctorum vita referenda."[69] That is, he saw himself as "reporting" or "relating" the lives of saints. In 1583, he translated this phrase as "relatando vidas de

63 See Leopold von Ranke's "Idee der Universalhistorie," edited with introduction and notes in Eberhard Kessel, "Rankes Idee der Universalhistorie," *Historische Zeitschrift* 178, no. 2 (1954): 269–308, here 302.

64 "Man glaube nicht, daß dies der Freyheit der Betrachtung Eintrag thue; nein, je urkundlicher, genauer, ergiebiger die Forschung, desto freyer kann sich die Kunst bewegen." Kessel, "Rankes Idee der Universalhistorie," 298.

65 Robert Morstein-Marx, "Political History," in *A Companion to Ancient History*, ed. Andrew Erskine (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 99–111, here 102–4.

66 Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 285–315, here 286.

67 In a short entry, Eusebio Rey called him the "creator of modern hagiography." Eusebio Rey, "Ribadeneyra, Pedro de," in *Diccionario de la historia eclesiástica de España*, ed. Quintín Aldea Vaquero et al., 4 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973), 3:2085.

68 Bilinkoff, "Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra," 184.

69 Ribadeneyra, "Carissimis in Christo," in *Vita Ignatii* (1572), no pagination.

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santos."[70] He believed that the relating of the lives of saints was a form of historical writing that was subject to the highest standards. "Truth," he stated, "is the first law of history [*historiae prima lex veritas est*]."[71] In the Spanish edition of 1583, he reworked this statement significantly, strengthening the tenor of the work and clarifying his aspirations: "I hereby avow that I will not say things that are untrue and questionable, but instead those that are well known and well researched [*muy sabidas y averiguadas*]."[72] With this statement, Ribadeneyra claimed certain relative independence and even critical distance from tradition, subjecting traditional accounts and models of telling the lives of saints to scrutiny. He made this move without abandoning the moral and spiritual ends of hagiography, which would have amounted to forsaking the genre as a whole.

Furthermore, in 1572, Ribadeneyra was calling for a writing of saints' lives that was based on evidence of the first order, such as—and especially—eyewitness accounts. He was clearly conscious of the qualitative difference between types of sources. In his first hagiography, he claimed the privilege of having met Ignatius in person and having witnessed the very beginnings of the Society as a religious institute. However, he did not rely solely on his own experience to report the story of Ignatius and the Society of Jesus. He worked from written sources as well, especially the writings of Luis Gonçalves da Câmara (1519–75) and Diego Laínez.[73]

He collected other documents as he was writing the work, adjusting his progress to the availability of sources. Hence, in his letter to Jerónimo Nadal of October 24, 1567, he lamented his lack of progress due to his ill health. Yet, even if he wanted to speed up his work, he was not able to because he was lacking sufficient documentation. Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517–76) was bringing together those manuscripts that were found in Rome and in other locations.[74] He even noted that the third part of the *Vita* was on hold because it required

70 Ribadeneyra, "A los hermanos," in *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola* (1583), no pagination.

71 "Et quoniam historiae prima lex veritas est, hoc in primis profiteor, me nihil inexplorati scripturum: sed res mihi notas, certas, testatasque litteris proditurum." Ribadeneyra, "Carissimis in Christo," in *Vita Ignatii* (1572), no pagination.

72 "Y porque la primera regla de la buena historia es, que se guarde verdad en ella: ante todas cosas protesto, que no dire aqui cosas inciertas y dudosas, sino muy sabidas, y averiguadas." Ribadeneyra, "A los hermanos," in *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola* (1583), no pagination.

73 Ribadeneyra, "Carissimis in Christo," in *Vita Ignatii* (1572), no pagination.

74 Pedro de Ribadeneyra to Jerónimo Nadal, October 24, 1567, in *Epistolae P. Hieronimi Nadal Societatis Jesu, ab anno 1546 ad 1577, nunc primum editae et illustratae a patribus ejusdem Societatis* (Madrid: Agustín Avrial, 1902), 3:538–40, here 539.

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extensive documentation that was at the time still to be collected.[75] He remained committed to the careful documentation of his accounts throughout his career. Typical of his approach was the comment he made in the preface to *Vida del P. Francisco de Borja* (1592).[76] In view of a future book, he asked the late general's close associates to write everything they knew about him. He then gathered all these writings and collected other sources as well.[77]

The truly innovative, almost revolutionary, trait of his *relatos* was the independence and critical distance he took in relation to traditional forms of hagiography. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that he could manipulate the narrative to his own ends. The point here, however, is how he regarded traditional hagiography. He was critical of the kind of embellishments that characterized traditional saints' lives. In the *Vita* (1572), he argued that the use of forgeries for the writing of saints' lives was more reproachable than the use of simple lies in daily life.[78] The immediate application of this principle was the conviction that the story of Ignatius's exemplary life should not be overstated by adding fiction to the real facts. To the contrary, the growth and spread of the Society of Jesus was the work of God in unambiguous and manifest ways that could be corroborated with living witnesses. In the Spanish edition of 1583, he considerably amplified this passage, providing a bold statement of his hagiographical approach. He criticized and took distance from the customary representations of saints' lives, typically embellished after the arbitrary inclinations of their authors. "As if God needed forgeries," he remarked. He took his reservations a step further by denouncing the way that traditional lives of saints incorporated stories of fake miracles intended to aggrandize a saint's profile, "or as if it was not alien to Christian piety to want to honor and glorify the Lord, who is the ultimate and eternal truth, with contrived stories and miracles."[79]

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75 Ribadeneyra to Jerónimo Nadal, October 24, 1567, in *Epistolae P. Hieronimi Nadal* 3:539.

76 Pedro Ribadeneyra, *Vida del P. Francisco de Borja, que fue duque de Gandía, y después religioso y III general de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: P. Madrigal, 1592).

77 Ribadeneyra, "Al christiano lector," in *Vida del P. Francisco de Borja*, no pagination.

78 "Est enim persuasum nobis, cum in omni re mentiri, turpe esse, tum vero, in sanctorum vita referenda, turpissimum. Nam neque Deus, ad gloriam suam illustrandam, mendaciis nostris indiget: neque primam, et summam veritatem, falsis narrationibus, et commentiis honorare velle, fas est." Ribadeneyra, "Carissimis in Christo," in *Vita Ignatii* (1572), no pagination.

79 "Por parecerme, que aunque qualquiera mentira es fea y indigna de hombre Christiano, pero mucho mas la que se compusiesse, y forjasse relatando vidas de Santos. Como si Dios tuviesse necessidad della, o no fuesse cosa agena de la piedad christiana, querer honrar y glorificar al Señor, que es summa y eterna verdad, con cuentos y milagros fingidos." Ribadeneyra, "A los hermanos," in *Vida del P. Ignacio de Loyola* (1583), no pagination.

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His judicious objection to the paramount place bogus miracles had in traditional accounts of saints' lives could be seen as an indication of a potentially larger problem for him and the Society of Jesus. In the last chapter of *Vita* (1572), he addressed an important question related to Ignatius's holiness: "But some say, if these things are true, as certainly they are; what is the cause, why his holiness is less confirmed by miracles?"[80] He proceeded to explain that miracles were in God's power and that they were God's doing. Nevertheless, it would appear that if there were no miracles associated with Ignatius, then his biographer would have to tone down their importance. The French historian Axelle Guillausseau explained Ribadeneyra's caution as a response to the tighter controls on canonization procedures imposed by the Council of Trent.[81] While that may be true, his circumspection has to be seen more in terms of his methodical approach to writing than anything else. After all, the tighter regulations on canonization came about after 1572 under Popes Sixtus V (r.1585–90) and Urban VIII (r.1623–44), and especially the latter.

Moreover, his critical posture with regard to traditional accounts of saints' lives was also evident in his greatest and most important hagiographical work, the *Flos sanctorum* (1599).[82] He offered some rare but weighty insights about the art of writing saints' lives in his preface, "Al christiano y benigno lector." Ribadeneyra asserted that traditional saints' lives were filled with stories that he described as "obscure," "entangled," and "doubtful." Some stories in saints' lives were "on the one hand so apocryphal, and on the other so well accepted and deeply rooted in popular opinion that they can neither be approved without considerable affront to the truth, nor done away with without causing offense to the vulgar and common people."[83] Some of these works incorporated that which resulted in "amazement instead of edification" and more "miracles instead of virtues."[84] He also announced an important principle for the use of his sources—chiefly Cesare Baronio's (1538–1607)

80 "Sed dicat aliquis, si haec vera sunt, ut profecto sunt; quid causae est, quamobrem illius sanctitas, minus est testata miraculis?" Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii* (1572), 208r.

81 Axelle Guillausseau, "Los relatos de milagros de Ignacio de Loyola: Un ejemplo de la renovación de las prácticas hagiográficas del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII," *Criticón* 99 (2007): 5–56.

82 Pedro Ribadeneyra, *Flos sanctorum, libro de las vidas de los santos, escrito por el Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra, de la Compañía de Jesús, natural de Toledo. Dirigido a la reyna de España Doña Margarita de Austria, n.s. En el qual se contienen las vidas de Christo nuestro señor, y de su santissima madre; y de todos los santos de que reza la Yglesia Romana, por todo el año* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599).

83 Ribadeneyra, "Al christiano y benigno lector," in *Flos sanctorum*, no pagination.

84 Ibid.

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Annales ecclesiastici.[85] He pledged to select those things that are "true and researched" and that can move the reader to the imitation of the saints themselves. Conversely, he also indicated he would leave out those things that "even if they are well received among the common people," did not appear to him to be sufficiently "well founded, and well authorized, that I may affirm them."[86]

Ribadeneyra played an important part in the creation of a literary culture among the Jesuits in the Iberian Peninsula. As his works circulated and were read, his Jesuit emulators appropriated his literary style as well as his historiographical dexterity. They in turn contributed to the solidification of a literary body held together by the common objective of furthering the institutional mission of the Society of Jesus. Hence, the literary production of these Spanish Jesuits has to be treated with integrity as a consistent whole. Furthermore, he can be credited with beginning a hagiographical school that anticipated and, for a time, ran parallel to the Bollandists. This Spanish and Jesuit school of hagiography was active in the later decades of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. It included figures such as Martín de Roa (1559–1637) and Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658). It is possible that the Colegio Imperial of Madrid, with which Nieremberg became so closely identified, provided an institutional home for this hagiographical effort.[87] In any case, other Jesuits who occupied the office of *procurador* in the Madrilenian court could also be counted as part of this school. Such was the case with Luis de Guzmán (d.1605) and Luis Piñeiro (or Pinheiro, 1560–1620). These two were responsible for histories of Jesuit missionary work in the East that are grossly underestimated by modern scholars who fail to see the influence they had in the seventeenth century. If we take into consideration that Ribadeneyra's *Vida* was published in 1583 and that the Jesuit Juan de Mariana's (1536–1624) *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri xxv* appeared in 1592, one can begin to imagine the transcendence of Ribadeneyra's methodical considerations for Spanish Jesuit historiography.[88]

He also contributed to the creation of a national literary culture. In this regard, he formed part of a broader trend shaped by a plethora of religious writers who, like him, were turning to the vernacular in order to reach the laity

85 Ribadeneyra indicates that he used the edition printed in Rome, Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 12 vols. (Rome: Ex Typographia Vaticana, 1588–1607).

86 Ribadeneyra, "Al christiano y benigno lector," in *Flos sanctorum*, no pagination.

87 For more on the Colegio Imperial see José Simón Díaz, *Historia del Colegio Imperial de Madrid* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1992). On Nieremberg, see D. Scott Hendrickson, *Jesuit Polymath of Madrid: The Literary Enterprise of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

88 Juan de Mariana, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri xxv* (Toledo: Petri Roderici, 1592).

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with their works. Together, these religious writers—including figures such as Granada and Fray Luis de León (1527–91)—laid the foundation of Spain's Catholic literary culture. Their literary achievements dominated modern Spanish intellectual life with hegemonic force. Ribadeneyra practiced a spirituality of writing that combined a sense of duty towards the Society of Jesus with a profound love for God as well as the conviction that these could come together in writing. The same spirituality inspired numerous authors that were either Jesuits themselves or were educated in Jesuit schools, fulfilling in these ways the Jesuit vision of building a Catholic literary culture from the ground up. Among these were Pedro Pablo de Acevedo (1521–73), Juan Luis de la Cerda (1558–1643), Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas (1580–1645), Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera (1600–29), Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–81), and Baltasar Gracián y Morales (1601–58). Interestingly, Ribadeneyra was very aware of the strategic importance of literacy as well as the urgency of producing a literature that conveyed the beliefs and values of Tridentine Christianity. He embraced the calling, in good Jesuit spirit, "ad maiorem Dei gloriam" (for the greater glory of God).

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CHAPTER 9

The Distinctiveness of the Society of Jesus's Mission in Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (1588)

Spencer J. Weinreich

"Two more private and particular considerations encouraged me in the work. The first, that I am a Spaniard; the second, that I am a priest of the Society of Jesus."[1] Such was the explanation offered by the priest and scholar Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526–1611) for the production of the *Historia eclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (henceforth, the "*Historia*"), his polemical account of the English Reformation. Troublingly, virtually all scholarship on the *Historia* has concentrated on the former factor, to the detriment of our appreciation of the latter. This chapter, and my larger project of an annotated translation of the *Historia*, is an attempt to rectify this imbalance.

First published in Madrid in 1588, the *Historia* was an immediate success, seeing another Madrid edition and printings at Valencia, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Lisbon, and Antwerp within the same year.[2] Ribadeneyra's work grew out of a prior Latin text, Nicholas Sander's (*c.*1530–81) *De origine ac progressu schismatis*

The author wishes to express his gratitude to the staff of the Woodstock Theological Library at Georgetown University for their kind assistance; to Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., for his thoughtful comments; to all of the conference participants—especially Emanuele Colombo, Claude Pavur, S.J., Andrew Redden, and Rady Roldán-Figueroa—for their insights; and to Robert Aleksander Maryks for his guidance and mentorship. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are the author's. The original spelling and orthography of texts have been preserved, save where altered by a secondary source.

1 Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma del reyno de Inglaterra* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1588), 8v: "dos cosas mas particulares y propias me han incitado tambien a ello. La primera, ser yo Español: y la segunda, ser religioso de la Compañia de Iesus."

2 Thomas McNevin Veech, *Dr Nicholas Sanders and the English Reformation, 1530–1581*, Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie 32 (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothéque de l'Université, 1935), 237. Fátima Cid Morgade, "An Analysis of Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Historia ecclesiastica del scisma de Inglaterra* (1588)" (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2014), 12.

In 1593–94, Ribadeneyra published a second part to the history, resuming the narrative from the defeat of the Spanish Armada. This chapter will confine itself to the first edition, and to Ribadeneyra's sense of the Society and history before the catastrophe of the Armada.

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Anglicani (henceforth, "*De origine*"), published in Cologne in 1585, four years after the author's death.[3] Characterizations of the relationship between the two texts have varied: in 1935, the Australian church historian Thomas McNevin Veech (1907–82) classed the *Historia* among the translations of *De origine*,[4] while more recently Fátima Cid Morgade, working in a more literary vein, has highlighted the substantial changes made by Ribadeneyra, shifting the emphasis from England to Spain.[5] The historian Freddy Cristóbal Domínguez has further nuanced this account by clarifying that Ribadeneyra worked from the 1586 edition of *De origine*, and thus many of the alterations highlighted by Cid Morgade originated with the subsequent editors to Sander's text, Edward Rishton (1550–85), Robert Persons (1546–1610), and William, later cardinal, Allen (1532–94).[6] Both the recognition of Ribadeneyra's actively creative role and a more realistic picture of the textual history are, of course, developments much to be welcomed. Yet, the analyses of Cid Morgade and Domínguez leave something to be desired, for they neglect the importance of the *quidditas jesuitica*—the uniquely Jesuit "way of proceeding"—that is our subject.

I believe this to be the consequence of examining—as most scholars have—the *Historia* solely in the context of anti-Elizabethan polemic, without reference to the rest of Ribadeneyra's oeuvre. Domínguez, for one, is explicit in his focus on what he calls "Spanish Elizabethans," more specifically on "spaniolized" Englishmen. Both Domínguez and the literary scholar Victor Houliston (1954–) draw direct textual genealogies from Sander to Rishton, Persons, and Allen to Ribadeneyra, without much discussion of the fact that, unlike the other three, Ribadeneyra was neither English nor an exile, and had interests beyond the state of Christianity in England.[7]

Scholars of Ribadeneyra's other works, by contrast—among them the historians Jodi Bilinkoff (1955–) and Jonathan Edward Greenwood and the Latinist Claude Pavur (1952–), S.J.—have stressed the utter centrality of the Society to

3 Nicholas Sander, *Doctissimi viri Nicolai Sanderi, de origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani, liber. Continens historiam maximè ecclesiasticam, annorum circiter sexaginta, lectu dignissimam: nimirum, ab anno 21. regni Henrici 8, quo primum cogitare cœpit de repudianda vxore serenissima Catherina, vsque ad hunc vigesimum septimum Elizabethæ, quæ vltima est eiusdem Henrici soboles*, ed. Edward Rishton (Cologne, 1585).

4 Veech, *Nicholas Sanders*, 237.

5 Cid Morgade, "Analysis," 30.

6 See Freddy Cristóbal Domínguez, "'We Must Fight with Paper and Pens': Spanish Elizabethan Polemics 1585–1598" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2011), Chapters 2 and 3.

7 Ibid., 3. Victor Houliston, "The Missionary Position: Catholics Writing the History of the English Reformation," *English Studies in Africa* 54, no. 2 (2011): 16–30.

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his thought and writings.[8] As the historian Rady Roldán-Figueroa has concisely put it, Ribadeneyra "wrote as a Jesuit and with Jesuit interests in mind."[9] Pavur has insightfully observed of *The Life of Ignatius of Loyola* (1572) that it is "not just a biography, nor a 'life and times,' nor an institutional history, but also an *apologia*—an explanation, a justification, and an argument for the Society of Jesus," at a time when the Society and its institute were under attack in Spain and elsewhere.[10] The same can be said of the *Historia*, and reading it alongside such texts as the *Life of Ignatius of Loyola* and the *Flos sanctorum* (1599) reveals a consistent set of tropes and literary strategies, aimed as much at the promotion of the Society of Jesus as at the degradation of English Protestantism. I argue that we must consider the *Historia* as part of a larger project on Ribadeneyra's part, spanning several decades, to construct textual foundations for a Jesuit identity—both for members of the Society and for those among whom they moved.

As an initial matter, it is noteworthy—as a matter of emphasis, if nothing else—that the *Historia* opens with the Society, even though the narrative must traverse nearly thirty years to reach the foundation, and a further forty to reach any significant Jesuit involvement in English affairs. In his letter to the reader, Ribadeneyra writes of the Society, "God our Lord has instituted it and sent it into the world in these wretched times to defend the Catholic faith and to combat heretics."[11] (Compare Pavur's judgment that the *Life of Ignatius of Loyola*

8 Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *The Life of Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. Claude Pavur, Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translations 28 (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2014), xviii. Jodi Bilinkoff, "The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 181. Jonathan Edward Greenwood, "Readers, Sanctity, and History in Early Modern History: Pedro de Ribadeneyra, the *Flos sanctorum*, and Catholic Community" (MA Thesis, Carleton University, 2011), 63–64.

It must of course be acknowledged that reference to Ribadeneyra's other works does not, *ipso facto*, guarantee recognition of the *Historia*'s concern with the Society. The art historian Gabriela Torres Olleta, for one, has used Ribadeneyra's theological and political writings to examine the *Historia*'s representations of morality and power, but does not acknowledge any special position for the Jesuits among the story's large cast of Catholic characters. Gabriela Torres Olleta, "Imágenes del poder en el Siglo de Oro: La visión del P. Ribadeneyra en el *Cisma de Inglaterra*," in *La voz de Clío: Imágenes del poder en la comedia histórica del Siglo de Oro*, ed. Oana Andreia Sâmbrian, Mariela Insúa, and Antonie Mihail, 70–81 (Craiova: Editura Universitaria Craiova, 2012), 71, 78–79.

9 See Rady Roldán-Figueroa, Chapter 8, this volume.

10 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, xix.

11 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 9v: "Dios nuestro Señor la instituyo y embio al mundo en estos miserables tiempos, para defender la Fê Catholica, y oponerse a los hereges."

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seeks to demonstrate "that this 'novel' institution of the Society of Jesus was indeed fashioned and confirmed by God and designed especially for the exigencies of the day."[12]) Ribadeneyra adds that it is God's "special grace" to the Society that

> taking as his instrument Elizabeth, queen of England and daughter of King Henry and Anne Boleyn (the germ of this lamentable tragedy, the source and root of such grievous disasters), who, following in the footsteps of her parents, while augmenting their methods, persecutes our holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith with extraordinary cruelty and ferocity, and butchers those who profess and teach it, torturing them, abusing them, and murdering them with the most hideous sorts of punishments and executions—and by this means rendering them the greatest good they could possibly wish for.[13]

He continues:

> the foremost among those who have perished for their faith during Elizabeth's reign have been certain English fathers of our Society, who chose to be persecuted, tortured, tormented, and murdered, rather than separate themselves by so much as a hair from the confession of Catholic truth. And this is so wonderful and so magnificent a gift of our Lord that every son of this little Society is obliged to acknowledge and to serve him, to wish to follow our brothers in giving our lives for him.[14]

12 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, xviii–xix.

13 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 9v–10r: "la merced tan señalada [...] tomando por instrumento a la Reyna de Inglaterra Isabel, hija del Rey Enrique y de Ana Bolena (que fue la levadura a esta lamentable tragedia, y la fuente y rayz de tãtas y tan graues calamidades) la qual siguiendo las pisadas de tales padres, hinchendo la medida dellos, con extraordinaria crueldad y tryania persigue nuestra santa Fê Catolica, Apostolica, y Romana, y haze carnicería de los que la professan y enseñan atormentandolos, descoyuntandolos, y despedaçandolos con atrocißimos linages de penas y muertes, y haziendoles por este camino los mayores bienes que ellos podían dessear."

14 Ibid., 10r–10v: "Entre estos que han muerto por la Fê en tiempo de Isabel, los principales han sido algunos Padres de nuestra Compañia, Ingleses de nacion; los cuales quisieron ser antes apuros tormentos descoyuntados y muertos, que apartarse un pelo de la confesión de la verdad Catolica. Y este es beneficio tan grande y regalado del Señor, que nos obliga a todos los hijos desta minima Compañia a reconocerle y seruirle, y a desear seguir à nuestros hermanos, y dar la vida por el."

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I have reproduced these two passages at length because they serve as prologues to the rest of the *Historia*. The themes of chosenness, providential mission, and martyrdom recur throughout, and find ready parallels in Ribadeneyra's other works, as proofs of the Society's rightful role in early modern Catholicism.

Recent scholarship—particularly the pioneering work of historian John W. O'Malley (1927–), S.J.—has critiqued the longstanding perception of the Society of Jesus as a Counter-Reformation order *ab initio*. True though this may be of Ignatius of Loyola (*c*.1491–1556) and others among the first companions, it does not apply to the *Historia*'s depiction of the founding. Not only is the Society instituted as a response to Protestantism, but God himself intends it thus; in the words of Sander:

> For, at the time that in Germany by the blaspheming tongue of Luther, and in England by the unheard-of cruelty of this tyrant, it seemed that the ideals of a perfect, monastic life had been discarded, all obedience and honor to the vicar of Christ had been so neglected and abandoned that the name of the pope [...] was abhorred by the wicked, at this very moment, I say, he raised up with his Holy Spirit the soul of Ignatius of Loyola and his holy companions.[15]

In fact, the Society's providential power goes beyond mere reaction: "With these works, their new vow and obligation, they undid the impiety of Luther and the savagery of Henry."[16] Ribadeneyra quotes all this approvingly, and himself adds, to put the finest point on the matter, "in the same year that the English orders were eradicated, which was the year 1540, the Society of Jesus was founded and approved by the Holy See at Rome."[17] This sense of providential mission vis-à-vis the Protestants also appears in the *Life of Ignatius*, where book II, chapter XVIII, "God's Plan in Founding the Society," is a long disquisition on how the ravages of Luther set the stage for the creation of the Society.

15 Ibid., 143r–143v: "Pues en el mismo tiempo que en Alemania por la lengua blasfema de Lutero, y en Inglaterra por la crueldad nunca oydo deste tyrano, estaba ya como desterrada la profession de la vida religiosa, y perfeta, y la obediencia, y reuerencia al Vicario de Christo tan desarraygada, y perdida, que el nombre del Papa [...] era aborrecido de los malos. En este mismo tiempo, digo, excitò con su diuino espirtu el espiritu de Ignacio de Loyola, y de sus santos compañeros."

16 Ibid., 143v: "deshaziendo con obras, y con esta nueua promeßa, y obligacion la impiedad de Lutero, y la tyrania de Enrique."

17 Ibid., 144v: "porq[ue] el mismo año que se acabaro[n] las religiones en Inglaterra, que fue el de mil y quinientos y quare[n]ta, començò, y fue confirmada de la sede Apostolica en Roma la Religion de la Compañia de Iesus."

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We can see the same theme in Ribadeneyra's unpublished history of the Society, where he describes it as "an order of succor, which has as its mission [*instituto*] putting the heretics to flight."[18]

On an institutional level, throughout his work Ribadeneyra emphasizes the second papal bull authorizing the Society, *Exposcit debitum* (1550), rather than the first, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiæ* (1540)—the latter omitting the key clause concerning "the defense and propagation of the faith."[19] It is to *Exposcit debitum* that the *Historia* refers as confirmation of the Society's mission: "so says the vicar of that same God in the bull of its confirmation."[20] It is *Exposcit debitum* that is reproduced verbatim in the *Life of Ignatius*.[21]

In keeping with this more aggressive positioning for the Society, we find Ribadeneyra very fond of describing it in military language. The German College and the Roman Seminary, for example, become "two impregnable fortresses."[22] The *Life of Ignatius* is utterly suffused with similar tropes. To take but one rather sustained example:

> It is the mission of this order to help the valiant leaders and soldiers of the other religious orders fight energetically for the faith [...]. Where there are no garrisons of others, its mission is to send its own armed soldiers to prevent the enemy from making further progress, and to break their furious attack.[23]

It is perhaps worth pausing for a moment to consider whence comes this vision of the Society, a greater emphasis on non-Catholics of all sorts—Jews, Protestants, pagans—than appears among the very first companions. Ribadeneyra's position bears striking similarities to that of his contemporaries Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580) and Antonio Possevino (1533–1611).[24] Nadal was famously fond of the metaphor of the ministries to Protestant Germany and the pagan Indies as the Society's two "wings," unified by the Society's mission "to gain souls for Christ."[25] Possevino, an enthusiastic proselytizer, believed that

18 ARSI, *Hisp. 94*, 1r: "vna religion de socorro que tiene por instituto ahuyentar a los Hereges."

19 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, 117n88.

20 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 9v: "aßi lo dize el Vicario del mismo Dios en la Bula de su confirmacion."

21 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, 210–19.

22 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 272r: "dos Castillos roqueros."

23 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, 136.

24 William V. Bangert, *Jerome Nadal, S.J., 1507–1580: Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992), 254.

25 John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 70. See also John W. O'Malley, "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 16, no. 2 (March 1984): 1–21, here 13.

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"the purpose of the Society of Jesus is the salvation of *all nations*."[26] His career included a stint as preacher to the (literally) captive Jewish audience at the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity in Rome (securing fourteen conversions in the first six months) and the compilation of a bibliography of Catholic authors who had written against the Jews.[27]

This similarity in outlook may be generational: several decades younger than Ignatius, Nadal, Possevino, and Ribadeneyra (born in 1507, 1533, and 1526, respectively) came of age in the world of the Reformation, in which the troubling success of non-Catholic religious groups was *the* problem for the church.[28] Alternately, Robert Aleksander Maryks (1967–) has offered a compelling explanation drawn from the three men's shared Jewish ancestry.[29] Living in the heyday of the Iberian inquisitions (and amid no small criticism of the Society for its domination by New Christians),[30] these men may have proactively sought to be "more Catholic than the Catholics," compensating for their suspect ancestry with exemplary, vigorously orthodox zeal.[31] (We might observe here Ribadeneyra's vicious—and disingenuous—repetition of Sander's slur on the reformer Martin Bucer (1491–1551) as "greatly inclined to combine the dogma

26 John Patrick Donnelly, "Antonio Possevino and Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 15 (1986): 18–19. Italics mine.

27 Ibid., 5–7.

28 "The discovery of the New World, the urgency of the Turkish threat to Europe, and the defection into Protestantism of much of northern Europe awakened a new awareness of the need for evangelization." O'Malley, "Nadal," 12.

29 For Ribadeneyra's *converso* heritage, see José Gómez-Menor, "La progenie hebrea del Padre Pedro de Ribadeneira S.I. (hijo del jurado de Toledo Alvaro Husillo Ortiz de Cisneros)," *Sefarad* 36, no. 2 (1976): 307–32.

30 For a discussion of the *conversos*' integral place in the early Society and the controversy this provoked, see Robert Aleksander Maryks, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 146 (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

31 The author is indebted to Robert Maryks and Emanuele Colombo for thought-provoking conversations on this question.

Some Jesuits of Jewish heritage took this attitude a step farther and turned against their fellow *conversos*. The superior general of Portugal, Simão Rodrigues (1510–79)—probably a descendant of the New Christian Acevedo family—issued instructions not to accept *conversos* into the Society. The famed Jesuit philosopher Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) was vocal in his support for the Fifth General Congregation's exclusion of *conversos* from the Society; Maryks argues that this was an attempt to conceal his own Jewish lineage. The same dynamic can be observed in those of *morisco* descent, such as the fervently anti-*converso* Nicolás Bobadilla (1511–90). Maryks, *Synagogue of Jews*, 72, 91–93, 108.

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of Zwingli with that of the Jews—for he was of their race."[32]) Scholars have long noted that Jesuits of Jewish ancestry were particularly active in the foreign missions.[33]

Appropriate to this militant vision of the Society, the concrete manifestation and symbolic vindication of its mission is martyrdom—the bloodier the better. In the late sixteenth century, England held a special place in Counter-Reformation thought, as "the only European country in which Catholic martyrs were being made."[34] But Ribadeneyra himself points out, "as that glorious Doctor, Saint Augustine, says most solemnly, it is not the pain, but the cause, that makes the martyr."[35] He is therefore careful to specify that "they have offered glorious witness to the truth and sacrificed their lives for it and the confession of the faith of Christ."[36]

Less directly, Ribadeneyra repeatedly interweaves Jesuit martyrdom with more established exemplars of sanctity, lending the former a sort of "contact-holiness." Describing the foundation of the Society as the undoing of Luther's devastation, he exclaims, "Blessed be the Lord who has given us another son in the place of Abel, slain by his brother Cain," quoting Genesis 4:25.[37] In relating the last words of Edmund Campion (1540–81), Ribadeneyra quotes the Bible verse (1 Corinthians 4:9) in Latin, offers a Spanish paraphrase, and then adds, "these are the words of Saint Paul," lest anyone miss the parallel.[38] We might here note the insistence of Nadal—whose similarity in outlook to Ribadeneyra has already been mentioned—on the "apostolic" character of

32 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 179v: "Bucero mucho se inclinaua a juntar con la dotrina de Zuinglio la de los Iudios, porque era de casta dellos."

There is no evidence that Martin Bucer had any Jewish background, and he could be virulently anti-Semitic. At the same time, at least one satire did describe him as "by character a Jew, a false Christian." Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, trans. Stephen E. Buckwalter (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 157–58, 204.

33 Donnelly, "Antonio Possevino," 3. See also Josef Wicki, "Die 'Cristãos-Novos' in der Indischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu von Ignatius bis Acquaviva," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 46 (1977): 342–61.

34 Christopher Highley, "'A Pestilent and Seditious Book': Nicholas Sander's *Schismatis Anglicani* and Catholic Histories of the Reformation," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68, no. 1–2 (March 2005): 151–171, here 155.

35 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 317v: "como grauissimamente dize el glorioso Doctor san Augustin, no haze martyr la pena, sino la causa."

36 Ibid., 144r: "han dado ilustre testimonio a la verdad, y ofrecido sus vidas por ella, y por la confession de la Fê de Christo."

37 Ibid., 144v: "Bendito sea el Señor que nos ha dado otro hijo en lugar de Abel, a quien mató Cain su hermano."

38 Ibid., 293v: "estas son palabras de san Pablo."

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Jesuit spirituality.[39] A more sustained pattern is to integrate the Jesuit martyrdoms into the longer history of the church; a bid, to quote Pavur once more, to prove "that this 'novel' institution of the Society of Jesus was indeed fashioned and confirmed by God." In chapter 34 of book II, "How the Queen and Her Ministers Claimed That the Holy Martyrs Did Not Die for the Sake of Religion, but Rather for Other Crimes,"[40] alone, Ribadeneyra invokes the Christians martyred by Nero, Julian the Apostate, and Theodora, as well as Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Athanasius, Basil, Silverius, and Pope John I (r. 523–526) as *comparanda*. Indeed, he asserts, "Yet in all these, there is no more perfect image of this sort of cunning wickedness than the misbelievers of our own day, especially in the English atrocities of which we are speaking."[41] Alexander Briant (1556–81), for one, seemed "one of those valiant, unconquerable martyrs of the times of Nero, Decius, or Diocletian."[42]

Greenwood has observed that "Ribadeneyra incorporated into his [hagiography collection, the] *Flos sanctorum* Jesuit 'saints' amongst early modern Catholic cults of saints," so that figures like Ignatius, the Jesuit missionary *par excellence* Francis Xavier (1506–52), and the Italian nobleman Luigi Gonzaga (1568–91) were included in a list that began with none other than Christ himself.[43] In the *Life of Ignatius*, he compares the providential role of the Society in combating Luther to how God "set Simon Peter, the prince of the Apostles, against Simon Magus, Vigilantius against Jovinianus, Jerome against Helvidius, Augustine against Mani and Pelagius."[44] Towards the end of the *Life*, Ribadeneyra's account becomes ever more hagiographic, with Ignatius (while still alive) invoked for divine healing.[45] Ribadeneyra's procedure in the *Historia* is, I argue, precisely the same: an attempt to assimilate Jesuit martyrdoms into the greater pantheon of Catholic martyrdom.

This notion of legitimacy as historicity is characteristic of the Reformation, where aspersions of novelty or innovation were slurs of choice. Few taunts were as wounding to Protestant ears as the Catholic demand, "Where was your

39 O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 66–68. O'Malley, "Nadal," 12.

40 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 300v: "Como la Reyna y sus ministros publican que los santos Martyres no mueren por la Religion, sino por otros delitos."

41 Ibid., 302v: "Pero en todas ellas no se hallara pintada tan al biuo esta artificiosa maldad, como en los hereges de nuestros tiempos, y particularmente en esta persecución de Inglaterra que vamos tratando."

42 Ibid., 298r: "parecia vno de aquellos valerosos è inuencibles Martyres de los tiempos de Neron, Decio, ò Diocliciano."

43 Greenwood, "Readers, Sanctity, and History," 64.

44 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, 119.

45 Ibid., 332.

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church before Luther?"[46] Yet aspersions of novelty might be cast upon the Jesuits, with equal—greater, even—justice: the Society was several decades younger than Luther's Reformation. In 1548, for example, Francesco Romeo (d.1552), master general of the Dominican order, circulated a letter to his order warning lest they, "misled by the novelty of this Institute, should perhaps by mistake attack your own fellow soldiers."[47] Ribadeneyra incorporates Romeo's letter into the *Life of Ignatius* in its entirety; there and elsewhere, he has a distinct predilection for reprinting important documents—statements of support from various orders, papal bulls, and so on. He claims to find precedent in the Council of Toledo for the Society's idiosyncratic practices regarding the novitiate.[48] The *Historia* includes numerous letters from Persons, Campion, and other Jesuits stationed in England.[49] Ribadeneyra's penchant for documentation has been seen as part of a "modern" approach to history, but it seems to me rather a thoroughly early modern preoccupation with the historical and institutional *bona fides* central to his polemic agenda.[50] Above all, it should be noted that the copious use of direct quotations from primary sources was the innovation and hallmark of Eusebius of Caesarea's (*c.*260–*c.*340) *Ecclesiastical History* (early fourth century), a model Ribadeneyra, like most

46 See, for example, S.J. Barnett, "Where Was Your Church before Luther? Claims for the Antiquity of Protestantism Examined," *Church History* 68, no. 1 (March 1999): 14–41, and Felicity Heal, "What Can King Lucius Do for You? The Reformation and the Early British Church," *English Historical Review* 120, no. 487 (June 2005): 593–614.

47 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, 200–01.

48 Ibid., 231.

49 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 275v–284r, 296r–297r.

50 Bilinkoff, "Many 'Lives,'" 182.

Rady Roldán-Figueroa's insightful contribution to this volume explores Ribadeneyra's pioneering historical and hagiographical work; his unprecedented meticulousness about sources and more "rational" approach are not to be denied. That said, I question the extent to which we can speak of Ribadeneyra as manifesting a "modern" understanding of history and the task of a historian. Ribadeneyra's scrupulous use of documentation stems not from any sense of a duty to retail concrete historical fact, but rather from a confidence that the truth will suffice to fulfill his polemical goals. The assessment of historian Richard L. Kagan (1943–), a scholar of early modern historiography—"Throughout early modern Europe the boundary separating 'polemical' from 'scholarly history' was never well-defined, and few historians, whether official or nonofficial, wrote history free of ideological influences or polemical concerns"—is no less true of Ribadeneyra than of his more obviously inventive colleagues. See Roldán-Figueroa, Chapter 8, this volume. See also Richard L. Kagan, *Clio & the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 4.

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other early modern writers of ecclesiastical history, deliberately sought to imitate.[51]

Over and above staking a claim to a symbolic imprimatur, what work was the *Historia* intended to accomplish? Ribadeneyra is quite forthright about its didactic purposes, asking in his conclusion, "And so, what are we to take from this? What are we to learn? What do these examples teach us, but to look well where we put our feet, and whom we follow, and whither we wander."[52] (Incidentally, we may note the peculiarly "Jesuitical" character of explicitly turning history—just as with music, drama, poetry, and every other possible medium—*ad majorem Dei gloriam*.) But was its mission solely restricted to shaping the future king's moral and political sensibilities? I suggest that the *Historia* also models the correct attitude toward the Society. Scholars in different corners of Jesuit studies (as well as outside it) have noted the early modern Society's tendency to emphasize what Jasper Heywood (1535–98), among others, called "big fish": members of the social, economic, and political elite.[53] In the *Life of Ignatius*, Ribadeneyra takes a positive delight in listing the Society's notable patrons, from the early support of distinguished prelates like Alfonso de Fonseca (1475–1534), archbishop of Toledo, to the later generosity of grandees like "Lady Maria Manrique de Lara, daughter of the Duke of Nájera, most famous for the nobility of her family," foundress of the college at Barcelona.[54] Prominent in this regard in the *Historia* is Gómez Suárez de Figueroa (*c*.1520–71), count and subsequently first duke of Feria, one of the text's minor protagonists. In the same sentence, the duke is praised as a man of "notable influence, fortitude, and prudence," and as "so zealous for our holy

51 Anthony Grafton, "Church History in Early Modern Europe: Tradition and Innovation," in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World*, ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan, 3–26 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 17–18.

52 Ribadeneyra, *History*, 266r: "Pues que auemos de sacar de aquí? que aremos de aprender? que nos enseñan estos exemplos? sino que miremos bien donde ponemos el pie, y à quien seguimos, y por donde andamos."

53 Thomas M. McCoog, ed., *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, 2nd ed., Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I. 60 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 187.

See, for example, Christopher Carlsmith, "Struggling toward Success: Jesuit Education in Italy, 1540–1600," *History of Education Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 215–46; Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 264–66; and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World*, Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2011), 31.

54 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, 56, 276.

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religion, and so devoted to the Society of Jesus."[55] Similarly, Mary, queen of Scots (r.1542–67)—who dominates the last portion of the *Historia* and who is painted in the most glowing colors by Ribadeneyra—writes to Edmond Auger (1530–91), declaring, "For I, for my own part, will offer my prayers to God, simple and unworthy as they are, for the preservation of your sacred Society in his service."[56] Perhaps, then, the duke and the queen of Scots are intended as models for the *Historia*'s dedicatee, the future Philip III (r.1598–1621) to follow?[57] Certainly, Ribadeneyra had experience of Spanish royalty's wariness of the Society: in 1553, he had been dispatched to petition for the support of Philip's "Jesuit-averse" father (then still only prince).[58]

Much closer to home, Ribadeneyra closes his epistle to Prince Philip with the following prayer: "May God keep Your Highness, as all your realms desire, and as your servants and devoted beadsmen [*capellanes*] of the Society of Jesus, continually beg him."[59] One cannot help but wonder at this insistent protestation of loyalty (recall Ribadeneyra's first reason for undertaking the *Historia*: "that I am a Spaniard"). There is a similarly nationalistic note in the *Life of Ignatius*, when Ribadeneyra lauds Philip II (r.1556–98) as "a wall for God's house," who "has defended the Catholic faith with the impressive devotion long practiced in his family, his supreme prudence, and his incredible vigilance."[60] Again, these seem to be responses to the suspicions harbored by many concerning the young Society, fears that its close relation with the pope and internationalized hierarchy would lead Jesuits to betray their homelands. The *Life of Ignatius* is full of royal, ecclesiastical, and municipal stakeholders dubious of—or openly hostile to—the Society's mission. These were certainly common accusations in England, where Protestant interrogators forced seminarians

55 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 245v: "Y como el Duque era tan zeloso de nuestra santa religion, y tan deuoto de la Compañia de Iesus, quiso que yo le aco[m]pañasse como vno della, y despues que murio la Reyna residio algunos meses en Londres, representando la persona del Rey su señor, con grande autoridad, valor y prudencia."

56 Ibid., 335v: "Porque yo de mi parte ofrecere a Dios mis oraciones, aunque simples è indignas por la conseruacion de vuestra santa Compañia en su seruicio."

57 The references to Philip II, as well as the dedication to his son, take on a particular aptness in light of the elder Philip's years as king of England through his marriage to Mary Tudor (r.1553–58).

58 Maryks, *Synagogue of Jews*, 45.

59 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*: "Guarde Dios a V.A. como todos estos Reynos lo han menester, y estos sus sieruos y deuotos capellanes de la Compañia de Iesus, continuame[n]te se los suplicamos."

60 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, 135.

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through labyrinthine hypotheticals about whom they would support in the event of a Catholic invasion of England.[61]

Yet to whom is this apologia really directed? To be sure, the *Historia* did reach its dedicatee: as Domínguez informs us, "it would remain a favorite among Philip III's books and would serve to educate his own son."[62] At the same time, however, we must recall the most important and most obvious change Ribadeneyra made to *De origine*: to translate it into Spanish, or, as he put it (rather acutely) "to write it in our Castilian tongue."[63] The first edition of the *Historia*, published in Madrid by Pedro Madrigal (d.1604), is hardly the sort of volume one would present to a prince. Bound in octavo format, with no more than a few elegant, but utterly commonplace illustrated capitals, this is a book for the common reader. Indeed, the many reprints and translations Ribadeneyra's *Historia* enjoyed in the following decades indicates that it found a readership far beyond Habsburg court circles. The book historian Irving A. Leonard (1896–1962) furnishes one rather picturesque fact: that the *Historia* is to be found among the titles carried by sailors on Spanish ships.[64] It may be fanciful to imagine that the *Historia* made its way to the soldiers and sailors of the Armada, then preparing for action, but it is not inconceivable.[65]

In any case, the *Historia* must be seen as directed, at least in part, to a broader, less educated public. Throughout his career, Ribadeneyra shows a marked interest in making his work available to the non-Latinate reader. The *Life of Ignatius* oscillated back and forth between Spanish and Latin editions,[66] while the *Flos sanctorum*, its title notwithstanding, was entirely in Spanish. Domínguez, drawing a textual genealogy from the 1585 and 1586 editions of *De origine* through to the 1588 publication of the *Historia*, posits that Ribadeneyra was trying to carry the polemical battle against English Protestantism to a Spanish audience, with the particular aim of spurring Spain to military action. He asserts, "the *Scisma* stands out as a document of particular import for its role in *launching* the Grand Armada of 1588."[67] Houliston is similarly emphatic: Ribadeneyra "undertook to tell the story of the schism in Spanish to rouse the spirit of that Catholic nation, under its most Catholic king, to come to the aid

61 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 306r–306v.

62 Domínguez, "Paper and Pens," 155.

63 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 8v: "escriuir en nuestra lengua Castellana."

64 Irving A. Leonard, "Spanish Ship-Board Reading in the Sixteenth Century," *Hispania* 32, no. 1 (February 1949): 57.

65 Certainly, Christophe Plantin's (*c*.1520–89) press in Antwerp had copies ready by the time of the Armada. Houliston, "Missionary Position," 19.

66 Ribadeneyra, *Life of Ignatius*, xvi–xvii.

67 Domínguez, "Pens and Paper," 139. Italics mine.

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of the suffering English."[68] That this was the goal of Rishton and Allen in reworking the *De origine* of 1585, I do not deny; that Ribadeneyra supported Spanish intervention is incontestable ("The honor shall be no less for Spain for casting the devil out of England than for having exiled him from the Indies").[69] Moreover, Claudio Acquaviva's (1543–1615) suggestion of a translation was explicitly to help form an "English party" in Spain.[70] Yet I find the theory that this was the exclusive, or even primary, objective of Ribadeneyra in writing the *Historia* somewhat more arguable. A mass-market Spanish translation would seem a touch surplus to requirements: after all, the question of intervention was hardly going to be put to a vote of the Spanish populace.

I suggest the *Historia* is also an attempt to convey Ribadeneyra's *apologia pro Societate sua*—if we might paraphrase Cardinal Newman—to the Spanish people. A history of the English schism offered a perfect vehicle, given Ribadeneyra's vision of the Society as providentially linked to the fight against heresy. If the text encouraged Catholic resistance to Protestantism, all to the good. If it helped bring about a more aggressive policy against England, all the better. But in the light of Ribadeneyra's other writings, we find the *Historia* operating in dimensions other than anti-Elizabethan polemic, with links to a hitherto-unexplored network of texts and discourses.

68 Houliston, "Missionary Position," 22.

69 Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, 372v: "No seria de menos honra para España si echas el demonio de Inglaterra, que lo es auerle desterrado de las Indias."

70 Houliston, "Missionary Position," 19.

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CHAPTER 10

Discerning Skills: Psychological Insight at the Core of Jesuit Identity

Cristiano Casalini

The ability to examine talents is one of the key features that continue to distinguish the Jesuits in a large number of fields today. The mission statements of many educative institutions run by the Society all around the world, such as schools and universities, insist on the cultivation of students' skills and talents as a hallmark of their excellence. Yet, this characteristic goes beyond the boundaries of the ministry of education, for it involves many other tenets of the Jesuit identity.

The Society adopted this key feature of its program during the first fifty years of the order's inception, as discerning individuals' cognitive skills became a crucial problem of survival since the quality of recruitment, the functioning of the entire organizational body, and success in such competitive settings as courts, missions, and, of course, educational institutions, all depended upon this ability.

The multifaceted variety of the ministries in which the Jesuits were involved required the recruiters to foresee which particular field an individual could be entrusted to and do well, but, as superiors general of the order, Ignatius of Loyola (*c*.1491–1556) and his successors, felt they could not rely only upon the whimsical impressions of superiors, who were to recruit and form people all around the world. Therefore, they searched for a method that could be applied scientifically and consistently in all of the Society's tasks. Curiously, it was sixteenth-century Galenic culture that provided the Society with this method. Humanistic studies had revived the interest of scholars in Galen's large corpus of works, and, during the first half of the sixteenth century, Galen (*c*.129–200) emerged as the major authority on medicine in European universities, replacing Avicenna (980–1037). The discovery of Galen's texts had important repercussions for psychology, since one of his works that emerged from the darkness, *Quod animi mores temperamenta sequantur* (That men's behaviors depend on their temperaments), posed a connection between mind and body quite different from the one held by the brand of Aristotelian philosophy traditionally accepted in universities. This work provided the European common sense, which from the Middle Ages had relied upon the presumption of a connection between one's bodily appearance and character, with a scientific and coherent

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theory about how to predict behavior based on the empirical observation of skin color and other external signs of the humor that prevailed in the body and determined a person's particular temperament.

It should not come as a surprise that the Jesuits, being men of their time, had foreseen the possible practical applications of the scientific method suggested by Galen in this work. Furthermore, Ignatian spirituality, as it emerges from the *Spiritual Exercises*, affirmed the idea of psychosomatic unity as the fundamental lens through which to examine the individual. A scientific theory that could explain at least in part the connection between body and soul was therefore compelling for the Jesuits within their spiritual culture.

Yet, Galen's theory about humors and temperaments did not provide a clear statement as to whether and how a temperament could determine someone's talent. Juan Huarte de San Juan (1529–88), a Spanish physician influenced by the sixteenth-century Galenic renaissance, filled this gap by publishing the *Examen de ingenios* (The examination of talents) in 1575. He blended Galen's theory of humors with the Aristotelian tripartition of the mind's faculties in order to demonstrate how humors and temperaments determine skills. Applying Huarte's method, one was supposed to be able to discern the talent of someone else by inquiring into his temperament and, more basically, his bodily appearance.

Huarte's work stands as a turning point in the Jesuit habit of inquiring into an individual's talent. Prior to the appearance of the *Examination of Talents*, the documents published by the Jesuits which discussed recruitment had emphasized the need for the superiors to recognize the kind of skills an individual was endowed with, whether he be a young man on probation or an old fellow. But they did not specify how to link behaviors and temperaments with faculties of the mind. Even the catalogs, which had to be compiled by provincials precisely to communicate this kind of information to Rome, had lacked a list of criteria to describe the fellows' talents.

With the publication of Huarte's work, everything changed. Although the Society's official documents did not explicitly mention the name of this Spanish physician, his ideas nevertheless had a clear influence on the Jesuit way of proceeding in examining talents in the period that followed. The catalogs began to be filled following Huarte's proposed connection between particular temperaments and their related skills, as is revealed by the tasks that the superiors suggested their fellows should be entrusted with.

An entire Jesuit literature immediately sprouted around this issue of human talents. The first case we see is of Antonio Possevino (1533–1611), who devoted the introduction of his famous *Bibliotheca selecta* (1593) to the cultivation of talents, declaring that he generally accepted the tenets of Huarte's theory, but

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with the extremely important exception of freewill, which Huarte had denied. Antonio Zara (1574–1621) did the same in his renowned *Anatomia ingeniorum* (1615). More importantly, a consistent and persistent adoption of the schemes of correspondence between temperaments and skills as proposed by Huarte is testified in several Jesuit writings throughout the centuries until the suppression of the order in 1773.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the influence of Huarte's method on the Jesuits and the ways in which the order sought to apply his ideas in practice. In the first part, I will address the issue of the Jesuits' historical sensitivity to the question of human talents, beginning with the Society's concern about recruitment and organization. By comparing the official documents of the Society with the customs of other religious orders, the particular concern of the Jesuits for discerning aspirants' talents will emerge as predominant in the process of recruitment. A survey on the adoption of the habit of filling the so-called *secret catalogs*, a practice unique to the Society in the sixteenth century, will reveal how important the publication of Huarte's *Examination of Talents* was to the Jesuits. A reading of some of the Roman College's catalogs (1600) compiled after this work first appeared and now conserved at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu will then provide the reader with an example of the Jesuit application of Huarte's ideas.

The Jesuits became so deeply involved in Huartian culture that they applied its method even in ministries that connected the order with lay people, particularly in the case of education. I will describe the development of this application in the second part of the chapter, taking the *Ratio studiorum* (1599) as an example that prominently reveals the extent to which the publication of the *Examination of Talents* shaped the Jesuit way of examining students' talents.

The Jesuit reception of Huarte's masterpiece triggered a debate within the order, as testified by the Jesuit literature mentioned above, and this is the focus of the final part of the chapter. This survey will also show that Huartian ideas were so deeply rooted in the Jesuit culture that they were able to reemerge—even within a different scientific context—after the restoration of the order in 1814.

