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**NARRATIVES AND REPRESENTATIONS
OF SUFFERING, FAILURE,
AND MARTYRDOM**

**EARLY MODERN CATHOLICISM CONFRONTING
THE ADVERSITIES OF HISTORY**

Título: Narratives and Representations of Suffering, Failure, and Martyrdom:
Early Modern Catholicism Confronting the Adversities of History

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LEONARDO COHEN
(EDITOR)

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The exchange of ideas and information at the colloquium culminated in this book on the martyrdom, disappointment, and suffering of missionaries who would fail in the proselytizing projects to which they dedicated their lives. A year after the meeting in Lisbon, Martin Scorsese's film *Silence* was released. The movie underpinned our conviction that we were addressing a subject of great interest beyond the small group we had convened. The study of martyrdom, suffering, and disappointment brought us closer to new perspectives in understanding historical phenomena, including the history of emotions and early modern Christianity. Additional international conferences on these topics in recent years have sparked communication with other researchers whose contributions have further enriched the initial project.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ACA Louis Jadin. *L'ancien Congo et l'Angola 1639-1655. (D'après les archives romaines, portugaises, néerlandaises et espagnoles)*. Bruxelles: Institute Historique Belge de Rome, 1975.
- AHPB Archivo Histórico Provincial de Bizkaia.
- APCG Archive of the Poor Clares of Galway.
- ARSI Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu.
- AHSI Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu.
- DI Joseph Wicki and John Gomes, eds. *Documenta Indica*. Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1948-1988.
- FG Fondo Gesuitico.
- MHSI Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu.
- NRSVCE New Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition.
- NWB *Der Neue Welt=Bott oder Allerhand so Lehr= als Geist=reiche Brief/ Schrifften und Reis=Beschreibungen/ welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft Jesu aus Indien und andern weit-entfernten Ländern seit 1642 biß auf das Jahr 1726 in Europa angelangt seynd*. Ed. Joseph Stöcklein; Peter Probst; Franz Keller. Augsburg & Graz: Johann und Philipp Martin Veith Erben, 1726-36, and Vienna: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, 1748-58.
- JR Thwaites, Reuben Gold, (ed.) 1959, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 volumes, New York: Pageant Book Company.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of theodicy

This collection of twelve essays aims to contribute to the study of the concept of martyrdom and the assessment of suffering during the early Modern Age. The articles explore, from various perspectives, how post-Tridentine Catholicism faced diverse forms of grief resulting from disappointment and disillusionment over harsh confrontations with adverse realities. Trent's triumphalist attitude was subject to constant setbacks in the two centuries that followed. What are the common denominators underlying the modes of understanding of suffering, pain, disappointment, and frustration in the religious experience of missionaries and exiles in Europe and overseas? Evidently, legitimizing mechanisms were necessary in order to adapt to a reality that revealed itself fully, against all previous expectations. Thus, this volume presents various historical examples from several different regions, providing a comprehensive overview of the multiple forms of expression for the experiences of defeat and grief in post-Tridentine Catholicism.

In all cultures, and particularly those that are institutionalized, disappointment or "frustration" with normative hopes always occurs when expectations are too high. To avoid the consequences of social and personal disintegration, problems such as "meaningless suffering", and the "existence and triumph of evil" are interpreted so as to mitigate unfulfilled expectations, while, at the same time, serving as a palliative for emotional anxiety.¹

In what Peter Berger calls the irrational pole of a typological continuum of theodicy lies the simple and theoretically underdeveloped transcendence emanating from total identification with the collectivity. In his perception, the most profound aspect of the individual is kinship with a collectivity. Identification with others through meaningful interactions is important in both happiness and misfortune. Thus, the individual's misadventures, including the misfortune of

¹ Rene König – *Sociología*. Ed. and Prol. by Francisco Ayala. Trans. Adolfo Von Ritter-Zahony. Buenos Aires: Compañía General Fabril Editora, 1963, p. 257.

death, are mitigated through understanding them as mere episodes in the general history of a collectivity: “the stronger the identification, the weaker will be the threat of anomic arising from misfortunes in individual biography”²

As such, diverse religious and missionary communities may be immortalized through the genealogy of martyrdom. Personal misfortunes are interpreted as mere episodes within a long history. In many of the missionaries’ lives described in this volume, misfortunes were clearly conceived along these lines, extending in time and space towards Christian martyrdom. For Catholics, martyrdom was only an option for a few select individuals, rather than a general feature of “simply being a Christian” and continually living in mortal danger, as with the continuously persecuted Anabaptists, for example.

What is the meaning of history, or the entire human experience, including fatalities, in different geographical locations, social structures, or political circumstances? Theodicy projects compensation for future anomic phenomena in mundane terms: when the right moment comes, often as the result of divine intervention, sufferers will be consoled and the unrighteous chastened.

In other words, suffering and injustice are explicable in terms of their future *nomization*. Manifestations of messianism, millenarism, and scatology fall into this category. Therefore, present suffering and injustice become relative in terms of their reconversion at some glorious point in the future. This kind of theodicy, which is most vulnerable to contradiction by experience, might involve compensation in terms of life after death, when the sufferer would be comforted: the righteous are rewarded and the unrighteous are punished.

Thus, the unequal distribution of fortune is due to the sinfulness and injustice of the privileged, against whom divine retribution would eventually be unleashed. Moralism, then, serves this theodicy of the negatively privileged as a means of legitimizing the desire for revenge, either consciously or unconsciously. In what Max Weber calls “the religiosity of retribution” or “the faith in compensation”,³ grief may be considered as something of value, while carrying high expectations of retribution. However, the religiosity of suffering assumes the distinct characteristic of resentment only under very specific circumstances.

² Peter L. Berger – *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Anchor Books, 1990, p. 60. Emile Durkheim – *Suicide. A Study in Sociology*. Trans. A. Spaulding and George Simpson. London: Routledge, 1968, pp. 241-76.

³ Max Weber – *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*. Vol. 1. Ed. by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. Trans. Efraim Fischhoff et al. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1978, p. 494.

Failure and grief

According to some researchers, the great merit of Christian vis-à-vis old Mediterranean morality is recognizing that suffering can transform grief from a negative status to an experience with positive spiritual content. This represents an effort to search for the salvational attributes of suffering.⁴

For such Christians, historical events become theophany, not only revealing Divine will, but also the personal relationships between God and His chosen ones. This view constituted the basis of the philosophy of history in Christian thought since Saint Augustine's time.⁵

The global expansion of Catholicism in the sixteenth century marked the beginning of great spiritual tension between high expectations associated with crucial religious events, and contradictory outcomes and desolate scenarios. Most Christians refused to be subjected to such tension. Religious and military defeats were only endured as long as they were considered necessary for final salvation. Was it more comforting to consider that there might be some compensation for accidents, magic spells and ritual negligence? The chapters in this volume describe various extreme situations in which religious men, nuns, and missionaries had to adapt to harsh realities.

Most of the protagonists in this book are Jesuit missionaries. However, in order to give a broader overview of such events in post-Tridentine Catholicism, two chapters on the Clarisian and Franciscan mendicant orders are included. The former deals with Irish nuns exiled to Spain in the wake of the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland; and the latter with the martyrdom of Capuchin monks who voluntarily joined the mission in the Kongo.

Nere Intxaustegi Jauregi relates how the Clarisian nuns were forced to abandon their convents.⁶ These documents are very austere regarding the experiences of grief and distress. They reflect loneliness, isolation, and anomie; the precariousness of exile; and the difficulty communicating in a foreign land. The text describes the complex situation to which the nuns were exposed, and the disruption of the meaningful existence they had established in the familiar and stable environment they came from. It is not clear which language they used to communicate with their Spanish coreligionists. Loss of status, physical separation, and alienation must have caused the exiled nuns great difficulty with their self-identity. Bereft of their social bonds, they experienced the "horror of aloneness".⁷

⁴ Mircea Eliade – *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return*. Trans. Willard R. Trask. New York and Evanston: Harper & Row Publishers, 1959, p. 96.

⁵ Mircea Eliade – *Cosmos and History...*, pp. 110-11.

⁶ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 40.

⁷ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann – *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1967, p. 102.

Their continued feelings of grief, particularly nostalgia, melancholy, and yearning for their homeland, are striking.⁸

Many chapters deal with the approach adopted by the Society of Jesus to such defeat and pain. As Päivi Räisänen-Schröder states at the beginning of her article, in the Early Modern Jesuit context, missions, martyrdom, and suffering are closely interlinked.⁹ The documents written by the Jesuits were particularly explicit about the details of suffering, failure, and defeat. In many of their writings, the Jesuit protagonists struggled to vindicate the Order, to dignify the suffering of those unable to achieve their life-long goal, and to exalt martyrdom.¹⁰ In such circumstances, grief seems to have been a tool for forging interpersonal communion. Indeed, the key to personal and collective mourning in defeat, and the endurance of grief, are both part of the general Catholic tradition: the attempt to reconcile God's wisdom with human misery.¹¹ Such a perception is even more explicit in the work of Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus. Ignatian literature clearly refers to supervening suffering that is not sought after; pain caused by the loss of honor, injury, humiliation, and failure; anguish as a result of difficulties, weariness, and apostolic frustration. Such unpursued suffering has the capacity to throw life into disarray.¹² The concept of martyrdom evolved over time. Although the martyrdom of the flesh is still the most common category, other models include the suffering of the heart, torture, voluntary

⁸ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 46.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 141.

¹⁰ Through its establishment in 1588, the Congregation of Rites technically became the only entity allowed to define martyrdom (at least in its view and the Church's): that is, according to the Congregation, someone judged to be a martyr – through that very definition in its strictest sense – is also classified as blessed or as a saint. This tight definition did not stop some from deeming themselves martyrs. Such claims often flourished without Church oversight, and the Congregation ended up ratifying many of these cases as true martyrdoms (and sainthoods). The Congregation depended on these very reputations to instigate its own investigations and final judgments on reputed martyrs. In the present volume we deal with martyrdom in its widest sense, which includes popular conceptions of martyrdom, as well as the use of anthropological tools to uncover its presence among past groups or societies. These tools include (but are not limited to) technical martyrdoms; that is, those defined as such by the Church, and codified from 1588 through the Congregation of Rites.

¹¹ Leszek Kolakowski describes this idea: “This attempt to reconcile God's wisdom with human misery is especially characteristic of all those currents within Christianity – from Erigena to Theillard de Chardin – succumbed to the temptation of pantheistic belief in the total absorption, at the end of time, of whatever the history of the world has produced. From this standpoint evil is not ultimately evil at all: we only think of it as such because the complete history of salvation is beyond our reach, because we absolutize certain fragments of it without realizing that in the divine plan they serve the cause of good. Thus, the question of evil is not much solved as cancelled, since all the things we imagine to be evil are merely bricks for building a future perfection, and nothing is going to be wasted in the process”. Leszek Kolakowski – *Religion: If There Is No God*. New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 35.

¹² José Antonio García Rodríguez – Dolor. In *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*. Ed. José García de Castro et al. Madrid: Mensajero-Sal Terrae, 2007, vol. 1, p. 659.

giving up, sacrifice of life, death sentences in *odium fidei*, sacrificial victims, and atonement of the soul.¹³

Many missionaries apparently resorted to Ignatian terminology and Christian paradigms to shape the grief engendered by such disappointments: God causes or allows grief for some good purpose and He is active and present in it. The challenge lies in not only enduring suffering but also preventing it from derailing individual life and group or community identity.

As loyal representatives of post-Tridentine Catholicism, the Jesuits confront the experience of suffering and failure with patience and equanimity.¹⁴ This approach is evident in the Catechism of the Council of Trent, which calls on the clergy not to feel pain when God does not hear their prayers, but “to refer all things to His will and pleasure, considering that what pleases God should be so, and not what may otherwise be agreeable to us, is useful and salutary”.¹⁵ This catechism also asks which advantages result from tribulations, answering as follows: “The pious listeners are to be taught that during this mortal career they should be prepared to bear all kind of inconveniences and calamities, not only with equanimity, but also with joy ... In contumely and torture we should imitate the blessed apostles, who having been scourged, rejoiced exceedingly that they were accounted worthy to suffer contumely for Christ Jesus”.¹⁶ Similarly, the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus call neophytes to suffer any such injuries, mockeries, and affronts with patience and the help of God’s grace.¹⁷

The sixteenth century witnessed a shift in the martyrdom motif. According to Brad S. Gregory, in the late Middle Ages martyrs were not needed as models of self-sacrifice. Imitating their deaths lacked relevance in the absence of active

¹³ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 285.

¹⁴ “If oppressed by poverty, if by sickness, if by persecutions, if by other troubles and afflictions, we must be firmly convinced, that none of these things can befall us without the will of God, which is the supreme reason of all things; and that therefore we ought not to be grievously disturbed by them, but to bear them with unconquered mind, having always in our lips that [of the Apostles], ‘The will of the Lord will be done’ (Acts. Xxi.14); and that of holy Job, ‘As it hath pleased the Lord; so is it done: blessed by the name of the Lord’ (Job i, 210)”. *Catechism of the Council of Trent*. Ed. and Trans. J. D. D. Donovan. Dublin: J.M. O’Toole & Son, 1867, p. 464.

¹⁵ *Catechism of the Council...*, p. 503.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 503.

¹⁷ See the English edition by John W. Padberg – *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms: A Complete English Tradition of the Latin Texts*. St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996, p. 46 [102]. “Ignatius counseled: ‘in times of desolation, never move away, but stand firm and constant in the purposes and determinations you had made the day before the desolation, or in the determination you had made in the previous desolation’ (Ex. 318) when things seemed clear, for with the counsel of desolation ‘we cannot be on the right path.’” They are encouraged to consider desolation as a transitory state: “the Lord has given proof, through its natural powers, they should resist the agitations and temptations of the enemy, for it can be done with divine aid”, which is more important, although they clearly did not feel this (Ex. 320). While it may not be apparent, Ignatius suggests that the desolate always have the strength not to cower from the situation and to adapt to it (Ex. 320, 324, 325).

enemies of the Christian faith. However, the situation changed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a world burdened with corporal and spiritual afflictions, Christians greatly needed the powers God granted to His heavenly friends.¹⁸ As the Catholics of Britain and the overseas missionaries began to die for their faith, Catholic enthusiasm for martyrdom as a tool for spiritual edification and the consolidation of Catholic identity grew.¹⁹ Afterwards, Jesuit missionaries were persecuted and executed in Japan. Such disastrous experience and the exaltation of Jesuit martyrdom that followed those events also seems to have solidified suffering as the fundamental path of many missionaries at that time.²⁰ Catholic narrative highlights it as a period of martyrdom: the sacrifice of blood for the sake of faith. For many believers, being a Catholic meant not only to live as one, but also to die as one. While this motif was consistently present in the missionaries' work, as in the history of Christianity, these personal examples are embedded within the larger narrative of the mission's failure and the attempt to give meaning to such sacrifice. Jesuit martyrdom clearly served to create a sense of cohesion in the Order.

As social psychologists explain, groups, like individuals, require a sense of connection through a temporary axis. The decision by Afonso Mendes, the defeated Catholic patriarch of Ethiopia, to write a calendar of the Martyrs of Ethiopia in the last years of his life reflects his support for cohesion in space and continuity in time for members of this group, who confronted rupture, disillusionment, and deterioration.²¹ According to Heinz Kohut, "If a group feels history-less, it lacks an important aspect of a live, vital group self."²² The group itself would not exist without support.²³

¹⁸ Brad S. Gregory – *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999, p. 34.

¹⁹ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 71.

²⁰ The Jesuit Manuel de Almeida associates the Ethiopians' return to their ancient heresies with the Catholic Church's failures in the world, including that involving the Japanese. See Camillo Beccari (ed.) – *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Saeculo XVI ad XIX*. Roma: C. de Luigi, 1903-1917, vol. VII, p. 133. See also George Elison – *Deus Destroyed. The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1988.

²¹ Camillo Beccari (ed.) – *Rerum Aethiopicarum...*, vol. XIII, pp. 399-407.

²² Heinz Kohut – *Self Psychology and the Humanities: Reflections on a New Psychoanalytic Approach*. Ed. by Charles B. Strozier. New York: W.W. Norton, 1985, p. 236.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 237. Julia Kristeva also points out the relationship between sense of self, experience of trauma and suffering, and creative symbolic expression in both art and religion. Her main work, *Black Sun*, focuses on traumatic, disruptive and disintegrating dimensions of psychological experience, and how symbolic and aesthetic creation is a response to suffering, melancholia and loss of meaning. See Julia Kristeva – *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989. See also James Dicenso – *New Approaches to Psychoanalysis and Religion: Julia Kristeva's Black Sun. Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*. 24 (1995) 279-95.

As the religious order faced frustration due to unfulfilled objectives, a possible alternative was contrived prejudice against their opponents. The missionaries' failure generated significant levels of frustration and, in turn, prejudice that was aimed at their rivals and other surrounding groups.²⁴ A recurring reaction in such cases was the excommunication of adversaries, as carried out by the Capuchins in the Kingdom of Kongo. Under evidently tense circumstances, Capuchin missionaries recurrently excommunicated the rulers and other high dignitaries of Soyo.²⁵ As Räisänen-Schröder points out, the slow and difficult progress of the missionary undertaking was usually due to the "lack of consistency" and "stupidity" of the natives.²⁶ In Ethiopia, the Catholic patriarch accused local leaders of ingratitude and, in later testimonies, referred to the Ethiopians' lack of consistency and backbone, in which, he said, they were similar to Muslims.²⁷

Oh ungrateful and strange land, ingrate to God and strange to the Roman Pontiff, his vicar on earth, ingrate and strange to the King of Portugal, to its true patriarch the bishop and to the fathers, you are not worthy of having our feet carry your dust; hence I shake it off. Here I leave everything I took from thee.²⁸

However, on some occasions, the failure or defeat of the missionary project turned into a motif for tensions among members of the same religious order. In such difficult situations, textual canon and tradition entered into conflict with new experiences in foreign lands and missionaries tried to justify their way of proceeding, on the back of their rivals' failure. On the one hand, such a situation is very clearly depicted by Linda Zampol d'Ortia in her article on the missionary enterprise in Japan, addressing the controversy between the Portuguese Jesuit, Francisco Cabral, and the "Visitor", Alessandro Valignano. According to Cabral, the expulsion of the Jesuit fathers from the Asiatic country was not persecution *in odium fidei*, but simply the consequence of Valignano's mistaken policies and the liberality of his proceedings:²⁹

Because until now we lived in poverty and need, as it was a necessity, for both the inner and outer man and for the growth of conversion. But now since three or four years ago we proceed with more liberality, and expenses, and with

²⁴ On the link between prejudice and frustration, see the references presented by James Vivian and Rupert Brown – Prejudice and Intergroup Conflict. In *Companion Encyclopedia of Psychology*. Ed. by Andrew M. Colman. London, New York: Routledge, 1994, vol. 2, pp. 831-851, specifically p. 836.

²⁵ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 57.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 156.

²⁷ Camillo Beccari (ed.) – *Rerum Aethiopicarum...*, vol. XIII, p. 302.

²⁸ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 204.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 173.

people who are not very used to the works and necessities of the land, and to its many temptations and freedoms. So that as it were from a watchtower, I foresee the coming storm.³⁰

On the other hand, Sabina Pavone shows that the suppression of the Society of Jesus in the second half of the eighteenth century was seen as a punishment to the Marquis of Pombal, who scattered the Order.³¹ In such cases, martyrdom would vindicate true Christian suffering through the pain inflicted by his rival, who was not an idolater but a powerful Portuguese ruler. Many years later, such suppression would still be considered a form of martyrdom and, therefore, according to Eleonora Rai, also became a privileged way of “access to sainthood after the Restoration of the Society of Jesus”.³² This was spiritual martyrdom: exile, mental and physical isolation from the religious community, and not being allowed to continue in the Order’s spiritual framework. The rebirth of the Society of Jesus in 1814 would vindicate these virtues as heroic.³³

Another option for confronting failure is based on suffering as a shared experience, creating communion in time and space. As Julia Kristeva puts it: “This is the first way in which Christianity has effected a revolution in the approach to suffering. Sharable between humans and Christ, who, in assuming it, confers upon it an extraordinary dignity”.³⁴ The chapters presented in this volume show suffering-to-suffering communication, sometimes as a compassionate contagion (to suffer with others), interpreted as an unavoidable path to salvation: pain makes existence meaningful. In this sense, as suggested by John Steckley, the martyrdom narrative was used in New France to shed a more positive light on the double tragedy of the Wendats and the Jesuits. This narrative gave rise to the saints who would intercede for the Wendats, and allowed the Jesuits to reach the highest level of spirituality: eternal life beyond death.³⁵ “Considering the glory that redounds to God from the constancy of the Martyrs, with whose blood all the rest of the earth has been so lately drenched, it would be a sort of curse if this quarter of the world should not participate in the happiness of having contributed to the splendor of this glory”.³⁶

“Failure, then, failure! So the world marks us at every turn”. On this issue, William James asks: “What single-handed man was ever on the whole as successful

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 172.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 257.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 266.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 269.

³⁴ Julia Kristeva – *The Incredible Need to Believe*. Translated by Beverley Bie Brahic. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009, pp. 90-91

³⁵ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 129.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 135.

as Luther? Yet, when he grew old, he looked back on his life as if it had been an absolute failure.³⁷ This could be reaffirmed at any time by errors, faults, and lost opportunities, and measured in terms of the expectations previously generated: for example, disappointment due to failure in longed-for processes of conversion, and rejection of the Gospel by infidels and schismatics. As he faced exile from his residence in Ethiopia, the Catholic patriarch Afonso Mendes was forced to confront the debacle: “[Ethiopia] crucifies the Son of God again; she is not worthy anymore of looking upon the cross that the Roman Pontiff entrusted me to carry forth.”³⁸

Culture shock and the significant alienation experienced within the environment carried a great potential for willful martyrdom. As Päivi Räisänen-Schröder shows, German missionaries in the Amazon and Orinoco regions faced a twofold culture shock: they experienced alienation from their Portuguese and Spanish colleagues, on the one hand, and from the native peoples on the other. Under such circumstances, solitude and the eremitical life led the missionaries to express nostalgia and yearning for their loved ones and their homeland,³⁹ which provided them with many opportunities to exalt suffering and martyrdom.⁴⁰ Also, as noted by Jesse Sargent, Jesuit missionaries at King Akbar’s court experienced daily difficulties and frustrations with various interpreters who did not understand their ideas. Not only was frustration great regarding the technicalities of language, but also regarding the minority status assigned to the missionaries in all the prominent Muslim circles, which significantly affected the Jesuits in the Mughal Empire.⁴¹

However, the extent of the alienation within the environment is indicated by the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773. This shock and their alienation from the surrounding reality derived in some cases from their relationship to the Mother Church. Sabina Pavone’s article in this volume presents the perception of martyrdom caused by the painful experience of exile. For that generation of Jesuits, martyrdom helped to create an effective community and set the foundations for the Order’s collective memory.⁴² The Jesuits who experienced the crucial event of suppression also invoked martyrdom and considered their experience as a form of *Imitatio Christi*.⁴³ Indeed, as compared to Christ’s suffering, theirs always

³⁷ William James – *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. London and Glasgow: The Fontana Library, 1960, p. 146.

³⁸ Camillo Beccari (ed.) – *Rerum Aethiopicarum...*, vol. VII, pp. 234-35.

³⁹ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 147.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 142.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 197.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 264.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 272.

seemed to be insufficient, as in the case of Bohemian father Karel Příklad, who wrote: "I am ashamed to suffer so little for my God".⁴⁴

However, missionaries also experience failure as a consequence of everyday events that may become tedious, and generate hopelessness and meaninglessness. As Päivi Räisänen-Schröder vividly points out, the disappointment of missionaries who became absorbed in unattractive tasks, such as supervising cooks, as compared to the motivation and fervor that led them to engage in missionary work, was marked.⁴⁵ Jesuit Father Anton Sepp wrote about this very eloquently: "Who in Europe would have thought that a missionary has to consider such things? I would not have believed it, and still cannot believe it, although I see it with my own eyes, and feel it with my own hands".⁴⁶

There was disappointment in the face of banality: Is this all there is? The crisis of failure based on a growing sense of dissatisfaction with ordinary life was sometimes quite dramatic. In many cases, missionaries did not look at their lives with sufficient force and criticism. Such discrepancy between the imagined ideal and the surrounding circumstances was in many cases the trigger for conversion processes.⁴⁷ As John Steckley points out in this volume: "At some point, martyrdom was a solution to the frustrations of the mission,⁴⁸ a blessing,⁴⁹ [or] a victory".⁵⁰ Moreover, the desire for martyrdom was certainly considered praiseworthy in overseas missions, although renouncing it, and learning the local language and carrying out pastoral and missionary work, was considered preferable in Jesuit circles.⁵¹

For many Jesuits, martyrdom, considered the most heroic way to die, served as a moral example, stimulating future generations to join the mission project. As Camilla Russell rightly points out, in the sixteenth century, while heretics were excluded from the Church and executed, martyrs were included upon their death.⁵² Texts written by the missionaries not only aimed to console and edify, but also to provide moral stimulation.⁵³ The dissemination of such writings in

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 263.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 154.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 155.

⁴⁷ John Lofland and Rodney Starck – Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective. *American Sociological Review*. 30: 6 (1965) 862-875.

⁴⁸ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 147.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 138.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 152.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp. 76-77.

⁵³ Markus Friedrich – Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*. Towards a Jesuit System of Communication. *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 77 (2008) 10; p. 71.

printed form contributed to the creation of new saints in a global age,⁵⁴ and to the tales of the Capuchin monks. As Robert Piętek shows, the Capuchin missionaries' descriptions highlighting sacrifice and martyrdom in the Kingdom of Kongo inspired new candidates in Europe to apply to go and serve in spreading the faith, representing a possible way of achieving sainthood.⁵⁵ Thus, the dissemination of these stories in Europe had an edifying purpose, intended to engender shared devotion aimed at giving rise to the desire for sacrifice and martyrdom as forms of redemption.

Procured suffering

Beyond explaining and legitimizing failure and defeat, this volume discusses the forms in which pain is expressed in various contexts during early modernity. Among these is procured pain: it is not only about tears that come as a surprise, but also those that are sought after. Many stories about young men in this volume express the desire for eternal reward, which cannot be achieved without personal sacrifice.⁵⁶

Camilla Russell gives various examples of how personal crisis evolved into an intense longing for a glorious death:⁵⁷ "We come to a candidate who deals directly with the prospect of death, not accidental, but that of a martyr. He declared that not only was he prepared to go to India and Japan, but if in those parts, there is a country that opens the road with my blood". Martyrdom was a way of paying for past sins and faults,⁵⁸ a tool for self-amendment.⁵⁹

Asceticism is based on the conviction that suffering is a virtue in itself. Bernard Shaw derided such a state of mind: "thinking you are moral when you are uncomfortable".⁶⁰ The *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola give the fundamental guidelines for welcoming pain and even physical suffering: "I will imagine myself a great sinner in chains".⁶¹ Indeed, Ignatius came up with a perception of moderate asceticism. Chastisement of the flesh⁶² is not absent

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 144.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 55-63.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 88.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 78. See also p. 136.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 84.

⁶⁰ O. Hardman – *The Ideal of Asceticism. An Essay in the Comparative Study of Religion*. New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1924, p. 14.

⁶¹ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 78.

⁶² The exercises define punishment of the flesh as: "Inflicting sensible pain, by taking spikes or flails or iron bars to the flesh, scourging oneself, and other manner of roughness". Ignacio de Loyola – *Spiritual Exercises*, 85.

from the Spiritual Exercises as a form of penance, but he suggested doing it in moderation, so that pain is sensitive to the flesh and does not enter the bones, giving only pain and not infirmity. Thus, he recommended as more suitable, flagellation with thin cords, which give pain on the outside, but not noticeable malady.⁶³ Therefore, the sixteenth-century guidelines in the Spiritual Exercises and Ignatian piety attempted to break with medieval asceticism. Even so, under adverse circumstances, the spiritual value of the faithful's dedication to suffering was recognized. Consequently, the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus vindicated the privilege of shedding the blood of this fleeting life for the sake of preaching the Gospel among infidels.⁶⁴

There is no doubt that renewal of the martyrdom phenomenon during the Reformation took on a particular form in the Catholic context. Suffering was not looked upon as an apocalyptic struggle, as in some Protestant circles. To Catholics, martyrdom was an option only destined for select circles, not a general religious experience.⁶⁵ According to Päivi Räisänen-Schröder, the Jesuits' work in securing the salvation of other souls constituted the path to their own salvation. In this process, their own suffering in reaching the goal emulated the model pre-established by the old saints and martyrs.⁶⁶ Some missionaries showed keen awareness of human nature's attraction to comfort, as well as the suffering and numerous hardships involved in serving in missions in faraway lands: travel by sea and many changes in climate, food and customs.⁶⁷

This zealous wish to die among barbarians, emulating the old martyrs,⁶⁸ is the result of tales about Jesuits who gave their lives for the sake of the faith. It is a kind of "baptism of blood", one of the highest forms of *Imitatio Christi*.⁶⁹ However, it is highly probable that such motivation was an integral part of early self-perception by the Society of Jesus, which became more prominent with the increase of violent deaths among missionaries in various parts of the world.⁷⁰ There are many stories of missionaries martyred as soldiers, who gave their lives in

⁶³ *Spiritual Exercises...*, cit.,86. After leaving Loyola, Ignatius did penance by scourging himself once a day. At Manresa, following strict discipline, he survived for several months on a diet of bread and water. According to Lainez, his successor, he believed that man could achieve sanctity before God through austerity and hard penance. In the *Spiritual Exercises* there are the elements of this basic Ignatian conduct, transformed as the product of internal grief and followed by a call to moderation. See Terrence O'Reilly – *The Spiritual Exercises and the Crisis of Medieval Piety. The Way Supplement. 70* (1991) pp. 105, 109.

⁶⁴ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 79.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 148-149.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 149.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 115.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 135-138.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 106.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 67 and 85.

religious wars, achieving a notable victory through their harrowing deaths.⁷¹ The first Jesuit to embody the renewed martyr model was Antonio Criminale, in 1549, at Fishery Coast in India. Since this foundational event, martyrdom increasingly assumed a dominant place in the awareness and expectations of the Society of Jesus's mission. As mentioned by Russell, the lists compiled and published in 1950, *Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu*, include 907 Jesuits who suffered violent deaths between 1540 and 1773.⁷² The purpose of these stories was twofold: to inform, instruct, and attract new candidates to the Order and the mission, and to obtain material and moral support from possible benefactors.⁷³ Thus, in Italy, after the Restoration of the Society of Jesus, many Jesuits expressed their desire to take part in and shed their blood in missions. As Eleonora Rai explains: "The memory of the Suppression was still fresh, and the idea that martyrdom (especially in mission territory) was part of the life of every Jesuit, was quite diffused as indicated by the *Litterae Indipetae*."⁷⁴

Camilla Russell and Elisa Frei present various detailed examples in which candidates for the mission were eager to serve God in the most difficult situations. In this context, India, Japan, and China were the preferred destinations, mostly because they were considered dangerous.⁷⁵ Hunger for martyrdom is recurrent in the *Litterae Indipetae* petitions submitted by candidates to leave for the missions, even though only a few managed to be accepted.⁷⁶ Several articles vividly show the passion with which applicants described such aspirations: they repeatedly stressed their desire for martyrdom, torture, suffering, and a life of hardship for the sake of Evangelical poverty.⁷⁷

The particular social and family context of candidates to the missions is certainly relevant in understanding their leanings. Getting away from home, family and friends by means of voluntary exile are possible motives in many cases. As the postulant Domenico Arcolino put it: "I would go to lands alien and barbarous to submerge myself in an ocean of suffering."⁷⁸ Disappointment and frustration were evident among many of them, who felt tormented by superiors and relatives who tried to persuade them to abandon their most desired vocation.⁷⁹

Enthusiasm for martyrdom strengthened the vocation and devotion to the missionary enterprise; meanwhile, it also carried the risk of leading to dysfunction.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 89.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 84.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 287.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 97 and 106.

⁷⁶ See various examples in pp. 114-119.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 113.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 110-111.

Therefore, the Society's Generals, as Acquaviva in 1580, claimed that "Jesuits were in England to help in the salvation of souls as much, if not more, as for securing the salvation of the missionaries' own souls"⁸⁰ Enthusiasm was welcome, but not in excess, since the Order was governed by the duty of obedience above all. Excessive enthusiasm had to be tempered, as it could easily turn into disorderly and antisocial behavior, leading missionaries to neglect their duties.

Even within the scope of the applicants to the missions, there were traces of failure and disappointment when longed-for aspirations were found wanting. Elisa Frei gives various examples of candidates, who, although keen to join missions, saw their wishes unfulfilled and openly expressed their mistrust when others were elected. Many confessed their envy in letters, complaining of suffering terribly at hearing that others had been elected. Others explain their feeling of "holy envy" as a motivation for reaching their objectives.⁸¹ However, such failure led many to abandon their missionary vocation and even the Society of Jesus altogether.⁸²

Ceremonies and representation around defeat, suffering, and martyrdom

In this context, Christianity should be examined not only as an ideology, but also as symbolic practice. As Alfredo Fierro put it: "The motor and origin of practice is suffering exacted by the constraint of reality. Its determined ending and quieting can only lie in removing the yoke of such constraint through the creation of a different reality"⁸³

The transformation of the social environment, economic practice, and the natural order are self-transforming practices, beyond political practice. These cover all types of linguistic and communication systems: artistic and aesthetic, scientific and theoretical, ludic and sporting, and symbolic (ritual, ceremonies, symbolic gestures, etc.).

Symbolization responds to a deeply human need: the development of symbols and their corresponding meanings. Symbolic systems addressing the need for meaning, in turn, create frameworks to put the world in order, give a place to each person and thing, integrate limiting situations reflecting the dark side of life (death, suffering, solitude, and failure), bestow identity on an individual or group, and make it possible to continue living without the constant feeling of vertigo on the edge of anomic chaos. Symbolic practice has a transformative purpose: to create symbolic universes in which man can live a meaningful existence.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 116-119.

⁸² *Ibidem*, pp. 119-125.

⁸³ Alfredo Fierro – *Sobre la religión. Descripción y teoría*. Madrid: Taurus, 1979, p. 184.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 194.

In this context, after the Council of Trent, baroque art allowed the articulation and sublimation of suffering experiences. Painting, drama, and music became instruments for breathing fresh air into the Catholic experience of pain, by allowing worshippers to look at defeat and disappointment from a new perspective. Russell and Dann Cazés note the role of Jesuits in the promotion of martyrdom through visual culture.⁸⁵ Moreover, Cohen refers to the importance of aesthetic experience in the ceremony destined to become the path to exile for the Jesuits of Ethiopia.

In his essay, Cazés highlights the importance of theater as one of the most effective means by which communication strengthens devotion and inculcates moral behavior in the faithful. In this sense, dramatic representations of saints and martyrs constituted a more effective educational platform than sermons or even paintings.⁸⁶ This analysis clearly applies to the image of the baroque man, who preferred nature transformed by art over simple nature, as presented by José Antonio Maravall.⁸⁷ Thus, novelty also serves traditional interests. Poetic games, theatrical staging resources, and literary devices are equally used to pass on doctrine, and non-innovative and conservative ideologies.⁸⁸ Although Renaissance heritage is certainly not dead, it has strayed and is subject to strong control.⁸⁹ As Maravall points out, in the Spanish mind of the baroque age, the general trend was to gain satisfaction from every artifice and ingenious invention of human art.⁹⁰ For this reason, he explains, the role of theater in seventeenth-century society was fundamental.⁹¹ Its character as artifice made it easily adaptable to the objectives of the baroque age. In the same vein, Cazés shows how all aspects of the saints' lives linked to the miraculous and supernatural "required the use of theatrical machinery that served to astonish and marvel the audiences."⁹² Various visual compositions showed bloody and beheaded bodies. Such violent images were intended to impact the audience on an emotional level and indeed had a religious impact on those watching.⁹³ Jesuit letters also provide many examples of plays used to celebrate all kinds of events. Such representations achieved the expected effect: edification, crying fits, etc.

⁸⁵ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 73 and 222. For more on the importance of the Jesuit contribution to dramaturgy and theater during the Spanish Golden Century, see José Ramón Alcántara Mejía et al. (eds.) – *Dramaturgia y teatralidad en el Siglo de Oro: la presencia jesuita*. México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2014.

⁸⁶ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 209-211.

⁸⁷ José Antonio Maravall – *La cultura del Barroco. Análisis de una estructura histórica*. Barcelona, Caracas, México: Editorial Ariel, 1981, pp. 467-68.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 457.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 468.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 470.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 471.

⁹² Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 220-221.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 223.

Baroque theatrical plays focus on greatness, dazzle, and power, working at a psychological level. Technical resources enable actors to represent Divine characters, saints, kings, and their allegories, and superior beings inhabiting the heavenly space, seemingly confirming their superiority.⁹⁴ Dramatizations of the stories of saints were thus presented to various audiences, exalting and vindicating the resistance to martyrs and their persecutors,⁹⁵ promoting the cult of saints⁹⁶ with great emotional impact and fostering Catholic devotion.⁹⁷

“The Jesuits used mechanical artifice to wrest strong emotions such as when in the middle of a sermon, a curtain unexpectedly opened showing a dramatic religious scene which caused audiences to burst into crying and wailing”.⁹⁸ No less impressive is Cazés’s description of the staging of *The Wonder-Working Magician* by Calderón de la Barca: “As the curtain of the discovery space in the middle of the *vestuario* suddenly opens, it presents a visual composition of beheaded bodies and bloodied severed heads”.⁹⁹ Spectators would be aware that the characters have become martyred saints because this was implied in the dialogue, so this impressively violent image would be perceived to be in keeping with its religious significance. The unveiled visual composition presented the characters in a way that led to their identification as martyred saints: the *fachada del teatro* niches were normally used to introduce Divine characters, such as angels, Christ, the Virgin, and other saints. The elements shown in that area were, to some degree, associated by convention with the Divine and supernatural, or other aspects identified with the sacred. As mentioned above, these niches were also used to display paintings of sacred images, *tableaux vivants*, or to depict scenes from sacred history, hagiographies, and religious activities. Showing the bodies of executed heroes in that area established a relationship between the visual composition, and the portrayal of other saints and martyrs depicted in artistic representations. Even “framing” the composition inside the borders of the discovery space might suggest association with paintings of hagiographical subjects, reminding the audience of images in church altarpieces.¹⁰⁰

As Maravall explains, ostentatious baroque feasts were meant to inspire admiration.¹⁰¹ Dann Cazés provides a detailed description rich in visual elements: “Visual arts were used to create attractive backgrounds representing mountains, clouds, the sea; images painted on canvases were occasionally shown as aids in

⁹⁴ José Antonio Maravall – *La cultura del Barroco...*, p. 477.

⁹⁵ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 241.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 219.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 221.

⁹⁸ José Antonio Maravall – *La cultura del Barroco...*, p. 482.

⁹⁹ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 231.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰¹ José Antonio Maravall – *La cultura del Barroco...*, p. 487.

establishing fictional space. Portraits and paintings, even statues, would often be presented on stage or in one of the niches of the *fachada* for dramatic as well as spectacle purposes. In the staging of devout dramas, the presence of religious images was obvious and expected, and not only because of the impact attributed to visual representations in post-Tridentine times, but also because the pious value of such images could transcend the theatrical fiction and move the audience at a personal level related to their beliefs”¹⁰²

As Cazés points out, some of these representations aimed to contribute to the sanctification and canonization of recent church martyrs, such as Fray Alonso Navarrete in Japan. Thus, we see the dramatization of the martyrdom of the mendicant friars in Japan, in 1617, as shown in Lope de Vega’s *The Martyrs of Japan*.

The play contributed to the portrayal of missionaries as virtuous men, who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the salvation of the souls of others, and who confronted the dangers posed by their persecutors.¹⁰³ In this way, the play intended to honor the sanctification of the last hero in the Catholic Church, and exalt Navarrete’s preaching of the Gospel and martyrdom as a kind of moral teaching.¹⁰⁴

Ceremony and rite representing aesthetic value was of the utmost importance during the transition from great emotional disappointment and pain. It is interesting to frame this type of aesthetic/spiritual experience within the scheme presented by Mircea Eliade, who sees the historiographical passion in modern culture as a harbinger of its impending demise. Like the folkloristic belief that, at the moment of death, human beings remember their past in the minutest detail, historiographical consciousness is considered to precede and herald death. Modern man’s anguish is obscurely linked to the awareness of historicity and, in turn, to the anxiety of confronting “Death and Non-Being.”¹⁰⁵ Facing this alternative, the rite of passage leading to another mode of existence soothes the anguish associated with death, which is represented as reaching a new plane of being. This volume shows how remarkably the Jesuits detail this debacle of their difficult experiences. To dramatize and bestow meaning on the painful moment of rupture and expulsion of the Jesuits, Afonso Mendes removed his shoes, knelt down, dusted his shoes, cursed Ethiopia for forsaking him, recited verses from the New Testament, gave a sermon, and arranged choral accompaniment by his congregation. The impromptu ceremony symbolically sealed off the history of the

¹⁰² Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 223.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 241.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 239.

¹⁰⁵ Mircea Eliade – *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries. The Encounter Between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Realities*. Translated by Philip Maire. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1960, p. 235.

Jesuit mission, representing the raw pain caused by the end of what appeared to be a success story with significant accomplishments.

Ceremony and theatrical representation therefore have an important common denominator. In portraying human activity, a theater stage represents the human space. As a mental image, such space is featured in all the contemplative exercises.¹⁰⁶ Together with spatial positioning, the text of the play suggests inscription in time. Like scenic and extra-scenic spaces, there are also two temporalities: representation and represented action. The story or event that took place over ten years was staged in two hours. But the temporal can also be expressed by spatial, objectual, and scenic elements.

The unique characteristic of time in theater lies in the creation of a relationship with the here-and-now of the plot or its representation, consistent with the spectator's here-and-now. In this sense, theater as a genre surpasses the division between past, present, and future, allowing their coexistence.

Emotional aspects of defeat, failure, and exile

The martyrdom of the main protagonists in this volume is understood in the light of biblical models and the patterns of Christian literature proper, shedding light on events in the Modern Age as a continuation of a long historical process. The beginnings of biblical monotheism lie in the destruction by the patriarch Abraham of the idols in his own home, forcing him to flee into exile (Genesis 11, 28). The ancient Church martyrs developed similar patterns of personal sacrifice for destroying false gods. Theatrical plays and representations of the lives of ancient martyrs in the seventeenth century are an obvious example of this trend.¹⁰⁷ The motif is repeated in the narratives of the early Modern Age. Missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries held similar attitudes towards the early apostles and ancient martyrs regarding the symbolic embodiment of the powers of the Evil One. These motifs serve as an important point of reference for many characters in this book. The destruction of pagan cult centers occupied a prominent place in the reports sent by the Capuchins from the Kongo.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Friar Joris Van Gheel was beaten to death for opposing a pagan celebration and destroying idols.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Rogelio García Mateo – *Ignacio de Loyola: su espiritualidad y su mundo cultural*. Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, 2000, p. 294.

¹⁰⁷ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 217.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 52. This example agrees with primitive models of martyrs as people killed or punished for struggling against paganism. See the examples of Laurentius and Cyprianus in Daniel Ruiz Bueno (ed.) – *Actas de los mártires*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1987, pp. 476-597, 665-685.

Imitatio Christi (or *sequela Christi*) appears recurrently in various articles in this volume. As noted by Jesse Sargent, the Jesuit Rodolfo Acquaviva used the idea of God comforting a martyred Christ to soothe the pain he experienced in the Mughal Empire.¹¹⁰ Another example is the suppression of the Society of Jesus: “the most emotional and painful moment in the history of the Society”.¹¹¹ To express the suffering to which they were exposed, the Jesuits resorted to the expression “We were crucified ... our lives were placed on crosses and made to suffer”.¹¹² Exile and suppression represented a further chance to follow Jesus (the “captain” of the Society, to adopt a military term frequently used by the Jesuits) in his sufferings.¹¹³ Thus the Jesuits followed the model of a soldier, as presented in Ignatius’s biography, as a paradigm for understanding sacrifice for a particular purpose.¹¹⁴

Under these circumstances, suppression of the Society of Jesus may also be understood as a sacrificial offering. According to the narrative suggested by General Superior Jan Roothaan (1785-1853), the Order offered itself as a sacrificial lamb to allow the Roman Church to survive in a period of internal and external accusations.¹¹⁵ In this context, like Christ, the Order died and rose again. From this perspective, explains Eleonora Rai, suppression would become a great achievement of Jesuit spirituality.¹¹⁶ Martyrdom had its own reward, as shown by the subsequent sanctification of the Jesuits who suffered during the suppression.¹¹⁷ Against this backdrop and after the Restoration of the Order, José Pignatelli (1737-1811) used his correspondence to create a spiritual community emotionally linked to the glorious past.¹¹⁸

Within the latter narrative of sanctification of martyrdom, metaphorical and/or allegorical views of the staunch and stoic suffering of the Jesuits were initiated. Pope Pius XI wrote in 1954 about Pignatelli’s sanctification as a “rock that stands in the middle of a storm, meaning the conspiracy of governments and sects against God and the Church”.¹¹⁹ The symbol of a storm as an overwhelming depiction of the coming failure also applies in the case of Francisco Cabral, quoted by Zampol d’Ortia. Anticipating the defeat of the missionary enterprise in Japan, Cabral placed himself as the watchman on a watchtower, forecasting disasters that

¹¹⁰ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 195.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 280.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, p. 260.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 272.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 270-271.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 273.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 278.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 280.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 284.

would shake the missionary enterprise due to his coreligionists' excessive lack of prudence.¹²⁰

The interpretation of these narratives sheds light on the missionaries' motives in confronting various challenges, and provides a crucial framework for understanding their own choices and impending fate.

However, several articles in this volume go beyond the mere legitimization of the events under consideration. They deal with the analysis of various forms of expression associated with exhausting efforts, misfortunes, and martyrdom, which are essential elements in a long-winded redemption process.

It is also possible to discern specific patterns in the descriptions of emotional expressions. As Päivi Räisänen-Schröder notes, emotions may be understood as social and relational constructs that bind or divide people.¹²¹ While emotions are felt in the human body, they can also be experienced and expressed in relation to both the self and others, or within "emotional communities."¹²² In this sense, public suffering confirms the existence of a social boundary between two or more people.¹²³

Cultural context is the key to understanding expressions of failure, pain, and suffering, as well as the nature of the source. As Sabina Pavone correctly points out, the letters addressed to close relatives generally contain information with greater emotional content. However, letters written to those in charge of the Order and the Church may have been censored or manipulated *post factum* by the source's editor.¹²⁴

With respect to cultural context, tears were evidently a recurrent reaction in the face of failure and grief. Even so, specific societies prescribe different types of weeping, as well as when each form should be used. This volume describes how tears were usually shed in situations involving great devotional turmoil, and in such contexts, were usually linked to male stereotypes. In some cases of separation, frustration, and failure, the Jesuit missionaries accredited the tears to the faithful, rather than to themselves.

From the articles in this volume, it is evident that candidates applying to the mission describe their desire to be recruited with intense emotion and passion.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 174-175.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 145.

¹²² A concept coined by Barbara Rosenwein. Susan Broomhall – Emotions in the Household. In *Emotions in the Household, 1200-1900*. Ed. by Susan Broomhall. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 10; 13; Barbara H. Rosenwein – Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions. *Passions in Context*. 1 (2010) 11-12; Id. – Worrying about Emotions in History. *The American Historical Review*. 107 (2002) 842-844.

¹²³ Radcliffe Brown quoted by Ad Vingerhoets – *Why Only Humans Weep*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 146.

¹²⁴ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 254.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, p.112.

There are recurrent reminders of the importance of shedding blood as a way of highlighting the ideal image of the martyr. Some mission candidates wrote their petitions with blood instead of ink.¹²⁶ Others resorted to the metaphorical use of tears as a substitute for ink for this purpose.¹²⁷

Indeed, tears, and weeping are paradigms used to establish cultural figures of great transcendence. Ignatius of Loyola shed copious tears (there are some 175 recorded episodes of weeping in his spiritual diary), with reports that he cried every day during prayers as proof of his great devotion, and that he sought to bring tears to the readers' eyes. Ignatius's tears expressed his grief over his sins and his devotion to God. He also admitted that weeping was not always a spontaneous act, but could be learned and perfected in order to promote love and devotion for God. Tears were gifts, blessings from God designed to show grief and move others to compassion. As Elisa Frei suggests, in the early Modern Age, weeping embodied "a truly masculine ability in terms of its new definition of clerical manhood" in the Society of Jesus.¹²⁸

However, comparing drops of blood from penance to the drops of water from tears, Ignatius advised Francisco Borja to distinguish between times of ascetic struggle, which require few specific weapons to vanquish the enemy, and periods of mystical unity, in which the Lord or His grace are urgently sought.¹²⁹ Thus, in the Ignatian view, tears announce Divine encounters.

Yet, in the various articles presented, tears clearly express various emotions. Modes of weeping to show suffering differ considerably and can be distinguished from one another.¹³⁰ As Camilla Russell points out in her chapter, tears are sometimes a consequence of despair and not the holy man's obstinacy.¹³¹ At other times, tears expressed the disappointment of candidates who saw how their colleagues managed to join the overseas missions, while they remained behind.¹³²

Sadness and pain also appear as expressions of defeat and meaninglessness. As noted by Pavone in her chapter, the testimonies on the expulsion of the Jesuits from India, Brazil, and China in Marquis de Pombal's time, described old Jesuit fathers dying of grief after abandoning the mission and losing their *raison d'être*.¹³³ While confined in the São Julião prison in Lisbon, the Jesuit Giovan Franco Filipi eloquently wrote: "Our regular diet was the bread of sorrow and the water of

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 195.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 111.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

¹²⁹ Santiago Thío – Lágrimas. In *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*. Ed. by José García de Castro et al. Madrid: Mensajero-Sal Terrae, 2007, vol. 2, p. 1104.

¹³⁰ Ad Vingerhoets – *Why Only Humans Weep*, p. 143.

¹³¹ Leonardo Cohen, ed. – *Narratives of Suffering...*, p. 86.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 113.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, p. 259.

tears”.¹³⁴ The Jesuit’s nourishment was grief, drink, and tears. Moreover, in addition to tears, emotional expressions, such as anxiety, sadness, and insomnia, were common under suppression. As the German Jesuit missionary Anselm Eckart wrote after his arrest: “We were moving from Purgatory to Hell”.¹³⁵

As pointed out by Sargent, indifference was another way of confronting pain and failure among the Jesuits. Ignatius of Loyola stated in one of his letters that indifference allowed the religious to become detached from both the positive and negative aspects of experience: “To attain this it is necessary to make ourselves indifferent to all created things, in regard to everything which is left to our free will and is not forbidden. Consequently, on our own part we ought not to seek health rather than sickness, wealth rather than poverty, honor rather than dishonor, a long life rather than a short one, and so on in all other matters”.¹³⁶ As Sargent shows in his article, Ignatius’s concept of indifference elucidates how missionaries concealed their disappointment, as in the case of Rodolfo Acquaviva, who, after his lack of success at the court of King Akbar, finally decided not to become a Christian despite having left the circle of Islam. In line with the Ignatian instructions, Acquaviva stated: “I am indifferent, and the suspense of not knowing what God has in store for this mission, adds to my indifference”.¹³⁷

Thus, the expression of defeat, pain, failure, and exile in the context of Catholicism in the early Modern Age follows criteria established by mid-sixteenth-century reformers. Hence, the term *disappointment* is absent from the original texts written by the missionaries; rather, its causes and effects are described as a loss of comfort, trust, and hope for improvement. They do not relate to the mission’s slow progress, the desolate material conditions, and the natives’ hostility. As to whether tears should be shed in public or considered a sign of weakness, this volume confirms the great variation of these emotional experiences in terms of the addressee, the prevailing religious norms, and the philosophy in particular periods and geographical spaces.

This book seeks to contribute to the historical reconstruction of the subjective phenomena of grief, disappointment, suffering, and failure. It also endeavors to shed light on both how missionaries and devout Catholics gave meaning to these disconsolate experiences and the modes of expression reflecting unfulfilled expectations.

Leonardo Cohen

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 262.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 196.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*.

CAPUCHINS AND POOR CLARES



EXILE AND IMMIGRATION: IRISH NUNS IN SPAIN DURING THE EARLY MODERN AGES

NERE JONE INTXAUSTEGI JAUREGI

1. Introduction: Historical background

In the twelfth century, Henry II became the first English king to set foot on Irish soil.¹ Since then, Ireland was firstly under English influence, and later under English rule, until the country became independent in the twentieth century. Although the English presence in Ireland had its roots in the twelfth century, it was not until the sixteenth century that Gaelic Irish came face to face with the reality of the English conquest.² During Henry VIII's reign, religion became a hot issue when he ordered the dissolution of the religious orders.³ However, in the seventeenth century the situation worsened due to the English conquest and the intensified colonization by Protestant settlers from Britain. The year 1603 was a major watershed, since the English forces won the Nine Years' War (1594-1603) and the Plantation of Ulster began, while 1691 meant the end of the Williamite War in Ireland (1688-1691), an overwhelming victory for the supporters of the Dutch Protestant Prince William of Orange. Between these two dates, the Irish Rebellion of 1641 took place, and had the most profound effect on the continuing crisis of identity in Ireland.⁴ It began as a struggle by the Irish gentry to seize control of

¹ John Gillingham – Henry II invades Ireland in *The Great Turning points of British History: the 20 events that made the nation*. Ed. Michael Wood. London: Constable & Robinson, 2009, p. 1171.

² Brendan Fitzpatrick – *17th century Ireland: the war of religions*. Dublin: Barnes & Noble Books, 1989, p. 1.

³ Brendan Brandshaw – *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

⁴ Brendan Fitzpatrick – *17th century Ireland: The war of religions*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988, p. 4.

the English administration in order to obtain concessions for the Catholics. While the coup d'état failed, it started a rebellion known as the Irish Confederate Wars (1641-1653) between the native Irish on one side, and the English and Scottish settlers on the other. The Irish Catholics formed the Catholic Confederation in 1642, which became the de facto government in most of Ireland, and was aligned with the Royalists in the War of the Three Kingdoms that took place in England, Scotland and Ireland. This military event erupted in 1639 and continued until 1651 when the English Parliamentary Army won a series of conflicts and defeated the Irish Confederates, among other armies, in 1652. Therefore, from 1642 to 1649, two-thirds of Ireland was under a self-government known as Confederate Ireland. However, in 1649, after the execution of Charles I, a Parliamentary Army called New Model Army, led by Oliver Cromwell, invaded Ireland, defeating the Confederates and bringing the self-government to an end in 1652.

The Cromwellian conquest of Ireland was brutal, with the army destroying everything in its path.⁵ In April 1652, the war came to an end when the city of Galway surrendered after a nine-month siege.⁶ This led to harsh anti-Catholic laws and the confiscation of lands. Much of the Irish population had no option but to go into exile. As a result, many immigrants went to Catholic Europe. It should be pointed out that Irish religious immigration of both men and women became a common phenomenon. Thus, Gabriel de Beauvau, the bishop of Nantes,⁷ welcomed the Irish bishops Patrick Comerford and Robert Barry; there were religious Irishmen in Salamanca⁸; and in 1608 Dominican nuns settled in the Corpo Santo convent in Lisbon⁹, while in 1650 Irish nuns arrived at the community of La Bignolière in Nantes¹⁰. This distribution was quite similar to that of English Catholics, who also had to go into exile, and founded Catholic schools in the Flemish region.¹¹

Spain started the sixteenth century with a new king and a new dynasty: Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and a member of the Habsburg dynasty. Spain was the most powerful country in the world at the time, with control over many areas.

⁵ Kenneth Campbell – *Ireland's History: Prehistory to the Present*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, p. 128.

⁶ Marie Louise Coolaham – *Women, writing and language in Early Modern Ireland*. Oxford: University of Oxford, 2010, p. 64.

⁷ Éamon Ó Ciosáin, Alain Loncle de Forville – Irish nuns in Nantes, 1650-1659. In *Archivium Hibernicum* 54 (2004), p. 169.

⁸ León María Gómez Rivas – *El Colegio de los Irlandeses en Salamanca hacia 1808. Una nota sobre la correspondencia y otras circunstancias al tiempo de la invasión francesa* – Salamanca: Editorial Universidad de Salamanca, 2010, p. 274.

⁹ John O'Heyne, Ambrose Coleman – *The Irish Dominicans of the Seventeenth Century. Ancient Dominican Foundations in Ireland*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publisher, 2009, p. 114.

¹⁰ Éamon Ó Ciosáin, Alain Loncle de Forville – Irish nuns in Nantes, 1650-1659, p. 167.

¹¹ William Johnston – *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*. London: Routledge, 2000, p. 462.

During the sixteenth century, the relations between Ireland and Spain focused on politics, religion, and the actions of the English in the Irish territory. On one hand, the Spaniards wanted to put an end to the English dominion over Ireland, whereas on the other, being the Catholic monarchy par excellence, the Habsburgs aimed to protect the Catholic Irish. In addition, it should be mentioned that various Irish Colleges were founded in Santiago, Seville, Salamanca, and Lisbon during the sixteenth century. As King Philip II wanted to open the doors of his empire to Irish exiles, a great number of exiled Irish were well received and accepted by the Spaniards,¹² to the point that the Irish prelate Maurice Fitzgibbon, who had been archbishop in Cashel, officiated at the wedding between King Philip II and his fourth wife, Queen Ana.¹³ Furthermore, during the reign of their son, King Philip III, the presence of Irish agents was a phenomenon that increased over time.¹⁴

The Irish also had a remarkable presence in the Spanish Army, and this military link can be traced back to 1588, when conflict between England and the Spanish Armada began. In 1601, a Spanish-Irish army fought against the English in the Battle of Kinsale,¹⁵ while during the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648) between Spain and the Seventeen Provinces in the Netherlands, the Irishmen played an important role. In addition, in the eighteenth century, the Irish formed the Regimiento Hibernia – the foreign Hibernia Regiment – in the Spanish Army. It should also be mentioned that there were important commercial links between Ireland and Spain. By the sixteenth century, Bilbao, a Basque city located in the north of Spain, was the most important harbour in northern Spain.¹⁶ In 1511, Queen Joanna founded the Consulado, Casa de Contratación, Juzgado de Negocios de Mar y Tierra, and Universidad de Bilbao (House of Trade), which lasted until it was abolished in the nineteenth century. There is evidence showing commercial links between Ireland and Bilbao since the sixteenth century. The geographic location of this territory offered various advantages for the Irish: not only did it provide easy access, but also economic opportunities.¹⁷ The Irish commercial presence is evident in many Spanish ports,¹⁸ and notably in Bilbao.

¹² Enrique García Hernán – *La cuestión irlandesa en la política internacional de Felipe II*. Doctoral thesis. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2003, p. 8.

¹³ Enrique García Hernán – *La cuestión irlandesa*, p. 10.

¹⁴ Óscar Recio Morales – *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600-1825 (International Studies in Irish History)*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010, p. 52.

¹⁵ Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales – Irlanda y la monarquía hispánica: Kinsale 1601-2001. Guerra, política, exilio y religión. *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 28 (2003), p. 216.

¹⁶ Jean Philippe Priotti – *Bilbao y sus mercaderes en el siglo XVI. Génesis de un crecimiento*. Bilbao: Diputación Foral de Bilbao, 1984.

¹⁷ Amaia Bilbao – *Los irlandeses de Bizkaia. "Los chiguiris" siglo XVIII*. Bilbao: Editorial BBK, 2004, pp. 11-12.

¹⁸ María Isabel Marmolejo López, Manuel de la Pascua Sánchez – Comerciantes irlandeses en Cádiz, 1700-1800. In *La Burguesía española en la Edad Moderna*. Dir. Luis Miguel Enciso Recio, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1991, p. 1209.

Thus, since the sixteenth century, especially the last third of it, due to the international political scene, ties between the Irish and the Spanish became very close.¹⁹ Clearly, the migration from Ireland to Spain involved a series of political, economic, social, religious, and personal motives, at times.²⁰ The reception Spain gave to the Irish migrants was distinctive compared to other European states: in 1608 the Spanish Council of State passed a resolution acknowledging all Irish as equal citizens. In this way, Spain offered a safe haven for Irish Catholic migrants throughout the Early Modern period.²¹

2. Irish exiled nuns

The Cromwellian conquest of Ireland meant an irreparable loss of a great number of documents, among other things. However, it is known that Poor Clares, Dominican, and Augustinian convents existed in Ireland. In Galway, on a map depicting the city circa 1651, there were seven convents for women: the Poor Clares, the Rich Clares, the Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Augustine, the Carmelite Sisters, and various residences of pious ladies.²² Many of those nuns went into exile in Spain. It should be noted that all these convents were founded in the seventeenth century. Before that, in the absence of conventional modes of formal cloistered living in Ireland, some women moved to the Continent in pursuit of religious vocations,²³ an experience they shared with their English counterparts.²⁴

The first Poor Clare convent in Ireland was founded in Dublin in the summer of 1629. Although there are some references to convents of Franciscan nuns in Ireland in the pre-Reformation period, there is no clear evidence of any Poor Clare foundation.²⁵ In 1628, six nuns went to Dublin from Gravelines, in the Spanish Netherlands. They were called Mary Joseph and Cecily Francis – daughters of

¹⁹ Óscar Recio Morales – El pensamiento político irlandés en la España del XVII. *Chronica Nova* 29 (2002), p. 248.

²⁰ Ciaran O’Cea – Exiles from the British archipelago (1580-1680). In *Los exiliados del rey de España*. Ed. José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, Igor Pérez Tostado. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica de España, 2015, p. 108.

²¹ Andrea Knox – Women of the Wild Gees: Irish women, exile and identity in Spain, 1750-1775. In *Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities since 1750*. Ed: Enda Delaney, Donald M. MacRaild. New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 3.

²² Bernadette Cunningham – Nuns and their networks in Early Modern Galway. In *Religion and politics in urban Ireland, c. 1500-c.1750*. Ed: Salvador Ryan, Clodagh Tait. Dublin: Four Court Press, 2016, p. 156.

²³ Bronagh Ann McShane – Negotiating religious change and conflict: female religious communities in Early Modern Ireland, c. 1530-c. 1641. In *British Catholic History*, Volume 33 3 (2017), p. 375.

²⁴ Caroline Bowden – The English convents in exile and questions of National Identity, c. 1600-1688. *British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603-1688*. Ed: D. Worthington. London: Brill, 2010.

²⁵ Bernadette Cunningham – The Poor Clare Order in Ireland. *The Irish Franciscans 1534-1990*. Ed: Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph McMahon, John McCafferty. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009, p. 159.

Viscount Dillon of Costello – Martha Mariana Cheevers, Magdalene Clare Nugent, Mary Peter Dowdall, Bridget Anthony Eustace. As their surnames reflect, all of them were members of highly regarded families. The convent was based at Merchants' Quay, near Cook Street, where the religious community expanded. Unfortunately, in 1630, due to the political instability of Ireland, the mayor of Dublin arrested the occupants of the convent, where he found sixteen of the prime noblemen and gentlemen's daughters. In 1631, the community was relocated to Ballinaclyffey, near Athlone, and named Bethlehem. A daughter house was established in Drogheda, Louth, in 1641. However, once again, the political environment was not the most appropriate, and in 1642 the Poor Clares were forced to abandon both convents. The religious group was dispersed, but the Bethlehem community soon founded a convent in Galway in 1643.²⁶ Likewise, new communities of Poor Clares were created in Loughrea and Athlone.

As for the Dominicans, there is no evidence of a pre-Reformation monastery of Dominican nuns in Ireland, although tradition suggests that there were monasteries in Waterford and County Meath. However, the monastery founded in Galway in 1643 claims to be the first Dominican foundation of nuns in Ireland. The Convent of Jesus and Mary Galway, the official name of the female Dominican convent, was under the jurisdiction of the Irish Provincial of the Order of the Preachers. Little is known about life in this convent in the early years. However, in 1647, the community received a visit from the papal nuncio Rinuccini, who confirmed the foundation, granting them papal protection and all the privileges that came with it.²⁷ The Augustinian presence that started in Ireland in 1146, when the St. Mary Hogges convent was founded in Dublin,²⁸ was dissolved as a direct consequence of the religious break-up between Henry VIII and Rome, but Augustinian convents were later founded again. Thus, by 1651, there was an Augustinian female convent in Galway.²⁹

As already mentioned, in 1649, after the execution of Charles I, a Parliamentary Army known as the New Model Army, led by Oliver Cromwell, invaded Ireland. As the Cromwellian conquest took place from east to west, an exodus of Irish religious communities began moving to the west and the existing religious communities of Galway welcomed them. In this way, the Poor Clares community in Galway was formed by nuns who professed in the convent, as well as by the religious from the convents of Athlone, Waterford, and Wexford.³⁰ After the city of Galway was surrounded, on January 6, 1653, an edict was issued commanding all nuns to

²⁶ Bernadette Cunningham – *The Poor Clare Order in Ireland*, p. 162.

²⁷ Rose O'Neill – *A rich inheritance. Galway Dominican nuns, 1644-1994*. Galway: Connacht Tribune, 1994, pp. 9-10.

²⁸ David Kelly – *The Augustinians in Dublin. Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 58, 2 (2005), p. 167

²⁹ Bernadette Cunningham – *The Poor Clare Order in Ireland*, p. 163.

³⁰ Celsus O'Brien – *A short history of the Poor Clares, of Galway*. Galway: Poor Clares Sisters, 1992, p. 12.

marry or leave the country.³¹ The overwhelming majority of the nuns went into exile, although some remained with relatives or friends in Ireland, dressing in lay clothes during those years. Those who chose to leave their homeland sought refuge in Spain,³² since the Habsburg dynasty monarchs provided dowries for Irish women.³³ This was particularly true of Philip IV and Charles II, who paid annual allowances for the Irish nuns.³⁴

Early in 1654, Pedro Manero, the minister general in Spain, told Cardinal Barberini that he had accepted three parties of nuns from Ireland, placed them in convents, and given them many thousands of ducats as a gift. However, Manero did not state the nuns' affiliation or give their exact number.³⁵ What is known is that they were dispersed and hosted by a number of convents in various Spanish cities, such as Madrid, Bilbao, Málaga, Salamanca, Valladolid, and Toledo.

Mother Mary Bonaventure Browne, who had been abbess in the Poor Clare convent of Galway, wrote a *Chronicle* on the exile and history of the Irish Poor Clares in Spain, which provides us with more information about this group. The *Chronicle*, written during her exile in Spain, covers the period from 1629 to 1670. She was able to visit many religious houses in Spain and took note of what happened subsequently to her sisters. As a former abbess in Galway, she had a very personal interest in many of those who emigrated.³⁶ A native from Galway and the daughter of Andrew Browne, she entered the Bethlehem convent in 1632, together with her sister Catherine Bernard, and professed in 1633.³⁷ They were accepted by the El Caballero de Gracia convent in Madrid, with other sisters, such as Margaret Clare Jennings. In Salamanca, Catharine Baptiste, Catherine Patrick, Clare Anthony, and Clare Mary Purification were accepted,³⁸ all four of whom passed away on Spanish soil.³⁹ Elizabeth Baptist Lynch and Clare Colette were in the Inmaculada Concepción convent in Málaga, and Apolonia Connor, who was a nun in the Irish convent of Loughrea, went to Valladolid. Above all, Cicely Francis Dillon should be mentioned since she founded the first Poor Clares convent in Ireland, was the last abbess of the community of Athlone, and died

³¹ Helena Concannon – *The Poor Clares in Ireland, AD 1629-AD 1929*. Dublin: M.H.Gill, 1929, p. 50

³² Bernadette Cunningham – *The Poor Clare Order in Ireland*, p. 226.

³³ Andrea Knox – Her book-lined cell: Irish nuns and the development of texts, translation, and literacy in late medieval Spain. *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe*. Ed: Veronica O'Mara, Patricia Stoop, Volume 27, 2015, p. 85.

³⁴ Manuel Cifuentes Pazos – El clero de Bilbao en el Antiguo Régimen: número, procedencia geográfica y extracción social. *Revista Bidebarrieta* 12 (2003), p. 302.

³⁵ Benignus Millett – *The Irish Franciscans, 1651. 1665*. Rome: Gregorian Biblical Bookshop, 1964, p. 226.

³⁶ Celsus O'Brien – *A short history of the Poor Clares*, p. 27.

³⁷ Angela Bourke – *The field day. Anthology of Irish writing*. New York: NYU Press, Volume 4, 2002, p. 476.

³⁸ This information has been taken from the convent's own archive, and as the names were already Hispanicized, as mentioned it is not possible to know their concrete Irish or English identification.

³⁹ Archivo del Convento de Franciscanas Descalzas de Salamanca [ACFDS], *Libro de religiosas*.

while traveling to Spain.⁴⁰ In order to protect the identities of the exiled nuns, Mother Mary Bonaventure only recorded the names and stories of the nuns who died.⁴¹ Therefore, not all the names of the Irish Poor Clares nuns who came to Spain appear in the *Chronicle*. However, in many cases, documents in Spanish archives helped to fill in some of the details.

The Poor Clares convents in Bilbao and Orduña also accepted exiled Irish Poor Clares. Mother Mary Bonaventure only wrote about Catherine Francis Browne and Julian Anthony Blake. The former, daughter of James Browne of Galway, was the first girl to enter the convent of Bethlehem, almost immediately after it was established. She died in the convent of Bilbao in May 1668. The latter, Julian Anthony Blake, also from Galway, died in Orduña. She was the last to die in Spain before Mother Mary Bonaventure finished her *Chronicle*. Julian's story throws light on some of the spiritual hardships the poor Irish nuns must have suffered in a foreign land, where they did not know the language.⁴² As mentioned, there were more exiled nuns than those appearing in the *Chronicle*, whose identities were found in the public archives of Bilbao⁴³. In this way, it is known that the nun Bridget Anthony Morris and lay sister Dorothy Morris, who were sisters by birth, arrived in Bilbao on October 12, 1655. In addition, Margaret Conception Vilon and Catherine Francis Browne entered the convent previously.⁴⁴ While the convent of Bilbao welcomed Elizabeth Clare Levelock in 1659,⁴⁵ in 1664 the blood sisters Mary Joseph and Elizabeth Francis Skerritt arrived there too from the El Caballero de Gracia convent in Madrid,⁴⁶ where they had been before. Likewise, the Poor Clares convent in Orduña also welcomed Clare of Saint Laurent.⁴⁷

Between 1655 and 1682, each nun received fifty ducats per year from the Spanish monarch Philip IV, who ascended in 1621 and reigned until 1665, and from his son and successor Charles II, who ruled from 1661 to 1700. That money was delivered by men from various backgrounds. The first were from the tax office, such as Joan García Dávila Muñoz,⁴⁸ who was also a member of the Order of

⁴⁰ Archive of the Poor Clares of Galway, [APCG], *Chronicle*.

⁴¹ APCG, *Chronicle*.

⁴² Helena Concannon – *The Poor Clares*, pp. 59-60.

⁴³ In the records found in Bilbao, names had been hispanicized. Therefore, I write down here the Spanish version; while the names on the papers are in English. The Irish nuns that live in Galway had done the translation. Brígida de San Antonio Morra, Dorotea Morra, Margarita de la Concepción Vilon, Catalina de San Francisco Brun, Isabel de Santa Clara Lobloc, Josefa and Isabel de San Francisco Escorret

⁴⁴ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Bizkaia [AHPB]: Francisco Maribi de Allende, 5110.

⁴⁵ AHPB, Antonio de la Llana 5194.

⁴⁶ AHPB, Felipe de Villalantes y Retes 3791.

⁴⁷ Cristina Bravo Lozano – Huyendo de los lobos carniceros de su patria. Las monjas irlandesas en Castilla, una aproximación social y discursiva (1652-1706). *Hispania Sacra*, LXIX, 2017, p. 644.

⁴⁸ José Luis Barrio Moya – La biblioteca de don Juan García Dávila Muñoz, regidor de Requena y consejero de Hacienda del rey Felipe IV (1662). *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 85 (2009), p. 332.

Santiago, and who came to Bilbao between 1657 and 1661. From 1671 to 1673, Fray Marcos Brun,⁴⁹ a friar of the Franciscan Convent of Madrid and commissioner of Ireland in Spain,⁵⁰ gave the rent to the Irish nuns. Eventually, the neighbours from Bilbao, such as Pedro de Usaola and Mateo de Castañeda,⁵¹ distributed the money in the remaining years. These men not only gave the annual allowance to the nuns, but also had the responsibility of checking that the nuns were indeed alive.

In the case of the Dominican nuns, their vicar, Father Gregory French, had been educated in Spain and as he had some experience in the field of diplomacy, he undertook the task of negotiating the reception of the fourteen Dominican Irish nuns in Spanish convents. Details about some of them are known. For instance, Mary O'Halloran was received in the Santa María la Real de las Dueñas convent at Zamora, while Mary Blake, who was of a very attractive appearance, was given shelter in Toledo, and Mary French in Valladolid. However, attention is once again focused on the nuns who went to Bilbao: Mary Lynch and Julian Nolan, who were cousins and natives from Galway, arrived at the Convento de la Encarnación on the feast of the Holy Cross, September 14, 1652.⁵² For three months, their vicar, Fray Gregory French, paid four *reales* a day for their support until December 13, 1652, when the nuns received a dowry of 4,000 *reales* from Philip IV.⁵³ As the political environment improved in Ireland, these two nuns went back to Galway in 1686, where they founded a new Dominican community. But, unfortunately, the situation worsened again, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, another Irish Dominican nun called Juana María de la Cruz Meager arrived in Bilbao, and King Charles II paid her dowry.⁵⁴ Finally, with regard to the Irish Augustinian community, the only information that remains is about Margarita Brivier, who arrived in 1664 at the La Esperanza convent in Bilbao. This community also took an English Catholic nun named Catalina Ranfor in 1680.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, nothing else can be said, since the nuns have not allowed us to read their conventual documents.

3. Consequences: Exile and solitude

This information provides us the opportunity to think about the different outcomes of exile for these nuns. First, it should be taken into account that the nuns who lived within the conventual walls were heavily influenced by events

⁴⁹ The name appears Hispanicized but it is likely that his identity was Fray Mark Browne.

⁵⁰ AHPB, Antonio de la Llana 5210; AHPB, Pedro Francisco Garaitaondo 5243, 5244.

⁵¹ AHPB, Antonio de la Llana 5191.

⁵² Rose O'Neill – *A rich inheritance*, p. 13.

⁵³ Estalísnao Labayru – *Historia General del Señorío de Bizcaya*. Bilbao: Biblioteca de la Gran Enciclopedia Vasca, 1968, Volume V, p. 386.

⁵⁴ AHPB, Pedro Francisco Garaitaondo 5273.

⁵⁵ Estalísnao Labayru – *Historia General*, Volume VIII, p. 295.

from the outer world, sometimes in a very negative way. In addition, Catholic Ireland was conquered by Anglican troops, whose men were characterized by their cruelty and mercilessness. For example, Sister Catherine Patrick, who in 1654 was taken in by the Poor Clares in Salamanca, was nearly killed by an English soldier near the convent in Ireland.⁵⁶ After the conquest, the nuns were forced to choose between matrimony or remaining nuns, and the majority chose the second option. By law, nuns were forced to leave their homeland behind and, although some remained in Ireland hidden in family homes, most of them went into exile. So, they had to abandon the Irish territory because they had decided to remain loyal to their religious vows. Not only did they board a ship bound for an unknown country, but as already mentioned, they also witnessed the death of the founder of the first Poor Clares convent in Ireland, Mother Cicely Francis Dillon, who was the last abbess of the community of Athlone.⁵⁷ Margaret Evangelist Moore and Cicely Joseph Burke also died shortly after arriving in Spain.⁵⁸

Undoubtedly, reaching Spain was difficult, and after arriving there, the nuns were divided in groups and sent to different convents. The criteria used to place the nuns remains unknown, but the documentation provides evidence of some blood sisters who were placed together, as with Bridget Anthony Morris and Dorothy Morris in Bilbao, Mary Joseph and Elizabeth Francis Skerritt both in Madrid and in Bilbao, and the writer Mary Bonaventure Browne and Catherine Bernard Browne in Madrid. Also, Clare Anthony and Clare Mary Purification, an aunt and niece, respectively, were placed in Salamanca.⁵⁹ The Dominican nuns in Bilbao gave shelter to Mary Lynch and Julian Nolan, who were cousins.⁶⁰ At least, being with a relative probably eased their situation.

After a long journey, the exile nuns arrived in a country where Irish and English were not spoken, so what language did they use to communicate? Both Spanish and Irish nuns could speak five languages to some extent. The exiled nuns used Irish and English, while the welcoming communities in the convents located in Madrid, Salamanca, Valladolid, Zamora, Toledo, and Málaga spoke Spanish. On the other hand, in Bilbao and Orduña, the common language was Basque. But a fifth language that was common to many nuns was Latin. So, how did they communicate? Intuitively, Basque and Irish were not languages used for general communication, and although nuns were expected to learn Latin, it is clear that this

⁵⁶ ACFDS, *Libro de religiosas*.

⁵⁷ APCG, *Chronicle*.

⁵⁸ Helena Concannon – *The Poor Clares*, p. 53.

⁵⁹ María Fernanda Prada Camín, Mercedes Marcos Sánchez – *Historia, vida y palabra del Monasterio de la Purísima Concepción (Franciscanas Descalzas) de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2001, p. 42.

⁶⁰ Rose O'Neill – *A rich inheritance*, p. 12.

requirement was often only an aspiration, with patchy levels of proficiency at best,⁶¹ since it was only used in mass and prayer.⁶² Thus, it was a language for religious issues, rather than for daily use or communication. Therefore, Spanish and English were the languages of choice. Archival documents show that some Irish nuns, such as Abbess Mary Bonaventure Browne,⁶³ knew Spanish. Moreover, Clara María de la Purificación not only knew and spoke it, but also encouraged the other Irish nuns in Salamanca to learn it.⁶⁴ Since there is no evidence that nuns in Spain spoke English, it assumed that Spanish was their language of communication. However, not all of the exiled nuns knew Spanish. For instance, documents reveal that Julian Anthony Blake, who was embraced by the Poor Clares convent in Orduña, where she died in 1669, had a very hard life because she did not speak Spanish. She could hardly communicate with the native nuns, and confessions were very difficult to carry out.⁶⁵ She also practiced great austerities, spent nearly the whole night in the choir at prayer, and fasted so rigidly that she must have suffered from constant hunger pangs.⁶⁶ Another example was Catalina de San Patricio in Salamanca, who made an outstanding effort to learn Spanish.⁶⁷

Some nuns taught Latin, such as Clara de San Antonio in Salamanca,⁶⁸ Mary O'Halloran in Zamora and Mary Lynch in Bilbao.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, other nuns took care of the sick. However, living in exile was not easy and some of them suffered from mental health problems. As already mentioned, Clara de San Antonio maintained good mental balance until she went mad as a result of nostalgia, homesickness, and the death of her niece, Clara María de la Purificación, in 1661. She lost her mind and lived in this state for 18 years, until her death in 1684.⁷⁰

The financial situation of these women was peculiar. While the monarchs gave money to the exiled nuns, the abbess of the Poor Clares convent in Bilbao always stressed the delays in paying annual allowances, so that sometimes their own community in Bilbao had to pay the pensions in advance.⁷¹ There were even times when the nuns authorized someone to go to Madrid to collect their money.

⁶¹ Marie-Louise Coolaham – *Women, writing and language*, p. 63.

⁶² Rebecca Sigmon – Reading like a nun. The composition of Convent Libraries in Renaissance Europe. *Journal of Religious and Theological Information*, 11 (2005), p. 95.

⁶³ Marie-Louise Coolaham – *Women, writing and language*, p. 78.

⁶⁴ ACFDS, *Libro de religiosas*.

⁶⁵ Helena Concannon – *The Poor Clares*, pp. 59-60.

⁶⁶ Neil Donnely – *Roman Catholics: state and condition of R. C. chapels in Dublin, both secular and regular, A. D. 1749*. Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 1904, p. 19.

⁶⁷ ACFDS, *Libro de religiosas*.

⁶⁸ ACFDS, *Libro de religiosas*.

⁶⁹ Helena Concannon – Historic Galway Convents II: the Dominican nuns. *Studies: an Irish Quarterly Review*, Volume 39, 153 (1950), p. 67.

⁷⁰ ACFDS, *Libro de religiosas*.

⁷¹ AHPB, Felipe de Villalantes y Retes, 3794.

For example, in 1671, Bridget Anthony Morris and Dorothy Morris, Poor Clares in Bilbao, empowered the Commissioner Fray Marcos Brun to receive their money.⁷² It should be noted that, as in the rest of the female religious communities, Irish nuns who professed were obviously provided with a dowry, but this practice was lost due to the war. For instance, Elizabeth Clare Lovelock carried with her 140 pounds when she joined the holy profession in 1652, but lost the money during the Cromwellian invasion.⁷³ Therefore, the exiled nuns absolutely depended on the royal allowance to survive.

A few Irish nuns never gave up on the idea of going back home, and some of them achieved this. For example, Elizabeth Clare Lovelock, who was the last nun to profess in 1652 in the Poor Clares Convent in Galway before the community went into exile, returned home.⁷⁴ Although the exact year of her move is not known, the last mention of her in documents from Bilbao was in 1668,⁷⁵ and the documents in the Poor Clares Convent in Galway show that she passed away in Galway in 1706.⁷⁶ Consequently, at some point during those years, she managed to return home. The documents of the Irish convent also indicate that the sisters Elizabeth Francis and Mary Joseph Skerritt died in Ireland.⁷⁷ The few who returned to Galway settled down in a large house in Market Street,⁷⁸ where Elizabeth Francis Skerritt was known to be the abbess in July 1683.⁷⁹

The Dominican nuns Mary Lynch and Julian Nolan also went back to Galway, where they died. There were repeated claims that these nuns had hopes of revisiting their native land, and when the political situation allowed, they returned to Ireland. These two nuns, accompanied by two Dominican priests, sailed from Bilbao on the feast of Saint Andrew, on Tuesday, November 30, 1686, and reached Galway eight days later. Sir John Kirwan, the first Catholic mayor of Galway in thirty years, gave them his own house in the center of the town, where the two nuns began to build a community, with Julian Nolan as prioress and Mary Lynch as subprioress and mistress of novices.⁸⁰

However, not all the nuns went back home; many died in the Spanish convents that gave them shelter. Catherine Francis Browne died in 1668 in Bilbao,⁸¹ while the four Irish Poor Clares nuns taken into a convent in Salamanca

⁷² AHPB, Antonio de la Llana, 5210.

⁷³ APCG, *Chronicle*.

⁷⁴ APCG, *Chronicle*.

⁷⁵ AHPB, Felipe de Villalantes y Retes, 3795.

⁷⁶ APCG, *Chronicle*.

⁷⁷ APCG, *Chronicle*.

⁷⁸ Neil Donnely – *Roman Catholics: state and condition*, p. 19

⁷⁹ Bernadette Cunningham – *Nuns and their networks in Early Modern Galway*, p. 165

⁸⁰ Rose O'Neill – *A rich inheritance*, p. 14

⁸¹ APCG, *Chronicle*

also died there: Clara María de la Purificación passed away in 1661, Catalina de San Patricio in 1679, and Clara de San Antonio and Catalina Bautista in 1684. Following conventual traditions, all four are buried in the convent.⁸² Similarly, in Madrid, Catherine Browne, sister of the writer Mary Bonaventure Browne, died in 1654, while some years later, Margaret Clare Jennings died in that same convent. Málaga, a southern Spanish city, also took in Irish Poor Clares, and Elizabeth Baptist Lynch and Clara Colette Blake passed away in that convent.⁸³

Finally, it should be pointed out that while this paper mentions a few nuns, the identities of all the nuns who left Ireland are not known. Thus, a list of all the Irish nuns who went into exile is not available – Mother Mary Bonaventure only wrote down the names of the Poor Clares who died while she was writing the *Chronicle*. Investigations in Spanish archives have brought to light the names of others, although there is no complete list. Clearly, the exile meant the loss of identity for some nuns, who still remain unknown. Information, such as their towns of origin and their familial connections, also remains largely unknown. It is known that they were from Ireland, but there are no other details about the convents they came from, though many of them had been in Galway and its surroundings. Likewise, the names of their parents and other relatives are also generally unknown, with the Browne nuns and the cousins Mary Lynch and Julian Nolan as the only exceptions. However, the requirement that women who chose monastic life observe strict enclosure effectively restricted them to a particular economic and social elite. Thus, those who entered the convents came from families sufficiently wealthy to support them. In the case of the Galway convents, the number of daughters of merchants appear to have been particularly high, and several members of those families – Browne, Lynch, Skerritt, French, and Blake – joined the convents.⁸⁴

Therefore, the war had two important consequences for these religious women. On the one hand, they suffered exile and all the difficulties that this implies, such as living in a country with a different culture and language, and facing financial problems. On the other hand, their exile was long, and as a result, many of these nuns went into historical oblivion. Fortunately, nowadays, there is a line of research on Irish religious exiles, and, hopefully, the identities of all the exiled nuns will eventually be recovered.

⁸² ACFDS, *Libro de religiosas*

⁸³ APCG, *Chronicle*

⁸⁴ Bernadette Cunningham: “Nuns and their networks in Early Modern Galway”, p. 160.

THE MARTYRDOM AND SUFFERING OF THE CAPUCHINS
IN THE KONGO KINGDOM IN THE SEVENTEENTH
AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

ROBERT PIĘTEK

During the early modern period, Kongo constituted a fascinating example of an African state whose ruler and a considerable number of its political elites were interested in maintaining close relations with Europe, from the very first contacts established with the Portuguese toward the end of the fifteenth century. Despite frequent tension mounting between the Portuguese and the rulers of Kongo, those in power in São Salvador (the capital of Kongo) did not intend to break off relations with Portugal or abandon Christianity. This continued to be true even after 1575, when the Portuguese set up a colony on the coast of Luanda (right next to the southern border of Kongo) and began to gradually gain influence over the Kongolese chiefs from the border and territories.

In 1596, a bishopric from Kongo and Angola was established. São Salvador became the Seat of the diocese. Relations between the ordinaries and the rulers were not always without tension. The bishops reproved the monarchs' lifestyle and the *pagan customs* among their subjects were met with some resistance in Kongo. As a rule, the bishops also represented Portuguese interests, which, in case of conflict between Kongo and Luanda, inspired suspicion and disfavour in São Salvador. In addition, the bishops preferred to stay in Luanda and only sporadically visited the capital of Kongo, while the Bishop Francisco de Soveral, who was in charge of the diocese between 1626 and 1642, did not make even one visit to Kongo. Both the Portuguese clergymen and the Portuguese governors attempted to acquire permission to move the diocese capital from São Salvador

to Luanda.¹ As a result, those ruling in Kongo made attempts to establish direct contacts with Rome, in the hope that the Holy See would send an appropriate amount of priests without ties with Portugal.

The arrival of the Capuchins in Kongo was an element of this order's missionary activities outside Europe in the early modern period. Their arrival in Kongo was the effect of the long-term efforts of the Kongolesse rulers attempting to establish direct contacts with the Holy See. The first unsuccessful attempts were made by Álvaro I (1568-1587), who had sent special envoys to Rome.² His successors also sent envoys to Rome with requests for missionaries. In 1639, Álvaro VI (1631-1641) addressed a letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Latin: Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide) asking for priests to be sent to Kongo. The congregation reached the decision to dispatch the Capuchins.³ In 1640, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith appointed an Apostolic Prefecture for Kongo, entrusted to the Capuchins. The mission set out for Lisbon on 2nd April 1641, and there the Capuchins met with the Portuguese king João IV, who expressed his approval for the planned mission. On 20th December 1641, the news of the Dutch occupation of Luanda (on 25th August 1641) reached Lisbon. As a result, the Capuchins came to the decision to return to Italy.⁴

However, the idea to send a mission to Kongo was not abandoned. The Congregation decided to dispatch the missionaries through Spain. The group of Italian Capuchins was enlarged by an addition of seven Spanish Capuchins. The travellers were journeying to a region about which little was known in Spain after Luanda had been occupied by the Dutch. The Capuchins left Spain on 2nd February 1645 and arrived in Soyo on 25th May 1645.

The Capuchins conducted their activities within a society which in majority was favourably inclined toward the Catholic clergymen officiating masses and administering particular sacraments. As a result, the European sources from the period preceding the arrival of the Capuchins, both the Catholic and the Calvinistic ones, described the inhabitants of Kongo as Catholic, distinguishing

¹ Louis Jadin – Le clergé séculier et les capucins du Congo et d'Angola aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Conflits de juridictions, 1700-1726. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*. 36 (1964) 201-205.

² Will Bal (ed.) – *Description du royaume de Congo et des contrées environantes par Filippo Pigafetta et Duarte Lopez (1591)*. Louvain. Paris: Publications de l'Université Lovanium de Léopoldville, 1963, pp. 112-13, 116-17.

³ Jean Cuvelier and Louis Jadin – *L'ancien Congo d'après les archives romaines (1518-1640)*. Bruxelles: Academie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, 1954, p. 503; João António Cavazzi de Montecúcolo – *Descrição histórica dos três reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola*. Translation, notes and index by P. Graciano Maria de Leguzzano, O.M.Cap., Lisboa: Junta de Investigações de Ultramar, 1965, II, § 120, p. 247 (hence Cavazzi).

⁴ João António Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica ...*, cit., III, §8, p. 266; Louis Jadin – Rivalités luso-néerlandaises au Soho, Congo, 1600-1675. Tentatives missionnaires des récoltes flamands et tribulations des capucins italiens 1670-1675. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*. 37 (1966) 152.

them in this way from their neighbours, who were considered to be pagans.⁵ J. Thornton considered Christianity to be a significant element of the religion in Kongo, even if in many aspects it differed from European Christianity.⁶ There is a lack of data to support the statement that the majority of the inhabitants accepted and understood the Articles of Faith. According to the teachings of the Church, knowledge of the appropriate prayers is not enough to consider someone a Christian. In addition, too little data is available which would allow us to establish whether the Articles of Faith were even widely known, let alone understood. After the first enthusiastic descriptions of the religious involvement of the Kongolese, the missionaries began to write very critical accounts. From these texts, it follows that they did not in fact consider the majority of the inhabitants of Kongo to be Christian. With a certain amount of bitterness, the missionaries would sometimes state that the majority of the inhabitants of Kongo not only did not live in accordance with Christian principles, but that they did not even know them.⁷

The missionaries' activities in Kongo were linked to numerous dangers, both very real and figments of the friars' imagination or of their milieu. By making the decision to travel to Africa, the missionaries were convinced they might encounter various dangers both during the journey itself and upon arrival. In the case of the first Capuchin expedition, which reached Kongo in 1645, the friars did not fully take into account the actual situation in Kongo and the dangers this entailed, such as the unaccommodating climate for Europeans. Later, thanks to the accounts of their brothers already in the country, at least some of the friars were more aware of the many dangers and inconveniences.

In the case of the first expedition, their fear resulted from uncertainty concerning what they might encounter in Kongo. They were not completely sure whether the information claiming the Kongolese to be Christians was actually true. Many of the friars were aware that they might eventually die as martyrs. Some of them, at least declaratively, were prepared to suffer a martyr's death.

The activities of the Capuchins in the Kongo are quite well known thanks to their accounts and the letters they sent to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and their monastic superiors, or to other friars who had remained

⁵ Louis Jadin – *Rivalités luso-néerlandaises ...*, *cit.*, pp. 215-37.

⁶ John K. Thornton – *The Kingdom of Kongo. Civil War and Transition 1641-1718*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983. pp. 63-65; John K. Thornton – The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491-1750. *Journal of African History*. 25 (1984) 147-67; John K. