

Missionary Men
in the Early Modern World

Gendering the Late Medieval and Early Modern World

Series editors: James Daybell (Chair), Victoria E. Burke, Svante Norrhem, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks

This series provides a forum for studies that investigate women, gender, and/or sexuality in the late medieval and early modern world. The editors invite proposals for book-length studies of an interdisciplinary nature, including, but not exclusively, from the fields of history, literature, art and architectural history, and visual and material culture. Consideration will be given to both monographs and collections of essays. Chronologically, we welcome studies that look at the period between 1400 and 1700, with a focus on any part of the world, as well as comparative and global works. We invite proposals including, but not limited to, the following broad themes: methodologies, theories and meanings of gender; gender, power and political culture; monarchs, courts and power; constructions of femininity and masculinity; gift-giving, diplomacy and the politics of exchange; gender and the politics of early modern archives; gender and architectural spaces (courts, salons, household); consumption and material culture; objects and gendered power; women's writing; gendered patronage and power; gendered activities, behaviours, rituals and fashions.

Missionary Men in the Early Modern World

German Jesuits and Pacific Journeys

Ulrike Strasser

Amsterdam University Press

Cover illustration: *Origins and Development of the Society of Jesus and Its Virtuous Men (Societatis Iesu initia progressus et viri illustri)*, Cologne, c. 1650. Copyright Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

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To the three most important men
in my life, in alphabetical order:
Frank, Moses & Noah

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Missionary Men on the Move

Jesuits and Gender in the Early Modern World

Abstract

This study of Jesuit masculinity as an emerging gender form in the early modern world is situated at the intersection of two intellectually vibrant fields: women's/gender history and global/world history. The introduction explains this and the purpose of looking at an unusual cast of characters and places: German Jesuits, sea voyages, and Pacific islands. It also presents an argument for narrating global history as the history of masculinities, which requires the study of patriarchal power dynamics. The introduction further points to the importance of media, emotions, and mimesis in understanding missionary masculinity. The historical study of emotions offers a bridge between the realm of representations or ideal types of manhood and the realm of subjectivity or lived experiences of manhood.

Keywords: masculinities, gender history, global history, Pacific, German Jesuits, emotions

Let us begin with a German Jesuit in the Pacific. In 1681, Father Augustinus Strobach from the Jesuit province of Bohemia landed in today's Guam in the Mariana Islands. His mission superior would later note that the Marianas formed 'the center of all of [Strobach's] desires.'¹ It had taken years of thoughtful preparation and dogged determination and a journey halfway around the world for Strobach to reach this Pacific archipelago on the margins of the Spanish overseas empire, following in the footsteps of a Spanish Jesuit. Diego Luis de Sanvitores had launched the Marianas mission back in 1668 and was killed in 1672, then hailed as a martyr at home and

1 Bouwens, *De vita*, f. 336v.

abroad.² Strobach hoped that he too could die for the propagation of the Catholic faith among the islanders.³

How could a remote archipelago in the Pacific turn into a magnet of desire for a Jesuit from land-locked Central Europe? How could the life and death of a Spaniard whom he never met become the biographical blueprint for a German, moving his heart and feet across continents and oceans?⁴ And how did this particular type of masculine mimesis and religious migration intersect with European expansion, both shaping and being shaped by colonial conquest? Approved by Pope Paul III in 1540, Ignatius of Loyola's Society of Jesus evolved rather improbably from a small band of brothers or two handfuls of men into a religious organization of global scope, one of the largest and most complex transnational institutions of the time.⁵ Capitalizing on existing structures of European colonial and merchant empires, Jesuits shipped out to the Americas, Asia, and Africa, evangelized local populations, and tried to inculcate European-Christian norms, including those of gender and sexuality, in the indigenous.⁶ Returning ships delivered missionary letters and reports, also objects and sometimes converts, that documented the successes of Jesuit apostolic labor from afar and disseminated knowledge of peoples and places in other parts of the world back home.⁷ These returns from the colonial frontier served to assure Europeans of their own ways of doing things and of their real and imagined standing in the larger world, and set in motion a complex interplay between missionary work overseas and developments in Europe, which entailed the steady recruitment of new men for the missions.

2 Foundational works on the Marianas missions: Hezel, 'From Conversion to Conquest'; Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*; Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, esp. pp. 41-73; Russell, *Tiempon I Manmofo'na*, esp. pp. 291-322; Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*.

3 Strobach, 'Relatio rerum notabilium in Marianis,' p. 575.

4 The term 'German Jesuit,' while used frequently in the sources for purposes of identification of self and others, remains slippery in the early modern period. Its meaning covers the whole spectrum from belonging to the Holy Roman Empire to speaking German or being a member of the German Jesuit Assistancy. Thus it is resonant with nationalist sentiment yet irreducible to proto-nationalism. For a critical as well as pragmatic approach, see Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, pp. 26-33.

5 Smith, *Sensuous Worship*; p. 3; O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*; Harris, 'Jesuit Scientific Activity'; Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms?*; Friedrich, *Die Jesuiten*.

6 The literature on individual missions is vast. Works that deal with women and gender in the missions, by contrast, remain the exception. A particularly notable exception is Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*.

7 Harris, 'Mapping Jesuit Science'; Harris, 'Jesuit Scientific Activity.'

This book explores the emergence of Jesuit masculinity in the early modern world as a novel gender form that left its imprint on societies in Europe and around the globe. It pays special attention to the role of emotions, religious media, and male mimesis in this process. The chapters that follow weave together case studies from different parts of Europe and different parts of the Spanish overseas empire with analyses of ocean travels in between, to arrive at a nuanced portrait of missionary masculinity as both an embodied experience of individuals and as a cultural script for other men to re-enact across time and space, generating political, social, and material effects in different parts of the world, through both direct missionary activities and knowledge production.

Approaching the study of masculinity through a transnational and transregional lens, the chapters that follow expand upon insights of two intellectual enterprises that have had a vexed relationship with one another: women's and gender history, on the one hand, and global or world history, on the other. The two fields share a critical spirit and revisionist approach to traditional historical frameworks and methods and have each produced highly innovative work on the early modern period. They have each done much to interrogate seemingly self-evident units of historical analysis, but they have used field-specific analytical instruments and moved along distinct trajectories that are not easy to align. To put it in stark terms, global and world history overall is more heavily materialist in its orientation, while gender history (at least in its Anglo-American and European variant) is more heavily culturalist.⁸ Global and world historians have put considerable emphasis on the study of the political economy to make comparisons and study connections across vast geographical distances. Field-defining works in this vein have focused on the period of early modern European imperial expansion as a key moment in the evolution of transregional markets and political regimes, but they have done so only to undercut the presumed inevitability of European imperial domination and economic hegemony in the modern world.⁹ Although women's history in the 1970s was deeply materialist, drawing lessons from structural anthropology and Marxism, with the linguist turn of the 1980s tools from literary and cultural analysis became central. These tools have been used to produce an ever more nuanced accounts of 'difference' – gender, sexuality, but also race

8 For an earlier and fuller articulation of the argument, see also Strasser and Tinsman, 'It's a Man's World?' On the problematic of integrating those fields, see also Wiesner-Hanks, 'World History' and Wiesner-Hanks 'Crossing Borders'.

9 Foundational works are Wong, *China Transformed*; Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*.

and ethnicity and, for the early modern period, religious identity. These tools have been applied first and foremost in order to question universal narratives, of which world and global history at times threaten to be one, rather than write newly nuanced macro-historical narratives.¹⁰ Attention to discourses and differences has been difficult to square with attention to the global political economy.

Precisely because of their distinct toolboxes, however, world and global history and women's and gender history also have much to offer to one another, as this study seeks to illustrate. The emergence of some gender forms arose not from a single place but from dynamic interactions across different parts of the world that cannot be captured through the prisms of either national or imperial histories.¹¹ Jesuit masculinity emerged in sixteenth-century Iberia during a time of colonial empire building, which also saw the emergence of another, complementary as well as competing masculinity, that of the conquistador.¹² The members of the Society of Jesus were the first men to claim the term 'missionary,' an honorific that medieval theology had reserved for Christ alone, in colonial Spanish America.¹³ Jesuit missionaries became and remained active across countries and continents long after the Iberian empires passed their zenith. To understand the appeal and impact of this masculinity in different locales as well as its longevity, this book takes its cue from global history and examines an unusual geographical cluster both in Europe and outside of Europe.

Looking Elsewhere: German Lands, Ship Voyages, and Pacific Islands

Within Europe, the study looks sideways, as it were, to a country outside the customary circle of early modern European maritime empires: the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. How did Jesuit masculinity develop

10 Some versions of world or global history can raise the specter of a pernicious return to universal history for historians of gender and sexuality. Judith P. Zinsser has pointed to 'false universals' in the historiography, or abstractions like 'populations' or 'societies,' that denote inclusivity of male and female historical subjects yet upon closer inspections turn out to be shorthand for male populations only. Zinsser, 'Women's and Men's World History? Not Yet'.

11 For an overview of the field of global history and its effects on the discipline, see Northrop, *A Companion to World History*; Manning, *Navigating World History*. For the early modern period, see Parker, *Global Interactions*.

12 See R.W. Connell for an early recognition of the emergence of this new masculine type in the West: Connell, *Masculinities*, esp. pp. 186-191.

13 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, pp. 13-14.

and matter in this different European imperial context? The Iberians Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier loomed large in the Catholic imagination of the religiously fractured German lands. There was no shortage of German applicants for the overseas missions, and yet there were formidable obstacles to German participation. Within the empire, the religious conflicts and confessional divisions following the Reformation tied down the energies of the German Society of Jesus until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. On the colonial stage, the Spanish and Portuguese crown put the brakes on the admission of foreign missionaries in the territories over which they claimed political control and where they sought to expand their influence.¹⁴ The patronage obligations of the Iberian powers toward the papacy demanded the admission of missionaries, who could offer spiritual care for the souls in newly conquered lands. However, in fulfilling the twin mission of colonialism and conversion, Iberian monarchs preferred to depend on homegrown religious men. Ideally those well versed in Iberian affairs and raised to be loyal to the monarchy should carry out the spiritual conquest of the world at large.¹⁵

Conditions for the admission of Germans in the Spanish Indies began to improve dramatically during a moment of alignment of Spanish imperial structures and Austrian interests when Mariana of Austria (1634-1696) came to the Spanish throne as the wife of Philip IV and then regent after Philip's death in 1665, with the support of Father Johann Eberhard Nidhard (1607-1681), the Jesuit confessor she had brought to Madrid from Vienna and appointed to several high government councils.¹⁶ A wave of admissions followed that the Bohemian Augustinus Strobach could ride on to reach the 'center of his desires' in the Spanish Pacific. In 1679, as Augustinus Strobach set out for the Marianas, there were some 17,655 Jesuits worldwide. Strobach came from the order's German Assistency, which encompassed ten German provinces, many of them based in German lands proper, though some went beyond the Holy Roman Empire's boundaries. In the same year of 1679, there were some 6,713 members in the German provinces, 38.02 percent of the order, more than there were in any other area.¹⁷ A religious order originating in and shaped by an Iberian context found thousands of followers in German-speaking lands, eager to participate in the global evangelization drive. German applications for the Jesuit missions vastly outnumbered

14 Duhr, *Deutsche Auslandsehnsucht*, pp. 34-36.

15 On Spanish attitudes and policies, see, for example, Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, pp. 142ff.

16 Strnad, 'Nidhard, Johann Eberhard'; Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, pp. 26-27.

17 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, p. 24. Johannes Meier calculates the proportion at 40 percent for different years. Meier, 'Totus mundus,' p. 8.

admissions.¹⁸ The men who made the cut were a group of highly skilled religious migrants. Often the offspring of the urban, office-holding bourgeoisie or the lower nobility, they had joined the Society on average at the age of nineteen, and then spent another decade and a half working toward an overseas assignment.¹⁹ The rigorous selection process itself required determination of any applicant. Repeated applications were the norm while the overall chances for success were slim; estimates put the percentage of successful applicants who were able to work in mission fields beyond Europe as low as 11 percent. Alongside the religious prerequisites, applicants had to show evidence of a sturdy physical constitution, psychological flexibility, and a talent for language acquisition.²⁰ Still, of the 3,814 Jesuits that the Spanish crown invited to the 'Spanish Indies' in the seventeenth century, no fewer than 1,000 hailed from the German-speaking lands of Central Europe.²¹ Augustinus Strobach's life exemplifies this larger movement of men who accompanied the world-historical encounter between Europeans and the indigenous populations of the Americas and Pacific that became incorporated in the Spanish overseas empire. German participation in the overseas missions was cresting in the late seventeenth century when the Spanish Empire was entering its period of decline.

The broader German public took a growing interest in missionary activities, and Jesuit writings began to appear in growing numbers in vernacular print in the early eighteenth century.²² This study highlights the profound pull overseas evangelization exerted in a European empire that lacked formal colonial possessions, but came to participate in the colonial adventures of others through its Jesuits and publications by and about German Jesuits. It illuminates the global dimension of early modern German history and shows that European colonialism involved Europeans without colonies, thereby challenging the implicit dominance of national and imperial frameworks in discussions of European colonialism.²³

18 On German applications, the comprehensive work is Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee*.

19 Meier, 'Totus mundus,' p. 17. Clossey calculated the average age based on a sample of 53 German Jesuits, Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, p. 136.

20 Meier, 'Totus mundus,' pp. 14-15. Based on a sample from select provinces, Meier offers an estimate ranging from 11 to 22 percent.

21 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, p. 153.

22 Jesuit writings on the Americas and their significance for the German book market are the subject of Borja González, 'Libros americanos.' See also Borja González, *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung*.

23 On these issues, see also Dürr et al., 'Forum'; Berghoff, Biess and Strasser, *Germans and Pacific Worlds*.

Outside of Europe, this study of missionary masculinity turns the spotlight on areas that lie beyond the customary foci of Jesuit histories and at first glance appear to be liminal spaces, starting with the transit space of the ship, often a Jesuit's first pastoral field. During ocean voyages, Jesuits rubbed shoulders with a motley crew of men of varying social classes, cultures, and religions in close quarters under extremely challenging circumstances. Survival of an oceanic voyage marked not only a physical but also a spiritual and emotional rite of passage in the making of the missionary; the many Jesuit voyage accounts testifying to this fact have received little scholarly attention thus far.²⁴

Ships also transported Jesuits to the far reaches of the world's greatest ocean and into areas of the Pacific that appeared remote, if not marginal, to many Europeans, but in reality were central to newly emerging global circuits of economic and information exchange. The Marianas were one such place. The archipelago provided a point of orientation and stopover for the Manila Galleon trade that fused the economies of Asia, the Americas, and Europe into a global circuit for the first time in history.²⁵ Although on the margins of the Spanish Empire and lacking metals, the islands were connected to the empire's hard core of silver supplies in the Americas and formed an important geopolitical outpost in the Pacific where the Portuguese, Dutch, and then the British also vied for an increase in power and influence. Germany did not seriously pursue colonialism in the Pacific until the nineteenth century, when it also acquired the Northern Marianas.²⁶ Yet in the early modern period, German Jesuits like Strobach were already eager to flock to Pacific island shores and participate in conquest and conversion. Comparing the aspirations and activities of Spaniards and Germans, this book shows that Jesuit masculinity was inseparable from the remaking of indigenous societies and cultures. Some differences between German and Spanish Jesuits notwithstanding, European missionary men proved unified in their commitment to Christian patriarchal rule.²⁷ Their religious male self-fashioning happened to the detriment of the indigenous populations upon whom they imposed Christian norms of gender and sexuality. Indigenous women bore the brunt of the spiritual conquest, especially in the world's rare matrilineal societies like that of the Mariana Islands.

24 Notable exceptions include: Brockey, '*Largos Caminhos*'; Winnerling, *Vernunft und Imperium*.

25 Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds*, pp. 114-126.

26 Hiery, 'Die deutschen Kolonien in der Südsee'; Hiery, *Die deutsche Südsee*, pp. 475-605.

27 Amussen and Poska, 'Restoring Miranda.'

Global History as the History of Masculinities and Patriarchal Dynamics

Women's and gender historians have amply documented the historicity of gender norms around the globe. This transnational study of missionary manhood profits from two crucial insights of this literature. First, scholarship has shown that gender as a mechanism of power is operative even in domains where there are no women; that is to say, this scholarship has shown that the absence of women is itself an effect of gender.²⁸ This insight is especially salient for world or global history because this scholarship has centered on domains in which men are the primary and sometimes the only actors: from trade expansion to colonial domination and labor exploitation. At the same time, world and global historians do not habitually ask why these domains are coded as masculine in the first place (why are there no women?) and what that reveals about the broader workings of political power more broadly (often scrutiny reveals some women were there; in colonial contexts, most or all of the women may have been indigenous). Women's and gender history offers ways to narrate global history as a history of varied, competing masculinities and, more broadly, for understanding world-historical processes as processes that are shaped by gender and inevitably affect men and women in gender-specific ways, whether they participate in these processes directly or are affected by their local consequences.²⁹

The Society of Jesus provides a compelling case for narrating world history as a story of masculinity given the order's all-male organization and global impact. For example, male anxiety and jockeying among competing masculinities at the Chinese court influenced the course and shape of Matteo Ricci's world-historical mission to China. Before he put on the Confucian robes that came to symbolize his identification with Confucian scholars, Ricci had tried out another male costume. Upon arriving in 1583 and eager to make inroads into Chinese society, he first dressed up as a Buddhist monk, only to learn that many a Buddhist monk kept women and led the kind of dissolute lifestyle that in Europe had become

28 This was a (if not the) central insight of Joan Scott's field-defining article 'Gender: A Useful Category.' On the impact of Scott's work on historiographies for different regions of the world, with a response by Scott, see Meyerowitz et al., 'Forum'. See also Strasser and Tinsman, 'It's a Man's World'.

29 See Wiesner-Hanks, 'Gender and Sexuality.' On gender and colonialism, including its early modern variants, see Ballantyne and Burton, *Bodies in Contact*. For an example of centering an early modern world history course on gender, see Strasser and Tinsman, 'Engendering World History.'

the fodder of Protestant antimonastic writings. That ended Ricci's first sartorial experiment; he began to rail against 'dissolute' Buddhist monks. But Ricci reserved the worst of his venom for the eunuchs at the imperial court. He depended for access to the emperor on this group, and while their exclusion from sexual reproduction gave them contested status in Chinese society because they could not fulfill their filial mandate, it brought to mind the Jesuits' own celibate status and that it presented a liability in evangelizing the Chinese. To maneuver successfully in China's complex political landscape, Ricci decided to throw in his lot with the eunuchs' rivals and courtiers-in-ascent: Confucian scholar officials. Along with the mandarin robes Ricci began to wear, he sought to don the prestige and credibility of literati manhood in Chinese society and especially before the Chinese emperor. This was male dress for success of the highest order.³⁰ That the Jesuits contributed to the development of China's image as a Confucian country is well known: They downplayed the importance of Buddhism in Chinese society and presented Confucius as a secular philosopher whose ethical system was easily compatible with Christianity. Long hidden from view, however, were Ricci's more personal gendered reasons for dismissing Buddhism and befriending the Confucian scholarly elite. Attention to Jesuit masculinity, then, can shed new light on the world of early modern politics and the global stage of competing early modern masculinities, as well as on the missionaries' affective worlds and changing self-understandings in their encounter with alien cultures.

The second insight of women's and gender historians that is relevant to this transnational study of Jesuit manhood is the potential of histories of masculinity global or local to elide the hard reality of patriarchal power dynamics.³¹ Much of the newer men's history that seeks to illuminate the history of men *as men* has centrally concerned itself with deconstructing representations of masculinity and taught us to think of masculinities in the plural. To be sure, what it means to be a man has historically always been forged in competition with other men. We ought not conflate masculinity with patriarchy but rather ought to recognize it as a contested constellation among men of varying social classes, ethnicities, and ages. That said, neither can masculinity be understood without understanding patriarchy's role in forging it: In the vast majority of the world's societies, men's domination of women has formed a, if not *the*, linchpin of masculine identities for subaltern

30 Laven, 'Jesuits and Eunuchs'; Laven, *Mission to China*; Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, pp. 13-31.

31 An early and particularly powerful articulation of such critiques as well as some potential remedies can be found in Ditz, 'The New Men's History.'

men as well as elites. Analysis of the male exercise of power vis-à-vis women is indispensable for histories of masculinity.³²

Patriarchal dynamics marked Jesuit history from the very beginning. Setting a new precedent, the Society of Jesus was the first premodern religious order to bar women from membership. In 1547, Pope Paul III granted Ignatius an exemption from the usual *curia monialium* ('care of women') that had forced other religious orders to accommodate a female branch of sorts. The papal privilege made it much more feasible, if not possible in the first place, for the men of the Society to jettison the traditional *stabilitas loci*, which bound monks to a particular place or even a specific house, and practice apostolic mobility on an unprecedented, truly world-spanning scale. To be a Jesuit was to be a man unencumbered by formal ties to women. Meanwhile, the Society throughout its history gladly relied on women for support and financial sponsorship. Some early female patrons like the noblewoman Isabella Roser even sought entrance into its ranks in the mid-1540s only to have the door slammed shut to women once and for all.³³ Female sponsorship continued throughout the Society's expansion in Europe and other continents. Powerful and wealthy women like the Duchess of Aveiro Maria de Guadalupe of Lencastre (1630-1715) and Maria Theresia von Fugger-Wellenburg (1690-1762) underwrote Jesuit missions in Asia, the Americas, and the Pacific.³⁴ While historical sources and modern scholarship tend to cast Jesuits as independent-minded and self-sufficient missionary men, in real life they were, of course, dependent on social networks, including many women both European and indigenous. Given the Society's purposefully all-male organization and gendered way of proceeding, it is stunning that the enormous scholarship compiled across the centuries on the Society of Jesus still includes no monograph, only a limited number of articles, on Jesuits and gender.³⁵ The maleness of the Society has been the elephant in the room of scholarship.

32 Judith Bennett has argued emphatically for the need to pay attention to what she calls the 'patriarchal equilibrium,' which persists across time and space, see Bennett, *History Matters*. See also Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity'; Ditz, 'The New Men's History.'

33 Roser was one among several early female supporters whose push for admission to the Society ground to a halt. Rhodes, 'Join the Jesuits.' On the evolving relationship between these and women and Ignatius, see the revealing exchanges of letters in Ignatius of Loyola, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women*.

34 Gillespie, 'Casting New Molds'; Burrus, *Kino Writes to the Duchess*; Hsia, *Noble Patronage*.

35 Hufton, 'Altruism and Reciprocity'; Rhodes, 'Join the Jesuits'; Strasser, 'The First Form and Grace'; Laven, 'The Jesuits and Gender.'

It is no coincidence that the formation of the Society of Jesus took place at a time of patriarchal expansion across Reformation Europe. In the course of the sixteenth century, Protestant and Catholic authorities alike passed laws that propped up married men's authority in the household and entrusted them with the governance of all household members; unbridled female sexuality was widely seen as a root cause of social disorder and regulated accordingly. In Catholic areas, convent life continued as an alternate social destiny, unlike in Protestant lands where married households became the normative way of life for everyone, whether or not they were able to form or join such a household, resulting in stigmatization of the unmarried and especially 'masterless women.'³⁶ However, convent life, too, changed in Catholic lands. The monastic reforms of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) stipulated strict enclosure for all female religious communities but not for male houses and brought an increase of power of male superiors over religious women. The patriarchal restructuring of religious houses mirrored the patriarchal restructuring of married households.³⁷ The Tridentine requirement of enclosure severely curtailed the abilities of religious women to pursue a Jesuit-like active apostolate, as the Ursulines and Mary Ward's Institute of English Ladies discovered after they tried. The Ursulines were forced into enclosure; Ward's Institute suppressed first, then reinstated in a whittled down form.³⁸ Meanwhile, the Jesuits missions received a boost from the Council's reinvigoration of pastoral work and its emphasis on regulating sexuality from the enforcement of clerical celibacy and lay monogamy in general to the control of female sexuality in particular. When some hundred years later in the matrilineal Marianas, Jesuits introduced Tridentine marriage and sought to curb nonmarital sexuality along with women's power, their activities followed logically from these earlier European developments and the mandates of missionary manhood. Thus the history of the Society shaped and was shaped by national and transnational gender dynamics in Europe and the larger world.

36 The scholarship on this has grown to considerable size. It includes Roper, *The Holy Household*; Marshall, *Women in Reformation*; Harrington, *Reordering Marriage*; Strasser, *State of Virginity*; Laqua-O'Donnell, *Women and the Counter-Reformation*.

37 Strasser, *State of Virginity*, esp. pp. 70-85 and pp. 119-148. Also Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women*; Evangelisti, *Nuns*, esp. pp. 41-65; Laven, *Virgins of Venice*; Lehfeldt, *Religious Women*.

38 See, among others, Conrad, *Zwischen Kloster und Welt*; Rapley, *The Dévotes*; Rapley, *A Social History of the Cloister*. On Ward's Institute, see Strasser, *State of Virginity*, pp. 149-172.

Missionary Men and Masculinity Studies: Emotion, Media, and Male Mimesis

This study of Jesuit masculinity brings some of these complex European and extra-European dynamics into one analytical field. It turns the spotlight on men and areas that have been on the periphery of the steadily growing literature on early modern masculinities. Although scholarship on European early modern men has yielded rich insights into different types of manhood – from household patriarchs and anxious masculinity to mollies, fops, and polite men – this literature has been disproportionately focused on the British Isles.³⁹ Few studies have appeared on German-speaking lands, particularly in English.⁴⁰ Furthermore, existing histories of masculinity have, with some exceptions, paid scant attention to religious men and questions of clerical manhood.⁴¹ A study that places clerics and German men plus their Iberian role models at the center at once complements and enriches the historiography on European masculinities.

Tracing missionary activities overseas, the book furthermore advances our understanding of the importance of the larger world to the making of early modern European manhood. The connection between the sexual politics of imperialism and the formation of dominant and subaltern masculinities has been well established for the modern period.⁴² For the early modern Iberian empires, scholars have examined the key role of sexual violence and forced Christian marriage in the colonization of the Americas and the Spanish conquistador and Catholic priest, as different kinds of conquering males.⁴³ The Jesuit mission to the Marianas offers an interesting perspective on these different forms of colonial masculinities and their connection to the imperializing masculinities of the nineteenth century. Much as they did in Spanish America, Jesuits in the Marianas critiqued and rejected aspects

39 For an overview, see Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity'; Harvey and Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done.'

40 Articles in the English language include classics such as Wiesner, 'Wandervogels and Women'; Roper, 'Blood and Codpieces.' In addition, see the English-language essays on German lands in Hendrix and Karant-Nunn, *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*. Masculinity is also a central theme in Lyndal Roper's biography of Luther; Roper, *Martin Luther*. For a recent monograph, see Brugh, *Gunpowder, Masculinity, and Warfare*.

41 Exceptions include Buttigieg, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity*; Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*.

42 The extensive literature on this includes Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Sramek, 'Face Him Like a Briton.' Also various contributions in Miescher et al., *Gender, Imperialism and Global Exchanges*.

43 Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*; Clendinnen, *Aztecs*; Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*; Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches*; Todorov, *The Conquest of America*.

of conquistador masculinity. But the Society of Jesus initiated this Pacific colonial endeavor, escalated the reduction of the population, and relied upon military might to the point where the distinction between these two kinds of conquering males collapsed. In addition, the conquistadors and missionaries arriving under the Spanish flag in reality formed a multinational group of men, including men at a relative distance from the Spanish colonial project and regarded as representing subaltern masculinities, such as Filipino soldiers, whose frustrations led to repeated mutinies, and including Bohemian Jesuits, who were dispatched to the most perilous island posts.⁴⁴ The presence of these other men amid the Spanish colonizers underscores the need for precision in historical analyses of 'Spanish' or 'European' colonialism in looking not only at the colonized but the colonizers as well.

The book also points to the potential of using emotions (or *passions*, in early modern parlance) as a point of entry into the study of masculinities. A recurring criticism of gender history has been that this approach overemphasizes language, discourse, and representations to the detriment of elucidating either the corporeal and psychic dimensions of gender or its social history and material effects.⁴⁵ This is not the place to unpack the substantive philosophical differences about the social power of language fueling such critiques, but simply to note that critics in general do not advocate a return to a naïve, positivist view of human experience or the body. The critical push instead has been toward finding better ways of integrating the study of representations of gender with the study of gendered subjectivities and social history. In the Jesuit materials, passions appear as a bridge between discourse and bodies, their repeated performance generates new states of being, viewing, and acting in the world. Emotions here are understood as a mode of embodied apperception and appraisal of self and world and as a potent incubator of human intention, actions, and habits of being. They form the connective tissue between the realm of representations or ideal types of manhood and the realm of subjectivity and social behavior or lived experiences of manhood.

Importantly, emotions were not yet clearly gendered and certainly not feminized in early modern culture. The binary typecasting of men as inherently rational and women as essentially emotional actors fell to the modern age.⁴⁶ Even though in the early modern period some passions were

44 See Chapters 3 and 4.

45 Good places to start delving into these issues are Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, particularly 'Introduction'; Canning, 'Feminist History'; Downs, *Writing Gender History*, pp. 88-105.

46 See Newmark, 'Vernünftige Gefühle?,' esp. pp. 41-44 and 47-53. See also Newmark, 'Weibliches Leiden.'

sometimes referred to as more masculine, such as anger or fear, the dominant Aristotelian-Thomist moral theological framework held that both men and women had to find ways to regulate unruly passions through the use of reason. If anything, in this framework, men were understood to be the more passionate of the genders because they allegedly were more rational; the greater the capacity for regulation through rationality, the greater the capacity for passionate experiences.⁴⁷

The all-male Jesuits theorized and performed such passionate masculinity to the fullest.⁴⁸ Jesuits not only lived in what has been called an 'age of affective piety' but they contributed much to its making. While they drew on the common sense Aristotelian-Thomist understanding of the passions, the Jesuits churned out more documentation than other religious orders, documenting their thinking about the passions and practices of stimulating and altering the emotional states of human beings, their own and that of their converts.⁴⁹ This impulse to theorize and generate spiritually transformative emotional states is manifest across a range of Jesuit activities, ministries, and media: from the Spiritual Exercises to Jesuit art and architecture, from Jesuit pedagogy and theater, from the Society's preaching and pastoral work in Europe, Asia, and the Americas to the individual devotions of its members.⁵⁰

Moreover, Jesuits advanced contemporary discourses and practices in one crucial respect by developing an existing strand into a wholesale program: repeat performances of proper emotions. Already the Aristotelian-Thomist system held that images generated in the soul gave rise to specific passions that then stirred the body toward particular actions. Mental images were critical to stirring emotions and desires for action. 'The embryo of action' as Yasmin Haskell and Raphaële Garrod put it, 'is therefore always a basic intentionality of the body stemming from a mental picture.'⁵¹ According to this view, emotion-driven action led to either virtue or vice, underpinning the development of morality or a lack thereof. Correct passions led to correct actions and became habituated into an ethical life. In this scheme, repeated performances of the right kinds of passions therefore exercised not only one's emotional but more centrally still one's moral and spiritual muscles.⁵²

47 Newmark, 'Vernünftige Gefühle?', pp. 48-49.

48 See essays in Garrod and Haskell, *Changing Hearts*.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

50 See, among others, Molina, *To Overcome Oneself*; Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*; O'Malley et al., *The Jesuits*; O'Malley et al., *The Jesuits II*.

51 Garrod and Haskell, *Changing Hearts*, p. 3.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Emotions were the second element in the Society's key practices: *Imagine, feel (right), act (right) – repeat*. To become and to be a Jesuit required imagining, feeling, and doing certain things over and over again; identity thus became habituated. Jesuits understood these emotional performances as an embodied activity involving all aspects of the human being. Theirs was a holistic view of emotional life, resonant with some of the most recent theories of emotions in neuroscience and the humanities. Monique Scheer, for example, has prodded historians to consider emotions as a form of practice not only in the more obvious sense that practices mobilize emotions, but also in that one can view emotions as forms of 'practical engagement with the world [...] emerging from bodily dispositions conditioned by a social context, which always has a cultural and historical specificity.'⁵³

Against this backdrop, this study looks at Jesuit masculinity as a configuration of emotionally charged and historically specific embodied practices emerging in and shaped by specific local contexts from Europe to the Pacific. The Society's founding figures, its progenitor Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) in Spain and its first overseas apostle, the peripatetic Francis Xavier (1506-1552), set the pattern for the most important practices for future generations and performed in the flesh what it meant to feel, think, and act like a Jesuit. The all-male Society they established was as much a religious community as it was what Barbara Rosenwein termed 'an emotional community' or 'a group of people who share[d] the same or similar valuations of particular emotions, goals, and norms of emotional expression.'⁵⁴ Desire for the religious life became mapped onto desire for a way of feeling and being in the world amid like-minded companions.

Desire for the religious life also became mapped onto copying the life histories of other exemplary men in the context of one's own life. The Society of Jesus deployed a vast archive of textual and visual media to stimulate the mimetic capacity of novices and lead them to passionately attach to and imitate their illustrious forefathers. One of rhetoric's primary purposes was *movere* – the capacity to move an audience – and Jesuits made ample use of narrative exempla in their pedagogy and training to accomplish this goal. Not coincidentally, the early modern term 'movement' referred not only to physical motion but was also as a synonym for emotion: Movements of the soul were understood to lead to movements of the body, directing both hearts and feet in new directions.⁵⁵ Exempla ranked

53 Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?', p. 193.

54 Rosenwein and Christiani, *What Is the History of Emotions?*, p. 4.

55 See also Molina, *To Overcome Oneself*.

especially high among the Society's rhetorical instruments for shaping life courses. Jesuit teaching followed the triad of *praeceptum-exemplum-imitatio* ('precept-example-imitation'), with the persuasive, instructive human example as the indispensable link between moral commands, on the one hand, and social practice, on the other. A form of thought, the exemplum, was seen to create new forms of action by working the human passions. To put it in modern terms, emotion in this scheme of things provided the transmission belt for representations to evolve into identifications that generate actions.⁵⁶

Throughout its history, the Society held up male exemplars for identification and imitation in texts, images, devotional and bodily practices, and in the flesh. Individual followers translated those exemplars into their unique biographical contexts, leading to different adaptations of ideal types and to different sociopolitical effects, always a reiteration with a difference and never a mere copy. This book explores this process across a number of settings and argues that male mimesis facilitated the Society's extraordinary expansion first in Europe and then in the early modern world. The long-term success of the Jesuit order manifested itself not only in its ability to keep generating new Christians, or fulfillment of its primary goal, but new missionaries as well, or replenishment of its members. The Society's multiple media, the subject of a huge and steadily growing scholarship, were instrumental in reproducing Jesuit masculinity across time and space.⁵⁷

Many members took such reproduction literally, in the sense of duplication. The following chapters show how texts about and images of exemplary men again and again became the seed for the continued growth of the Jesuit corporate body or the sprouting of new male members through imitation. Textual and visual portraits of exemplary Jesuits functioned to inspire men to turn themselves into living copies of these ideal types whom they mimicked down to bodily comportment and thereby accrue to themselves the spiritual power believed to adhere to the original – a religious variant of Renaissance self-fashioning through seeming self-erasure. The availability of print aided the mimetic reproduction of missionary men. It made it easier than ever to circulate images and stories of exemplary men across geographical distances, inviting readers from different parts of the world to follow in their footsteps. It also provided a cultural template for speedy multiplication and copying of material or mimesis in the flesh.

56 Mulsow, 'Exemplum,' p. 318.

57 A useful point of entry into this extensive scholarship is Levy, 'Early Modern Jesuit Arts.' Important works include De Boer et al., *Jesuit Image Theory*; Smith, *Sensuous Worship*.

From Europe to the Pacific and Back: Structure and Chronology of This Book

The book's chapters combine inquiry into the emotional world of Jesuits with inquiry into their missionary activity in the world at large. In a twinning of inner and outer worlds, or masculine subjectivities and social contexts, the study progresses from sixteenth-century Europe to the journeys toward a colonial frontier and confrontations in the Pacific in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries discussed in the center of the book. The concluding part then moves to an exploration of various Jesuit media of early modern knowledge production in and about the Pacific, cycling back to eighteenth-century Europe to explore how the Jesuits who never left their home continent enacted masculinities similar to their better-traveled brethren. The conclusion includes an epilogue that reflects on long-term legacies of the early modern global expansion of Jesuit masculinity on Chamorro Catholicism in today's Guam. Much like the chapters that precede it, the book's final section treats discussions of masculinity as inseparable from femininity and women.

Chapter 1 explores the European origins of missionary manhood. It centers on the model of masculinity first set by Ignatius of Loyola, the Society's Ur-father, in a text often referred to as his *Autobiography* and the appeal this model exerted on German men after the Protestant Reformation had thrust clerical masculinity into a crisis. The chapter argues that Ignatian masculinity, while not formulated in response to this crisis, offered an emotionally compelling answer to it: a self-assured and novel Catholic masculinity grounded in homosocial bonds. It was an emerging masculinity that lent itself particularly well to being exported not only to other European countries but also on a more global scale. Notably, Ignatius's particular manhood made ample room for the feminine on the level of the symbolic but established firm boundaries with actual women, making it less pressing for Jesuits to reject feminine qualities in themselves. Ignatius also made his mark upon the Society through his Spiritual Exercises and, in this way, on future Jesuits who continued to undertake them. Aimed at reproducing Ignatius's conversion experience, this technology of the self still allowed for uniqueness because the context of each individual who undertook them particularized the exercises, just like each Jesuit adopted exemplary life histories to the context of their own story.

Chapter 2 takes the story beyond Europe's shores and looks at the importance of the sea voyage as a rite de passage into missionary manhood. In the social microcosm of the ship, Jesuits defined their brand of masculinity

vis-à-vis other men aboard, carrying out pastoral work under extremely challenging circumstances such as life-threatening illness or ocean storms. This chapter centers on Francis Xavier, the Society's first overseas missionary and another popular figure in German lands, and on the particular model that the Apostle of the Indies provided for male conduct at sea. If Ignatius was the Society's inventor and Ur-father, Francis Xavier was its patron of mobility and metamorphosis. Hagiographical accounts and paintings of Xavier's sea voyages emphasize his emotional self-governance during moments of peril, when others on board succumbed to paralyzing fears, and his capacity to instill faith and trust in God. The passion of fear, the chapter shows, played a special role in the making of Jesuit manhood. As part of their formation, Jesuits learned how to convert unhelpful and debilitating fear into proper fear of God, a hallmark of true faith. Transoceanic voyages, accounts by latter-day followers of Xavier show, put the Jesuit formation and members to a most serious test since existential fear was an inevitable byproduct of ocean journeys. To perform Jesuit manhood on board, a missionary had to perform the transformation of sinful fears into correct fear of God. The ship offered a significant social context of emotional engagement and embodied conditioning of the missionary self, an individualized reiteration of the Xaverian experience. At the journey's end, a newly fortified Jesuit landed on foreign shores, more ready than ever to convert and regulate indigenous others.

Taking up the link between missionary self-fashioning and reforming others, Chapters 3 and 4 turn to Jesuit manhood in the Marianas missions and explore how the desire to enact particular forms of European masculinity affected the island population. Jesuit homosocial ties were strained on the frontier of evangelization and missionary manhood had to be proven in the encounter with foreign peoples. Each chapter pairs the story of an individual Jesuit with the story of European attempts to transform island society and indigenous responses to these outside interferences. Both Diego de Sanvitores, the protagonist of Chapter 3, and Augustinus Strobach, Chapter 4's main character, understood themselves as followers and indeed avatars of Francis Xavier, with a twist: they deeply longed for the martyrdom which had eluded Xavier. The earliest Christians had understood the blood of martyrs as the seed that spawned new Christians, and the Society of Jesus had revitalized the idea in print and practice during the early modern phase of global Christianization. Martyrdom promised both a rich harvest of new Christians and new missionaries. As the most heroic male death, it engendered moral exemplars whose redemptive suffering in faraway lands drew other men into the missions, thus extending the reach of the order's

corporate body in space and time. Given its dual effects, martyrdom may have been the most potent means of successful clerical reproduction.

The biographies of these two Jesuits illustrate that Xavier's example, many decades after his death and canonization, continued to exert a powerful pull on the imagination and action of men in Spain and Germany. Xavier's own writings, stories told about him, and his iconographic legacy furnished late-seventeenth-century followers like Sanvitores and Strobach with scripts of missionary manhood to be enacted by aspiring saints and recognized by others as marks of holiness. Like all scripts, however, those about Xavier were open to elaboration and needed to be accommodated to specific missionary situations. In fashioning themselves into versions of Francis Xavier, Sanvitores and Strobach each set about refashioning island society to serve as the external mirror of their interior transformation. The introduction of Christian norms of marriage, sexuality, and gender was a central component of this process, as it was everywhere in the Jesuit missions. In the Marianas, however, local worlds were overturned in particularly dramatic ways due to a fundamental clash between European and island norms, including matrilineal traditions, and on account of the extraordinary levels of violence that came to define the missionary encounter in the Pacific archipelago. When European Catholicism met Chamorro culture in 1668, the encounter took place on a military frontier and along what Kathleen Brown termed a 'gender frontier' where two culturally specific systems for understanding gender and sexuality, as well as the cosmos, collided.⁵⁸

Chapter 3 traces the beginnings of this island mission together with the evolution of its Jesuit founder, Diego de Sanvitores. He reimagined the Pacific archipelago as a feminized space ruled by the Virgin Mary and her Jesuit acolytes, whose task it was to guide their island charges toward Christian salvation. He enlisted the support of Spanish colonial authorities to make the complex spiritual and political reorganization of island society possible. Struggles for male spiritual hegemony between the Jesuits and *makahnas* ('shaman-sorcerers') overshadowed the early days of the mission from its beginning through the 'first Great War of Guam' and Sanvitores's death in April 1672. Indigenous beliefs in *anitis* (ancestral spirits) and deeply held respect for the *makahnas* influenced the islanders' responses in the Marianas mission. On the one hand, beliefs in an ancestral afterlife and in *makahnas* as ritual experts made the islanders more receptive to Catholicism, enabling the Jesuits to gain a foothold in the complex island world. On the other hand, the same beliefs led to the sharpest clashes between islanders and

58 Brown, 'Gender Frontiers.'

Europeans and set in motion a spiral of deadly violence. Missionaries and *makahnas* represented hegemonic masculinities among their people, at once uncannily alike yet diametrically opposed. They each claimed a monopoly on the spirit world, which in their view placed them above political authorities and which they were ready to defend, if necessary, by relying on the worldly weapons of war. The spiritual combat behind the military goes a long way toward explaining the decade-long destructive violence that swept the islands in the late seventeenth century.

Chapter 4 homes in on the life of Augustinus Strobach to elucidate other aspects of Jesuit masculinity and sociopolitical development in a later stage in the mission's history. As with Sanvitores's, Strobach's inward transformation was inseparable from the outward project of changing island life. Strobach's writings and activities underscore that the reproduction of the male Jesuit self was bound up with controlling the sexual and social reproduction of the convert population, particularly its female half. The European men like him who came to redefine the islanders' cosmic order around 'the Christian father god' saw in their religion a mandate to redefine the islanders' social order around patrilineality and patriarchy. Although these changes in cosmology, kinship arrangements, and family life were traumatic for all islanders, they had a particularly negative effect on women. Women lost all political power and became newly subordinated not only to the all-male outside intruders but also to indigenous men, some of whom were drawn to Christian patriarchy. Women further carried the primary burden of upholding new Christian sexual mores while being exposed to new forms of sexual violence from the soldiers. Absent European women in the islands, relations with Chamorro women took on added significance, since the men from patriarchal Europe differentiated themselves as men vis-à-vis the opposite sex in reference to Chamorro women alone. A chief point of friction and target of conquest activity was the matrilineal organization of family life. Yet matrilineal traditions also prepared the cultural ground for the Cult of the Virgin championed by Jesuits like Strobach, paving the way for its ready acceptance among islanders. While Marian devotion facilitated the establishment of Christianity in the islands, it also became an avenue for indigenous women, as it had been for European women for centuries, to claim influence and agency within patriarchal Christianity.

Chapter 5 focuses on Jesuit knowledge production about the Pacific as an expression of missionary masculinity. It takes several Jesuit commodities or media of knowledge production as its examples: *Lives* (hagiographies) of indigenous women and maps of new mission frontiers, as well as serial publications of missionary letters in Europe. The chapter first analyzes life

histories of Catarina de San Juan, an Asian-born mystic who lived in colonial Mexico and was the subject of a number of hagiographies written, printed, and circulated by Jesuits, at considerable expense of time and resources. Jesuits from Spain and Germany used the holy woman's experience and legacies for their own consolation and interest and produced narratives that shed light on their own masculine struggles and the way in which national origin inflected missionary masculinity. In comparing several *vitas* of Catarina this chapter further traces the progressive appropriation of the indigenous woman's experiences as the narrative moved closer to the European center of Christianity. In parallel fashion, the chapter compares Spanish and German versions of a map of the next island frontier beyond the Marianas, the Caroline Islands of Oceania, and the progressive erasure of indigenous conceptions of space as the map traveled from the Pacific to Europe. Finally, the chapter discusses Germany's most important serial missionary publication, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, in which both Catarina's hagiography and the map appeared. Just like the earlier Jesuit biographers and mapmaker, the Jesuit publisher of this periodical propped up his male identity as an editor and scholar through the intellectual conquest of the indigenous and the feminine. The redacted *vita* and map took on added meanings in a publication that communicated a view of the European colonial world order to its readers, praised the participation of German missionaries in its making, and encouraged an increase of German influence in the world. There missionary knowledge production met colonial fantasy,⁵⁹ arguably laying the imaginary groundwork for modern masculine imperializing endeavors that in the German case resulted in the late-nineteenth-century colonization of the Marianas and Caroline Islands.

A conclusion and epilogue bring to a close this book's exploration of the transgenerational and transregional Jesuit chain of influence in the early modern world and the simultaneously mimetic and individualistic manifestations of its particular form of masculinity. Although Jesuit masculinity and the order's global moves left their traces on societies around the world, the men and women whom the missionaries believed to have converted to their way of life in turn always also reformed European Catholicism and its gender norms. The book's final pages take the story up to today's US-controlled Guam and Chamorros to show how island Catholicism, while

59 The absence of colonies in early modern Germany drove a vivid colonial fantasy life. In *Colonial Fantasies*, Zantop has analyzed this phenomenon for works of fiction and secular writings. Kontje (*German Orientalisms*) made similar claims his study of 'German Orientalisms' in works of fiction, also in response to Edward Said, who famously omitted Germany from his study of Orientalism because Germany did not have colonies until a later date.

it arrived from Rome or the West in the early modern period, today is no longer 'of the West' but part and parcel of Chamorro identity. The Chamorros' particularly vibrant Catholicism, which 98 percent of members practice, has served as a site of Chamorro identity formation and anticolonial resistance, most recently to the homogenizing tendencies of US-sponsored capitalism. Reflecting a process of transformation that began with the events narrated in this book, Chamorros have appropriated Catholicism for the continued transmission of cultural traditions, including traditions that predate the Jesuits' arrival on the island. To conclude a book about masculinity, which is, of course, dependent on femininity, I briefly sketch today's death customs. These practices give prominence to the Virgin Mary, powerful senior women, and female-coded values of community and reciprocity, reflecting vestiges of the matrilineal customs the Jesuits came to destroy and indigenous women's ability to appropriate Catholicism as an avenue of influence.

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1 Manly Missions

Reforming European Masculinity, Converting the World¹

Abstract

This chapter explores the European origins of missionary masculinity and the affective reasons behind the phenomenal growth of the Jesuit order. It pays particular attention to the reimagined clerical masculinity that the founding father Ignatius of Loyola modeled for and generated in other men across Europe, notably in German lands. Two media of male mimesis are especially relevant: Ignatius's so-called *Autobiography* and his Spiritual Exercises. Ignatian manhood lent itself to participation in European expansion due to its global orientation, high mobility, and emphasis on patri-filial ties. Jesuit masculinity made ample room for the feminine on the level of the symbolic and the affective but established firm boundaries with actual women through women's de jure exclusion from the all-male Society of Jesus.

Keywords: Ignatius of Loyola, missionary masculinity, homosocial bonds, mimesis, the *Autobiography*, Spiritual Exercises

The Society of Jesus is one of the great success stories of the sixteenth century. From its simple beginnings as a small circle of like-minded friends, a religious start-up company of sorts, it rapidly grew into an enterprise of global scale, attracting thousands of young men willing to join and eager to go wherever their mission should take them. Numbering only ten men at the time of its foundation in 1540, the Society expanded to 1,000 members by 1556, the year its founder, Ignatius of Loyola, died. Another decade later, in 1565-1566, the Society's membership had made a big jump to 3,500. The religious corporation kept growing throughout the century to reach an

¹ A first version of this chapter appeared as Strasser, 'The First Form and Grace.' This version contains additional content and references.

impressive total of 13,000 Jesuits worldwide by 1615. A stunning example of premodern religious globalization, the Society's members quickly ventured into far-flung regions, weaving a missionary network that covered the vast distances from the metropolises of Europe to the colonial peripheries of Asia and the Americas.²

In exploring the reasons for this breathtaking expansion of the Jesuit enterprise, much has been written about the Society's *spiritual* appeal. The religious genius and charisma of its founder as well as some of his followers have been noted. Furthermore, scholars have remarked on the Society's potent combination of pastoral care, social activism, and intellectual engagement, which put it on the forefront of Tridentine Catholicism even if it was not founded to combat Protestantism. Last but not least, historians of the Society have identified its ability to minister to elites and rally political support as factors that account for its good fortunes.³ By comparison, very little has been said about another dimension of the Jesuit success story, although this aspect seems no less crucial to our understanding of the phenomenon – namely, the Society's *emotional* appeal as an all-male organization and a homosocial fellowship of men who embodied a reimagined clerical masculinity that other men wanted to emulate.⁴ Alongside the religious crisis, and inseparable from it, the century of the Reformation witnessed a crisis of gender norms coupled with a profound challenge to traditional clerical masculinity.⁵ As Protestant reformers shifted the social site of sacrality from continent clerics to the procreative, patriarchal family,⁶ men who still donned the robes of the Catholic clergy were thus necessarily opting for both a faith and a type of manhood that was under attack. In this age of competing confessions and competing masculinities, what might have drawn men to the rather novel Society of Jesus? Differently put, what was so compelling about this redefinition of a masculine way of life as to persuade men to forego other emotional attachments and male identities in order to become a Jesuit?

2 These numbers can be found in Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, p. 3. On the Society as a 'world-spanning unity,' see Clossey, 'Distant Souls.'

3 See, for example, Bangert, *A History*; O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*; Osuna, *Friends in the Lord*; Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola*; De Guibert, *The Jesuits*; Rahner, *The Spirituality of St. Ignatius*.

4 For steps in this direction, see Rhodes, 'Join the Jesuits'; Laven, 'The Jesuits and Gender.'

5 Roper, 'Was There a Crisis.'

6 The classic account of this shift remains Roper, *The Holy Household*. For recent work on the specific implications of the Protestant Reformation for men, see, for example, Hendrix, 'Masculinity and Patriarchy'; Spierling, 'Father, Son, and Pious Christian'; Mentzer, 'Masculinity and the Reformed Tradition in France'; Puff, 'The Reformation of Masculinity in Sixteenth-Century Switzerland.'

Any in-depth exploration of these questions will have to take into account the broader, global implications of this European crisis of masculinity since its resolution, at least for those who became missionary men in the Society of Jesus, was tied to the political imperatives of European colonialism and the reconfiguration of gender norms abroad. Notably it was the colonial imperative to convert indigenous populations into docile Christian subjects, male as well as female, that created the possibility for and shaped the circumstances of Jesuit missionary work in the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Jesuit masculinity in turn was uniquely suited to exporting patriarchal Catholicism and also shaped the European civilizing mission. The Society's institutional formation and the remaking of clerical masculinity in Europe thus intersected with global processes of domination and differentiation whose gendered patterns involved the mutual construction of marginal colonial and hegemonic colonizing masculinities.⁷

This chapter takes a first step toward outlining these complex global dynamics by considering the 'local' dynamics within Europe that first spun the Jesuit order into motion and propagated this emerging form of European masculinity. It pays particular attention to the charismatic masculinity that Ignatius of Loyola as the founding father of the Jesuit order modeled for and generated in his followers across Europe. The Society of Jesus opened new worlds of emotional fulfillment to men, in no small part because it opened up the world at large to their missionary exploits. The foundation of the Society marked a watershed moment in the European history of masculinity. Ignatius presented an exemplar of a new type of manhood in a text commonly known as his *Autobiography*.⁸ It was but a first example of the myriad of texts that secured the Society's reproduction and transmission over time. Again and again, Jesuit masculinity came into existence based on the conscious emulation of a type and its adaptation to specific circumstances. During the initial decade of the Society's most rapid expansion, this particular text outlining the Ignatian example circulated among its members, and outsiders. Jerome Nadal (1507-1580), the Society's first secretary, was a central figure in the creation and

7 This general trend applies most starkly in the case of the Spanish Empire and does not preclude individual Jesuits voicing criticism of colonial practices or straying from colonial oversight. On the Spanish Empire and Jesuit global missions, see, for example, Hausberger, *Für Gott und König*. On the nexus between economic interests, colonial expansion and missionary work in Asia, see Clossey, 'Merchants, Migrants, Missionaries.' A famous example of a Jesuit who deviated from colonial norms and adopted 'native ways' is that of Roberto di Nobili in India. See Županov, *Disputed Missions*.

8 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*.

dissemination of this text. Nadal himself had undergone transformative change. When he first met Ignatius in Paris, he rejected Ignatius's call to become part of his male circle. After much soul-searching Nadal changed his mind, underwent the Spiritual Exercises, and joined to become the order's most formative member alongside Ignatius, forging Jesuit identity and promoting it across Europe.⁹ He employed the narrative of Ignatius's life as a recruitment tool in various European countries to explain the nature of the Jesuit vocation.¹⁰

What points of identification might men across Europe have found with the Basque nobleman-turned-religious? This chapter considers the resonances of Ignatian manhood for men from the heartland of the Protestant Reformation, the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. Ignatius's sexuality and piety, and his relationships with others, especially women, are particularly relevant. Although the *Autobiography* barely touches on the subject of the Reformation, these features set Ignatian masculinity apart from Protestant manhood for German audiences. On several missionary journeys to the Holy Roman Empire, Jerome Nadal indeed invited such comparison by typecasting Ignatius as an 'anti-Luther' and new David facing the Lutheran Goliath.¹¹ Ignatian manhood, however, had not been constituted in reaction to Protestantism; it was neither an embattled nor an anxious masculinity. Its affective appeal to European men rested on this doubleness: on the one hand, Ignatian manhood allowed for unambiguous differentiation from a threatening Protestant masculinity within Europe. On the other hand, it offered the possibility of resolving the emotional tensions that had come to surround Catholic clerical masculinity into a secure and comfortable identification with a revitalized type of clerical manhood that was destined for export into the wider Catholic world. In some sense, its export to Germany, which later Jesuit generals revealingly declared a 'second India,' was a first test case for the portability, adaptability, and durability of Jesuit masculinity.¹² Ignatius of Loyola dispatched his companion Pierre Favre to the Holy Roman Empire in 1540, that is to say, in the same year in which he sent his another close associate, Francis

9 Gay, 'Nadal, Jerónimo,' pp. 546-547. On aspects of Nadal's influential meditative program, *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*, see Chapter 2.

10 O'Malley, 'Historiography,' pp. 4-7.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

12 General Mutio Vitteleschi, for example, put it in a carefully phrased letter of rejection to a German applicant for the overseas mission: 'Germany is a second India. There is a lot of work in Germany and no fewer opportunities for suffering than in the Indies.' Cited in Pohle, 'Friedrich Spee,' quote p. 19, translation mine.

Xavier, to India proper.¹³ The religiously fractured German lands, although geographically located on the European continent, were still a missionary frontier akin to the ‘Indies.’

Conversations between Fathers and Sons: The *Autobiography* as a Primary Source

Ignatius’s *Autobiography* is an invaluable source for the history of the Jesuits, but it also raises a host of interpretive problems. Ignatius related the narrative of his unfolding vocation orally, on three separate occasions between 1553 and 1555, to a younger member of his order, Luis Gonçalves da Câmara (1519-1575). Câmara first committed Ignatius’s story to memory before he had a chance to put a few notes on paper. Because of timing and circumstances, Câmara had to rely on different scribes, Spanish as well as Italian, when he dictated the full-length version of Ignatius’s recital.

This complex production of the text, involving layers of personal memories and languages, cautions against simplistic approaches to this source as a factual account of the life of Ignatius of Loyola. Moreover, the rhetorical composition of this text, as Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle has argued in a fascinating study on the topic, suggests that its proper place is not in the genre of (auto)biography but that of epideictic rhetoric; the text’s purpose was to evoke in the reader a desire for emulation of its praiseworthy protagonist.¹⁴ In other words, its purpose was moral rather than biographical or historical in a straightforward empiricist sense.

O’Rourke Boyle takes as her red thread the text’s portrayal of Ignatius as a once vainglorious person who has learned – and can now teach – others how to master this vice. The structure, content, and historical uses of the text, however, indicate that the so-called *Autobiography* was also after a more specific imitation for its target audience. It functioned as a textual initiation into Jesuit manhood by presenting Ignatius as a male role model to be imitated by a male readership with a possible interest in joining the Society. The spiritual conversion runs parallel to a social conversion. The text begins at a point of crisis in Ignatius’s soldierly and chivalric manhood, when he was wounded at Pamplona in 1521. It ends abruptly in 1538, after Ignatius and his companions arrive in Rome but before the actual founding

13 Xavier boarded the ship to India on April 7, 1541, marking the beginning of the order’s global expansion. Friedrich, *Die Jesuiten*: on Favre pp. 37-38, on Xavier pp. 395ff.

14 See Boyle, *Loyola’s Acts*.

of the Society while Ignatius is drafting *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. Câmara wants to peruse 'all those papers relating to the constitutions,' but Ignatius refuses to show him.¹⁵ Clearly, his conversion from soldier to religious man, not the elaboration of rules of conduct, is the foundational event of the narrative.¹⁶

To be sure, a text's ultimate effects hinge on the individual and often idiosyncratic interpretive acts of its readers.¹⁷ Yet even in the absence of explicit readers' responses, there is compelling evidence that Ignatius's *Autobiography* was a potent rhetorical tool that made a deep and lasting impression on its target audience of male recruits during the Society's foundational years as evident in the rapid increase in members and the importance accorded to it by central figures like Nadal. Above all, the text's efficacy derived from the way in which it modeled as well as facilitated emotionally charged conversations among men. It gave rise thereby to a form of homosocial intimacy, an attentive and sustained response to the deepest concerns of the soul that was difficult to come by in other social and institutional arenas. As such, the experience provided a taste of one of the defining features of a Jesuit's life: the regular practice of self-examination under the guidance of a more spiritually advanced man, most notably during the Spiritual Exercises, which centered on the dyad of spiritual director and exercitant. While the institutions of the court, the university, and the craft workshop were homosocial in nature and accorded men interaction with other men, these interactions were regulated by constant competition with one another. Knights, university scholars, and craftsmen alike established their masculinity first and foremost by measuring themselves against other men, especially their elders.¹⁸ By contrast, the homosocial milieu of the Society of Jesus emphasized cooperation among men for the sake of their common good ('the greater glory of God') and fostered abiding emotional ties between spiritual fathers and their sons.

Labeled a 'paternal instruction' and 'testament' by Jerome Nadal, Ignatius's account of his unfolding vocation is on the continuum of advice literature written by fathers to their sons.¹⁹ According to the literary scholar Walter Ong, authors cast their readers in a specific role with respect to the text,

15 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, p. 94.

16 The plotline in Ignatius's account represents a reversal of several contemporary autobiographies of soldiers. See Levisi, 'Golden Age Autobiography,' esp. pp. 100-106.

17 Strohm, *Theory and the Premodern Text*, pp. 137-145.

18 This is one of the main arguments developed in Ruth Karras's path-breaking study, *From Boys to Men*. See, for example, pp. 10-11.

19 Nadal applied those terms to the *Autobiography*. See introduction by Olin, p. 1.

a process he calls 'fictionalizing the audience.' Beginning in the Late Middle Ages, a framing narrative was often employed for this purpose. Luis Gonçalves de Câmara used precisely this rhetorical device to structure his recounting of Ignatius's story. In his preface, Câmara recounts the initial circumstances leading to the telling of the tale and invites the reader into the intimate initial oral setting that precedes and shapes the written account to follow.²⁰ In so doing, Câmara introduces a father-son dynamic that is seminal for the reception of text.

If we put it in Ong's terms, Câmara's preface fictionalizes his reader as a son in dire need of 'paternal instruction' who can count on his father's ability, even eagerness, to provide it. This is mirrored within the narrative as Câmara describes an affectively intense, transformative encounter between two men. He recalls how he first approached Ignatius – whom he calls simply 'the Father' – in the garden of the Jesuit residence in Rome to give 'an account of some of the inner concerns of my soul.' Ignatius in response relates incidents from his own life relevant to the son's struggles and offers helpful advice to the troubled younger man. The effect is immediate and profound: 'He spoke to me in this manner that greatly consoled me so that I could not restrain my tears.' Câmara's tears of consolation model a first listener's/reader's response to Ignatius's narration. The 'moral contract' between author and reader demands that the latter embrace the value system of the former at least temporarily if he wants to experience the emotional release promised by the text.²¹

The contract cuts both ways, though, according to Câmara's preface. Ignatius is no less affected and transformed by the communication than the younger man. For many years, Jerome Nadal and Juan Alfonso Polanco (1517-1576) had failed to persuade Ignatius to give a full account of his spiritual journey, but the conversation with Câmara alters his view of the matter in terms of an obligation to God as well as to the listener: 'When he had a great desire and inclination to do it, and (speaking in a manner that showed that God had enlightened him as to his duty to do so) he had fully decided to reveal all that had occurred in his soul until now. He had also decided that I should be the one to whom he would reveal these things.'²² The preface

20 Ong, 'The Writer's Audience.'

21 Ulrike Gleixner has argued that the principle of a 'moral contract' also underlies the communicative act of early modern sermons, in this instance requiring of the listener that s/he enter the moral universe of the preacher in order to experience an emotional catharsis. Using the example of the baroque preacher Abraham a Sancta Clara, Gleixner argues that this dynamic explains the efficacy of sermons in transmitting gender norms to audiences. Gleixner, 'Weibliche Zanksucht,' esp. pp. 92-93, 100-101.

22 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, p. 15.

portrays the son's quest and his receptiveness to the father's message as another precondition for the telling of the tale – a secret that will be shared with Cãmara, who will in turn pass it on to equally receptive readers.

But the broader dissemination of Ignatius's story lay in other hands. Jerome Nadal, who in John W. O'Malley's assessment more than anyone else, even Ignatius, gave the Society's 'first two generations their esprit de corps and taught them what it meant to be a Jesuit,' mined the narrative.²³ He used it in his private conversations, sermons, as well as speeches to Jesuits everywhere. Nadal saw in Ignatius an emblem of what God wanted for the Jesuit order, or in his own words, 'the first form and grace' of the Society. When he learned that Ignatius had begun to tell his story to Cãmara, he commented that 'the Father could do nothing of greater benefit [...] and that this was truly to found the Society.'²⁴ Not the acts of the founder, this suggests, but Ignatius's modeling of the conversion process in the *Autobiography* renders the society possible. Subsequently, this textual source was a focal point for the paternal/filial conversations that Nadal carried on during his many sojourns across Europe.

Missionary work in German lands rated among Nadal's highest priorities for the Society. Troubled by the conditions he encountered during a first journey there in 1555, he pushed the Society toward intensifying its efforts in the empire and himself returned for two extended visits in 1562-1563 and 1566-1567.²⁵ Nadal's activities in Germany spanned the years from the completion of the *Autobiography* to the consolidation of the Society's distinct 'way of proceeding' and the gradual replacement of Ignatius's own recital with a lengthy vita by Pedro de Ribadeneyra, which was officially commissioned and composed with an eye toward the founder's canonization.²⁶ The number of Jesuits in the empire, which was at a mere 50 in 1555, increased

23 O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 12.

24 Ibid., p. 17. Ignatius's storytelling belongs in the context of Humanist self-fashioning. Among the laity, the founding of a household and the writing of an autobiography for posterity often coincided. See Wunder, 'What Made a Man a Man?' Wolfgang Schmale relates the flourishing of men's autobiographical writings and male portraiture to the emergence of the notion of a new ideal type of Man or the New Adam during the Renaissance. Schmale, *Geschichte der Männlichkeit in Europa*, esp. pp. 9-28. By choosing Cãmara as his scribe and mouthpiece, Ignatius avoided the potential pitfalls that self-promotion held for a religious man and founder of a new order.

25 O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 275.

26 Some Jesuits objected to the substitution. O'Malley, 'Historiography,' p. 7. Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*. On Ribadeneyra's narrative and his role as 'image-maker,' see pp. 118-127. On Ribadeneyra's varied activities as a biographer, see Bilinkoff, 'Many Lives.' In contrast to the *Autobiography*, Ribadeneyra's work was more closely aligned with Tridentine teaching and established the images of the Jesuits as a military-style organization. The circulation of extant copies of the *Autobiography* was prohibited, which further underlies its potency as a text. The Bollandists recuperated the *Autobiography* and published it in Latin in the middle of the

eightfold by 1575, with many new recruits from German lands signing on to a life in the Society. Ignatius's *Autobiography* and the skillful employment of this text by the gifted rhetorician Nadal contributed to the impressive multiplication of Jesuits.²⁷ Nadal certainly believed in the power of 'the Father's' example to spawn more spiritual sons. What was at stake was not sexual reproduction but another, no less potent kind of propagation or clerical reproduction, as it were. As Nadal put it to an audience in Cologne in 1567, Ignatius's gift of his conversion story was a generative act: 'The whole life of the Society is contained in germ and expressed in Ignatius's story.'²⁸

Some 80 years later, an engraving was going to appear in the same city that depicted both the phenomenal growth of the Society and Ignatius's role as its potent progenitor (fig. 1). Entitled *Origins and Development of the Society of Jesus and Its Virtuous Men*, the image draws on a classical genealogical motif and represents the Jesuit order in the shape of a tree. The Jesuit version of this familiar motif blends two schemata of order in representing the Society: it couples the logic of patri-filial descent with the logic of geographical expansion.²⁹ Framed by portraits of famous fathers and dramatic scenes from the missions, this image is an all male family shot, excepting the symbolic feminine presence of the Virgin Mary at the top. The most recent and highest branches of the Jesuit family tree are those of the Philippines, China, and Brazil; each sprouts leaves that list the names of the steadily growing mission sites. At the root lies a sizeable Father Ignatius in supine position; the fertile tree shoots up from the lower part of his abdomen. Ignatius's hands are folded in prayer while his head is propped up on a book inscribed with the virtue of 'obedience.' The hands are disproportionately big and attached to overly long arms that shorten the founder's torso. As the hands rise directly from Ignatius's loins and are inserted deep into the stem of the Society's growing tree, Nadal's claim that Ignatius inseminated the order with his example is rendered in visual terms.³⁰

eighteenth century. The first vernacular edition appeared in the early twentieth century. See Cassar, 'Autobiography of St. Ignatius.'

27 O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 275.

28 Cited in *ibid.*, p. 65.

29 On genealogical trees produced by other religious orders, see Donadieu-Rigaut, *Penser en images*, esp. pp. 248ff. I thank Volker Bauer for directing me to this work.

30 This image is also discussed in Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, pp. 2-4, but not in reference to Ignatius's role as progenitor. Smith titles the engraving *Origins of the Jesuit House*, dates it earlier, around 1620, and describes it as anonymous. I follow the Latin title (translation mine) and the information provided by the Herzog August Bibliothek that houses the image, dating it around 1650 and associating it with the Cologne engraver Gerhard Altzenbach.

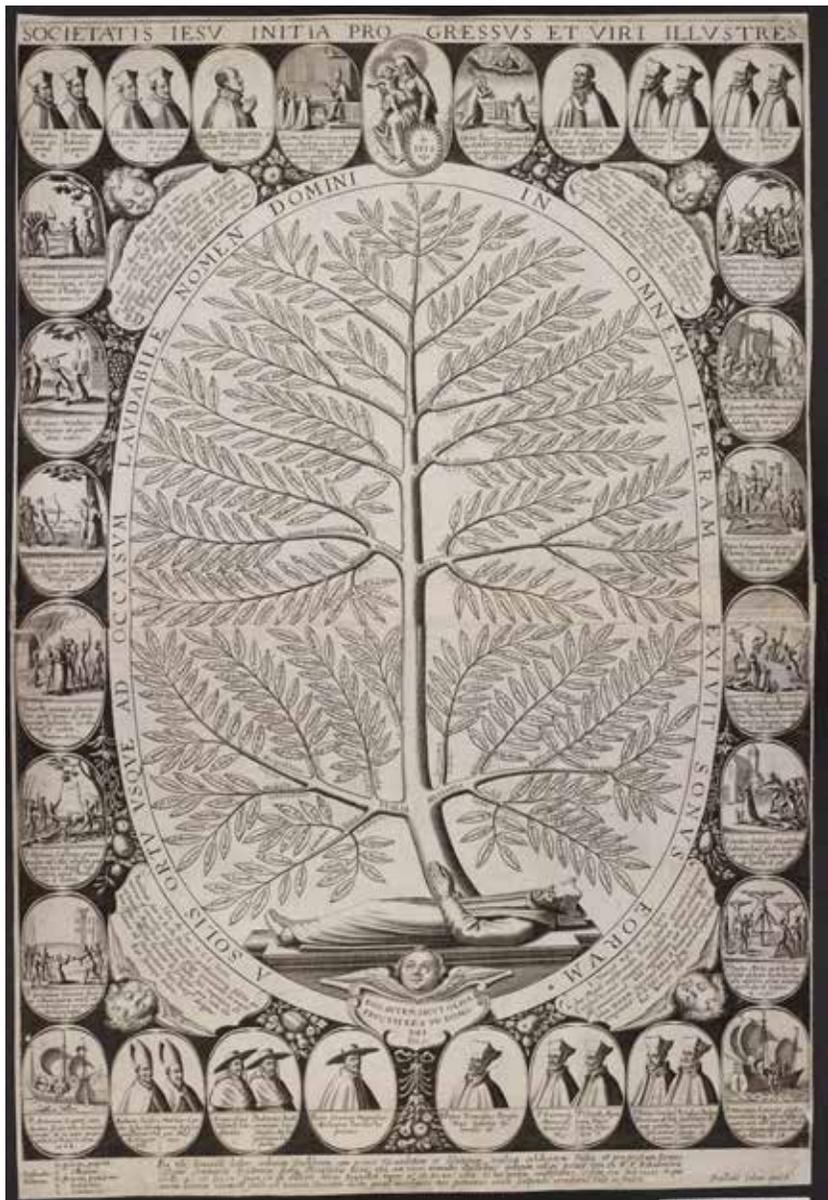


Figure 1 *Origins and Development of the Society of Jesus and Its Virtuous Men (Societatis Iesu initia progressus et viri illustri)*, Cologne, c. 1650. Copyright Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

Chastity Made Easy? Ignatius and the Question of Sexuality

By the time of Ignatius, continence had long been established as a hallmark of clerical masculinity – even if individual clerics honored the ideal in its

occasional breach rather than consistent fulfillment. To give up the freedom to act on carnal desire was a threshold that one simply had to cross on the path from layperson to religious man. The meaning of the vows of poverty and obedience left some room for negotiation whereas that of the vow of chastity was unequivocal.

Not surprisingly, in the adulthood conversion described in Ignatius's *Autobiography*, the embrace of chastity stands at the very beginning. Câmara's account proffers no details about Ignatius's earlier experiences with women but includes a vague general remark about 'youthful escapades' in the preface that could well refer to sexual adventures.³¹ Ignatius's early life as soldier and knight make this plausible. Indeed, continence becomes an issue when Ignatius experiences a severe crisis in his soldierly and chivalric masculinity during the period of convalescence after the Battle of Pamplona. Military prowess has brought him into bed, where he now finds himself blocked in his ability to perform like the man he used to be.

It does not help that there is no reading material to restore his chivalric manhood. 'True adherence to knightly models of masculinity,' as Ruth Karras has pointed out, 'required living up to literary models.'³² Without access to chivalric books, Ignatius resorts to religious texts to pass the time. The pull toward imitation of literary models is no less powerful but is now directed toward clerical masculinity. Although Ignatius still indulges fantasies about 'what he would do in the service of a certain lady,' a competing set of self-images intrudes more and more forcefully. He contemplates whether he should follow the masculine path of St. Francis or St. Dominic, and he substitutes concern for the suffering of others for his suffering for a lady.³³

In the end, it all happens quickly. Once Ignatius has decided to leave his old life behind and is already forgetting about the lady, he immediately has a vision that confirms such amnesia as salutary. The Virgin Mary – a remote and disembodied femininity that is both like and unlike that of the courtly lady – appears with the Christ Child. Rather than elaborating the vision, the text elaborates its emotional effects:

From this sight he received for a considerable time very great consolation, and he was left with such loathing for his whole past life and especially for the things of the flesh that it seemed that all the fantasies he had previously pictured in his mind were driven from it. Thus from that

31 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, p. 16.

32 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 66.

33 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, p. 23.

hour until August 1553 when this was written, he never gave the slightest consent to the things of the flesh.³⁴

This is not merely a spiritual experience but an experience of great emotional catharsis, as Ignatius moves from sexual desire to 'loathing' to permanent purgation of all 'fantasies.' This note of relief concludes the discussion of Ignatius's continence in the *Autobiography*, and the narrative never returns to it again. Struggles with sexual desire, so central to the Reformation campaign, are remarkably peripheral and relatively easy in the account of Ignatius's unfolding vocation.³⁵ As the reading of religious texts sparked Ignatius's desire for imitation of the religious life and facilitated a rapid transition into chaste clerical manhood, the reading of the *Autobiography* held the promise of similar results for other men.

The Ignatius of the *Autobiography* furthermore models how to protect the chastity of others. In one instance his actions are directed against his old peer group (i.e., soldiers), in another against his new peer group of clerics, delineating his difference from both in the process. On his journey to Rome in 1523, Ignatius finds himself traveling with a mother and her daughter. The group is separated during a stay at a hostel that also houses many soldiers. Loud screams awake Ignatius in the middle of the night, as the military men have attempted to rape the women. He cannot help but object loudly, even though this means risking an attack. His old soldierly bravery, the scene intimates, has become harnessed to a more recent rejection of sexuality and violence. He is choosing a new kind of homosocial companionship that is commensurate with his new masculine self-understanding.³⁶

Spiritualized bravery is also evident in a second moral intervention. Immediately upon his return from his studies in Paris to Spain in 1535, Ignatius embarks upon a campaign against concubinage. He persuades the governor of Azpeitia to outlaw the popular practice whereby priests' concubines covered their heads as if they were legal wives.³⁷ Ignatius appears

34 Ibid., pp. 24-25.

35 Ignatius's path from presumably sexually active knight to celibate religious man was the reverse of that followed by Luther, who moved from the monastic life into a sexually active marriage. Many years into his marriage, Luther still thought and wrote passionately about male lust and its challenges. As central part of his theology, he understood lust as the gender-specific consequence of Adam's fall into sin and therefore a burning issue for every man since. See Wiesner-Hanks, 'Lustful Luther.'

36 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, pp. 45-46.

37 Ibid., 83. On the various reforms initiated by Ignatius in Azpeiteia and their legal aspects, see Brieskorn, 'Ignatius in Azpeiteia,' esp. pp. 107-108 on the issue of clerical concubinage.

here as an agent of moral purification who fears neither custom nor other clerics. In so doing, he prefigures a role that Jesuits subsequently assumed in many places after the Council of Trent, often to the dismay of local clerics.

In the wake of the Reformation, the sexual purity of Catholic priests took on new urgency as an embodiment of fundamental doctrinal differences from Protestantism. Biological reproduction and fatherhood had long been mainstays of masculinity for men in the secular world. In denouncing the holiness of chastity and advocating an active sexuality within marriage for everyone, Protestants sought to turn their clerics into men like any other – a male priesthood of married, sexually active believers. Tridentine Catholics asserted the superiority of chastity to marriage by insisting on the sexual purity of priests and securing it through anticubinage campaigns. This uncompromising emphasis on purity, more than ever cast Catholic clerics as unlike other men.³⁸

Jesuits became instrumental in producing this growing divide among Catholic men on the issue of sexual purity. Interestingly, the German Empire where Nadal forcefully promoted Ignatius's example was home to men willing to play just this role. When Michel de Montaigne traveled through the duchy of Bavaria in 1580, he could not help but note:

The Jesuits who govern strongly in this land have caused considerable agitation and made themselves hated by the people, because, under threat of heavy penalties, they have forced the clergy to drive away their concubines; according to the complaints of the clergy, this appears to have been a generally tolerated condition, as if it were a legitimate tradition.³⁹

To go against tradition and popular sentiment, fellow clerics, and countrymen took conviction and emotional strength. What made this a psychological possibility for young men? It seems key that Jesuits came to the Tridentine agenda of moral purification from a less defensive place and an agenda of their own. The Ignatius of the *Autobiography* is not primarily concerned with the enforcement of chastity, or more broadly speaking, with fighting the Reformation. His primary concern is the betterment of souls, his own and that of others, and this becomes the primary mission for the men who joined his order.⁴⁰ Defined neither by sexuality nor its absence, Ignatian

38 Dürr, '... "die Macht und Gewalt der Priestern,"' esp. p. 76.

39 Cited in Lederer, 'Reforming the Spirit,' p. 162.

40 See John W. O'Malley's nuanced treatment of the complex relations among the Society of Jesus, the Counterreformation, and Catholic Reform. O'Malley, 'Was Ignatius of Loyola a Church Reformer?'

masculinity fit with the clerical masculinity envisioned at Trent but did not share its more defensive features. Arguably, this made Ignatian masculinity a more secure and hence more inviting variant of Tridentine manhood.

Of Scruples and Tears: A New Piety for a New Man

As befits a religious man, Ignatius's piety was the core feature of his masculinity, setting the parameters for inner states as well as outer achievements. The *Autobiography* paints the picture of a quasi-androgynous, spiritually complex and initially rather tormented person who achieves a new equilibrium of feeling and acting. In the end, Ignatius emerges as a religious man who draws on masculine and feminine elements to forge an action-oriented mysticism that differentiates him from both female and male mystics and propels him and his followers toward missionary work on a global scale.

To begin with Ignatius's more feminine attributes, passages of his *Autobiography* echo the themes of suffering, fasting, and emotiveness that have become familiar from the life histories of female mystics. Ignatius tortures himself with excessive worries ('scruples') about his sins with a depth of self-doubt and spiritual suffering that is more commonly found in women's hagiographies.⁴¹ At Manresa, the location of Ignatius's most decisive spiritual experiences, he undergoes a period of severe 'scruples' that no amount of confession is able to cure. 'Although he realized that those scruples did him much harm and that it would be wise to be rid of them, he could not do that himself.'⁴² Thrown into a suicidal state, he determines 'that he would not eat or drink until God took care of him or until he saw that death was indeed near.' Like many a fasting female mystic before him, Ignatius saves his appetites for the Eucharist alone and does not 'break off his abstinence' until ordered by a confessor.⁴³

At least a few of Ignatius's followers noted the Father's capacity to metamorphose into modes typically considered feminine. His later biographer, Ribadeneyra, whom Ignatius had taken under his wing as a boy, reminisced about Ignatius's maternal qualities as a leader, recalling fondly how he had 'raised me at his breasts since my childhood and tender age.'⁴⁴ Such

41 See Weinstein and Bell's comprehensive analysis of 864 saints' lives in *Saints and Society*, p. 40.

42 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, pp. 34-35.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

44 Cited in Bilinkoff, 'Many Lives,' p. 185, n. 15.

metaphorical uses of the feminine and even the female breast were not new in religious writings by men. These themes appeared in earlier Cistercian texts, like those of Bernard of Clairvaux, and have led Caroline Bynum to argue that the primary purpose of feminine imagery was to mitigate the power of masculine office-holding, to soften male authority's emotional impact on subordinate men.⁴⁵ Strategic femininity by the male leadership also had an important psychological function in the Society of Jesus with its strict hierarchies and emphasis on obedience. It could smooth over the inevitable tensions of father-son relationships that it created in the first place.⁴⁶

Ignatius's capacity to weep represents another defining feature of his piety. Ignatius made frequent tears part of the range of affects that characterizes the experience of a Jesuit; in so doing, he recoded weeping as a truly masculine ability in terms of his new definition of clerical manhood. The *Autobiography* indeed charts Ignatius's spiritual progress in his developing ability to cry. From a wounded soldier suppressing his tears during two painful surgeries, he grows into a fervent believer who experiences 'so much sobbing that he could not control himself.'⁴⁷ At the very end of the story, when Ignatius is working on the *Constitutions* for his order, copious crying has become a daily habit: '[H]e always said the prayer and the mass with tears.'⁴⁸

The gender of tears was ambiguous in Ignatius's culture. Depending on the context, tears could be associated with either masculinity and femininity, or both. The chivalric masculinity in which Ignatius was raised, for instance, included a conception of weeping as particularly manly. Knightly manhood required a flaunting of emotions. This turned the knight's public tears into one measure of the depth of feeling that he was capable of and thus into a measure of his manhood.⁴⁹ When the Ignatius of the *Autobiography* learns how to cry for Christ, he can draw on chivalric ideals of manhood and transpose them into a religious register.

45 Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, pp. 110-169.

46 Interestingly, in the world at large, the Jesuits voluntarily assumed a more feminine position with respect to the power of office, staying clear of the 'papacy, episcopacy, pastorate' and embracing humility as the hallmark of their vocation. O'Malley, 'Was Ignatius of Loyola a Church Reformer?', pp. 181-182.

47 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, p. 22. He first sheds tears when he recognizes he has acted out of vainglory rather than charity in giving his clothes to a beggar (p. 32). His first uncontrollable weeping occurs in Manresa after a vision (p. 38). See also Boyle, *Loyola's Acts*, p. 68.

48 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, p. 94.

49 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 65.

El Cid, the paragon of Spanish male identity, provided Ignatius with another powerful model of a hero whose tears enhanced rather than eroded his masculinity. The famous *El cantar de mio Cid* indeed opens with El Cid 'crying from his eyes' at the sight of the home he is forced to leave, with all the material objects signifying his wealth and status; this oral-formulaic phrase made its way into other epics, chronicle texts, and the romances as well.⁵⁰ More to the point, the epic of El Cid and its ethics of masculinity fed directly into the bellicose culture of the Reconquest which offered men ways of fusing together military and religious traits and behaviors into a single subjectivity, and shaped clerical culture in the centuries leading up to Ignatius's lifetime.

Weeping, of course, also had another religious pedigree, in the penitential and compassionate weeping that grew out of monastic practice to become a more widespread form of devotion in the Late Middle Ages. As is true of many cultures, this religious weeping was coded mainly yet not exclusively as feminine in the Christian West.⁵¹ Unrestrained flow of tears was one manifestation of God's flowing grace and hence a gift to his saints, male as well as female.⁵² It was a particular hallmark of the affective piety that came to be associated with dramatic female weepers such as Margery Kempe. Yet Margery's tears and those of other saintly women were part of a tradition that also included the public sobs of holy men, like those of St. Francis of Assisi, whose example in turn was a trigger and template for Ignatius's conversion.⁵³

Ignatius's innovation consists of resolving this equivocal ambiguity of tears by unequivocally claiming them as masculine for himself and his sons. Here it is important to note that the overall purpose of the body in Ignatian spirituality diverged from that in Franciscan spirituality and was directed toward exclusively masculine ends, the spiritual conquest of souls at home and abroad. Francis's affective piety was bound up with a more severe asceticism. Bonaventure's *Life of St. Francis*, the Franciscan order's preferred hagiography, reports extreme austerities and other acts of willful destruction of the body. Francis makes no secret of his view that the flesh is above all a locus of sin and an obstacle to the spirit: 'He used to call his body Brother Ass, for he felt it should be subjected to heavy labor, beaten frequently with whips and fed with the poorest food.'⁵⁴ Francis

50 Rico, *Cantar de Mio Cid*. A variation of the phrase even appears in the *Chanson de Roland*. I am very grateful to Michelle Hamilton for alerting me to these texts and connections.

51 For a cross-cultural and comparative view, see Patton and Hawley, *Holy Tears*, on gender and weeping esp. pp. 12-14.

52 McEntire, *Doctrine of Compunction*, esp. pp. 1-63; Boyle, *Loyola's Acts*, pp. 68-69.

53 Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim*, esp. pp. 129-156.

54 Bonaventure, *The Soul's Journey*, p. 222.

whittles away at his body to facilitate the entering of the spirit, a process that culminates in his famously receiving the stigmata and being 'totally transformed into the likeness of Christ crucified.'⁵⁵ By contrast, Ignatius embraced and advocated a more tempered asceticism. His action-oriented mysticism required a body made porous for the divine yet strong enough to carry out the kinds of missions in distant lands that were the domain of men. The tears of missionary men, while softening the soul, should not flow from an unduly weakened body. His *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* featured a separate chapter on 'The Preservation of the Body,' in which Ignatius demands proper care of the physical self from his followers:

Just as an excessive preoccupation over the needs of the of the body is blameworthy, so too a proper concern about the preservation of one's health and bodily strength for the divine service is praiseworthy and all should exercise it.⁵⁶

The *Autobiography* dates Ignatius's turn toward a modicum of self-preservation as part of the Manresa period. A fervent Ignatius who was driven to forego sleep in order to converse with God comes to the conclusion that this impulse was probably of demonical origin and that he should 'sleep for the appointed hour.' Around the same time, Ignatius breaks his long abstinence and resumes the consumption of meat. He remains convinced that this dietary change accords with God's will even though his confessor raises concerns to the contrary.⁵⁷

Significantly, Câmara's account follows this information with a discussion of how much God taught Ignatius at the time and the uncontrollable tears and great stirrings of the soul this caused. Alongside the affective excess, we thus also find a caution against excessive demands upon the body and self-exploitation, a call for moderation that was coded as masculine in early modern culture⁵⁸ but invoked here in support of exclusively male missionary work. Heightened religious affect arises in Ignatian devotion where excess meets self-restraint and preservation of physical stamina. The result is a manhood that is at once highly emotional and properly regulated, in fact almost hyper-masculine in proportion to the volatility of affect contained by a physically active missionary body.

55 Ibid., pp. 303-307, quote from p. 306.

56 Ignatius of Loyola, *Ignatius of Loyola: Spiritual Exercises*, p. 292.

57 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, pp. 36-37.

58 Renaissance Humanism considered moderation a defining characteristic of an ideal man. See Reeser, *Moderating Masculinity*.

The appeal of Ignatian piety was not lost on young Catholic men in the German Empire. Like Martin Luther's spiritual crisis, Ignatius's 'great scruples' revolved around their time's most pressing question: How will I be saved? Ignatius gave a Catholic answer in forging a new kind of apostolate that integrated good works and faith, as much as it integrated the best of masculine and feminine qualities and broadened the range of affective experiences and emotional vocabularies available to men. German Jesuits followed in the Father's footsteps when they resorted to maternal images, such as that of the mother bear, to explain their pastoral role in sermons.⁵⁹ They embraced feminine qualities in themselves and attempted to instill them in other men. Thus, the Jesuit school in Münster taught boys the same virtues that contemporary advice manuals advocated for girls: 'moderation, simplicity, decorum and shame as befits honorable priests and clerical men.'⁶⁰ And Ignatius's example could authorize practices like those of the Bavarian Jesuit Jakob Rem, who lived in Ingolstadt between 1546 and 1618. Rem acquired a reputation for holiness on the basis of abilities typically associated with saintly women: prophetic speech, great capacity to deliver souls from purgatory, and the ability to levitate.⁶¹ While contemporary holy women in Bavaria tended to perform such feats behind cloister walls, Rem's maleness allowed for a public staging of pious practices coded as feminine.⁶² This gender fluidity arose directly from Ignatius's unique and compelling combination of affective piety and active involvement in the world. Rem indeed seems to have understood his activities as a form of Jesuit missionary work and the German lands as an arena of global evangelization. When the first four Germans excitedly departed for 'the Indies' from his Ingolstadt in 1616, Rem as their rector objected: 'Why do they to go to faraway lands? The time is nearing when we in Germany will have our own India.'⁶³

Negotiating Masculinity, Negotiating Otherness

According to John W. O'Malley, a consideration of the interaction between European Jesuits and various others is indispensable to understanding

59 Dürr, '... "die Macht und Gewalt der Priestern,"' p. 81.

60 Ibid., pp. 81-82.

61 Johnson, 'Blood, Tears and Xavier-Water,' p. 200.

62 Examples can be found in Strasser, *State of Virginity*, esp. chap. 4. See also Strasser, 'Una profetessa.'

63 Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, pp. 11-14, quote p. 14.

Jesuits.⁶⁴ Such consideration likewise seems indispensable to understanding their masculinity. Ignatius's *Autobiography* opens a window onto dynamics between Jesuits and two other groups: nonbelievers and women. For Ignatius and his later followers, settling into a comfortable relationship with these two particular groups was a true milestone on the way to a new masculinity.

How to deal with men of other faiths? A scene that occurs shortly after Ignatius's convalescence encapsulates the answer. On his way to Montserrat, Ignatius contemplates how best to perform deeds for God's glory, when he is presented with an opportunity in the person of a 'Moor' (*moro*). After the forced expulsion earlier in the century, this could only be a Muslim convert.⁶⁵ The text's deployment of the derogatory *moro* instead of the historically accurate *morisco* marks the man as never really fully Christian. The term foreshadows the lesson about profound otherness that follows.

The Moor's otherness manifests itself in religious as well as gender unorthodoxy. *Moro* was a term for sodomite, the binary opposite of the Latin *vir* or real man.⁶⁶ Moreover, this 'Moro' starts to argue with Ignatius about the perpetual virginity of Mary. He contends that there were many 'natural reasons' for the Virgin Mary to lose her virginity when Christ was born. Ignatius tries his best to persuade his interlocutor but to no avail. The man disappears, and Ignatius regrets that he let him attack the Virgin's honor without consequences; men of his class were taught to defend women's sexual honor.⁶⁷ Even though Ignatius is tempted to chase the man down and kill him with his dagger, he ultimately lets his mule be guided by God and pick a path that leads away from the man and the desire to murder him. When Ignatius finally arrives in Montserrat, he once and for all exchanges the dagger for a pilgrim's staff at the altar of Our Lady.⁶⁸

The contrasting phallic images of dagger and staff are emblematic of a shift in masculine identities. The dagger stands for a life of warfare, aggression, and the defense of women's honor. The pilgrim's staff stands for a life of service for God, wandering the earth, foregoing violence. By trading one for the other, Ignatius is changed from a soldier to a soldier of Christ. He will continue to be brave but will now be brave on behalf of God. He will no longer think of 'a certain lady' but pledge all his loyalty to the Queen of Heaven.

64 O'Malley, 'Historiography,' pp. 25-26.

65 Boyle, *Loyola's Acts*, p. 61.

66 Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn*.

67 Boyle, *Loyola's Acts*, p. 63.

68 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, pp. 31-32.

Manly interaction with religious others for whom the Moor is a stand-in facilitates this shift. Ignatius as exemplar in this scene encourages active engagement – he argues with the man – and discourages a violent response: he abandons his desire to kill him. The manly thing to do is to not fight with weapons but with words, to channel one's aggression into persuasive rhetoric and education. Work with Muslims would become an important aspect of Jesuit missionary work within Europe.⁶⁹ But Ignatius, a citizen of a colonial power, also models a way of relating to others outside of Europe and presents a masculine alternative to the violent conquistador. In the colonial setting, the missionary, like the conquistador, would be displaced from the disciplinary restraints of familiar social relationships, easy prey to misguided impulses. Ignatius here typifies a controlled and clerical masculinity that resorts to arguments and not blows, to conversion instead of conquest. This critique of the conquistador masculinity, albeit embodied and implicit rather than articulated and elaborated, mirrors that of his compatriot and contemporary Bartolomé de las Casas.⁷⁰

But what might male Catholic audiences in Germany have made of this episode? The 'Moor' was a distant figure for them, and colonial adventures were no more than armchair fantasies after the collapse of the German colony in Venezuela in 1555.⁷¹ Yet this heretic's claims were not unlike those of Protestants who also combined religious difference and the disruption of sexual norms. It seems a short conceptual step from the assertion of 'Moor' that 'natural reasons' would lead even the Virgin Mary toward a sexually active life to the Protestant invocation of a natural sex drive and the reformers' demotion of the Holy Virgin to a mere human being. Like Ignatius, German Catholic men could well feel the sting of attack on the honor of Mary.

Along the same lines, Ignatius's response strikes deep chords for German Catholic audiences. He does not fight the Virgin's detractors with his dagger, but discovers a new manhood – for him and his future companions – in devotion to this idealized femininity. This concept of a brotherhood dedicated to an abstract feminine principle was bound to fall on fertile ground in German areas, like Bavaria, where Jesuits kindled the flames of an already

69 Jennifer Selwyn has documented the Jesuit mission to convert Muslim slaves in Naples. Selwyn, 'Planting Many Virtues'; Selwyn, 'Procuring in the Common People.'

70 On Las Casas as a critic of conquistador masculinity as an emerging new form of manhood, see Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 187. On this issue, see also Bilinkoff, 'Francisco Losa and Gregorio López.'

71 On the importance of imaginary colonialism to early modern Germans and the sixteenth-century Venezuelan adventure as a colonial 'urfantasy,' see Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*.

impassioned cult of Mary.⁷² It seems no coincidence that the first treatise on the Virgin by a Jesuit, *De Maria Virgine incomparabili* (also known as *Opus Marianum*), was published by the ‘apostle of Germany,’ Petrus Canisius, in Ingolstadt in 1577.⁷³

Ignatius’s relationships with real women were no less important to the formation of Jesuit masculinity. In contrast to other all-male organizations, such as the university, the question of women’s exclusion was not raised at the beginnings of the Society of Jesus, but was rather the result of long negotiation during a process of masculine self-definition. The formal exclusion of women from the order occurred only in 1547, after the events recounted in the *Autobiography*, but before the actual composition and dissemination of the text (which was then used by Nadal to construct a much more homosocial world than it describes). In a sense, women’s official exclusion was a sequel to the *Autobiography*, since intensifying connection with some of its female characters, notably Isabel Roser, who attempted to start a female branch of Jesuits, prompted Ignatius to take this step.⁷⁴ The *Autobiography* already conjures up the dangers and difficulties of supervising women. At the same time, it reveals Ignatius’s special bond with women and disagreement among his companions over the extent of their involvement with the other sex. Women play important roles in Ignatius’s unfolding vocation. They repeatedly nurse him back to health and provide material, emotional, and even spiritual support for him and his companions. During his early days at Manresa, Ignatius fell seriously ill but was cared for by ‘many prominent ladies,’ who held night watches and made sure he dressed properly after his recovery.⁷⁵ Also at Manresa, he received his most profound advice from ‘a woman of great age who had long been a servant of God.’⁷⁶ Although Ignatius was trying hard to find other spiritual guides, ‘[s]he alone seemed to him to enter more deeply into spiritual matters. Therefore, after leaving Barcelona, he completely lost this eagerness to seek out spiritual persons.’⁷⁷

Yet with few exceptions, notably Ignatius’s benefactress Isabel Roser, the women in the *Autobiography* remain anonymous. This rhetoric of anonymity downplays the de facto significance of women at the Society’s

72 Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints*, esp. pp. 27-43, 163-165.

73 Baumstark, *Rom in Bayern*, pp. 548-549; O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 270.

74 See the exchange of letters between Ignatius and Isabel Roser in Ignatius of Loyola, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women*, pp. 262-295.

75 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, p. 41.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

founding, which shines through the *Autobiography* in many places and has been documented in detail by Olwen Hufton for the 1540s and early 1550s. During his time in Rome, in particular, Ignatius looked to influential female patrons to open doors for him and help develop the kind of support network that would guarantee the approval and long-term survival of his religious order. He proved himself a gracious recipient of their favors at the time. But once Jesuits found favor among high-powered men, 'a sign of their arrival in power politics,' women's role in promoting the Society declined dramatically, and their contributions began to fade from historical memory.⁷⁸ The *Autobiography* shows traces of the same amnesia.

The *Autobiography* also speaks to the perceived dangers of close contact with women. When a married woman visits Ignatius in a hospital in Alcalá several mornings in a row, promptly removing her veil before she enters his room, rumors reach the vicar general Juan Rodríguez de Figueroa and the rumors become part of an investigation. And when two women, a widow and her daughter, subsequently disappear from the city to go on a pilgrimage by themselves, Ignatius finds himself hauled up in jail under suspicion that he encouraged the dishonorable behavior. Only after the women return and confirm that they had acted on their own accord is he released from confinement.⁷⁹ Accordingly, caution in male-female relationships is the message that Ignatius gives his followers. Shortly after their arrival in Rome, he addresses his companions with a request to that effect: 'It is necessary that we be very careful of ourselves and that we not enter into conversations with women, unless they are prominent.'⁸⁰ The order shows that Ignatius held a class-based view of women, which had him distinguish between trustworthy upper-class women and potential patrons, on the one hand, and women who posed a risk to him and his Society, on the other.⁸¹ In this instance the sons do not heed the father's advice – with predictable results. Two of his followers have to face unlawful accusations when two women with whom they visited to discuss spiritual matters later become pregnant.⁸²

78 Hufton focuses on Leonor de Mascarenas, Leonora de Vega Osorio, and her daughter Isabel. See Hufton, 'Altruism and Reciprocity,' quote p. 329. See also Valone, 'Piety and Patronage.' Elite women acted as patrons, supporters, and sponsors throughout the Society's history, often in order to further their own religious, personal, and political goals. For other examples, see Broomhall, 'Devoted Politics'; Laqua-O'Donnell, 'Family Matters.'

79 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, pp. 63-65.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

81 Hufton also remarks on this categorization in 'Altruism and Reciprocity,' pp. 332-333.

82 Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, p. 89.

While fear of scandal no doubt played a role in Ignatius's refusal of a female branch of his order, his statements on the subject give the impression that this motive is secondary to Ignatius's deep desire to maintain freedom of movement and primacy of men's commitments to each other.⁸³ He wanted only sons, no daughters in his permanent care. Of the examples of Franciscan and Dominicans, Ignatius noted, 'We observe how their orders are much burdened and troubled by the constant complaints of their houses of nuns.'⁸⁴ It was the Society's calling, he outlined in his *Constitutions*, to 'be ready at any time to go from one part of the world to another, wherever they may be sent by the Supreme Pontiff or their superiors.' Formalized spiritual care of women threatened to tie his men down and obstruct their manly missions which included adventures afar. 'We must always stand with one foot raised, so to speak,' Ignatius explained to a Spanish lawyer and advocate of women's admission into the Society, 'that we may be able to *run freely* from one place to another.'⁸⁵ The choice of verb, not just 'moving' or 'walking' but 'running freely,' virtually hints at a religious variant of male fear of commitment.

Ignatius indeed achieved an unusual degree of male autonomy for his order. St. Francis fought all his life to prevent a female branch and, unlike Ignatius, saw women as a source of sin best avoided.⁸⁶ St. Dominic had every intention of keeping the *cura monialium* (care of women) to a manageable minimum. In the end, the papacy overruled the wishes of both men and forced them to accept women religious into their permanent care.⁸⁷ In stark contrast to his religious role models, Ignatius was able to enlist a papacy under the shock of the Reformation to make his Society the only exclusively male religious order. Pope Paul III had already granted Isabel Roser and two of her companions their wish to take vows and place themselves in the obedience of Ignatius when the latter persuaded the pope to go back on his command, release the women from their vows, and prevent all future female requests of this kind.⁸⁸

83 This interpretation differs from Hufton, who speculates that Ignatius was driven primarily by the desire of 'guarding his new order against all imputations of scandal.' Hufton, 'Altruism and Reciprocity,' p. 333.

84 Memorandum on a female branch given to Father Miguel Torres upon his departure for Spain in November 1545. Ignatius of Loyola, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women*, p. 308.

85 The comment was directed at Mateo Murranos, a Spanish lawyer. Ignatius of Loyola, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women*, p. 254.

86 Bonaventure, *The Soul's Journey*, p. 222.

87 The classic account remains that by Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen*, esp. pp. 208-273.

88 Juana, Infanta of Spain and daughter of Charles V and Isabella, remains 'the only Jesuitess on record,' a circumstance which the society could not prevent but attempted to keep secret. Hufton, 'Altruism and Reciprocity,' p. 337.

To be sure, an all-male, highly mobile troop of missionaries under papal command suited Ignatius's vision as well as the needs of a papacy faced with the rising tide of Protestantism. After the papacy officially absolved the Society from the burden of care of women in 1547, Ignatius could invoke obedience to the pope, a higher masculine authority, to justify his refusal to admit women. We find him using this line of argument in a letter to Spanish nuns eager to be admitted into his obedience, in which he further redescribed his Society as a thoroughly masculine invention by claiming that women's exclusion had always been part of the design. Barring women meant cementing bonds among men, horizontally and vertically:

[T]he vicar of Christ has closed the door against our taking on any government or superintendence of religious, a thing which the Society begged from the beginning. It is judged that it would be for the greater service of God [...] that we should have as few ties as possible in order to be able to go wherever obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff [...] may call us.⁸⁹

The papal privilege of 1547 gave Jesuits maximum control over their connection to women. Their pastoral work did not preclude emotionally intensive relationships and spiritual friendships with women of the kind Ignatius modeled in his *Autobiography*. Jesuits, as is well known, were popular confessors among nuns as well as laywomen. Rumor had it that they were in the habit of 'coming between a man and a wife.'⁹⁰ But while women's structural neediness for sacramental mediation brought with it a steady supply of female charges, the papal privilege presented Jesuits with an out, and even an obligation, to place their attachment to each other as brothers above that to women or possible sisters. Women's exclusion proved very functional for global missionary work and for directing men to first and foremost desire one another's company.

This dialectic between satisfying contact with women and unchallenged male homosociality can be observed in the German Empire and appears another decisive factor in the Society's successful recruitment of men from these regions. Bavarian Jesuits, for example, attempted to obstruct the presence of Mary Ward and her 'Jesuitesses,' insisting on their independence from the group. Although Ward and her followers made their place in the religious landscape, they had to forego their ambition to create a female counterpart

89 Letter to Teresa Rejadella, Benedictine convent in Barcelona, May 15, 1549, in Ignatius of Loyola, *Saint Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women*, p. 355.

90 Hufton, 'Altruism and Reciprocity,' p. 345.

to the Society.⁹¹ Yet the same men were at the forefront of ministering to women, be it the ladies of the Wittelbach courts, the throngs of lay women who sought them out as confessors and soul-doctors (*Seelenärzte*), or the female possessed, whom Jesuits cured in public exorcisms.⁹² When it came to women, Jesuits could enter relations without certain obligations; they enjoyed a freedom to interact and form emotional attachments together with the freedom to avoid permanent commitment and prioritize homosocial bonds among men. In short, they had the best of both worlds.

Conclusion

In late medieval Europe, fatherhood and patrilineality underpinned hegemonic conceptions of manhood. To father legitimate children and pass on one's name and property were most manly acts. In spite of the significance of fatherhood, however, companionate relationships between fathers and sons remained scarce in literary sources. As Ruth Karras noted: 'Fathers may be proud of their sons, but do not play a major role in their formation. It was the fact of patrilineal reproduction, rather than the relationship with a son, that contributed to medieval manhood.'⁹³

This chapter has identified a key to the Jesuits' phenomenal recruitment of young men in the Society's promise of a lifelong homosociality that centered on emotionally sustaining father-son relationships, and blended companionate and hierarchical bonds in psychologically compelling ways. It was a form of clerical reproduction for which texts and practices proved crucial. A template of such a relationship underlies the production as well as the uses of the *Autobiography* of Ignatius, the Society's Ur-father.⁹⁴ The formation of the Jesuit, this text suggests, emerges in the dyad between father and son, spiritual director and exercitant. Of course, other male religious

91 Strasser, *State of Virginity*, pp. 155-163. For other examples of interaction between 'Jesuitesses' and Jesuits, see Conrad, *Zwischen Kloster und Welt*.

92 New members were often admitted to the Society of Jesus because they had a special talent and willingness to become examiners of women penitents. Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, pp. 19-21. On Jesuits as doctors of the soul, see Lederer, *Madness, Religion and the State*; high-profile female exorcisms by Jesuits are discussed in Roper, 'Exorcism and the Theology of the Body.'

93 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 166.

94 I treat this foundational text as a piece of epideictic rhetoric and emphasize its interrelational dimensions and embeddedness in the dynamic between spiritual father and spiritual son. See Strasser, 'The First Form and Grace.' For a more recent reading that argues for Ignatius's conscious manipulation of existing Spanish models of manhood, especially conceptions of medieval knighthood, in telling his autobiography, see Rutt, "'Exercises' in Masculinity.'

orders too provided venues for men to experience forms of spiritual kinship and religious patrilineality. The Society of Jesus alone, however, created a technology of the self, the Spiritual Exercises, which was also a technology of a father-son intimacy that was hard to come by in the world at large.

Ignatius made his mark on the Society not only through his textual afterlives but also through the Spiritual Exercises that his sons undertook. He developed the four-week-long spiritual program to enable others to undergo a profound experience akin to his own life-changing transformation at Manresa. In the course of the retreat, the spiritual director guided the exercitant through a process of becoming free 'from inordinate affects' and fine-tuning the passions in order to discern and bring God's will into one's life. The intense spiritual program helped birth new sons for the Society. Pierre Favre, second Jesuit and missionary to Germany, described how his induction into the Society coincided with his induction into the Spiritual Exercises by Ignatius: 'In the end we became one in desire and will and in a firm resolve to take up the life we lead today – we, the present or future members of the Society.'⁹⁵ Philip Endean who cites this statement in his incisive reading of the Spiritual Exercises describes how Ignatius designed the Exercises as a prompt for encouraging an individualized version of an Ignatian experience rather than a fixed set of instructions aimed at a repetition of Ignatius's own experience.⁹⁶ The idea behind the Exercises was to create 're-seekings' based on each prospective Jesuit's own life history rather than 'repetitions' based on Ignatius's life trajectory.⁹⁷ The Exercises, in other words, encouraged the repetition of a transformative move, not simple replication but reiteration with a difference, every time. Every time one man gave the Exercises to another, the devotional practice instantiated the order's underlying patri-filial structure of recruitment, mentorship, and reproduction. All novices and tertians took the month-long Spiritual Exercises while all other Jesuits participated every year in an eight- to ten-day version for spiritual renewal.⁹⁸

The masculine self that emerged from the Exercises was emotionally oriented both toward other Jesuits ('one in desire and will') and also the larger

95 Endean, 'The Spiritual Exercises,' p. 52.

96 Either Ignatius or Pierre Favre wrote down the first Latin version of the text in 1530 in Paris. A Spanish edition containing notes in Ignatius's own hand dates from 1544 and is known as the 'Autograph.' The Latin translation of the 'Autograph' that appeared in 1548 was the benchmark edition until 1835. Endean, 'Spiritual Exercises,' pp. 761-762.

97 On reseekings vs. repetitions, see Endean, 'The Spiritual Exercises,' p. 56.

98 The system was formalized during the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva. Endean, 'Spiritual Exercises,' p. 760.

world. Michelle Molina has teased out how the Spiritual Exercises served to forge a self that kept seeking salvific self-transcendence by attending to the salvation of others in ‘the Indies.’ Their overseas ministries included bringing versions of the Spiritual Exercises into the world and giving them to various ‘others,’ including indigenous men and women. The remaking of the self was inextricably bound up with the remaking of others. What animated the global movements of Jesuit selves toward others was a deep longing to repeat an affective experience. Jesuits kept seeking consolation, the feeling of inner peace and pleasure that came from sorting through disordered passions and aligning one’s life course with God’s will, and of which the Exercises offered but a first yet unforgettable taste.⁹⁹ Newly opened emotional worlds thus drew men toward each other and toward missionary work in far-flung regions of the globe. The Spiritual Exercises prompted Jesuit practitioners to image themselves in the ‘circuit of the world, with peoples so many and so diverse’ and heeding the call of ‘redemption of the human race.’ To combat the devil’s doings throughout the ‘whole world,’ they joined forces with other men as part of Christ’s ‘friends and servants whom he is sending on this expedition.’¹⁰⁰

The all-male Jesuits indeed broke most radically with the traditional *stabilitas loci* that for centuries had bound the religious to a monastic space and its devotional rhythms. Unlike other orders, members of the Society took a special fourth vow – alongside the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience – to be ready to travel wherever and whenever the Pope commanded them to carry out a mission. ‘The world is our house,’ Jerome Nadal famously explained this understanding of mission, in effect turning the entire globe into a space of personal devotion.¹⁰¹

Young German men wanted to be in on the action from the beginning and increasingly so over time. This chapter has argued that the Society’s draw in German lands derived in no small part from Ignatius’s compelling example of reinvigorated Catholic manhood. The Ignatius of the *Autobiography* embodied masculine qualities that appealed to Catholic Germans after the turmoil of the Reformation. While forged at a time of crisis in clerical masculinity, Ignatian manhood was not formulated as an answer to this crisis but offered a model of manhood that was distinctly Catholic yet

99 Molina, *To Overcome Oneself*.

100 Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 48-49. Molina surmises that many Jesuits wrote application letters for the overseas missions stirred by the Exercises, and especially by those components that coupled a call to evangelical labor with opening up the imaginative space of the world.

101 O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 68.

self-assured as well as novel. It was an emerging masculinity that lent itself particularly well to being exported not only to other European countries but on a more global scale.

As with all forms of masculinity, the meaning of Ignatian masculinity was centrally constituted with respect to the feminine and females. Notably, his particular manhood made ample room for the feminine on the level of the symbolic but established firm boundaries with actual women. The stability of these boundaries provided stability and made it less pressing for Jesuits to reject feminine qualities in themselves. Simply belonging to the order, one had already proven oneself to be a man and could now cultivate aspects of the feminine. Accordingly, Ignatian piety allowed for a broad range of emotional and sensual experiences, a blend of disposition and practices that early modern society coded as masculine and feminine. It also fostered ardent devotion to the idealized femininity of the Virgin Mary. These symbolic valorizations of the feminine made for a stark contrast with Protestants.

Ignatian masculinity, of course, also diverged from Protestant manhood with respect to actual women. Ignatius represented the chaste clergy for whom continence, once achieved during conversion, ceased to be an emotional struggle. At the same time, he modeled for his followers how to cultivate emotionally and spiritually sustaining connections with women. Because he also obtained for his Society the privilege of avoiding institutional commitments to women, his masculinity ultimately implied considerable freedom in delineating one's involvement with women. To be sure, Protestant clerics could take wives. But these men also had to prove their manhood in permanent institutional liaisons with the opposite sex. Jesuits, by contrast, could have female society in important and satisfying ways while enjoying freedom of movement and homosocial fellowship.

For the same reason, Jesuits also offered an attractive alternative to the already existing religious orders for men. Unlike traditional monks, Ignatius's followers were able to move in mixed-sex milieus and traverse different regions of the world as part of an international organization. Wherever they were, however, their identity as men was firmly anchored in the single-sex environment of the Society. Its *de jure* exclusion of women unfailingly put the masculinity of its members beyond doubt and gave the Society an edge over the mendicant orders founded by St. Francis and St. Dominic.

But male religious and laymen on both sides of the confessional divide also had something in common. Gender hierarchies characterized Protestant and Catholic marriage just as they shaped the Roman and Protestant churches' ecclesiastical institutions. The men of each group benefited from these

hierarchies and thus from what R.W. Connell aptly terms the ‘patriarchal dividend’ that accrues to men even at times when masculinity is in crisis.¹⁰² The sixteenth century after all witnessed not only a crisis in masculine self-understanding but also a consolidation of patriarchal power across Europe. More to the point still, the century of Ignatius witnessed the rapid acceleration of outward colonial expansion and the inauguration of the European civilizing mission abroad. The execution of this larger venture was centrally dependent on missionary men like those whom Ignatius of Loyola began to gather in his Society. It took a particular set of masculine self-understandings and practices to propel young men to leave the company of local communities and kin for the company of other men and the pursuit of the global spread of Christianity. Willing to go and serve ‘the greater glory of God’ wherever they were needed, the Jesuits’ very subjectivity required the kind of regulation of self and other that would drive European colonialism in the centuries to come.

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¹⁰² Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 79.

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2 Braving the Waves with Francis Xavier

Fear and the Making of Jesuit Manhood

Abstract

This chapter discusses the transoceanic voyage as a rite de passage into missionary manhood. Jesuits defined their brand of masculinity in the social microcosm of the ship, carrying out pastoral work in confinement and danger. If Ignatius was the Society's inventor and Ur-father, Francis Xavier was its patron of mobility and a model for conduct for generations of missionaries, including many Germans. Hagiographical accounts and paintings of Xavier's dramatic sea voyages emphasize his exemplary self-governance and ability to convert sinful fears into correct fear of God. The transoceanic ship was a site of embodied conditioning for those who followed in Xavier's footsteps. When the missionaries reached foreign shores, they felt more ready than ever to convert and regulate indigenous others.

Keywords: Francis Xavier, ocean voyages, ships, fear, emotions, *The Painted Life of Mary Ward*

Ship voyages – a distinctly masculine space – take up considerable room in Jesuit accounts, yet have been barely been discussed in the historiography. Histories of Jesuit missions have focused instead on missionary activity on land, a reasonable approach given the wide range of the Society's locales and varied nature of the order's activities.¹ The primary sources, however, leave no doubt about the centrality of the voyage to a given mission site.² Voyages mark not only a physical passage from one place to another, but

1 There are notable exceptions such as: Brockey, *Largos Caminhos*; Winnerling, *Vernunft und Imperium*.

2 Tellingly, several ship scenes can also be found on the mid-seventeenth-century engraving *Origins and Development of the Society of Jesus and Its Virtuous Men* discussed in the previous chapter.

also a rite of passage from one state of being to another; a religious man impelled to spread the gospel abroad excitedly boards a ship in Europe, only to land on foreign shores as a true Jesuit missionary at journey's end. The community of the ship consisted almost exclusively of men, and those few women who traveled on transoceanic vessels had to adapt to rather than set cultural and social norms on board.³ The formal exclusion of women from the Society's own ranks made it easier for the Jesuits to join this social microcosm and be a traveling order. The world's waterways brought great mobility; at the same time, the missionaries had to retain a sense of purpose, identity, and community while thrown about in the transit space of the ship.

For individual Jesuits, the journey entailed practicing various Jesuit ministries under particularly challenging conditions; some had only recently finished their studies and essentially completed the third year of their training in transit.⁴ Thus, an individual Jesuit would deepen his faith by the sustained experience of pastoral work on board, season his character by the experience of surviving the moral and physical perils of crossing seas, and sharpen his identity by distinguishing himself within the social microcosm of a ship in which seamen of all ranks rubbed shoulders with soldiers, slaves, merchants, nobles, regular clergy, and members of various religious orders. Jesuits defined their brand of masculinity vis-à-vis these other men aboard. Their success in establishing themselves mattered a great deal to the Society's fortunes, as the colonial officials and authorities-to-be on whose political or financial patronage the Jesuits depended upon reaching their destination typically accompanied them on the voyage.⁵

Ignatius of Loyola was unable to travel beyond Europe, so it fell to Francis Xavier, the first Jesuit to cross the high seas, to provide a model. The peripatetic Xavier left Goa in spring 1541 and made many ocean journeys in the ensuing eleven years before he died in 1552, on Shangchuan Islands, just short of the Chinese mainland that he hoped to reach.⁶ Canonized in 1622, the same year as Ignatius, Xavier became a towering figure within the Society, serving as an inspiration and guide for generations of missionaries

3 See, for example, Poska, *Gendered Crossings*. On attempts to restrict women's travel aboard Portuguese ships to Asia as well as exceptions for female family of high-ranking officers, see Halbartschlager, 'Menschen und Schiffe,' pp. 167-169.

4 Brockey finds evidence of this for the East Asian provinces, Brockey, '*Largos Caminhos*,' pp. 63-64.

5 Winnerling, *Vernunft und Imperium*, p. 56.

6 The classic four-volume biography seeking to resolve all these contradictions is Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*.

in multiple respects.⁷ Scholars have thusfar paid little attention to his exemplary conduct at sea. Xavier set the norms for what would become routine religious activities on board. Over time, religious practices that structured the life of a Jesuit on land also came to structure Jesuit life at sea, turning ships into mobile spaces of devotion and ministry.

Xavier moreover modeled what to do during those existential situations when all routines broke down and ad hoc religious responses were needed. Ocean storms were his main stage. When mast-breaking, sail-lacerating winds struck fear into the hearts of all men on board, Xavier stood out for his emotional self-governance and ability to guide others away from fear toward trust in God. Jesuit pedagogy and training valued the *passions* (emotions) in general and fear, in particular, as a pathway toward God. As part of their formation, Jesuits learned how to convert unhelpful and debilitating fear into proper fear of God, a hallmark of true faith. To draw on a concept from the history of emotions, this approach to fear was constitutive of the Jesuits' 'emotional community.'⁸ It shaped its homosocial bonds and emotional rules, setting it apart from modern and secular regimes and communities that associate masculinity with the control of fear and the ability to contain one's emotions.⁹ Transoceanic vessels provided a crucial context for putting the Jesuit training and community members to the test. For Jesuit missionaries, the transoceanic journey was also an emotional journey in which they practiced and internalized the correct expression and experience of fear as stipulated by a Jesuit 'emotional regime.'¹⁰ To perform Jesuit manhood on board became tantamount to modulating fears, one's own and those of others.

This chapter examines the reverberation of Xavier's example in Jesuit accounts of sea travel throughout the seventeenth century. Generally speaking, the use of narrative exempla was foundational for Jesuit pedagogy and training. To bring the whole person into alignment with God's will, Jesuit teaching followed the triad of *praeceptum-exemplum-imitatio*

7 Haub and Oswald, *Franz Xaver*.

8 Barbara Rosenwein defines 'emotional communities' as 'systems of feeling.' They reveal 'what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.' Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions,' p. 842.

9 See, for example, Frevert, *Men of Honour*.

10 The notion of 'emotional regime' comes from Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*. On emotions as practices, see Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?'

(‘precept-example-imitation’), with the persuasive, instructive human example as the indispensable link between moral commands, on the one hand, and social practice, on the other.¹¹ A form of thought, the exemplum created new forms of action by working the human senses and passions. According to Jesuit understandings, original sin blocked ‘the direct intellectual path to God,’ at once confining human beings to the realm of the senses and passions yet also making humanity susceptible to the transformative power of exempla.¹²

Jesuit leaders marshaled the specific exemplum of Francis Xavier to create an order of mobile missionaries. The first section reconstructs Xavier’s example through a reading of the *vita* by Orazio Torsellini (1545-1599), the first printed biography of the saint and the most influential of its time. The second section deals with the afterlives of the Xaverian model by exploring the ocean journeys of various Jesuits in the second half of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century. Xavier often appears as an imaginary guardian on these journeys; Xaverian themes and tropes remain a vibrant presence in the accounts that describe them. Because Xavier’s example was translated widely across languages, time, and space, the texts discussed here cross various boundaries as well. They include the stories of two French Jesuits, Joseph de Prémare (1666-1736) and Pierre Vincent de Tartre (1669-1724), who traveled on Xavier’s route to China and whose encounters with terrifying ocean storms were later published in German in the Holy Roman Empire. The broad circulation of stories within the Society of Jesus, so the argument goes, can be understood as an attempt at normative speech, what William Reddy has termed an ‘emotive’ about fear and manhood.¹³ At the same time, these stories also make plain that speech unfolds its full meaning only in experience and emotions are bound to contexts. Xavier’s example really came to life at sea, when one experienced intense physical sensations and high bodily arousal aboard the ship and tried to govern oneself properly in this social setting. Reading about dangers aboard was one thing, Jesuit ocean travelers realized, living through them quite another. The insights of the historical protagonists correspond to current theories of emotions that emphasize the mutual imbrication of consciousness, body, and environment. In this perspective, Monique Scheer has encouraged historians to consider emotions as a form of practice. Practices not only mobilize emotions, in her view, but emotions can be understood ‘as a practical engagement with

11 Mulsow, ‘Exemplum,’ p. 318.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 320.

13 On emotives, see Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, pp. 63-111.

the world [...] emerging from bodily dispositions conditioned by a social context, which always has a cultural and historical specificity.¹⁴ For the differently situated masculinity of the Jesuits, the ship offered a significant social context of emotional engagement and embodied conditioning of the missionary self.

‘Whereas Others Cried a Big Mountain of Tears out of Fear, He Cried One Out of Joy’: Francis Xavier and the High Seas

Another Iberian nobleman from an old Basque family, Xavier was Ignatius’s roommate in Paris before he became his spiritual son and lifelong friend. Xavier was born in Navarre in 1506 and designated for holy orders while Ignatius was still pursuing a military life and actually fighting members of Xavier’s family up until the siege of Pamplona that propelled him on a different path. Their lives intersected in Paris but the history of conflict between Ignatius and Xavier’s family, as well as differences in temperament and pious activities, led Xavier to keep Ignatius at arm’s length.¹⁵ Xavier eventually succumbed to Ignatius’s spiritual direction and undertook the Spiritual Exercises, the Ur-father’s formula for recreating his own conversion experience and fostering an apostolic spirit that would seek ‘to help souls’ in all corners of the earth. Another Paris student and later secretary of the Society of Jesus, Juan Alfonso de Polanco, recorded that Ignatius, ‘our great mold of men,’ would later call Xavier ‘the hardest dough that he ever had to knead.’¹⁶ But Ignatius’s power of transformation did not fail him. He must have concurred with the view that in Xavier ‘Ignatian spirituality was well incarnated,’¹⁷ or he would not have dispatched Xavier to India when the opportunity arose in 1540. A lifelong, deeply emotional correspondence ensued between the men, with Xavier referring to Ignatius as ‘the father of my soul’ or even his ‘only father in the love of Christ.’¹⁸ Ignatius returned the affection. He also published Xavier’s letters to him throughout Europe to promote the mission enterprise.¹⁹

In spite or perhaps because of an excess of communication about the man, many of the ‘facts’ of Xavier’s life and especially the details of his

14 Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?’, p. 193.

15 Oswald, ‘Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier,’ pp. 231-233.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 235.

17 Fernando, ‘Xavier,’ p. 847.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 849.

19 Oswald, ‘Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier,’ p. 241.

journeys were, and have remained, elusive amid contradictory sources and legends. Certainly his far-reaching travels established his reputation as ‘indefatigable Apostle.’²⁰ The Jesuit grammarian and historian Orazio Torsellini, who played a key role in establishing Xavier’s reputation, published both the first edition of Xavier’s letters²¹ and the first biography of the man in 1596. Torsellini’s vita illuminated Xavier’s own conversion and growth as a Jesuit.²² Written in a complex humanist Latin that spoke largely to a Jesuit audience, it soon appeared in a number of European languages, reaching a wide audience and exerting a profound influence on future visual representations of Xavier.²³ Xavier became a kind of patron saint of Jesuit travels.

Torsellini’s biography of Xavier appeared in German translation in 1615 in Munich (fig. 2).²⁴ It was a time of heightened enthusiasm for Xavier and the overseas missions among Germans. Father Nicolaus Trigault (1577-1628) had recently returned from China to popularize the mission and round up support in Europe. His tour included multiple stops at German Jesuit colleges and noble courts,²⁵ generating tangible excitement and much-needed commitment to financial sponsorship for the China mission that Francis Xavier was the first to envision. Further encouragement of German involvement came from the order’s Superior General, Muzio Vitelleschi, who authorized the assembly of the first group of German overseas missionaries. When the Jesuits in the Ingolstadt college, fresh off Trigault’s visit, received the glad tidings, studies and routines broke down.²⁶ Letters of applications for the overseas missions were pouring out not only of Ingolstadt but also of all of Germany to Rome. Hundreds of application letters, extant in the Society’s Roman archives today, testify to the strong desire of many Germans to join the missionary adventure abroad.²⁷ Repeated applications and rejections

20 Leone, *Saints and Signs*, pp. 325-326.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 331.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 374; Torsellini’s biography of Xavier was often bound and published together with his edition of Xavier’s letters. Leone, *Saints and Signs*, p. 371.

23 For various vernacular editions, see Leone, *Saints and Signs*, pp. 369-370. See also Miller, ‘Patron Saint,’ p. 46.

24 Copies of the Latin vita by Torsellini surfaced in German colleges immediately after its first publication. The Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB) in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, houses a copy of the 1596 edition published in Antwerp. According to a note (by the Jesuit College librarian?) on the title page, the Jesuits in Hildesheim acquired it in 1597. See HAB catalogue entry A: 441.2.

25 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, pp. 175-192.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 138.

27 For an in-depth study of such letters and estimates of numbers, see Nebgen, *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee*.

were par for the course; one applicant tried his luck no less than fourteen times in the course of a 24-year period.²⁸

Francis Xavier made frequent appearances in those missives. He once declared Germans especially suitable for the missions because they were used to a rough climate, an endorsement German applicants gladly cited.²⁹ Others reported that they had made vows to Xavier during an illness that they would go work in the Indies if cured, couching their desire as an obligation that the order ought to honor.³⁰ Many chose to pen their letters on Xavier's feast day, at once an act of devotion and bid for good luck.³¹ Among the unsuccessful applicants was Friedrich Spee, who would later make a name for himself as a sharp critic of witchcraft trials. Spee's identification with Xavier continued even though he stayed in German lands, where he penned a series of poetic works featuring Xavier. Spee's 'Poetic Poem of Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus, When He Wanted to Ship Out to Convert the Pagan People' homed in on the sea voyage as a defining moment in the making of the missionary. The poem paints a picture of the perils of winds and waves and Xavier's fearless determination. The speaker of the poem, apparently Xavier himself in this moment, challenges the reader to prove his missionary mettle by stepping aboard:

Who does not dare to cross the sea, across a thousand waters wild,
 who wants to be after a thousand souls with bow and arrow?
 Who will shudder before the winds? Fear their wet wings?
 He who only thinks to find souls, souls beautiful beyond all measure?

[Wer wils uber Meer nit wagen, Uber tausend wasser wildt,
 dem es mit pfeil und bogen, nach vielen tausend Seelen gilt?
 Wem wil grausen vor den winden? Foerchten ihre Fluegel nass?
 Der nur seelen denckt zu finden, Seelen schoen ohn alle mass?]³²

How then did Xavier conduct himself as an oceanic traveler? In Torsellini's influential vita, Xavier stands out aboard a ship 'that almost resembled a city, not only filled with shipmen, but also soldiers, the captain's servants,

28 Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionare*, pp. 11-12.

29 Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, pp. 91-92.

30 Eusebius Kino is one example. Burrus, *Kino Writes to the Duchess*, pp. 1-4.

31 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, p. 139.

32 Spee, *Trutz Nachtigal*, pp. 103-105, quote p. 105. See also Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, pp. 118-19; Pohle, 'Friedrich Spee,' esp. p. 19. Neither author highlights the significance of the ocean voyage as a rite of passage.

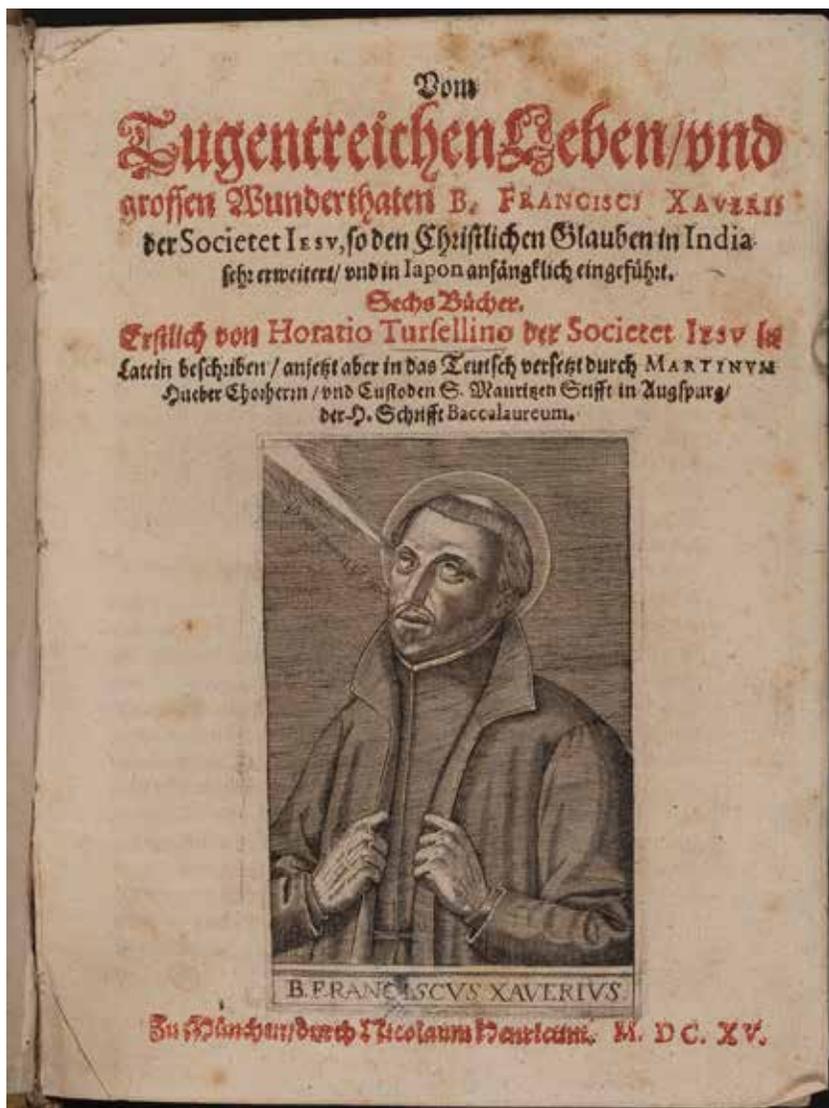


Figure 2 Title Page, Orazio Torsellini, *Vom tugentreichen Leben, vnd grossen Wunderthaten B. Francisci Xaverii der Societet Iesv, so den Christlichen Glauben in India sehr erweitert, vnd in Iapon anfänglich eingeführt sechs Bücher* (München: Nicolaus Henricus, 1615). Copyright Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel.

merchants, and slaves, in all some thousand people' on the very first leg of Xavier's sea journey from Lisbon to Mozambique.³³ Unlike others, Xavier

33 Cited after the German version of 1615. Staatsbibliothek München. Translations mine. Torsellini, *Vom Tugentreichen Leben*, p. 65.

wasted no time taking in the sights and instead leapt right into pastoral action: 'instructing the seamen and others in Christian doctrine, punishing the bad and evil vices, and admonishing everyone without difference to do penance and confess.'³⁴ Torsellini linked Xavier's efficacy in instilling discipline to his emotional disposition of equanimity and friendliness, which drew others toward him, including those who were stuck 'in horrible sins and vices, up to their ears, and persistently avoided members of religious orders.'³⁵ An outbreak of pestilential fever on board challenged Xavier's emotional equilibrium, yet his Jesuit training served to restore it and Xavier transformed fear into confident action. While everyone else who was healthy avoided and then altogether abandoned the sick and dying out of fear, Xavier 'turned his fear into compassion' to minister to the sick in keeping with 'what he had practiced during his first years of training.'³⁶ Xavier showed himself a determined and very brave man aboard a ship not lacking in men who aspired to bravery. Torsellini concluded the description of the first ocean journey by noting Xavier's exemplarity: 'Thus Xavier gave his companions who were going to travel just this way in the future a certain rule and direction for the Indian journey.'³⁷

Xavier's mastery of fear is a recurring and defining theme of other stories in the *vita*. Unusually attuned to the dangers of oceanic travels, the Jesuit reportedly made predictions on three separate occasions about the near shipwrecks of others followed by their miraculous recovery.³⁸ He himself had this very type of experience in transit from Malacca to India. Violent storms tossed his boat around for three days to the point where the sailors were all convinced that they were going to lose their lives at any minute. Yet Xavier, Torsellini relates, 'remain[ed] entirely unafraid in those things that induce fear in others.'³⁹ It was not the well-worn, crusty sailors who inspired those on board the ship, but the Jesuit, who emerged as the man ready to stare down the storm with his devotions. Xavier prayed the litany and implored God and Mary, which transported him into another emotional state altogether, experiencing

a much greater joy in his heart in the midst of the dangerous storm than after he survived the danger. For whereas the others felt fear and shaking

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 199, 226. Various other prophecies regarding the sea are also associated with him, see pp. 427ff.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

in the face of mortal danger, he felt and experienced the overflowing sweetness of God, [...] whereas others cried a big mountain of tears out of fear he cried one out of joy.⁴⁰

Fear is the pathway to God in this story. Prayer effects rescue. The intense emotional experience at sea indeed made Xavier wish and pray for more terrifying perils still.

Xavier had his wish on the 1552 voyage from Japan to China. A defining event in the vita on account of its miraculous quality, the voyage was also featured in André Reinoso's cycle of 20 paintings dedicated to Xavier's life (fig. 3). Reinoso's large-scale cycle was the first of its kind and most likely assembled around the time of Xavier's beatification in 1619.⁴¹ A week after departure, Torsellini's vita reports, the sky became covered with thick clouds and darkness descended for days on end while fierce winds whipped the ocean into increasingly high waves and wild currents. To balance out the vessel, the captain ordered some passengers, two 'Saracenes' among them, to board a smaller ship and had it tied to the larger boat with ropes.⁴² But the ropes tore, pushing the men out onto the sea and thrusting the large vessel back into disequilibrium. Such wailing erupted on board that Xavier came out of his chamber where he had been praying peacefully. Sensing an opportunity, Xavier then asked God for a miracle so that everyone on board could recognize his power. He consoled his distressed shipmates with the prediction that the small ship would return to the mother vessel within three days. These were long days with more storms and Xavier repeatedly had to assure the fearful and doubtful, including a skeptical shipman named Peter.⁴³ In the end, the boat not only returned as predicted, but the two Muslims aboard asked to be instructed and baptized by Xavier. They reported that he had been physically present on the small boat and calmed their fears, a miraculous and comforting appearance that awakened their desire to convert in their hearts. The story concludes with Xavier's ordering the captain to hoist the masts, which had been broken and repaired repeatedly during the storm, one more time. Calm settled on the sea and good winds returned.

On multiple levels, this is a story about controlling fears, of having or developing trust and true faith as opposed to fear and despair, a transformation epitomized by the conversion of the Muslims. Note that in Reinoso's

40 Ibid., p. 342.

41 Miller, 'Patron Saint,' pp. 91, 94; Leone, *Saints and Signs*, p. 459.

42 Torsellini, *Vom Tugentreichen Leben*, p. 342.

43 Ibid., p. 342.



Figure 3 André Reinoso, *The Stormy of Voyage of St. Francis after Leaving Japan*, c. 1619. Source: Vitor Serrão, *The Legend of Saint Francis Xavier by the Painter André Reinoso: Historical, Aesthetic and Iconological Study of a Series of Baroque Paintings in the Sacristy of Igreja de São Roque*. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa Artistic Heritage Series – I (Lisboa: Bertrand Editora, 2006), p. 99.

depiction Xavier stands out for his calm presence and gaze toward the heavens amid the agitated, frantic crew, the broken masts and shreds of sail. In this respect, the image is reminiscent of another iconic, primal scene at sea, the biblical story of Jesus crossing the Sea of Galilee with his disciples, which was an integral part of the Jesuit imaginary. It was one of the biblical scenes into which Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* invited exercitants to place themselves and converse with God to discern his will.⁴⁴ This primal scene further appeared in Jerome Nadal meditative program *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* as one of the vibrant visual prompts that like a biblical slide show ran parallel to and served to illuminate the readings of the liturgical calendar (fig. 4). Aside from being reared on such images, Reinoso very consciously modeled the miraculous deeds depicted in his paintings of Xavier on the miracles associated with Christ.⁴⁵ His painting of Xavier's stormy voyage referenced the Gospel story of Jesus's terrified disciples awakening him and charging him with not caring about their fate in the midst of a raging storm. Jesus first calms the waves, then rebukes his disciples: 'Why are you so fearful? How is it that ye

44 'How Christ Our Lord Calmed the Storm' is the title of this meditation. Ignatius of Loyola, *Ignatius of Loyola: Spiritual Exercises*, p. 189.

45 Leone, *Saints and Signs*, p. 466.



Figure 4 Image of Jesus on the Sea of Galilee. Source: Jerome Nadal, *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*, Antwerp, 1607. Copyright Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

have no faith?⁴⁶ The disciples ask themselves in turn: ‘What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?’⁴⁷ In the biblical scene then, fear is also the central emotional quality. To be afraid of the storm means to lack faith in divine providence and fall short of true conversion. To believe means to display trust in God and equanimity in the presence of fear-inducing events.

In Catholic theology, fear was indeed a Janus-faced passion, perilous as well as productive. Augustine first distinguished between two types of fear, *timor servilis* (servile fear), on the one hand, and *timor filialis* (filial fear), on the other, a binary that structured theological discourses about fear until the Enlightenment. *Timor servilis* was fear of the wrong things, such as fearing the punishment for a sin rather than the sin itself, or fearing the loss of life rather than eternal damnation, and as such it kept humanity in a state of servitude. It was considered a sad affect that, unless properly modulated, could veer all the way into despair. *Timor filialis*, on the other hand, was an uplifting fear; analogous to a child’s primary fear of losing the parent’s love, it centered on the possibility of losing God’s love. Healthy forms of fear included fear of sin or of undue attachment to one’s life and were generative of pious action. A motivating and liberating affect, this type of fear freed one from false fear and led toward despair’s opposite: security and confidence in divine providence. Proper fear and proper faith thus went hand in hand. It made fear a powerful instrument for gaining knowledge of self and God.⁴⁸

Early modern Protestants and Catholics alike upheld the Augustinian binary between servile and filial fear, but there was disagreement over the role servile fear, the lower half of the pairing, had in guiding humanity toward salvation. In the Protestant perspective, divine grace instilled faith and *timor filialis*, which in turn helped conquer servile fear; the latter had a very narrow purpose in salvation, namely to direct human beings toward recognition of their inherent sinfulness. By contrast, Jesuits held a more positive and expansive view of servile fear, reflective of the valorization of free will and good works in Catholic theology. Fear, including servile fear, was a powerful educational tool for them.⁴⁹ Ignatius set the tone for this approach in what is often translated in English as his ‘Rules for Thinking with the Church’ or the last set of guidelines appended to the Spiritual

46 KJV, Mark 4:37, quote Mark 4:40.

47 KJV, Mark 4:41.

48 The comprehensive account of early modern conceptions of fear is Bähr, *Furcht und Furchtlosigkeit*. This summary is based especially on pages pp. 79-83.

49 See *ibid.*, pp. 85-95, on confessional differences, but with comparatively scant attention to Catholic arguments.

Exercises. In the Spanish original Ignatius tellingly used the verb *sentire*, whose meaning ranges from cognitive understanding to the states of feeling so central to Jesuit training. This doubleness corresponds to current theories of emotional life that reject the stark opposition between feeling and thinking and emphasize the cognitive dimension of emotions and the bodily dimension of cognition.⁵⁰ Ignatius notes of the state of fear in the culminating paragraph of his spiritual program:

Through the zealous service of God, our Lord, out of pure love should be esteemed above all, we ought also to praise highly the fear of the Divine Majesty. *For not only filial fear but also servile fear is pious and very holy.* When nothing higher or more useful is attained, *it is very helpful for rising from mortal sin, and once this is accomplished, one may easily advance to filial fear*, which is wholly pleasing and agreeable to God, our Lord, since it is inseparably associated with the love of Him.⁵¹ [Emphasis mine]

During terrifying storms, Xavier personified *timor filialis* while those around him were in the throes of *timor servilis*, although, if properly deployed in devotion, this less acceptable sort of fear could still present a path toward the love of God and hence presented an opportunity for conversion. Like a truth serum, fear revealed the state of the soul and prepared the believer for the labor of evangelization. As an inevitable by-product of ocean travel, fear was thus the most high-stakes religious business for Xavier as well as the missionaries who followed in his footsteps.

‘The Difference between Someone Who Faces Danger from Afar [...] and Someone Who Is Actually in Such Danger’: Ocean Travel’s in Xavier’s Wake

Sometimes just getting out of the harbor could be a problem. A group of 23 Jesuits, including a sizeable contingent of Germans, learned this much in Cadiz in July 1680. After Xavier’s inaugural journey, all India-bound Jesuits left Europe via the Iberian Peninsula. They departed either from Lisbon, if they were heading toward Asia around the Cape and across the Indian Ocean, or from Cadiz to travel across the Atlantic and through the Caribbean, if a mission in the Americas or the Spanish Pacific was their

50 Scheer, ‘Are Emotions A Kind of Practice?’ pp. 195-199.

51 Ignatius of Loyola, *Ignatius of Loyola: Spiritual Exercises*, Rule 18 on pp. 213-214.

destiny. These missionaries inevitably had spent many years lobbying and longing for the journey before they reached the place of departure. Those who came to Portugal and Spain from other European countries such as Germans often had their patience tested with additional wait time, months or even years, until government authorities cleared them for departure on their fleet. And there were only so many ships for the Indies to begin with.

Accordingly, it was with palpable excitement that the Jesuits boarded the fleet for the Americas in Cadiz in July 1680. But the excitement proved short-lived. On the way out of the harbor toward the open sea, the ship's pilot, attempting to avoid the other boats and a big rock, missed the clear passage and stranded the ship on a sandbank instead. To get unstuck, he then hoisted all sails, only to have the wind smash the ship against a sharp rock and crack. Chaos broke out among passengers and crew, as streams of water filled the vessel from the bottom up. Everyone rushed to the top, many of them screaming. They called on God, the Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, and Francis Xavier for help.⁵²

Other boats evacuated everyone. The Jesuits lost all of their possessions but the evacuation saved their lives. At 9 o'clock that evening, they were back at their college. After midnight the mission procurator awakened them, having arranged for them to travel on the remaining ships of the fleet. They chased the fleet on a sloop out into the open sea and pleaded with the captains of the different ships to let them board in groups; only a few had to return to the harbor 'very distressed and shame-faced,' as one of them later recalled.⁵³

The shipwreck in the harbor of Cadiz became Jesuit legend. Survivors wrote about it and the news spread through the order. The story not only told of disappointed hopes, miraculous rescue, and emotional redemption; it also told of eventual triumph for most of the party. The few left behind eventually also made it out. The story spoke of the determination of India-bound Jesuits,

52 This account and others I reference were printed in Stöcklein et al., *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. The publication appeared in a series of single issues between 1725 and 1758, which were subsequently bound together in five volumes. Each volume contained eight issues or *Teile* (parts) of 100 to 150 folio pages. Each part was numbered separately. The missionary letters, treatises, and other materials were numbered consecutively throughout the *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. When citing letters, I reference the names of authors in the original spelling and the date, the number of the letter, and the page number(s). When citing information that is not contained in a letter, I reference the relevant part and the page number, if available. Here: Joannis Ratkay, November 16, 1680, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 28, pp. 77-78.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 78. See also Adam Gerstl, Excerpts of 26 Letters to His Father, up to July 14, 1681, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 31, pp. 99-101, quote p. 101.

who were ready to catch the boat by whatever means necessary, even if it meant chasing a fleet on the open ocean in a sloop in the middle of the night.

But, of course, much worse could and did happen further from Europe's shores. Tales of shipwrecks and survival of ocean travel became a staple of the period, with Jesuits as avid consumers of and contributors to the popular genre.⁵⁴ The route toward the Americas was safer than the route around the Cape toward Asia, although there were fierce storms in the Caribbean. The oceans along Xavier's route claimed the lives of many a missionary, a frustrating drainage of personnel that further exacerbated the chronic shortage of Jesuits in the Asia mission. Modern scholars have estimated that up to 50 percent of Jesuits drowned en route from Lisbon to East Asia while a considerable number of others perished from various illnesses aboard, often because they attended to the needs of other sick passengers.⁵⁵

The 1680 journey was unusual in that it became dramatic so quickly; more routine duties typically characterized the role of the missionaries at the outset. Heidi Keller-Lapp has described how French Ursulines on New World ships did their best to recreate the world of the convent and transform boats into 'floating cloisters.'⁵⁶ Adapting her terminology, we might say that Jesuits on overseas ships worked hard to create 'floating collegia.'⁵⁷ In keeping with Xavier's example of setting up a religious routine on board that mirrored pastoral activities on land, the Society issued formal rules to be read aloud to the missionaries before departure and at various moments on the trip. They addressed practical issues such as work assignments, the treatment of provisions, and relationships with captain and crew. They also spelled out the rhythms of prayer and pastoral work and the celebration of feast days that structured the journey, turning boats into floating spaces of devotion and ministry.⁵⁸ German Jesuit Xaver Ernbert Fridel, who spent over half a year in transit from Lisbon to Goa in 1704, reported the following schedule (weather permitting): a daily mass, after sundown the Litany of Loreto, at 8 o'clock the rosary performed together with the sailors, followed by nightly devotions in which individual fathers took turn on a 30-minute rotation to recite the Ave Maria and perform a vigil in honor of different saints. At least once a month, the Jesuits listened to everyone's confessions and administered communion, a time-consuming undertaking

54 Brockey, *Largos Caminhos*, p. 64. Some 2,100 Jesuits traveled to the East in Xavier's footsteps until the 1759 expulsion of the Jesuits. Fernando, 'Xavier,' p. 846.

55 Brockey, *Largos Caminhos*, p. 45.

56 Keller-Lapp, 'Floating Cloisters and Heroic Women'.

57 Brockey also speaks of the 'floating college'. Brockey, *Largos Caminhos*, p. 52.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

on this ship of 300 passengers. They participated in the Saturday devotions organized by the Dominicans on board. They also celebrated feast days that came to pass during the voyage, like Pentecost or Corpus Christi, when they delivered special sermons, heard more confessions, sung masses, and watched performances of plays by the crew. On the feast day of Peter and Paul, they renewed their vows. Then there were special nine-day devotions to various saints, including two devoted to Francis Xavier.⁵⁹

The Jesuits aboard soon also attended to the sick and dying, as Xavier had modeled fearlessly on his journey. Fridel reports that of the 300 people who boarded the ship in Europe in early April, 82 were dead by early October. He himself fell ill repeatedly and came close to dying once but made a recovery. Other Jesuits, young and old, were not so lucky: the superior and a young Jesuit in his fourth year both succumbed to their illnesses. The Jesuits dressed the dead in keeping with the order's regulation, performed a requiem mass, carried the corpses and sang the Office of the Dead before casting the human remains through a ship's window for sea burial.⁶⁰

Although these spiritual labors resembled routines on land, they had to be carried out in close quarters and in motion. Fridel writes that the fathers paid 600 florins to rent half of a room from the fleet's top military officer. He describes cramming all of their 'provisions of water, meat, oil, bacon, wine, wood, fish, clothes, trunks, and whatever else was needed' in this narrow space. '[T]his corner simultaneously served as our church, sacristy, refectory and sickroom, dormitory, cellar, storage room, common room, or simply put as our entire Collegium,' he recalls.⁶¹

If there was one advantage to confinement, however, it consisted of having a ready-made audience for pastoral work. Passengers were stuck on board and good hiding places were scarce. Whether for lack of alternatives, out of faith or as a precautionary measure, many readily availed themselves of the Jesuits' abundant spiritual offerings. Adam Gerstl, one of the survivors of the shipwreck of Cadiz who had to wait even longer to travel to Vera Cruz on another fleet, recounted frequent sermons, catechism lessons, and a public mission during which everyone 'made confession and then took communion, just as they had done [previously] on the feast day of Ignatius and the day of the Portiuncula Indulgence.'⁶² But Jesuits at times also had to tread lightly to sustain their charges' attention. On the same route to Vera

59 Ernbert Fridel, December 2, 1704, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 116, pp. 77, 79.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

62 Andreas Mancker, February 25, 1681, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 30, p. 85.

Cruz but on another boat, the fathers at one point resolved to suspend their daily sermons for a while. The passengers had tired of all the preaching so the Jesuits only kept up the catechism for the children, a more energetic and eager constituency.⁶³

Confined amid a motley crew, Jesuits also came face to face with and policed various moral failings as Xavier had done. They reported those who gambled, swore, drank excessively or initiated fights with the officers; the latter submerged the offenders in the ocean water for punishment or sometimes worse.⁶⁴ The Jesuits also admonished the crew to work hard and even helped avert the occasional mutiny. Secular authorities on board showed appreciation of the missionaries' religious and moral regime. To support Jesuit celebrations of saint's days, for example, captains shot cannons and raised the ship's flags.⁶⁵

Threats tested the missionaries' ability to maintain their authority. Although enemy ships and piracy posed threats, Jesuit letters speak most about adverse weather events. Such events included prolonged absence of winds, which led to various diseases, starvation, and dehydration and stormy winds and turbulent waves that threatened to destroy or topple the ship or drive it against rocks and cliffs. Jesuits struggled to give meaning to such occurrences for themselves and for fellow passengers, and to determine the proper action in facing adversity. Both a lack and an abundance of wind were seen as reflecting God's omnipotence and plan for humanity, yet the right religious response could also move God, in his mercy, to alter the course of events and imbue the human survivors with true faith.

When the winds ceased blowing, Jesuits sped up their devotions. Ignatius of Loyola was credited with special powers of propulsion. If they were in need of favorable winds, Jesuits carried out a special nine-day devotion to Ignatius. The breeze that allegedly always arose on the second day was termed the 'Ignatius wind.'⁶⁶ Jesuits also orchestrated prayers among the passengers to bring back the right ocean breeze. But if extreme weather in theory required unified actions, in practice it often did just the opposite and exposed instead cleavages in the social microcosm of the ship. Father Jean de Taillandier recounted an incident from his Indian Ocean voyage when everyone on board was being 'grilled' by the hot sun during a long cessation of winds. The more dark-skinned passengers (he calls them 'Moors' and

63 Joseph Bonani, November 13, 1717, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 172, p. 75.

64 Joseph Bonani, July 16, 1718, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 150, p. 2.

65 Fridel, December 2, 1704, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 116, p. 79.

66 Joseph Bonani, November 13, 1717, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 172, p. 75.

presumably refers to black slaves) expressed their puzzlement about the missionaries' behavior: 'Why don't you do anything but pray all the time? Don't the heat and the hunger cause you enough suffering? Why not leave your books and devotions until after the completion of the boat's journey when you have gotten some rest on land?'⁶⁷

Different groups clearly had different ways of coping with catastrophic events. Such situations could challenge the religious monopoly of the Jesuits on board. The crew on this same trip resorted to its own rituals for managing the elements; Taillandier called them 'all kinds of superstitions.' The sailors launched a small boat filled with rice in the sea while cheering loudly and burning incense. They interpreted the dreams of a slave and a sailor to determine what to do. They resolved to douse the masts with water, wash the entire ship, and process around board carrying an image of a horse. 'Finally, when nothing worked,' the Jesuit noted, 'they asked for our prayers, but we answered that these could not be efficacious unless they put aside their superstitious games and placed their trust in the one and true God only.'⁶⁸

Just as the biblical precedent as well as Xavier's suggested, extreme weather events often turned into tests of faith. This was particularly true of violent winds that brought immediate danger and despair rather than the slowly building misery of absent winds. A fierce storm struck later on Taillandier's journey. In this context, he reported that the Muslims on board spent the night crying in despair whereas the Christians faced the storm with equanimity. Just as on the boat crossing the Sea of Galilee, fear marked the dividing line between the true believer and the pagan passenger. Taillandier wrote that the different responses of Christians and Muslims allowed 'everyone [to] derive the big difference between the noble trust in God with which the Christian faith imbues believers and the false security that the Koran promises to the circumcised.'⁶⁹ The Muslims' fear suggested that they had fallen for an illusion. Their emotional state in this scheme reveals that they lack the very ability that the Jesuits sought to master through the Ignatian method and that Xavier had modeled for other seafaring missionaries. Self-governance distinguishes the missionary men and makes them brave in the face of death.

If Ignatius brought the winds, Xavier quieted them. Although the route toward the Americas was safer than the route around the Cape toward Asia, Jesuits reported fierce storms on this passage as well and special devotions

67 Jean de Taillandier, February 20, 1711, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 122, p. 110.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

to Xavier to keep them safe. Adam Gilg's account of his voyage through the Caribbean included 'a horrible storm that made the water bubble like boiling water, the waves spraying like flames of fire. [...] It lasted eight days and taught some how to pray with shaking fear of God.'⁷⁰ Anton Sepp, on route to Paraguay, also recounted storms along the way. His group of Jesuits started nine days of special devotions in Xavier's honor 'so that that we may continue through his protection before God our journey without harm until we happily may reach land and until the end.'⁷¹

Xavier's presence loomed especially large, however, on the route to Asia that he himself had traveled. Boats were named after him, although it did not always prevent them from being shipwrecked.⁷² The accounts of two French Jesuits, Joseph de Prémare and Pierre Vincent de Tartre, provide vivid testimony of the challenges of this journey. The two men traveled to China on the *Amphitrite*, the first French ship to traverse the route, in 1699 and 1700, respectively. Their stories of heroic survival aboard ship were printed in the French *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, and then also in German in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, which like its French counterpart targeted both an internal audience of prospective missionaries and a broader educated public. These publications broadcast the accomplishments of Jesuit missionaries while propagating exemplars of action and emotion within the order itself.⁷³

The *Amphitrite* followed a good part of the saint's route and De Prémare had knowledge of some sights because, as he reveals, he had read Xavier's vita.⁷⁴ When the seamen miscalculated the route and detoured to Sumatra, De Prémare intervened and turned specifically to Xavier to get them back on track and to China by the end of the year. The Jesuits on board carried out special devotions on ten consecutive Fridays, because Xavier had preached the gospel abroad for ten years and had died on a Friday. They further took a vow to build a small chapel above Xavier's island grave and perform a mass inside.⁷⁵ Although the ship found its way back on the course, it encountered a terrifying storm in the South China Sea and more danger lay ahead. Nearing the Paracel Islands everyone on board watched in 'fear and shaking' as fierce winds pushed the boat toward rocky grounds, expecting it

70 Adam Gilg, October 8, 1687, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 33 p. 108.

71 Anton Sepp, June 24, 1692, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 48, p. 43.

72 Balthasar Miller reports that one of the 41 ships of the Portuguese fleet from Lisbon to Macao was named *S. Francisci Xaverii* and suffered a shipwreck in a violent storm. Pater Miller, November 2, 1717, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 159, pp. 41-42.

73 See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the *Der Neue Welt-Bott* as a project.

74 Joseph de Prémare, February 17, 1699, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 39, p. 15.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

to splinter like glass.⁷⁶ Everyone fell silent on board, ‘the saddest worry and fear’ on their faces. De Prémare here offers a window into his own emotional state and, no doubt, that of many missionaries at sea: ‘On this occasion I indeed experienced what I otherwise had often heard and read, namely the difference between someone who faces danger from afar, say, kneeling in front of his crucifix on his praying stool, and someone who is actually in such danger.’⁷⁷ Evidently, he lacked the inner composure of Xavier in the Reinoso painting although De Prémare may not have shown it outwardly. Fear of God rather than fear of death was easily imagined at home but hard earned at sea. As much as Jesuit training and rhetoric sought to close the gap between theory and practice and offered exemplary lives as a bridge between the two, in the end only experience itself could be an incubator for new states of being. Boat journeys could generate a particularly productive experience of fear. ‘For never do the great truth of faith penetrate the mind more forcefully,’ De Prémare noted about the events on board, ‘then when one has death before one’s eyes.’⁷⁸ Even when the danger passes, ‘its impressed imaginations on the brain of many people will not disappear any time soon but hopefully generated the fear which God intends by bringing such travaux.’⁷⁹ A last-minute change of air currents indeed averted catastrophe and, in 1700, the *Amphitrite* reached Shangchuan Island. Convinced that Xavier led them there, the Jesuits paid their dues with a pilgrimage to his grave. They kissed the holy ground and shed tears on it, then built a tent structure using part of a torn sail and an altar on which they said mass after a night of almost constant devotion. Before they left, they pocketed soil from the gravesite for good luck.⁸⁰ When the *Amphitrite* arrived in Canton after eight months at sea, De Prémare credited Xavier for the safe passage.⁸¹

Pierre Vincent de Tartre’s account of his voyage was more dramatic still, as it involved 20 near shipwrecks in only five months. On the ship, he notes from the outset, ‘we learned properly not only to disregard death together with all dangers to life, but rather also to place our entire trust, but with complete serenity, in God alone.’⁸² He recounts incident after incident of near disaster, fear of death, divine intervention, and deepened human faith. Since the other Jesuits suffered terrible seasickness, but De Tartre only once

76 Ibid., pp. 16-17, quote p. 17.

77 Ibid., p. 17.

78 Ibid., p. 17.

79 Ibid., p. 17.

80 Ibid., p. 18.

81 Ibid., p. 18.

82 Pierre Vincent de Tartre, December 17, 1701, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 65, pp. 2-3.

'paid his dues to the sea with only one [vomited] lunch,'⁸³ he had to be the ship's chaplain for the duration of the journey. This meant he was leading everyone on board in devotions, and had no help when storms were rocking the boat. Around the Paracel Islands where the passengers on the *Amphitrite* had expected her to shatter like glass on their first journey; had it not been, so De Tartre said, for the passengers' oath to Xavier.⁸⁴ The ship passed the island without trouble, but they were caught in awful weather in the South China Sea. Masts broke, sails tore, seamen were hurt and washed overboard, and the ship went adrift. The Jesuits pulled out all the stops to manage the panic on board. They pleaded with God for help and tried to lift everyone's spirit. They heard confessions and urged all aboard to surrender to God's will, whether it meant life or death, with equanimity. De Tartre himself ran around the boat to admonish the people on board to repent, which, as he put it, 'did not require much encouragement, since having death before one's eyes was more persuasive than any kind of argument or conclusive speech.'⁸⁵ Plain fear was more effective than the best rhetoric. Their rhetoric had failed the Jesuits earlier in the journey, when several crewmembers, recent converts, had gone into hiding to avoid the missionaries' Easter devotions.⁸⁶ The storms produced an eager audience.

As the situation deteriorated, De Tartre resorted to additional remedies. Interpreting the storm as the punishment of an angry God, he persuaded everyone on board to take two vows: A promise to Francis Xavier to say mass in his praise, confess, and take communion once they safely reached Canton with his help, and a promise to the Mother of God to set up a plaque in her honor at a shrine back in France. Within 24 hours, the storms vanished, and De Tartre exulted that everyone on board had been able to experience saintly intercession through 'tangible miracle-work.'⁸⁷ Like De Prémare before him, De Tartre paid homage to Xavier at Shangchuan Island where the ship anchored for three weeks off the coast. Because violent storms once again rocked the boat, the captain dropped anchor, and fired the cannons while the Jesuits prayed Xavier's Litany facing his burial place from the sea. When the waves calmed a bit, they traveled ashore to perform devotions at the site.⁸⁸ But the fiercest storm yet struck after their departure from Shangchuan Island. Unable to control the boat, the crew surrendered to the

83 Ibid., p. 3.

84 Ibid., p. 5.

85 Ibid., p. 6.

86 Ibid., p. 3.

87 Ibid., p. 7.

88 Ibid., p. 8.

waves that pushed the vessel toward cliffs in thick rain under a pitch-black sky of the kind Reinoso's painting evokes. The dance between fear and faith started on board yet again. De Tartre reports: 'Everyone believed themselves to be lost without hope, prepared themselves for death. Each and everyone screamed to heaven for mercy. We listened to more confessions and urged the others toward a repentant exit from this world.'⁸⁹ This time no one on board required persuasion to repent. Terrified sailors led more obstinate shipmates to De Tartre to hear their confession. A notoriously tough group of travelers, the sailors succumbed to their fears and bowed before the spiritual bravery of the Jesuit. Fear of death even delivered new believers to De Tartre, just as it had delivered the 'Saracenes' to Xavier. A group of Huguenots appeared before the Jesuit ready to convert. The group included some men who had previously converted to Catholicism 'only in outward appearance and who now in this utter danger converted sincerely.'⁹⁰ Here too, the right fear was a most potent purgative of falsity, and an ocean storm a most potent producer of fear.

In the course of his turbulent journey, De Tartre wielded such fear repeatedly and productively, turning crew and passengers into his trusting flock. The boat became his most important mission territory rather than a means of getting to his final destination, although China was widely considered the crown jewel among the Jesuit mission territories. In a striking passage recorded toward the end of the journey, De Tartre recounted another storm that raged for 24 hours and felt like the longest day of his life.⁹¹ What concerned him most that day was not the potential loss to the China mission if his boat sank, but rather of what he had accomplished in transit. He lamented

that my poor shipmates, who in ready repentance during so many dangers put their faith in God, now that they believed themselves out of danger and praised God from their hearts, should after all go down in a miserable shipwreck together with their trust.⁹²

It was as if his greatest feat had already been accomplished before he even set foot on Chinese shores by turning fearful doubters into trusting believers.

89 Ibid., p. 9.

90 Ibid., p. 9.

91 Ibid., p. 11.

92 Ibid., p. 11. He added concern for the losses to the mission as an afterthought: 'It also pains me that the Chinese mission might suffer the greatest need due to the sinking of this ship.' Ibid.

In his account, De Tartre admitted that at that moment he would rather have stayed on board and fought his superior 'with full force to remain and continue in my office' but, alas, in vain. When his feet touched the earth after eight months at sea during which he 'suffered so much,' the example of the apostles came to mind and how 'they never produced so much fruit than where they received the most resistance and persecution.'⁹³

Journeying into Missionary Manhood

As De Tartre's transformation into an apostle suggests, transoceanic journeys transported Jesuits psychologically and spiritually as well as physically. Masculinity was a defining feature of this journey. Crowded quarters, colorful shipmates, and the threats of disease, wind, and waves truly put Jesuit manhood to the test. Francis Xavier, the patron saint of Jesuit mobility, first modeled how to navigate this environment through action and attitude. As a seafaring forefather and imaginary guardian, he remained a presence on the voyaging experiences of latter-day Jesuits. Like him, they turned boats into spaces of devotion and ministry as if they were on land. When catastrophic events threatened the lives and salvation of those on board, they too stepped up and offered spiritual remedies, and seized on the opportunity to make new converts.

Few phenomena struck fear into the hearts of men like a mast-breaking, sail-tearing ocean storm. Jesuits tried to show their own faith by facing such fear with equanimity. In others, they strove to turn this fear into deep and true faith in God. Their ability to model and transform emotional states, an integral part of Jesuit formation, set them apart amid the motley crew of men compared to whom the celibate missionaries may have looked less manly in other respects. It is important to note here that early modern thinking about the passions did not typecast women as the emotional and men as the rational gender. This polarization developed in the nineteenth century, first within bourgeois society. Early modern men and women alike were thought to be in the throes of big feelings like desire and fear and hence in need of regulating their passions.⁹⁴ Xavier was a model of self-regulation, perhaps harnessing virtues of self-governance that would have been part of his noble background to the emotional norms of the Society of Jesus. But was this then a religious as opposed to a masculine

93 Ibid., pp. 12-13.

94 Newmark, 'Weibliches Leiden.'

form of self-regulation? A comparison with the few religious women who braved the seas in the early modern period, who patterned their religious lives on the male example of the Jesuits, suggests that Xavier's model was a masculine form of self-regulation as well as a religious one.

The emergence of the Society of Jesus coincided with larger shifts in the gendered organization of the European Catholic Church. Not long after the all-male Society of Jesus's founding, the decrees of the Council of Trent foreclosed an active female apostolate. Trent stipulated enclosure for all women religious and thereby put any kind of female religious movement, never mind transoceanic travel, beyond proper bounds. At the same time, Trent's pastoral and apostolic mandates underwrote missionary manhood and Jesuit movements to the far corners of the globe. Religious men were encouraged to board boats. Religious women were asked not to put a foot outside the bounds of enclosures. In the wake of Trent, discipline was renewed and rigidified within female contemplative houses and socially active religious communities were required to accept cloister and embrace forms of spiritual labor suitable to life behind closed doors.⁹⁵ Some nuns, famously Teresa of Avila, enthusiastically participated in the disciplining of female spiritual life; they found solace in enclosure. However, many nuns in convents across Europe resisted; they fought forcefully and often quite ingeniously against strict confinement.⁹⁶

Only a few religious women were able to claim a Jesuit-style mission and apostolic identity for themselves. Of those, even fewer took boats to foreign shores. Those few who did indeed depict the boat journey as spiritual journeys, much as their male counterparts did. Mary Ward, foundress of the Institute of English Ladies, an organization that at least at first came closest to being a female counterpoint to the Society of Jesus, crossed the sea on a few memorable occasions.⁹⁷ They are recorded in her visual biography, *The Painted Life of Mary Ward (Das Gemalte Leben Maria Wards)*. Completed after Ward's death in the second half of the seventeenth century, this cycle of 50 paintings documents the stages of her spiritual development across the span of her life with short texts; these are attributed to the Jesuit

95 Strasser, *State of Virginity*, pp. 70-85. Evangelisti, *Nuns*, esp. pp. 41-54.

96 There is a sizeable literature on this issue. On Teresa of Avila's relationship to enclosure, it includes the by now classic monograph by Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa*. On enclosure and resistance, see Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic*; Strasser, *State of Virginity*, pp. 119-148; Evangelisti, *Nuns*, esp. pp. 55-65.

97 On Ward's Institute, see Strasser, *State of Virginity*, pp. 149-172.



Figure 5 *Das Gemalte Leben Maria Wards*, no. 15. Maria-Ward Saal, Congregatio Jesu Augsburg. Copyright Tanner Werbung.¹⁰⁰

Tobias Lohner.⁹⁸ Lohner at some point worked in the Landsberg college, the German training center for the overseas missions.⁹⁹

Boats appear in various paintings and are of obvious significance to Ward's spiritual development and vision. Canvases 15, 22, and 26 depict her on boats. The first two mark important moments in her spiritual formation and that of her organization. They are diptychs or split-screen images that each juxtapose a domestic situation with a boat scene. Canvas 15 (fig. 5)¹⁰⁰ of *The Painted Life* shows Ward in a beautiful dress boarding a ship from England to St. Omer in 1606 after her confessor and parents finally consented to her taking up the religious life in Flanders. On the left, she is in discussion with her father who (along with her mother and friends) had long urged Mary to marry rather than to embark on the religious life. The inscription states that she 'boarded the ship with an indescribable joy.' Canvas 22 (fig. 6), the second split screen, shows Mary with her first companions on chairs in a half circle gathered in conversation, perhaps about their spiritual vision and

98 Wetter, *Schulungsbriefe*, p. 197.

99 *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197. Duhr, *Deutsche Auslandsehnsucht*, pp. 10-11.

100 A special thanks to Sister Clementine Nagel, the archivist of the Congregatio Jesu Augsburg, for helping me obtain copies of the images and permission to reproduce them.



Figure 6 *Das Gemalte Leben Maria Wards*, no. 22, Maria-Ward Saal, Congregatio Jesu Augsburg. Copyright Tanner Werbung.

plans, on the left. She is persuading them to join her in spiritual adventure. The right half depicts their departure in a ship or the actualization of the vision and plan; some women are waiting in the larger vessel, turning their gaze to the shore one last time, while the remaining few are getting on a smaller boat that will take them to the group. If Canvas 15 shows Ward departing to new spiritual shores, Canvas 22 depicts the launch of her all-female organization.

Canvas 26 (fig. 7) by contrast is dedicated to a single image of a ship at sea. Its arrangements bear some resemblance to Reinoso's depiction of Francis Xavier on the stormy South China Sea, except that Ward is crossing the calmer English Channel and the threat is entirely human: a mutiny has erupted on board. Like Xavier, however, Ward stands out for her calmness, which helps her settle the situation. The accompanying text dates the events to the feast day of St. James and describes Ward enlisting the saint for support in countering the mutiny. Ward's intercessory powers clearly mark her advanced spiritual state; she is no longer departing to other shores but lifting those in the same boat with her to a higher religious level. The specific invocation of St. James and Ward's posture, standing and instructing others, link her to apostolic activity. A final boat image in *The Painted Life* supports this interpretation. Canvas 31 one (fig. 8), another spilt image, shows Ward in



Figure 7 *Das Gemalte Leben Maria Wards*, no. 26. Maria-Ward Saal, Congregatio Jesu Augsburg.
Copyright Tanner Werbung.



Figure 8 *Das Gemalte Leben Maria Wards*, no. 31. Maria-Ward Saal, Congregatio Jesu Augsburg.
Copyright Tanner Werbung.

meditation on one half, and the object of her meditation on the other: Christ's calling of the first apostles, the fishermen Simon (Peter) and Andrew, off their boat by the Sea of Galilee. Whereas Canvas 26 and Canvas 22 presented scenes of departure and Canvas 26 shows a ship in transit, Canvas 31 shows Ward assuming the new role of apostle she had sought. It also underlines that Catholic tradition constructed apostolic succession as an all-male succession. While both men and women populate the other images and the ships are made up of mixed company, this diptych is highly gendered and the boat scene is entirely male, as is the biblical story line that underlies it. Its visual opposite is that of Ward, who is shown meditating before an image of the Virgin Mary. As much as Ward imagined an apostolic role for herself, the final boat image in *The Painted Life* reflects that this role was coded as masculine in the Catholic Church and when women stepped into it, they visibly crossed over a boundary and easily created a sense of misfit.

The most extensive records of female ship voyages stem from the pens of the Ursulines. An initially unenclosed and activist group, the sisters had to accept Tridentine enclosure, yet they still managed to insert themselves in the overseas evangelization drive and sent nuns to the Americas and Asia to establish convents. For these women, the transoceanic voyage to other continents was an equally formative stage in their journey toward becoming missionaries as it was for the Jesuits. Their voyage descriptions strike some of the same notes as those of the Jesuits, oceans being oceans and the religious being concerned with religious matters. These sources speak of the nuns' efforts to keep up their devotions at sea, of the hardships and dangers of ocean travel, and of stomach-churning storms that tested their stamina and determination. Mère Marie Tranchepain even mentioned 'one of these perilous moments when we made a vow to the Holy Virgin and to St. Francis Xavier, for the merit of their protection.'¹⁰¹ Xavier was apparently a seafaring forefather and protector for these aspiring Jesuitesses as well.

Yet the Ursulines' tales of ocean travel also bifurcated from those of the Jesuits in some respect and followed clearly gendered lines. Thus, the nuns reported in some detail how they struggled to maintain a resemblance of

101 Mère Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, *Relation du voyage des dames religieuses ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle Orléans* (Rouen: Le Prévost, 1728), unpaginated extracts. I would like to thank Heidi Keller-Lapp for providing me with excerpts from Tranchepain's account. For a discussion of another voyage account, see Keller-Lapp's dissertation 'Floating Cloisters and Femmes Fortes,' esp. pp. 91-97. Keller-Lapp is analyzing Tranchepain's account more fully in her monograph, in which Keller-Lapp demonstrates how the Ursulines consciously imitated Jesuit modes of missionary activity and fashioned themselves as Jesuitesses. Keller-Lapp, *Floating Cloisters and Holy Amazons*.

enclosure while residing aboard a vessel that was not only crowded but moving, and often violently so.¹⁰² Confinement was not something the Jesuits had to worry about. If anything, Jesuit rules for ocean voyages specifically dictated that the fathers spent sufficient time in fresh air and among the people.¹⁰³ Theirs was a much more public presence than the women's on routine days of pastoral activity as well as on those occasions when all routines broke down during times of high drama. When drama did occur, the women appear to have experienced and weathered it differently from the men. Mère Marie Tranchepain reported for the same 'perilous moments' when the nuns called on Xavier that 'no one turned away from the sacrifice that she had made to God.'¹⁰⁴ A capacity to endure rather than the regulation of strong passion, one's own and those of others, appears to be the central point, foregrounding the sacrificial self rather than a Xaverian identity of being a 'powerful converter'¹⁰⁵ of others.

The Jesuits who followed in Xavier's footsteps showed themselves as masters of self-regulation aboard ships and used their self-regulation as the basis of their claim to regulate others. They experienced, in Father De Prémare's terms, the emotional difference between contemplating danger on a praying stool at home and being in danger at sea, and they were determined to grow from this experience. What made ocean journeys so important for the Jesuits, aside from the practicalities of transportation, is that they accorded much opportunity for the repeated exercise of one's missionary mettle.

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102 Heidi Keller-Lapp, 'Floating Cloisters and Heroic Women'.

103 Brockey, 'Largos Caminhos,' p. 55.

104 Tranchepain de St. Augustin, *Relation du voyage*, unpaginated extracts.

105 Leone, *Saints and Signs*, p. 326.

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3 Of Missionaries, Martyrs, and *Makahnas*

Engendering the Marianas Mission, Part I

Abstract

The first of two chapters on missionary manhood in the Marianas, this chapter focuses on the mission's beginnings and founder, Diego de Sanvitores. The Spanish Jesuit saw himself – and was perceived by others as – another Francis Xavier. Print technology, which circulated images and stories of saintly exemplars worldwide, offered a cultural template for such mimetic copying in the flesh. As Sanvitores fashioned himself into another Xavier, he sought to refashion the Mariana Islands, aided by Spanish colonial authorities. Violence and loss of life came to define this mission. Struggles for male spiritual hegemony between the Jesuits and indigenous shamans escalated hostilities. Sanvitores was killed and hailed as a martyr, drawing more men to the Marianas in search of Catholicism's most heroic male death.

Keywords: Diego de Sanvitores, Mariana Islands, martyrdom, Spanish colonialism, print media

Today a flight from Rome to Guam in the Marianas traverses an aerial distance of more than 12,000 kilometers. The inconvenience the modern traveler experiences pales in comparison to the challenges of journeying to the islands in the early modern period. The Jesuits who set up the first European mission in this Pacific archipelago came on land and sea routes via Spain and the Americas by routes almost 24,000 kilometers long, or over half the earth's circumference. If we take the European perspective for the moment and posit Rome as the center of Catholic Christianity, Guam was its most remote point on the other side of the world, the gateway into the blue vastness of Oceania and a crucial way station on Catholicism's path to becoming a global religion.¹

¹ This default perspective on the Catholic Church is usefully reversed in Ditchfield, 'Decentering the Catholic Reformation.'

The journey sparked dramatic transformations among the peoples whom the Jesuits encountered. The Spanish Jesuit Diego de Sanvitores (1627-1672) launched the island mission in 1668 and recorded initial successes. Merely a few months into the mission, however, some Chamorros violently opposed the European intruders, inaugurating decades of resistance to the outsiders. Brutal warfare, forced reduction, and epidemic disease eventually secured Spanish victory and Christianization but they also created a situation that brought the island population to the brink of demographic extinction. These mass indigenous deaths would not be publicly commemorated until much later. The deaths of the Jesuits, on the other hand, were publicized in the Spanish Empire and in Europe, drawing more men who had a desire to become martyrs to the Marianas. The violence in the Marianas thus tied two parts of the globe together, affecting each in radically different ways.

For the missionaries who went to work in the Marianas, it was also an inward journey transforming them across the span of years and often decades spent in this Pacific locale into a person who both resembled but also differed from the one who first stepped ashore. Having come of age in the homosocial environment of European Jesuit colleges, the missionaries first came into growing contact with the larger world and proved their manhood aboard transoceanic ships. Missionary manhood came into its sharpest contours, though, in the mission field. Only there and then, European ideas about evangelization and self were gradually reshaped in the close encounter with another people, including indigenous women, into workable practices of relating to 'the other' and into flexible self-understandings that were continuous with the European Jesuit project yet allowed for accommodation. It was one thing to want to follow Francis Xavier's example in the abstract, but another altogether to put this example into practice in a Pacific archipelago that even the much-traveled Xavier had never reached and whose population was barely known to Europeans.

This chapter and the following will look at this in some detail by considering the life histories of a Spanish and a German Jesuit, Diego de Sanvitores and Augustinus Strobach. They each took Xavier as their inspiration and their life histories intertwine through mimesis of Xavier, leading both of them to the same Pacific archipelago. The two stories illustrate that Xavier's example, many decades after his death and canonization, continued to exert a powerful pull on the imagination and actions of Jesuits. Xavier's writings, stories told about him, and his iconographic legacy furnished late-seventeenth-century Jesuits like Sanvitores and Strobach with scripts of missionary manhood that could be enacted by aspiring saints and recognized by others as marks of holiness. Like all scripts, however, those

about Xavier were open to elaboration and needed to be accommodated to specific missionary situations. Although Sanvitores and Strobach both strove to follow in Xavier's footsteps, they never met but rather labored in the Marianas a decade apart, a long time in a mission as dramatic as this one. Their biographies bring different facets of Jesuit manhood in the Marianas mission into view, warranting treatment in two consecutive chapters, but they each point to the inseparability of missionary self-fashioning and the reform of others.

This chapter traces the beginnings of the Marianas mission and the violent clashes between islanders and intruders by linking it to the evolution of its Jesuit founder, Diego de Sanvitores, an Iberian follower of Francis Xavier. Sanvitores, in the course of turning himself into a 'new Xavier' in the Marianas and encountering violent opposition to his efforts, came to see in martyrdom the only way to advance the faith further. He hoped for and then suffered Tridentine Catholicism's most heroic male death, a fate for which the original Xavier had longed in vain. While Sanvitores deliberately fashioned himself into a new Francis Xavier, the Spaniard also set about refashioning the Marianas mission field that was to serve as the external mirror of his interior transformation. Asserting his missionary masculinity, Sanvitores reimagined the Pacific archipelago as a feminized space ruled by the Virgin Mary and her Jesuit acolytes, whose task it was to guide their island charges toward Christian salvation. He enlisted the support of Spanish colonial authorities to make the complex spiritual and political reorganization of island society possible. Everywhere in the Jesuit missions, the introduction of Christian norms of marriage, sexuality, and gender was a central component of evangelization. In the Marianas, however, local worlds were overturned in particularly dramatic ways due to a fundamental clash between European and island norms, including matrilineal traditions, and on account of the violence and extraordinary loss of life that came to define the missionary encounter in the Pacific archipelago.

When European Catholicism met Chamorro culture in 1668, the encounter did not immediately take place on a military frontier but initially along what Kathleen Brown termed a 'gender frontier' where two culturally specific systems for understanding gender and sexuality, as well as the cosmos, collided.² This chapter centrally concerns itself with struggles for male spiritual hegemony between the Jesuits and indigenous shamans that overshadowed the early days of the mission from its beginning through the first Great War and Sanvitores's death in April 1672. Indigenous beliefs in *anitis* ('ancestral

2 Brown, 'Gender Frontiers.'

spirits') and deeply held respect for *makahnas* ('shaman-sorcerers') influenced the islanders' responses in the Marianas mission. These indigenous frameworks had a very important yet paradoxical effect on the course of events. On the one hand, beliefs in an ancestral afterlife and in *makahnas* as ritual experts made the islanders more receptive to Catholicism, enabling the Jesuits to gain a foothold in the complex island world. On the other hand, the same beliefs led to the sharpest clashes between islanders and Europeans, and set in motion a highly destructive spiral of symbolic and physical combat. Missionaries and *makahnas* represented hegemonic masculinities among their people, at once uncannily alike yet diametrically opposed. They each claimed a monopoly on the spirit world, which in their view placed them above political authorities and which they were ready to defend, if necessary, by relying on the worldly weapons of war. The spiritual combat behind the military goes a long way toward explaining the decade-long destructive violence that swept the islands in the late seventeenth century and left so many dead in its wake. Moreover, the Jesuits' homosocial traditions and rejection of marriage meant that, from the indigenous point of view, these missionary men could not be inserted in the all important clan system. The Jesuits' inability to assimilate into island society made all their alliances unstable and contributed to the quick escalation of hostilities.³

'A Copy with a Soul': The Beginnings of the Marianas Mission

Although Jesuits can be found among the earliest critics of European colonialism, in the end colonial power enabled their apostolic labors overseas and Jesuit missions in turn underwrote European political dominance. The history of the Marianas provided an intriguing exception to the general rule that Catholicism followed on the heels of European colonial conquest. Here the Jesuits led the way, not the Spanish crown. Ferdinand Magellan (c. 1480-1521) first chanced upon the archipelago during his 1521 quest to seize the riches of the Spice Islands for Spain.⁴ After the Chamorros seized

3 Chapter 1 highlighted the frictions between the Society's homosocial structure and European institutional and familial norms, particularly in Protestant areas. I would like to thank David Atienza for directing my attention to the even more far-reaching ramifications of homosocial traditions and clerical celibacy for missionary work among the clans of the Marianas.

4 Foundational works on the Marianas missions: Hezel, 'From Conversion to Conquest'; Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*; Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, esp. pp. 41-73; Russell, *Tiempon I Manmofo'na*, esp. pp. 291-322 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*.

a European rowboat, in keeping with their logic of gift exchanges among strangers, Magellan, who followed different rules of engagement, retaliated and dubbed the archipelago *Islas de los Ladrones* ('Islands of Thieves'). Twenty-four years later, Miguel López de Legazpi (c. 1502-1572) formally claimed the Ladrones for Spain en route to the Philippines, where he then founded Manila. Soon thereafter, the southern tip of the Ladrones became a vital point of orientation and stopover for the Manila Galleon trade that fused the economies of Asia, the Americas, and Europe into a global circuit for the first time in history.

The archipelago's strategic importance notwithstanding, Spain stayed clear of setting up a colonial government in the Ladrones because the costs of formal possession outweighed the potential benefits. Spanish authorities deemed the islands too poor in mineral resources to warrant colonization.⁵ Silver was the lifeblood of the Spanish Empire, with arteries running through its American parts, Mexico and Peru, and its Asian parts centered on Manila. Once the galleon trade commenced, it flowed across the Great Ocean in between. In the Spanish East Indies, colonial authorities sought to maximize the profit from the lucrative Manila-Acapulco trade. They tried to keep the expenses of defending the Pacific imperial frontier low and avoid the costly conquest and colonization of new territories.⁶ A chain of fifteen islands that stretched across some 500 miles of turbulent ocean waters, lacked mineral resources, and had limited agricultural prospects held virtually no appeal.

The same lack of material wealth, however, caught the attention of Diego de Sanvitores on his first journey from New Spain across the Pacific. In April 1662, he sighted the inhabitants of the Ladrones during the customary stopover of the Manila Galleon and was moved to tears by their poverty and that of their islands. 'Why,' he bemoaned, 'are there so few men who are greedy for the richest mines in the world, namely the souls redeemed by the Precious Blood of Christ?'⁷ Like his later followers, Sanvitores pitted a material against a spiritual economy that had Christ's blood sacrifice as its major currency, and identified the islands as an especially fertile mission field. The very absence of gold underscored the purity of the Jesuit mission. The encounter left Sanvitores with a sense of a vocation to launch a mission from the Philippines, where he first began his work as a missionary in the Pacific.

Although Jesuits referred to Manila as 'the warehouse of the faith,' Sanvitores learned that colonial authorities in the city calculated in

5 Russell, *Tiempon I Manmofo'na*, pp. 271-282.

6 Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds*, pp. 114-126.

7 García, *Life and Martyrdom*, p. 96. García puts this line into quotation marks.

hard currency rather than souls.⁸ After years of fruitless lobbying for a mission to the Ladrões, he resolved that a better approach consisted of dealing with the court in Madrid, the city of his birth, where he could rely on family networks alongside those of the Society of Jesus. Sanvitores recruited his father in Madrid to deliver a memorandum to King Philip IV (r. 1621-1665). The text contained stern reminders of a Christian monarch's duties and warned King Philip of impending death. Sanvitores wrote the text in the authoritative voice of none other than Francis Xavier.⁹ Perhaps Sanvitores took a cue from the playbook of the Philippine Jesuit Francisco Colin (1592-1660). Colin's account of 'evangelical labor in the islands of the Philippines' was first presented to the king in 1658 and then published in Madrid in 1663 as *Labor evangelica, ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compañia de Iesvs, fyndacion, y progressos de sv provincia en las islas Filipinas*. It placed missionary activity in this part of world under the aegis of Francis Xavier (fig. 9). The frontispiece is dominated by an oversized Xavier, who stands at the center of an archipelago in the Pacific, his hands extended across and toward smaller islands with church buildings, while ships approach the towering figure from front and back. Xavier's visual hyper-presence in a book that narrated the life histories of those who lived a century later apparently perturbed the inquisitorial examiner of the publication, who noted the mismatch in his authorization.¹⁰

Sanvitores, to be sure, did not perceive such a disjuncture between Xavier's time and his own, or, for that matter, between the saint's identity and his own. The daring ventriloquism of the memorandum was no isolated incident. Rather, the sources suggest that Sanvitores in word and deed rather self-consciously scripted himself as another Xavier, and that those around him came to believe that he indeed was a late-seventeenth-century version of the apostle of the Indies – a Spanish avatar of the saint, as it were. Sanvitores's first printed biography tells the story of the embodied resemblances between Sanvitores and Xavier; we might think of it as an imaginary expression of Jesuit homosociality detached from specific locals and time periods. Written by Francisco García (1641-1685) and published in Madrid in 1683, *Vida y martyrio de el Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores* was composed with an eye toward canonization, and hence García's portrayal of Sanvitores as another Xavier served the transparent rhetorical purpose of presenting

8 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 18.

9 García, *Life and Martyrdom*, pp. 140-142.

10 San Juan, *Vertiginous Mirrors*, p. 12 (image) and p. 13.



Figure 9 Frontispiece, Francisco Colin, *Labor evangelica, ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Iesvs, fundacion, y progressos de sv provincia en las islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Joseph Fernandez de Buendia, 1663). Source: Rose Marie San Juan, *Vertiginous Mirrors: The Animation of the Visual Image and Early Modern Travel* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 12.

him as a bona fide saint.¹¹ Still, García worked from other materials that pointed to Sanvitores's deliberate enactment of a Xaverian narrative and his companions' ready attribution of a Xaverian identity to him.

Sanvitores's embrace of Xavier was inseparable from his embrace of the missionary life, and it developed over time. First came an early identification with Ignatius and prolonged struggles with his mother and father over his desire to become a Jesuit. As much as Sanvitores's mother, Doña Maria Alonso Maluenda, later tried to dissuade him from joining the Society of Jesus, her actions at the time of Sanvitores's birth had marked him as a son of Ignatius. During the most painful moments of labor, when she feared they would both die, the story goes, Sanvitores's mother pressed upon her aching body a signature of Saint Ignatius's to find relief and then

¹¹ García, *Vida y martirio*.

deliver him easily.¹² The child's early articulation of desire for the Jesuit life met strong resistance from both his parents. Initially united in their opposition, the parents disagreed on the right course of action for dissuading their determined son, and Diego's mother eventually surrendered to his unbendable will after she had a vision in which Ignatius appeared leading him, a bloody martyr crown on his head, and telling her to desist from claiming him for herself: 'Do not try to take your son with you, because I want him in my house as a saint.'¹³ Diego moved into the house of the Jesuits. He became a minister of the college in Oropesa when, '[e]veryone felt that he was a most observant and religious man, so much so that he seemed a "living rule" of Saint Ignatius.'¹⁴

If his mother first branded Sanvitores a son of Ignatius at the time of his birth by applying the founder's signature to her body, Sanvitores as an adult Jesuit rebranded himself into a version of Xavier. As Sanvitores recounted in his application for the overseas missions, in November 1657 he suffered a serious illness and wished to die. But then 'turning my whole being to the missions, I asked that they bring me a signature of Saint Francis Xavier, and another that I had of the Venerable Martyr Marcello Mastrilli.'¹⁵ The latter had been called 'the second Xavier'; he had seen Xavier at his sickbed in 1634 after a portrait of the saint was moved next to him. Mastrilli became a missionary to Japan, where he died as a martyr in 1637.¹⁶ Similarly, Sanvitores made a vow to 'spend all my life and strength in the ministry of the missions, principally among unbelievers.' Swift recovery followed thanks to the 'intercession of Saint Xavier' so that 'on the very feast day of Saint Francis Xavier the doctors gave order that I get up.'¹⁷

From that moment on, Sanvitores sought to walk in Xavier's footsteps and extend the saint's missionary work in space and time. In his letter of application, Sanvitores professed to feel 'deeply attracted by the Japanese [...] because of Francis Xavier.'¹⁸ His invocation of Mastrilli suggests martyrdom was already much on Sanvitores's mind. In fact, in recounting his mother's vision of Ignatius in which the founder allegedly claimed her son for the Jesuits in the first place, Sanvitores made a telling change to the punch line.

12 García, *Life and Martyrdom*, p. 6.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

16 San Juan, *Vertiginous Mirrors*, pp. 56-85. On Mastrilli's self-fashioning as a martyr and his being labeled 'a second Xavier,' see Županov, 'Passage to India.'

17 García, *Life and Martyrdom*, p. 61.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 65

His version supplants 'I want him in my house as a saint' with 'Let him be, for he is to be a martyr.'¹⁹

Martyrdom had a particular role to play in generating not only new Christians but also new missionaries, which was vital to the long-term success of the Jesuit order. The earliest Christians had understood the blood of martyrs as the seed that spawned new Christians, and the Society of Jesus had revitalized the idea in print and practice during the early modern phase of global Christianization.²⁰ Martyrdom promised both a rich harvest of new Christians and new missionaries. As the most heroic form of death, it engendered moral exemplars whose redemptive suffering in faraway lands drew other men into the missions, thus extending the reach of the order's corporate body in space and time. Given its dual effects, martyrdom may have been the most potent means of successful clerical reproduction. A strong desire for martyrdom pulsed through the Society of Jesus.

But the problem with martyrdom was that the dying had to be just right. Here the demise of Antonio Criminali (1520-1549), Francis Xavier's successor on the Fishery Coast of India, at the hand of a Badaga soldier offered a cautionary tale of missionary waste. After it transpired that Criminali willingly ran into the arms of the enemy, the Jesuit hierarchy downgraded his death from an alleged martyrdom to a regretful and reckless quasi-suicidal act, and reiterated the importance of seeking the 'white martyrdoms' of more quotidian suffering to the success of a mission.²¹ For the Society of Jesus, which did not operate within a stable parish framework, but embraced a male missionary model of always being on the move, the premature, useless deaths of its members threatened to turn a new mission into a mere flash in the pan. Proper institutional reproduction required an effusive type of missionary who was unrestrained, even restless, and ever ready to spill generative blood. Yet it equally strongly demanded that members direct these effusive impulses toward long-term objectives. Affective self-governance, already required for and trained during the sea voyages, mattered greatly under hostile circumstances in mission fields.

These conflicting demands and their dangers were not lost on Sanvitores. Nor was the need to put his superiors' worries about reckless actions to rest if he wished his application for the overseas mission to go forward. In making a final pitch to be sent out for the salvation of the 'most abandoned

19 Ibid., p. 59.

20 Burschel, *Sterben und Unsterblichkeit*, esp. pp. 229-288.

21 On Criminali and the order's latent ambivalence about martyrdom, see Županov, 'The Art of Dying in the Tropics.'

souls,' Sanvitores addressed the issue head-on: 'I must make clear that my feelings in this matter are not of such sort that I desire the missions for the sake of martyrdom, but only for the sake of the missions I would fear no labor or manner of death for one soul that I might win for Christ or for one only additional degree of love for God or my neighbor.'²² In his quest to strike the right balance, Sanvitores embraced Xavier as a model. He tried to imitate Xavier in all aspects of his being and persuade others that he was an avatar of the saint. A striking passage from García's *vita* notes the agreed-upon likeness and offers a series of explanations for it:

To gauge the greatness of the sanctity of this servant of God it is enough to know is that he is a second Xavier. This is the name that all who interacted and communicated with him gave him, and no attribution is repeated more often in the reports and letters. And nothing was said more often in all of our histories than that no one seemed to resemble Saint Francis Xavier more than this admirable man; and it seems that God has consoled those which did not merit to see the great Apostle of the Indies, by giving us a copy of his spirit, just as he consoled the world, which did not know Paul by giving it Xavier; and even if a copy always loses something compared to the original and also the copy that one makes of the same image, and hence I do not pretend that the Venerable Padre San Vitores is the same as Saint Francis Xavier, just like Saint Francis Xavier is not the same as Saint Paul, nor could anyone deny that the second Apostle of the people resembled the first in his virtues, and gifts, it seems that the third resembled the second in the same perfections and prerogatives.²³

García here carefully eschews a direct equation between his protégé Sanvitores and the canonized Xavier ('I do not pretend'), yet he simultaneously puts the embodied resemblance between the two Jesuits beyond question ('nor could anyone deny'). In fact, the passage opens with the assertion that the historical record ('nothing was said more often') fully warrants characterizing Sanvitores as 'a second Xavier.' Later in the book, García uses the memorable characterization of Sanvitores as 'a copy with a soul.' Images of animated copies and visual reproduction also abound in this passage. They bespeak the early modern cultural fascination with the power of images not merely to represent but to make present the sacred,

²² García, *Life and Martyrdom*, p. 65.

²³ Cited from original. Translation mine. García, *Vida y martirio*, p. 308.

with extraordinary transformations or even transmutations, as well as the notion that the human body could manifest holiness physically.²⁴ García casts God as the originator of a generative process that instantiates as an apostolic lineage running from Saint Paul to Saint Francis Xavier to the saintly Sanvitores. It is an entirely patrilineal mode of generation, which bypasses women and sexual reproduction, and is accomplished instead through the infusion of spirit – a form of pneumatic life-giving that in Aristotelian medical theory was seen as a quality of semen.²⁵ ‘A copy with a soul’ was an animated life form.

Notably, Xavier is at once a special person and a mere link in this patrilineal chain. He alone is the new Paul, resuscitating the spirit of the apostle and ushering in a new age of global evangelization that has the Society of Jesus as its vanguard. At the same time, Xavier serves as a simple relay between early Christianity and global Christianity in making the Pauline model available to other Jesuits like Sanvitores, who then infuse it with new life. In García’s scheme of things, Xavier’s position is structurally similar to what Arnold Davidson has described for the place of Saint Francis in paving the way for the somatic expression of mystical experiences through his unique, miraculous stigmatization. Francis had to physically morph into Christ for those that came after him to morph into a form of Francis, and in his uniqueness he set an ultimately unachievable benchmark for later mystics.²⁶ Similarly, García’s Xavier becomes the measure for all who aspire to the Pauline model, but who will inevitably fall short of Xavier’s reanimation of Paul. García measures this distance by talking about the difference between a copy and an original. As a copy of the original, Xavier is essentially like but already no longer the same as Paul. As a copy of the copy, Sanvitores is like but not the same as Xavier and even less like Paul.

García’s analogy was no mere metaphor. Long after the rise of representational art, early modern culture continued to ascribe to religious images a capacity that went far beyond pure mimicry. Seen as conduits of the sacred, images were thought capable of transmitting the transcendent to the beholder and thereby enabling spiritual transformation in the flesh, or an animated, embodied mimesis of the holy in those who knew how to tap

24 Newman, *Promethean Ambitions*. Alchemists were frequently criticized as usurpers of power that belongs to God the creator alone.

25 According to Aristotle, biological reproduction still required a man and a woman, but early modern interpreters of Aristotle used his claims about the miraculous powers of sperm to theorize about the possibilities of artificial life. See Newman, *Promethean Ambitions*, pp. 170-171.

26 Davidson, ‘Miracles of Bodily Transformation.’

into the potency of images.²⁷ The same was said of saints themselves. In his *Flos sanctorum*, one of the most influential hagiographic texts of the period, Alonso de Villega (1534-1615) declared that the church's saints operated like 'living portraits,' giving life to what would otherwise remain bloodless biblical truths. Published in 1583, the text breathes Tridentine doctrine, including the Council of Trent's proclamation that religious education demanded visual representation of the church's saints.²⁸

If saints were 'living portraits' and visual media of the holy, artistic portraits of saints served to extend the saints' presence across time and space, linking together expanding networks of devotees and believers. Precisely because they were animated, images could fill the gap that arose when direct physical contact was impossible. This is why the image of Xavier placed next to the sick Mastrilli during the plague of 1634 could serve as a portal for the saint's appearance. Portraits also brought Sanvitores and Xavier closer together. When Sanvitores arrived in Mexico City on his journey to the Ladrones – an arrival his followers likened to that of Saint Francis in Goa – he began by seeking to revitalize the local sodality of the 'Apostle of Asia.' Before Sanvitores departed, the congregation begged him to sit for a portrait. They hung his painted image in view of their painting of Francis Xavier, the 'Apostle of Asia' eyeing the Pacific-bound aspiring holy man, and the congregation gazing at the sacred images to transpose models of holiness into their lives in New Spain. On a later return trip to Mexico City, Sanvitores again posed for a painting, and the congregation hired a renowned painter to produce a better likeness.²⁹ The greater the verisimilitude, this suggests, the more efficacious the image.

Sanvitores's willingness to sit for portrait twice for his devotees points to the element of self-stylization in his becoming a 'second Xavier.' Xavier himself sat for two portraits during his lifetime – one for Goa, one for Rome – to serve as prototypes of this kind.³⁰ Sanvitores's biographer García reports other, quotidian enactments of Xaverian scripts:

[Sanvitores] so much dedicated himself altogether to the salvation of souls, as I said, tried to be Xavier in his actions and his sayings; and he constantly petitioned the saintly apostle, and solicited him with constant prayers; therefore, he read every day, without skipping a single one, a

27 San Juan, *Vertiginous Mirrors*, contains many examples. On the reevaluation of Hans Belting's notion of a shift from 'imago' to 'art' within visual studies at large, see *ibid.*, p. 5.

28 Leone, *Saints and Signs*, pp. 3-4, p. 7.

29 Cited from the original. Translation mine. García, *Vida y martirio*, p. 185.

30 Leone, *Saints and Signs*, p. 403.

chapter from his vita, or a part of his epistles, or instructions; and this man attained this so perfectly, that one of his companions affirmed that there was not a bit of difference in his actions from those of the holy apostle, he let himself be guided by what he found in his apostolic life; and to read the vita of Saint Francis Xavier, it seems, is to read the life of the Father Sanvitores.³¹

Sanvitores, this suggests, strove to channel Xavier by mimicking his every deed and speech acts. Devotion and mimesis went hand in hand: Sanvitores prayed to, petitioned, and solicited the saint; every day ('without skipping') he read writings about and by Xavier to imitate the saint perfectly and thereby transform himself from the admirer into the protagonist of a Xaverian apostolic life. This was an effort at embodied resuscitation, a quest for corporeal conformity, as Sanvitores behaved and spoke just like Xavier down to the detail: 'there was not a bit of difference.'

It stands to reason that the body would take on added importance as a means of expressing identity for members of a religious order that eschewed a standardized dress code at the very moment in time when European culture at large experienced the invention of fashion.³² The Society's dress regulations only stipulated that attire be appropriate to the vow of poverty and local sartorial norms.³³ Anti-Jesuitical literature's trope of the order's shifting, deceptive guises suggests this was no trivial matter. Sanvitores freely availed himself of the possibilities: upon landing in the Ladrones, he cast off his robes to don a new island garb of palm leaves. The less stable the sartorial regime, one could argue, the more regulated bodily comportment needed to be if one wished to be recognized as 'a living portrait' or saint. Or inversely, the more fully one embodied and enacted the holy, the less one needed to worry about outer layers of identity. Francis Xavier wore low-key clothing. Sanvitores fashioned a palm garment that the local Chamorros apparently found quite peculiar and laughable.³⁴ Yet believers still recognized him as a Xavier; the right body made the credible saint.

Of course, comparatively few people encountered aspiring saints in the flesh, and hence the texts that transported their stories to those who lived

31 García, *Vida y martirio*, p. 308.

32 Rublack, *Dressing Up*.

33 On the relationship between minimal regulation and intelligibility of the Jesuit as a type, see Levy, 'Jesuit Identity.'

34 Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, pp. 165-166.

elsewhere or thereafter bore much of the burden of establishing proof of their sainthood. Thanks to early modern print technology, stories of the holy could be reproduced more easily and travel much greater distances than in the Middle Ages. The availability of mimetic reproduction and multiplication via print helps us understand more fully why García's description talked about original and copies in his lengthy rumination on the resemblance between Sanvitores and Xavier, and why he chose the punch line: 'To read the vita of San Francis Xavier, it seems, is to read the life of the Father Sanvitores.' Reading, writing, copying, and printing: these were mimetic operations and technologies for producing new saints for the Society in a global age. Ignatius, himself transformed by the reading of saints' lives and aware of the importance of Xavier's model, pushed hard for Xavier's writings to become available in print so others could read and copy the first overseas missionary. Sanvitores took this to heart and read to transform himself into another Xavier. For García to write Sanvitores's vita so that readers could recognize the second Xavier and be inspired by him was to close the circle. The technical reproduction of the vita in print served to underpin the reproduction of saintly men. The fifth book of García's biography was dedicated to the Jesuits who followed in Sanvitores's footsteps after his violent death and 'in whom he left his spirit, multiplied without doubt.'³⁵ A susceptible reader could imagine his own story added to a future print edition.

Even if his Xaverian spirit lived on, the story of Sanvitores's physical body ended with his killing on the Marianas. In keeping with the implicit promise of his application letter, Sanvitores desired martyrdom, but did not rush into it once overseas. In a letter of 1663, he still assured his superior general: 'Swords and martyrdom are not soon found here [i.e., the Marianas], nor should we expose ourselves to them until the Lord should place us under them, and we should pray that these happen after we have brought him many souls in heaven.'³⁶ At first, Sanvitores focused on converting islanders by tossing out so-called *ejaculaciones* (holy teachings). These perfectly honed phrases were meant to strike at the heart of the Chamorro and 'plant the seed of the Gospel.'³⁷ Only after things turned sour between Jesuits and islanders did Sanvitores resolve that further evangelization demanded the spilling of his own blood.³⁸ Across the Pacific in Mexico City, an ominous

35 García, *Vida y martirio*, p. 379.

36 Cited in *ibid.*, p. 50.

37 Cited in *ibid.*, p. 32.

38 Díaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, p. 70.

sign of what was to come reportedly appeared on a painting of Francis Xavier: sweat broke out on his face.³⁹

Making Catholics of Chamorros, Making *Makahnas* of Missionaries

On June 15, 1668, Diego de Sanvitores finally landed in Guam, a small band of missionaries in tow, as well as lay helpers, including a family and two boy sopranos. Only later did he request the support of professional soldiers and the erection of a Spanish garrison.⁴⁰ Although Sanvitores believed that Francis Xavier had made it possible for him to launch this island mission, from a material point of view, the Jesuit had to credit queen and future regent Mariana and the gendered tactics he used to win her support.

Sanvitores pitched his mission to both King Philip IV (r. 1621-1665) and Queen Mariana of Austria (1634-1696; m. 1649-1665), yet in distinctly gendered ways. As regards the queen, Sanvitores worked in the time-honored Jesuit tradition of providing powerful women with spiritual guidance in exchange for financial and political support.⁴¹ He also employed a tactic other Jesuits had used successfully with female patrons by evoking the plight of the poor pagan infants in the Ladrões.⁴² Sanvitores enlisted the help of the queen's Jesuit confessor, Johann Nidhart, whose deep influence on Mariana was controversial at court.⁴³ Sanvitores's appeal to the queen's maternal feelings contrasted starkly with his approach to King Philip.

After the death of Philip IV, when Mariana was able to act as the regent of the Spanish Empire, she authorized the foundation of a Jesuit mission in the archipelago and lent the requisite financial, logistical, and military support.⁴⁴ Shortly after his arrival, Sanvitores expressed his gratitude for the queen's patronage by baptizing a first infant girl 'Mariana' and christening the entire archipelago 'Marianas.'⁴⁵ An ardent devotee of the Virgin Mary, Sanvitores

39 García, *Vida y martirio*, pp. 273-274.

40 A recurring error in the historiography has Sanvitores arrive with troops. For a correction, see Atienza, 'Chamoru "Adaptive Resistance,"' pp. 7-12. Hezel, *When Cultures Clash*, p. 17.

41 Hufton, 'Altruism and Reciprocity.'

42 Hsia, *Noble Patronage*. García, *Life and Martyrdom*, pp. 142-143.

43 Diaz (*Repositioning the Missionary*, p. 171) also comments on Sanvitores's gendered approach. On Nidhart, see also Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, pp. 26-27.

44 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 46.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

embraced the double entendre of honoring both the Spanish queen and the Queen of Heaven with this new moniker, declaring the crescent shape of the islands a 'fitting pedestal for Mary.'⁴⁶ Thus, the Islands of Thieves became the Marianas in the European imagination, a feminization of space in keeping with the Jesuit valorization of the feminine in the abstract, as opposed to women in the flesh. It implied a very different, seemingly softer relationship between Europeans and islanders than the earlier designation of Ladrões (fig. 10).⁴⁷ Yet the presumption of Euro-Christian superiority remained, and it would inaugurate the violent conflicts that soon followed, as well as suppression of the islands' matrilineal traditions. Arguably, the more potent effect of feminizing the island space was its effect on the missionaries themselves as the feminization of the islands helped invite a masculine project of planting the seed of Christ by becoming a martyr. The submission of the feminine, and the obligations and pleasures that came with it, was written into the European patriarchal imagination of missionaries and conquistadors alike.

Meanwhile, the Chamorros had long inhabited a complex island world of their own making and imagination. The crescent of fifteen islands stretching across some 800 kilometers was home to between 24,000 and 30,000 people at the time.⁴⁸ They referred to their archipelago as '*tano's tasi*' ('land of the sea').⁴⁹ The indigenous designation spoke of the ancient times when their islands first emerged from the ocean as well as of the lasting inseparability of water and land, and the need for people to cultivate a symbiotic relationship with both elements for survival. Land for agriculture was scarce and its utility for food production overshadowed by a capricious climate that at its most vicious brought devastating typhoons to the islands.⁵⁰ Expert swimmers from an early age and masterful navigators of canoes, the Chamorros enriched their diet by fishing in the ocean, from the offshore reefs that surrounded the islands to the high seas that lay beyond them.⁵¹ Intra-island trade took place not only across the entire archipelago but with islanders from other archipelagos in Oceania.⁵²

46 Quoted in Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, p. 126.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

48 For varying estimates, see Shell, 'The Marianas Population Decline.'

49 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 23.

50 Alkire, *An Introduction*, p. 7.

51 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, pp. 24-28.

52 The islanders participated in an elaborate regional exchange system based in what are now known as the Western Carolines. The connection between the archipelagoes was severed once the Carolinians learned of the Spanish conquest of the Marianas and the brutal treatment of the Chamorro population. D'Arcy, *People of the Sea*.



Figure 10 Map of the Marianas. Source: Charles Le Gobien, *Histoire des isles Marianes, nouvellement converties à la religion Chrestienne; & de la mort glorieuse des premiers missionnaires qui y ont prêché la foy* (Paris: Nicolas Pepie, 1700). Courtesy of Special Collections & Archives, UC San Diego Library.

Family-based clans regulated access to the precious resources of land and water, managing property rights that reached from the islands' soil across their shores out into the sea itself.⁵³ In island mythology, a woman was credited with creating the world out of the body of her brother and bringing forth a new people, the islanders.⁵⁴ Kinship and resource distribution in the archipelago followed matrilineal norms. Newlywed couples resided on the land of the groom's maternal uncle.⁵⁵ While matrilineality mattered in every family everywhere, not all families and clans were equal and society had three castes. On one end of the spectrum, the highest-ranking nobles, or the original Chamorri, held sway over the more lush coastlines and controlled much of fishing and navigation.⁵⁶ On the other end, lower-ranking commoners inhabited and toiled on the land of others, some at a considerable distance from the coast.⁵⁷ There was no central political authority that unified or ruled over this stratified, clan-based society. Rather, island society was riven by powerful factions, as the most high-ranking clan chiefs controlled among large areas of the major islands, frequently vying for an increase in power and forming shifting alliances with one another.⁵⁸

The internal tensions created an opening for the Jesuit enterprise. If Sanvitores and companions had any chance of evangelizing the far-flung and populous archipelago, it lay in garnering the support of influential islanders. Unless some chiefs embraced Catholicism of their own volition, the mission could not advance. The Jesuits' initial reception was as good as they could have hoped. Chief Kepuha of Agaña on Guam approached the Jesuits after they arrived at Guam and invited them to settle in his community (fig. 11). He provided them with space to build a church, aptly named Dulce Nombre de Maria, or Sweet Name of Mary, by Sanvitores, and a college, and he accepted baptism.⁵⁹ Thus, Agaña became the mission headquarters while Kepuha became Don Juan Kepuha, the mission's first trophy convert. Soon other members of the Chamorri followed suit and asked the Jesuits for baptism.⁶⁰

53 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, pp. 35-36.

54 This myth is described more fully in Atienza and Coello de la Rosa, 'Embodied Silent Narratives,' p. 247. See the following chapter for a longer discussion.

55 On avuncular clan structure and residence patterns, see Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society*, pp. 170-175.

56 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 23.

57 Alkire, *An Introduction*, p. 22.

58 Atienza, 'Priests, Mayors and Indigenous Offices,' esp. pp. 33-34.

59 Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 21.

60 The earliest history of the mission, based on Jesuit accounts, is Le Gobien, *Histoire des îles Marianes*. See p. 83 for Chamorri following Kepuha's example. The naming of the Church



Figure 11 Map of Guam, including Jesuit headquarters of Agaña. Source: Charles Le Gobien, *Histoire des isles Mariannes, nouvellement converties à la religion Chrestienne; & de la mort glorieuse des premiers missionnaires qui y ont prêché la foy* (Paris: Nicolas Pepie, 1700). Courtesy of Special Collections & Archives, UC San Diego Library.

European missionaries and indigenous converts often hold differing views of the meaning of conversion. What may have motivated the early converts in the archipelago? One can only speculate about their motives given the lopsided nature of the historical record, all produced by the Jesuits. Still, there is clear indication that political dynamics were at play. Kepuha claimed the title 'big chief' on the island but he had at least one rival from the surrounding mountains who objected to Kepuha's inviting the Jesuits to the island.⁶¹ It appears that his support of their mission was an assertion of power if not a bid for more. To the Jesuits' consternation, Kepuha interpreted being Catholic as a clan and class privilege. He pressured them to restrict baptism to the social elite, the original Chamorri, and he tried to detain Sanvitores in his private residence and the Jesuits as a whole in Agaña, suggesting that he viewed them as a potent spiritual resource especially for himself.⁶² For the ruling elite – and chiefs, in particular – the ability to amass supernatural power was fundamental to gaining and maintaining political authority.⁶³

When Kepuha died a mere six months later, it became apparent that his family's embrace of Catholicism was no less selective. The Jesuits wanted the chief, their first high-profile indigenous convert, to be buried inside their church in keeping with the European custom of honoring powerful patrons. Kepuha's clan professed loyalty to Catholicism, but insisted that their chief's remains belonged among his people and should be buried with his ancestors.⁶⁴ The Jesuits won out, and they reported an apparition by Kepuha, a few days after his death, in which he revealed to one of his sons 'his luck of being in heaven.'⁶⁵

Like a wish of the sort that Freud saw behind dreams, the moral behind the Jesuit tale of Kepuha's appearance and appeasement of his sons was that it was easy to put to rest precontact traditions of treating ancestral remains. Historical reality ran counter to such hopes. In island culture, the dead were said to live on as spirits, and families were obligated to honor them through

is reported in Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 32. Coello also produced an English translation and edition of Le Gobien's *Histoire des isles Marianes*. This English edition is based on a manuscript by Father Luis de Morales whom Coello considers the true author of the history. See Luis de Morales & Charles Le Gobien. *History of the Mariana Islands*. I was unable to obtain a copy of this edition as I learned about it during the pandemic lockdown measures of 2020 while finishing the book.

61 Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 21.

62 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, pp. 46-49.

63 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 35.

64 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 50.

65 Burial conflict and vision are reported in Le Gobien, *Histoire des isles Marianes*, pp. 84-85.

ritual actions. Proper treatment of ancestral spirits promised good luck in fishing, farming, daily life, health, and war.⁶⁶ Inversely, an ancestral spirit offended by neglect or the breach of a cultural taboo could wreak havoc, such as illnesses, typhoons, or crop failure. When an ancestor had died, the skull was removed from the corpse, which was buried near or under the house, and brought inside the home for veneration. Islanders presented the skulls with devotional offerings, sang songs of praise to them, and called upon the ancestral spirits in situations of need.⁶⁷

The *makahnas* were a special group of people who mediated the relationship between ordinary islanders and the all-powerful ancestral spirits. Islanders believed they had privileged access to the spirit world and the ability to manipulate it. Clients enlisted them to translate spirit communications or determine how to mollify offended ancestors.⁶⁸ They called upon *makahnas* to cure illnesses, produce rain and a good harvest, and luck in work and love, but also to divine the future or inflict harm, illness, or death upon a client's enemies.⁶⁹ In other words, the *makahnas* performed services that in European parlance amounted to magic. The sources suggest that they were male spiritual leaders who also wielded considerable political influence, since living chiefs consulted ancestral spirits on matter of politics and relied upon their spiritual advice.⁷⁰ In addition, some sources report, the *makahnas* were in charge of special houses and caves in which the skulls of particularly important ancestors, such as clan chiefs, were preserved and presumably also consulted.⁷¹

The Jesuits initially considered the *makahnas* a relatively small obstacle to evangelization, mere charlatans amid a people who lacked in religion

66 Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society*, pp. 99-100.

67 *Ibid.*, pp. 102-104.

68 *Ibid.*, pp. 100-102. Le Gobien accused the *makahnas* of conning islanders into ancestor worship for their own benefit. Le Gobien, *Histoire des isles Marianes*, p. 82.

69 Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society*, p. 101.

70 On clan heads consulting spirits, see Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society*, p. 102. The Franciscan Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, who spent seven months stranded among the islanders in 1601, identified the *makahnas* as male: 'There are among them some *indios* that are called *macana*, which means a man who can heal, who can make it rain, and who knows what the future holds.' Driver, 'Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora,' p. 214. Jesuit sources for the Marianas frequently and negatively comment on the influence of women in island society, yet they do not mention any women shamans, raising the question whether there were no women among the *makahnas*, or whether the missionaries took only men seriously in this role. The silence about women shamans in the sources from the Marianas is the more surprising because Jesuit sources from the Philippines speak at length about female religious experts/shamans referred to as *baylan* as the primary opponents to successful Christianization. The women shamans in the Philippines were the target of vicious campaigns of repression. See Brewer, *Shamanism*.

71 Le Gobien, *Histoire des isles Marianes*, p. 84; Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 23.

and were therefore more easily converted than avowed heretics. An early report from Guam noted that

apart from some tricksters called Macanas, who generally promise health, water, fish, and such good things by means of the invocation of the dead [...], whose skulls the Marianos keep in their houses, with no other altar, niche, or adornment than some little baskets in which they put the skulls around the house, without remembering them until it is time for the Macanas to ask the skulls for what they need. The Macanas [...] in praying to the dead, seek their own advantage through what the living give them and not the advantage of the living. [...] [There are] no temples, or sacrifices, or idols, or profession of any cult whatever – a fact that aids very much in introducing the Faith, if there are ministers to preach it, because it is easier to introduce a religion where there is none than to overthrow one to introduce another.⁷²

For islanders like Kepuha, on the other hand, it was easy to see a resemblance between *makahnas* and the newly arrived missionaries.⁷³ Shortly after the Jesuits' arrival, other villages requested to be sent one of the 'new *makahnas*.'⁷⁴ To be sure, Jesuits, like *makahnas*, were all-male spiritual elites, and both advised warriors and their chief on religion and politics. Like the *makahnas*, Jesuits presented themselves as healers of both body and soul, used ritual paraphernalia to communicate with the spirit world, and organized collective ceremonies of veneration.⁷⁵ Both groups offered spiritual explanation for weather events, casting storms as the workings of an angry god or ancestors, or attributing the calming of the seas to the benevolence of saints or mollified spirits.

Diego de Sanvitores played on these very similarities. When drought struck Guam in June 1671, he prayed for rain in a public ceremony, usurping a traditional task of the shaman-sorcerers, and took credit when the rain came. According to Jesuit sources, the rain 'miracle' drew the ire of the *makahnas*, 'who saw their credibility and authority tumble' and resolved to

72 A report on the first two years of the mission published in Madrid in 1671 contains this. Barrett, *Mission in the Marianas*, p. 26.

73 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 48. Coello de la Rosa (*Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 35) reports that a chief's prestige hinged on his ability 'to accumulate supernatural power.'

74 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 48.

75 Coello de la Rosa, though he does not read the situation through the lens of gender, also remarks on the parallels and speculates that the *makahnas* saw the Jesuits as evil witches and spiritual rivals. Coello de la Rosa, 'Colonialismo y santidad,' esp. pp. 726 and 730.

expel the intruders. They spread word that angry ancestral spirits demanded such drastic action, threatening drought and famine upon the islands. More fateful still, they turned to one of the most powerful Chamorri on Guam, Chief Hurao, for military support.⁷⁶ Thus, although the equation with the *makahnas* helped the Jesuits in making converts, it also set them up for a competition. As it turned out, the two groups resembled one another in one final, fateful respect: jealously guarding their monopoly over the supernatural realm, they proved themselves ready to deploy the worldly weapons of war on their spiritual foes.

‘Shaman Battles’: Physical Warfare and Spiritual Combat

Father Luis Medina (1637-1670) was the first Jesuit to die in the Marianas. He had been among Sanvitores’s original band of brothers; in fact, the two men met as young Jesuits back in Spain, years before their paths crossed again in Mexico and then aligned in this Pacific mission.⁷⁷ In January 1670, islanders on Saipan speared Medina and his Filipino catechist, Hipelito de la Cruz, to death.⁷⁸ By 1672, more than half of the initial group of missionaries was dead, along with many lay helpers, Spanish soldiers, and many more islanders. Initially loath to rely upon the 30 soldiers whom the Spanish crown dispatched for their protection shortly after the fathers’ landing in Guam, the Jesuits came to value the threat of violence the soldiers represented. In the wake of Medina’s death, Sanvitores asked the Spanish crown for more troops to support the mission enterprise. The crown’s compliance had dire long-term consequences for the local population.⁷⁹

Historians have termed the decades of violent conflict the ‘Spanish-Chamorro Wars,’ but neither the ‘Spanish’ side nor the ‘Chamorro’ represented

76 Le Gobien, *Histoire des isles Marianes*, pp. 136-137. On Hurao as a mouthpiece for European ideas and debates in Gobien’s narrative and on the presence of indigenous voices in Jesuit historiography more broadly, it is worth revisiting Ginzburg, ‘Alien Voices.’

77 García, *Life and Martyrdom*, p. 13. Sanvitores first met Medina on his way to Cadiz in the city of Cordoba. They became more fully acquainted in Mexico during Sanvitores’s visit from the Philippines.

78 Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 25.

79 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 39. In their report on the first two years of the mission, Jesuits highlighted the usefulness for evangelization of fear ‘not only paternal but also coercive and military’ and requested an additional 200 soldiers from the Queen. Barrett, *Mission in the Marianas*, p. 35 (quote) and p. 39 (see n. 20). Sanvitores had assembled a first squad of lay helpers, including several twelve-year-old Pampanga, in 1669 after a war between the Marpo and Sungahron clans broke out in Tinian. Atienza, ‘CHamoru “Adaptive Resistance,”’ p. 11.

the kind of unified collective posited by later nationalist historiography.⁸⁰ Filipinos, for example, fought on both sides.⁸¹ Islanders like Kepuha sided with the Spanish against other islanders. And only the crucible of conquest and conversion produced a unified subject population called Chamorro. Yet the violence of the clash certainly merited the term ‘wars.’ The Spanish military government subjected the islanders to brutal warfare and expeditions, and forcefully resettled inhabitants from the Northern Islands to Guam; the latter at the behest of the Jesuits who wished to preach to all of them at once under military protection.⁸² Such dramatic measures, epidemic disease, and indigenous demoralization and suicide, eventually secured Spanish dominance while the Chamorro population dropped to the brink of extinction around 1700.⁸³

While these indigenous deaths would not be publicly commemorated until a much later date, the deaths of the Jesuits quickly reached Europe. There stories like Medina’s began to cast the Marianas as a place of martyrdom. They inspired more Jesuits to join in the effort to both advance the faith in the distant archipelago and possibly die a heroic death. Medina’s story appeared together with an image of the dead Jesuit (fig. 12) in a 1673 *vita* published by Francisco de Florencia, the Seville-based procurator for the Indies missions.⁸⁴ The caption claims that Medina ‘was pierced with a lance in the Marianas for the faith’; that is to say, he had died a true martyr’s death in defense of Christianity. The lance that protrudes from Medina’s chest to aim directly at the heart of the crucified Christ in his arms reiterates the point.

The piercing lance notwithstanding, the Jesuit exudes composure and calmness in this portrait. The ardor for martyrdom, described in Jesuit letters as a burning desire to cross seas and die most violently amid infidels at the ends of the earth, has resolved itself into dreamy contentedness in the image of a dead man. If Jesuit writings on the subject are often effusive to set men in motion, images like this one appear to make visual arguments for goal-directed containment. The Jesuit image of male martyrdom by

80 Hezel, *When Cultures Clash*.

81 Filipino soldiers were brought by the Spanish but then also staged a series of mutinies during key moments. Viana, *Far Islands*; Mawson, ‘Rebellion and Mutiny.’

82 Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, pp. 1-14.

83 Scholars make varying estimates of the overall numbers of the Chamorro population as well as the causes behind the dramatic death rates. See Shell, ‘The Marianas Population Decline.’ David Atienza stresses low natality rate as a key factor in the rapid decline. Atienza, personal communication, February 2020.

84 De Florencia, *Exemplar*.

penetration of the chest by Chamorro lance has an intriguing counterpoint in a roughly contemporary visualization of an emblematic female mystical death. Just a few decades earlier, Gian Lorenzo Bernini gave form to Teresa of Avila's ecstatic experience of mystical death, capturing it at the moment prior to her penetration by a spear into her chest. Teresa and other charismatic women understood the mystical death as an imaginary form of martyrdom.⁸⁵ A reliving of Christ's passion rather than a literal shedding of blood it was achievable within the confines of Tridentine enclosure. A death like Medina's, on the other hand, presupposed apostolic mobility and exposure to the unbelievers on the outer frontiers of Catholic Christianity. His ecstatic longings had to be both sufficiently strong to motivate him for the high-risk mission and sufficiently harnessed to the long-term goals of the order.

Medina's actions prior to the islanders' attack were part of the escalating spiritual battle between missionaries and *makahnas*. The Jesuit had been baptizing children on Saipan, an act that had become associated with black magic, and he had been burning various types of 'idols.'⁸⁶ Before his death, Medina requested that the islanders hand over their ancestors' skulls so that he could destroy what were sacred vessels of ancestral spirits to the indigenous but sacrilegious objects to the Jesuits.⁸⁷ Medina's actions, in other words, struck to the heart of the belief systems of both intruders and indigenous and stirred up the rivalry between the missionaries and *makahnas*.

An ally of the *makahnas* named Choco, whose wife was from Saipan, played a role in the islanders' rejection of baptism. Choco had shipwrecked in the archipelago in 1648, taken a wife, and stayed in Guam. He was Chinese, and the Jesuits speculated that he may have introduced ancestor worship in the Marianas. He could work iron, a highly valued commodity, and was rumored to have been a supporter of Buddhism.⁸⁸ He had been in the initial wave of converts, with Sanvitores christening him 'Ignacio,' yet he quickly turned against the Jesuits.⁸⁹ Choco claimed that baptism and extreme unction were acts of black magic that killed children and elders through contact with their allegedly holy water and oil. Given the death toll that European germs took among infants and old people, this was a most potent charge.⁹⁰

85 Burschel, 'Männliche Tode,' esp. pp. 76-79. Burschel, 'Einleitung,' esp. p. 14.

86 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 35.

87 Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 25.

88 Russell, *Tiempon I Manmofo'na*, p. 297; Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 23.

89 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 49.

90 Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 24.

By baptizing children and asking for the destruction of ancestral remains, Medina had picked up the hottest political potatoes on the islands. His violent death was a symbol of irreconcilable differences, as was the fate of his own material remains. A few months after the killing, a Spanish search party traveled to the hostile islands to recover Medina's body.⁹¹ Just like the islanders treasured the remains of ancestors, European Christians expressed their veneration of exceptional people who had gone before them by preserving their bones as relics, often skulls. They too preserved them in special houses called churches. The party found Medina's corpse in April 1671, only to discover that some of his bones had been put to a different purpose. In the absence of metal ores, islanders customarily carved the arm and leg bones of dead enemies into spear tips and lances of the kind that killed Medina in the first place. They attached cords to the arms and legs before burying corpses upside down so they could easily retrieve the bones once the flesh had decomposed.⁹² By the time the Europeans arrived at Medina's burial site, his strings had been pulled already. The upper-body portrait Francisco de Florencia published in 1673 was thus a posthumous restoration to wholeness. The spear tip of human bone indexes not only Medina's fate as a martyr but, more disturbingly, raw material for a Chamorro weapon. The European search party collected what was left of Medina and buried the bones below the main altar in the church in Agaña, gathering up the spiritual potency associated with every fragment of a martyr's body and depositing it at the spiritual center of their mission.⁹³

As it happened, the mission in Agaña became the site of the showdown of the so-called first Great War of Guam in fall 1671. Conflict between islanders and intruders had been heating up over the summer. The killing of a Mexican catechist in July 1671 proved to be the spark for a full-scale military clash. Named José de Peralta, the man was killed in the symbolic act of cutting wood to make crosses, prominent signs of the Jesuit takeover, by allies of Chief Hurao, chosen leader of the *makahnas*.⁹⁴ The Spanish rounded up suspects in retaliation, killing one of them, a high-ranking member of the original Chamorro class, angering his clan and fanning the flames of the rebellion. During the summer months, Hurao united the disgruntled islanders

91 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 38.

92 Viana, *Far Islands*, endnote 55 on p. 51.

93 His catechist's remains, too, were recovered and buried there as well. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 51. Medina's relics attracted devotion by the public. Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 40.

94 Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 28.

behind him to launch a full-scale attack on Agaña in September 1671. Choco and the *makahnas* joined them.⁹⁵

Spiritual and military combat now went hand in hand. September brought drought to the islands. The *makahnas*, urging on the troops, explained it as the demand of ancestral spirits, angered by their people's abandonment, to expel the outsiders from the island. When a typhoon struck in October and destroyed not only the homes of the insurrection leaders, but also the Jesuit church and mission residence, the weather event was ripe for competing interpretations by both parties.⁹⁶ Although Jesuits regularly and successfully interpreted weather events on ships during the journey and were thus prepared to play this role on the ground, their spiritual interpretations did not go uncontested in a mission site like the Marianas.

Hostilities and shaman battles reached their peak when the *makahnas*, to cheer on and support the rebel troops, hauled several hundred ancestral skulls to the front line and surrounded the fortress-complex with the physical manifestation of the ancestral spirits.⁹⁷ Bones were a means of communication not only with the world of the spirits, but also with one's enemies. This held true in both directions. At the end of the day, the Spanish-led forces broke free and dealt a crushing defeat to their attackers. The Europeans may have considered the skulls idols, yet what followed the lifting of the siege shows that they implicitly had to recognize the bones' potency in island culture: They publicly smashed every single one of the hundreds of skulls to disprove their power.⁹⁸ The iconoclastic spectacle recalls the shaman battles that took place in the Jesuit Paraguay mission, where Antonio Ruiz de Montoya faced off with Guarani shamans, including contestation over the significance of alleged 'holy bones.'⁹⁹ As regards the Marianas, according to Jesuit sources, the defeat of the Chamorro rebels in October 1671 taught the islanders that 'their *Macanas* were imposters and their *Anitis* could not stop the bullets of the muskets,' cementing their faith in the Christian god and the Jesuits.¹⁰⁰ However, this was wishful thinking. Sanvitores suspected that much, and in the war's wake he asked for more soldiers and a better fortress.¹⁰¹

95 Ibid. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 52.

96 Viana, *Far Islands*, pp. 28-29.

97 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 52.

98 Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 28.

99 Tuer, 'Old Bones.'

100 Le Gobien, *Histoire des isles Marianes*, pp. 152-153, esp. p. 149.

101 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 41.

Sanvitores never saw the fulfillment of these material requests, but his deepest spiritual desire was met in April 1672. A Chamorro chief named Matå'pang speared the Jesuit to death with a lance made of human bone because Sanvitores had baptized the chief's infant daughter over his objections. Matå'pang, like Kepuha and others before him, had actually embraced Christianity and Sanvitores before he set out to annihilate both. The chief had let himself be baptized by Sanvitores, and later on, he called upon the Jesuit to heal him when another islander had wounded Matå'pang with a lance.¹⁰² These early interactions are suggestive of a relationship of spiritual trust and of viewing the Jesuit as an ally of sorts.

It is worth noting, though, that the Jesuits sought out primarily male chiefs as allies and only rarely relied upon the cooperation of female leaders.¹⁰³ They were men shaped by European patriarchy for whom other men, not women, were their natural political and religious allies. In the extant and exclusively European sources, the importance of women in matrilineal island society registers in the interstices. Jesuits recorded that the Chinese immigrant and political instigator Choco found his way into Chamorro society by taking a local wife, or that Chief Matå'pang killed Sanvitores over baptizing his female offspring. They also commented on matrilineality and not favorably, as we will see. Yet island society, too, in spite of the matrilineal nature of clans and resource control, apparently had its own patriarchal slant and tendencies. Political power or governance seems to have rested primarily in the hands of men. Earlier Jesuit sources further indicate that patriarchy had its appeal to indigenous men. Noting the kind of submissive women who frequented the Jesuit church on Sundays, they gave Christian marriage serious consideration: 'Seeing those women so diligent and so circumspect, the natives wished their own wives might be like them, and when they heard that this was a grace conferred by holy matrimony, they began to take a favorable view of the sacrament.'¹⁰⁴ Female submission appears the big selling point for Christian marriage for some male islanders. The following chapter will consider the implications of conquest and conversion for women more fully.

Although European Jesuits came to the Marianas to make Catholics of the islanders, Christianization only took hold in the Pacific archipelago because

102 García, *Life and Martyrdom*, p. 251.

103 In the district of Sydya, 'a woman who governed' and converted to Christianity persuaded her community to turn over the murderer of Fr. Ezquerro and other offenders in return for peace with the Europeans. García, *Life and Martyrdom*, p. 492.

104 García, *Life and Martyrdom*, pp. 485-486.

some islanders made *makahnas* out of Jesuits, interpreting the missionaries and their message within a cultural framework built around ancestor worship and shaman-sorcerers. Important converts like Chief Kepuha were looking for new and better *makahnas* in the Jesuits, who could help them address traditional needs and increase their social and political influence. Jesuits like Sanvitores in turn played on the resemblance to the indigenous alter egos, reinforcing the comparison in the belief that the *makahnas* were 'tricksters' and minor obstacles on the path to Christianization.

The shamans, however, proved to be formidable adversaries who aligned themselves with powerful chiefs to oppose the European intruders. Men aligned themselves on the front lines of both side of the divide between the Europeans and the islanders. Whether intentional or not, the prominent role of male shamans in sparring with the Jesuits amounted to a bid for greater spiritual power in the archipelago. Matrilineal island culture associated women with the very foundation of the earth, the continued fertility of the world and its people. This cosmic female principle and the women who embodied it came to recede in importance during the high-stakes spiritual battles between *makahnas* and missionaries. For a while, the *makahnas* seemed to be winning. By April 1672, Matâ'pang had apparently come to associate Sanvitores with trickery and reaffirmed his previous connection to the spirit world of the ancestors ruled by the *makahnas* and represented by skulls in family homes. The challenge Matâ'pang issued to Sanvitores when the Jesuit approached the Chamorro's house to baptize his daughter indicates this: 'Go ahead, imposter, go into my house and baptize a skull there.'¹⁰⁵ Matâ'pang no longer had faith in Sanvitores and Christianity, but rather placed stock in the abiding power of ancestral skulls.

In the contestation for supremacy that ensued, Jesuits abandoned their critical stance toward military force and came to rely upon the dirty business of colonial warfare to dislodge their rivals and assert spiritual hegemony in the islands. The difference between being a persuasive missionary and being a violent conquistador increasingly collapsed in the Marianas. After his killing, Sanvitores was immediately hailed as a martyr. Brethren in the Marianas, Philippines, and Mexico spread the news of Sanvitores's alleged glorious death for the faith.¹⁰⁶ Fittingly, the news arrived in among those who had stayed behind in his college in Spain on the feast day of Ignatius. It also spread to other parts of Europe and made its mark on the hearts and minds of the next generation of Jesuits. Just like Xavier's example had pulled Sanvitores

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 251.

¹⁰⁶ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 56.

toward the Pacific mission and a bloody death, Sanvitores's example inspired more Jesuits in Europe to join the Marianas mission and seek martyrdom. Thus, the story of yet another Iberian Jesuit sparked the desires of men in German lands, directing their movements toward distant shores.

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4 Martyrdom, Matrilineality, and the Virgin Mary

Engendering the Marianas Mission, Part II

Abstract

This chapter focuses on a later stage in the Mariana Islands mission and on Father Augustinus Strobach, another purported avatar of Francis Xavier. Inspired by the Spanish 'Xavier,' Diego de Sanvitores, Strobach journeyed from Bohemia to the Marianas to suffer martyrdom and help plant the seeds of Christ among the Chamorro. His story underscores that Jesuit self-fashioning was bound up with imposing patriarchal norms and controlling the sexuality of converts, especially women. Matrilineal traditions in the islands became a chief point of friction while also paving the way for the Cult of the Virgin championed by Jesuits like Strobach. Marian devotion became an avenue for indigenous women, as it had long been for European women, to claim influence and agency within patriarchal Christianity.

Keywords: Augustinus Strobach, Mariana Islands, matrilineality, Chamorros, sexuality, Virgin Mary

*Sanguine fundata est Ecclesia, sanguine crevit,
sanguine proficiet, sanguine finis erit.*
– Emmanuel de Boye, *Vita et obitus Venerabilis
Patris Augustini Strobach*.¹

The death of Diego de Sanvitores in 1672 enhanced the entanglement of Europe and the Marianas. His murder became the fodder for veneration

¹ De Boye, *Vita et obitus*, p. 131.

among Christians around the world and served as an inspiration to join the missionary adventure in the Pacific. Within a couple of decades, Church-sponsored inquiries into Sanvitores's alleged martyrdom took place in Guam, Manila, Mexico, and Spain.² Sanvitores's fame also reached the land-locked Holy Roman Empire, where it sparked a virtual run for the Mariana missions. Future California missionary and famous mapmaker Eusebio Kino (1645-1711) commented on this German trend and his own disappointment in being sent to New Spain in a letter to the duchess of Aveiro in 1680:

In Germany, the Jesuits have the highest regard for the Mariana missions, and long to be sent to convert their inhabitants. More than two hundred aspirants are seeking entrance in the Upper German Province alone. All of us missionaries residing the past two years in Seville would have considered it a special blessing had our superiors sent us to the Marianas. Obedience alone could lessen the disappointment which some of us experienced when assigned to New Spain.³

Those longing to join them included the Bohemian Augustinus Strobach (1646-1684). Waiting in Seville, he charted his life course to the Marianas through mimesis of both the Jesuit saint Xavier and his Iberian avatar Sanvitores, and those around him identified Strobach as a copy of Xavier. He also aspired to the martyrdom that eluded the Apostle of the Indies and concluded that it was to be sought and found in the Marianas. This ambition rested wholly on encounters with his models through images and stories that circulated across texts, time, and space through the institutional and virtual universe of the Society of Jesus, as he never met either Sanvitores or Xavier. His was just one of the many living bodies whose global movements were shaped in this way.

Strobach followed Sanvitores in seeking an inward transformation that would emanate from the outward project of transforming Chamorro culture. We know this much from Strobach's writing, including a proto-ethnographical account of the Chamorro that he produced and that blends a discussion of his desire and fears regarding martyrdom with his observations of the islanders and comments on the missionary endeavor, including the need to reform social norms of gender and sexuality. Already the previous chapter brought into view that the missionary project led to the collision of two culturally specific systems for understanding the cosmos and social

2 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 56.

3 Kino, *Kino Writes to the Duchess*, p. 75.

life, setting in motion a transformation of gendered identities, symbols, and practices on each side of the divide.⁴ During the early days of the mission launched by the Spaniard Diego de Sanvitores violent clashes between men were a dominant theme, above all the struggle for spiritual hegemony between the Jesuits and the powerful *makahnas*, who most mirrored the missionaries. But other battles too took place along the 'gender frontier' in the Marianas: European intruders and Chamorro islanders struggled over nonmarital sexuality, rape, marriage, and women's power in the family and society. Augustinus Strobach's story offers a point of entry into those struggles and their connection to the mandates of Jesuit manhood. His writings and activities underscore that clerical reproduction, or the constant regeneration of new missionaries and martyrs, was intimately bound up with controlling the sexual and social reproduction of the convert population, particularly its female half.

In the course of colonial expansion Europeans from different parts of the continent exported a strikingly uniform set of patriarchal gender and sexual norms throughout the Atlantic world and also into parts of the Pacific.⁵ The conquest and conversion of the Marianas extended this process to the island world of Oceania. The European men who came to redefine the islanders' cosmic order around the Christian 'father god' saw in their religion a mandate to reconstruct the islanders' social order around patrilineality and patriarchy. Although these changes in cosmology, kinship arrangements, and family life were traumatic for all islanders, they had a particularly negative effect on women. Women lost all political power and became newly subordinated not only to the all-male outside intruders but also to indigenous men, for some of whom Christian patriarchy had its appeal. Women further carried the primary burden of upholding new Christian sexual mores while being exposed to new forms of sexual violence from the soldiers. Absent European women in the islands, relations with Chamorro women took on added significance, since the men from patriarchal Europe differentiated themselves as men vis-à-vis the opposite sex in reference to Chamorro women alone.

A chief point of friction and target of conquest activity was the matrilineal organization of family life. Yet matrilineal traditions also prepared the cultural ground for the Cult of the Virgin championed by Jesuits like Strobach, paving the way for its ready acceptance among islanders. Comparable to how some Chamorri had made Jesuits into the new *makahnas*, other

4 On the concept, see Brown, 'Gender Frontiers.'

5 Amussen and Poska, 'Restoring Miranda'; Andaya, *The Flaming Womb*; Brewer, *Shamanism*.

Chamorri (and Chamorri women, in particular) helped the Jesuits elevate Mary to a reigning figure in the archipelago and in the process derived new power from their self-chosen status as Mary's devotees. While Marian devotion facilitated the establishment of Christianity in the islands, it also became an avenue for indigenous women, as it had been for European women for centuries, to claim influence and agency within patriarchal Christianity. Augustinus Strobach's passion for the Virgin Mary found an echo in indigenous culture where her indigenization began even before the Jesuits arrived and continued long after they departed.

A German Xavier: Moving toward the Marianas

From the very beginning, Augustinus Strobach's life in the Society of Jesus stood under the sign of martyrdom. Born in Iglau in Moravia in 1646, he joined the Society of Jesus in Brno in 1667 at the age of 21. As he would write in his application for the overseas mission, the Society attracted him because of its 'penetrating even the last reaches of the world through the profusion of blood and life, toward which I have always felt the most ardent wishes.'⁶

Strobach's obsessive focus on 'going to the Indies' ran parallel to an obsessive focus on Francis Xavier. While many German Jesuits displayed a deep devotion to the apostle of Asia, Strobach took Xavier's influence to a qualitatively different level. As his biographer, Bohemian provincial Emmanuel de Boye (1639-1700), relates of Strobach,

He was given the baptismal name Ignatius. But as he grew into a man, he become so focused on Francis Xavier and going to the Indies that he began calling himself Carolus Xavier. He was said to have resembled Xavier no less in his thinking than physically. He was believed to bring him to life in his appearance from facial expression, skin color, and hair growth to the exact tall height.⁷

Like the Spaniard Sanvitores, De Boye's vita reflects, the German consciously styled himself after Francis Xavier by adopting his name: If name changes often signify changes in social destiny, Strobach's act of taking Xavier's

6 De Boye, *Vita et obitus*. A second edition appeared in 1703 as reported in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, p. 371. The vita included letters and excerpts of letters by Strobach. This letter is cited in De Boye, *Vita et obitus*, p. 13.

7 De Boye, *Vita et obitus*, pp. 4-5.

name allegedly ushered in a new state of being as well. Strobach – ‘as he grew into a man’– developed into Xavier’s very mental and physical form, and ‘brought him to life in his appearance.’ Differently put, he became yet another animated copy of the apostle of Asia.

The wealth of physical depictions and descriptions of Xavier, which circulated back and forth through the Society’s networks, were fundamental in imagining the very possibility of such spiritual cloning. A description of Francis by his contemporary Manoel Texeira, which drove much of the iconography of the saint, especially early engravings, reported, ‘Father and master Francis was tall rather than short. His face was well proportioned, white and colored, joyful and graceful. His eyes were between brown and black, his forehead spacious, his hair and beard black.’⁸ De Boye’s frontispiece, an engraving of Strobach, plays on Xaverian physical and iconographic attributes (fig. 13). A full-length Strobach stands at the center of the image, taller than the three Chamorros that surround him and seem to stand slightly uphill from him. The image captures the moment right before Strobach’s violent death. One islander is taking aim with his lance while another has grabbed Strobach’s crucifix. The square hairline, untrimmed beard, shadowy eyes, and the Jesuit’s gaze toward the sky borrow from the iconographic lexicon of Xavier’s engravings. The crucifix in the image references an attribute of the saint, particularly as its tip points toward Strobach’s heart, the organ at the locus of Xavier’s uncontainable impulses to bring Christianity to distant shores. Like Sanvitores, however, Strobach is an avatar of Xavier with a twist: he is about to suffer the martyrdom that eluded the apostle of Asia.

The Jesuit order spoke very effectively to such longings for martyrdom by upholding its heroic dead for admiration and emulation in various media.⁹ Strobach surely was familiar with Matthias Tanner’s (1630-1692) multivolume martyrology *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans*. The Prague-based Tanner headed the Bohemian province for six years, and Strobach became part of Tanner’s correspondence network, supplying him with heroic stories from afar after he left Europe. Published in 1675 with lavish illustrations, Tanner’s compendium appeared in a number of editions, which Tanner updated as new cases of martyrs became available. The work paraded the Society’s dead missionaries in a tour of four continents, from Europe and Africa to Asia and the Americas, featuring detailed descriptions and graphic images of the killing of each man and inviting viewers to imagine death for

8 Cited in Leone, *Saints and Signs*, p. 404.

9 Burschel, *Sterben und Unsterblichkeit*, esp. pp. 229-288, here p. 262.

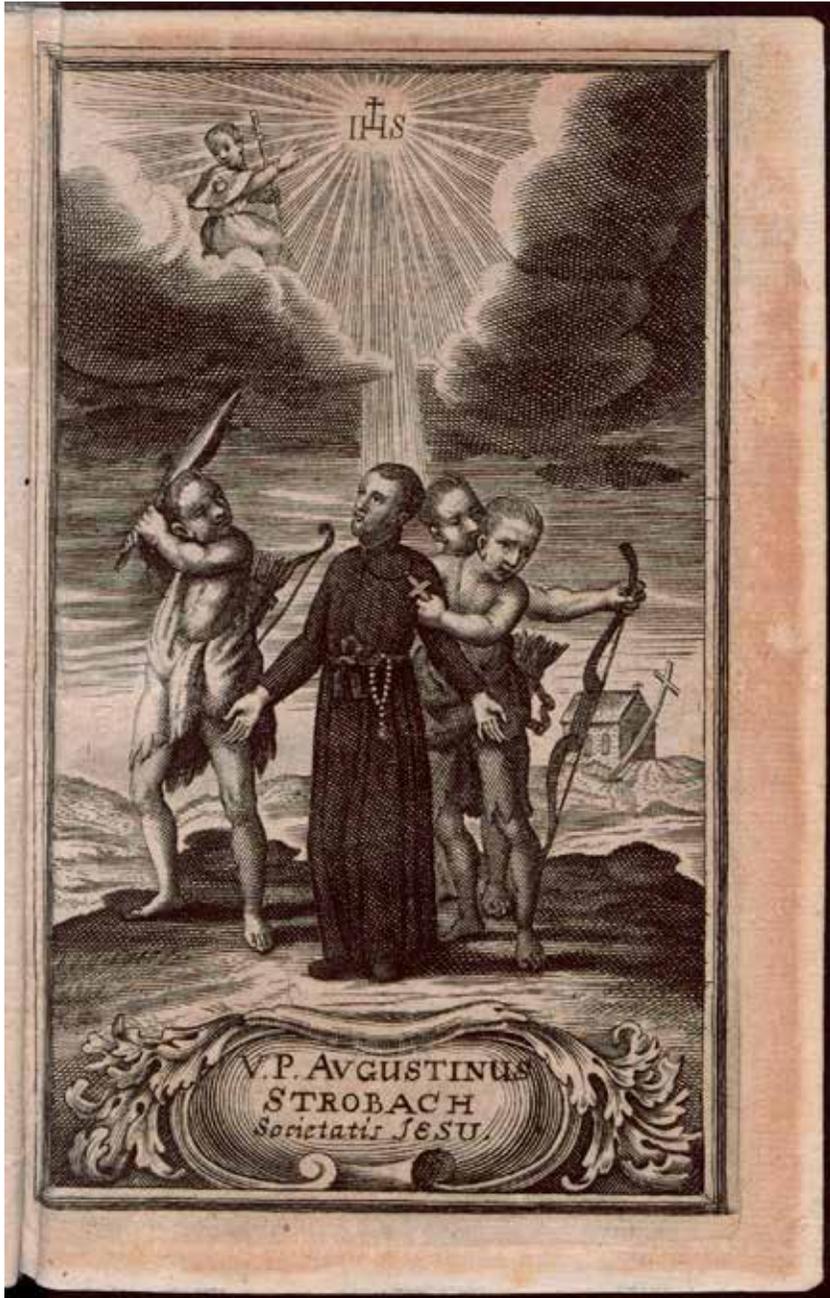


Figure 13 Image of Augustinus Strobach. Source: Emmanuel de Boye, *Vita et obitus Venerabilis Patris Augustini Strobach e Societate Jesu, ex Provincia Bohemiae pro Insulis Marianis electi missionarii et a rebellibus sanctae fidei in iisdem insulis barbare trucidati anno 1684* (Olomucii: Joannis Josephi Kylian, 1691). Copyright Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen.

the faith in distant locations.¹⁰ Accounts and images of the first Marianas martyrs such as Diego de Sanvitores began to appear as early as 1683. Strobach may have hoped to find immortality through future installments.

Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans features a particularly vivid illustration of the reproductive power associated with martyrdom in the form of an engraving by Melchior Küsel (1626-1684) (fig. 14). The image depicts a garden in an exoticized landscape whose layout and decorations resembles the designs in contemporary gardening treatises such as *De florum cultura* by the Jesuit Battista Ferrari, head of the Barberini botanical gardens.¹¹ Mirroring actual Jesuit gardening expertise, the allegorical image represents the vineyard of the Lord, often invoked in missionary writings and a foundational trope of European colonial discourse.¹² Angels hold a banner across the top that reads: '*sanguis martyrum, semen Christianorum*' ('blood of martyrs, seed of Christ') while angelic figures irrigate the land with blood marked with the JHS monogram. The efficacy is beyond question: crosses are shooting up from the ground and surrounding trees.

Although this image plays on the equation of the martyr's blood and the seed for new Christians that already characterized ancient martyrdom, a new post-Tridentine cultural understanding of martyrdom as a quintessentially male heroic death, personified most fully by the Jesuit missionary-cum-martyr, provides significant context for the image and Tanner's accompanying text.¹³ Early Christians understood martyrdom as masculine, but believed that women of exceptional fortitude could be martyrs. The Tridentine context increasingly excluded women from martyrdom. The same Council of Trent that underwrote the Jesuit apostolic model pushed religious women behind the cloister and eroded the legitimacy of older charismatic modes of female holiness, which had accorded women at least a mystical death or imaginary reliving of Christ's passion.¹⁴ Although some women did manage to join in Catholicism's evangelization drive overseas, they could only do so within the enclosure of the convent that circumscribed their radius of action in the Americas or Asia just as it did in Europe. It was thus not for lack of fortitude but for lack of opportunity that Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672), Ursuline foundress of the first Québec convent,

10 Tanner, *Societatis Jesu*.

11 Ferrari, *De florum cultura*. My thanks go to Sarah Cantor for calling my attention to this point of comparison.

12 Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*.

13 Burschel, 'Männliche Tode.' On the cult of martyrdom in general, see Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, pp. 250-314.

14 Burschel, 'Männliche Tode,' esp. pp. 76-79; Burschel, 'Einleitung,' esp. p. 14.

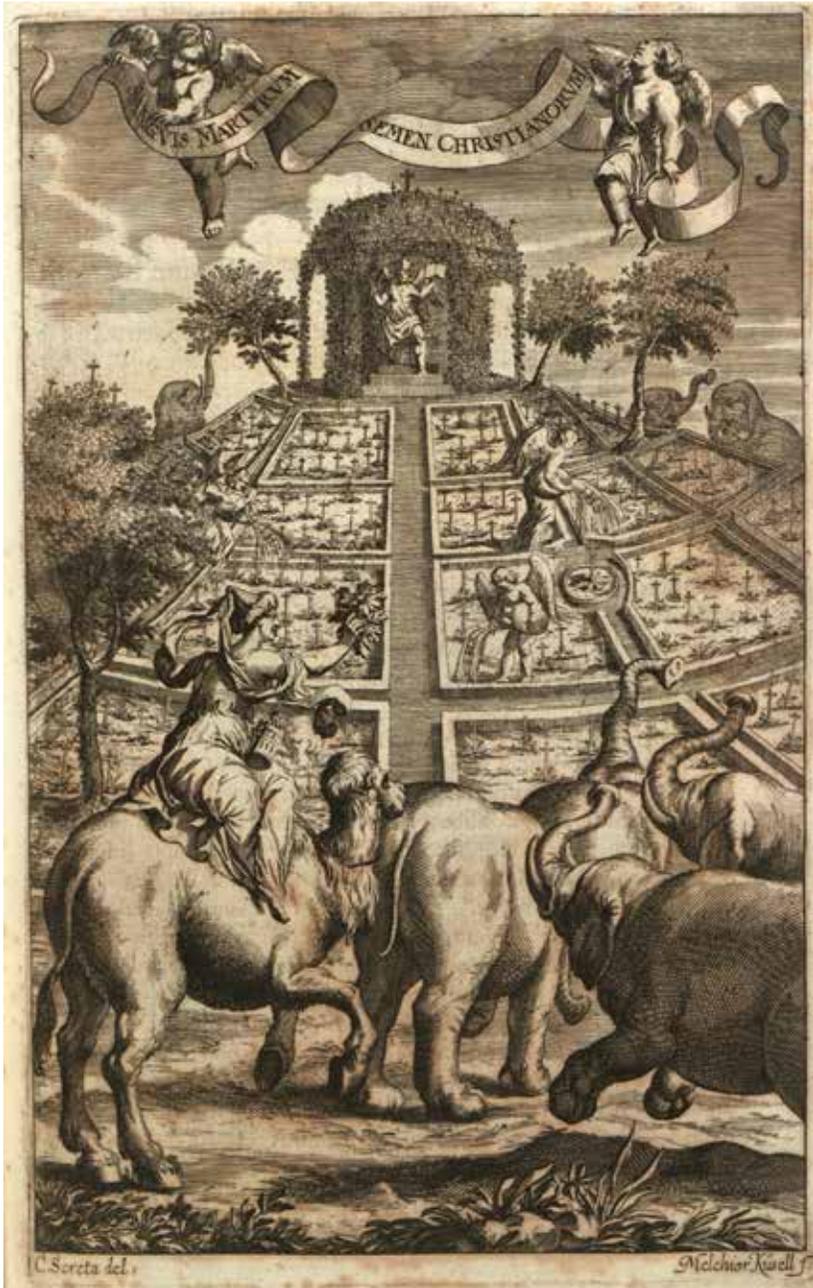


Figure 14 Garden image. Source: Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans, in Europa, Africa, Asia, et America, contra gentiles, Mahometanos, Judaeos, haereticos, impios, pro Deo [...]* (Prague: Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae, in Collegio Societatis Jesu ad S. Clementem, per Joannem Nicolaum Hampel factorem, 1675). Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections.

would never become a celebrated martyr of New France the way Jean de Brebeuf (1593-1649) did, whose deep forays into the Canadian woodlands precipitated his being killed for the faith.¹⁵

The early modern Catholic martyr was not only imagined as a man but as a truly potent man.¹⁶ The ancient *sanguis martyrum, semen Christianorum* took on added meaning in early modern Europe as the defining criterion marking the male sex in medical discourse was the ability to generate and disseminate seed rather than the possession of a penis.¹⁷ According to medical theory, the body concocted semen from blood, and hence, just like sexually active men, celibate clerics too could prove their manhood by transforming their blood into the *semen Christianorum* and spawning new believers. The image of the garden, itself a metaphor of fertility, in Tanner's compendium of killing sites evokes such ideas about the male sex in its depiction of the angelic figures: the martyrs' blood they distribute flows from pouches held at such an angle that it appears as if the '*semen Christianorum*' is projecting directly from the figures' penises (fig. 15).

Under the influence of cultural expressions such as Tanner's, Strobach set his sights on an assignment to the Marianas. He had just spent a month carrying out the Spiritual Exercises when the encyclical of General Giovanni Oliva (1600-1681) arrived, inviting missionaries to Mexico, the Philippines, and the Marianas. It supposedly happened to be the feast day of Francis Xavier. Although Strobach was initially not among those chosen for the Indies in response to Oliva's call, he took the call to be the voice of God,¹⁸ and did not shy away from advancing the divine agenda. After he learned that superiors were concerned about the ill health of one of the men designated for the mission, Strobach let it be known that he would make for a better choice. His insistence won him the spot.¹⁹

Strobach was similarly quick to sense an opportunity once he found out about the 'martyrdom' of Sebastian de Monroy (1649-1676) that took place in 1676 in the Marianas. Strobach records his learning of 'the glorious death' of De Monroy in a postscript to a letter he had written to De Boye: 'Therefore,

15 On Marie de L'Incarnation as a *femme forte*, see Davis, *Women on the Margins*, pp. 63-139. See also De Brebeuf, 'Important Advice.'

16 Although individual Protestant and Anabaptist women were venerated as martyrs in their confessional circles, there was no publicly sanctioned model for women. Protestant elites directed women toward other forms of religious witnessing. Burschel, 'Männliche Tode,' pp. 83-84.

17 Simons, *The Sex of Men*.

18 De Boye, *Vita et obitus*, pp. 28-29.

19 Francis Xavier also substituted for a sick brother, supposedly stating: 'Splendid, I am ready.' Oswald, 'Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier,' p. 239.



Figure 15 Detail, garden image. Source: Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans, in Europa, Africa, Asia, et America, contra gentiles, Mahometanos, Judaeos, haereticos, impios, pro Deo [...]* (Prague: Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandaeae, in Collegio Societatis Jesu ad S. Clementem, per Joannem Nicolaum Hampel factorem, 1675). Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections.

there is once again a vacancy for a missionary in the Marianas! O, how I wish to be worthy of this mission of Christ!²⁰ While the letter to De Boye had

20 Strobach, Letter, October 24, 1679, Seville, in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, pp. 176 (Latin original), p. 179 (English translation).

been signed 'your unworthy son, and missionary to the Philippines,' after learning of De Monroy's death he began signing his letters as 'missionary to the Marianas.' Other Germans in Strobach's group waiting for departure had similar ideas. Adam Gerstl learned the same news of Monroy's death and expressed envy of Jesuits laboring in the Marianas of whom he heard reports that they were 'flooded with spiritual consolation often to the point of shedding tears of joy.'²¹ His heart was set on that mission, rather than a journey to New Spain, which he felt would give him as 'comfortable' a life as he had in Germany and would therefore be a waste of a trip across the ocean.²² When he later traversed the ocean, Gerstl spent his time painting portraits of the Marianas martyrs whose fate he had desired in vain.²³ German Jesuits were clamoring to go the Marianas precisely because of the promise of difficulty and potential for a martyr's death.

Discomfort and danger besieged Strobach and his companions before they truly left Europe's shores. They were shipwrecked in the harbor of Cadiz and some were left behind for a later fleet.²⁴ Strobach made it out among those destined for the Philippines, but was not assigned to a mission in the Marianas until he reached the shores of Guam in June 1681. Although he would later credit the Virgin Mary and Francis Xavier with the assignment, in fact he advocated for himself quite effectively. He took his opportunity when the galleon stopped in Guam, pleading until the mission procurator and superior let him stay there. This permission aroused 'unspeakable consolation' in him.²⁵ He set foot on the islands on the same day of the year as Sanvitores back in 1668, or so Strobach and others later remembered in interpreting his spiritual journey.²⁶

It was Strobach's worldly status as a non-Spaniard that shaped his more immediate destiny. Per general policy, the Spanish Jesuits, who formed the majority of missionaries, had their posts on the main island of Guam, the more stable and developed of the mission sites. Agaña was the largest settlement, with the protection of the Spanish garrison, and there the Jesuits had their headquarters and ran schools for Chamorro boys and girls. By

21 Adam Gerstl, Excerpts of 26 Letters to His Father, up to July 14, 1681, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 31, p. 98.

22 Ibid.

23 Strobach reports this in a letter penned in Sevilla on September 27, 1678, in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, p. 161.

24 See Chapter 2 on the shipwreck in the harbor of Cadiz.

25 Ortiz, 'Biography of Fr. Augustin,' in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, p. 448.

26 Augustinus Strobach, June 25, 1681. *Ex insulis Marianis 25. Junii 1681*, in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' p. 565; De Boye, *Vita et obitus*, p. 75.

contrast, missionaries on the smaller, more remote, and unstable islands generally worked alone.²⁷ After a training period, Strobach was thus put to work on the island of Rota, north of Guam, a well-known hideout for the Chamorro resistance where Sanvitores's murderers still lived in hiding.²⁸

Having reached the place of his longings, Strobach's thoughts turned to martyrdom in newly concrete ways. A year after his arrival, he wrote a lengthy report about the geography, inhabitants, and missionary work of the island, which included a discussion of the indigenous Chamorro custom of carving the arm and leg bones of dead enemies into weapons for war. He explained that longer bones made for better lances and 'therefore these barbarians feel much incited to kill men of great height.' The German Xavier was a tall man and at this point in the text, missionary ethnography drifted into personal reflection. Strobach wrote of his desire to die for the right purpose and his fear that things could go terribly wrong:

I however would not want to be killed for the sake of their lances but rather spill my life and blood well in the name of Christ. I would not want that these [barbarians] preserve my bones – that others are killed with them – but that God more powerfully preserves them.²⁹

In these lines, Strobach parsed the consequential difference between being murdered and being martyred. Would he die the right kind of death? The general risk for aspiring martyrs that only the right death would spawn new Christians had become a very particular predicament for Strobach. Where else in the world but on the Marianas would a missionary have to worry in 1682 about having his bones carved into lances – the famed Jesuit mandate for accommodation to local cultures gone completely awry? He was well aware of the death of Sanvitores's companion Luis Medina in this way.³⁰

Strobach turned to his Bohemian home province for support in the quest to die a true martyr. He posted a letter to Provincial De Boye in May of 1683

27 Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, 19-20. German Jesuits and non-Spaniards were also often saddled with assignments to the most challenging areas in New Spain. See Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, p. 90.

28 'Account of the Events in the Mariana Islands, by Fr. Angelis,' in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, p. 608. Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, p. 28.

29 This and the short quote above can be found in Augustinus Strobach, 'Relatio rerum notabilium in Marianis,' p. 575. A German version was printed as 'Kurtzer Auszug des weitläufigen Berichts V.P. Augustinus Strobach [...];' *Der Neuer Welt-Bott*, vol. 1, part. 1, no. 5, pp. 7-12, quote p. 10. De Boye (*Vita et obitus*, p. 81) included only the ethnographic information in his vita of Strobach but omitted this piece of personal reflection.

30 See Chapter 3 for details on Medina's death.

from the island of Rota in which he explained that this particular island lacked even the most basic resources like sufficient water and fertile land; the Chamorros, he claimed, 'live off roots.' But it promised a great yield of new Christians: 'To my great consolation, I myself have already baptized with my own hand a hundred adults and countless children and married 170 couples.' Typical of Jesuits at this and other missions, he touted successes in baptizing large numbers of new Christians and in joining couples in marriage according to the rules and rites of the Council of Trent. His Bohemian brothers' prayers and sacrifices, he wrote, would be repaid if it so pleased God, 'with the profusion of life and blood for God and the salvation of souls.'³¹

Strobach credited Sanvitores with having plowed and fertilized the ground before him. Using imagery reminiscent of the garden in Tanner's bloody martyrology, Strobach wrote that Sanvitores had been 'the first to bring Christ's name to the Marianas, plant the vineyard of the Lord, and also have properly watered with his sweat and blood in order to produce, as can be seen now, great fruit of Christianity.'³² He invoked Francis Xavier, as well, recalling the words that the 'great Apostle of the Indies' had spoken with regards to China and stating that the Marianas had an even greater need for spiritual aid. De Boye's biography would say that Strobach, in keeping with Xavier's example, dispatched many epistles to Europe to persuade other men to seek out work in the Indies, and that they were quite successful in recruitment.³³ Waiting for his prayers to be answered, he busied himself with evangelical work, the Epistles of St. Francis stacked away inside the linings of his cassock to guide him in his labor and toward his most desired destiny.³⁴

Missionary Work in the Marianas: Regulating Self and Regulating Women

Strobach's pastoral work in the Pacific proceeded apace with a rigorous regime of personal spirituality. While his physical shape supposedly replicated that of Francis Xavier's, the German's relationship to his own body also owed something to the example of Ignatius. Like the founding father, Strobach

31 For quotes in this paragraph see Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' pp. 585-586.

32 Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' p. 586.

33 De Boye, *Vita et obitus*, p. 38.

34 Sanvitores reportedly carried the same reading materials. García, *Life and Martyrdom*, p. 201.

struggled to find the proper balance between penitential self-chastisement aimed at spiritual advancement and the purposeful preservation of corporeal strength that was required for the hard work of 'helping souls' in the world.³⁵ Strobach's pious practices involved the use of punitive instruments, and included performances that aroused 'the horror of spectators.'³⁶ Extreme acts were at odds with the moderate ascetic practices prescribed by the order's *Constitutions*, which urged members to strive for a middle way in treating the body, neither too leniently nor too harshly. Proper care of the body was a precondition for effective and sustained spiritual activism.³⁷ In the Marianas, Strobach developed some appreciation for how important it was to maintain his strength in a harsh missionary environment. In a letter from May 21, 1683, he expressed concerns about the absence of (European) doctors and medication 'in these miserable islands.' The missionaries were 'overburdened with work and hardship, which requires a healthy body and a strong constitution.'³⁸ In spite of such awareness, Strobach still liked to set himself apart from others by taking the harder path when possible. Unlike other Central European overseas missionaries, he always skipped the customary big breakfast and never even tried the morning chocolate drink to which other Jesuits in the Spanish Empire took quickly, which may suggest he believed those who had argued that the breakfast drink spelled spiritual ruin.³⁹

Strobach's spiritual style also echoed Ignatius's in his propensity toward affective piety and his filial focus on the Virgin Mary. Fellow Jesuits likened his devotion to the Virgin Mary to that of 'a son to his most beloved mother.'⁴⁰ His devotion to the Virgin Mary was fierce, marking every stage of his spiritual and physical journeys. Before becoming a Jesuit he was active in a Sodality of Our Lady and exhorted others to venerate her. He kept a

35 See Chapter 1 for a discussion of Ignatius's treatment and view of the body.

36 Bouwens, *De vita*, f. 336v.

37 This understanding of optimizing the physical as a gateway to the spiritual is also evident in the distinct treatment of the body in Jesuit educational practice. In a break from medieval pedagogical tradition, Jesuit colleges scheduled periods of rest and guided leisure activities into the curriculum to maximize the intellectual and spiritual growth of students. Casalini, 'Active Leisure.'

38 Fr. Strobach to Fr. Provincial of Bohemia, May 21, 1683, in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, p. 685.

39 Strobach's refusal of chocolate was noted as a mark of distinction by Ambrosio Ortiz, 'Biography of Fr. Augustin,' in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, p. 457. On the debate about chocolate consumption in the Philippine province, see De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, pp. 248-249.

40 Bouwens, *De vita*, f. 337r.

special diary in which he recorded and contemplated all his experiences related to Mary.⁴¹ During his stay in Mexico, Strobach inspired the Italian missionary Zappa to form a secret society of young men who pledged themselves to the Virgin.⁴² In the Marianas, he engaged in various forms of penance to prepare for her feast days, and also instructed the islanders in Marian devotion. Ever the devoted son, Strobach brought flowers to Mary's image in his church on feast day; if he could not come by flowers in nature, he gave her those of real silk, no doubt delivered from China by the Manila Galleon and purchased with Jesuit funds.⁴³

With actual women, however, Strobach acted as a patriarchal disciplinarian, rather than a filial devotee. Ignatius had written this contradictory relationship with the feminine as abstract principle versus the feminine in the flesh into the Society's institutional DNA, but it came to the fore more strongly in far-flung mission fields where gender norms deviated from European expectations yet Europeans had the power to impose their norms. In the Marianas, nudity, nonmarital sexuality, and the power of women in Chamorro society irked Jesuits like Strobach a great deal. Measures against these facets of island society predated the Bohemian's arrival, but as the mission became more established, they gained greater traction and he displayed special zealotry in advancing them.

Consistent with their approach in any mission territory, the Jesuits in the Marianas advocated for monogamy, premarital abstinence, and female virginity, and they opposed what Strobach denounced as 'the shameful habit of divorce customary among those people.'⁴⁴ Chamorro sexual norms and traditions contradicted all of these norms, and men and women enjoyed the equal right to end a marital union for the simple reason that attraction had ceased.⁴⁵ Female virginity, a growing obsession in post-Reformation Europe, was of no cultural import in the archipelago.⁴⁶

The Chamorro institution of communal houses for young people attracted much Jesuit moralizing and misreading. Adolescent males traditionally spent time away from home in their mother's families' villages, receiving

41 Ortiz, 'Biography of Fr. Augustin,' in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, p. 459.

42 Molina, *To Overcome Oneself*, p. 160. Molina refers to Strobach with the hispanized form of his name, Carlos Calvanezi.

43 Ortiz, 'Biography of Fr. Augustin,' in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, p. 459.

44 Strobach, 'Von denen Missionariies auf denen Marianischen Insuln,' *Neuer Welt-Bott*, no. 6, p. 13.

45 Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society*, pp. 122-124. Cunningham, 'Pre-Christian Chamorro Courtship and Marriage Practices'.

46 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 46.

instruction from the men of their mother's families in the skills and practices of Chamorro manhood, from chanting, canoe building, and combat to interactions with women. They resided in special houses called *guma' uritao* in their maternal uncles' villages with the adolescent girls of those villages.⁴⁷ Much to the Jesuits' disgust, relationships among the young extended to sexual intimacy. These premarital sexual acts, and the houses in which they took place, were part of a much broader matrix of reciprocal exchanges leading up to marriage, including gift exchanges and services rendered by future grooms to women and their families, in a matrilineal society. But the Jesuits considered the *guma' uritao* to be 'public houses' or brothels.⁴⁸ By 1680, they had burnt down or otherwise destroyed at least 30 of the special houses.⁴⁹ The fathers dedicated Thursdays to preaching specifically against this traditional institution and its associated practices.⁵⁰

The Jesuits set up two seminaries as alternatives to the *guma' uritao* to instill Christian sexual morals in Chamorro boys and girls, the Colegio de San Juan de Letran and the Escuela de las Niñas. The funding petition for the boys' seminary that was drawn up in Sanvitores's days promised that it would provide a mechanism to

oppose our holy and royal seminary to those that the devil has founded in these islands for the *urritaos*, or unmarried men, who live with girls in public houses, with no other regulations than that which the devil or their own appetites may dictate, with the liberty of their age. [...] They can serve later as teachers for the others, and the best ones can eventually be ordained as priests, since the Marianos do not have the vice of drunkenness, which has made it impossible for the natives of other places to receive holy orders.

The petition pointed to Francis Xavier as the inspiration for targeting children in order to control the social and sexual reproduction of the convert population:

The Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, placed his greatest hope for the fruit of the gospel in the children, whose instruction and education

47 Ibid. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 37; Viana, *Far Islands*, p. 23.

48 Barrett, *Mission in the Marianas*, p. 23. The petition hints at gift exchanges between the young, but the Jesuits did not comprehend these exchanges to be part of a broader matrix of services and goods rendered during Chamorro marriage formation.

49 Cunningham, 'Pre-Christian Chamorro Courtship and Marriage Practices,' p. 64.

50 Ibid., p. 67.

he recommended beyond anything else to his companions, because Christianity, if it is introduced during childhood, increases with age, and they will be good Christians when they are men and old men if they were Christians since childhood.⁵¹

Similarly, the petition for the girls' seminary pitched it as an institutional antidote to the *guma' uritao*. Unlike the boys in the seminary, whom the Jesuits taught mainly in Spanish and to whom they held out possible careers as teachers or even priests, the girls received a basic religious education in their native language and were instructed in domestic arts, including cooking and sewing their own clothes, to prepare them to become Christian wives. The petition portrayed the seminary as a haven for young women endangered both by lascivious men as well as parents ready to sell their daughters into prostitution.⁵²

As part of this narrative of saving indigenous women from indigenous men, most Jesuits ignored that European soldiers raped Chamorro women with regularity and impunity, and requested sexual services as a form of 'tribute' from unmarried as well as married women. On occasion, a Jesuit complained about how soldiers 'violated the Indian women.'⁵³ However, putting the onus for upholding sexual mores on women was the norm in the Marianas as it was in Europe, as Jesuits offered those who fended off 'tribute request' membership in their Marian congregation.⁵⁴ Jesuits joined colonial authorities in labeling the soldiers' actions God's punishment for the population's rebellious behavior,⁵⁵ in effect turning the continued assault on Chamorro women into a religio-political message about who had the right to control whom and how in the islands.

Meanwhile, the fathers embarked upon their civilizing mission and sought to discipline indigenous bodies in other ways. Augustinus Strobach was an active proponent of this project. '[T]here was nothing he watched over more in the Indians of his Residence,' one of his biographers noted, 'than to separate them from their old licentious behavior and to make them observe Christian chastity and purity in their customs.'⁵⁶ Strobach's own writings make this assessment ring true. In the same proto-ethnography in which he voiced his feelings about death while discussing the Chamorro customs of

51 Ibid., pp. 42-43.

52 Ibid., p. 44.

53 Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, pp. 33-34, quote p. 33.

54 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 72, n. 207.

55 Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, p. 34.

56 Ortiz, 'Biography of Fr. Augustin,' in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, p. 459.

treating the remains of enemies, he also wrote about customs of Chamorro dress in strong emotional terms. The emotional rhetoric suggests that he had complicated feelings about indigenous bodies and was managing them, just like his complicated feelings about death, through the act of writing about the indigenous. Missionary ethnography, or the repeated acts of observing and writing about the indigenous in order to regulate them and oneself better, can be understood as another 'emotional practice' in the service of Jesuit manhood that was of particular importance in a challenging and destabilizing mission fields like the Marianas.⁵⁷

Sexual desire reared its head in Strobach's discussion of indigenous customs of clothing. Nudity is the first theme in his description of the islanders. Reporting that cotton was growing very well in the islands, Strobach expressed happiness that Chamorro men had begun to feel ashamed of their nudity and to value clothing to the point of trading prized possessions for proper coverage.⁵⁸ On a related note of discussing physical appearances, Strobach also expressed pleasure that Chamorro men, who traditionally sprouted a tiny tuft of hair at the crown of an otherwise shaved head and wore long beards, adopted Spanish fashions.⁵⁹ In the European visual lexicon of masculinity, hair was a crucial signifier of honor and virility, its removal or loss a threat or demotion of manly prowess. Moralizing medical literature linked shaven heads and baldness to humoral imbalance brought on by sinful sexual activity and syphilis.⁶⁰ Proper beards were primary markers of masculinity that set men apart from boys and women, and from one another across social class.⁶¹

Adult Chamorro women, a decade and a half into the mission, presented a more unsettling image to Strobach. While he noted greater modesty than prior to European contact, 'little aprons that [...] cover their bodies from the waist to the knee' nonetheless required an adaptation of the Ignatian rules of modesty to a context Ignatius never knew. Whereas the saint directed Jesuits to cast their eyes downward when encountering women to avoid unchaste sights and sentiments, in the Marianas, Jesuits 'had to look up high above the

57 Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?' I would like to thank my collaborator and coauthor Renate Dürr for calling my attention to Jesuit ethnography as an emotional practice. This line of thinking is developed further in Dürr and Strasser, *De-Centering the Enlightenment*. The role of emotions in the missionary encounter is an emerging important thematic in the historiography. For an overview, see Macdonald, 'Christian Missions and Global Encounters.' For rich case studies, see Van Gent, 'The Burdens of Love' and 'Protestant Global Missions'; also McLisky et al., *Emotions and Christian Missions*.

58 Strobach, 'Kurtzer Auszug,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 5, p. 8.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

60 Korhonen. 'Strange Things Out of Hair,' pp. 380-381.

61 Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard.'

heads lest we look downward and something unfortunate falls into our eyes that jeopardizes angelic purity.⁶² Strobach also remarked that, while they wouldn't adopt European-style modesty in their dress, at least Chamorro women would step aside whenever they encountered a European 'to remove their shameful nudity from our eyes.'⁶³ As we have already heard and as Strobach knew well, Chamorro women had reasons other than modesty to avoid the male gaze given the constant threat of being sexually assaulted. The fear associated with nude bodies and the shame underlying this passage in Strobach's missionary ethnography appear above all his own.

Emotional unease also reared its head in Strobach's ethnographic observations about matrilineal practices. The traditional role of women in matrilineal island society was a subject of much commentary and concern among the Jesuits, who came to the Marianas to organize the islanders' cosmic order around the Christian father god and their social order around patrilineality and patriarchy. The inhabitants of the archipelago, in contrast to other central Pacific Islanders, grew rice in fertile stretches of the archipelago.⁶⁴ This indicates connections to the ancient Malayo-Polynesian world in Southeast Asia.⁶⁵ Research on other areas in South Asia and Asia shows that cultures that cultivate rice have a propensity toward matrilineal arrangements and valorize women's contribution to communal sustenance and female fertility more than those that cultivate wheat.⁶⁶ No other aspect of Chamorro life other than ancestor worship attracted as much scorn from the fathers. Rattled by what he saw as the complete reversal of proper norms, Strobach bemoaned: 'No house regiment is ruled by the man, but by the wife with such uninhibited power, that if the poor man falls into suspicion with his jealous wife of loving some else more than her, the wife summons her friends and family who storm the house and kick the alleged adulterer into misery.' The wronged wife would keep the marital property and children. However, Strobach bragged, '[w]e have already trimmed back this female abuse considerably, and will not cease do make it smaller day by day.'⁶⁷

62 Strobach, 'Kurtzer Auszug,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 5, p. 8. In the same passage, Strobach, apparently unsettled by female bodies back home and abroad, took a swing at European women for their 'superfluous sartorial splendor' or vanity.

63 *Ibid.*

64 On rice cultivation among central Pacific islanders, see Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 24.

65 Carson, *Archeological Landscape Evolution*, p. 100. Carson also notes that this sets the Marianas apart from other parts of Remote Oceania.

66 Andaya, 'Gender History,' p. 329.

67 Strobach, 'Kurtzer Auszug,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, p. 5, p. 10. On indigenous power dynamics during divorce proceedings, see 'Pre-Christian Chamorro Courtship and Marriage Practices,' pp. 74-75.

In keeping with his patriarchal understanding of the world and its divine origins, Strobach also offered a reinterpretation of a traditional creation story shaped by a matrilineal view of the world. The central characters of the indigenous creation story are a brother and a sister, the typical sibling dyad of matrilineal cultures. In the story, Fu'ana, the sister, uses the body of her dying brother, Puntan, to create the world, for example, by turning his eyes into the sun and the moon. After creating the material world out of her brother, Fu'ana was said to feel such loneliness, that she turned into a rock in the ocean. The waves splintered the rock into a myriad of pieces that became a new people, the islanders.⁶⁸ Thus the myth thematizes and celebrates women's role in creation and their abundant fertility.

The Jesuit from wheat-growing, patrilineal Bohemia read the myth in a different light. Strobach's retelling follows a format familiar from other Jesuit accounts. He concluded that the Chamorros 'had an opaque knowledge even in their paganism'⁶⁹ about Adam and Eve, turning the siblings into spouses and negating Fu'ana's primary role. Also typical was changing details to make them more like the biblical accounts. Fu'ana, the main creator and female powerhouse of traditional mythology, thus became a nameless wife and mere adumbration of Eve, the most problematic female character in Christian thought and imagination. Instead of an equal or possibly superior sibling, she is a subjugated wife in this version. Such assertions of rudimentary knowledge were common in Jesuit writings about convert populations; they served to underline the promise of the missionary enterprise and justify associated expenses. These assertions usually came paired, as in Strobach's case, with denunciations of the differences between native stories and biblical ones. Strobach wrote that the Chamorros 'made grave errors in certain parts [of their creation story], in that they ascribed to these two first married people against the truth, as if they were Gods and Creators of all things, that all living things had been created from their bodies.'⁷⁰ It was a symbolic signal of Strobach's and the Society's approach to imposing patriarchy and Christianity in the Marianas. Symbolic violence and social violence went hand in hand in pursuit of this project. So did military violence when indigenous resistance again threatened the survival of the mission in the 1680s.

68 Atienza and Coello de la Rosa, 'Embodied Silent Narratives,' p. 247.

69 Strobach, 'Kurtzer Auszug,' *Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 5, p. 10.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Martyrdom at Long Last: Strobach's Death during the Second Great War (1683-1686)

Strobach lost his life in August 1684 during the last major rebellion of Anti-Spanish Chamorros against colonial rule. Hostilities among outsiders and intruders had never died down entirely after the conclusion of the first Great War, with intermittent loss of life on both sides throughout the 1670s. Affairs, however, heated up considerably in 1679, when the Spanish crown brought in José Quiroga (d. 1720) as a military commander and interim governor to squelch the Chamorro opposition once and for all and to that end he increased the numbers of soldiers.⁷¹ Having made a name for himself on the battlefields of Flanders, Quiroga staged extremely aggressive campaigns to root out actual or would-be resisters in hiding. He had entire villages forcefully resettled and children removed from their communities to be raised by the missionaries.⁷² Hundreds of islanders sought to escape from Spanish violence by hiding in caves, or fleeing to islands further to the north. Quiroga pursued Chamorros suspected of stirring sedition across islands and staged public executions of resistance leaders.⁷³ He specifically targeted Jesuit killers and helped by Chamorro collaborators caught Matá'pang, Sanvitores's murderer, an important symbolic victory for Spain and the Jesuit mission.⁷⁴

The Jesuits gladly carried out their evangelical labors in Quiroga's wake, working in resettled villages and among the newly repressed Chamorros and raising children taken from their parents in their colleges. Per the decrees of the Council of Trent, they dutifully recorded baptisms, marriages, and deaths and worked to extirpate sin, especially sexual sin.⁷⁵ We have already read of Strobach's feelings about the Rota mission and his flock, and his willingness to be on the forefront of the missionary civilizing mission. Collectively, the Jesuits also wanted to secure the conversion of the Chamorros further north, such as on the islands of Saipan and Tinian, for which they required Spanish military protection and conquest. In March 1684, Quiroga set out to make a major push to force all the northern islands to surrender. Anti-Spanish Chamorros used Quiroga's absence from Guam as an opportunity to rise up against the oppressors. In July of 1684, resistance

71 By 1680, the head count reached about a hundred. Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 83.

72 Viana, *Far Islands*, pp. 34-35; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 62.

73 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 63.

74 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, pp. 83-84.

75 *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

fighters from communities across the big island launched an attack on the soldiers, missionaries, and their Chamorro allies.⁷⁶ Soon the colonial capital Agaña was on fire. Strobach saw the flames from afar while on his way to the annual Jesuit gathering in Agaña. He decided to head north instead to alert Quiroga. Rebels captured Strobach en route at Tinian and delivered him to a chief on the island, where he was beaten to death.⁷⁷ Thus, Strobach did not live to see that the insurgence ended in a devastating defeat in 1686 that set the islands on a precipitous path of uncontested Spanish domination, intensified reductions of the Chamorros, and triggered a dramatic decline of the indigenous population. Spurred on by the missionaries, Spanish troops embarked upon punitive campaigns and starting in the late 1680s the resettlement of the inhabitants of the Northern Islands to Guam and, to a lesser degree, Rota and Tinian in the south. Amid those horrors, women reportedly resorted to self-sterilization, abortion, and infanticide to spare their children Spanish colonial rule.⁷⁸ Warfare, dislocation, and disease led to the decimation of the Chamorro people. By 1700, population levels dropped to about 8,000, and they plummeted to near extinction levels by 1750.⁷⁹ By comparison, the European deaths, as large as they loomed in the European imagination, were small in number, amounting to a ratio of one dead intruder to a hundred or more perished islanders.⁸⁰

Did Strobach die the right kind of death as he had hoped? The obituary notice missionary superior Gerard Bouwens composed in May of 1685 used the term ‘martyrdom.’ A year later, Strobach’s story appeared in Naples in an Italian version of García’s *Vida y martirio de el Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores*. Produced by Ambrosio Ortiz (1638-1718), this work represents a reframed and augmented version of the original. Unlike García, who chose to include a portrait of a scholarly Sanvitores with owl-like eyeglasses, Ortiz selected for his frontispiece an image that depicts Sanvitores being pierced with a lance by Matá’pang while another Chamorro swings his sword above the Jesuit’s head. Death for the faith was the visual motto for this work. Ortiz also chose a broader title that focused on the conversion of

76 Ibid., pp. 91-2.

77 Bouwens, *De vita*, f. 337v; Russell, *Tiempon I Manmofona*, pp. 308-310.

78 Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, p. 71.

79 Estimates of the Chamorro population and the causes behind the dramatic decline vary. Some argue that population decline began before Spanish arrival and that disease, rather than outright Spanish violence, hastened it. See Shell, ‘The Marianas Population Decline’; Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*. David Atienza stresses low natality rates as a decisive factor, Atienza, personal communication, February 2020.

80 Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, p. 71.

the Marianas recounted through a series of 'glorious deaths,' starting with Sanvitores's and including Strobach's and other recent killings.⁸¹ Thus the book united the Spanish and the German Xaviers, who were inspired by the same masculine script, although they never met in life. Strobach's story also circulated in Bohemia in print and manuscript. The above-cited biography by Bohemian provincial De Boye appeared in 1691 and in at least one more edition in 1703.⁸² In the *vita*, De Boye relates that Strobach's writings and example proved generative of new missionaries.⁸³

Holy individuals, of course, inspired emulation long before the early modern period, and different models of sanctity always elicited different types of behavior. Gregory of Tours (c. 538-c. 594) in his sixth-century *Life of the Fathers* could already contemplate the distinct types of sanctity embodied and encouraged by, say, confessor saints or martyrs. Gregory viewed these differences as variations of the same holy life in Christ, which explains the use of the singular 'life' instead of 'lives' in the title.⁸⁴ For Diego de Sanvitores and Augustinus Strobach, however, resemblance took on an altogether new quality. Contemporaries reported that the two men integrated Xavier into all aspects of their being, becoming – to borrow the rich phrase of Sanvitores's biographer – 'a copy with a soul.' Xavier in turn resembled not Christ but Saint Paul, the epitome of apostolic mobility.⁸⁵

Such faithful reproduction of an apostolic type speaks to the urgencies of the early modern missionary enterprise, which spun out across much greater distances and involved encounters much less familiar to European Christians than the medieval missionary undertakings. It further seems inseparable from the availability of the reproductive technology of print, which circulated the images and stories of saintly exemplars worldwide and provided a template for mimetic copying in the flesh.⁸⁶ The miracles of missionary reproduction went hand-in-hand with the marvel of their multiplication in print. Long after their death, the holy could thus continue to act through the medium of print in a wide variety of geographical contexts and at a moment of aggressive evangelization, in a manner that at once paralleled and outpaced the ways in which saints supposedly acted through

81 Ortiz, *Istoria*.

82 Reported in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, p. 371.

83 De Boye, *Vita et obitus*, p. 38 and p. 159.

84 Gregory of Tours, *Life of the Fathers*.

85 By contrast, *imitatio Christi* defined Ignatian manhood. Levy, 'Jesuit Identity,' esp. pp. 131-134.

86 San Juan, *Vertiginous Mirrors*, explores the nexus between printing, traveling images, and their effects on different users. I am especially interested in how images and stories that circulate reproduced the same type of missionary body.

their bodily remains. Sainly relics had long been multiplied through splitting or contact and circulated to spread supernatural power and create bonds between believers, especially in newly Christianized areas.⁸⁷ If relics were very reproducible, print was yet more so; and even in cases where there were no material remains of saintly figures available, there were stories about them to be distributed on the printed page.

It is worth returning to Bouwens's handwritten obituary notice. Although the provincial so confidently declared Augustinus Strobach's death 'a martyrdom,' an annotation at the obituary's end reveals that Bowers had it all secondhand and from islanders who decided to tell the story of the specific 'circumstances.' No European was present at Strobach's death.⁸⁸ Bouwens's reference to the oral indigenous account at the base of his written narrative marks a door through which to enter in search of indigenous perspectives on the events. The historical record on the Marianas is notoriously lopsided toward the European perspective since all written sources stem from the quills of European interlopers. To recuperate islanders' perspectives therefore always requires reading against the grain and combing the European record for what Bronwen Douglas termed 'countersigns.' European representations, Douglas has argued, were shaped not only by European viewpoints, but also by the 'dialectic of discourse and experience' that haunts all cross-cultural encounters, leaving its imprint in the form of 'countersigns' that echo indigenous participation in the encounter and indigenous world views.⁸⁹

In Bouwens's account of Strobach's murder, tropes and conventions of Jesuit life histories and European hagiographic writings coexist with indigenous countersigning. Bouwens writes that Strobach was captured off the coast of Tinian and brought ashore, whereupon he realized that all the islands had conspired to rise up simultaneously. At this point, he turned everything over to God in the hope of acting for his 'greater Glory.' The Jesuit's captors brought him first to the house of a chief, who treated him harshly, denying him water to quench his thirst, and then to another chief's house. Along the way, Strobach kept commending his fate to God while holding tight to his crucifix and breviary. Once arrived at the second chief's home, Strobach's captors tore the breviary and the crucifix from his hands, intent on breaking the crucifix. Bouwens writes that they declared, 'this Christ was a *makahna*.' He explains, for his European audience that 'in Castellano [*makahna*] sounds the same

87 Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*; Geary, 'Sacred Commodities.'

88 'con dichas circunstancias y averiguadas hasta ag[sic]ora tan solamente por algunos Indios.' Bouwens, *De vita*, f. 337v.

89 Douglas, 'In the Event.'

as sorcerer' but that the Jesuits had banned *makahnas* from 'carry[ing] out their sacrilegious impiety in the name of the king.'⁹⁰

The allegedly indigenous account at times matches all too neatly European expectations for a martyr's life history, casting doubt on the verisimilitude of Bouwens's secondhand reporting. For example, by linking Strobach's murder to the denunciation of the crucified Christ by a blaspheming 'other,' the indigenous witnesses provided indispensable evidence that the Jesuit's demise was a death for the faith, not a political murder or suicide by proxy. Yet there are other threads in the narrative. Mere ornamental frills of the hagiographical plotline, they give the account a Chamorro texture. Indigenous political structures and insider knowledge resound through the passage that recounts Strobach's transfer between the houses of two island chiefs. The Jesuit's alleged sudden recognition that this was an uprising spanning the entire island chain suggests the indigenous witnesses may have sympathized with the rebellion. *Makahna*, which Bouwens only translated roughly and could never assimilate fully, pushes the account into an indigenous register. It is the only indigenous term in Bouwens's obituary. Its use belies the claim that the crown had put a stop to *makahna* practices in this part of the Spanish Empire. Clearly, the battles between *makahnas* and missionaries of Sanvitores's days still echoed, and the Jesuits were not as victorious as they claimed. The declaration that Jesus was a bad shaman is reminiscent of the charges of black magic that Choco and the *makahnas* leveled at the Jesuits in the days of Sanvitores during the first Great War. Given the continued loss of indigenous life to disease and forced baptisms, they could still ring true in the mid-1680s, when Strobach lost his life.⁹¹ Cultural change came slowly, haltingly, and painfully to the archipelago, pitting indigenous against intruders and their allies, old and new Christians against those who adhered to island spiritual traditions and practices. As much as the Jesuits imposed their own explanatory framework upon the islanders, the islanders also clung to their own worldview and inversely their concepts also infiltrated and shaped the life histories of Jesuits. De Boye's Latin *vita* of Strobach, printed at least twice in his native Bohemia, repeats Bouwens's story line and also includes the untranslatable indigenous charge and countersign '*makahna*.'⁹² Thus the indigenous shamans from a Pacific island on the other side of the world came to haunt a Bohemian Latin *vita*.

90 Bouwens, *De vita*, f. 337v.

91 See, for example, a Jesuit report about the conditions in Saipan in 1681 and 1682 discussed in Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 88.

92 De Boye, *Vita et obitus*, p. 156.

Strobach's material remains also suffered partial indigenization. In a final, postmortem enactment of a bodily practice associated with Francis Xavier, whose body was partitioned in Goa for partial shipment to Rome, Strobach's remains were divided between the Marianas and Europe.⁹³ His skull journeyed across oceans and continents to be laid to rest in Prague, going the opposite way of the myriad of relics flowing outward from Europe in the age of global evangelization.⁹⁴ Yet the arms and legs of the German Xavier stayed in the Marianas. There they became not objects of veneration but part of the Chamorro arsenal.⁹⁵ Both Strobach's greatest wish and his greatest fear came true in the end.

Marian Devotion in the Marianas and New Forms of Female Influence

What of the seeds of the faith Strobach had hoped to plant in life and death? One of the great long-term successes of the mission was a project dear to his heart, the Cult of the Virgin. The story of Marian devotion in the archipelago, however, both preceded his time there and extended long past it. It is a clear example of the indigenization of Catholicism for which no single Jesuit could take altogether too much credit. Marian devotion reportedly took hold in 1638, decades before the Jesuit mission, after the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* shipwrecked on approach to the islands. Several survivors safely made their way to the shores, aided by a chief named Taga. According to various sources, from Jesuit accounts to Chamorro oral legends, the Virgin Mary appeared to Chief Taga and he had himself baptized by a Spanish survivor. Comparable to the stories of the first sighting of the Virgin of Guadalupe in the Americas, the story of Taga's encounter with the Virgin served to mark the first local, auspicious appearance of the Virgin Mary in the crescent-shaped island chain that would later also bear her name.⁹⁶ It is a foundational narrative, allowing her Chamorro devotees to stake an independent indigenous claim to the Catholic Mother of God, and aligns well with a cosmological tradition that recognizes the feminine as a force in creation.

93 Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, chap. 1.

94 Harris, 'Gift, Sale, and Theft,' pp. 195-196, 218-226; Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, p. 74. Walsham, 'Introduction.' Joseph Bonani, who served on Rota later, reports that Strobach's remains were shipped back to Sevilla and from there to Prague in 1692. Joseph Bonani, November 26, 1720, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 218, p. 1.

95 Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, p. 602.

96 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 20.

Over time, devotion in the archipelago coalesced around a local variant of the Virgin, Santa Marian Kamalen, whose protective powers extend to the typical weather events of a tropical island, typhoons and earthquakes. It stands to reason that a matrilineal culture that valorized the power and leadership of mothers would more easily embrace the Mother of God than many other aspects of the Christian faith to develop it in the context of its own local beliefs and practices.⁹⁷ A statue dating back to the beginnings of the Jesuit mission became a focal point for the cult of this local virgin. A metal plate on the statue has led to speculation that it was once bolted to one of the galleons that sank off shore.⁹⁸ Written sources, including García's vita of Sanvitores, indicate that the mission founder may have brought the sacred object to the islands, and that it was first housed in the chapel the Jesuits built on Kepuha's land and named Dulce Nombre de Maria.⁹⁹ Oral traditions, on the other hand, tell different, Chamorro-inflected stories of the Santa Marian Kamalen's arrival. In these legends, the statue appears in the ocean to be retrieved by a Chamorro fisherman or, less often, a Spanish soldier because the Chamorro was supposedly indecently clothed.¹⁰⁰

An especially popular discovery legend that does not feature Spaniards as agents, has the statue delivered to the island shores by a crab on its back to be brought to the church in Agaña by said Chamorro fisherman.¹⁰¹ This miraculous tale presents an interesting parallel to the well-known story about Francis Xavier. During a particularly violent ocean storm, he tossed his cross into the waves to calm them only to have it returned to him on the shores later by a crab on its back. Although it is impossible to trace a direct line of connection between the Xaverian story and the legend associated with the Chamorro Virgin, there is no doubt that Xavier and stories about him were quite present in the Marianas mission. One of the islands was named after Xavier, as were sites (such as churches) and objects (such as a cannon in the fortress), linking the island topography with the saint.¹⁰² Add to this men like Sanvitores and Strobach who recited Xavier's words and understood themselves to be heir in the flesh to the saint, and it does

97 For a more recent example of women's appropriation of the Virgin in matrilineal Micronesia, see Flinn, *Mary, the Devil, and Taro*. Flinn describes how women of the Pollap Atoll have redefined the figure of Mary in terms of local understandings of motherhood.

98 Jorgensen, 'Guam's Patroness,' pp. 46-47.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

100 *Ibid.*, pp. 36-38.

101 *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36.

102 Island map in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. 1, part 1, inserted between p. 6 and p. 7. García, *Life and Martyrdom*, p. 238.

not seem inconceivable that the legend of Santa Marian Kamalen's delivery by a crab may have a narrative antecedent in the story of the crab that transported Xavier's cross across the sea.

Indigenous women, in particular, took to the Virgin Mary, whose cult meshed well with their matrilineal traditions. Father Johann Tilpe reported in 1709 that the Virgin of Guadalupe appeared to a sick Chamorro woman who had strayed from the faith and led her to repentance and true conversion.¹⁰³ A Jesuit census of 1728 from the village of Mongmong shows Maria to be the most common name for girls, and Francisco the most common for boys.¹⁰⁴ Although the Jesuit priests may have suggested names to parishioners upon their child's baptism, the adoption of particular names by individuals marked a moment of identification with specific Christian role models. That adult Chamorro women identified strongly with the Virgin is evident in the popular all-female Congregation of Our Lady of the Light in the islands, unifying women from all social backgrounds in their devotion to the Virgin. Under the religious sponsorship of the Jesuits, the congregation, which took its cue from already existing smaller groups across Guam and Rota, came into existence in the mid-eighteenth century because leading women of Guam lent it their legitimacy and indispensable financial support, including the governor's wife, Doña Ignacius Medrano y Avendaño, to offer 'a good example to the natives of this land.'¹⁰⁵ Doña Ignacius as the Elder and Father Franz Xavier Reitterberger as the Jesuit sponsor headed the group. Chamorro women helped the Jesuits elevate Mary to a reigning figure in the archipelago and in the process derived new power from their self-chosen status as Mary's devotees. The women engaged in a range of activities, some of which can be characterized as works of charity and social services, others as moral policing and the enforcement of religious orthodoxy in the islands. Their roles brought with them new powers over men, including their husbands. Many female congregants were married to men who served or had served the Spanish garrison as soldiers and sergeants.¹⁰⁶ From the earliest days of the mission, the Jesuits had considered the soldiers a troublesome group and sought to align their behavior with Catholic piety and morality. Under the umbrella of the congregation, Chamorro women were enlisted in the fight against gambling, prostitution, adultery, and bigamy among this

103 Tueller, 'Networks of Conversion,' p. 340.

104 Ibid., p. 348. At the same time, the 1728 and 1758 census for Rota and Guam still reflect matrilineal tendencies. See Atienza, 'CHamoru "Adaptive Resistance,"' p. 13.

105 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 311. Citation Tueller, 'Networks of Conversion,' p. 345.

106 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 311.

group by propping them up as moral authorities within Christian patriarchal marriages. A typical paradox of patriarchy, the rule of the Jesuit Fathers in the islands thus both supported and undercut the rule of fathers at home.¹⁰⁷

In a further sign that remnants of shamanic practice remained in the archipelago, Marian devotees also dedicated themselves to finding and rooting out *makahnas*. Thus Christian Chamorro women found themselves pitched against the male spiritual elite of precontact days, a dramatic shift of sacred power toward women under Jesuit sponsorship.¹⁰⁸ The women of the Marian congregation began to exercise protective spiritual powers that once belonged to the *makahnas*, performing supplicatory prayers and processions in the islands to avert natural disasters such as typhoons.¹⁰⁹ If the Jesuits had first wrested much of this power from their archrivals, though shamanic activity continued in hiding, Chamorro women were now able to claim a share in public within the framework of Marian devotion. Further still, in the end the women of the Congregation leveraged their newly found religio-moral authority against a Jesuit, Father Franz Xavier Reitterberger, the organization's cofounder, although not without suffering considerably at his hands first. Numerous female members reported abuses of Reitterberger's authority first to Augustinian fathers under the seal of the confessional, and later to the Inquisition as witnesses. Reitterberger made unwanted sexual advances and, under the guise of ritual, engaged in inappropriate practices such as washing the women's private parts or cutting their pubic hair. Reitterberger died in 1667 before inquisitorial justice could be meted out.¹¹⁰ To be sure, the women's charges, although they reflect their sense of spiritual empowerment, were buoyed in public by the wave of anti-Jesuitical sentiment that swept across the Spanish Empire and culminated in the expulsion and suppression of the order. The last three Jesuits were expelled from the Marianas in 1769. They left on board of the galleon named *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*.¹¹¹ While the vessel named after the Virgin they had brought to the islands carried the fathers away, her

107 This also held true for other Chamorro women converts who objected to the desires of their husbands on Christian grounds. Joseph Bonani, who was in charge of the Rota mission after Strobach and before Reitterberger, held up several women as exemplars because they refused the sexual advances of their 'horny husbands,' Joseph Bonani, November 24, 1720, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 185, p. 1.

108 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 322.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 306.

110 On the charges against Reitterberger's, see Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, pp. 314-322.

111 Tueller, 'Networks of Conversion,' p. 316.

cult in the Marianas was destined to stay. Amid the ebb and flow of outside intrusions and disruptions of life in the centuries to come, Chamorros – women, in particular – kept Marian devotion alive and helped it flourish. A powerful female figure, the Virgin came to mediate between the island past of matrilineal traditions and the colonial future ushered in by Jesuit patriarchal religiosity. In today's US-controlled Guam, one of the world's last remaining colonies, Chamorros still celebrate the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in honor of their indigenized virgin and the island's patron saint, Santa Marian Kamalen. It is the only place under US law where a religious holiday other than Christmas is a federally sanctioned legal holiday.¹¹²

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112 Jorgensen, 'Guam's Patroness,' p. xii.

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5 Writing Women's Lives and Mapping Indigenous Spaces

Conceptual Conquest, Missionary Manhood, and Colonial Fantasy between the Pacific and Europe

Abstract

This chapter centers on Jesuit knowledge production about the Pacific as an expression of missionary masculinity. It also explores the transformation of missionary encounters in media disseminating the Jesuit missions to readers, cognoscenti, and patrons of the Society of Jesus. The chapter discusses *Lives* (hagiographies) of indigenous women as exemplified by several vitae of Catarina de San Juan; cartography on the mission frontier as exemplified by Jesuit maps of (today's) Caroline Islands in Oceania; and serial publications of missionary letters targeting the broader European Republic of Letters as exemplified by the serial missionary publication *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. These media of knowledge productions served to stabilize and assert the masculine self of their Jesuit authors at the expense of the feminine and the indigenous as well as to feed colonial ambitions.

Keywords: Pacific, Catarina de San Juan, Jesuit cartography, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, Mariana Islands, German colonialism

The global travels of the Jesuits generated new knowledge. Wherever the mobile missionaries carried the spiritual conquest, they soon compiled copious information about the places and peoples they encountered and sought to evangelize. Knowledge was a product of travel, as well as an impetus for it. Jesuits produced works of natural history, linguistics, botany, and geography, as well as maps, catechetical and hagiographical writings, reports, and letters.¹ In-depth study of languages, cultures, and geographical

1 Harris, 'Jesuit Scientific Activity.'

environments was not only necessary for the continued expansion of the missionary enterprise. It was also an expression of Jesuit spirituality and devotional practices. Members of the order believed that God revealed himself in all aspects of the world. This physico-theological view of the cosmos implied that the study of salvation history and that of a natural environment or a specific people were of equal urgency.² Starting with the formative Spiritual Exercises, which required sustained visualization, systematic observation, and extensive note-taking, Jesuit devotional practices underpinned the development of a scientific and a religious gaze at God's creation. As part of their daily devotions the missionaries cultivated lifelong habits of detached observation, ordering information, and recording data about a wide range of subjects.³

This final chapter focuses on conceptual mastery of foreign lands and peoples. It was another masculine activity that ran parallel to and ushered in spiritual and political conquest. Jesuits acquired their scientific training in the homosocial all-male microcosm of their European colleges. The order both flourished within and fertilized a European clerical culture of learning that defined itself through the exclusion of women and laid the foundation for the masculine scientific culture in the modern West.⁴ On account of the order's transnational structure and linguistic skill set, Jesuits made a special contribution to the growing corpus of reporting by early modern European men about the larger world in the age of European expansion and colonization. Explorers, settlers, conquistadors, travelers, and missionaries all compiled materials about faraway peoples and places and molded European images of 'new worlds.' It is a consequential yet often forgotten fact that these men inevitably measured their discoveries against male life experiences and expectations. Masculinity shaped what they noticed in new environments and considered relevant for recording, and also how they reported about various subjects.⁵ The missionaries resembled other European men in this respect, even as their Jesuit training sharpened their powers of observation in specific ways and guided their intellectual interests toward particular subjects.

2 Ditchfield, 'What did Natural History Have to do with Salvation?'

3 Nelles, 'Seeing and Writing.'

4 On premodern Christian clerical culture and the evolution of universities and scientific institutions in the allegedly secular West, see Noble, *World without Women*.

5 This analytical point is driven home with wit and force in Wiesner-Hanks, 'Voyages of Christine Columbus.' On the emergence of 'masculine science' in the overseas see Harris, 'Jesuit Scientific Activity', p. 77.

This chapter considers as examples a series of special products of Jesuit knowledge production: biographies of holy women and indigenous female converts; maps and cartographic depictions of indigenous space; and publications of missionary reports aimed at a larger audience of educated European readers. These media disseminated the Jesuit mission in the Pacific to European brethren, as well as readers, cognoscenti, and patrons of the Society. They generated information about faraway lands and people at the same time as they served to stabilize and assert the masculine self of their Jesuit authors, offering consolation when a missionary's emotional equilibrium was threatened by unsettling encounters with unfamiliar peoples and practices, or his desires for a particular mission and his longing for martyrdom were thwarted. These media of knowledge production further helped maintain and strengthen the at times strained homosocial ties among missionary men, who hailed from different countries and were scattered around the world. A central subject matter of missionary knowledge production was the indigenous in general and women in particular; both often also served to bolster a missionary's standing among men.

Writing, Circulating, Printing the Life History of a Global Holy Woman: Spanish and German Jesuits on the Trail of an Asian-born Mystic in Colonial Mexico

Jesuits were the most active producers of the popular genre of *Lives* (hagiographies) of women. They wrote numerous accounts of the lives of holy women from the traditional centers of Christianity in Europe to the most contested colonial frontiers in the Americas. Far more engaging than doctrinal treatises, these captivating biographies, as Jodi Bilinkoff has argued persuasively, contributed to the emergence of a transatlantic early modern Catholic culture. *Lives* offered audiences separated by vast geographical cultural differences a sense of shared Christian values and models to follow. This sense of shared values fueled the twin enterprises of overseas conversion and colonization.⁶ Bilinkoff rightly asserts that these texts have much to reveal not only about religious women but also about the religious men who wrote their stories.

As an example of this genre, this chapter analyzes life histories of Catarina de San Juan, an Asian-born mystic from colonial Mexico and the subject of a number of hagiographies written, printed, and circulated by Jesuits, at

6 Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*.

considerable expense of time and resources. Jesuits from Spain and Germany used the holy woman's experience and legacies for their own consolation and interest and produced narratives that shed light on their own masculine struggles. An analysis of the different renditions of Catarina's life therefore can illuminate the different male life histories behind them and the way in which national origin inflected missionary masculinity. It brings into view the far reaches of the transatlantic community of Catholics beyond its conventionally assumed boundaries, showing how it extended into Pacific worlds on one end of the earth and into the Ottoman borderlands of the Habsburg Empire at the other. This section compares several *vitas* of Catarina to trace the progressive appropriation of the indigenous woman's experiences.

There was nothing ordinary about Catarina de San Juan's life. Born in India in 1608, she was captured by half-caste Portuguese pirates, sold as a slave in Manila, and sent to New Spain on the Manila Galleon. She arrived in Puebla de los Ángeles in 1624 as a slave. Following her master's death, she was freed; she found work as a servant for a priest who arranged for her marriage to his slave, a man named Diego who was also from Asia. Catarina agreed to this marriage, which took place in 1626, on the condition that she remain a virgin; as a nonwhite woman, she was unable to enter a nunnery. In the struggle to maintain her vow of chastity within the vows of marriage, Catarina began to perform miracles to keep her husband out of her bedroom. This brought her to the attention of local priests, who determined that she was a holy woman.⁷ When Catarina died at the age of 79, crowds of people paid tribute to the beloved holy woman. Her reputation of holiness rivaled that of her white and wealthy counterparts behind convent walls.⁸

This complex life lent itself to different appropriations by Jesuit priests from distinct cultural backgrounds and times. The Spaniard Alonso Ramos and the German Jesuit Adam Kaller wrote two of the first biographies.⁹ Ramos had been Catarina's confessor and spiritual director since 1673. His narrative reflects a strong creole identification with Puebla de los Ángeles

7 For accounts that discuss Catarina de San Juan's life history, see Morgan, 'Saints, Biographers'; Myers, 'Testimony'; De la Maza, *Catarina de San Juan*; Graxeda, *Compendio de la vida*. Catarina's life history is situated in the broader context of *chino* enslavement, migration, and liberation in Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, esp. pp. 8-27.

8 Myers notes Catarina's exceptional status, remarking that 'the eight celebrated mystics in colonial Puebla were almost entirely of the elite classes. Seven had taken vows for convent dowry.' Myers, 'Testimony,' p. 266.

9 See the excellent recent edition by Robin Ann Rice of Ramos, *Los prodigios*. The first part of Ramos's biography of Catarina also contains a Spanish translation of Adam Kaller's Latin letter. Kaller's original Latin letter is included in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' pp. 282-287. Kaller is sometimes also referred to as Kall.

as his home, and he was clearly attuned to his local readership. For example, he anticipated their questions about Catarina's ethno-social status. He even waxed lyrically about Catarina's ability to prepare excellent chocolate mole sauce, a detail that would not have meant anything to audiences outside of New Spain.¹⁰ The three published volumes of his projected four-volume hagiography are distinctive both because they represented the most voluminous life story of a religious woman ever to be published in the Americas, and because they were the only published life story of a holy person to be suppressed during the colonial period.¹¹ In between the publication of the second and third volumes, the Spanish Inquisition banned the work; four years later the Mexican Holy Office followed suit, stipulating that no one should own or read it. The Inquisition judged Catarina's visions and revelations as depicted by Ramos unorthodox and offensive, faulting Ramos for a failure of consistency and sound rational judgment in writing his magnum opus.¹²

Kaller's handwritten life history of Catarina fared better in the long run. Kaller, a Jesuit missionary bound for the Marianas, committed Catarina's story to memory during a transitional moment, when he first entered the alien world of the Spanish overseas empire but had not yet arrived in his final destination. His investment in her story seems rooted in this positionality, as his narrative reflects an integration of the familiar and the unfamiliar. Her story normalized places unfamiliar to him, and offered much-needed consolation as he went to risk his life for his mission. Exotic-slave-cum-comforting-Christian, she was as much a part of the 'marvels' of the New World as she was a part of the miracles of God that made the evangelization of unknown worlds a cognitive and psychological possibility in the first place. Telling the indigenous woman's story helped stabilize the mobile missionary self while also connecting Kaller to other Jesuits at home and abroad.

Kaller's account was far briefer than Ramos's, appearing as part of a Latin letter in March 1688, two months after her death. In addition to Catarina's life it described her visions and various miraculous occurrences associated with her. Kaller instructed his addressee, a Jesuit priest in Prague, to share the edifying tale among the Jesuits. Either a draft of Ramos's biography,

10 For a more detailed comparison of Ramos's account with Kaller's, see Molina and Strasser, 'Missionary Men.'

11 Myers, 'Testimony.'

12 Molina and Strasser, 'Missionary Men.' Seijas speculates that the Inquisition may also have objected to Ramos's apologetic stance regarding Catarina's enslavement, namely that it enabled her baptism and salvation, and the implied and embarrassing defense of *chino* slavery long after it had been outlawed in New Spain in 1672. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, pp. 22-23.

which would not begin to appear in print until the next year, or Ramos's oral description of her life seems to have been Kaller's main source.¹³ His account would bring knowledge of the woman from India who became known as a mystic in colonial Mexico to Central Europe.

The two men's divergent life histories clearly influenced their accounts. Kaller wrote as a member of a rising tide of German Jesuits who would become overseas missionaries in New Spain. Religious conflicts and confessional divisions following the Reformation had tamped down German Jesuit interest in leaving Germany until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, as the leadership felt that missionaries were most needed in Germany,¹⁴ and the Spanish and Portuguese crowns barred the admission of foreign missionaries in the territories over which they claimed political control. He had spent the first 30 years of his life in the lands of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy, and thus was doubly unfamiliar with the Americas and the Spanish Empire. When he committed Catarina's story to paper, Kaller was on his way to the Marianas where fellow Bohemian Augustinus Strobach had lost his life only a few years earlier; Strobach's was an inspiring yet daunting fate for many men from his home province.¹⁵ Kaller, in narrating the story of Catarina de San Juan, the pagan-turned-holy-woman, was also thematizing his own destiny in eastern lands. Ramos, by contrast, had arrived in New Spain 1658 and taught at the Jesuit college in Guatemala before being assigned to teach at the college in Puebla.¹⁶ By the time Kaller came to Puebla and learned about Catarina, Ramos had been in the Spanish Americas for close to three decades. He had grown intimately familiar with the complex politics and ethno-social hierarchies of colonial society. He demonstrated this familiarity in his biography of Catarina de San Juan.

Alonso Ramos was well aware that promoting a slave and *casta* servant from Asia as a saint in a society obsessed with ethno-social status was a tall

13 Kaller's account makes no mention of a personal encounter with the holy woman, who clearly impressed him deeply, but he writes that his life history of Catarina is based on the narration of 'the father of the college, or by other reliable fathers from the Province.' He also references a biography about to be printed, which would have been Ramos's. Kaller, March 8, 1688, *Bohemia Jesuitica*, p. 286. Perhaps Kaller was also in attendance during Catarina's funeral in January of 1688 and heard the sermon that the Jesuit Francisco de Aguliera delivered, which in turn served as an important source for Ramos. On the funerary sermon as source for Ramos, see Myers, 'Testimony,' p. 276.

14 When the first four Germans departed for 'the Indies' from Ingolstadt in 1616, their rector, Jakob Rem, objected: 'Why do they to go to faraway lands? The time is nearing when we in Germany will have our own India for which the number of workers that are now in our province will not suffice.' Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, p. 14.

15 De Boye, *Vita et obitus*, p. 38, p. 159.

16 Molina and Strasser, 'Missionary Men,' pp. 159-160.

order for any biographer. He contended with the issue directly in a letter addressed to the Pueblan bishop seeking approval for the vita. It stressed Catarina's ties to all ranks of Pueblan society and her transformation from a lowly slave who came from the East to a saintly figure in Puebla, where she was by then entombed in the Jesuit church. Ramos argued that his vita of Catarina would put Puebla on the map.¹⁷

Creole identity formation in New Spain informed not only Ramos's pitch but also his telling of the story in the vita itself. To compensate for her low status, Ramos bestowed noble lineage upon Catarina: a mother descending from Arab emperors and a father associated with the Mughal kingdom, indeed a close relative of the illustrious Akbar himself. The Jesuits had enjoyed a special relationship with Akbar, and Ramos used that to locate the Society of Jesus as the vanguard of the drive for a universal Christian empire in his discussion of Catarina's early life in the East. Likewise he spotlighted the Jesuits' role in Catarina's baptism in the Philippines.¹⁸

As well as putting Puebla on the map, Ramos hoped that his vita would provide him recognition among scholars and natural philosophers. The exploration of Catarina's Asian roots became an occasion to discuss the most-cutting edge geographical information coming from the Jesuits missionaries in Asia. To bolster his authority on this subject, Ramos quoted especially extensively, and at times gratuitously, from the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher's *China illustrata* (1667). Thus, Ramos referred readers to Kircher's work for details about Catarina's father's famous relative Akbar and Akbar's empire, although in reality it says little about India. Tracking details of 'Catarina's life' or discussing its broader historical context was a convenient pretext for the pursuit of Ramos's scholarly ambitions.¹⁹

Kaller's vita of Catarina shared with Ramos's an interest in Catarina's early life in the East and the related question of her social background in a status-conscious society. He wrote it in 1688, having boarded a ship in Cadiz in June 1687 as one of 40 Jesuit missionaries, and arrived in Vera Cruz in September 1687.²⁰ The journey was one Kaller had been dreaming of for at least three years. A Jesuit from the age of seventeen, he was born in Eger, trained as a novice in Brünn, studied and then taught philosophy in Olmütz, then studied theology in Prague. Several letters preserved in the Society's

17 Ibid., 161.

18 Ibid., esp. pp. 160-162.

19 Molina, 'True Lies.' Also Molina and Strasser, 'Missionary Men.'

20 Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, pp. 192-193.

Roman archives that he penned during his three years in Prague describe a determination to work as an overseas missionary.²¹

Between the landing in Cadiz on 15 September and 5 October when his group arrived in Mexico City, they journeyed on the back of mules through the Mexican highlands, and there seems to have been a stop in Puebla, where the by-then-famous septuagenarian Catarina de San Juan was living.²² Kaller's narrative of her life was part of a missive he sent home to inspire other Germans and draw them toward overseas evangelization, and thus it had a very distinct aim from Ramos's magnum opus. He wrote it in Latin, the language most favored in missionary writings by German Jesuits,²³ sending it first to his provincial, Emmanuel de Boye, the future biographer of Marianas missionary-cum-martyr Augustinus Strobach, perhaps hoping that he would find it an inspiring story. He certainly reposted the missive to another Jesuit in Prague, the priest Johannes Ulke, proposing to share it among the Jesuits 'for consolation and to make them come [to the "Indies"]'.²⁴ Catarina's story was part and parcel of Kaller's message of edification and exhortation to take up the missionary mantle. He introduces Catarina's vita as 'the most worthy thing to be known.'²⁵

In the same letter Kaller acknowledged the fact that many German dispatches from the Spanish Indies depicted bad treatment of Germans and that he and his group of German-speaking missionaries had 'suffered many things during a short time.' Yet 'now we suffer little and virtually nothing.' He chalked up this suffering to lack of fluency in Spanish, but said that once they learned Spanish the Spaniards recognized the Germans' 'ability in all things' and treated them with affection. 'As before we were despised,' Kaller concluded, 'so now they esteem and love us.'²⁶

The vita itself shows its author struggling with categories of cultural classification. He uses the recurring theme of appearance and recognition to map his struggles with perceiving and classifying an unknown world onto her and her story. The account is sprinkled with the vocabulary of seeing and perceiving. The act of seeing occurs in dreams, apparitions, and visions. It happens on the level of human interaction where Catarina's sanctity at times remains

21 Kaller's letters of application: Adam Kall(er), February 9, 1686; November 2, 1686; Adam Kall(er), February 6, 1687; Adam Kall(er), March 8, 1687. All can be found in Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (ARSI), F.G., 756, Bohemia.

22 Odložilík, 'Czech Missionaries,' p. 273.

23 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, p. 35.

24 Kaller, March 8, 1688, in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' p. 282.

25 Ibid., p. 285.

26 Ibid., p. 284. Other examples in Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, pp. 87-92.

hidden and indivisible, at others becomes revealed and obvious. More crucially still, what had Kaller's mind turning was the question of Catarina's descent, skin color, and place in the colonial empire he had just entered. This stands in sharp contrast to Ramos, who was very attuned to colonial hierarchies and therefore anticipated and tried to fend off any questions that his readership might have had about Catarina's ethno-social status in his writing of her story.²⁷ Kaller wrote to understand himself and then offer explanations to an audience altogether unfamiliar with New Spain's ethno-social gradations.

How does an enslaved woman from pagan Asia become a Christian saint? To answer this (implicit) question satisfactorily, Kaller's account of Catarina's early life in the East and her travels to New Spain depicts several sets of quasi-parental figures who moved her further and further into the orbit of the European Christianity he knew: first, noble-yet-impoorished birth parents in Cochinchina (in contrast to Ramos he makes no mention of Arabia or Akbar); second, pirates who kidnap her and bring her to the Philippines because of her noble appearance; third, Jesuit fathers who baptize her in the Philippines; and finally, a Portuguese man who purchases her at the local slave market to take her to New Spain 'so that she be raised there not as a slave but like a daughter of his own flesh.'²⁸ The fictional rebirthing thus culminates in an acquisition of European descent as Kaller reinterprets her enslavement by a European into racial and social upward mobility. Yet he calls the slaveholder he had described as an adoptive father 'master' in relaying his death, and describes Catarina's next situation as that of 'being treated like a slave' in the service of a local woman.²⁹

Catarina's dark appearance presented another puzzle for Kaller. It marked her as a person of low status and object of colonial domination in New Spain, but as a Central European with little knowledge of racialized colonial hierarchies, Kaller did not know how to read it. He writes, therefore, that the holy woman had 'noticed in her youth that her beautiful appearance endangered her chastity,' and that hence she 'received through prayers a wrinkled and brown visage from God.'³⁰ Thus Catarina's dark appearance functions, in Kaller's telling, as a second hymen that sealed her body from the desires of others. While, of course, women of color as slaves and servants were extremely vulnerable to sexual assault and exploitation, Kaller's

27 Molina and Strasser, 'Missionary Men.' Ramos was also well aware of the realities of *chino* enslavement, having discussed it extensively with Catarina. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, p. 10ff.

28 Kaller, March 8, 1688, in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' p. 286.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

description of a 'browning' miracle upended the myth of sexual eagerness and depravity that legitimated such abuse. Perhaps Kaller drew on the story of the holy woman Catherine of Siena, whose pockmarked face allegedly spared her from unwanted courtship. Thus, he seems to have translated what was culturally opaque to him into familiar categories of recognition.³¹

A similar epistemological transposition into a Central European register occurred with respect to Catarina's racial classification in New Spain. Kaller writes that because of her salutary uglifying Catarina 'was thereafter known as *mulata* (for they call those people of brown color, like the gypsies, *mulatos* and *mulatas*, because they are born of a white and a black).³² Ramos never referred to Catarina as *mulata* (man or woman of presumably African and Spanish descent), likely because he recognized that in colonial logics any African ancestry precluded recognition of noble ancestry. His many decades in New Spain, and in Puebla, in particular, meant that he was well familiar with *chinos* (literally Chinese, but a term that referred to a wide range of peoples³³) like Catarina de San Juan.

Immigrants from Asia came to New Spain in the tens of thousands during the two and a half centuries of the Manila Galleon trade.³⁴ They came as mariners, slaves, indentured laborers, servants, soldiers, and also as free people of varying professions and trades. The Jesuits, along with other Catholic religious orders, had a hand in the trans-Pacific slave trade and their institutions facilitated the integration of *chinos* in New Spain.³⁵ Puebla and Mexico City, at the crossroads between Acapulco and Vera Cruz, formed a center of concentration for many Asian immigrants. Like Catarina, many of these residents acquired 'de San Juan' after their name based on Mexico City's *chino* barrio San Juan, the seventeenth-century version of a Chinatown.³⁶

31 On the issue of cultural opaqueness and the inevitability of mistranslating into the familiar, see Pagden, *European Encounters*.

32 Kaller, March 8, 1688, in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' p. 286. Historians of colonial America have shown that the various categorizations that made up the hierarchical system of socio-ethnic classification of *castas* (lit. lineages) carried multidimensional meanings and connotations beyond their legal definitions as the legal *casta* categories entered the lexicon of everyday interpretations and negotiations around status and identity in colonial societies. See, for example, the sharp analysis in Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, and O'Toole, *Bound Lives*. Some my translations are derived from O'Toole's glossary, p. 225.

33 The works by Slack and Seijas make this plain.

34 Slack estimates some 40,000 to 60,000, possibly up to 100,000 Asians. Slack, 'The *Chinos* in New Spain,' p. 37. On the linguistically and culturally diverse group lumped together as '*chinos*,' see Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*.

35 Slack, 'The *Chinos* in New Spain,' p. 54. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, pp. 175-211.

36 Slack calls it the "Chinese" ghetto of Mexico City.' Slack, 'The *Chinos* in New Spain,' p. 43.

The legal status and ethno-social status of this large population of *chinos* in New Spain was murky and in flux. During Catarina's lifetime, individual enslaved and free *chinos* successfully fought to be treated as vassals of the Spanish crown or *indios*. A law of 1672 accorded this protected legal status to all *chinos*.³⁷ But the legally secured *indio* identity for *chinos* ran up against cultural perceptions linking *chinos* to African chattel slavery and low ethno-social status that negatively affected the position of the *chinos*. Over time, the Asian origins of many residents of New Spain fell into oblivion, and the category '*chino*' came to be understood as a type of mixture of African and indigenous, or another mixture tainted by African blood. This 'Africanization of *chinos*' occurred after Kaller's time in Puebla, and was related to a decline in Asian immigrants and a corresponding increase in intimate relations with other ethnic groups in New Spain.³⁸

Closer to Kaller's stay in Puebla, a 1676 petition to the municipal council by Spanish officers and overseers of the local textile guilds identified three distinct *castas* (lit. lineages, but carrying multiple meanings) for exclusion from certain guild offices: *negroes* (black man or woman), *mulatos*, and *chinos*, enslaved and free.³⁹ While we do not know what the street view of Catarina in Puebla was, if there was an agreed upon one, its governing elite did draw a quite clear distinction between *mulatos* and *chinos* like Catarina. The Central European Jesuit did not. Kaller, in identifying Catarina as a *mulata*, did not so much taint her as African, though, but seemed to suggest that Catarina had some European ancestry. The kernel of whiteness she carried came to fruition at the time of her death. Rather than the typical saintly odor, Kaller claimed, Catarina's dead body emitted a luminous whiteness: 'the brown color of her entire body turned to white while simultaneously her beautiful appearance was restored.'⁴⁰ Arguably this statement reflects a fantasy of the 'whitening' powers of Jesuit missionary work that can turn any savage, even the most disfigured and dark skinned, into a European-like Christian.⁴¹

A second leitmotif distinguishes Kaller's narrative from Ramos's. Whereas Ramos hoped to spread the fame of Puebla, which he claimed as his home, Kaller saw the Spanish Americas as a springboard to the East. The Marianas,

37 This transformation is traced in Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, esp. pp. 212-246.

38 Slack, 'The *Chinos* in New Spain,' esp. pp. 57-67, quote p. 64.

39 Slack reports this attempt to introduce new regulations and also that the *cabildo* (municipal council) rejected the exclusionary clause. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

40 Kaller, March 8, 1688, in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' p. 286.

41 For a detailed account of Catherine Tekakwitha and her Jesuit biographers, see Greer, *Mohawk Saint*.

by then known as a most perilous site of Jesuit missionary work, exerted a powerful pull on Kaller's imagination. The letter that includes Catarina's vita repeatedly alludes to the brutal murders of Augustinus Strobach and his Jesuit companions on the islands earlier. Strobach was eight years older than Kaller, but he came from the same Jesuit province of Bohemia and both had had been students in Olmütz. In 1682 Strobach traveled to the Philippines and the Marianas on essentially the same route that Kaller would take – via New Spain to Manila.⁴²

To be sure, the prospect of martyrdom drew men like Strobach and Kaller into the overseas missions in the first place, and the Society of Jesus, more than other religious orders, commemorated and celebrated its martyrs.⁴³ Facing the reality of martyrdom was a different matter, though. Even accounts of the most devout Jesuits acknowledged fear of death and prolonged suffering.⁴⁴ Kaller's stay in New Spain marked a liminal time in his life when conflicting feelings could easily arise. He had survived the first half of his dangerous journey, the transatlantic passage. He wrote down Catarina's story while waiting for a ship to deliver him to the place where he most wanted to be but where his faith would also be most challenged. 'The closer I get to the Mariana Islands,' Kaller wrote in his letter, 'I am filled with an ever-greater solace.' Yet he acknowledged that the Marianas had only five Jesuit missions, in contrast to the many in the Americas, which was an implicit acknowledgement of the murders on the Marianas.⁴⁵

Kaller casts Catarina as a protective patroness of traveling missionaries and a visionary witness to acts of redemption. Tellingly, he connects her missions to places he had been or was about to travel to. Since he was on his way from New Spain to the Mariana Islands via the Philippines, Kaller was actually retracing a good part of Catarina's journey in reverse. But in Kaller's version, unlike Ramos's, Catarina reaches Central European regions through visions. Kaller reports that Catarina 'announced and described in all its circumstances the battle at St. Gotthard during which the Turks were defeated by the [Austrian] Imperial [forces]' in 1664, before the news could reach Puebla. The idea that Catarina, an infidel-turned-convert, watched a major Christian victory of Kaller's country's imperial overlords in the heart

42 Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, pp. 33-41.

43 Burschel, *Sterben und Unsterblichkeit*, esp. pp. 229-245, pp. 263-288.

44 For example, Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's famous account of the early history of the Paraguay missions relates how Father Cristóbal de Mendoza, whom he calls a 'dauntless martyr,' expressed his desire 'for a short, quick martyrdom so that he would not have to stare death in the face for long.' De Montoya, *The Spiritual Conquest*, p. 173.

45 Kaller, March 8, 1688, in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' p. 284.

of Europe reflects a certain reversal of Kaller's fears of dying at the hands of infidels in the pagan Indies.⁴⁶ Kaller's fascination with Catarina seems to owe much to such reversals; she had traced Kaller's future footsteps from the Occident to the Orient in reverse, and her saintly life proved that the Orient was a home to Christians and Christians-in-the-making. Kaller's Catarina also thwarted a demonic attack on the fleet in which he had journeyed to Vera Cruz, in the company of Saints Ignatius and Xavier.⁴⁷ This unusual troika of European male saints and a nonwhite holy laywoman powerfully symbolized the kind of universal patchwork family that Jesuits strove to establish through their global missionary work. On this imaginary level, the congenial collaboration to save Kaller's fleet and secure the generational continuity of this global Christian family resolves differences of race, class, and gender.

Not surprisingly, Catarina's visionary powers extend to the Mariana Islands as well. Once she reportedly saw the Virgin of Guadalupe, herself a powerful female symbol of the sanctity of the Americas, 'fly across [the islands] and shield [them] against imminent demise.'⁴⁸ More poignantly still, Kaller's Catarina has an encounter with the Marianas martyrs when they pass through Puebla, following the route Kaller himself would take. In his narration, Catarina, virtually blind in old age, discovers Augustinus Strobach and his companions during a celebration of the Eucharist in the local cathedral. Strobach alone is identified by name and as 'one of our own' in Kaller's retelling. The men approach the altar with stars hovering above them, an allusion to their future martyrdom. Catarina 'saw nothing else except Christ present in the holy sacrament among various groups of people but nonetheless she recognized the face of each one of our missionaries and described them.'⁴⁹ The vision thus blends the successful Christianization of the foreign woman who is completely focused on Christ – blind to everything else – with her appreciative recognition of the European men who sacrificed their lives to bring people like her to Christ. Martyrdom in the Marianas, the vision validated for his readers as much as for Kaller himself, was generative of new Christians and redemptive for missionaries. Kaller's own missionary career ended differently, though, then he had envisioned with Strobach as his proxy: Kaller ended up in the Philippines, dying peacefully in 1702.⁵⁰

46 Ibid., p. 286.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, p. 192.

Alonso Ramos and Adam Kaller were members of the same global organization and they each participated in the shaping of transatlantic Catholicism at the same historical moment. Their lives intersected in Puebla and in their shared passion for telling Catarina de San Juan's story, yet the stories of the two men who were at once same (Jesuit) and different (Spaniard and German) have not been told together. Subjects from German-speaking lands like Kaller do not commonly feature in discussions of transatlantic culture or colonial expansion, since the Holy Roman Empire had no overseas colonies. Conversely, when historians of 'colonial' Latin America tell a transregional version of its history, they often look first to Spain, but less often to Asia, and even less to the German states. Bringing Ramos and Kaller within one analytical field, one discovers 'the transatlantic' and 'the colonial' in early modern German history, and the 'early modern' and 'Pacific' in Latin American history. Information and people also traveled *from* the Pacific, through the New World, and finally, back across the Atlantic. Catarina, the Asian slave-turned-Christian in colonial Mexico, was very much the product of the history of human commerce we often associate only with the Atlantic world. Yet her life story extends to places that do not border on the Atlantic or belong to a different ocean-world altogether. It became a rallying point for men from different parts of Europe who did not simply give her a voice but manipulated that voice to tell their own versions of the story for their own reasons. In the dense thicket of narratives, Catarina as a living woman is lost to us. She may have kept men out of her bedroom and from usurping her body, but she could not keep men from usurping her story and legacy. Still, the fact that her life story traveled in Kaller's missive of 1688 all the way from the Pacific to the Atlantic world and to Bohemia is no small accomplishment.

On the Frontier of Salvation: A German and a Spanish Jesuit in Pursuit of the Palaos Islands

Maps, like biographies of holy women, represent a highly valued Jesuit commodity in the early modern knowledge economy.⁵¹ The order's global sense of missions and the exceptional educational possibilities of the Society meant that Jesuits achieved the status of star cartographers among Europe's learned. The missionaries accomplished Europe's cartographic conquest

51 See Batchelor, 'Jesuit Cartography.' For a richly detailed and innovative account of Jesuit cartography of the Amazon, see Saladin, *Karten und Mission*.

of vast areas of the 'New World.' In Spanish America, Jesuits who ventured beyond the fortified colonial towns to carry the gospel into the countryside also carried out the most extensive mapping of these remote areas; their labor was not surpassed until the large-scale national mapping projects at the turn of the twentieth century.⁵² Yet, there as everywhere, Jesuit cartographic labor took place in collaboration with and depended heavily upon knowledgeable indigenous actors who provided transport, guidance, and support to the missionaries. These indigenous contributions were not always recorded and often erased from the European record, especially as cartographic knowledge gathered on the colonial periphery traveled to Europe and became incorporated into newly systematized bodies of knowledge or harnessed to the political imperatives of colonial expansion.

The fluctuating fortunes of the first European map of the Caroline Islands of Oceania that this section will discuss provide a case in point for this process of domesticating and appropriating indigenous knowledge.⁵³ Produced in the Pacific by Jesuits in collaboration with male and female islanders, the map was subsequently shipped to Europe, where it fueled desires to take possession of the distant archipelago. While the version produced in the Pacific still contained traces of indigenous spatial perspectives, redacted versions of the map appeared in Europe that stripped the cartographic product of indigenous elements. Here, too, Spanish and German Jesuits played different parts in the making and dissemination of knowledge that can be linked to their national origins.

Both groups saw maps as a way to bring ever more pagan souls like Catarina into Christian salvation through expansion of the missionary frontier. Since the fifteenth century and, in particular, since the appearance of Ptolemy's *Geographica* in Western Europe, a new notion of the earth as a sphere wrapped in a web of latitudinal and longitudinal lines had begun to upend Jerusalem's former pride of place as the geometrical center. A view of the world as a unified space began to take hold instead. The European voyages of discovery and exploration served to fill in the precise contours of this newly imaged world, filling in blank spaces with precise detail.⁵⁴ Although Jesuit missionaries shared these scientific interests and participated in the mapping of the earth, their ultimate motivation differed from the explorers' as the missionaries sought to coshape the course of salvation history

52 Buisseret 'Spanish Colonial Cartography,' p. 1148. Saladin, *Karten und Mission*.

53 For an earlier exploration of this map, see Strasser, 'Kartierung der Palaosinseln.'

54 Thrower, *Maps & Civilization*, pp. 39-90; Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*. Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, pp. 69-72.

by helping expand Christianity around the globe Luke Clossey has aptly termed the Jesuits' set of deeply held beliefs about truth, time, and space their "cosmovision".⁵⁵ Already the medieval Church understood itself as universal, yet its universalism lacked the geographic specificity that came to characterize the Jesuits' sense of being called to global evangelization.⁵⁶ Apocalyptic readings of time infused this new globalism. The accelerated speed of discoveries supposedly signaled the imminent end of time. Once Christianity came to envelop the entire world, the eschatological clock would grind to a halt. Jesuits thus busily named, mapped, and classified the lands they encountered, reading each geographical environment for signs that pointed to its place in salvation history and marked the progress of that history.⁵⁷

In the Pacific, a new island frontier appeared on the Jesuits' horizon in the late seventeenth century. For several decades, as we saw, the Marianas had called to Jesuits from different parts of Europe, who flocked to their shores in search of new souls and possible martyrdom. Toward the close of the century, however, the Marianas lost their status as one of the most exciting missionary frontiers. The military and spiritual conquest of the archipelago had been accomplished at great human and financial cost. Quotidian pastoral work amid a rapidly shrinking Chamorro population had replaced the spiritual promise of the mission's earlier days and high drama of potential martyrdom. Although the Jesuits, insisting on their responsibility to the new Christians, successfully fought a push by colonial authorities to abandon the island enterprise altogether, some also set their sight on a new archipelago: what they called the Palaos Islands, part of today's Caroline Islands, in the Western Pacific.⁵⁸

The German Jesuit Paul Klein and the Spanish Jesuit Andrés Serrano became involved in the attempt to appropriate the new space. Both were stationed in Manila. Paul Klein wrote a report on June 10, 1697, to the order's general in Rome calling for the expansion. He is credited with being the creator of the first European map of the Palaos Islands. Andrés Serrano traveled to Europe in 1705 to disseminate Klein's materials at Europe's courts and in print and garner financial and logistical support for the new island mission, which he would eventually join. The different forms of involvement of these two men highlight how differences in origin, German versus

55 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, p. 8.

56 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, 99.

57 *Ibid.*, pp. 91-102. On the spiritual underpinning of Jesuit cartography, see also Saladin, *Karten und Mission*.

58 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 178.

Spanish, left their mark on the life trajectories of the Society's individual member and their relationship to indigenous cultures. Yet both men also shared a commitment to masculine spiritual conquest for which Klein laid the imaginary groundwork with his report and map, and Serrano the political groundwork with his lobbying efforts and daring expeditions across stormy seas. They each sought to insert an indigenous space and people into European epistemic and institutional structures or European systems of meaning and domination.

It makes sense that a Jesuit from Bohemia became associated with creating the first European map of the Palaos Islands around 1700. Prior to the establishment of state-run academies in Europe in the eighteenth century, Jesuit colleges were key training centers for cartography. Jesuits from Central Europe were often chosen for the overseas mission because their home colleges taught superb mathematical and geographical skills.⁵⁹ The Jesuit curriculum *ratio studiorum* entailed instruction in surveying techniques and mapmaking together with teaching geography.⁶⁰ Geography dealt with places and peoples, fusing modes of inquiry and knowledge classification that evolved into the separate disciplines of cartography and ethnography in modern times.⁶¹ It was a science taught in a homosocial world in which all-male practitioners stood in an imaginary time line extending back to ancient giants like Ptolemy. They inevitably viewed the world at least to some extent through the lens of their gender.⁶²

Paul Klein's travels to the Pacific, like Adam Kaller's, coincided with the greater influx of Germans into the Spanish Empire. Klein was born in Eger in Bohemia in 1652,⁶³ only two years before the Spanish crown apportioned one-fourth of available missionary appointments to non-Spaniards as a way of redressing the chronic shortage of missionaries in its colonial territories. In 1667, Klein began his novitiate at the age of seventeen in Brno and began petitioning Rome to be sent to the Indies in 1675.⁶⁴ The same year brought

59 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, esp. pp. 142, 153, 138, 208-209.

60 Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography*, pp. 26-29; Cormack, 'Maps as Educational Tools,' p. 630.

61 Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, p. 23. On the development of the science of geography in a modern geopolitical context, see Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, pp. 131-143.

62 Some European women were involved in the production, coloring, illustrations, and sale of maps. Examples from medieval convents and early modern households of mapmakers and cartographers, including Ortelius and Hondius, are discussed in Van den Hoonaard, *Map Worlds*, esp. chap. 3. For reflections on the gendering of science within the Society, see Harris, 'Jesuit Scientific Activity,' pp. 77-79.

63 For a short biography, see Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, pp. 220-221.

64 Klein, September 9, 1675, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (ARSI), F.G., 756 Bohemia.

another change in admission policies as Mariana of Austria, widow of Philip IV and regent of the Spanish Empire, further eased the conditions of missionary participation for non-Spaniards.⁶⁵

Nonetheless, Klein did not get permission to journey to the Spanish Indies until January 1678.⁶⁶ Six months later, Klein was at sea across the Mediterranean from Genoa to Spain and then from Cadiz across the Atlantic to Vera Cruz. He followed in Kaller's tracks and proceeded on the back of a mule across the Mexican highlands as part of his journey to Manila. It was an itinerary shared by many men from Central European colleges across many decades.⁶⁷ As many others from his homeland, Klein too hoped to be assigned to the Marianas but landed in the Philippines instead.⁶⁸

Klein's arrival in Manila was in 1682, and he spent the next 35 years until his death living and working in the island world of the Philippines.⁶⁹ He reached the peak of his career in 1708 at the age of 58, when he became provincial for the entire Philippine province, encompassing the Philippines proper, the missions on the Marianas, and the evangelization of the Palaos Islands.⁷⁰

Linguistic and cultural boundary-crossings characterized Klein's missionary life from start to finish. As a subject of the Austrian Habsburg, like Kaller before him, Klein was initially an outsider in the Spanish overseas empire, although his career trajectory clearly reveals it was not an insurmountable barrier. While Klein assumed the hispanized name of 'Pablo Clain,' Germans no longer needed to alter their names to ease passage into Spanish colonial society at the time.⁷¹

With some indigenous people, not being Spanish could be an advantage, as they believed the Spanish fathers to be more closely allied with the colonial state and hence preferred dealing with non-Spaniards. A spiritually ambitious Chinese *mestiza* (ethnically mixed woman presumably of Spanish and indigenous descent), who chose Klein as her spiritual director in 1684, may have had this preference. Under his guidance, Ignacia del Espíritu

65 De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, p. 439.

66 Klein, January 12, 1678, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (ARSI), F.G., 756 Bohemia.

67 Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, pp. 47-50; Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, pp. 147-149.

68 Klein wrote on June 6, 1678 while still in Genoa: 'It is not certain who among us will go to the Marianas; such a decision has been left to the Procurator in Mexico to take. In the end, I hope to be one of them.' Cited in *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, p. 152.

69 De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, p. 62.

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 507-508.

71 On the earlier practice of involuntary name changes, see Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, p. 34.

Santo, as this daughter of a Tagalog woman and a Chinese man came to call herself, established in 1685 the Philippines' first female congregation for *mestizas* and Filipinas in a house neighboring Klein's college.⁷²

Perhaps Klein as a Central European was also, and could afford to be, less concerned than his Spanish brethren about running afoul of the Inquisition over charges of *alumbradismo* (Alumbradism). First defined by the Spanish Inquisitor in the 1520s in reference to a group of *beatas* (holy women) and their male followers in Toledo, the heresy was associated with interior spirituality and antinomian practices that bypassed Church hierarchy. In the course of the sixteenth century, the definition of *alumbradismo* was developed further in reference to religious men serving as spiritual guides to *beatas*. The resulting broader understanding also encompassed somatic phenomena, public displays of spiritual ecstasy, as well as sexual misconduct between male leaders and their female spiritual charges.⁷³ Already Ignatius had faced suspicions of Alumbradism and repeated interrogations by the Spanish Inquisition. Suspicions of a dangerous link between Jesuit spirituality, as exemplified by the Spiritual Exercises as a form of mental prayer, and the heresy of Alumbradism only intensified over time. Spanish Jesuits and those under their direction were accused of Alumbradism and called before Inquisition tribunals in growing numbers from the 1570s onward.⁷⁴

Klein never had had to worry about encountering such suspicions, never mind outright arrest, in his native Bohemia. He further was not yet at the college in Manila back in the 1660s when several Iberian fathers became embroiled in charges of the heresy of Alumbradism, the only individuals in the Pacific part of the Spanish Empire to be accused by the Holy Office, over their support of a young Pampango *mestiza*, called Luisa de los Reyes, who resided next to the Jesuit school in Manila. The Spanish Jesuits had promoted her as a holy woman on account of her dramatic raptures and visionary revelations. A former Jesuit reported to the group to the Holy Office in New Spain because they reminded him of a case of Alumbradism in 1659 in Mexico City. What particularly piqued the inquisitors' interest in the accuser's testimony were allusions to sexual improprieties between the Spanish Jesuits and the indigenous woman. Soon the inquisitorial machinery was set in motion.⁷⁵

72 De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, p. 508.

73 On the invention and evolution of this Inquisitorial construct, see Fowler, 'Assembling Alumbradismo.'

74 On the intensifying association between the heresy and Jesuits, see *ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

75 For a full discussion of this case, see Fowler, 'Illuminated Islands'; on the physical dimension of the relationship with Luisa de Reyes, see pp. 155, 161.

The case against the Fathers – indigenous women were exempt from inquisitorial charges because they allegedly lacked reason – dragged on until the end of 1680, shortly before Klein's arrival in Manila. Javier Riquelme, the only Jesuit still alive of the original accused, was sent back by the Inquisition from New Spain to the college in Manila with a stern warning of grave punishment should he ever repeat the offense. Klein and he would live under the same roof until Riquelme's death in 1692.⁷⁶ Still, Riquelme's cautionary tale of involvement with an indigenous *beata* did not deter Klein from supporting the mestiza Ignacia del Espíritu Santo. It is also possible, of course, that the Jesuit leadership thought it wise choice to entrust the spiritual guidance of another *beata* to the Central European Klein, rather than the more exposed or suspicious Spanish Jesuits.

Klein's high level of education facilitated his engagement with the diverse populations of the Philippines. Regulations for the province stipulated that its missionaries acquire at least one indigenous language to the satisfaction of their superior.⁷⁷ Klein exceeded this expectation. A medical and pharmaceutical handbook of 300 pages that appeared in Spanish in 1713 reflected his ease in Latin, Tagalog, Visayan, and Pampanga as well as Spanish. Aimed at aiding other missionaries who worked in the far-flung island world, the manual presented a comprehensive overview of regional diseases and instructions for preparing medicines. A year later, Klein wrote and published an explication of Christian doctrine in Tagalog. Translations from Latin, French, and Spanish into Tagalog followed in subsequent years, and Klein over time developed an entire *vocabulario tagala*, which was published posthumously and remains a linguistic benchmark to this day.⁷⁸

Klein's talents as a cross-cultural translator certainly also justified his assignment early in 1697 to travel to Samar in the Visayan part of the Philippines to meet 30 rescued Palaos Islanders, men, women, and children, who were shipwrecked near the shore. Jesuit Provincial Antonio Tuccio ordered Klein to interview the castaways and explore the possibility of 'introducing the light of the Holy Gospel' to the unknown archipelago.⁷⁹ In this instance

76 Fowler, 'Illuminated Islands,' pp. 160-163.

77 De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, p. 262.

78 A list of Klein's writings can be found in Arcilla, 'Klein (Clain), Paul.' On the 'politics of translation' in imperial contexts and 'translation as a passage to conversion,' see Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*. An edition of Klein's linguistic manual is housed in the Fondo Filipinas des Arxiu Històric de la Companyia de Jesus Catalunya in Barcelona: *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala compuesto por los Padres Pablo Clain, Francisco Jansens y Joseph Hernandez, los tres de la Compañía de Jesus* (Manila, 1754).

79 Serrano, *Noticia de las Islas Palaos*, pp. 166-167.

even the polyglot Klein required assistance. He did not speak the Palaos language and came to rely on two women, earlier Palaos castaways who had been on Samar for many years, who translated the new arrivals' conversation into Visayan for him. The lengthy letter Klein dispatched on June 10, 1697, to the Order's general in Rome to present his findings and request support for evangelizing the islands reveals this.⁸⁰ He reported the rich detail that the castaways stepped ashore on the Feast of the Holy Innocents.⁸¹ Although Klein acknowledged early on in his missive that the women were the sole sources for information from the Palaos contained in the letter, he does not name them.⁸²

There was still more mediation involved before the appearance of the first European Palaos map. After the initial gathering of information, Klein returned to Manila in 1697. Meanwhile, Francesco Pradella, another Jesuit and resident of Samar, was ordered to question the castaways again about the exact number and location of the islands. This time, the castaways arranged pebbles on the beach as a visual aid to depict all the islands of their archipelago that they knew from firsthand experience. Pradella copied the outline of the pebbles spread out on the sandy beach onto paper and sent it to Manila.⁸³ Multiple moments of translation and transfer and multiple erasures of sources thus marked the final cartographic product, as copies of copies were made and brought into circulation. The original stemmed from the islanders themselves, who alone knew the represented space from experience and whose distinct worldview imprinted itself on the map.

Geographical knowledge flowed from a female figure in Palaos mythology. Whereas the founding figures and practitioners in the European geographical tradition were virtually always men, the islanders credited a woman with laying the foundations of the culture's navigational knowledge system,

80 Klein, June 10, 1697, in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' pp. 424-428. A first printed version appeared in French in an appendix to Le Gobien, *Histoire des isles Marianes*, pp. 395-410.

81 Klein, June 10, 1697, in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' p. 425.

82 Klein notes: 'per quas [the women] ea demum, quae inferius dicam, declararunt,' Klein, June 10, 1697, in Zavadil, 'Bohemia Jesuitica,' p. 426. The participants of later scientific explorations also heavily depended upon yet downplayed or erased the contribution of indigenous women from the record. La Condamine, who lacked firsthand experience, used the travel report of an indigenous woman to prove the connection between the Orinoco and the Amazon, but once a report by a Jesuit became available he relied centrally on the European source to make his case to Europe's learned. Pawlowsky, 'Missionsproduktion und Wissenstransfer.' On Condamine and the indigenous woman, see pp. 149-151.

83 Testimonio no. 5, esp. f. 19r-21v, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Filipinas, Legajo 251. Parts are reprinted along with other sources in German and Spanish in Krämer. *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition*.

including its pedagogical institutions. A myth states that the Palaos first learned about the geographical shape of their island world from Inosagur, daughter of an atoll chief. One day while Inosagur was taking her customary bath in the lagoon, so the story goes, a spirit appeared in the guise of a rainbow. Pleasant at first sight, he soon showed his true nature as a ravenous monster ready to devour the atoll's people. Inosagur took action and squelched his appetite with rapid and repeated servings of water and taro in coconut halves. While he had complained about the simple fare, the grateful spirit lifted her above the clouds so she could obtain a view of the island world below. Before her return to earth, she committed to memory under which stars, rising and setting, each part of the world lay. Inosagur then relayed the secret knowledge to her first-born son, who in turn taught the navigational arts to the second-born; two schools of navigation came into existence. Boys and girls alike learned the art of navigation in Palaos culture, enabling them to move independently through the archipelago and teach others.⁸⁴

Inosagur's exceptional trip to the high heavens illustrates that the bird's eye view did not represent the dominant perspective from which islanders observed and imagined their environment. She stayed just long enough to memorize star patterns so she could put this knowledge at the service of navigational practice. Islander navigators, in essence, imagined their surrounding from the perspective of a seafarer in a canoe who charted the course with eyes low on the horizon. The navigator watched for the rising and falling of certain stars and constellations that could guide him or her toward the island of destination. This navigational system pivoted upon sure knowledge of the relevant constellations for each island – what is known as a 'star compass.' In addition to these celestial reference points, navigators picked islands that lay to one side of the course as reference points and tracked their successive passage, triangulating between the stars, the reference islands, and the island of destination.⁸⁵

By contrast, European navigators charted their course with instruments and sea charts, and they did so in reference to fixed star positions that allowed them to determine their own location at a particular moment in time. Progress was measured by imagining oneself from an aerial point

84 Suárez, *Early Mapping of the Pacific*, pp. 24-25; Finney, 'Nautical Cartography,' p. 470. Yet Palau and nearby Yap were less female-centered than the islands further to the east. Andaya, *The Flaming Womb*, p. 35.

85 For a detailed discussion of this highly complex system presented here in simplified terms, see Finney, 'Nautical Cartography'; Hambruch, *Die Schifffahrt*, pp. 1-40.

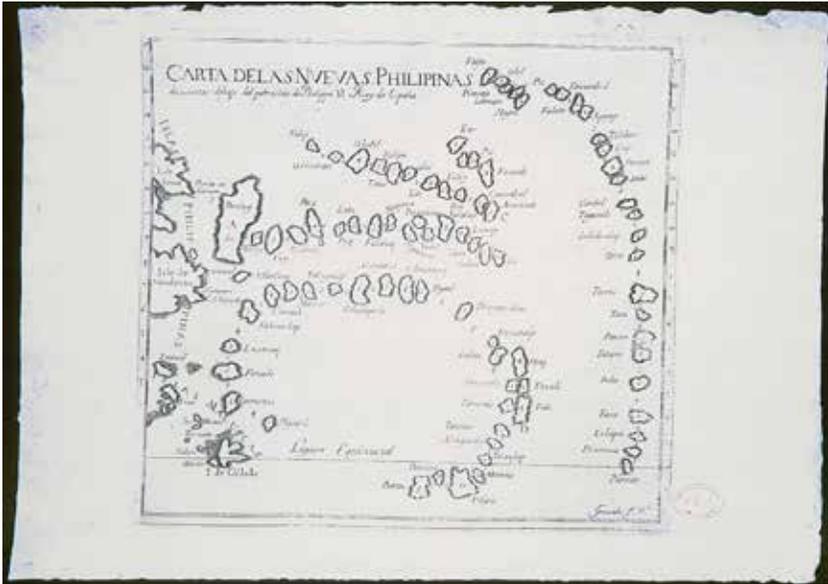


Figure 16 *Carta de las Nuevas Filipinas: Islas Palaos*. Source: Archivo General de Indias. Published with permission of Ministerio de Cultura, Gobierno de España.

of view, or God’s eye, moving across a grid of longitude and latitude that enveloped the world. To create a European cartographic representation based on the islanders’ cognitive maps, then, meant translating a practice-oriented horizontal view into a vertical perspective derived from Euclidian geometry.

Klein’s visual depiction of the archipelago still bore the residues of the islanders’ spatial experiences (fig. 16). Jesuit mapmakers in the Spanish Indies often baptized places with Christian names, but each of the 87 individual islands on this map bear Palaos names. The indigenous toponymy marks the de facto limits of European access to, never mind control over, the depicted space. More centrally still, the size of the islands and the distances between them do not adhere to the rules of European geometry. Both are expressed in numbers, reflecting a numbering system derived directly from the Palaos’s experience of the island space. Their navigators measured distances in sailing days rather than in sea miles, and the numbers on the islands indicate the time circumnavigation took; the numbers noted between islands indicated the time required for transit from one island to the next.⁸⁶

The islanders’ ‘how long?’ instead of the European ‘how far?’ emphasized the islands’ accessibility and the connectedness of the archipelago. In pre-colonial days, intra-island voyages were frequent, and islanders experienced

86 Suárez, *Early Mapping of the Pacific*, pp. 184-185.

the biggest ocean of the planet not as a divide or obstacle to connection but as a relay and medium for exchanges, a vision the Tongan scholar and writer Epeli Hau'ofa tried to recapture programmatically in his 1994 essay 'Our Sea of Islands.'⁸⁷ Historical research has evidence of strong interisland relations, notably in the Western part of the archipelago, where an elaborate regional system of tribute was in place. This exchange system initially extended to the Marianas as well, but the Palaos severed the connection once they learned of the Spanish conquest of the Marianas and the brutal treatment of the local Chamorro population. This severing of ties was only a first instance of the profound boundary drawings that accompanied the establishment of a European colonial presence in the region. It eventually culminated in outright prohibitions of interisland canoe travel.⁸⁸

The days had yet to come when Europeans put an ideological finish on this geopolitical reconfiguration and attached the geographic label of smallness ('Micronesia') to the world of separate islands that they had created in the first place. But Klein's writing reflects the perception of the ocean as an isolating force that undergirded these later developments. For Central Europeans who had developed their sense of environment in a place where the land dwarfed the water, the Pacific must have appeared a monstrous disruption of natural territorial connections. No wonder ocean journeys were seen as a formidable test of determination and missionary manhood. Even to European men from a sea-born empire like Spain, the Pacific presented itself as a formidable barrier, not a connector, between far-flung destinations. When a Spanish captain reached a group of Carolinian islands in 1721, he christened them 'Garbanzo islands' – a metaphor that evokes chickpeas-sized land fragments floating on a soup of open sea.⁸⁹ In other words, the connecting lanes and orientation points in the open sea that islanders perceived remained obscure to the European eye. It is thus not surprising that Klein depicted parts of their archipelago as more divided than they actually were and divided islets linked within atolls into separate entities.⁹⁰ It is arguably much more interesting that the Jesuit retained any traces of the islanders' spatial vision at all, such as through their numbering system. The particular bend of some islands arcs in Klein's map may even reflect the islanders' horizontal perspective in setting a course.⁹¹

87 Hau'ofa, 'Our Sea of Islands.'

88 D'Arcy, 'Connected by the Sea.'

89 Hezel, *The First Taint of Civilization*, p. 45.

90 Suárez, *Early Mapping of the Pacific*, p. 184.

91 Finney, 'Nautical Cartography,' p. 452.

Klein's map, then, contains two competing visions of oceanic space: on the one hand, an indigenous vision of the ocean as a force of connection and life source that was grounded in a feminine-inflected mythology and expressed itself in navigational arts that were open to both men and women, versus a European vision of the ocean as a force of disruption and obstacle to conquest that derived from male maritime experiences in foreign seas and settled on Euclidian geometry as its main instrument of imaginary mastery. Even as Klein incorporated indigenous perspectives, however, his ultimate goal in making the map was to pry open the archipelago for Christianization. After several failed attempts to reach the Palaos, the Jesuits in the Pacific looked to the Spanish Jesuit Andrés Serrano for a solution and dispatched him to Europe to round up support.

Andrés Serrano had been in the Philippines for many decades when he returned to Europe to lobby for the evangelization of the Palaos with the help of Klein's report and map. The two men must have been close, as Serrano's treatise on angels, *Los siete principes de los angeles, validos del Rey del Cielo* (1707), somewhat incongruously included Klein's Palaos report and map, and in the later edition included prayers in Tagalog ascribed to Klein. Serrano is also the only other Jesuit mentioned in the surviving records on the *beata* Ignacia del Espíritu Santo, who reportedly practiced special devotions to the archangels. The Palaos mission must have been of considerable personal significance to Serrano.⁹²

Andrés Serrano pushed the Palaos enterprise before the Roman curia, the Bourbon courts of Louis XIV in Paris, and those of his grandson, Philip V, in Madrid in his official capacity as general mission procurator. Procurators brokered information and coordinated finances between Europe and the missions, organized recruits, and outfitted expeditions.⁹³ Serrano documented his success in his *Breve noticia del nuevo descubrimiento de las islas Pais o Palaos* [...], published about 1705 in Madrid. The work included papal letters and royal decrees issued in support to the mission, and, of course, a version of Klein's report as well as the map.⁹⁴

Serrano's assemblage of materials in the *Breve noticia* reveals that he made a set of telling redactions to Klein's materials in order to persuade European monarchs to invest resources in the exploration and subjugation

92 Serrano, *Los siete principes*; Schumacher, 'Ignacio del Espíritu Santo,' pp. 421-422, also n. 11.

93 Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, pp. 24-27.

94 Serrano, *Breve noticia*. An excerpt of Serrano's account was printed separately: Serrano, *Noticia de las Islas Palaos*. Johannes Dindinger speculates that a version may have appeared in 1705, in Streit and Dindinger, *Missionsliteratur von Australien und Ozeanien*, pp. 65-66.

of distant Pacific islands. While the German's account had referenced the poverty of the Palaos, Serrano promised the exact opposite. Since they were on the same latitude as other islands under European influence that offered spices and precious metals, they would as well.⁹⁵ The claim invoked both the famed golden temples of Solomon and the legendary island paradise Rica de Ora and Plata imagined to be somewhere near Japan.⁹⁶

In a related move, Serrano gave Klein's cartographic creation its title: *Map of the New Philippines Discovered under the Patronage of Philip V*, a characterization that was both flattering and exhortative given the de facto limits of European control in the region. The map already included a section of the Philippines, which the title cast as the 'old' Philippines, suggesting a natural progression of the empire's claims eastward. The map further included parts of the Moluccas, the much-coveted spice islands under the control of the Dutch, a visual reminder of the colonial competition and evocative of Serrano's promise of comparable riches on the neighboring 'New Philippines.' Serrano's title thus functioned as a paratext that pushed a particular reading of the map as a call to colonial action.

European monarchs were very open to Serrano's reasoning, since rulers across Eurasia had discovered the usefulness of cartography to governance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹⁷ In Europe, a medieval notion of rule based on control over people gave way to an early modern view of rule as grounded in a place or territorial sovereignty.⁹⁸ It led to the creation of new offices and institutions that wielded cartography as a technology of rule.⁹⁹ In Spain, the crown appointed a special chief cosmographer, Juan López de Velasco, to its Council of the Indies in 1571, and charged him with the task of mapping the entire overseas territories. He developed a questionnaire that local officials in all parts of the Spanish Indies had to answer. Their answers arrived in Spain in the form of both a *relación* (report) and a *pintura* (drawing), whereupon the chief cosmographer tried to streamline the information into a single cartographic work of entirely unprecedented scope. This project epitomizes the broader 'colonization of space' that Walter Mignolo has traced for the Spanish Empire, which consisted of introducing European territorial and spatial modalities – Christian place names, Euclidian geometry – to legitimize the political conquest of space and erasure of

95 Serrano, *Noticia de las Islas Palaos*, p. 167. Translation mine.

96 Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, p. 180.

97 Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise*, esp. pp. 4, 74.

98 On the nexus between territoriality and maps, see Dünne, 'Die Karte als Operations- und Imaginationsmatrix.'

99 Kagan and Schmidt, 'Maps and the Early Modern State.'

indigenous worlds.¹⁰⁰ Klein's materials and Serrano's presentation fit right into this established tradition of Spanish colonial mapmaking. Klein had gathered the data in conversation with indigenous people in the Spanish Indies and delivered both a written report and a visual depiction. Serrano brought the materials to Europe and, by tweaking some of the contents, offered the monarchy a way to fill in a blank spot on the colonial master map. It seems no coincidence that the Iberian Andrés Serrano handed the materials of the German Jesuit to the court in Madrid with a request to lay claim to the lands. Germans like Klein did not have their own political presence in the Pacific, making it inevitable that others would mediate and filter their contributions to the colonial knowledge economy. The Philippine province made a logical choice in picking an Iberian as its mission procurator.

Whatever Klein thought of Serrano's editorial work, he must have been pleased with the immediate effect. Serrano's success coincided with Klein's election as provincial of the Philippine province, and thus Klein himself was able to hand the royal decrees ordering the exploration of the archipelago over to the colonial authorities in Manila. However, colonial officials and Jesuits in the Pacific made at least nine attempts to land on the Palaos Islands between 1708 and 1712, and none succeeded. The one that came closest was the 1710 expedition by the Spanish captain-general Francisco Padilla. He was able to land near the island now known as Sonsorol and dispatch a boat, with two Jesuits aboard, to its shore. Yet strong currents and winds soon drove Padilla's fleet far to the north, forcing him to leave the priests behind without any provisions. Several ill-fated rescue missions followed before the stranded priests were killed. Andrés Serrano joined one such rescue team, only to drown in a shipwreck off the islands he had popularized in Europe, falling short of both heroic martyrdom and missionary success.¹⁰¹ The European vision of reaching and claiming the Palaos, however, was far from dead.

From Domestications of the Indigenous to Knowledge Transfer and Colonial Fantasies: Joseph Stöcklein's *Der Neue Welt-Bott*

By the third decade of the eighteenth century, Catarina's story and Klein's Palaos map reached a still larger audience. Both gained greater circulation

100 Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, esp. pp. 243-286; Mignolo, 'The Movable Center.'

101 For a brief summary of events, see Hezel, 'Catholic Missions in the Caroline and Marshall Islands,' esp. p. 216.

as part of a third, widely popular genre of missionary knowledge production that appeared during the early Enlightenment: serial publications of missionary letters that combined edifying and educational material from all over the world, targeting not only a narrow confessional circle but the broader European Republic of Letters.¹⁰² Kaller's vita of Catarina de San Juan and Klein's map of the Palaos appeared together in the premier German publication of this type, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. The Jesuit editor made further redactions to both vita and map. If cultural translation entails, as Peter Burke claims, 'a double process of decontextualization and recontextualization, first a reaching out to appropriate something alien and then domesticating it,'¹⁰³ these editorial changes in Germany completed the process of domesticating indigenous women and indigenous spatial conceptions that other missionary men had begun in and around the Pacific. Just like these earlier Jesuit biographers and geographers, the Jesuit publisher propped up his male identity as an editor and scholar through the intellectual conquest of the indigenous and the feminine.

Redacted vita and map took on added meanings in a publication that communicated a view of the European colonial world order to its readers, praised the participation of German missionaries in its making and encouraged an increase of German influence in the world. There missionary knowledge production met colonial fantasy, arguably laying the imaginary groundwork for modern masculine imperializing endeavors that in the German case resulted in the late-nineteenth-century colonization of the Marianas and parts of (what became known as) the Caroline Islands in Oceania.

Der Neue Welt-Bott was published serially between 1726 and 1758, amounting to over 4,500 densely printed folio pages.¹⁰⁴ It was a serial publication of missionary letters in the German language, many of them written by German members of the Society, but translated and redacted with an eye toward an educated audience beyond the Society of Jesus. As the founding editor, Father Joseph Stöcklein, at the time librarian of the Jesuit college in Graz, conceived of the shape of the periodical and edited the issues created up

102 On the genre, see Friedrich and Schunka, *Reporting Christian Missions*.

103 Burke, *Cultures of Translation*, p. 10.

104 Stöcklein et al., *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. The publication appeared in a series of single issues, which were subsequently bound together in five volumes. Each volume contained eight issues or *Teile* (parts) of 100 to 150 folio pages. Each part was numbered separately. The missionary letters, treatises, and other materials were numbered consecutively throughout the *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. When citing letters, I reference the names of authors in the original spelling and the date, the number of the letter, and the page number(s). When citing information that is not contained in a letter, I reference the relevant part and the page number, if available.

until his death in 1733. (The last appeared in public in 1735.) Approximately 3,000 folio pages worth of material sprang from his vision. Catarina's story was one of very few female biographies in this enormous collection of stories by and about men. Stöcklein's decision to print Klein's Palaos map, or rather a heavily redacted version, actually violated his promise to readers to present only cartographic materials based on firsthand experience, unlike those of the Ancients with their 'invented places and names.'¹⁰⁵

By the time Joseph Stöcklein entered the world of publishing, the conditions for German missionary work abroad had changed significantly. The field of global evangelization was wide open to Germans, and the Jesuit leadership found itself dispatching requests for qualified Germans willing to work abroad.¹⁰⁶ At the request of the Superior General of the Jesuits, Michelangelo Tamburini, German Jesuits even developed special training programs for those preparing to go to 'the Indies.' In 1722, a seminary was established in the city of Landsberg where German candidates for the missions would spend at least a year in training.¹⁰⁷

In other respects, too, systematization and large-scale promotion of German missionary work was the order of the day in the early eighteenth century. Parishes all over Germany embraced the new practice of the *Missionskollekte* ('offering for missions'), special church collections on behalf of the world missions and its agents.¹⁰⁸ These acts of collective, ritualized giving inevitably tied the minds and emotions of local parish members into the global evangelization enterprise by giving people a stake in its successes and failures, financial needs, and spiritual reward.

The same German global imagination that was in the air had fanned Stöcklein's desire for the overseas mission before it began to fan his enormous publication project. A letter of application to the overseas mission makes it clear that he would have preferred to 'act and suffer in the footsteps of the apostles for the greater glory of God,' that after seeing image of Jesuit martyrs he nurtured 'an immense desire for the most arduous mission

105 Stöcklein, 'Allgemeine Vorrede des Verfassers über dieses gantze Werck,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, part 1, unpaginated. On Stöcklein's broad pitch to a variety of readers in the preface and his larger project of knowledge transfer, see Dürr, 'Der "Neue Welt-Bott" als Markt der Informationen?' The first monograph in any language on this collection is in preparation: Dürr and Strasser, *De-Centering the Enlightenment*. For an extensive discussion of *Der Neue Welt-Bott* in connection with other published Jesuit reports on the Americas and their reception by German readers, see Borja González, *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung*.

106 Duhr, *Deutsche Auslandsehnsucht*, pp. 10-11.

107 *Ibid.*, pp. 42-45.

108 Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, p. 61.

and martyrdom.¹⁰⁹ He never obtained permission. His desires for overseas missions and martyrdom thwarted, Stöcklein sought salvation on Europe's battlefields. He pursued a career as a military chaplain that under Prince Eugene of Savoy's leadership brought him to the bloody campaigns against the Turks in Central Europe and into battle against the French during the War of Spanish Succession. During the last nine years of his life, when Stöcklein was ill and exhausted, he turned to publishing as an alternate means of spreading the faith. His inspiration for *Der Neue Welt-Bott* came in the form of popular French collection of Jesuit letters, Charles Le Gobien's *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.¹¹⁰

This transformative encounter with a book evokes Ignatius's conversion experience during his own period of convalescence from a battle wound when the *Lives of the Saints* inspired him to leave the military behind and take up a religious existence.¹¹¹ Living on the border of the Habsburg Empire, Stöcklein who like Ignatius never left Europe garnered a view of the world through the texts he collected, redacted, and published. Stuck in Europe, he used print technology to reinvest the Xaverian model with current significance now that more Germans than ever were connected to the missions, printing stories of dramatic ocean journeys and successful conversions overseas. Stöcklein tried to tell emotionally compelling stories that moved his audience into new states of knowing and acting. As was typical of Jesuit rhetoric, this approach derived from an Aristotelian-Thomist understanding of the passions as a primary pathway to better knowledge of self, world, and god and to virtuous action. *Der Neue Welt-Bott* was a means of persuading more Jesuits to go work overseas; it was read widely in Jesuit colleges, including aloud during common lunchtime.¹¹² Since Stöcklein labored on his magnum opus to the long-term detriment of his health, he arguably even became a martyr of sorts to the larger Jesuit cause.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Stöcklein addressed only an internal Jesuit or a primarily Catholic audience with his emotionally

109 Stöcklein, February 11, 1703, Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (ARSI), F.G., 755 Austria.

110 Stöcklein himself ended up memorialized in his journal. Franz Keller, his former student and editorial successor, wrote a vita of the founder and printed it in 1755. Keller, 'Leben, Thaten, Reisen und Mission R.P. Josephi Stöcklein,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 572, pp. 141-152. esp. pp. 141-143. See also Stöcklein, 'Vorbericht an den Leser,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, part 1, unpaginated; Collani, 'Stöcklein, Joseph'; Huonder, 'P. Joseph Stöckleins "Der Neue Welt-Bott"'; Wurzbach, 'Joseph Stöcklein.'

111 Hausberger also points out the parallel with Ignatius's transformation by a text. See Hausberger, 'El padre,' pp. 652-654.

112 Keller, 'Leben, Thaten, Reisen und Mission R.P. Josephi Stöcklein,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 572.

compelling stories, or that the content of *Der Neue Welt-Bott* was mainly religious and edifying for that matter. Through its selection and redaction of texts, *Der Neue Welt-Bott* deliberately pitched itself to a wider educated readership beyond its narrow denominational circle and to a growing print market shared with other missionary as well as scientific journals.¹¹³ The frontispiece of *Der Neue Welt-Bott* signals the editor's messaging to a mixed audience of devout and curious readers (fig. 17). Amalgamating Christian evangelization and classical learning, Stöcklein cast a flying Hermes with a Jesuit monogram atop his staff as the central figure. The pile of letters in his hand link this ancient messenger of the gods and patron of travelers to the Society's epistolary system of information transfer; to its vast network of collectors, translators, printers, and, of course, to the overseas missionaries themselves. Similarly, the boat and the lighthouse at the bottom of the frontispiece can double as symbols of religious mission and of intellectual pursuit.¹¹⁴ The light guiding the boat into a safe haven alludes to the notion of Christ as light. But the lighthouse can also serve as a stand-in for contemporary philosophical discourses that were beginning to transform the very meaning of 'enlightened' from a state of religious illumination to a state of intellectual clarity.¹¹⁵ The boat in the image delivers additional double messages. An old symbol for the church, this boat sails under the Jesuit flag and transports four animals, a numerological reference to the tradition of imagining the four evangelists as living creatures. But only one of the beasts on board, the lion, is actually found in this tradition as a representation of the apostle Mark. The other beasts – a camel, elephant, and leopard – make for the kind of exotic menagerie that was rarely seen on European shores and presented objects of learned curiosity.

The frontispiece was followed by four prefaces, only the first of which was dedicated to fellow Jesuits. The remaining three are about five times longer and directed to a general reader. These remarks pitch *Der Neue Welt-Bott* as a project of knowledge transfer, or in Stöcklein's rich metaphor a *Jahrmarkt* ('information fair') where a range of professional groups from philosophers, lawyers, and doctors to 'seaman, divers, and fishermen' can go looking for novel and useful offerings.¹¹⁶ Like the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*,

113 Friedrich and Schunka, *Reporting Christian Missions*; Harris, 'Mapping Jesuit Science.'

114 For another reading of the frontispiece that also stresses the dual meaning of these two symbols, see Dürr, 'Der "Neue Welt-Bott" als Markt der Informationen?', pp. 448-451.

115 On the changing meaning of the term see Blanning, *The Eighteenth Century*, p. 151.

116 Stöcklein, 'Allgemeine Vorrede des Verfassers über dieses gantze Werck,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, part 1, unpaginated. For an analysis of the metaphor, see Dürr, 'Der "Neue Welt-Bott" als Markt der Informationen?'



Figure 17 Frontispiece, Joseph Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott oder Allerhand so Lehr- als Geistreiche Brief [...]* (Graz/Augsburg: Verlag Philipp, Martin, und Johann Veith, 1726-1736/Vienna: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, 1748-1761). Copyright Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

Stöcklein's *Der Neue Welt-Bott* thus addressed a broad readership with an attractive mix of ethically uplifting and intellectually interesting materials. Stöcklein indeed presented a selection of these French letters in German translation, but he also offered a whole array of previously unpublished letters from German missionaries in the vernacular. He had requested these letters mainly from the Jesuit provinces of Bohemia, Upper Germany, and Lower Germany.¹¹⁷ The German authors were often the first missionaries to have set foot in a given region of the world.¹¹⁸ Stöcklein also incorporated cartographic materials, such as Eusebius Chino's map of California.¹¹⁹

Stöcklein's letters came from Asia and Pacific Islands, the Americas and Africa, and even Europe, offering a truly global panorama of missionary work¹²⁰ Each volume of the *Der Neue Welt-Bott* was divided in parts (the first volume has eight parts, for instance), and each of the parts was subdivided into geographic sections. Within sections dealing with a specific region, Stöcklein strove to arrange his letters in chronological order, thereby tracing the history of German involvement in the Jesuit overseas missions and making a claim to the historic presence of Germans in different parts of the world.

Finally, each part concluded with a list of 'martyrs,' 'blood witnesses,' or 'holy persons.' Stöcklein was always careful to reserve the ultimate judgment of sanctity to the Holy See. He listed the names, the places of origin, and the manner of their often very violent deaths. He wanted the readers to take special note and commemorate those heroic figures, who were generally men. Catarina de San Juan appeared in Part 2 of *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. The part concludes with a list of 20 men, all Europeans, who were beaten to death, decapitated, starved in cages, tortured, and strangled. Then there is Catarina, the only non-European and woman, 'a noble and miracle-working Indian' and a 'virgin considered holy by everyone,' as Stöcklein describes her. Whereas Kaller, who faced the reality of colonial hybridity on his travels, felt compelled to sort out the question of Catarina's descent and ethnicity, Stöcklein, who never ventured outside of Europe, had few qualms about putting her into an uncomplicated category. Kaller had called Catarina

117 Collani, 'Der Neue Welt-Bott,' p. 16.

118 Herbermann, "'Der Neue Welt-Bott,'" pp. 160.

119 Ibid., pp. 161-162.

120 *Der Neue Welt-Bott* was the first periodical publication to feature the writings of German overseas missionaries from all over the known world (from a European point of view) in the German language and for a German audience. Borja González, 'Libros americanos.' Approximately a quarter of the letters are of Chinese provenance. Collani, 'Der Neue Welt-Bott,' p. 19. Reports from the Spanish Indies formed the majority of materials, however, a total of 268 texts, 203 from the Americas and 65 from Pacific islands, respectively.

de San Juan a '*mulata*' with a history in Cochinchina and the Philippines. Stöcklein termed her only a generic 'Indian virgin.' As such, he listed her among the 'witnesses of Christ who [...] whitewashed their garb in the blood of the lamb' even though her death was bloodless: Catarina simply 'fell asleep in a state of holiness' at the end of her life.¹²¹

It is impossible to ascertain whether Stöcklein knew that Alonso Ramos's account of the 'Indian virgin' who died peacefully among the German men who had been brutally murdered had been subject to an inquisitional verdict and officially banned. The stunning global information network among Jesuits might certainly have informed him, especially since Ramos's work had notoriety as the only hagiography in colonial Mexico to be approved first and banned afterward.¹²² But the inquisitional verdict was about 30 years before Stöcklein's publication, and he might have been ignorant of it.

At any rate, Stöcklein was generally not afraid to exercise a heavy editorial hand in assembling his publication. For instance, he professed to have omitted all information from the China letters that pertained to the famous Chinese Rites controversy because he deemed it unwise to touch such a hot iron.¹²³ He also made it known that letters that were not dated properly or whose provenance was otherwise unclear did not make it into his publication. And neither did those that did not contain 'anything new or unknown.' By his own admission, Stöcklein cut any material, entire letters or sections of letters, that he found repetitious so that the first volume 'became three-quarters tighter' than it might otherwise have been. Instead of 32 parts, he revealed, it contained only eight.¹²⁴ But while Stöcklein made cuts to Kaller's letter, he left Kaller's narration of Catarina's life largely intact. His heavy cuts to the rest of Kaller's letter emphasized the story. As he always did, he added a little summary at the beginning, directing the reader's attention to what he considered the most poignant parts of the letter. Two of the six points he highlights for Kaller's letter involve Catarina de San Juan: 'her holy life and miracles' and her foreseeing the martyrdom in the Marianas

121 Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, part 2, pp. 115-116.

122 Molina, 'Visions of God, Visions of Empire,' p. 280.

123 Superior General Tamburini had urged Stöcklein to be cautious about such controversial issues related to the China mission but also commended him for countering the negative impact of the Chinese Rites controversy on the reputation of the order. Duhr, *Deutsche Auslandsehnsucht*, p. 46. Stöcklein addressed the Rites controversy most cleverly and offered an astounding interpretation of Chinese history, see Dürr, 'Locating Paradise in China.'

124 Stöcklein, 'Vorbericht an den Leser,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, part 1, unpaginated. On the Jesuit tradition of strategic uses of letters, see Boswell, 'Letter Writing among the Jesuits.'

of Augustinus Strobach, as well as a Jesuit from Vienna, Carl Boranga.¹²⁵ In the letter itself, Stöcklein rephrased Kaller's lead sentence for the vita ('I now append the most worthy thing to be known') to 'Now I am telling you a story that most certainly is worthy of being left to posterity in writing.'¹²⁶ *Der Neue Welt-Bott* in delivering Catarina's story, as it did in general, targeted a broad audience that reached into the European Republic of Letters.

Catarina de San Juan appears in the German publication *Der Neue Welt-Bott* for multiple reasons. They reflect Stöcklein's personal experience and his goals in disseminating the letters of fellow German Jesuits in print. They also reflect broader German politics, including the politics of publishing, in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the shifting tastes of German audiences. Last but not least, the specific place and function of Catarina's story in the second installment of the World Messenger series reveals that this story underwrites assertions of a strong affiliation between German Jesuits and the Mariana Islands, named not coincidentally in honor of the Austrian Habsburg Mariana.¹²⁷

Catarina de San Juan's life history fit well with Stöcklein's propagandistic project of touting the accomplishments of the Society of Jesus. Notably, Catarina de San Juan is not the only non-European woman to appear in the first volume of *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. In Part 4, Stöcklein presented the first German translation of Pierre Cholenec's 1715 vita of Catherine Tekakwitha, the Mohawk holy woman from New France who was a contemporary of Catarina de San Juan.¹²⁸ Like his presentation of Kaller's narrative, Stöcklein used this story to praise the accomplishments of men. 'Natives' and 'women,' spiritually disadvantaged and sexually vulnerable, the two Catarinas from the Americas were essentially trophy converts. Their life histories reflected particularly favorably on the Society and its global missionary work. In a time when the Christian potential of 'savages' was widely disputed, they demonstrated the Jesuits' remarkable capabilities as missionaries.¹²⁹

The women's life stories also pandered to the evolving tastes of Germany's reading public. Interest in stories from afar was growing steadily in the early decades of the seventeenth century, and in the second half Germans

125 Kaller, March 8, 1688, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 52, pp. 72-75, here p. 72.

126 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

127 Father Sanvitores, 'Memorial to the Queen, July 1667,' in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 4, pp. 341-345.

128 P. Cholenec, August 27, 1715, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 139, pp. 39-49. See also Greer, *Mohawk Saint*.

129 On the polemical uses of Catherine Tekakwitha's biography in contemporary debates among Jesuits, Deists, and Augustinians, see Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, p. 187. See also Greer, 'Iroquois Virgin.'

became the most avid readers of travel literature in all of Europe. This surge of curiosity about foreign lands, Zantop has shown, was fueled by fantasies of participation in colonial adventures of which other nations (Spain, Portugal, England, or the Netherlands) were the true protagonists.¹³⁰ Publications like *Der Neue Welt-Bott* may have lain the cultural groundwork for this later surge. Stöcklein certainly did not hide his intention to tap into his readers' curiosity and their burgeoning sense of national identity. Many of the letters he selected and edited for inclusion emphasized the qualities distinguishing Germans from Europeans more directly allied with colonial authorities, notably the Spanish. Stöcklein's redactions to Kaller's letter also served to deliver a pointed critique of the Spanish while touting the excellence of the Germans. He kept Kaller's discussion of German Jesuits' need to learn Spanish during the transatlantic passage but claimed it was evidence that the Spanish were 'like the ancient Romans, insist[ing] that their language together with their authority be perpetuated throughout the world.'¹³¹ Heavily edited excerpts of Kaller's letter followed this section, rehearsing the outstanding pastoral work and reputation of Germans in Spanish America, especially German apothecaries and their German remedies. Stöcklein's prefacing summary at the top of the Kaller letter directly juxtaposed Spain's hard imperialism with the Germans soft, healing powers: 'The Spaniards force all missionaries and all subjected countries in the Indies to learn the Spanish languages. German medicine is working miracles in India.'¹³²

The German language mattered greatly to Stöcklein. He deliberately published his collection 'in our common mother tongue' and not in Latin to reach a broader German-speaking public, while also promising his readers his publication would tell tales that 'have not yet been told by any author in the German language so elaborately.'¹³³ *Der Neue Welt-Bott* was a book for Germans about Germans. Stöcklein even streamlined the use of German orthography, in a pre-Humboldt effort to advance the uniformity of his mother tongue. He had commercial motives in bypassing the upper-German *gemeine Teutsch* ('common German'), which earlier Jesuit authors and editors had used, in favor of a unified German that bridged confessional divides and appealed on the one hand to the imperial book market, with Frankfurt at its center, and, on the other, to Saxony's market, which was dominated

¹³⁰ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*.

¹³¹ Kaller, March 8, 1688, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 52, p. 73.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹³³ Stöcklein, 'Vorbericht an den Leser,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, part 1, unpaginated.

by Protestant German print. Stöcklein also had a desire to synchronize national sentiments by creating linguistic harmony. Although he considered difference in speech to be inevitable, the Jesuit considered existing variations in German orthography indicative of a lack of 'willingness and harmony' among Germans, something he attempted to rectify in his editorial work.¹³⁴

Stöcklein was only the third author to make use of a new linguistic creation of the eighteenth century, a German term that would acquire much resonance and popularity in subsequent centuries: *Heimweh* ('longing for home').¹³⁵ He repeatedly ascribed *Heimweh* to the German missionaries in his text, an emotion that lay beyond the affective categories of the Aristotelian-Thomist framework guiding Jesuit discussions and points to the wider resonances of *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. Stöcklein implied readers were fortunate to dwell in the country for whom those heroic men longed and labored abroad, though they themselves might experience *Fernweh* ('longing for places afar'). *Fernweh* might motivate them to relish *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, 'just like almost everyone thinks that the bread of strangers tastes better.' He promised readers in one of the prefaces to the first issue that they could 'wander the entire world without taking a step outside' and 'acquire almost complete knowledge of the entire globe with no danger, costs, or effort.'¹³⁶

This then was a book for German armchair travelers. Stöcklein invited the reader to move across the textual terrain of his New World Messenger as if moving through an actual landscape, to imagine the topography, climate, nature, and culture of each area, the everyday life of the Jesuits and the indigenous. The textual strategy transformed the reader (and also the listener) into an imaginary traveler who journeyed through unknown landscapes far beyond his own geographical and cultural sphere, with the Jesuit editor as a guide. Stöcklein often informed readers what to expect, explained unfamiliar terms, or offered enlightened commentary on cultural practices and various subjects. In an emblematic move of Jesuit rhetoric, he again and again used exemplary stories that stirred the human passions in order to bring his readers into deeper understanding of materials and the broader universe of knowledge he sought to convey through his publication.¹³⁷

134 Ibid.

135 Herbermann, "Der Neue Welt-Bott," p. 163.

136 Stöcklein, 'Allgemeine Vorrede des Verfassers über dieses gantze Werck,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, part 1, unpaginated. The topos of armchair world travels goes back (at least) to Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570).

137 The nexus between knowledge production and emotion will be explored in detail in Dürr and Strasser, *De-Centering the Enlightenment*.

As it happens, many imaginary travelers in Stöcklein's day were enthralled by stories about locations associated with Catarina de San Juan. Since the failure of the German colony in Venezuela in the sixteenth century, Germany continued to cultivate a fascination with things, places, and peoples in the southern part of the Americas. What Susanne Zantop characterized as 'German Occidentalism' gained new momentum in the eighteenth century amid the general surge of interest in travel literature. It made Jesuit writings from colonial Mexico increasingly relevant and riveting reading. Simultaneously, new frontiers of exploration and interest appeared on the horizon with the Pacific Islands, culminating in the circumnavigation of the world by Captain Cook later in the century.¹³⁸ German-reading audiences, while ever more fixated on the Americas, now also developed a taste for stories from this part of the world, Catarina's original stomping ground. Spanning Cochinchina, the Philippines, and Puebla, her life story hence allowed Stöcklein to satisfy old and new readers' appetites in one fell swoop. The holy woman's socio-ethnic status as a *mulata* became an occasion for Stöcklein to slip into his role as a cultural guide for his readers, albeit with questionable success. As a newcomer to colonial society, Adam Kaller had lacked the sophistication of a long-time New Spaniard like Alonso Ramos when it came to deciphering the nuances of the *casta* system. Stöcklein, who never left Europe, drew on his Latin to interpret Catarina's status as a *mulata*, based on Kaller's account. Associating the term *mulato* with *mula*, the Latin word for the female mule, he called her 'Catherine the Mule,' a term which resonated with European assumptions about the animal nature of indigenous peoples. He explained that this was 'a mockname the Spaniards give to those who go to seed from a white father and a brown mother [not black or *nigro*, as Kaller had it].'¹³⁹

Stöcklein's personal motives for including Catarina's story arguably sprang from his thwarted desire for the overseas missions and his service as a military chaplain on European battlefields, as well as his long wish to die as a martyr. War, death, and martyrdom, prominent themes in Stöcklein's life, resonated powerfully with the story of Catarina, as well as the place and function of this story in the first volume. The visions Kaller had described, of the Austrian Habsburg and their enemies, the Turks and the French, brought her to the battlefields where Stöcklein had preached. In addition to her vision of the defeat of the 'infidel' Turks at St. Gotthard, the holy woman also witnessed a peace accord with Catholic France, two seventeenth-century events that seemed to prefigure the fortuitous outcome

¹³⁸ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, pp. 9-16; 31-35.

¹³⁹ Kaller, March 8, 1688, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 52, p. 74.

of the early-eighteenth-century conflicts for which Stöcklein had risked his life. Her visions made the case for a historical pattern of divinely ordained good fortune for the Austrian Habsburg.

More crucial still was Catarina de San Juan's visions of the martyrdom of German Jesuits on the Mariana Islands. Their fate loomed large in Stöcklein's collection, much as they had in Kaller's thoughts. Indeed, the very first saints whom Stöcklein committed to German memory on the opening pages of the first installment are men 'killed on the Mariana Islands because of hatred of our faith.'¹⁴⁰ These are the men whom Catarina supposedly recognized in Puebla and identified individually in the presence of Christ on their journey toward martyrdom, including Augustinus Strobach and Carolus Boranga from Vienna, where Stöcklein was a resident during his early days as a Jesuit.

Stöcklein's commemoration of this event in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* worked on multiple levels. Setting a pattern for future installments, Part 1 commenced with an entire section on the Mariana Islands. Most of the letters were either by Boranga and Strobach themselves, or mentioned their work and fate in some fashion. Strobach's letters stand out for their detailed descriptions of topography of the various islands.¹⁴¹ Alongside this extensive information about the local terrain, Stöcklein placed material about Jesuit missionary work and, of course, the enviable martyrdom of Boranga and Strobach. The section concludes with a vita of Boranga that recounts his death and that of his Jesuit companions.¹⁴² Stöcklein returned to the theme of martyrdom on the Mariana Islands when he concluded Part 1 with a list of all 'martyrs and blood-witnesses' discussed in Part 1, beginning with the seven Jesuits martyred on the Marianas. Numbered references next to each one of the names direct the readers to specific letters for more details.¹⁴³

Kaller's letter with Catarina's vision of the martyrs followed in Part 2, providing almost a spiritual echo of the earlier stories. Anchored in the metaphysical, the story of Strobach, Boranga, and their comrades on the Mariana Islands takes on a kind of hyper-reality through the saintly witness. Through her vision of the Mariana Islands themselves, in which the Virgin of Guadalupe soared across the sea to protect the islands against an unspecified threat of destruction, Catarina functions both as a witness to

140 Stöcklein, 'Vorrede des ersten Teils,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, unpaginated.

141 Stöcklein, *Neue Welt-Bott*, part 1, letters nos. 1-9, pp. 1-27.

142 Stöcklein, 'Leben des Ehrwürdigen Patris Caroli Boranga,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 9, pp. 23-27.

143 Stöcklein, 'Nahmen dern Martyrer oder Blut-Zeugen Christi,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, part 1, p. 115.

the dangers of these savage lands and the possibility of Christianization through redemptive suffering. Although Stöcklein wrote proudly elsewhere that he cut materials that did not contain anything novel or unfamiliar, he apparently did not mind repetition and liberal cross-referencing when it came to martyrdom on the Mariana Islands. This may reflect identification with the Austrian Boranga that resembled Kaller's fascination with the Bohemian Strobach. Boranga began his life as a Jesuit in 1640 as a novice in the same Viennese college in which Stöcklein would receive his training in the early eighteenth century. Moreover, Boranga's remains were shipped to Vienna and buried in the Jesuit church next to the college in 1702.¹⁴⁴ Object of devotion and constant reminder of martyrdom on the Mariana Islands, Boranga's relics forged a potent link between Vienna and these Pacific islands, and surely helped forge emotional ties to distant regions among Viennese Jesuits like Stöcklein.

Jesuit investments in Pacific islands also received powerful backing from political quarters. Stöcklein's patrons, the 'Austrian Habsburg of the German Nation' as they are called in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, were intimately connected to them. The Austrian Habsburgs were major sponsors of Jesuits abroad, combining support for missionary endeavors with a drive toward economic and political expansion. The House of Austria undertook various efforts to establish a protectorate for German Jesuits in China that would encompass their entire travel route across the Asian continent.¹⁴⁵ Charles VI (r. 1711-1740) entertained this idea at the same time as he worked toward the foundation of an imperial East Indian trading company. Austria's acquisition of the Spanish Netherlands following the Spanish War of Succession made this a possibility, and in 1722 Charles established this company in Ostende. Prince Eugene, Stöcklein's former general, was put in charge, perhaps as a reward for his contribution to this and other Habsburg victories.¹⁴⁶ If we are to trust the letters that began to appear in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* around the time of its foundation, German missionaries were very enthusiastic about the Austrian East India Company. They proudly took note when they encountered one of its ships with the familiar imperial flag waving above faraway seas, particularly a stately vessel christened *Prince Eugene*, as the name announced the imperial aspiration of the Habsburg in the remotest regions.¹⁴⁷

144 Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, pp. 130-131; Bouwens, *De vita et virtutibus*, f. 338r-f.339v.

145 Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, p. 47.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

147 *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51.

Naming and claiming possession had accompanied the grab for colonial power since the days of Columbus. Once faraway lands were associated with familiar names, usually those of secular monarchs, they could be altered from a foreign place to an intelligible site and a legitimate domain of power in the European mind.¹⁴⁸ (Re-)naming, then, was a colonial power's non-negotiable prerogative. As minor players on the colonial stage, the Austrian Habsburgs generally had to leave such prerogatives to others; they could name boats but rarely lands. Yet the Mariana Islands, however, were named in recognition of the pivotal patronage of Mariana, daughter of Emperor Ferdinand III, widow of Philip IV of Spain, and an Austrian Habsburg. Thus, the Austrians had a particular stake in the fortunes of these Pacific islands.¹⁴⁹ In this world of ersatz colonialism by female proxy, a collection like Stöcklein's *Der Neue Welt-Bott* arguably could play an important role in sustaining attachments. This may have been why the Habsburgs published the last volumes of *Der Neue Welt-Bott* in their imperial print shop.¹⁵⁰ It seems no coincidence that the first installment of *Der Neue Welt-Bott* commenced with a long section on the Mariana Islands and that an island map was the first image from afar that a reader encountered in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. From the Marianas, subsequent sections of *Der Neue Welt-Bott* moved eastward through the Americas and back to Asia to arrive in India at the very end, all the while populating the world with German missionaries. The same act of phantasmal circumnavigation from the Habsburg base in the Pacific repeated itself in other issues. When it came to the Mariana Islands and the Jesuit missions on this 'Habsburg land,' Catarina's vita represented a very small but no less crucial piece in a big puzzle of imaginary connections and ownership.

Stöcklein inserted Klein's letter and map in the Pacific panorama rolled out in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, placing it in the same expanding web of imaginary connections and ownership. All of Stöcklein's editorial arrangements were carefully planned; as we already saw, he often cross-referenced entries and regularly announced upcoming material to alert the reader. Klein's Palaos materials appeared in the same issue as Catarina's vita; his map was inserted next to the letter in foldout format.¹⁵¹ Stöcklein had already whetted the readers' appetites in the previous issue by adding a cluster of islands in a

148 Pagden, *European Encounters*, pp. 17-49.

149 See Chapter 3.

150 Collani, 'Der Neue Welt-Bott,' p. 19.

151 Paul Klein, June 10, 1697, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 36, pp. 4-7. The exact placement of the map may have varied, but several editions consulted feature this foldout format.

map of the Marianas archipelago. The actual map recorded the geography and names of each island for the year 1684, when Strobach and Boranga had suffered martyrdom, blending knowledge production and memorial practices in one cartographic medium. Stöcklein drew on Klein's materials to indicate the probable location of the Palaos Islands and to reference Klein by name (fig. 18).¹⁵² Thus, he suggested that these islands marked the Pacific missionary frontier for the Jesuit order.

Stöcklein also made changes to the Palaos Islands map itself (fig. 19). While Stöcklein did not specifically acknowledge that he had broken his promise that the maps in *Der Neue Welt-Bott* were based on firsthand observation,¹⁵³ he did explain his remedy for the fact that no Jesuit had set foot on the Palaos Islands yet, and all the geographical information instead came from indigenous men and women. In a long letter by the editor in the fourth issue, printed under the heading of 'Letter from the New Philippines,' Stöcklein assumed the role of a European resident geographer. He wrote that he had assessed all the available evidence, including information and a map compiled during the Spaniard Padilla's 1710 expedition. On this basis, he reworked Klein's map so that it that no longer suffered from 'the mistakes of the poor barbarians.'¹⁵⁴ Stöcklein recalculated the longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates and modified the east-west range of the map. He converted all distances into German sea miles and removed the numbering system from the map, expressing all distances geometrically instead by increasing the size of islands with large numbers and decreasing the size of islands with smaller number.¹⁵⁵ Thus, the islanders' 'how long?' disappeared as the European's 'how far?' took over in the visual representation.

Stöcklein further recorded Padilla's itinerary, the most successful European forays in the region, in his redacted map, projecting the intended expansion of European influence onto his cartographic representation. At the same time, he planted a German mark on the map by noting that the map originated from Paul Klein's materials as well as those of the Spaniard Padilla. The letter itself recounted the failed Spanish-led expeditions and ended on a telling note of criticism of Iberian governance in the Indies. Asking why God might have prevented the conversion of the Palaos thus far, the German Jesuits speculated

152 Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, 'Insulae Marianaë Ao 1684,' part 1, inserted between p. 6 and p. 7.

153 Stöcklein, 'Allgemeine Vorrede des Verfassers über dieses gantze Werck,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, part 1, unpaginated.

154 Stöcklein, 'Brief des Verfassers an den Leser,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 127, pp. 1-6, quote p. 2.

155 See also Suárez who compares the Le Gobien version of the map that was published in the *Philosophical Transaction of the Royal Society* to Stöcklein's redacted version. Suárez, *Early Mapping of the Pacific*, p. 185.

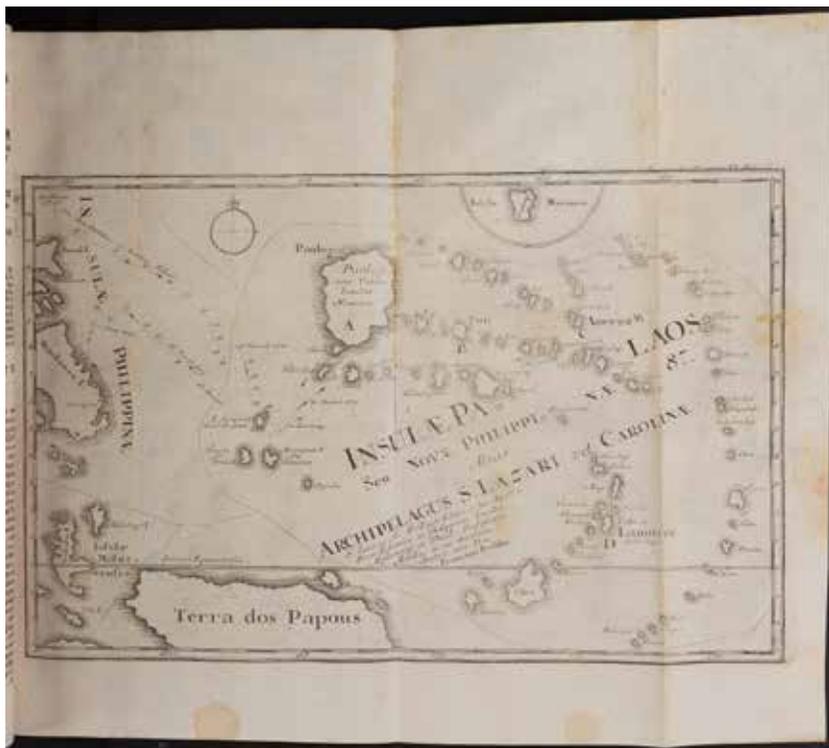


Figure 19 Map of the Palaos Islands. Source: Joseph Stöcklein, *Der Neue Welt-Bott oder Allerhand so Lehr- als Geistreiche Brief [...]* (Graz/Augsburg: Verlag Philipp, Martin, und Johann Veith, 1726-1736/ Vienna: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, 1748-1761). Copyright Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

that ‘maybe [...] divine wisdom did not want to redeem and enlighten [the Palaos] through these kinds of Europeans, who commit various vices (as European soldiers in the Indies) [...] but rather in the future through God-fearing Christians.’¹⁵⁶ Read together, map and text added up to a political argument for continued exploration but under more virtuous European leadership. The implication was that Germans might provide such leadership.

Der Neue Welt-Bott as a collection presented readers with a view of the world as hierarchically divided not only between Europeans and the indigenous populations but also between Europeans themselves. In so doing, the publication helped create an awareness of the European colonial order and invited readers to reflect on the positionality of Germany, in that order. What unites all those labeled ‘German’ in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, readers as well as missionaries, is a shared culture and language, not a fixed ethnic identity or

¹⁵⁶ Stöcklein, ‘Brief des Verfassers an den Leser,’ *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 127, p. 6.

geographic location. German denotes a cultural and linguistic community under construction. The subtext of this claim to cultural superiority was that this community was and should keep expanding across the globe. Stöcklein printed many texts that emphasized the distinct qualities of Germans in comparison to other Europeans. Letters from the Spanish Indies thus described Spaniards as haughty, cruel, and greedy whereas they stressed the excellent reputation that German missionaries enjoyed among the different national groups who worked overseas and the frequency with which German Jesuits held high office.¹⁵⁷ Missionary letters also included references to the particular physical suitability of Germans for certain missions, for instance, likening the climate and geography of the region around Quito to the Alps. They praised the Germans' religious zeal and willingness to sacrifice to the point of death alongside their more secular virtues, such as modesty, industry, and manual talents.¹⁵⁸ When contrasted with Spanish power-holders, Germans appeared morally superior and better equipped to raise the civilization level of non-Europeans in a religious rhetoric that prefigures the nineteenth-century trope of Germans as the better colonizers.

Differentiating Germans from other Europeans and defining German identity in the process also entailed a comparison with the indigenous populations. Often the same letters that offered pointed critiques of the Spanish also typecast the indigenous as 'lazy,' 'wild,' and 'uninhibited.' In other words, the missionary writing reproduced and elaborated discourses of European civilizational superiority from other European countries for a specifically German audience. Readers could participate in a conceptual tour of the world and learn about a colonial order in which the cultural superiority of Germans was never in question.¹⁵⁹

Parts of the Marianas and Palaos Islands, which first called German Jesuits to their shores in the late seventeenth century, became German colonies in the late nineteenth century. After the Spanish-American War, the recently founded German nation purchased the islands, with the exception of Guam, from Spain and claimed them as German colonies in 1899.¹⁶⁰ The idea of purchasing and claiming as possession islands in the middle of the Pacific arguably would have been much less likely to occur to late-nineteenth-century Germans, had it not been long been in the making.

157 For example, Michael Herre, 'Reise [...] Anno 1722 biss 1724,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 438.

158 For example, Franz Xaver Zephyris, Excerpts from four letters dated between July 28, 1724, and March 9, 1725, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 283.

159 Borja González and Strasser, 'German Circumnavigation'.

160 Hiery, 'Die deutschen Kolonien in der Südsee'; Hiery, *Die deutsche Südsee*, pp. 475-605.

Powerful fixations and fantasies of colonialism preceded actual colonial acquisitions in a country that was a latecomer to nationhood and did not control colonies in the early modern period. In Zantop's words: 'Imaginary colonialism anticipated actual imperialism, words, actions. In the end, reality just caught up with the imagination.'¹⁶¹

Missionary texts like Stöcklein's *Der Neue Welt-Bott* played an important role in sparking a colonial fantasy life and creating attachments to faraway lands. Missionaries, in contrast to fictional characters explored by Zantop, were both bearers of fantasy and historical actors with personal and institutional ties to Germany's evolving political structures. Stöcklein allied himself with the Austrian Habsburgs and was courted to serve by a number of Catholic princes as a court preacher. The Protestant elector and late king of Great Britain, Georg Ludwig, and the Protestant duke of Württemberg, Eberhard Ludwig, tried to recruit him as a political advisor.¹⁶² Although he declined these offers to keep publishing his *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, they reflect his political influence, which he preferred to exercise in print by spreading information about German Jesuits abroad. The German Empire may have had no colonizers abroad in the early modern period, but it had many missionaries who joined other European powers in creating a colonial world in Asia and the Americas. Missionary writings functioned as a transmission belt for colonial ideas, linking the world of early modern colonialism when a decentralized German Empire was excluded from the inner circle of colonial powers to that of modern colonialism when a newly unified German nation joined the circle of colonial powers. Early modern missionary masculinity helped pave the way for the imperializing masculinities of the modern age.

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¹⁶¹ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 9.

¹⁶² Keller, 'Leben, Thaten, Reisen und Mission R.P. Josephi Stöcklein,' *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, no. 572.

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Conclusion and Epilogue

Abstract

The conclusion summarizes the main findings of this book's exploration of the transgenerational and transregional Jesuit chain of influence in the early modern world. It stresses the simultaneously mimetic and individualistic manifestations of missionary masculinity and the role of media in reproducing it. While Jesuit masculinity left traces on societies around the world, the men and women whom the missionaries believed to have converted in turn also reformed European Catholicism. An epilogue takes the story to today's US-controlled Guam where Chamorro Catholicism provides a site for anti-imperial critique and identity-formation, reflecting a process that began with the events narrated in this book. Notably, twenty-first-century Chamorro death customs still show vestiges of early modern matrilineal traditions and indigenous women's agency.

Keywords: German Jesuits, media, US-controlled Guam, Chamorro Catholicism, women

Augustinus Strobach's landing in the Mariana Islands stood at the beginning of this book. The chapters that followed explored how missionary masculinity as a cultural script and an embodied experience left its imprint on individuals like Strobach, shaping practices of male mobility and spirituality in the early modern world. The missionary man was a novel European gender form that first arose alongside that of the conquistador in the context of European expansion and colonization. For many centuries, evangelization, colonialism, and travel were predominantly masculine pursuits and indelibly linked to Europe's quest for global hegemony. These practices arose from gender dynamics within Europe and effected gendered change in other parts of the world. As the first premodern order that barred women from its ranks, the Society of Jesus forged a potent link between clerical masculinity, global mobility, and Europe's religious civilizing mission. The stories assembled in this book show how the wish to align one's life with

the Jesuit code of behavior sent men from different parts of Europe on the move to faraway lands. For Augustinus Strobach it was a missionary he never met, Diego de Sanvitores, who sparked a burning desire to labor and die for the faith in the Marianas. Sanvitores had ushered in Spain's brutal colonization of the archipelago, the decimation of its population, and the radical revamping of the islanders' life worlds, including their matrilineal practices. Missionary self-fashioning and the spiritual conquest of others proceeded in lockstep, to the particular detriment of indigenous women who were most negatively affected by the introduction of European patriarchal gender and sexual norms.

That a man whom he knew only through stories changed Strobach's life, setting the Jesuit from the German province of Bohemia on a course to the Pacific and toward his own violent death, testifies to the ability of the Society of Jesus to replicate and spread missionaries around the globe and to the power of its communication and media empire. Later on, Strobach's own life and death, disseminated in manuscript and print, drew other Central Europeans to Pacific islands, such as Adam Kaller in the late 1680s. Decades later still, Strobach's and Kaller's travels inspired Joseph Stöcklein in the 1720s, after his own request for an overseas assignment was denied, to have a vicarious missionary experience by printing accounts of the Marianas mission and others, and thereby motivating the next generation of Germans to pick up the mantle of evangelization.

Missionary men inspired other men across space and time to eschew women, marriage, and home in order to actualize a new masculine self by becoming a Jesuit. Those who joined the Jesuits wanted to be with and be like other men already in the order. One need not revert to Protestant tropes of lascivious clerics, or resort for that matter to Freudian notions of sexual repression that are ill fitting for the early modern period, to recognize the deep significance that homosocial identification and desire held for the formation of the all-male Society of Jesus. Its *Constitutions*, its founding narratives, its media, and its central spiritual technology, the Spiritual Exercises, facilitated homosocial ties and male mimesis. Behind every missionary lurked at least one other missionary or masculine exemplar stirring the desire for fellowship and imitation and providing a model for what it meant to feel, think, and act like a Jesuit.

The transgenerational and transregional Jesuit chain of influence brings to mind the exchange between an Englishman and an Indian, related by Clifford Geertz, about a story in which the world rested upon the back of an elephant that in turn stood on a turtle. Curious what was below the turtle, the Englishman asked the Indian and was told that it was another turtle.

But what then was below that turtle? 'Ah, Sahib, after it, it's turtles all the way down.' Of course, in the Jesuit chain of creation it is not 'Jesuits all the way down,' but from its every beginning onward one finds men climbing on the shoulders of other men whom they emulated. Some male exemplars were used as building blocks for the Society or stepping-stones for masculine identity formation over and over again. One finds versions of 'Ignatius and Xavier all the way down' to the first generation.

This book traced the importance of the dual legacy of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier in the life histories of a number of individuals. The Society's founder Ignatius prototyped the male missionary model of always being on the move, unencumbered by women, at once highly emotional and properly contained, moderately ascetic and physically fit. Ignatius laid the spiritual and institutional foundations for the launch and replication of Jesuit manhood. Francis Xavier, the Society's first overseas apostle, fine-tuned the model on the global stage from the moment he boarded the ship to India. He integrated spiritual passion with emotional self-mastery to form a basis for the conversion and regulation of others, including non-Europeans.² The Society's expansion required an effusive type of missionary who was unrestrained, even restless, and ever ready to spill the generative blood of martyrdom, while it simultaneously depended on the ability of members to direct these effusive impulses toward long-term objectives. Affective self-governance, practiced during the outward sea voyages, was indispensable under hostile circumstances in mission fields. While Ignatius was the Ur-father who established Jesuit identity and what one might call the Society's copying machine, Xavier became an embodiment of the mobility and ability for metamorphosis that was required for the order's global expansion. He was the first to particularize the model for specific situations and cultural context outside of Europe.

Much has been written about the method of accommodation in the Jesuit mission, that is to say, the principle of translating to the greatest extent possible European beliefs and doctrines into local languages and frameworks without compromising orthodoxy. It made Jesuit missions very successful as well as quite controversial. The stories in this book illustrate that missionary masculinity was also accommodated to cultural circumstances and particularized for institutional as well as individual purposes. What it meant to be 'like Ignatius' or 'like Xavier' differed from context to context and one

1 Geertz, *Interpretation of Culture*, pp. 28-29.

2 On the relationship between self-governance and governing others in various secular contexts, see Broomhall and Van Gent, *Governing Masculinities*.

man to the next. Diego de Sanvitores understood and sold his own forays into Pacific island worlds to the Spanish crown as an extension of Francis Xavier's sixteenth-century expansion into Asia. Praised as 'a second Xavier' and trying his best to live up to this reputation, Sanvitores at the same time deliberately pursued a death had that eluded the original Xavier; he came to seek martyrdom because he came to believe it necessary to advance the Marianas mission. Imitation of exemplary forefathers, this and other examples show, was always a creative process of translating scripts for being a missionary into one's own life history and circumstances. Missionary self-fashioning was a profoundly paradoxical process in that a male self was carved out of an ideal masculine type in individualistic ways.

The rapid expansion of the Society of Jesus owed much to print technology. The media of male mimesis formed a recurring theme of this book. Print in particular made the circulation of exemplary lives possible on a much larger scale and at a much faster pace than manuscript culture, although the latter, of course, also still remained relevant in the dissemination of male exempla within the order. Jesuits in Central European colleges could read about and be inspired by the activities of their Iberian brethren in Asia and the Americas. Print products featuring missionary exploits like *Der Neue Welt-Bott* were read aloud during common lunch hour in colleges, fostering a Jesuit esprit de corps as well as the resolve of individual members to pursue comparable heroic lives.

Beyond the transfer of content or ideal types of Jesuit manhood, when it comes to the role of print in reproducing a missionary type, Marshall McLuhan's famous dictum that 'the medium is the message'³ is therefore no less relevant here. Print as a medium in itself created a powerful sense of the reproducibility of an original type in material form. It was both a means of and also a potent symbol for the mimetic reproduction of missionaries or their multiplication in the flesh. Sanvitores's biographer coined the revealing phrase of 'a copy with a soul' to communicate that the Spanish Jesuit truthfully was 'a second Xavier.' Individual men quite consciously styled themselves after exemplary forefathers in word and deed, turning their bodies into instruments for resembling ideal types in all aspects of their being. Their effort to become a particular kind of man through repetitive copying, on the one hand, illustrates the cultural labor that always goes into producing masculinities or into making what is not innate stick to human bodies as if it were essential. On the other hand, these early modern efforts of embodied transformation bear the marks of a specific time and place.

3 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, chap. 1.

In keeping with Aristotelian-Thomist-cum-Jesuit views of subjectivity, missionaries understood and treated subjectivity as malleable by rhetorically persuasive exempla and repeated performances of the passions. Sanvitores was one among many animated copies of forefathers whose exemplary stories were made available on the printed page to be replicated in real life. Strobach, Germany's 'second Xavier' and Sanvitores's devoted follower, represents another example of such spiritual cloning. Words thus became flesh, as it were, pointing to the theological underpinnings of the new print medium and its deep cultural resonances with Reformation debates about other instruments of mediation between signs, words, and states of being, such as the sacraments, liturgy, or scripture.⁴

This book has foregrounded German instantiations of Jesuit masculinity or ways in which men in the Holy Roman Empire picked up on the Iberian models of Ignatius and Xavier. The Society of Jesus in general operated in the interstices of and across political powers and overseas empires, requiring a high degree of versatility, resilience, and mobility from all of its members. Such demands were amplified for German members. Being a missionary meant being a person on the move. It required a religious vision, ready-made templates for action, strong desires for emulation, and the will to sustain those desires. All of this German men had aplenty, along with colleges and printing presses that kept the vision alive. But actualizing the missionary vision required the stuff of overseas empires – money, ships, and territory, or places to go where 'pagan souls' awaited conversion. The main obstacle to the German missionary enterprise was the Holy Roman Empire's lack of colonial possessions, of course, itself a function of the empire's religiously and political fractured nature. In the absence of a maritime imperial infrastructure, a political presence abroad, and the German equivalent of the Iberian *patronato* ('patronage') system, there was no easy, obvious way of living the missionary dream for German Jesuits, no clear point of entry or straightforward passage into the 'Indies.' Rather, Germans had to outsource parts of the enterprise of evangelization to foreign political powers, occupying a more tenuous position than others. The Habsburg connection that ran between Spain and Germany provided a portal to the overseas missions for German Jesuits. However, they remained outsiders of sorts, who had come of age in another political and cultural landscape and brought other questions and sensibilities to the Spanish overseas empire. Adam Kaller's rendering of Catarina de San Juan's story provides a telling

4 On the generative alliance of theology and print technology, see Puff et al., *Cultures of Communication*.

example of the ways in which Central European origins inflected concerns and perceptions. Unlike the Spaniard Alonso Ramos he was confounded by Spanish colonial *casta* categories and invested in linking Catarina's story to the Austrian Habsburgs.

Given the barriers to German participation in the overseas mission it is even more striking just how many Germans applied for and ended up working in 'the Indies.' It is for a reason that the Jesuit's Superior General, Muzio Vitelleschi, sought to push pastoral work in the biconfessional Holy Roman Empire by declaring 'Germany is a second India'; his choice of language confirms that 'the Indies' loomed large in the imagination of German Jesuits as a most desirable mission arena. Whereas Germany's colonial enterprises in the early modern period were few to begin with and all proved abortive, German Jesuits continually reproduced themselves and expanded their presence beyond the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire and the European continent. The missionary men were early modern Germany's main continuous link to other continents. As Germans they joined the colonial adventures of other Europeans and generally helped increase Europe's influence in the world, while also gathering information about foreign places and peoples and furnishing audiences back home with new knowledge about the larger world. The high level of education at German Jesuit colleges, the prolific output of their members, and Germany's vibrant print business were enabling factors. Already in the sixteenth century, the German publishing industry played a leading role in disseminating and adapting information about the Iberian discoveries for a Europe-wide audience. It is thus no coincidence that it was a German cosmographer, Martin Waldseemüller, who coined the term 'America' with his famous 1507 map.⁵ But early modern Germany was not only a crucial clearinghouse for 'New World' information procured by others. As German Jesuits migrated to the Spanish Indies in growing numbers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they not only helped build the European overseas order, but also began to offer German audiences firsthand accounts of foreign lands by German actors and observers and shaped the views of their compatriots about the place of Germans in an increasingly connected world. The activities and reporting of German Jesuits in the early modern world extended to remote Pacific islands like the Marianas that became part of Germany's colonial empire in the late nineteenth century.

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5 Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World*.

As an epilogue to the stories told in this book, let us fast-forward to the twenty-first century and consider a Catholic man's journey in reverse from Guam in the Marianas back to Europe. In 2005, Chamorro Archbishop Anthony S. Apuron, representative of Guam's Catholic Church at the time, took a trip to Spain, the former colonial metropole, to make a historic apology: the Chamorro church leader expressed regret for Matâ'pang's 1672 murder of Sanvitores. For Apuron, the Jesuit Sanvitores is a saint rather than, say, an agent of colonialism, and accordingly the former archbishop was actively promoting his canonization in Rome. This initiative, albeit not without its critics, has the support of Guam's broader Catholic community, as was the case with Sanvitores's earlier beatification, also a Guam-driven process that led to his widely celebrated elevation as 'Blessed Diego Sanvitores' by Rome back in 1985.⁶

The strong presence of Catholicism in today's Guam, one of the world's last remaining colonies, dates back to the Jesuit mission discussed in this book. Yet in today's globalized world of competing faiths and secularisms, these European origins do little to explain the particular vibrancy and inflections of Chamorro Catholicism. Here one needs to consider larger shifts in geopolitics in modern times and, more important still, the active role that Chamorros have had in shaping Catholicism in their own image. As previous chapters have shown, Chamorros reformed and appropriated Catholicism from the moment it arrived on their shores.⁷ In the centuries leading up from Jesuits' arrival to our own time, this process has continued and Catholicism has become a site for building an indigenous identity to counter other Western encroachments and, in more recent times, the homogenizing tendencies of globalization.

Consecutive colonial regimes left their mark on Chamorro culture and history. Spain held on to the Marianas until its defeat in the Spanish-American War in 1898, when it had to surrender Guam to the United States and sold the Northern Marianas to Germany. Japan came to occupy the Northern Marianas during World War I and for 30 months also Guam during World War II. In 1944, the United States wrested control of the islands from the Japanese and used the Marianas as the base from which it staged its attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Northern Islands eventually acquired the status of a US 'commonwealth' while Guam has remained a territory under US control.⁸

6 Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, esp. pp. 4, 43-44, 104-109. My argument in the epilogue has been shaped by and shares much in common with Diaz's work.

7 This process overlaps with what David Atienza describes as 'adaptive resistance'. Atienza, 'CHamoru "Adaptive Resistance"'.
8 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*; Russell, *Tiempon I Manmofo'na*.

Life in twenty-first-century Guam takes place in the shadow of militarism and tourism. A key base for nuclear-powered submarines and space satellites, Guam has been more important than ever to United States geopolitics in the post-9/11 world. Simultaneously, Guam has developed into a hub for international business travel in the bustling economies in and around the Pacific, with the economic behemoth China luring travelers but also stoking already existing fears of declining US influence. The celebrated 'American Century' has given way to the much-touted 'Pacific Century,' once again positioning Guam, a US possession in the Pacific, as a site of particular significance as well as anxiety, and its Chamorro inhabitants at the crossroads of large forces beyond their control. Perhaps not surprisingly, Chamorro demographics have been changing rapidly, too. At a time when more and more military personnel and tourists are seeking the island's shores, many Chamorro inhabitants are thus leaving Guam to relocate in other regions, especially the US mainland. Although this emigration trend already began in the postwar period, it has been accelerating in this century, raising pointed questions about what it means to stay and be Chamorro in today's Guam.⁹

In the midst of sea changes in regimes and demographics, Catholicism introduced in the Reformation has remained an unmovable anchor for the Chamorro people. No less than 98 percent of today's Chamorros in the archipelago identify as Catholics, and not only in name but as Catholics who actively practice their faith.¹⁰ Such vibrant commitment to Roman Catholicism stands in stark contrast to the precipitous decline of membership and church attendance in modern Catholic Europe. It compares favorably, too, to Latin America, where Catholicism has been losing considerable ground to Anglo-American Protestantism in recent years. Exposed to some of the same forces that have eroded the Catholic Church in Europe and Latin America, Chamorro Catholicism continues to go strong. This is not to say that secularism is not making inroads into the island, softening some of Catholicism's edges, as evident, for example, in the swift acceptance of same-sex marriage in summer 2015. Still, participation in Catholic rituals and feast days is considerably higher in Guam than in Europe or other so-called 'traditional' Catholic countries.

What then accounts for Catholicism's hold on Chamorro culture? Because culture and language form an integral whole, it is no small matter that the Catholic Church has played a pivotal role in the preservation of the Chamorro language throughout tumultuous times. Diego de Sanvitores, convinced

9 Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, pp. 14-16.

10 Atienza and Coello de la Rosa, 'Death Rituals and Identity,' p. 472.

of the efficacy of teaching the gospel in indigenous vernaculars, quickly learned to speak the Chamorro language and produced its first written grammar.¹¹ The Chamorro language became the language of conversion to Catholicism, even as Spanish and Latin remained in use for certain terms and prayers. The Church's buttressing of the Chamorro language is also evident in the early twentieth century during US rule. When the flu epidemic of 1918 decimated Guam's Spanish-speaking population, official island Catholicism fully embraced the Chamorro language as its medium under the leadership of the Spanish Capuchin priest and linguist Román María de Vera. New priests arriving from Spain supported rather than reversed this new dominance of Chamorro. These developments originating within Guam's Catholic Church took on a national and anticolonial edge because they coincided with US efforts to make English the island's lingua franca.¹²

More broadly speaking, in modern times Catholicism has gained in importance as a site for asserting Chamorro identity in direct response to the colonial project of the United States to 'modernize' Guam. Enacting a Puritan national narrative built on the Black Legend, US authorities pushed to move the islanders out of 'the dark ages' under Spanish rule. New schools opened doors, US Protestant missionaries arrived, and official campaigns were waged against 'superstitious' Catholic practices. Notably, in the twentieth century American officials cracked down on the annual celebration of a novena in Tomhom Bay, where Sanvitores's blood is said to have been spilled and the sea miraculously turns red on the anniversary of his death.¹³ Such measures have had ironic results: even though Catholicism came to Guam under Spanish rule and Spain ruled the island for much longer than the United States, Catholicism morphed into a potential platform for opposing US rule and modern Chamorro identity became deeply imbricated with the island's Spanish cultural legacy. A testimony to the political influence of Guam's Catholic community, the island is the only place under US law where a religious holiday other than Christmas is a federally sanctioned legal holiday. Every December 8, Chamorro Catholics celebrate the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in honor of their indigenized virgin and patron saint Santa Maria Kamalen, as discussed in this book.¹⁴

Catholicism is still a crucial counterpoint to WASP cultural and political domination. To be sure, Chamorro culture, like any culture, also contains

11 Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 45.

12 Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, p. 102; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, p. 159.

13 Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, pp. 86-99.

14 Jorgensen, 'Guam's Patroness,' p. xii. See Chapter 4.

contradictions; feelings of national US pride can coexist with the feelings of alienation and oppression for which Catholicism offers an outlet. In addition, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, Catholicism has also increasingly furnished an idiom of criticism and alternate ways of being that serve to challenge the reigning neoliberal credo of individualism and consumerism. And the Catholic faith has provided Chamorros with a precious space for the continued transmission of cultural traditions, including traditions that predate its arrival on the island.

A particularly poignant case in point can be found in death customs. Chamorro Catholics perform lengthy rituals to transition their deceased into the afterlife, as well as reconstitute in the here and now the larger collective that lost a valued member. Communal meals take place and so do multiple novenas, including postfuneral and even anniversary novenas, and to some extent rework precontact traditions of feasting and ancestor veneration. Senior women lead the community in prayer, which echoes and bolsters the influence that women generally still wield in Chamorro family affairs, a faint trace of the matrilineality of yore. Female authority is further propped up on a symbolic level by the choice of prayers for the novenas: the rosary. The Virgin Mary, not Christ, is cast as the lead in the Chamorro spiritual drama of collectively ushering a soul into the afterlife, and ideally, directly into heaven. Taken together, funeral practices showcase the importance of community, of female authority, and of reciprocity among the living and the dead, presenting in effect countercultural values vis-à-vis American-style hegemonic notions of eternal youth, individual autonomy, and military machismo.¹⁵ Within this newly oppositional Catholicism, the feminine and women have gained new prominence and importance, a shift in gender dynamics that contrasts with the early days of Guam Catholicism under male Jesuit and Spanish colonial rule.

Being Chamorro and being Catholic then have become so tightly intertwined that it is impossible to disentangle one strand from the other without unraveling the entire cultural fabric. This fusion helps explain Archbishop Apuron's jarring apology in Spain and his identification with the cause of Diego de Sanvitores rather than Chief Matã'pang. It makes sense that Chamorro Catholics have had a stake in claiming Sanvitores and seeing the Spanish Jesuit beatified and canonized as 'their saint,' while those who see in him an instrument of colonial oppression still do not come out strongly against Catholicism per se.¹⁶ Although the latter once came from Rome or

15 Atienza and Coello de la Rosa, 'Death Rituals and Identity.'

16 Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, p. 199.

the West, Catholicism in Guam is no longer 'of the West' but belongs to the Chamorros. In our globalized time, modern travelers can reach the Marianas fairly quickly unlike the Jesuits in Sanvitores's or Strobach's day. While the distance has shrunk in terms of travel since the Reformation era, Chamorro Catholic identity, born in that era, is now positioned at a considerable cultural distance from the homogenizing tendencies of US-sponsored capitalism.

Meanwhile, in Rome, the first Jesuit pope in history heads the Catholic Church, marking a rather different era of Jesuit masculinity and its relationship to the world. Born in the Americas rather than Europe, Pope Francis has traveled back to his home continent to apologize for the Church's 'grave sins' in colonial times. But he also elevated the Franciscan friar and California missionary Junipero Serra, a measure decried by many Native Americans who see Serra as a colonizer in monk's garb responsible for cultural genocide, yet lauded by US Hispanics who find that his canonization validates their importance to the making of the Americas. Whether Pope Francis will also apologize for the past sins of the Church in the Marianas or preside over the canonization of his early modern Jesuit forefather Diego de Sanvitores as Oceania's first saint remains to be seen.

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How did gender shape the expanding Jesuit enterprise in the early modern world? What did it take to become a missionary man? And how did missionary masculinity align itself with the European colonial project? This book highlights the central importance of male affective ties and masculine mimesis in the formation of the Jesuit missions, as well as the significance of patriarchal dynamics. Focusing on previously neglected German actors, Strasser shows how stories of exemplary male behavior circulated across national boundaries, directing the hearts and feet of men throughout Europe toward Jesuit missions in faraway lands. The sixteenth-century Iberian exemplars of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, disseminated in print and visual media, inspired late-seventeenth-century Jesuits from German-speaking lands to bring Catholicism and European gender norms to the Spanish-controlled Pacific. The age of global missions hinged on the reproduction of missionary manhood in print and real life.

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