Recruitment and Governance

Although Ignatius of Loyola had shaped the Jesuits' organization in the same mold as the medieval mendicant orders—he divided the Society into provinces governed by a superior, and so forth—many features of the institute were

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distinct from the traditions of both the Franciscans and the Dominicans.[1] Standing out among these features, which even included some scandalous omissions for a so-called religious order (such as the collective choir), were the rules pertaining to recruitment.

Concerning this issue, the *Constitutions* insisted that those who sought to be admitted to the order should be examined for certain psychosomatic features. To be admitted in probation, a candidate had to be endowed with an honorable physical appearance as well as with the gifts needed in order to be useful in helping souls. These gifts were detailed with respect to the mind's faculties, namely intellect, memory, and will, as well as to exterior outlook—that is, pleasant manner of speech, honorable appearance, health, and strength of the body.

The Jesuit order stressed the importance of psychosomatic unity far more than the medieval orders, and a defect in one of these characteristics could even be a reason for non-admittance to the Society. For example, the Capuchins, an order born a few years before the Jesuits (1528), did not focus on the issue of human gifts as a vital requirement for admittance. Although they shared with the Jesuits the same concern about the fast growth of their order—both believed that reckless recruitment was the basis of the medieval orders' troubles—they did not mention any criteria for somebody's admittance other than a true and deep desire for living in poverty:

> We desire that our congregation grow much more in virtue, perfection and spirit rather than in numbers and we know that as the infallible truth said, "Many are called but few are chosen." And the Seraphic Father said when close to death, "Nothing harms the pure observance of the Rule as much as a multitude of useless, carnal and brutish friars." Hence we instruct the Vicars to diligently examine their circumstances and quality and not receive those who do not demonstrate that they have the best intention and a most fervent will.
>
> Furthermore, so as to not attract attention and to avoid all scandal we forbid the reception of those who have not completed their sixteenth year, or who still have a child-like face if they have passed the sixteenth year, so that they know from experience what they are promising.[2]

1 See, for example, Markus Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms?: Globale Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenorden 1540–1773* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2011).

2 *The Capuchin Constitutions of 1536: A New Translation in English*, trans. Paul Hanbridge (Rome: Collegio San Lorenzo da Brindisi, 2007), 5.

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The Jesuit emphasis on the importance of talents in the candidates has long been regarded as one of the order's defining features. The renowned French novelist Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), for instance, who was seeking to provide a fair account of the Society's history in a period hostile to the Jesuits, recognized this attitude as being one of the major reasons for the Jesuits' success:

> In these seminars they used to inquire into the aspirants' qualities, as well as into their knowledge; skillful masters took care of novices' talents, according to each one's character, so therefore they could report to the Society on the commitment more suitable for each one. Since they led public education, they sent to their house of novitiate only the best, the most active, and most remarkable youth, whom they picked from a crowd of aspirants. […] When one had been evaluated, he was destined to shine in the field where his now-understood vocation called him.[3]

For Balzac, the examination of a candidate's mental gifts by the Jesuit superiors was just the first step of a life of similar psychological examinations. Inquiring into a Jesuit's skills in fact became a frequent occupation of the superiors, who methodically took notes and reported their observations in the catalogs they were required to send regularly to Rome.

The practice of cataloging members was not an absolute novelty among religious orders. The Benedictine monks, for example, used to keep catalogs (sometimes called "registra," sometimes "cartularia") of their members, as did Franciscans and Dominicans. Yet the Jesuits differed from the other orders in their efforts to modernize this practice by introducing a range of new items to be reported in the catalogs; in so doing, they sought to ensure that Rome retained control of the order while identifying the roles to which its members were most suited.

The duty of keeping catalogs is mentioned in the eighth part of the *Constitutions*:

3 "C'était dans ces espèces de séminaires que l'on étudiait les qualités des aspirants, leur savoir; d'habiles maîtres s'occupaient, d'après le caractère, les talents de chaque novice, à indiquer à la Société l'emploi que l'on pouvait faire. Comme il y avait une foule d'aspirants, et que les Pères étaient en possession de l'enseignement public, ils n'envoyaient à leur maisons de noviciat que les jeunes gens les plus distingués, les plus actifs, les plus remarquable dans leur études. […] Lorsque que chacun avait été apprécié, on le destinait à briller dans la partie à laquelle l'appelait sa vocation reconnue." Honoré de Balzac, *Historie impartiale des Jesuits* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1880), 55.

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> For fuller knowledge of everyone, every four months the provincial should be sent, from each house and college, a brief list [*brevis catalogus*] in duplicate of all who are in the house, and of those who are now missing because of death or some other cause, from the time of the last list sent until the date of the present one, with a brief account of the qualities [*dotes*] of these persons. In the same manner, every four months the provincial will send to the general the copies of the lists from each house and college. For in this way it will be possible to have more information about the persons and to govern the whole body of the Society better, for the glory of God our Lord.[4]

The frequency with which the catalogs originally had to be compiled probably reflected the frequency with which data on personnel needed to be updated in an age when the mortality rate was high. Yet this also created difficulties, as superiors needed to assess each member's qualities and fill the catalogs several times a year. The order therefore responded to this problem in decree 48 of the Second General Congregation (Chapter 11), which offered some relief to the superiors by stipulating that the catalogs should only be updated on an annual basis.

The same congregation established the *Formula scribendi* (How the Jesuits should write), a style guide for writing official documents or composing formal correspondence with the curia, which devoted a chapter to describing how to fill out an annual catalog.[5] This chapter is extremely important for understanding the way in which the Jesuits differed from the other orders. The *Formula* divides the annual catalogs into three different parts, each one with a specific information goal. The first listed the names of the Jesuits who were present in a house or in a college, and additional personal data consisting of list number, place of birth, age, strength (*vires*), date of admission, studies completed, ministries performed, teaching degree, and position in the Society. Another part provided some economic information about the house or the college and a list of both novices and deceased members.

The last part, which was actually numbered as the second one, was called *Catalogus secretus* and is the most relevant for this discussion. It was called *secretus* because it did not list the Jesuits by name but reported only the listing number provided in the first catalog. This measure was meant to ensure that anyone peering into or stealing the catalog could not discover the superior's

4 *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Notes* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 328.

5 *Institutum Societatis Iesu* (Florence: Ex Typographia a SS. Conceptione, 1893), 3:45.

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opinion about and evaluation of a particular member. The secret catalog was actually a schematized evaluation of every Jesuit. The evaluation also reflected the active role played by the superior, as he suggested the kind of role within the Society a Jesuit could be entrusted with. The template for this evaluation form lists qualities that can easily be recognized as the major distinctive features of Jesuit identity.

The *Formula* specifies that this catalog was to be filled out in the following way:

> Skills and qualities of each one should be described in the second catalogue, that is: talent, judgment, practical wisdom, practical experience, advancement in arts, physical appearance, and particular skills for performing the Society's ministries.[6]

While there was a clear rationale for collecting information on the literary advancement of each member since the Society had thrown itself into the challenge of running colleges and engaging in the world of universities, the *Formula* also required other information to be collected about the character and general health of the order's members. As we saw above, the Jesuits preferred to admit new members who possessed an honorable appearance, mostly out of social concern. Such an appearance could be an important factor for improving someone's appeal: according to the tradition of rhetoric, which traced back to Cicero (106–43 BCE) and Quintilian (*c.*35–*c.*100), the body had a crucial impact on a person's eloquence.

However, an honorable appearance was also important for reasons beyond enabling the Jesuits to integrate with the communities in which they worked. The renaissance of Galenism in sixteenth-century medicine, as well as humanistic culture, had spread a common belief in the idea that the appearance of the body reflected the qualities of the soul. Galenists not only believed that the body revealed men's morality, as was intended by the proverb *mens sana in corpore sano* (a sound mind in a sound body), but also held that a person's appearance revealed the qualities of his character. This was mostly due to Galen's theory of humors, according to which every man was naturally endowed with an unbalanced temperament, meaning that one of the four humors prevailed in the body over the other three. The prevalence of a humor had repercussions on a person's character as well as their physical appearance.

6 "In secundo catalogo dotes et qualitates uniuscuiusque describantur, videlicet: ingenium, iudicium, prudentia, experientia rerum, profectus in litteris, naturalis complexio, et ad quae Societatis ministeria talentum habeat," ibid.

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Most of the success of Giovanni Battista Della Porta (1535–1615) and other physiognomists was due to the renaissance of Galen's theory.[7]

In 1575, Juan Huarte de San Juan, an obscure Spanish physician who died in poverty, published a book entitled the *Examen de ingenios* which immediately became a bestseller all over Europe.[8] In this book, he extended Galen's theory of humors to men's cognitive functions, inaugurating a new branch of psychology and triggering a debate on men's temperaments and skills that endured until the nineteenth century, as even Francis Galton (1822–1911), a half-cousin of Charles Darwin (1809–82) and author of *Hereditary Genius* (1869), frequently cited Huarte in his works. Huarte applied the theory of the temperaments to traditional Greek psychology by asserting that the body influenced the operations of the mind. Hence, according to him, the prevalence of a humor could foster some specific faculties of the mind while hindering others. By doing so, Huarte provided a scientific method to discern people's specific skills, which he called *ingenium*.

In the sixteenth century, common people used the term *ingenium* (talent) in a loose sense, meaning a sort of creative intellectual power. On the one hand, it meant the same as the word "wit" in current English: a smart, clever, but also sharp and quick-witted person. On the other, *ingenium* meant the creative power that Romanticism would have called genius (in Latin "genius," "ingenium"). Ambrogio Calepino's (1435–1511) popular dictionary traced the term *ingenium* back to the Latin verb "generare" (to engender). According to the art of rhetoric, *ingenium* referred to the rhetorician's ability to find witty *topoi* for his speech,[9] and humanists such as Erasmus (1466/69–1536) and Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540) used it to mean a fortunately gifted man of culture. Huarte broke with this tradition, which had generally used talent solely as a term of praise, by stating that talent was a scientific subject with useful social applications. The point of this science was not to determine how great or small someone's talent was, but rather which kind of talent someone was endowed

7 Giovanni Battista Della Porta, *De humana physiognomonia* (Vico Equense: Giuseppe Cacchi, 1586).

8 Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de ingenios, para las sciencias: Donde se muestra la differencia de habilidades que ay en los hombres, y el genero de letras que a cada vno responde en particular; es obra donde el que leyere con attencion hallara la manera de su ingenio, y sabra escoger la sciencia en que mas ha de aprouechar, y si por ve[n]tura la vuiere ya professado, entendera si atino ala que pedia su habilidad natural* (Baeza: Juan Baptista de Montoya, 1575).

9 Even the Jesuit authors of manuals of rhetoric would often recur to this meaning. See, for instance, Cypriano Soares, *De arte rhetorica libri tres: Ex Aristotele Cicerone & Quinctiliano praecipue deprompti* (Venice: Apud Michaelem Tramezinum, 1569).

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with, so that the state could lead everyone to do the job in which they would perform best.

What Huarte did in his masterpiece was to apply Galen's temperamental doctrine to the Aristotelian rational psychology in order to classify human talents on the basis of the natural mis-temper of man. At the very beginning of the *Examen*, Huarte mentions Galen's booklet, *Quod animi mores corporis temperatura sequantur* (That the qualities of the mind depend on the temperament of the body), as the main source of his work. He states that Galen had paved the way for him by determining which kind of temperament corresponds to each kind of human behavior. In the sixteenth-century academy, this work entered a kind of no-man's-land as it was considered less medical than philosophical, and not philosophical enough to be read in the classroom. Thus, it was generally neglected by physicians and teachers of medicine, who preferred to read Galen's greater works on plagues, anatomy, and so forth, rather than to linger on philosophical issues.[10] And it was also neglected by philosophers, who usually referred themselves to Galen only to confute the theory according to which human souls coincide with the body's temperament.

What Galen states in his booklet is that, just as the body and the soul are tightly connected, the temperament of a body also determines one's character. According to this theory, temperaments were either choleric or bilious (the yellow bile was also called *choler*), melancholic (in Greek, black bile), sanguine, or phlegmatic. Each temperament makes men inclined to specific moral actions.

Galen's theory was one of strict determinism, and his materialistic view (at this point in his works, although elsewhere he is contradictory) provided a unique problem to Christian anthropology. If the body affects the soul, in philosophical terms this means that matter affects the form; therefore, the form is nothing but material. Men's souls are material: they cannot rise up.

But this was a matter that centuries of Scholastic disputations, founded as they were on a Christianized Aristotle, had already learned to deal with and, perhaps, even settled. The more problematic issue was Galen's strict determinism once the Protestant Reformation had spread, as it was founded on the theory of predestination (which we can consider as a sort of theological

10 José M. López Piñero and Francisca Bujosa Pomar, "Tradición y renovación en la medicina española del siglo XVI," *Asclepio* 30–31 (1978–79): 285–307. Ana I. Martín Ferreira, *El humanismo médico en la Universidad de Alcalá* (*siglo XVI*) (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 1995); Luis García Ballester, "Galenismo y enseñanza médica en la Universidad de Salamanca del siglo XV," *Dynamis: Acta hispanica ad medicinae scientiarumque historiam illustrandam* 20 (2000): 209–47.

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determinism). Stating that one's actions in life are determined by one's natural temperament is the same as stating that one's actions in life are determined by God (as he is the creator).

Therefore, when Juan Huarte wrote the *Examen de ingenios*, he went beyond the Galenic tradition, stating that temperament not only affects someone's moral actions but also determines their wit. Indeed, according to Platonic and Aristotelian psychology, there are three rational faculties of the soul: intellect, imagination, and memory. Even if Aristotle did not seem to believe that the body could affect the soul in any way, because matter and form are two separate aspects of the *synolon* (the composite of matter and form which is the substance, according to Aristotle), Huarte used Aristotle's psychology to complete Galen's theory of the temperaments. Essentially, he thought that the intellect works better in dry conditions while the imagination works better in hot conditions, whereas memory, which was usually depicted as a sponge that retains images (in Latin, *species impressae*), needs cold and humid conditions.[11]

In this way, Galenic determinism was radicalized: the character of men is not only determined by nature but also by their rational faculties. Hence the choices a man has to make in life are predetermined by his biology, and, perhaps most shockingly, could even be predicted by a good physician who has read the *Examen*.

Despite the Inquisition's ban on the *Examen*'s first edition (it had to be corrected because its strict determinism seemed to entail the Protestant doctrine of predestination), the Jesuits read it very carefully and, more importantly, accepted the core of its theory. Two pieces of evidence support this view: (1) the Society introduced the concept of *ingenium* (talent) in the *Formula scribendi* exactly five years after the *Examen*'s first edition, during a congregation in which Possevino, the Society's secretary under the former superior general Everard Mercurian (1514–80), was still influential; and (2) the Jesuits, from the publication of Possevino's *De cultura ingeniorum* (1593) down through the centuries,[12] were among the most fervent to write about the ways in which talents and skills could be discerned and cultivated.

11 On the concept of *species* and the problem of human knowledge, see Leen Spruit, *Species intelligibilis: From Perception to Knowledge*, vol. 2: *Renaissance Controversies, Later Scholasticism and the Elimination of the Intelligible Species in Modern Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

12 Possevino published the Italian version of this book five years later: Antonio Possevino, *Coltura degl'ingegni nella quale si mostrano doni che negl'ingegni dell'huomo ha posto Iddio* (Vicenza: Giorgio Greco, 1598).

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How could a religious order adopt a theory which was far more materialistic than religiously oriented, as the Inquisition claimed? The Jesuit literature on talents often refers to two passages of the New Testament in order to interpret Huarte's doctrine as a safe and pious psychology, the first being the parable of the talents and the second Saint Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. These passages endorsed the theory of differences among human beings, for they coherently claimed that God has given everyone different spiritual gifts in order to accomplish his plan for this world. According to the Jesuits, who took Saint Thomas's doctrine of the concord between grace and nature seriously on this point, this meant that everyone's nature had to be different with respect to both the body and soul's operations. Given the safety of this doctrine, they felt they had finally found a method both scientific and religious that they could use to discern human skills.

It is a testament to the superiors' passionate engagement with the task of filling catalogs with assessments of people's talents that Superior General Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615) had to write to all of them in 1589 to complain that while the central archive was full of personnel catalogs, too few catalogs of properties and economic reports had been sent.[13]

The practice of producing triannual catalogs continued until the suppression of the order in 1773 with no changes worth mentioning (after the restoration in 1814, annual catalogs became the norm). The Jesuits began to print their catalogs during the eighteenth century, but they continued to use the Galenic temperamental theory just as they had in the sixteenth century. Why were the triannual catalogs dismissed after the restoration? Does this mean that the Jesuits abandoned the practice of evaluating members' skills? It is quite likely that what happened after the restoration was simply due to the phasing out of Galenic culture as a scientific doctrine. After the scientific revolution, Galen's theory of humors was discarded as a "non-scientific" corpus of odd ideas. Yet it was so deeply rooted in Western culture that it continued to be used in daily life to describe people and their characters. Hence, while the Jesuits continued to inquire into their people's skills, they did not need to document them using Galen's proper lexicon, as it was no longer a scientific language.

A few examples from the holdings of the Archivum Romanum can help one to understand what this lexicon actually was, and how the superiors evaluated the Jesuits they had to govern. To that end, I will consider some cases from a Collegium Romanum catalog from May 1600.[14] The catalog was presumably

13 *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, 3:309.

14 ARSI, *Rom.* 54, fols. 11, 125. Reproductions of these two documents are authorized by the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, to which the author is grateful.

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filled out by the rector at that time, Benedetto Giustiniani (1551–1622). The first part (Fig. 10.1) is nothing but a table, and it strictly reflects the rules of the *Formula scribendi*. The top row lists the following items: name and surname, country of origin, age, health, date of admission, studies completed, degree held, roles in the Society, and professed or coadjutor.

FIGURE. 10.1 *The first page of the* Triennial Catalogue of the Roman College, *1600*
FROM ARCHIVUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS IESU, *ROM*. 54, F. 11

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Let us examine the cases of Fabius Vaccarus (listed as no. 2), Benet (Benito, Benedict) Perera (1535–1610) (no. 3), Juan Azor (1535–1603) (no. 5), and Cristovão Gil (1552–1608) (no. 9). While Perera and Azor, renowned scholars of the Collegium Romanum, were sixty-three years old when the catalog was filled out, Vaccarus (thirty-six) and Gil (forty-six) were younger. Perera seemed to have been the weakest among them, since the other three were described as being in good health. While Vaccarus had studied only logic and psychology and did not hold a degree, the others had completed both philosophical and theological studies and held the degree of *Magister in artibus* (Master of arts). Thus, Vaccarus had only been taught grammar for four years and rhetoric for two, while the others had also been taught philosophy and theology.

In Figure 10.2, their names disappear, as the superior referred to them only by their ranking number. Vaccarus was described as having nothing more than a proficient talent, even though his ability to discern and his experiences were more than ordinary, while his cultural advancement was less than proficient. His temperament, meanwhile, was described as both choleric and melancholic, and this was why his superior considered him barely able to govern (*ad gubernandum*) and, particularly, to hear confessions.

Perera was an elderly and highly regarded philosopher. Thus it should not be surprising that his talent was described as "great." His ability to discern was excellent, and his prudence better than ordinary. His advancement in studies was of course extraordinary, while his temperament was moderate, with an inclination toward choleric mistemper. His old age meant he was best suited to the task of writing.

Azor appears to have been one of the superior's favorites. He was described as nothing less than excellent and extraordinary with a mixed temperament that revealed a good but also strong character: he was choleric and sanguine, but in such a way that he was not very far from the perfect moderate temperament. Every task was suitable for him.

In contrast, the superior thought that Cristovão Gil was apt only to do practical things. He was of lively choleric temperament but, according to the superior, was less than proficient *in omnibus* (i.e., in the skills required for teaching and studying). He was suitable for practical tasks or for confessing and catechizing. In the same catalog, other Jesuits, such as the famous scientist Christopher Clavius (1538–1612), were named in the first part but not described in the second.

As can be seen, choleric was the best temperament for teaching, even though an excess of liveliness could be negative in the eyes of the rector. This was probably due to the difficulty of governing such a temperament, which is

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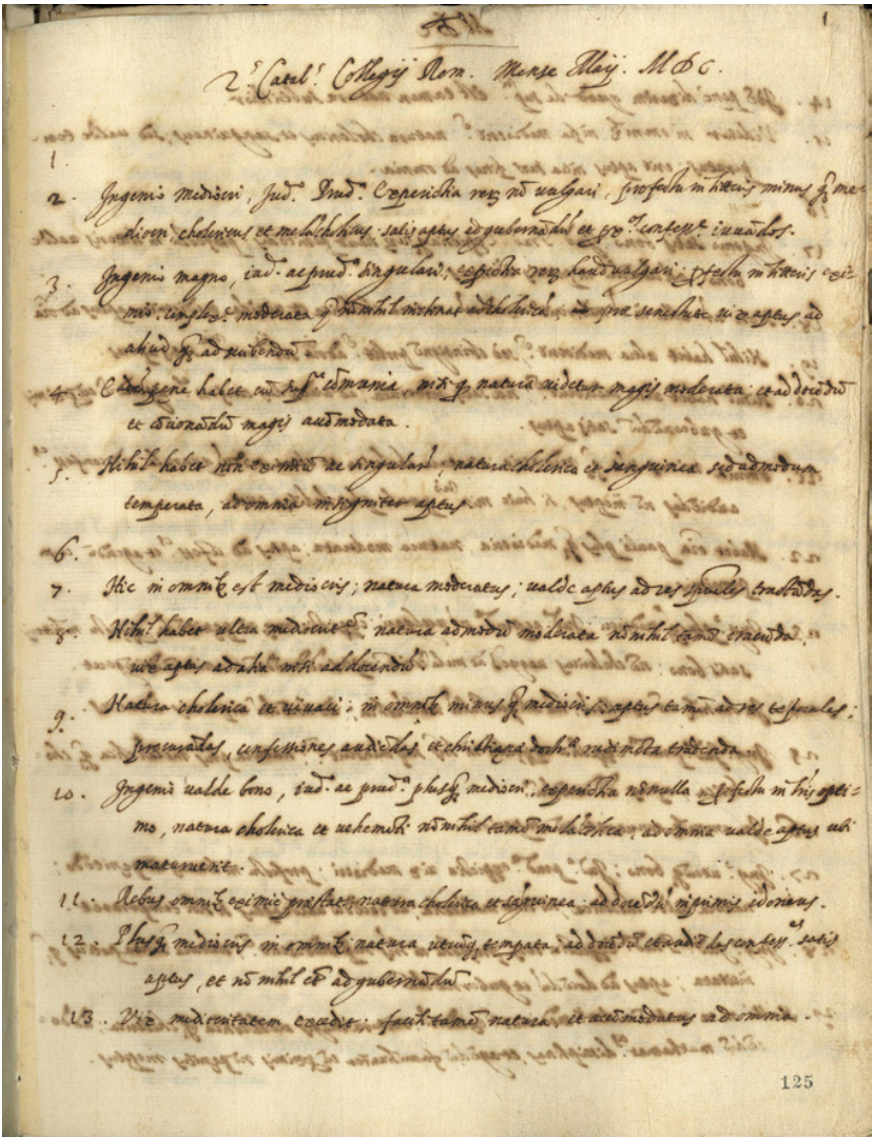

FIGURE. 10.2 *An excerpt from the* Secret Catalogue of the Roman College, *1600*
FROM ARCHIVUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS IESU, *ROM*. 54, F. 125

why Giustiniani suggested removing Gil from the studies in which he would paradoxically achieve a great deal of acclaim.[15]

15 The wide spread of his *Logic Conclusions* (1598) and *Theological Commentaries* (1610) proves that Gil became a renowned philosopher and theologian.

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The case of the underestimated Gil reveals a common tendency displayed by superiors when filling out the catalogs. The seriousness of the task (improving the Society's organization) and the scientificity of the tool (the Galenic temperamental theory) did not suffice to avoid the discretional intromission of the superiors, who seem to have used this instrument in a political way, endorsing or hindering the career of the members they had to evaluate. That superiors used the choleric temperament when they intended to promote the Jesuit they were writing about is quite clear. Phlegmatic and sanguine temperaments were usually used to describe someone who should only be entrusted with minor or less worthy jobs, even though a sanguine temperament was sometimes added among the characteristics of a choleric Jesuit in order to soften his bilious traits.

The melancholic temperament was a real problem. Sometimes it was used in the sense of *adust choler*, which meant a saturnine temperament—that is, that the Jesuit was not obedient and probably eccentric, but also creative and quick-witted. The most important playwright of the Society in its first decades, Miguel Venegas (1531–*c*.91), for instance, was frequently described in this way.[16] He was a notoriously troublesome man, but despite this, the Society never sought to dismiss him because his superiors recognized his great talent. At other times, however, a melancholic temperament indicated that the Jesuit was depressed, and thus unable to do anything. Consulting the catalogs can be a striking experience on this point: one will find a number of presumed depressed in the Society of Jesus. Yet it would appear that a "melancholic" label was also sometimes used to hide a conflict with the superior, thus revealing the superior's desire to denigrate or mar that particular Jesuit. Such was the case of José de Acosta (1539–1600), who was at odds with the general Claudio Acquaviva and had been accused of being depressed on a number of occasions. When a Jesuit was labeled as melancholic, his temperament was probably considered good for the Society as an organization, even though the *Ratio studiorum* would officially recommend to keep men of this temperament away from teaching.

Cholerics for leading and teaching, melancholics (*adust choleric*) for studying and inventing: these were the primary talents which the Society needed. Other temperaments were surely welcomed, but they were considered more suitable for cleaning up classrooms or providing supplies for the college. This is because, according to the Huartian method that the Jesuits applied in their catalogs, every kind of temperament fostered specific cognitive abilities and practical skills which allowed someone to succeed in doing only the jobs for which these skills were required. Like Huarte, the Jesuits also seemed to adopt

16 Luana Salvarani, "Venegas e gli altri. Il teatro nella prassi pedagogica gesuita del Cinquecento," *Educazione: Giornale di pedagogia critica* 1, no. 1 (2012): 53–72.

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a sort of radicalized Galenism, which narrowed the range of things an individual could be able to accomplish to the things he was suitable for.

The Educative Side: Talents in the *Ratio Studiorum*

While the *Constitutions* of the Society distinguished talents according to general tasks, such as ministries (preaching, confessing, and so forth) or roles (coadjutors, scholastics, professed), the *Ratio studiorum* specifically devoted several statements to the different skills required by each discipline. Indeed, the *Constitutions* referred to the general aim of studying, making no distinction between sciences and intellectual skills. In this respect, the *Constitutions* stressed the importance of self-examination by the individual who believed himself to be apt for studies. In giving an example of what should be asked of the aspiring scholastic in order to determine his aptness, the *Constitutions* emphasized the importance of the usual powers attributed to the rational soul as well as of characteristics Huarte himself would have considered vital:

> So, that better knowledge and understanding of these candidates may be gained, these questions should be put to each one [...]. Does he think he has a memory to grasp and retain what he studies? Does he think that his intellect enables him to penetrate quickly and well what he studies? Does he find in himself a natural or voluntary inclination to studies?[17]

The *Ratio studiorum* softened the concept of the students' natural endowment by acknowledging the pedagogical importance of the arts and sciences for enhancing it. Yet the concept of the talent as a natural gift was of extreme relevance for shaping the educational course of each individual.[18] The examination of the students was to be devoted not only to evaluating their commitment to each discipline but also to deepening the teachers' knowledge of their individual talent. For instance, if a student had completed the usual two years of rhetoric, but had shown a particular inclination for these kinds of studies, the *Ratio* recommended that the provincial should allow him to spend a further year studying rhetoric before being sent to study philosophy.[19] The same went for those studying logic and the other philosophical disciplines.

17 *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 47.

18 See *Ratio studiorum*'s paragraphs 26 and 458.

19 "If some are gifted with a special genius [*ingenium*] for substantial achievements, particularly in these studies [humanities and rhetoric], there ought to be some consideration of

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The examination of the talents was considered such a difficult task that it required particularly skilled examiners. The *Ratio* recommended that the provincial consult a commission of experts in order to make decisions about the future studies of the students.[20] Furthermore, the *Ratio* clearly stated that each science or discipline corresponded to a different role in the Society to which the student could be entitled in the future. This meant that someone who was provided with the gift of a good intellect should be encouraged to continue his philosophical studies until theology. In contrast, those who showed less than an ordinary talent in reasoning should be sent to study cases of conscience. This discipline prepared the Jesuit to hear confessions, and it is curious that, as we have seen in the case of the aforementioned secret catalog, such an important ministry of the Society of Jesus was seen as suitable for the less gifted members. Nonetheless, the *Ratio* outlined a ranking of the intellectual tasks in the Society according to which preaching came first. This should not be a surprise, even though it was no more than one of the ministries that pertained to the general goal, stated in the *Formula instituti*, of helping souls.

In Huartian terms, an imaginative power ranked first in the Jesuit vision of their tasks. Someone who had a talent for preaching was allowed to study theology for four years, meaning that the student attended the courses offered by the Jesuits for the longest amount of time. Hence, completing the educational course after four years of theology was not a privilege of the intellectually talented, as one might fairly expect, but rather a possibility for those who, despite their lack of intellectual abilities, showed such a great imaginative talent as to promise to become great preachers or great leaders. The *Ratio* strictly followed Huarte's argument by stating that

> if there were anyone who, to the extent that he was not entirely remarkable in his intellectual skills, was distinguished by such special personal virtue and capacity for leadership or preaching that he would likely compensate for that finished knowledge of theology asked for by the *Constitutions*, and if it were judged that the Society would benefit from the outcome if he completed the course of theology, then he could be

whether it might be worthwhile to invest three years in order to lay down a more solid foundation." *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, trans. and annotated by Claude Pavur, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005), 14.

20 Paragraph 36 addressed the problem of how a decision about talents should be made. The difficulty and seriousness of this task imposed upon the superior to "undertake a serious consideration with his consultors and with other men of character and influence who know them well and can make judgments about such matters." Ibid., 19.

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> allowed a fourth year of theology, after the consultors have been informed of the matter.[21]

The character of a person was indeed worthy of great attention by the superiors. Although the *Ratio* did not use words such as "temperament" and "humor," one can fairly conclude that these concepts stood behind the description of the supposed bad attitudes of those philosophers the superior was allowed to expel: "If any professors are inclined towards innovations or have too free-spirited an intelligence, they definitely ought to be removed."[22]

According to Huarte's theory, those who had a temperament that helped them in seeking innovations were called *capricciosi* ("capricious"—that is, melancholic) because of the *adust choler*. Of course, this kind of temperament could not find a place within the *Ratio*, a document whose principal aim was to help superiors with the complex task of governing colleges. This meant that extraordinary talents were simply not welcomed in the Jesuit colleges. Yet, as mentioned above, the *Ratio* was mostly a document that tried to mold what was really going on in the worldwide network of Jesuit colleges into a more uniform way of governing educational practices. Thus, the *Ratio*'s advice to remove excessively innovative characters away from the philosophical chairs was more a symptom of the current situation than a general rule.

The same applied for the medical aspect of the temperamental theory used to examine the talents. Mental diseases were the dark side of melancholic students and teachers. The *Constitutions* had advised the Society to avoid admitting candidates who showed mental illnesses, whatever the concept of "mental illness" meant at that time. But, as we have seen before, melancholy stood precisely at the crossroads of what could be understood as a mental illness, spiritual disease, or great gift.[23]

Even though the *Ratio* did not explicitly address the issue, many indications were provided as to how superiors should take care of the students' bodies in order to avoid the spiritual troubles that result from an excessive commitment

21 Ibid., 17.

22 Ibid., 13.

23 I am grateful to Yasmin Haskell for her comments during the discussion that followed my presentation at the International Symposium on Jesuit Studies: Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness (Boston, June 10–14, 2014). Concerning the history of the concept of melancholy among the Jesuits, see one of her articles, "Poetry or Pathology? Jesuit Hypochondria in Early Modern Naples," *Early Science and Medicine* 12 (2007): 187–213. She also informed me about a very promising project, which has been conducted by a research team from the University of Cambridge, about the history of the concept of genius before Romanticism: http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/programmes/genius-before-romanticism.

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to studying. One of the considerations that pushed the *Ratio* to keep men with an excessively unbalanced temperament away was the necessity of keeping the college's state of spiritual health as high as possible.

Jesuit Literature on Skills

Although the Jesuits had always been sensitive to the question of talents, Huarte's book represented a turning point for their collective self-perception. In fact, before the publication of the *Examen*, Jesuits who referred to a theory of human talents had to blend their intuition of others' temperaments with a non-systematic rhetorical tradition.

For instance, Benet Perera, in his two short treatises on education written while he was professor of philosophy at the Roman College (1564),[24] assumed that talents and, generally speaking, the working of the mind, depend on the body's constitution. Yet he did not provide a precise connection between temperaments and the different skills with which someone could be endowed. This led him to use the term "wit" (*ingenium*) as referring to just one kind of human ability rather than as a category that pertained to all of the possible abilities:

> To learn, the human soul needs the help of the wit, judgment, and memory. Regarding wit, one should observe keenness, swiftness, and skill. Regarding judgment, clearness, sharpness, and faculty of pondering, discerning, and distributing things are to be praised. Regarding memory, the power to easily understand and to keep learned things in mind for a long while is commended. Keenness of wit helps the logical power greatly, and in every kind of disputation. Clarity of judgment is very necessary in every part of philosophy and in all the gravest disciplines. Excellence of memory is required firstly in law, which one can advance very little in if endowed with less than a middling memory to learn it.[25]

In contrast, the Jesuits who wrote about talents after Huarte referred to his theory either to correct or to implement it through new observations and cases. They did not change the concept of talent as Huarte had defined it.

24 Benet Perera, "De modo legendi cursum philosophiae" and "Brevis ratio studendi," in *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, vol. 2: *1557–72*, ed. László Lukács (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 664–69 and 670–85.

25 *Monumenta paedagogica*, 674.

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When the *Examen* appeared for the first time in Italy (Venice 1575, translated by Camillo Camilli [?–1615]), Aldo Manuzio's *bottega* (publishing house) started to be crowded by scholars and intellectuals who wanted to respond to Huarte on the same topic. The first outcome was Manuzio's publication of Antonio Persio's (1543–1612) *Trattato dello ingegno dell'huomo*. Persio was a very close friend of the renowned philosopher Bernardino Telesio (1509–88), whose works he would later edit and publish. He tried to correct Huarte's theory according to Telesio's beliefs, in such a manner that the most relevant statement of Huarte (every man's nature is different) was substituted by the common Renaissance belief in a universal man.

Nonetheless, thanks to Possevino and Zara, the most important literature on this topic would receive a Jesuit mark. In his *De cultura ingeniorum* (1593), Possevino intended to correct Huarte's theory on the point of its materialistic determinism. According to Possevino, God provides each person with a different blend of physical constitution and mental skills. Yet every man receives from God the common gift of free will, through which he can seek his salvation by making good use of the talents he has. Furthermore, Possevino refers to both the humanistic (Giovanni Pico della Mirandola [1463–94] and Marsilio Ficino [1433–99]) and Platonic traditions in order to expand Huarte's explanation of the differences in talents among men. He states that, beyond temperament, social and historical features are at the origin of men's different characters and abilities.

Although Possevino intends these layers merely as an addition to Huarte's theory, they radically changed the Jesuit perspective on education. Possevino believes that even if someone is not naturally inclined to use memory or another one of the soul's powers, they can improve it by using their free will—that is, by choosing the best teachers, the best schools, and (basically) continuing to work hard. This does not mean that someone can reach the same level of quality by using their soul's weak power as can be attained by someone who is more naturally gifted. Yet Possevino believes that the examination of someone's skills is only the first step of a larger and deeper process of individual cultivation, which only a great school (or a great master) can provide, by planning a customized education based on an individual's skills.

In 1615, Antonio Zara published his *Anatomia ingeniorum* (The anatomy of talents),[26] in which he set aside Possevino's concern about education to devote himself to cataloging men's intellectual skills in meticulous detail. His taste for taxonomy led him to add several causes to Possevino's list in order to explain

26 Antonio Zara, S.J., *Anatomia ingeniorum et scientiarum sectionibus quattuor comprehensa* (Venice: Ex typographia Ambrosij Dei, & Fratrum, 1615).

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the differences between talents. Although his book's eighteen chapters seemed to multiply the causes that make people different from one another, Zara clearly adopted Huarte's temperamental theory (based on the Galenic quadripartion of humors) in order to distinguish between talents.

Even though the name of Huarte was forgotten during the seventeenth century, the Jesuits continued to use his theory. In Daniello Bartoli's (1608–85) *Dell'uomo di lettere difeso et emendato* (On the learned man defended and corrected, 1645), there is a lengthy digression on the concept of talent, interpreting it as cognitive skills based on one's specific temperament:

> Since the tempera of the humors that serves the mind is not one and indivisible, the skills, talents, and genes, which incline people to different arts, derive from the variety of the humors.[27]

One can again find Huarte's influence in Giulio Cesare Becelli's (1686–1750) *Trattato nuovo della divisione degli ingegni e studij secondo la vita attiva e contemplativa* (A new treatise on the difference of talents and studies according to either the active or the contemplative life, 1738).[28] In the introduction, Becelli recognized as his precursors some "excellently talented" modern men who had written about the nature of human talents. When he wrote this treatise, Becelli had already left the Society of Jesus and was teaching at the University of Padua. Yet his Jesuit inheritance is quite remarkably demonstrated by the fact that, among his works, two treatises directly echoed Possevino's masterpieces—namely, the *Trattato nuovo* (The new treatise) and *De bibliotheca instituenda ac ordinanda liber* (A book on how to set up and organize a library).

Conclusion

In 1986, the International Commission on the Apostolate of Jesuit Education (ICAJE) published a document on the features of Jesuit educative activities that was in fact a manifest for the core values of Jesuit pedagogy.[29] The second

27 Daniello Bartoli, S.J., *Dell'huomo di lettere difeso et emendato: Parti due* (Rome: Per gli heredi di Francesco Corbelletti, 1645).

28 Giulio Cesare Becelli, *Trattato nuovo della divisione degli ingegni e studij secondo la vita attiva e contemplativa: Scritto singolarmente ad uso della nobiltà d'Italia* (Verona: Per Dionisio Ramanzini, 1738).

29 The title of the document is "Ignatian Pedagogy: A Practical Approach." See International Commission on the Apostolate of Jesuit Education (ICAJE), "The Characteristics of Jesuit

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point of the document cited the cultivation of all of a student's talents as the main goal of Jesuit education. Significantly, this point listed four items, thereby specifying what the commission regarded as talents: the faculties of intelligence, imagination, sensitivity, and creativity; communication skills, which the document understood as the postmodern version of sixteenth-century eloquence; physical performance; and a good relationship with the community. Even though the historian should be careful in bridging different historical periods, the similarity to early modern Jesuit thought on talents and skills is striking. Furthermore, the document also recommends that the first goal of a good teacher should be to examine and be aware of the talents of each one of his students.

The discernment of skills is a key feature of the Jesuit identity today, even if the Galenic background seems to be merely a relic of the past. Nonetheless, that background was so important in shaping the way the Jesuits looked at themselves, their students, and the native peoples of the Indies that it stood as a hallmark of the Society as early as the sixteenth century. The Society's early documents pertaining to recruitment and organization reveal the particular Jesuit concern with examining the talents of both aspirants and fellows.

The influence of Juan Huarte de San Juan on this aspect of the Jesuit identity cannot be overestimated. According to Mauricio de Iriarte, S.J. (1894–?), this Spanish physician provided European psychology with a scientific concept, the concept of "talent," which could be applied in a wide range of human activities.[30] Although no official document cites the name of Huarte, the Jesuits were among the first to take it seriously and apply it in their practices. They found in Huarte's method a practical way to respond to their concerns about effective recruitment and efficient organization, for it seemed to provide order to such a nuanced field as the relation between human temperaments and skills.

Of course, for a religious order, Huarte could be a troublesome companion because of his Galenic theory about men and souls. Possevino tried to correct Huarte's theory by reintroducing the concept of free will as human natural endowment, but he did not modify the core of Huarte's Galenism. Yet the problem posed by this kind of connection between human temperament and soul

Education," in *The Jesuit* Ratio studiorum: *400th Anniversary Perspectives*, ed. Vincent J. Duminuco (New York: Fordham University Press, 1986), 161–230, and ICAJE, "Ignatian Pedagogy: A Practical Approach," in *The Jesuit* Ratio studiorum, 231–93.

30 Mauricio de Iriarte, S.J., *Dr Juan Huarte de San Juan und sein* Examen de ingenios: *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der differentiellen Psychologie* (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1938).

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seemed to have been felt as unsolvable only by the philosophers of the Society, simply because they were involved in an environment which was shaped by Aristotle and his commentators, according to whom Galen was good as a physician but inconsistent as a philosopher.

It is for this reason that Manuel de Goís (1543–98), author of the many commentaries of the Jesuit *Cursus conimbricensis*,[31] addressed the issue of "whether men's souls correspond to the temperaments" as a preliminary question in his *De anima* and concluded negatively. Remarkably, this question was quite unusual among the Scholastic commentaries of the sixteenth century, although in a paradoxical way it stands as a signpost of the Jesuits' peculiar interest in the theory of temperaments. Moreover, as the historian Marina Massimi points out, Manuel de Goís deals with the question of the relationship between talent and temperament in another passage of the same commentary, where he challenges Aristotle by demonstrating a clear relation between both choleric and melancholic temperaments and a swift intelligence.[32] What pushed Manuel de Goís to contradict himself was surely his experience as a Jesuit and as a teacher. His acquaintance with the psychological insight he had to exercise in daily life burst from the apparently rigid Scholastic questions about the soul. He knew perfectly well what the Jesuits seem to have always known—that human souls are to be saved as well as sets of skills to be cultivated.

31 See Cristiano Casalini, *Aristotele a Coimbra: Il* Cursus conimbricensis *e l'educazione al Collegium Artium* (Rome: Anicia, 2012).

32 Marina Massimi, "Engenho e temperamentos nos catálogos e no pensamento da Companhia de Jesus nos séculos XVII e XVIII," *Revista latinoamericana de psicopatologia fundamental* 11, no. 4 (2008): 675–87.

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CHAPTER 11

Distinctive Contours of Jesuit Enlightenment in France

Jeffrey D. Burson

Due largely to their persecution of more radical strains of Enlightenment that emerged from Diderot's editorship of the *Encyclopédie*, many historians have too commonly neglected the important contributions of French Jesuit scholars to eighteenth-century culture. The distinctiveness of French Jesuit contributions to scholarship during the century of Enlightenment is the subject of this chapter. This chapter also emphasizes some of the ways in which the radicalization of the eighteenth-century French *siècle de lumières*—specifically its strains of atheism and materialism—were ironically shaped, however accidentally and indeed unintentionally, by debates already well underway among Jesuit intellectuals themselves.[1] Accordingly, this chapter participates in a broader trend, evident among church historians as well as intellectual historians, of restoring agency to Jesuit writers in helping to forge the scholarly milieu from which emerged the wider European Enlightenment, even if the Jesuit contribution to the Enlightenment is often ironic in that many *philosophes* subverted the original impetus for Jesuit scholarship. This chapter also participates in scholarly conversations sparked in various ways by historians Alan C. Kors, Ann Thomson, and Margaret C. Jacob whose work situates the origins of Enlightenment radicalism in France, not strictly within a supposedly Spinozan atheism but rather within a more complex dialogue among theologians, scientists, and lay writers throughout Western Europe.[2]

1 The standard work on the Jesuit contributions to the Enlightenment remains Robert R. Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1939); Dale K. Van Kley, "Robert R. Palmer's *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France*: An Overdue Tribute," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 37, no. 3 (Winter 2011): 18–37. My own research nuances and contextualizes Palmer by noting how the Jesuit engagement with the Enlightenment ebbed and flowed in ways that both reacted to, and inadvertently created, the radicalization of the Enlightenment.

2 Alan C. Kors, *Atheism in France, 1650–1729*, vol. 1: *The Orthodox Sources of Disbelief* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); Ann Thomson, *Bodies of Thought: Science, Religion, and the Soul in the Early Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; repr. 2010), 22–27, 229–37; Thomson, *L'âme des lumières: Le débat sur l'être humain*

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Any chapter on Jesuit contributions to the eighteenth century necessarily entails some discussion of the relationship between Jesuit erudition and the Enlightenment. The question is not without its many complexities, if only because there is presently no clear consensus among eighteenth-century scholars as to how the Enlightenment ought to be defined, or when and where it took place. Conventionally, the Enlightenment has been defined as a largely (but not exclusively) eighteenth-century cultural and intellectual movement that optimistically assumed that extensive improvement of human nature was possible through educational reform, the popularization of the scientific method of empirical reason and its pervasive application to practical problems of sociopolitical reform. In addition, the Enlightenment is often defined as being almost essentially motivated by "modern paganism" whether in the form of attacks on established clergies, religious orthodoxies and orthopraxis, or a pervasive materialism that favored the disenchantment of nature and the secularization of the concept of the mind and soul.[3] Complicating these rather straightforward

entre religion et science Angleterre–France (1690–1760) (Paris: Epoques Champ Vallon, 2013); Thomson, "'Mechanistic Materialism' vs. 'Vitalistic Materialism'?" in *La Lettre de la Maison française d'Oxford* 14 (2001): 22–36; also John Wright, "Materialismo e anima vitale alla metà del XVIII secolo. Il pensiero medico," in *L'Età dei Lumi: Saggi sulla cultura settecentesca*, ed. Antonio Santucci (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1998), 143–57; Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); cf. Jonathan I. Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 1–36; Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy, Revolution, and Human Rights, 1750–1790* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1–36; Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas: An Intellectual History of the French Revolution from the Rights of Man to Robespierre* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670–1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3–60.

3 Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation—The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967); Ira O. Wade, *The Structure and the Form of the French Enlightenment*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); also more recently, Anthony Pagden, *The Enlightenment and Why It Still Matters* (New York: Random House, 2013); also Georges Gusdorf, *Les principes de la pensée au siècle des lumières* (Paris: Payot, 1971); Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, trans. Fritz C.A. Koellen and James P. Pettegrove (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951); Stephen Bronner, *Reclaiming the Enlightenment: Toward a Politics of Radical Engagement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); for alternative, and far more critical adherents of the unitary Enlightenment

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descriptions are the various ways in which scholars emphasize or deemphasize certain specific aspects of the Enlightenment, and in this way, reframe its historical significance. Ever since the historian J.G.A. Pocock (1924–) first raised the issue in the context of the English Enlightenment, some scholars have favored the subdivision of the Enlightenment project into various Enlightenments, many of which could not be described as uniformly anticlerical.[4] Thus it is now possible to speak of various styles of "Religious Enlightenment"—a "Jewish Enlightenment," a "Protestant Enlightenment," and a "Catholic Enlightenment"—or even different variants within the Catholic Enlightenment.[5] Still others, beginning with the authors of the seminal volume, *The Enlightenment in National Context*, historians Roy Porter (1946–2002) and Mikuláš Teich, have preferred to

thesis, see Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), xxiii–xxiv, 29–31; Michel Foucault, "What is Enlightenment?" in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 32–51; Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); on Enlightenment connections to Western chauvinism and the construction of "orientalism" to justify imperialism, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1979).

4 J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion: The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1:9.

5 David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); Hugh Trevor-Roper, *De la Réforme aux Lumières*, trans. Laurence Ratier (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1974); Ulrich Lehner, "What is Catholic Enlightenment?" in *Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1–62; Shmuel Feiner, *The Jewish Enlightenment*, trans. Chaya Naor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Dale K. Van Kley, "Plots and Rumors of Plots: The Role of Conspiracy in the International Campaign against the Society of Jesus, 1758–1768," in *The Suppression of the Jesuits in Global Context: Causes, Events, and Consequences*, ed. Jeffrey D. Burson and Jonathan Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 15–49; Van Kley, "From the Catholic Enlightenment to the Risorgimento: The Debate between Nicola Spedalieri and Pietro Tamburini, 1791–1797," *Past and Present* 224, no. 1 (2014): 109–62; Van Kley, "Robert R. Palmer's *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France*: An Overdue Tribute," in *Sacred and Secular Agency in Early Modern France: Fragments of Religion*, ed. Sanja Perovic (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 13–37; Jeffrey D. Burson, "The Catholic Enlightenment in France from *fin de siècle* Crisis to Revolution, *c.*1650–1789," in Lehner and Printy, *Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment*, 23–125. I have since modified my views somewhat, and no longer fully ascribe to distinct "Augustinian" versus "pro-Bull" styles of Catholic Enlightenment. For an updated interpretation, see most recently in Burson, "Introduction: Catholicism and Enlightenment, Past, Present, and Future," in *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe*, 1–39.

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divide the various "enlightenments" along national or state boundaries.[6] More controversial, but still very intriguing, has been the tendency to point up the ways in which Counter-Enlightenment writers such as Joseph de Maîstre (1753–1821) in fact immersed themselves in the critical scholarship of the Enlightenment in order to refute it.[7] At the very least, this focus has forced eighteenth-century specialists to rethink the Counter-Enlightenment and reframe it as more precisely being against radical *philosophes* and not perhaps the Enlightenment as a whole.[8] Such complexity has prompted a kind of reaction in favor of seeing the Enlightenment as being primarily concerned with practical economic and political reforms—particularly a desire to improve existing dynastic states through application of modern political economy, abolition or amelioration of serfdom and feudalism, improvement of education, and allowing a reformed state to clean up the abuses wrought by religious establishments.[9] With these emphases has come fascinating and innovative work on various forms of Enlightened Absolutism throughout Europe.[10] Jonathan Israel (1946–) of the Princeton Institute of Advanced Studies, on the other hand, has preferred to see rationalism, materialism, atheism, and egalitarianism as the essential force for modernization for which, in his judgment, the Enlightenment is responsible. Israel's volumes controversially trace what he considers the Enlightenment vanguard—the Radical Enlightenment, especially of Spinoza (1632–77)—throughout nearly two centuries from 1650 in the Netherlands and onward.[11] Still others

6 Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

7 Carolina Armenteros, "Introduction," *Joseph de Maistre and the Legacy of Enlightenment*, ed. Carolina Armenteros and Richard A. Lebrun (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2011), 4, 5.

8 Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Didier Masseau, *Les ennemis des philosophes: L'antiphilosophie au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000).

9 John Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

10 Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution and the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); Gabrielle Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and Its Empire, 1759–1808* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); John Shovlin, *The Political Economy of Virtue: Luxury, Patriotism, and the Origins of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); also Charles C. Noel, "Clerics and Crown in Bourbon Spain, 1700–1800: Jesuits, Jansenists, and Enlightened Reformers," in *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*, ed. James E. Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2001), 119–53.

11 Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*; most recently, Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment*, 558–72, and the parallel and dubious extrapolations from his

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have emphasized quite the contrary—the distinctively irrational or even premodern faces of the so-called century of Enlightenment and its continuities with humanism and late early modern Hermeticism. Indeed, classical republican thought, indebted as much to the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries as to the eighteenth, has also been given a privileged position in the transformation of eighteenth-century political and revolutionary thought.[12]

It is far beyond the scope of this essay on the Jesuits to delve more thoroughly into every niche of so many historiographical controversies; I mention them here only as an important caveat to what follows, namely that with almost no agreement concerning what the Enlightenment is, it is very hard to address whether, or to what extent, one might speak of a Jesuit contribution to the Enlightenment. In any event, I have addressed the thornier issue of whether there truly was a Jesuit Enlightenment elsewhere.[13] Rather, this essay will solely describe some salient characteristics of Jesuit scholarship in order to elucidate the distinctiveness of the Jesuit contribution to the eighteenth century. If one defines the Enlightenment as being essentially about the limitless ability of human reason to improve itself by criticizing all forms of authority, especially established religious authorities, and if the disenchantment of nature to the point of materialism or even atheism is similarly vital to the Enlightenment, then it must be said that the Jesuit contribution to the century of the Enlightenment was vastly different.

Many Jesuits in Europe, including and especially French Jesuits associated with their Parisian school Louis-le-Grand, were among the cultural elite of the early to middle eighteenth-century republic of letters. Many believed that advancements in natural philosophy, history, epistemology, and science could and should be used, both for the moral edification of society, and for the apologetic utility of their own promotion and defense of the Catholic faith. The Jesuit René-Joseph

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earlier arguments on the Radical Enlightenment origins of the French Revolution in Israel, *Revolutionary Ideas*.

12 David Allen Harvey, *Beyond Enlightenment: Occultism and Politics in Modern France* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005); Dan Edelstein, *The Super Enlightenment: Daring to Know Too Much* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2005); Marisa Linton, *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Dale K. Van Kley, "Civic Humanism in Clerical Garb: Gallican Memories of the Early Church and the Project of Primitivist Reform, 1719–1791," *Past and Present* 1 (2008): 77–120; Van Kley, "Religion and the Age of 'Patriot' Reform," *Journal of Modern History* 80 (2008): 252–95.

13 Jeffrey D. Burson, "Between Power and Enlightenment: Cultural and Intellectual Context of the Jesuit Suppression in France," in *The Jesuit Suppression: Causes, Events, Consequences*, ed. Jeffrey D. Burson and Jonathan Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 50–81.

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Tournemine (1661–1739) affords us an important example of this approach. In citing the example of the Jesuit missionaries of China, Tournemine noted that not until Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) did Christianity achieve success in China, and the ticket to such success lay in the Jesuits' ability to address the interests of the Chinese scholar gentry in mathematics and natural philosophy. In Tournemine's judgment, therefore, the grace of God was necessary and efficacious for conversion, but divine grace, he argued, often worked through human agency, and thus has more chance of achieving its end if missionary-scholars like the Jesuits affect to be "all things to all people."[14] Progress in the arts and letters, and in particular in mathematics and modern science, was considered by many eighteenth-century Jesuits as the means by which grace must come to a new, more enlightened generation. And this fact, Tournemine believed, would be true as much of Europe as it was in China.[15]

Early in the eighteenth century, Tournemine was among an influential cadre of Jesuits who articulated a broadening of the Jesuit spirit of the *Ratio studiorum* for the eighteenth-century age of Enlightenment: he exhorted that one must approach study, sometimes even of suspect authors and non-Christian texts, as a prayerful act and a means of devoting one's heart and will to God, because in so doing, the church would better address the concerns of the cosmopolitan eighteenth century.[16] Engagement with an increasingly globalized corpus of texts from human antiquity (even outside of Europe) and critical engagement with the textual output of the Enlightenment was to serve an apologetical and ultimately evangelical end: the defense and dissemination of what Jesuits considered to be the one truly divine religion.

For this reason, surmised Tournemine, the elites of the early eighteenth century continued to flock to the Jesuits, just as Chinese elites had flocked to seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries, because the Jesuit order was able to teach the sciences and arts most useful to the sons of the nobles and *haute bourgeoisie*, while preserving and fortifying their commitment to the church. Unlike the early days of Christianity, Tournemine warned, "the time of having any hope of rendering very much glory to God, or very much service to one's neighbor without the support of divine and human sciences is no more."[17]

14 Florence C. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 1.

15 "C'est toujours la grace qui convertît, mais la grace a plus d'une manière d'arriver ses fins et c'est en se faisant tous à tous, qu'on trouve enfin à quoy c'est qu'elle a attaché le salut de tous." [Tournemine], "Discours sur les Etudes de la Compagnie," BnF, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 10946, 366.

16 Ibid., 367–68.

17 "Le temps n'est plus n'est où sans secours des Sciences divines et humaines nous puissions espérer de rendre ni à dieux beaucoup de gloire ni beaucoup de service au Prochain."

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As was hitherto the case since the Society's inception, the Jesuits thought that their belletristic and philosophical curricula were an intrinsic part of their evangelism and apologetics, but with the eighteenth century came a renewed emphasis on the manner in which Jesuit erudition advanced their divine mission by also promoting social utility and the moral improvement of humanity. In what follows, I will develop this overarching emphasis by more closely examining the intersection of Jesuit moral philosophy, apologetics, and historicism; it is in no way intended to be a comprehensive study of the totality of Jesuit scholarship in the eighteenth century.[18]

Eighteenth-Century Jesuit Moral Philosophy, Apologetics, and Historicism

Insofar as a general optimism concerning the predilection of human nature for rational reform and improvement is crucial to the spirit of the century, there remains no question that many Jesuits shared such optimism whether or not

Ibid., 332; also 331, 345; see also Martin A. Lynn, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 231.

18 Insofar as Jesuit epistemology and Jesuit natural science has received extensive study elsewhere, the current chapter will not revisit these topics extensively. For Jesuit epistemological innovation, see Jeffrey D. Burson, *The Rise and Fall of Theological Enlightenment: Jean-Martin de Prades and Ideological Polarization in Eighteenth-Century France* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010); Burson, "Claude G. Buffier and the Maturation of the Jesuit Synthesis in the Age of Enlightenment," *Intellectual History Review* 21, no. 4 (December 2011): 449–72; Catherine M. Northeast, *The Parisian Jesuits and the Enlightenment, 1700–1762* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1991); Buffier's "Remarques sur la métaphysique de M. Locke" was published alongside the 1725 edition of his *Traité des premières vérités*: see Bouillier, "Introduction," *Oeuvres philosophiques du Père Buffier* (Paris: Adolphe de la Haye, 1843), 131; Ross Hutchison, *Locke in France, 1688–1734* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1991), 35–39; for the most helpful and foundational treatments, see François de Dainville, *L'éducation des jésuites, XVI–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1978); Mordechai Feingold, ed., *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); Marcus Hellyer, *Catholic Physics: Jesuit Natural Philosophy in Early Modern Germany* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Science, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); also portions of J.B. Shank, *The Newton Wars and the Beginning of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Christian Albertan, "Entre foi et sciences: Les *Mémoires de Trévoux* et le mouvement scientifique dans les années 50," *Dix-huitième siècle* 34 (2002): 91–97.

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one views Jesuit contributions to the eighteenth as a vital part of the Enlightenment or not.[19] This optimism included the willingness to entertain the existence of a historical state of pure nature before the fall that lasted, despite gradual decline, for some time even afterward. Such speculations concerning the slow end of this more optimistic state of nature provided a theological justification for the integrity of their moral theology and sometimes even facilitated debate with early Enlightenment writers. But contrary to the frequent accusations by Jansenists that Jesuits followed Luis de Molina (1535–1600), most Jesuits actually invoked their understanding of the authority of Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) to defend their notions about human nature, notions which unsurprisingly remained rooted in the Council of Trent: that Adam was created with a human nature that was essentially pure and perfectible.[20] Indeed, this must be the case since a perfect God could not have created an essentially defective human nature. Accordingly, Jesuits understood supernatural grace to have fortified Adam's nature until the fall, at which point this efficacious grace was revoked and human nature slowly drifted into sin. The Jesuit view represented a critical departure from the prevailing opinion of many French clergy influenced by Pasquier Quesnel's (1634–1719) interpretation of the fall—that human nature had been corrupted at its essence. To Jesuits, Quesnel's interpretation, which many Jansenists shared (and even many non-Jansenist servants of the Gallican church), implied that the choice of the first man to sin could unmake an essence over which God alone possessed the power of creation.[21] Jesuit moral philosophy thus presupposed a generally more optimistic appraisal of human nature which facilitated dialogue with the developing Enlightenment during the eighteenth century, and in fact, often comported well with the "rehabilitation of human nature" assumed by many less orthodox writers of the middle eighteenth century.[22]

Yet, because Jesuits believed by faith that human nature was not depraved at its essence, but instead that the perfective and supernatural grace of God was only removed at the fall, it therefore became possible to conceive of an early and even partially postlapsarian state of nature that had degenerated over time owing to the very nature of the human soul when no longer ignited

19 Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers*, 117–25.

20 Alexander Aichele and Matthias Kaufmann, eds., *A Companion to Luis de Molina* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

21 Jean Ehrard, *L'Idée de la nature en France dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1981; 1969), 438–40.

22 Northeast, *Parisian Jesuits*, 217–18; Roger Mercier, *La réhabilitation de la nature humaine, 1700–1750* (Villemomble: Éditions La Balance, 1960).

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and perfected by supernatural grace. As Claude Buffier (1661–1737), the Jesuit editor of the *Mémoires de Trévoux* (Memoirs of Trévoux), argued, the natural sentiment of humanity—our common sense—was warped after the fall because natural reason was then inexorably dependent upon sense perception.[23] This definition of original sin as resulting from the natural corruptibility of human understanding and moral behavior unites Jesuit moral philosophy with views shared by other Enlightenment thinkers. Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) argued that primitive humanity found itself beset by fear of inexplicable natural forces, and that this in turn led to superstition and idolatry.[24] For John Locke (1632–1704), whose views were among those which directly informed Buffier's own, early humans, while still bereft of natural science, tended to ascribe inexplicable natural catastrophes to the vengeance of angry anthropomorphic beings inhabiting nature. These entities were thought to require appeasement, and were therefore worshiped as gods or spirits. Such was the opinion of Locke, for example, and it was in many respects apologetically adapted by Buffier in works such as *Traité des premières vérités* (Treatise concerning first principles) that effectively blended different strains of Cartesianism with Locke's sense-based empiricism.[25] Enlightenment writers

23 Claude G. Buffier, *Traité des premières vérités et de la source de nos jugements*, in *Oeuvres philosophiques de P. Buffier*, introduced by Francisque Bouillier (Paris: Adolphe de la Haye, 1843), I.ix, 33–35, 72–76.

24 Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 26–31; Paul Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européene, 1680–1715* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1961), 90–109.

25 Buffier, *Traité des premières vérités et de la source de nos jugements*, I.i.9, 7; I.ii.17, 10; I.v.41, 45, 18–19; Kathleen Wilkins, *A Study of the Works of Claude Buffier* (Geneva: Institut et Musée de Voltaire Les Délices, 1969); Hutchison, *Locke in France*, 35–39; on the distinction among Cartesianisms, see Tad M. Schmaltz, *Radical Cartesianism: The French Reception of Descartes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 11; Schmaltz, "Descartes and Malebranche on Mind and Mind–Body Union," *Philosophical Review* 101, no. 2 (April 1992): 286–95; Thomas M. Lennon and Patricia Ann Easton, *The Cartesian Empiricism of François Bayle* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), 1–4; on the influence of Buffier, and his own roots in both Locke and Malebranche, see Burson, "Claude G. Buffier," 449–72; Burson, *Rise and Fall of Theological Enlightenment*, 1–274; for the use of Locke, Malebranche, and the place of "Cartesian empiricism" in Jesuit epistemology during the eighteenth century, see Jeffrey D. Burson, "Healing the Pyrrhonian Sickness and Rectifying Cartesianisms: The Notion of the Jesuit Synthesis Revisited," in *Age of Skepticism: Doubt, Reason, Religion, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, ed. Jeffrey D. Burson and Anton Matytsin (Oxford: Oxford University Studies on Voltaire in the Enlightenment, forthcoming); Bernard Cottret, *Le Christ des Lumières: Jésus de Newton à Voltaire, 1680–1760* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 57, 75–76; Manuel, *Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*, 44–55, 62–63, 132.

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and many Jesuits located the origins of superstition and idolatry in fear-driven failures of human understanding.

Because Jesuits accepted that human understanding (whether concerning moral, religious, or scientific "facts") was liable to corruption because of the very nature of sense perception, all of them concluded that natural theology would never be sufficient, and in this respect, they differed from more radical writers in the later years of the Enlightenment, for whom reason was sufficient. Jesuits contended that individual reason, even once properly enlightened, remained powerless to maintain or rediscover the pristine natural revelation of God. Thus, Jesuits and other apologists of the eighteenth century only considered the revealed religion of the Catholic Church to be philosophically necessary as an effective bulwark against the inherently corruptive tendencies of natural reason. However, for such a claim to be palatable to eighteenth-century readers, the Jesuits became the vanguard of a style of apologetics that attempted to demonstrate that the traditions of the church and its teachings were historically verifiable *in toto* in an unbroken succession dating to within living memory of Jesus himself.[26] The task before many eighteenth-century apologists, then, was to develop methods based on empirical principles that would more aptly verify the likely divine inspiration of the Catholic religion based on historical evidence. These apologetics drew from an eclectic array of sources, and were designed to guide the reader to the conclusion that divine revelation rested with the church and was the only surety against the vulnerability of human understanding to fears, passions, and the needs of the body.

To a great extent, the eighteenth-century pedagogical ethos of the Jesuit *scriptores* concerning moral philosophy, apologetics, and natural science remained rooted in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century humanism. This reality begs an important question: what is so distinctive about the Jesuit contribution to the eighteenth century? In other words, what is really so different from early modern modes of Renaissance criticism and natural philosophy in which the Society participated from its founding? In answering this question, one does well to recall that this question has been asked of the Enlightenment more generally, and many scholars are revisiting the continuities between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries as a whole.[27] Ann Thomson's recent work

26 Burson, *Rise and Fall of Theological Enlightenment*, 64–70.

27 For my own reflections on narrowing the gap between sixteenth- and eighteenth-century intellectual history, see Jeffrey D. Burson, "Tracing the Genealogy of Revolt against 'Esprit de système' from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment," in *Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era, 1650–1850*, ed. Kevin Cope (New York: AMS Press, 2016).

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has underscored the importance of early seventeenth-century religious debates to the circulation of more radical scientific materialism in the eighteenth century.[28] Dennis Des Chene and Anthony Kenny, historians of philosophy, have reminded us of the subtle but dynamic evolution of Aristotelian modes of Scholasticism and natural philosophy that to a large extent served as prelude to the Enlightenment.[29] Historian Dan Edelstein's genealogy of the Enlightenment firmly roots at least the French Enlightenment in the quarrel over the primacy of the ancients and moderns on the one hand, and the enduring legacy of Greek and Roman writers on the other.[30] Scholars such as Neven Leddy, Avi Lifschitz, Thomas Ahnert, Charles T. Wolfe, and James A. Harris have revisited the role of Epicurean texts and motifs to the Enlightenment, while intellectual historian Tim Stuart-Buttle has recently made the controversial but fascinating suggestion that Cicero was more commonly cited during the eighteenth century than the sixteenth.[31] To consider the culture of the eighteenth century, including that of the Enlightenment, as firmly rooted in gradual changes to various modes of early modern scholarship dating to the Renaissance at least is not uncommon today, and such continuities afford us more space to examine Jesuit contributions to the Enlightenment, not less.

To observe, quantify, and apprehend nature was an act of moral edification, and in that sense, directly descended from the gentlemanly ideal of the *vir virtutis*. Study of nature supplemented and corrected study of ancients for the moral utility of society. While arguably unique among Catholic Reformation religious orders, this Jesuit intersection of piety and pedagogy is the same as the self-fashioned identity of the scholar-missionary so central to the scientific missionaries studied by cultural historian Florence Hsia, and it is related to the same polymathic ideal that motivated Leibniz (1646–1716) and Descartes

28 Thomson, *Bodies of Thought*, 22–27, 229–37; Thomson, *L'âme des Lumières*.

29 Dennis Des Chene, *Physiologia: Natural Philosophy in Late Aristotelian and Cartesian Thought* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 3–4; Anthony Kenny, *Essays on the Aristotelian Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 5–6, 9.

30 Dan Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 1–19, 37–52.

31 Thomas Ahnert, "Epicureanism and the Transformation of Natural Law in the Early German Enlightenment"; Charles T. Wolfe, "A Happiness Fit for Organic Bodies: La Mettrie's Medical Epicureanism"; James A. Harris, "The Epicurean in Hume"; Neven Leddy, "Adam Smith's Critique of Enlightenment Epicureanism"; Avi S. Lifschitz, "The Enlightenment Revival of the Epicurean History of Language and Civilisation," in *Epicurus in the Enlightenment*, ed. Neven Leddy and Avi S. Lifschitz (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2009), 53–69, 69–85, 161–83, 183–207, 207–27; also Tim Stuart-Buttle, *Cicero and the Science of Man in Britain from Locke to Hume, c.1660–c.1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, in progress).

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(1596–1650). What is increasingly distinctive about the Jesuit scholarship of the eighteenth century, however, is its emphasis on the intersection of Catholic erudition, apologetics, and social utility.[32] The use of empirical reason to sound out its own limits, probe the depths of natural wonders, and discern commonalities and discontinuities within an increasingly global corpus of ancient texts (often translated and studied by Jesuit missionary-scholars themselves) was considered even more vital to the reform of society and promotion of Catholic piety in the eighteenth century. Such a subtle but significant shift toward historical-critical apologetics, and the augmentation of their socio-religious importance, is already evident in the early years of the eighteenth century. Jesuits thus made distinctive contributions to such historical apologetics, and even derived important methods of historical historicity to evaluate historical sources and eyewitness testimony. Buffier in particular derived important methods of historical historicity to evaluate historical sources and eyewitness testimony. Buffier did so by expanding upon Locke's rules for historical probability, and he used them to develop methods for evaluating the historical certitude of the Gospels and the authenticity of the Catholic Church's revealed teachings.[33] Such methods became widely

32 On the cultural continuities between the emergence of the seventeenth-century revolution in natural philosophy and the culture of the Renaissance, see Matthew L. Jones, *The Good Life in Scientific Revolution: Descartes, Pascal, Leibniz, and the Cultivation of Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 365–66, 376–80; for additional sources (beyond those cited previously) concerning the globalization of the European consciousness as a result of Jesuit missionary activities and the translation of non-European texts into European cultural consciousness, see Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversation in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993, 1998); Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995; 2003); Guy Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 5–13; Harry Liebersohn, *The Traveler's World: Europe to the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 1–14, 299–305.

33 For Buffier, see Katharine J. Hammerton, "A Feminist Voice in the Enlightenment Salon: Madame de Lambert on Taste, Sensibility, and the Feminine Mind," *Modern Intellectual History* 7, no. 2 (2010): 216–20; Hammerton, "Malebranche, Taste, and Sensibility: The Origins of Sensitive Taste and a Reconsideration of Cartesianism's Feminist Potential," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69, no. 4 (October 2008): 533–58; Burson, "Claude G. Buffier," 449–72; Burson, *Rise and Fall of Theological Enlightenment*, 1–274; Wilkins, *Study of the Works of Claude Buffier*; Ehrard, *L'idée de la nature en France dans la première moitié du XVIII siècle*, 424–25; Sophia Rosenfeld, "Before Democracy: The Production and Uses of

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popular and re-emerged almost wholesale even in the article on historical certitude in the *Encyclopédie*.[34]

In moving apologetics away from speculative reason and on to more historical-empiricist grounds, Buffier's efforts were in good company with earlier seventeenth-century works. Even from as early as the work by Jesuit controversialist François Véron (1575–1649), entitled *Méthodes de traiter des controverses de religion* (Methods for treating religious controversies) in 1638, some Jesuits had attempted to disassociate speculative reason from the content of sacred mysteries themselves, making theology dependent more upon the moral proofs of historico-empirical analysis and textual transmission. As another Jesuit, Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), argued in his posthumously published critique of Descartes and Spinoza, *Alnetanae quaestiones de concordia rationis et fidei* (Questions concerning the concord of religion and faith, 1690), the veracity of dogma—even the veracity of such foundational doctrines as the existence of God and the immortality of the human soul—remains impervious to proofs afforded by speculative reason.[35] Theology thereby became a science increasingly concerned with uncovering empirical evidence for the veracity of scriptural texts and church traditions in history—a point not far from Richard Simon's (1638–1712) own approach to biblical scholarship. In fact, despite his many critics, some Jesuit controversialists greatly admired Simon. The Jesuit Étienne Souciet (1671–1744) sent Simon manuscripts for critique, and the controversial Jesuit writer Jean Hardouin (1646–1729) was a friend of Simon as well.[36]

Common Sense," *Journal of Modern History* 80 (2008): 1–54; Francisque Bouillier, *Histoire de la philosophie cartésienne*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Charles Delagrave et Compagnie, 1868), 1:588–89; Sebastien Charles, "L'immatérialisme allié naturel ou ennemi désigné des philosophes chrétiens?" *Dix-huitième siècle* 34 (2002): 161–72; Anton Matytsin, "The Specter of Skepticism and the Sources of Certainty in the Eighteenth Century, 1697–1772" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 154–210.

34 Buffier, *Traité des premières vérités et de la source de nos jugements*, I.xix,142–48, 62–65; I xxviii.175–79, 73–75; *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), IV.xv.1–6, 654–57; IV.xvi.10–11, 663–5; IV.xviii.4, 690–91; Ehrard, *L'Idée de la nature*, 425–27; Burson, *Rise and Fall of Theological Enlightenment*, 64–70, 207–13; Hutchison, *Locke in France*, 35–39; Palmer, "The French Jesuits in the Age of Enlightenment," *American Historical Review* 45, no. 1 (October 1939): 44–58; Northeast, *Parisian Jesuits*, 65.

35 Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Alnetanae quaestiones de concordia rationis et fidei* (Paris: Thomas Moette, Bibliopolam, prope Pontem S. Michaëlis, ad insigne S. Alexii, 1690), 4–5, 61, 74–75, http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010390457; see the insightful discussion of Huet's *Alnetanae* in Matytsin, "Specter of Skepticism," 154–210.

36 Northeast, *Parisian Jesuits*, 56–63, 106–7; Daniel Watkins, "Enlightenment, Catholicism, Conservatism: The Isaac-Joseph Berruyer Affair and the Culture of Orthodoxy in France,

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The distinctiveness of eighteenth-century Jesuit historico-empirical apologetics similarly implied a renewed emphasis on finding concrete demonstrations of the process by which the original, natural religion/revelation from God (often identified with the religion of the biblical patriarchs) had been corrupted among the peoples of the globe.[37] Jesuits thereby proved to be exceptionally important as participants in what Guy Stroumsa (1948–) has recently dubbed the "new science" of comparative religion during the Enlightenment.[38] One of the most influential examples of this style of Jesuit apologetics was composed by the bishop of Avranches, Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), Buffier's predecessor as professor of philosophy at Louis-le-Grand, fellow *scriptor*, and later author of the *Alnetanae*. Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica* (1679) responded to Spinoza's critique of the historical authenticity of the Pentateuch with acclamation by the famous German philosopher of natural law, Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–94). In it, Huet argued that all peoples possessed corrupted copies of the Old Testament religion of the patriarchs preserved by Moses, and transmitted ultimately by Catholic Church teaching. Huet sustained his argument in a remarkable piece of erudition destined to become an eighteenth-century progenitor of comparative religious history; its thesis, that the Pentateuch contained the most authentic surviving traits of God's original natural theology, cross-references ancient Greek and Roman sources with mythological, philosophical, and archeological sources from Egyptian, Chinese, Persian, Germanic, American Indian, and Celtic history.[39] Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica* continued to be read in Jesuit and Lazarist seminaries throughout Paris as late as the 1740s and 1750s, and it served as a source of controversy and inspiration to many highly influential apologists of the 1720s–50s, including Abbé d'Houtteville (1686–1742), author of *Religion chrétienne prouvée par les faits* (The Christian religion proven by facts; originally 1722, but substantially

c.1700–1830" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2014), and Anthony Grafton, "Jean Hardouin: The Antiquary as Pariah," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1999): 241–67.

37 For varieties of apologetics during the Enlightenment and diverse interpretations of the Jesuit apologists, see Masseau, *Les ennemis des philosophes*; William R. Everdell, *Christian Apologetics in France, 1730–1790: The Roots of Romantic Religion* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1987).

38 Stroumsa, *New Science*, 1–13, 145–57.

39 Huet, *Demonstratio evangelica*, Proposition III.i–xxi, cap. 1, 45–70; Proposition IV.i–xlii, cap. 2, 85–117; Proposition IV.i–vi, cap. 3, 117–22; Proposition IV.i–xi, cap. 4, 122–49; Proposition IV.i–ii, cap. 5, 149–60; Proposition IV.i–iv, cap. 6, 161–67; Proposition IV.i–vi, cap. 7, 167–76.

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revised and reprinted in 1744), and Rodolphe du Tertre (1677–1762), author of *Entretiens sur la religion* (Dialogue concerning religion, 1743).[40]

In addition to historical apologetics—indeed they were building blocks for them—Jesuits also produced a veritable cascade of descriptive texts, philosophical abridgements, translations, and descriptions concerning numerous cultures throughout the world. Essential to this output, and the object of much study in recent years, is the tremendous textual output of the Jesuit missionaries to China. One of the French Jesuit missionaries, Philippe Couplet (1623–93), helped introduce the philosophy of Confucius to educated French audiences with *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* (Confucius, the philosopher of the Chinese, 1687). As a result, the European republic of letters swelled with debates about Chinese religion and moral philosophy, in addition to debates over the apparently well-ordered nature of Chinese politics. Chinese society appeared to mimic the ideal of Enlightened Absolutism that scholars (Jesuits and early *philosophes* alike) admired, and many Jesuits anchored the seeming exceptionalism of Chinese morality and government in the unprecedented length of time during which Jesuits believed that Chinese scholar gentry had maintained the purity of the so-called patriarchal revelation before its degeneration. Ricci's assertion that the Chinese had worshiped the Christian God, that Confucianism was therefore theistic and akin to Jesus's moral teachings, and that Confucianism had been corrupted only lately by Tang–Song materialists (618–1279) all proved foundational to this argument.[41]

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40 Jean-Martin de Prades claimed inspiration from Huet during his years of association with the Lazarist Seminary of Bons-Enfants in Paris: see Jean-Martin de Prades, *Apologie de Monsieur l'abbé de Prades*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1752), 1:12; for additional details on Huet, see April G. Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters: Pierre-Daniel Huet and European Intellectual Life, 1650–1720* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007); Northeast, *Parisian Jesuits*, 59–60; Pufendorf, "Praefatio pro Petri Danielis Huetii [Pierre-Daniel Huet]," in *Demonstratio evangelica ad Serenissimum Delphinum*, 5th ed. (Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1703); Houtteville, *Religion chrétienne*, 1:182; Rudolphe du Tertre, *Entretiens sur la religion, où l'on établit les fondements de la religion révélée contre les athées et les deists*, 3 vols. (Paris: Clousier, David, Durand, and Damonneville, 1743); cf. [Charles-François Alexandre], l'abbé d'Houtteville, *La religion chrétienne prouvée par les faits*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: Henri du Sauzet, 1744); L'abbé Rudolphe du Tertre, *Entretiens sur la religion, où l'on établit les fondemens de réligion révélée contre les athées et les déistes*, 3 vols. (Paris: Clousier, David, Durand, and Damonneville, 1743).

41 Thierry Meynard, S.J., *The Jesuit Reading of Confucius: The First Complete Translation of the* Lunyu *(1687) Published in the West* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); David Mungello, *Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 84–85; and Henri Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'ésprit philosophique en France, 1640–1740* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971), 367–76; Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making*

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The Jesuit translation of Chinese cultural history into the public sphere of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—much like their translation of Indian, Southeast Asian, and Amerindian culture into the mental world of early modern culture—ultimately ignited a contentious debate between those positing that the original, natural, monotheistic religion of humanity had degenerated into idolatry, thus necessitating revealed religion in general (and that of the Catholic Church in particular), and those who argued that polytheism was in fact the ubiquitous characteristic of original natural religion.[42] As is well known, the works of Chinese philosophy, history, and linguistics produced or translated by Jesuits became the principal source base for European knowledge of China, and thus a wide range of Enlightenment authors, from Voltaire (1694–1778) to Herder (1744–1803), to the anti-*philosophe* apologetics of Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier (1718–90), utilized them to disparate and diverse ends.[43] Important to stress in connection to the distinctiveness of Jesuit contributions to the eighteenth century is the observation that both sides in the debate over the nature of the original religion of humanity referred back to Jesuit texts and debates. Even the nearly eighty pages of text and fourteen engravings contained in volume 4 of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Religious ceremonies and customs of all of peoples

of Europe, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 3:1752–53; also David Porter, "China and the Critique of Religious Fanaticism in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Les Lumières européens dans leurs relations avec les autres grandes cultures et religions*, ed. Florence Lotterie and Darrin M. McMahon (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), 61–80; David Porter, *Ideographia: The Chinese Cipher in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 8.

42 Stroumsa, *New Science*, 77–100, 145–9; in addition to Philippe Couplet, Louis Le Comte's (1655–1728) French translation circulated widely throughout Europe, and was itself translated and abridged many times; other influential Jesuit texts included Jean-Baptiste du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* [...] (La Haye: H. Scheurleer, 1736); [Charles le Gobien], *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Chine par des missionnaires jésuites, 1702–1776*, ed. Isabelle and Jean-Louis Vissière (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1979); for a more complete and systematic account of the Jesuit output in China, see Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 3:1676–87, 1731–48.

43 François-Marie Arouêt de Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne justqu'à Louis XIII*, 3 vols., in *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, ed. T. Beuchot, new ed. (Paris: Garnier, 1878), 11:176–77; Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. Churchill (London: Bergman, 1966; Leipzig and Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartoch, 1784), 292; Clorinda Donato, "Le Nouveau Monde et l'apologie du catholicisme dans le *Dictionnaire de théologie* (1789–1790) de l'abbé Bergier," *Tangence* 72 (Summer 2003): 57–73.

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of the world, 1723–43), published by Bernard Picart (1673–1733) and Jean Frédéric Bernard (1683–1744), two leading Huguenot diaspora publishers, was, at least structurally, a compendium of Jesuit texts concerning China.[44]

Bernard and Picart were part of the Chevaliers de la jubilation (Knights of jubilation), a Masonic society at the heart of Jacob's research, and no less, at the heart of a network of avant-garde Francophone publishers and writers in The Hague who promoted rational religious reform and religious toleration. The circle included Marc-Michel Rey (1720–80), Picart's son-in-law and one of the most prosperous of later Enlightenment publishers. This group of publishers and scholars was also close to those who would publish the *Traité des trois imposteurs* (Treatise of the three imposters, 1719, 1721) designed to problematize the credibility of Jesus, Moses, and Muhammad altogether. But less well known is the fact that both Bernard and Picart were interested in Jesuit missionary texts concerning China, most likely through their fellow Chevalier de jubilation, Prosper Marchand (1678–1756), who had once been a regular collaborator with the Sinophile Jesuit, Tournemine, on the *Mémoires de Trévoux* scarcely a decade before Marchand's conversion to Protestantism and resulting flight into the Low Countries.[45] Bernard and Picart thus reproduced an abridgment of the debates over the nature of Chinese religion based largely in Jesuit writings, but their compendium left the heart of the matter dangling without resolution.[46] The answer implied by *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* seemed to be, in the words of Wijnand Mijnhardt, that "religious customs and ceremonies had kept the people in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas from seeing the universal truths for

44 Wijnand Mijnhardt, "Jean Frédéric Bernard as Author and Publisher," in *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion*, ed. Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute Publications, 2010), 17–34.

45 Ibid., 23–27; on the Tournemine–Marchand connection, see Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand: La vie et l'oeuvre* (*1678–1756*) (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 109–10; Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*; Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

46 According to historian Marcia Reed, the footnotes reference the Jesuit Martino Martini's (1614–61) *Histoire de la Chine*, and *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, Le Comte's *Nouveaux memoires sur l'etat present de la Chine?*, German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher's (1602–80) *Chine illustrée*, and *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (reports from various Jesuit foreign missions): see Marcia Reed, "Bernard Picart on China: 'Curious' Discourses and Images Taken Principally from Jesuit Sources"; and Catherine E. Clark, "Chinese Idols, Religious Art: Questioning Difference in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*," in Hunt, Jacob, and Mijnhardt *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion*, 216; 235–51.

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natural religion."[47] Jesuit texts and philosophical debates thus became, ironically, the stimuli for the further radicalization of the Enlightenment, despite the avowedly Catholic and apologetical mission of the Jesuits themselves.

Though the use to which freethinking Enlightenment authors often put Jesuit works was for the most part quite at variance from the original purpose of the Jesuit missionary-scholars themselves, it is important to note that by the eighteenth century, controversies over whether the *prisca theologia* (pristine theology) was theistic or materialistic divided even Jesuits against themselves. As Marie-Hélène Cotoni has argued, religious writers engaged in many of the same debates as more radical or secular writers. Citations and outright borrowing from all of these diverse sources find themselves entangled within the same clandestine writings that circulated in academies, masonic lodges, lending libraries, salons, and political clubs throughout the eighteenth century.[48] Indeed, the historical research of some Jesuits themselves reached troubling conclusions that could be taken by readers to imply that a kind of materialist atheism may have been just as common as theism in distant antiquity. Nicolò Longobardi (1559–1654), Ricci's successor as leader of the Chinese mission, had already complicated Ricci's original assumption that the Chinese, like all other peoples on earth, were originally monotheistic. Longobardi had discovered that the most ancient Chinese classics possessed no clear idea of immaterial deity, a finding which necessarily implied that the natural religion of humanity might just as easily have been rooted in materialism or atheism. In effect, Longobardi's position is not far from the one espoused by the young Marquis d'Argens (1704–71), who believed that primitive Confucianism had affinities with Spinoza or other materialists.[49] Even Jesuit classical philology closer to

47 Mijnhardt, "Jean Frédéric Bernard as Author and Publisher," 18.

48 Marie-Hélène Cotoni, *L'exégèse du Nouveau Testament dans la philosophie française du dix-huitième siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1984), 124–26, 196; Olivier Bloch, ed., *La matérialisme du XVIIIe siècle et la littérature clandestine: Actes de la table ronde des 6–7 juin 1980* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1982).

49 Jean Baptiste Boyer, le marquis d'Argens, *Lettres chinoises ou correspondence philosophique, historique et critique entre un chinois voyageur & ses correspondans à la Chine, en Moscovie & au Japon*, 6 vols., nouvelle edition augmentée de nouvelles lettres & de quantité de remarques (La Haye: Pierre Paupie, 1769), 1:138–39; Basil Guy, *The French Image of China before and after Voltaire* (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire les Délices, 1963), 116–20; Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, 640–62; David Porter, "China and the Critique of Religious Fanaticism in Eighteenth-Century France," in Lotterie and McMahon, *Les Lumières européens dans leurs relations avec les autres grandes cultures et religions*, 61–80; see also Jonathan I. Israel, "Admiration of China and Classical Chinese Thought in the Radical Enlightenment (1685–1740)," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4, no. 1 (issue 7) (June 2007): 1–25.

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home in Europe proved an unlikely source of Enlightenment religious controversy. Father Alexandre Pierre-Joseph Thoulier d'Olivet (1682–1768), a regular correspondent with Voltaire even after the two began to disagree over the potentially materialist implications of Newton (1643–1727) and Locke, completed a new critical translation of *De natura deorum* (On the nature of the gods) by Cicero (107–44 BCE).[50] *De natura deorum* was highly recommended by Jesuits such as d'Olivet's colleague, Tournemine, for use in Jesuit colleges and schools, yet the critical remarks of d'Olivet's translation implied that the vast majority of Greek philosophers had actually possessed materialist conceptions of the cosmos, and were therefore (as most Catholics then understood it) atheistic.[51] As Kors has noted, this tendency to find atheists lurking behind every tree and under seemingly every rock—among the sages of ancient Greece and Rome as well as those of China—not only globalized the European understanding of the history of religion but may have accomplished as much as Bayle's notion that a morally upright society of atheists was possible in undermining the Catholic doctrine of universal consent that Jesuits, themselves, cherished.[52] Though it cannot be said that Jesuits intended this outcome, it seems hard to dispute that important individual examples of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jesuit erudition ironically contributed to the undermining of one of medieval and early modern Catholicism's most cherished notions—that all peoples originally possessed the same natural theology that declared the glory of one, anthropomorphic, immaterial deity.[53] Kors may be prescient on this score given that *Mémoires de Trévoux* scarcely criticized d'Olivet's translation, and it later circulated in French translation after 1721. Indeed, *De natura deorum* was constantly cited throughout the eighteenth century by popular radical authors including Benoît de Maillet (1656–1738) in *Telliamed* which argues for the plurality of other worlds beyond earth,

50 Father Thoulier was the prefect of Voltaire's residence while the latter was a student at Louis-le-Grand from 1704 to 1711; René Pomeau, "Voltaire au Collège," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 52 (1952): 1–10; Voltaire's acquaintance with Tournemine during the latter's tenure as librarian of the *maison profess* associated with Louis-le-Grand dates to the same time: John Pappas, "L'influence de René-Joseph Tournemine sur Voltaire," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest* (*Anjou, Maine, Touraine*) 83, no. 4 (1976): 727–35; also René Pomeau, *La religion de Voltaire* (Paris: Nizet, 1969), 42.

51 Kors, *Atheism in France*, 1:210–17; [Tournemine], "Instructions des Regens par le Père Tournemine," "Mélanges sur les jésuites, XVIIIe siècle": BnF, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 10946, 318.

52 Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 271–72.

53 Kors, *Atheism in France*, 1:296.

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the possibility that earlier species of humans may have once populated earth, and that the climate and geology of the earth are self-evolving.[54]

In light of the frequency with which eighteenth-century writers uncovered examples of materialism in the traditions of ancient non-European societies like China as much as in the more familiar antiquities of the Greeks and Romans, some *scriptores* felt themselves impelled to devise creative ways of adapting their apologetics accordingly. In a series of reflections on atheism posthumously published in a 1776 revised edition of François Fenelon's (1651–1751) philosophical works, Tournemine went so far as to argue that "there are no true atheists," not even among followers of Spinoza. All atheism is merely the willful attachment to metaphysical confusions that obscure the natural sentiment of humanity that God must exist.[55] Even the Chinese scholar gentry—whom Bayle (1647–1706), Malebranche (1638–1715), d'Argens (1704–71), and the Jesuit Longobardi himself considered to be atheistic—Tournemine reframed as closet theists who possessed erroneous ideas about divinity and nothing more.[56] He continued with grace and beauty to describe the pious metaphysics of the Chinese literati, some of whom were undoubtedly known to Tournemine's pupils and colleagues in the mission field: "One could not speak of the Divinity in terms more magnificent than those employed by the literati of China [...]. They express themselves as we do on the creation, the

54 Ibid., 210–11, 217; [Gerard de Maillet], *Telliamed*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: L'Honoré, 1748), 1:iv–v, xvii–xxi, xxv–xxxiv; for more on Maillet and the *Telliamed*, see Miguel Benítez, *La face cachée des Lumières: Recherches sur les manuscrits philosophiques clandestins de l'âge classique* (Paris: Voltaire Foundation, 1996); Le Mascrier, an ex-Jesuit, republished both the *Telliamed* and Bernard Picart's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des tous les peuples du monde* (originally published between 1723 and 1743): see Lynn Hunt and Margaret Jacob, "Introduction" and Mijnhardt, "Jean Frédéric Bernard as Author and Publisher," in Hunt, Jacob, and Mijnhardt, *Bernard Picart and the First Global Vision of Religion*, 1–13; 117–34; Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *Decoding the Divine: The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of All the Peoples of the World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

55 "Réflexions du Père Tournemine, Jésuite, sur l'athéisme, sur la demonstration de Monseigneur de Cambray, et sur le systême de Spinosa qui ont servi de préface aux deux editions precedents de la *Démonstration*," in François de Salignac de la Motte Fenelon, *Oeuvres philosophiques*, nouvelle édition augmentée des *Réflexions du Pere Tournemine* (Paris: Pierre Delaire, 1776), 377–412.

56 Nicolas Malebranche, *Entretiens d'un philosophe chrétien et d'un philosophe chinois sur l'existence et la nature de Dieu*, in *Thèse complémentaire pour le doctorat ès lettres*, presentées par Augustin Le Moine, Université d'Aix-Marseilles, faculté des Lettres d'Aix (Marseilles: Imprimerie et Lithographie, 1936), 47–92; D'Argens, *Lettres chinoises*, 1:138–48; "Réflexions du Père Tournemine," in Fenelon, *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 381–82.

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conservation of the universe, and providence."[57] Whatever essence God is assumed by "idolaters" to possess, if a people or philosopher continues to ascribe intelligence and agency to it/her/him, then clearly they cannot be called atheists. Atheism, in Tournemine's estimation, is nothing more than skepticism masquerading as bad philosophy with a dash of hubris. In fact, Tournemine's argument actually borrows its thesis—that "surely to forget God is not atheism"[58]—from Bayle, with whom he regularly grappled and, in limited ways, admired.[59] Bayle's work had underscored the observation that some knowledge of God, however obscure, remains a precondition of idolatry (which he had defined as corrupted theism).[60]

The Jesuit notion that efficacious grace had been withdrawn at the fall thus leaving the human soul gradually unable to discern and practice the primitive revelation of God once natural sentiments and perceptions were warped by fear and passions, had led some Jesuits to very distinctive conclusions. For if Spinozan or modern Confucian atheism were really just species of modern idolatry presupposing the complexity and refinement of civilizations in Europe or China, then might not the moral and religious values of supposedly primitive peoples be much closer to that unsullied natural theology practiced by all humankind in its infancy? Certainly, some Jesuits flirted with this possibility throughout the eighteenth century, a fact exemplified by the former director of the Chinese missions, and one-time editor of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Charles Le Gobien (1653–1708).

Le Gobien recounts an address given by a leader of the failed 1685 revolt against the Spanish by the indigenous peoples of Guam. No doubt Le Gobien shapes the narrative according to the narrative conventions of the classical harangue, but how much more then is this evidence of the globalization of Jesuit horizons and their ability to provincialize their own European milieu? Le Gobien's report of the Guam freedom fighter reads as follows:

> We had what our Islands gave us; we relied on that, we did not want anything else. The knowledge they gave us made our needs bigger, our desires

57 "Réflexions du Père Tournemine," in Fenelon, *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 381–82, also 393–94.

58 Ibid., 380.

59 Matytsin notes Tournemine's relatively "warm appraisal" of Bayle, but this does contrast with some of his more assertive critics among the French Jesuits, such as, for example, that of Jacques Le Febvre in *Bayle en petit* (1737): Matytsin, "Specter of Skepticism," 5–55, 119.

60 Thomas M. Lennon, *Reading Bayle* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 109.

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> sharper. […] They think we are simpletons; they look on us as Barbarians. But should we believe them? Is it not clear enough that, by pretending to teach us and polish our customs, they are corrupting us? That they spoil that first simplicity in which we used to live? That they take away our freedom that we should cherish more than life? […] They regard our histories as fables and fictions. Are we not entitled to say the same about what they teach us, asking us to believe it as incontestable truth?[61]

Le Gobien's text (which elsewhere cites Montaigne's *Essays* and went on to inspire Diderot's *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville*) rhetorically dramatized the possibility that, in reclaiming societies for Christ, a relative age of primitive socio-political innocence may also have been lost, and values such as civilization and barbarism are perhaps relative.[62] If, as this chapter has shown, Jesuit contributions to the eighteenth century exist in recursive and mutually constructive dialogue with the more mainstream Enlightenment, while remaining largely separate from the Enlightenment as such, then it must also be said that at least a minority of Jesuits were occasionally willing and able to express views largely identical to more radical thinking concerning the nature of the soul, atheism, the history of religion, and the virtues of primitive societies.

Conclusion

The greatest paradox of Jesuit distinctiveness during the century of the Enlightenment is the fact that they were so often victims of their own prowess as philosophers and sacred historians. In the tremendously popular *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, a story circulated about how Father Tournemine had delivered a sermon at Caen in 1730 in which he was rumored to have exclaimed that the only way to attain rational certainty concerning St. Matthew's authorship of the canonical Gospel that bears his name would be to verify the original Hebrew orthography (a historical impossibility). His point seems to have been that the authority vested in these gospels by Rome was their main source and

61 Charles Le Gobien, *Histoire des Isles Marianes, nouvellement converties à la religion chrestienne; et de la mort glorieuse des premiers missionnaires qui y ont prêché la foy* (Paris, 1700); quoted in Carlo Ginzburg, "Alien Voices: The Dialogic Element in Early Modern Jesuit Historiography," in *History, Rhetoric, and Proof*, ed. Carlo Ginzburg (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 72–73.

62 Ginzburg, "Alien Voices," 73, 79.

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seal of divine inspiration. Father Hardouin also got carried away with textual criticism in his anti-Protestant apologetics, arguing that many texts of the church fathers of late antiquity had been altered or outright forged in the thirteenth century.[63] Within the context of eighteenth-century Jesuit apologetics, both Tournemine and Hardouin were merely attempting to remind readers that the authenticity of scriptures had been vouchsafed by eye-witnesses who then wrote the early texts of the church, which in turn, had been vouchsafed and interpreted by that church as a living monument bereft of sound refutation throughout the centuries in a way that guaranteed an unbroken chain of historical transmission. Taken in another way, however (as increasingly it was by free thinkers, skeptics, and for other reasons, anti-Jesuit polemicists among the Jansenists), the rhetorical skepticism that had served the apologetical pursuits of the Jesuits so well also suggested that they were conceding far too much to skeptics and heretics by appealing directly to the authority of the church for whatever could not be affirmed by individual critical reason and scholarly investigations. If the eighteenth-century Enlightenment is an intellectual revolution of sorts, and if revolutionaries often cannibalize their own forebears, then I would like to suggest that the rise of anti-Jesuit criticism culminating in the suppression of the order was at least in some measure the vengeance of more radical writers of the eighteenth century on their own former teachers despite the best apologetically inclined intentions of the latter.[64]

63 John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 2:542; it must be noted that Jean Hardouin was far too radical for many of his fellow Jesuits, and was himself heavily criticized by them; even Tournemine was his bitter polemical foe: see Michel Pierre Joseph Picot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique pendant le dix-huitième siècle*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Librairie d'Adrien Le Clerc, 1853), 2:452–54.

64 For the relationship of the Jesuit suppressions with Jansenist and Gallican critic, and the rise of anti-Jesuitism in Europe more generally, see Dale K. Van Kley, *The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975); Van Kley, "Jansenism and the International Expulsion of the Jesuits," in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 7: *Reawakening Revolution, 1660–1815*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 302–28.

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CHAPTER 12

One Century of Science: The Jesuit Journal *Brotéria* (1902–2002)

Francisco Malta Romeiras and Henrique Leitão

Introduction

The Jesuits and the History of Science

For historians of science, one of the most distinctive features of the Society of Jesus was its dedication to science and scientific education, especially when compared with other religious orders. The Jesuits' contributions to early modern science have been studied extensively and are now widely known, lending further credence to George Sarton's (1884–1956) dictum that "one cannot study the history of mathematics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries without coming across Jesuits at every corner."[1] Fifty years later, in his book on the history of electricity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, John Heilbron (1934–) echoed this assertion by stating that "the single most important contributor to the support to the study of physics in the seventeenth century was the Catholic Church and, within it, the Society of Jesus."[2] Today, it is clear that Heilbron and Sarton's statements can be extended to other scientific subjects, especially those connected to the mathematical and physical sciences such as astronomy, seismology, meteorology, and engineering.[3]

1 George Sarton, "Preface to Volume 40: An Appeal for the Republication in Book Form of Father Bosmans' Studies on Belgian Mathematics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Isis* 40 (1949): 3–6, here 3.

2 John L. Heilbron, *Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries: A Study of Early Modern Physics* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1999), 2.

3 The literature on Jesuit science is extensive. However, the first attempt at a global synthesis of the scientific history of the Society of Jesus from its foundation to the twentieth century was only published in 2015: Agustín Udías, *Jesuit Contribution to Science: A History* (London: Springer, 2015). The historiography of the scientific practices of the Jesuits is quite uneven and most historians still pay more attention to the early modern period than to the scientific history of the Society after its restoration in 1814. There are some relevant efforts to study the scientific history of the Society as a whole, such as Udías's book on Jesuit observatories, *Searching the Heavens and the Earth: The History of Jesuit Observatories* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2003), which provides a list of all the observatories since the seventeenth century, but most of the books and papers focus on the history of the Jesuits in the sixteenth,

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Despite abundant historical evidence, the emergence of this portrait of the Jesuits as key contributors to the development of early modern science was not as straightforward as one might suppose. According to the traditional "Whiggish" narrative of the scientific revolution, the Society of Jesus was a conservative, sometimes obscurantist institution, and a major obstacle to the development of modern science. The Jesuits were officially bound to teach Aristotelian Scholastic philosophy, and this requirement came to characterize their educational system. In traditional accounts, this formal adhesion to Aristotle's natural philosophy has been identified as one of the main reasons which supposedly hindered them from adopting new philosophical models and scientific theories, such as Heliocentrism.[4] However, as the traditional narrative began to be revised, it became clear that this portrait of the Society was much too simplistic. The notion that there had been Protestant novelty and genius as opposed to Catholic backwardness and conservatism in the evolution of early modern science was gradually deconstructed. As a result, historians began to study the Society's scientific contributions in detail, and it is now clear that this religious order was especially relevant not only for the teaching and practice of science in Europe but also for the circulation of scientific knowledge around the world, and especially between Europe, East Asia, and America.[5]

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seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Among these works, the most relevant are: *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), *The New Science and Jesuit Science: Seventeenth-Century Perspectives*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2003); Marcus Hellyer, *Catholic Physics: Jesuit Natural Philosophy in Early Modern Germany* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2006); *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1999); Ugo Baldini, *Legem impone subactis: Studi su filosofia e scienza dei gesuiti in Italia, 1540–1632* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1992).

4 Analyzing the historiographical consequences of the traditional narrative of the scientific revolution is not the aim of this chapter. For an overview, see Sheila J. Rabin, "Early Modern Jesuit Science: A Historiographical Essay," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 88–104 (doi: 10.1163/22141332-00101006). For modern narratives of the so-called scientific revolution see *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 3: *Early Modern Science*, ed. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996); *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

5 On the circulation of knowledge between Europe and China, see Florence C. Hsia, *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China* (Chicago:

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In the history of the Society of Jesus, there were always groups of men devoted to the teaching and practice of science. The creation of scientific courses and scientific academies within their colleges, the commitment to science for missionary purposes, and in some cases the pursuit of high-level scientific practices makes it impossible to understand the scope and influence of this religious order without considering the science some of its members produced.[6]

The Jesuits and the History of Scientific Popularization in Europe

The "Republic of Letters" that so deeply influenced the intellectual history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe was above all a transnational network of communication between members of the European *literati*. During this period, the increasing amount of academic correspondence, the creation of well-known salons and academies, and the foundation of the first scientific journals played a crucial role in the circulation of knowledge, especially in Europe and North America.[7]

The French Jesuits were aware of the importance of participating in this metaphorical and learned nation, and followed the scientific tradition of the previous centuries by launching the Society's first learned periodical. Published in Trévoux and officially entitled *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des beaux arts* (1701–67), it later became more commonly known as the *Journal de Trévoux*.[8] The journal was founded with the support of Louis-Auguste de Bourbon (1670–1736), the duke of Maine and legitimized son of the French

University of Chicago Press, 2009); Liam M. Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1572–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami, eds., *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and the East Asia, III—The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science* (*1552–1773*) (Singapore: World Scientific, 2008). On the scientific activities of the Jesuits in America see Andrés I. Prieto, *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570–1810* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011).

6 The expression "scientist" can be anachronistic when applied to scientific practitioners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this chapter, we use it as a general category to refer to mathematicians, astronomers, natural philosophers, and other classical early modern scientific practitioners.

7 Among the most renowned initiatives of the Republic of Letters are the foundation of the Académie Française (1635), the Royal Society (1660), and the Académie des Sciences (1666), and the publication of two learned journals: the *Journal des sçavans* (first printed in January 1665) and the *Philosophical Transactions* (first printed in March 1665).

8 On the history of the *Journal de Trévoux* see Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard and Michel Froeschlé, "'Sciences et Arts' dans les *Mémoires de Trévoux* (1701–1762)," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 48, no. 1 (2001): 30–49; Jean Laponce, "The Jesuits and Science in Eighteenth-Century France: An Analysis of Scientific Writings in the *Journal of Trévoux*"

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king Louis XIV (1638–1715), and was especially relevant not only for the scientific history of the Society of Jesus but also for its role in disseminating modern scientific research to a broad audience.

Its foundation at the beginning of the eighteenth century was associated with two central religious affairs in this period: the controversies surrounding the expansion of Jansenism and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which led to the expatriation of French Calvinists. With the publication of a periodical such as the *Journal de Trévoux*, the French Jesuits had found an efficient vehicle to put forth their points of view and participate in those religious quarrels.[9] Yet while the *Journal de Trévoux* is known for its role in the defense of Cartesianism in France and for its articles on physics and mathematics, it was in fact a very eclectic periodical. The wide array of subjects it covered, including theology, philosophy, history, law, economics, natural history, astronomy, fine arts, medicine, and agriculture, and the high-quality of its scholarship, distinguished it, together with the *Journal des Sçavans*, as one of the most important learned journals to be published in France during the Enlightenment.[10]

In 1750, following the success of the *Journal de Trévoux*, the Italian Jesuit Francesco Antonio Zaccaria (1714–95) founded an encyclopedic journal entitled *Storia letteraria d'Italia*. Each one of its volumes, which were published between 1750 and 1759, contained a section exclusively dedicated to science with articles commenting on modern books and scientific topics in numerous fields such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, medicine, and astronomy. Apart from describing scientific novelties, which constituted the core of the scientific section, the authors also described their astronomical observations, such as the observation of solar eclipses, lunar eclipses, and the transit of Mercury.[11] Yet *Storia letteraria d'Italia* would have a short and controversial life. As Zaccaria and his collaborators became increasingly virulent but "failed to silence their most vociferous critics," the "enthusiasm of Zaccaria's ecclesiastical superiors" diminished, leading the Jesuit superior general Ignazio Visconti

(MSc. diss., University of British Columbia, 1990). On the involvement of the Jesuits in the Republic of Letters see also Feingold, *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*.

9 Laponce, "Jesuits and Science in Eighteenth-Century France," 23–24.

10 For a thematic index of the articles published in the *Journal de Trévoux*, see Carlos Sommervogel S.J., *Table méthodique des* Mémoires de Trévoux (*1701–1775*) (Paris: Imprimerie de E. Donnaud, 1864–65).

11 Brendan Dooley, "The *Storia letteraria d'Italia* and the Rehabilitation of Jesuit Science," in Feingold, *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*, 433–73. *Storia letteraria d'Italia* described the observations of the solar eclipses of January 8 and June 19, 1750, the lunar eclipse of June 8, 1751, and the transit of Mercury on May 5, 1753.

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(1682–1755) to intervene and institute pre-publication censorship. When the controversies surrounding its articles continued to linger on, Superior General Lorenzo Ricci (1703–75) requested its suspension "for the better interest of the order" and, despite its commercial success and the efforts of Francesco III (1698–1780), duke of Modena, to secure its subsistence, publication of the *Storia letteraria d'Italia* was finally suspended in 1759.[12]

In the nineteenth century, the Jesuits revived their determination to edit learned periodicals directed at a broad audience, with *La Civiltà Cattolica* being the first journal to appear after the restoration of the Society in 1814. Founded in Naples by Carlo Maria Curci, S.J. (1810–91) in April 1850, the journal's first issue stated that its main purpose was to provide a careful and logical explanation of Catholic doctrine and moral principles.[13] From 1866 onwards, after the foundation of a house of writers exclusively committed to its publication, *La Civiltà Cattolica* fell under the jurisdiction of the Roman Curia and of Pius IX (r.1846–78), who instructed the Jesuits to dedicate themselves to refuting the heterodox doctrines circulating in the press. The authors of *La Civiltà Cattolica* consequently participated in the main political, philosophical, theological, and scientific quarrels of the day, thus establishing the journal as one of the most important cultural Italian periodicals.[14]

In 1856, only six years after the foundation of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, the Jesuits founded the cultural magazine *Études religieuses, philosophiques, historiques et littéraires* in Paris. As a periodical aimed at a wide audience, *Études*, as it came to be known, published articles on subjects such as architecture, archeology, history, geography, demography, education, sociology, law, politics, philosophy, and theology. It also addressed controversial topics of especial interest to the defense of the Catholic faith, such as freemasonry, positivism, Protestantism, and Jansenism.[15] Following the example of the *Journal de Trévoux* and of the *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, *Études* also published popular scientific articles on

12 Dooley, "*Storia letteraria d'Italia* and the Rehabilitation of Jesuit Science," 459.

13 "Il giornalismo moderno ed il nostro programma," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 1 (1850): 5–24.

14 On the history of *La Civiltà Cattolica* from 1850 to 1999, see Giuseppe de Rosa, S.J., La Civiltà Cattolica: *150 anni al servizio della Chiesa, 1850–1999* (Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1999).

15 For the reconstruction of the main subjects covered by the journal *Études* from 1856 to 1924, see the following indexes: *Études religieuses, philosophiques, historiques et littéraires publiée par des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus. Table générale des vingt-cinq premières années (1856–1880)* (Paris: Victor Retaux & Fils, Éditeurs, c.1880); *Études publiées par des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus. Table générale des années 1880 a 1900* (Paris: Victor Retaux, Librairie-Éditeur, c.1900); *Études. Tables des années 1911–1924* (Paris: Bureau des *Études*, 1926).

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botany, physiology, physics, chemistry, astronomy, meteorology, medicine, and hygiene, and covered polemical issues in the history of science such as Darwinism and the Galileo affair.[16] However, the period in which the French Jesuits most actively engaged in popularizing scientific research only corresponds to the first quarter of the history of *Études* (1856–80), as the journal's focus on scientific themes gradually diminished in the years that followed.

The success of *La Civiltà Cattolica* and *Études* inspired the foundation of other Jesuit cultural magazines such as *The Month* (England, 1864), *Stimmen der Zeit* (Germany, 1865), *Razón y fé* (Spain, 1901), and *America* (United States, 1909), to name but a few. With the publication of *Razón y fé*, as the title itself suggested, the Jesuits aspired to participate in the controversies related to the so-called conflict between science and faith, and thus contribute to the discussion and acceptance of the compatibilist thesis. In its opening issue, they justified the publication of the new journal by arguing that the "public tribune of the press" was the best stage to dispute the "clamor of false science, untruthful philosophy and corrupting literature," which had been undermining Catholic doctrine.[17] For the editors, the foundation of *Razón y fé* was firmly rooted in the ideological and political struggles of Pius VII (r.1800–23), Leo XII (r.1823–29), Gregory XVI (r.1831–46), and Pius IX against modernism, as well as addressing the need to foster the development of a Catholic culture. In one editorial contesting the views of anticlerical critics, they recalled the encyclical *Immortale Dei* (1885), in which Leo XIII (r.1878–1903) openly declared the church's support of science: "whatsoever spreads the range of knowledge will always be willingly and even joyfully welcomed by the Church. She will always encourage and promote, as she does in other branches of knowledge, all study occupied with the investigation of nature."[18] While describing the publication of the

16 From 1856 and 1880, the following articles criticized Darwinism and commented on the Galileo affair: V. Becker, "Un duel darwiniste (Haeckel et His)," *Études* 21 (1877): 672–88; J. de Bonniot, "Darwinisme et logique," *Études* 16(1872): 423–43; I. Carbonnelle, "Le darwinisme, théorie et objections," *Études* 14 (1869): 472–82; E. Desjardins, "M. Mézières et le procès de Galilée," *Études* 21 (1877): 273–81; A. de Gabriac, "Galilée devant la science, la religion et la littérature," *Études* 12 (1867): 528–47.

17 "Y como contra las afirmaciones y negaciones católicas se ha levantado hace tiempo el clamoreo de la falsa ciencia, la mentida filosofía y la literatura corruptora, de ahí también que se haya impuesto la necesidad de combatirlas, no sólo desde la cátedra del Espíritu Santo ó desde las cátedras del público magisterio, sino desde la pública tribuna de la prensa": "À los lectores," *Razón y fé* I (1901): 1–5, here 2.

18 Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei* (Rome: November 1, 1855). English translation available from http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals.

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journal as part of a broader apostolic mission, the editorial's authors also resorted to the warlike metaphors of Ignatius of Loyola (*c*.1491–1556) and presented themselves as the last "soldiers" of an "army" that always fought for the greater glory of God.[19]

The journal sought to publish scientific articles that would appeal to specialists and non-specialists alike. During the initial years of its publication, *Razón y fé* documented some of the Society's scientific activities in Spain, with articles describing the astronomical and meteorological observatory in Granada, for instance, or one which provided an account of a Jesuit naturalist who was traveling through the region of Galicia identifying and classifying novel botanical species.[20] It is clear from these articles that the Spanish Jesuits were aiming to present themselves not only as defenders of the compatibility of faith and science but also as active and modern practitioners of sciences such as astronomy, meteorology, and natural history.

While they were published in very different historical, political, and geographical contexts, the journals mentioned above served a common purpose: to display the willingness and ability of the Jesuits to participate in the major philosophical, theological, political, and scientific debates of their time. Moreover, as well as the voice of the Society of Jesus, the journals also served to convey the unofficial voice of the Holy See.

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19 "Ese es su santo y seña, que únicamente no entienden ni creen los enemigos de la Iglesia, de la patria y de la verdad. Pero es un santo y seña que entienden los buenos católicos. A tiempo llegamos; pues si no es esta la hora de la victoria, es, según todos los prenuncios, la hora del sacrificio. Y si no nos cabe la dicha de ver el triunfo completo de la verdad, de la Iglesia y de la patria, nos cabrá al menos, en compañía de los demás combatientes, la inmerecida gloria de morir por la Iglesia, por la patria y por la verdad, que son inmortales": "A los lectores," 4–5.

20 On the observatory of Granada, see Juan Granero, S.J., "El Observatorio astronómico, geodinámico y meteorológico de Granada," *Razón y fé* 3 (1902): 222–25; Granero, "Observatorio de Granada," *Razón y fé* 3 (1902): 512–20; Ramón Martínez, S.J., "Observatorio de Granada Sección metereológica," *Razón y fé* 4 (1902): 478–90; Juan Granero, S.J., "Observatorio de Granada. Sección astronómica," *Razón y fé* 5 (1903): 339–47. Apart from the textual descriptions, these articles were also accompanied by photographs and illustrations of the scientific instruments. On the journey through Galicia, see Baltasar Merino, S.J., "Viajes de herborización por Galicia," *Razón y fé* 1 (1901): 95–98; Merino, "Viajes de herborización por Galicia (II)," *Razón y fé* 2 (1902): 82–89; Merino, "Viajes de herborización por Galicia (III)," *Razón y fé* 2 (1902): 367–73; Merino, "Viajes de herborización por Galicia (IV)," *Razón y fé* 4 (1902): 82–93; and Merino, "Viajes de herborización por Galicia (V)," *Razón y fé* 5 (1903): 348–60.

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The Journal *Brotéria* (1902–2002)

The Foundation of a Scientific Journal

In 1902, a group of teachers from the Colégio de São Fiel, a Jesuit college in a small Portuguese town, began to publish a scientific journal, *Brotéria*, the first Jesuit periodical devoted exclusively to science (Figure 12.1).[21]

Brotéria, which borrowed its name from the prominent Portuguese naturalist Félix Avelar Brotero (1744–1828), was initially intended to disseminate scientific work on botany and zoology by Portuguese naturalists. The journal was established by the Jesuits Joaquim da Silva Tavares (1866–1931), Cândido de Azevedo Mendes (1874–1943), and Carlos Zimmermann (1871–1950), naturalists and teachers of natural science at the Colégio de São Fiel, and aimed to present research concerning the identification and description of novel zoological and botanical species. At that time, this was the main field of research in which the journal's founders were engaged. To justify their scientific program and gain approval to publish *Brotéria*, the three Jesuit naturalists recalled the famous metaphor of the "Two Books" by stating that the journal's main objective was to increase awareness of their research and to promote science in Portugal, which would in turn contribute to an improved understanding of God's mysteries:[22]

> We rejoice in the idea that our contributions, as insignificant as they might be, can disseminate the taste for the natural sciences in our country. The natural world is a vast book, which has many pages to be opened. The name of our grand Creator is written on each of them. When opening these pages, what greater satisfaction could anyone have than unveiling the greatness of God, which is stamped equally on the immensity of the

21 The complete title of this journal in the opening issue was *Brotéria—Revista de sciencias naturaes do Collegio de S. Fiel*. However, it became known simply as *Brotéria*. On the scientific history of *Brotéria* see Francisco Malta Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética: A divulgação científica na revista *Brotéria* (1902–2002) e o ensino científico da Companhia de Jesus nos séculos XIX e XX em Portugal" (PhD diss., University of Lisbon, 2014), 173–309; Francisco Malta Romeiras, "The Journal *Brotéria* (1902–2002): Jesuit Science in the 20th Century," *HoST: Journal for the History of Science and Technology* 6 (2012): 100–9; Francisco Malta Romeiras and Henrique Leitão, "Jesuítas e ciência em Portugal. IV—A revista *Brotéria—Sciencias naturaes* e a sua recepção nacional e internacional," *Brotéria* 174 (2012): 323–33.

22 For a detailed historical account of the metaphor of the "Two Books," see Olaf Pedersen, *The Two Books: Historical Notes on Some Interactions between Natural Science and Theology* (Vatican: Vatican Observatory Foundation, 2007).

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> world and on the myriad of tiny animals and plants, whose existence only the microscope can uncover?[23]

Despite the apostolic intention behind its creation, *Brotéria* was conceived as a scientific journal focused on the publication of original botanical and zoological research, not only by Jesuits but also lay scientists. Hence, unlike other contemporary learned periodicals the Society published, *Brotéria* was not an apologetic magazine with a scientific section, but a strictly scientific journal. Rather than promoting intellectual debates on the compatibility of science and faith, the Portuguese Jesuits sought to present their own scientific accomplishments and thus their direct participation in the development of Portuguese science. Their undeclared objective was to project a public image of the Jesuits as active and competent scientists, something which could not be achieved by producing an apologetic journal.

It is likely that the decision to start publishing *Brotéria* was made in response to the adverse cultural environment prevailing at the time of the Society's restoration in Portugal. Although a long period had elapsed since the marquis of Pombal's expulsion of the Jesuits in the eighteenth century (1759) and the restoration of the Society of Jesus in the nineteenth century (1858), accusations of obscurantism and scientific conservatism—one of the vectors of Pombal's attack—still haunted the Portuguese Jesuits.[24]

The need to contradict this accusation, together with the increasing importance of science in the late nineteenth century, shaped their new apostolates and initiatives. The Portuguese Jesuits not only had to face contemporary adversaries but also a historical legacy that was seriously tainting their image, and this helps explain why their scientific activities featured so prominently in the journal and their educational and cultural initiatives more broadly. The creation of *Brotéria* was the highpoint of a set of initiatives in the Portuguese Jesuit colleges which included the creation of modern chemistry and physics

23 "Duas palavras de introdução," *Brotéria* 1 (1902), v; the original reads: "A ideia de concorrermos, por pouco que seja, para propagar o gosto das sciencias naturaes em nossa patria enche-nos de alegria. A natureza é um livro immenso, que tem ainda muitas folhas por abrir. Ora em todas ellas se encontra escrito o nome augusto do Creador. E será acaso pequena satisfacção ao abril-as mostrar nellas a grandeza de Deus, que tanto se estampa na immensidade do mundo, como na extrema pequenez, de myriades de animaes e planas, cuja existencia só o microscopio nos revela?"

24 For a detailed account of the history and relevance of this stubborn accusation see Francisco Malta Romeiras and Henrique Leitão, "The Role of Science in the History of Portuguese Anti-Jesuitism," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2, no. 1 (2015): 77–99 (doi: 10.1163/22141332-00201004).

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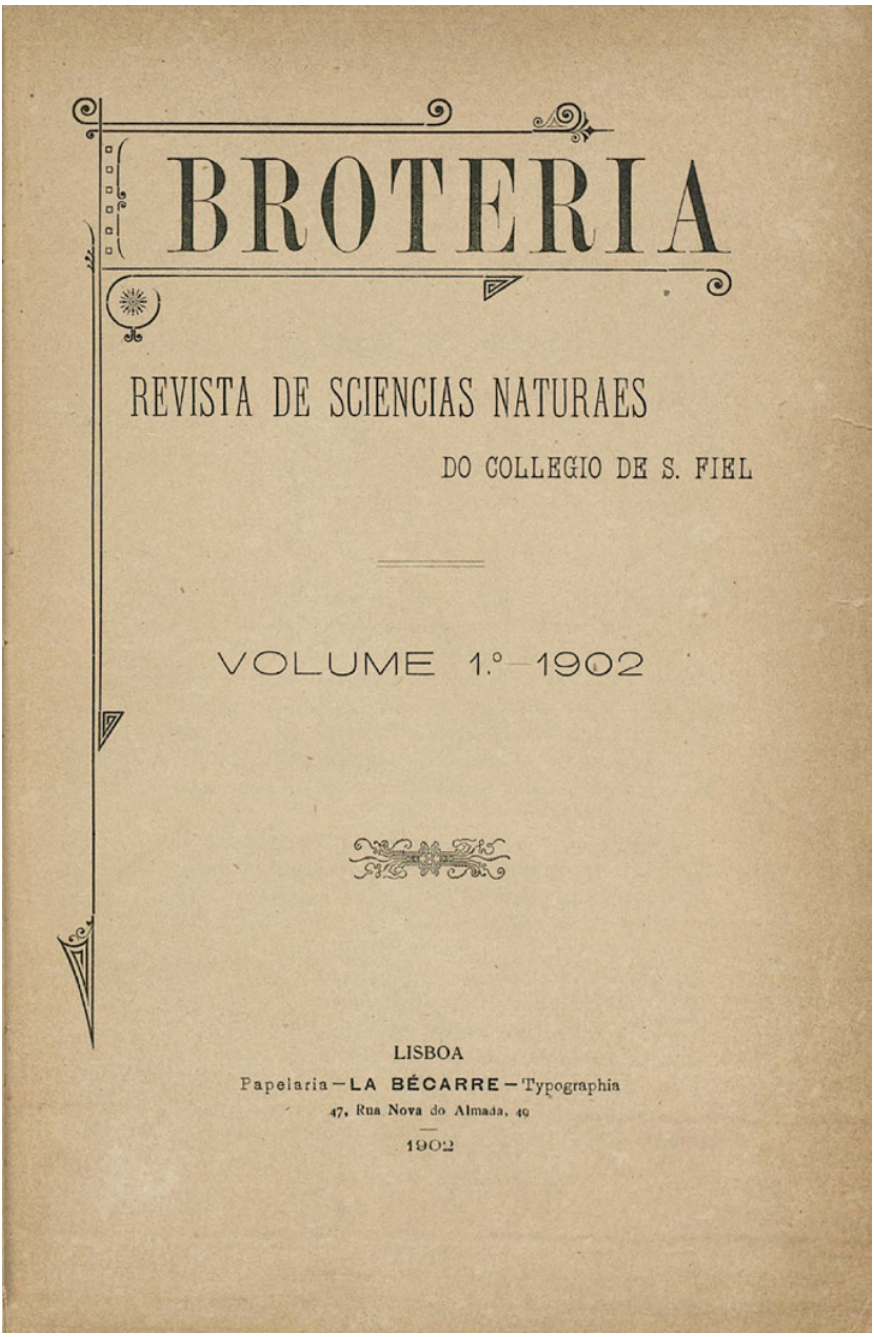
BROTERIA

REVISTA DE SCIENCIAS NATURAES

DO COLLEGIO DE S. FIEL

VOLUME 1.º—1902

LISBOA

Papelaria—LA BÉCARRE—Typographia

47, Rua Nova do Almada, 49

1902

FIGURE 12.1 *Cover of the first issue of the Journal* Brotéria, *October 1902*
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laboratories, the curation of natural history collections, the promotion of scientific expeditions with students (to observe eclipses or to collect zoological and botanical specimens), the founding of scientific academies, and the promotion of hands-on experimental teaching of the natural sciences.[25]

The First Thirty Years: The Consolidation of a Taxonomical Journal (1902–1931)

From 1902 to 2002, *Brotéria* published around 1,300 scientific articles covering a variety of fields including botany, zoology, plant breeding, biochemistry, and molecular genetics. Its initial focus on identifying, describing, and classifying novel species played an important part in the development of the botanical and zoological sciences. The taxonomical work published in its pages described more than two thousand new species of animals and plants, pertaining in most cases to the Portuguese, Spanish, Brazilian, and German fauna and flora, and *Brotéria* soon caught the attention not only of Portuguese naturalists but also of international taxonomists. The significance of *Brotéria* as a taxonomical journal is clear not only from the praise the journal received from some of Portugal's most prominent naturalists but also by the inclusion of the species it described in the annual catalogs of international journals such as the *American Naturalist*, the *Journal of Mycology*, and the *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club*, the first American journal devoted to botany.[26]

Following some changes to the editorial structure in 1907, the articles on botany and zoology were published in two separate series: the *Botânica* and the *Zoologia* series,[27] both of which were published until 1931. They shared a common taxonomical program, yet while the articles on botany covered a variety of taxa (diatoms, mosses, fungi, lichens, and phanerogams [i.e., plants that

25 For a detailed description and discussion of the scientific activities developed in the Colégio de São Fiel (1863–1910) and in the Colégio de Campolide (1858–1910), see Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 100–49; Francisco Malta Romeiras and Henrique Leitão, "Jesuítas e ciência em Portugal. III. As expedições científicas e as observações dos eclipses solares de 1900 e 1905," *Brotéria* 174 (2012): 227–37; Francisco Malta Romeiras and Henrique Leitão, "Jesuítas e ciência em Portugal. II. Carlos Zimmermann S.J. e o ensino da microscopia vegetal," *Brotéria* 174 (2012): 113–25.

26 On the national and international reception of *Brotéria*, see Francisco Malta Romeiras and Henrique Leitão, "Jesuítas e ciência em Portugal. IV—A revista *Brotéria—Sciencias naturaes* e a sua recepção nacional e internacional," *Brotéria* 174 (2012): 323–33.

27 The series *Botânica*, *Zoologia*, and *Vulgarização científica* were published alternately. The series *Vulgarização científica* was published in January, March, May, July, September, and November; the series *Zoologia* in February, June, and October; and the series *Botânica* in April, August, and December.

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produce seeds]), the articles on zoology focused mainly on entomology, thus coinciding with the scientific interests of Silva Tavares and Azevedo Mendes, who were both entomologists.

As well as research on the continental fauna and flora of Portugal, *Brotéria*'s authors also described the fauna and flora overseas, especially in Madeira, Azores, Mozambique, and Angola. The Portuguese Jesuit missions in Mozambique and Angola played an important part in this endeavor as the missionaries were often instructed to collect new specimens of animals and plants and send them to Portugal to be identified, described, and classified. One example of this circulation of knowledge, which emphasizes the important role *Brotéria* played in identifying new zoological species, involves the correspondence between two Jesuit brothers: João Azevedo Mendes (1883–1940), a missionary in Africa (Angola and Mozambique), and Cândido de Azevedo Mendes, an entomologist specializing in the identification and classification of lepidopterans (i.e., moths and butterflies), during the latter's exile in Salamanca following the republican expulsion of the Portuguese Jesuits in 1910. Although he was not a naturalist, João Azevedo Mendes collected new African specimens of moths and butterflies at the request of his brother,[28] and hence the correspondence between the two allowed Cândido de Azevedo Mendes to study the entomological fauna of Angola and Mozambique. As in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the communication between members of the Society of Jesus again proved crucial for the circulation of scientific knowledge.

Botanical and zoological knowledge and the specimens themselves were also shared with lay botanists and zoologists as well as Jesuits. The motive for sharing these specimens between the authors whose articles appeared in *Brotéria* and other scientists was the need to validate hypothetical new botanical or zoological species, especially when the collector was not an expert on that taxon. An interesting example of this was the description of *Centaurea luisieri*, a previously unknown species of thistle (Figure 12.2),[29] which had been collected in 1915 by the Jesuit Alphonse Luisier (1872–1957) near Salamanca, and sent to the Portuguese botanist Gonçalo Sampaio (1865–1937) of the University of Oporto.

As neither man was an expert on thistles—Luisier specialized in identifying mosses while Sampaio was an expert in the description of lichens—they asked

28 On the African species described see Cândido Azevedo Mendes, S.J., "Lepidoptera africana I. Ex Zambezia lusitana," *Brotéria—Zoologia* 10 (1912): 183–91; Cândido Azevedo Mendes, S.J., "Lepidoptera africana II. Ex Angola lusitana," *Brotéria—Zoologia* 10 (1912): 191–93.

29 Gonçalo Sampaio, "*Centaurea luisieri* (sp. n.)," *Brotéria—Botânica* 14 (1916): 104–5.

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FIGURE 12.2 Centaurea luisieri
ADAPTED FROM *BROTÉRIA—BOTÂNICA 14* (1916): STAMP II.
CREDITS: ARCHIVES OF THE JOURNAL *BROTÉRIA*

another botanist to confirm their discovery. After traveling from Salamanca to Oporto, the thistle sample was consequently sent to Júlio Henriques (1838–1928) in Coimbra, who was one of the most renowned Portuguese botanists of his day.[30] Upon receiving confirmation from Henriques that it was indeed a

30 Henriques was the founder and director of the taxonomical journal *Boletim da Sociedade Broteriana* and was also in charge of the museum and botanical garden of the University of Coimbra.

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new species, Sampaio described the discovery in the pages of *Brotéria* and named it *Centaurea luisieri* in homage to Father Luisier, who had collected it.[31]

In a period when the networks of scientific correspondence were particularly relevant for the identification, description, and classification of novel species, *Brotéria* established itself as an international journal of taxonomy with works from renowned Portuguese and foreign botanists and zoologists.[32] The establishment and maintenance of these networks, which transcended the boundaries of the Society of Jesus, not only contributed to the circulation of knowledge but also to *Brotéria*'s national and international scientific prestige.

Financial Problems and the Foundation of a Popular Scientific Magazine

Between 1902 and 1906, *Brotéria* was directed at an academic audience. In this period, the Portuguese Jesuits exchanged their journal with more than one hundred national and international scientific magazines.[33] This enabled the research published in *Brotéria* to reach a wide audience, but it also led to significant financial problems. As the journal specialized in identifying and

31 Gonçalo Sampaio, "*Centaurea luisieri* (sp. n.)," 105. For more examples of the circulation of specimens between the Jesuits and other botanists and zoologists see Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 245–71.

32 The most important authors in *Brotéria* between 1902 and 1932 can be subdivided according to two mutually non-exclusive criteria: nationality and belonging to the Society of Jesus. According to these criteria, the most relevant authors in this period are: (a) botanists of the Portuguese province of the Society of Jesus: Alphonse Luisier (1872–1957), Camilo Torrend (1875–1961), Carlos Zimmermann (1871–1950), and Joaquim da Silva Tavares (1866–1931); (b) foreign Jesuit botanists: Baltasar Merino (1845–1916), Longino Navás (1858–1938), Johann Rick (1869–1946), Fernando Theissen (1877–1919), and Jaime Pujiula (1869–1958); (c) non-Jesuit Portuguese botanists: José d'Ascenção Guimarães (1862–1922), Gonçalo Sampaio (1865–1937), and Júlio Henriques (1838–1928); (d) non-Jesuit foreign botanists: Erwin Baur (1875–1933), Romualdo González Fragoso (1862–1928), Carlos Pau y Español (1857–1937), and Emili Huguet i Serratacó (1871–1951), also known as Huguet del Villar; (e) zoologists of the Portuguese province of the Society of Jesus: Cândido de Azevedo Mendes (1874–1943) and Joaquim da Silva Tavares (1866–1931); (f) foreign Jesuit zoologists Longino Navás (1858–1938); Pelegrín Franganillo-Balboa (1873–1955), Jean-Jacques Kieffer (1857–1925); (g) non-Jesuit Portuguese zoologists: José Maximiano Corrêa de Barros and Carlos França (1877–1926); and (h) non-Jesuit foreign zoologists: Alfredo Corti (1880–1973), Charles Brues (1879–1955), Mario Bezzi (1868–1927), Paul Choffat (1849–1919), and Per Olof Christopher Aurivillius (1843–1928).

33 Instead of just selling *Brotéria* to their readers, Portuguese Jesuits also interchanged it with other scientific journals. This editorial practice, still common today, allowed them to diffuse their works and it facilitated their access to other modern scientific journals.

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classifying new species of animals and plants, its primary readership was made up of professional botanists and zoologists, and as these scientists directly collaborated with some of the journals that permuted with *Brotéria*, they could easily access the journal and, more importantly, they could do so for free.[34] The number of paying non-academic subscribers, on the other hand, was largely insignificant, which meant that the revenue from subscriptions was insufficient for covering the costs of publication. To compensate for the lack of individual subscriptions, in 1907 Silva Tavares restructured *Brotéria* by dividing it into three separate periodicals: the two scientific series already mentioned, *Botânica* and *Zoologia*, and a popular scientific periodical, *Vulgarização científica*.[35] *Vulgarização científica*, which was written entirely in Portuguese, was directed at "less instructed people" and was designed to make a profit and thus cover the expenses of the *Zoologia* and *Botânica* series, whose articles, in English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin, were only of interest to professional botanists and zoologists.[36] The journal published more than 450 articles on chemistry, physics, agriculture, commerce and industry, medicine and hygiene, seismology, geography, and archaeology between 1907 and 1924, when it ceased publication, and played an important role in disseminating knowledge of these subjects to a non-specialist Portuguese readership.

In 1913, following the success of *Vulgarização científica*, the Spanish Jesuits from the Observatorio del Ebro started to publish *Ibérica* (1913–36; 1945–2004), a weekly magazine devoted to "general scientific culture."[37] The journal's principal objective of making "science accessible to everyone" was encapsulated in its subtitle: "El progreso de las ciencias y de sus aplicaciones." *Ibérica* went on to become one of the most important popular scientific journals in Spain with its articles on physics and the natural sciences, astronomy, meteorology, seismology,

34 On this, see Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 194–202.

35 As the publication of *Vulgarização científica* was insufficient to secure the publication of *Brotéria*, the successive editors adopted other strategies which proved to be rather effective, such as the plea for benefactors, the publication of advertisements, and the attraction of public funds from the national agency for science.

36 "Prólogo," *Brotéria—Vulgarização científica* 6 (1907): 7.

37 Ricard Cicera, S.J., "La ciencia al alcance de todos," *Ibérica* Spécimen A (1913): 1–5, here 1; the original reads: "La revista semanal que designamos con este nombre *Ibérica* tiene por fin la cultura general científica, no limitándola a las ciencias astronómicas, aun tomadas en toda su amplitud, sino extendiéndola a todas las ciencias y a un a sus múltiples y casi infinitas aplicaciones."

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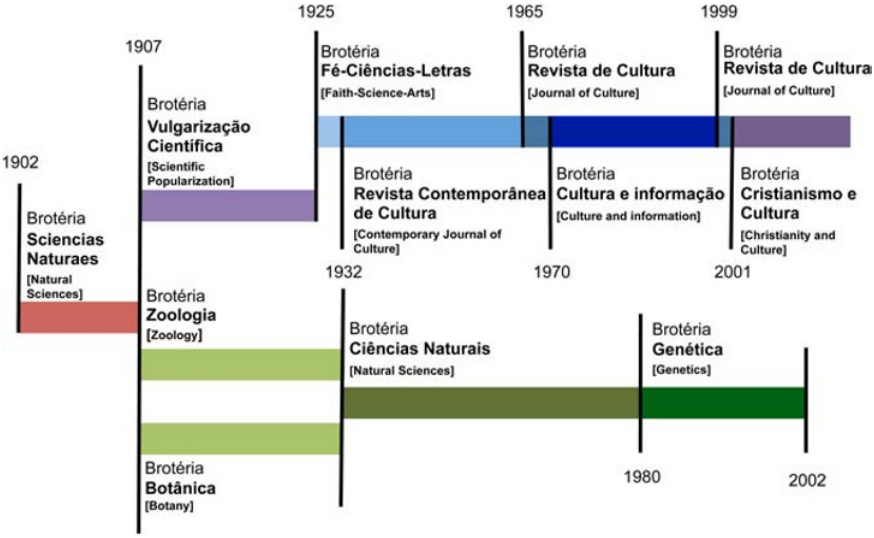

FIGURE 12.3 *Editorial evolution of the journal* Brotéria
CREDITS: ADAPTED FROM *FÉ, CIÊNCIA, CULTURA: BROTÉRIA-100 ANOS*, EDITED BY HERMÍNIO RICO, S.J., AND JOSÉ EDUARDO FRANCO (LISBON: GRADIVA, 2003), 101

and geophysics.[38] Although it shared certain similarities with *Brotéria*, like the Portuguese *Vulgarização científica*, the journal was primarily aimed at a popular, non-specialist readership, and hence differed from *Brotéria*'s research series *Botânica* and *Zoologia*.

In 1925, Silva Tavares broadened the aims of the *Vulgarização científica* by transforming it into a cultural, philosophical, and humanistic periodical which still exists and continues to be edited by the Portuguese Jesuits today (Figure 12.3). This so-called "cultural" *Brotéria*, which was published alongside the "scientific" *Brotéria* series, was consistently regarded as a high-quality journal, especially for its articles on philosophy, theology, and history, which were written by some of the most learned Portuguese Jesuits of the twentieth century such as Manuel Antunes (1918–85), António Leite (1911–2004), Domingos

38 On the history of Observatorio del Ebro and the journal *Ibérica* see Josep Battló and David Altadill, "The Ebre Observatory—Its Path to Ionospheric Research," *Advances in Space Research* 39, no. 5 (2007): 941–46; Nestor Herran, "'Science to the Glory of God': The Popular Science Magazine *Ibérica* and Its Coverage of Radioactivity," *Science and Education* 21 (2012): 335–53; Pascual Bolufer, "Science and Technology in the 20th Century as Seen through the Journal *Ibérica* (1914–2003)," *Contributions to Science* 7, no. 2 (2011): 185–90; Maria Genescà-Sitjes, "*Ibérica* magazine (1913–2004) and the Ebro Observatory," *Contributions to Science* 9 (2013): 159–68.

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Maurício (1896–1978), and João Pereira Gomes (1917–2002).[39] Given the diversity of the subjects it covered, and its apologetic program, the cultural *Brotéria*, unlike the scientific *Brotéria*, is comparable to the other learned magazines the Society of Jesus published such as *Razón y fé*, *Études*, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, *Stimmen der Zeit*, *Przegląd Powszechny* (Poland, 1883), *Studies* (Ireland, 1902), *Aggiornamenti sociali* (Italy, 1950), *Mensaje* (Chile, 1951), and *Choisir* (Switzerland, 1959).

Brotéria *and Portuguese Science during the Early Years of Estado Novo* **(1932–57)**

After Silva Tavares's death in 1931, Luisier took over the editorship of *Brotéria* and merged the two scientific series—*Botânica* and *Zoologia*—into a unique scientific magazine entitled *Brotéria—Ciências naturais*. Although he viewed this measure as a temporary one, in practice the unified journal continued to be published until 1980 (Figure 12.3).[40] As in previous years, *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* published research papers on zoology and botany, but it also began to publish research by Portuguese scientists working at public laboratories and scientific institutes, such as the National Agronomic Station (Lisbon), the Botanical Institute of the Faculty of Sciences (Lisbon), and the Botanical Institute Dr Gonçalo Sampaio (Porto).[41] Thus, a Jesuit periodical became one of the leading channels for the publication of Portuguese biological research.

The interaction between the researchers of the Botanical Institute of Lisbon and *Brotéria* began in the early 1940s. The first issue of *Brotéria—Ciências naturais*, published in February 1942, contained one of five articles in a series by Carlos Neves Tavares (1914–72) describing "novel or interesting" species of lichens collected on Portuguese mountains.[42] Similarly, the second

39 On the appraisal of the cultural *Brotéria* see Hermínio Rico, S.J., and José Eduardo Franco, eds., *Fé, ciência, cultura:* Brotéria—*100 anos* (Lisbon: Gradiva, 2003). For critical editions of the work of Manuel Antunes and João Pereira Gomes see respectively: José Eduardo Franco, ed., *Obra completa do Padre Manuel Antunes* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2007–12), which comprises fourteen volumes, and Henrique Leitão and José Eduardo Franco, eds., *Jesuítas, ciência e cultura em Portugal: Obra selecta do Pe. João Pereira Gomes SJ* (Lisbon: Esfera do Caos, 2012).

40 Afonso Luisier, S.J., "Prólogo," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 1 (1932): 7–8.

41 For more details on the scientific history of *Brotéria* under the direction of Luisier see Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 271–87.

42 He collected lichens on Serra de Sintra, Serra da Estrela, Serra da Lousã, Serra do Gerês, Serra de Monchique, and Serra do Buçaco. Carlos das Neves Tavares, "Notas liquenológicas," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 11 (1942): 42–48. In the following years, Tavares continued publishing his research on lichens in *Brotéria*: Carlos das Neves Tavares, "Líquenes da Serra da Estrela (contribuição para o seu estudo)," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 14 (1945):

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issue, published in 1942, contained work by another member of this institute, the promising botanist and geneticist Flávio Resende (1907–67), which had been produced in cooperation with Karl von Poellnitz (1896–1945) and described novel varieties of the succulent plant *Haworthia tessellata*.[43]

The most prolific authors based at the Porto Botanical Institute whose articles appeared in *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* included Manuel Cabral Resende Pinto (1911–90), Arnaldo Rozeira (1912–84), and Joaquim Sampaio (1899–*c*.1965), son of the renowned botanist Gonçalo Sampaio. Resende Pinto was a prominent mycologist who had published several articles on Portuguese fungi in *Brotéria*, and his detailed catalog on *Hymenomycetes*, published in *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* between 1942 and 1945, became one of his most significant taxonomic works.[44] Rozeira, meanwhile, had published two of his most important works of the 1940s in *Brotéria*, including his 1943 article identifying 151 new or little-known plants of the flora of northern Portugal and which also described a new botanical species, *Saxifraga sampaioi*.[45] In 1949, *Brotéria* published Rozeira's dissertation presented in the tender for professor of botany in the Faculty of Sciences (Porto).[46] The publication of this large monograph, unusual for a scientific periodical, testifies to the close cooperation between *Brotéria* and Porto's academic community. Joaquim Sampaio wrote several articles on the identification and classification of blue and green algae, having described some new species of the Portuguese flora.[47] Besides being an active

14–25, 49–61; Tavares, "Notas lichénologiques," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 16 (1947): 145–57; Tavares, "Nótulas de fanerogamia Portuguesa," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 28 (1959): 69–75.

43 Flávio Resende and Karl von Poellnitz, "Suculentas africanas: Variedades novas de *Haworthia tessellata* Haw," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 11 (1942): 49–55.

44 Manuel Cabral Resende Pinto, "Hymeniales de Portugal," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 11 (1942): 5–20; 62–80; 106–36; 153–76; Pinto, "Hymeniales de Portugal," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 12 (1943): 5–20; 58–75; 116–27; 180–90; Pinto, "Hymeniales de Portugal: Hydnaceae," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 13 (1944): 25–36; Pinto, "Hymeniales de Portugal: Polyporaceae," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 13 (1944): 30–36; 131–40; Pinto, "Hymeniales de Portugal," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 14 (1945): 26–42. On a more detailed description of this catalog, see Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 282.

45 *Saxifraga sampaioi* was named in homage to Gonçalo Sampaio, his former teacher, and the patron of the Botanical Institute. Arnaldo Rozeira, "Plantas novas ou pouco citadas para Trás-os-Montes e Alto-Douro," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 12 (1943): 145–71.

46 Arnaldo Rozeira, "A secção stoechas gingins, do género Lavandula Linn," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 18 (1949): 5–84.

47 Joaquim Sampaio, "Sinopse das Desmídias conhecidas na flora portuguesa," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 12 (1943): 97–115; Sampaio, "Sinospe das Desmídias conhecidas na flora portuguesa," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 13 (1944): 6–24; 88–130; Sampaio, "Sinospe das

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taxonomist, Sampaio became particularly interested in the history of botany and published three articles in *Brotéria* focusing on the taxonomic work of renowned Portuguese botanists.[48]

One of the most interesting cases in the vast collaborative network between *Brotéria* and other Portuguese scientific institutions was the journal's collaboration with the National Agronomic Station. This public institute, founded in 1936, played a crucial role in the development of cytogenetics and plant breeding in Portugal during the political regime of "Estado Novo" (1933–74). Under Luisier's editorship of *Brotéria*, a group of geneticists led by António Sousa da Câmara (1901–71), the head of the National Agronomic Station, published several papers on plant genetics,[49] with the collaboration starting in 1939, only three years after the official establishment of the National Agronomic Station. In that year, Sousa da Câmara published his first paper in *Brotéria* on the fragmentation of chromosomes caused by X-rays,[50] and in the years that followed other work by researchers from the Department of Cytology and Cytogenetics, especially on genetics and plant breeding, also appeared in the journal (Figure 12.4).

After the death of its first editor, *Brotéria* extended its scientific program and started to publish papers on subjects such as the history of botany, physiology, plant breeding, and genetics, and played a crucial role in the development of Portuguese science. The journal, which received financial support from the Portuguese government from 1930 onwards, contributed to the diffusion of the scientific work of some of the most prominent Portuguese biologists and also

Desmídias conhecidas na flora portuguesa," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 14 (1945): 128–48; Sampaio, "Cianófitas da Serra da Estrela," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 16 (1947): 105–13; Sampaio, "As algas marinhas portuguesas e a extracção do iodo," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 16 (1947): 165–72; Sampaio, "Uma localidade nova para o Ascophyllum nodosum Le Jol., descoberta pelo Prof. G. Sampaio," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 17 (1948): 56–58.

48 Joaquim Sampaio, "Subsídios para a história da botânica em Portugal. I—O colector Isaac Newton e o estudo das criptogâmicas celulares portuguesas," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 15 (1946): 20–52; Sampaio, "Subsídios para a história da botânica em Portugal. II—O Dr. Romualdo Fragoso, o Dr. Gonçalo Sampaio e a micologia portuguesa," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 17 (1948): 115–32; Sampaio, "Subsídios para a história da botânica em Portugal. II—O Dr. Romualdo Fragoso, o Dr. Gonçalo Sampaio e a micologia Portuguesa," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 18 (1948): 86–92; 97–108.

49 On António Sousa da Câmara and the National Agronomic Station see Tiago Saraiva, "Laboratories and Landscapes: The Fascist New State and the Colonization of Portugal and Mozambique," *HoST: Journal for the History of Science and Technology* 3 (2009): 7–39; Saraiva, "Fascist Labscapes: Genetics, Wheat and the Landscapes of Fascism in Italy and Portugal," *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences* 40 (2010): 457–98.

50 António Sousa da Câmara, "Fragmentos cromosómicos produzidos pelos raios X," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 8 (1939): 166–79.

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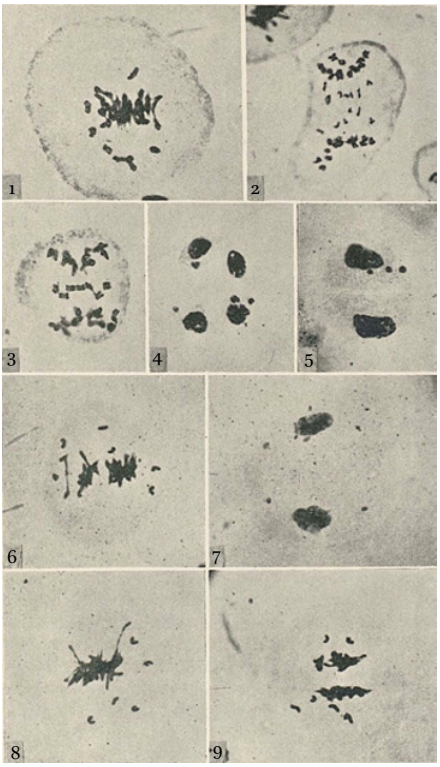

FIGURE 12.4
Microscopic observation on the movement of univalent chromosomes on wheat pentaploid hybrids
CREDITS: ADAPTED FROM *BROTÉRIA—CIÊNCIAS NATURAIS* 19 (1950): 180–187 [STAMP INSERTED BETWEEN PAGES 184 AND 185]. ARCHIVES OF THE JOURNAL *BROTÉRIA*

to the development of genetics and plant breeding, which was one of the major research priorities in the early years of the Estado Novo. By publishing papers written by scientists based at state laboratories, *Brotéria* renewed its importance as a scientific publication and served to reinforce the scientific credibility of the Jesuits during this period.

Luís Archer and the Emergence of Molecular Genetics

After Luisier's death in 1957, the journal's previous editorial policy was maintained by the new director of *Brotéria*, the Jesuit José Vilhena de Carvalhaes (1912–2008), who was in charge for a relatively brief period of time (1957–61). This changed under the direction of Luís Archer (1926–2011), who took over the editorship in 1961. In the final issue of that year, the journal published its first-ever article on biochemistry,[51] a subject which would be covered extensively in

51 William Sullivan, S.J., and James. V. Boyle, "The Effect of X-Radiation on the Succinic Dehydrogenase Activity on the Dividing Stages of *Tetrahymena pyriformis* GL.," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 30 (1961): 77–82. On the history of biochemistry in Portugal, see Isabel Amaral, *A emergência da bioquímica em Portugal: As escolas de investigação de Marck*

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Brotéria from the early 1960s onwards, with research on cellular metabolism, enzymology, and protein electrophoresis.[52] Between 1965 and 1969, longer editions of *Brotéria* were published featuring the doctoral dissertations of three promising Portuguese biologists—Francisco Guerra (1932–), Luís Archer, and Roberto Salema (1932–)—on mitochondrial tumefaction, DNA-mediated transformation in bacteria, biogenesis, and the structure of starch.[53] By this stage, *Brotéria* had become a modern biological journal, one which played an important role in disseminating new biochemistry research both in Portugal and abroad.

Yet, important changes lay ahead. In the 1970s, under Archer's leadership, *Brotéria* published the first papers on molecular genetics to appear in a Portuguese journal. As the number of Portuguese molecular geneticists was still extremely small, most of these papers were written by foreign researchers.[54] The substitution of taxonomy for biochemistry and molecular genetics was carried out by Archer who, as the first Portuguese molecular geneticist, was particularly keen on modernizing *Brotéria* and transforming the journal into one of the vectors for the promotion of molecular biology at an academic level.[55] In 1980, following the rapid growth of research in genetics, Archer once again redefined the editorial program of *Brotéria* and, with financial support from the Portuguese Society of Genetics, created *Brotéria—Genética*, the first national scientific journal entirely dedicated to this new science.[56] As with Silva Tavares and Luisier before him, Archer combined his own scientific interests with the editorial program of *Brotéria*, thus fulfilling the need for a specialized journal on genetics in Portugal (Figure 12.5).[57]

Athias e de Kurt Jacobsohn (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, 2006).

52 For a list of the most important biochemistry articles published in this period, see Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 288n818 and 300n854.

53 Francisco Carvalho Guerra, "Tumefacção mitocondrial: Estudo comparativo das mitocôndrias do cérebro e do fígado," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 34 (1965): 3–226; Luís Archer, S.J., "DNA-Mediated Transformation," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 36 (1967): 107–76; Roberto Salema, "Amido: Estudo ultrastrutural da sua biogénese em plantas superiores," *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* 38 (1969): 1–127.

54 For a list of the most relevant international articles on molecular genetics see Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 301n857.

55 On Luís Archer and the history of molecular biology in Portugal, see Francisco Malta Romeiras, "The Emergence of Molecular Genetics in Portugal: The Enterprise of Luís Archer S.J. (1926–2011)," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 82, no. 164 (2013): 501–12.

56 Miguel Mota, "A contribuição da *Brotéria* para o desenvolvimento da genética," in Rico and Franco, *Fé, ciência, cultura:* Brotéria*—100 anos*, 517–27.

57 From 1980 to 2002, and under Archer's direction, *Brotéria—Genética* published more than three hundred original articles on genetics and bioethics. For a complete list of those

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FIGURE 12.5 *Cover of the first issue of the journal* Brotéria—Genética (*1980*)
CREDITS: ARCHIVES OF THE JOURNAL *BROTÉRIA*

articles, see *Indíces gerais da* Brotéria Científica (*1902–2002*) (Braga: Brotéria Genética, 2002). The most important statistical data are presented and discussed in Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 301–2. Luís Archer directed *Brotéria—Ciências naturais* from 1962 to 1979 and *Brotéria—Genética* from 1980 to 2002. He was also the editor of the cultural journal *Brotéria—Cultura e informação* from 1972 to 1975 and from 1993 to 2000.

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Besides publishing articles by non-Portuguese researchers, *Brotéria—Genética* also helped disseminate the work of some of Portugal's most prominent geneticists on bacterial genetics, animal and plant breeding, and human genetics.[58] Most of the articles on bacterial genetics were written by members of the Laboratory of Molecular Genetics of the Instituto Gulbenkian de Ciência, founded and directed by Archer himself in the period from 1971 to 1991.[59] As editor of *Brotéria—Genética* and head of this institute, he promoted research in his field of expertise while at the same time providing an outlet for the publication of the most important research of his peers. Thus, if the publication of articles on plant and animal breeding represented continuity with the editorial program of *Brotéria—Ciências naturais*, the appearance of works on human genetics was one of the key editorial innovations of *Brotéria—Genética*.[60] These articles focused on the pathology, incidence, and diagnosis of severe monogenic diseases and of chromosomal disorders, such as cystic fibrosis, sickle-cell anemia, and Down syndrome.[61] By publishing research data from Portuguese patients, *Brotéria—Genética* began to assume clinical relevance for the first time.

Brotéria, the Laboratory of Molecular Genetics, and the Portuguese Society of Genetics, which Archer directed from 1978 to 1981, were not only interconnected but were also co-dependent, since the public image of each of these entities relied heavily on the public image of their counterparts. It must be noted that, despite being the official journal of an academic society, the Portuguese Society of Genetics, *Brotéria—Genética* was headed by a Jesuit and belonged to the Society of Jesus. One century after its foundation by a group of Jesuit teachers, *Brotéria* had acquired a prominent status in Portuguese science, and some of the members of the Society of Jesus were among Portugal's most respected scientists.

58 Like in the previous years, *Brotéria* continued to be an active and important journal for Portuguese scientists, publishing not only original research articles but also review articles from some of the most prominent geneticists such as Abílio Fernandes (1906–94), José Antunes Serra (1914–90), Dom Miguel Pereira Coutinho (1915–98), Miguel Noronha Wagner (1922–91), Miguel Mota (1922–), Tristão de Melo Sampaio (1923–98), Amândio Sampaio Tavares (1928–), Helena Paveia (1945–2009), Henrique Guedes Pinto, Jorge Antunes Correia, Hermínia Lencastre, and José Rueff Tavares (1954–).

59 Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 302–4.

60 For a list of the most relevant articles on animal and plant breeding, see Romeiras, "Das ciências naturais à genética," 304–5n863.

61 For a list of the most relevant articles on human genetics, see ibid., 305n864.

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Conclusion

Brotéria's modest foundation as a taxonomical journal by a small group of teachers in a Jesuit college in a sleepy provincial town belies its remarkable history. *Brotéria*'s trajectory coincides with the development of botany, zoology, molecular biology, and genetics in Portugal, and it is beyond question that the journal played a major role in that story. Indeed, today, historians of science view *Brotéria* as one of the most important scientific periodicals to have been published in Portugal during the twentieth century.

But the importance of *Brotéria* transcends its national boundaries. Unlike other contemporary Jesuit journals, *Brotéria* was not a cultural periodical in the wide sense. It was not even a religious or apologetic magazine with a scientific section. *Brotéria* was strictly and programmatically a scientific journal. It was initially created with the aim of contributing to the identification, description, and classification of new botanical and zoological species, and gradually expanded its scope to the modern subjects of biochemistry and molecular genetics. The strictly scientific purpose behind its foundation, its unusual longevity, the extensive taxonomical work it published, as well as the role it played in the foundation and development of new research fields in Portugal, such as biochemistry and molecular genetics, and its editorial flexibility are among *Brotéria*'s most important distinctive features, both in the Jesuit context and in the broader history of scientific periodicals. By reflecting the scientific interests of each of its directors, and by closely accompanying the emergence and development of some of the major research topics in twentieth-century biology, *Brotéria* continually justified its existence as a scientific journal. Less obvious but surely not less important, the centennial existence of *Brotéria* and its distinctive nature point to a versatility and resilience common to other Jesuit enterprises in the twentieth century.

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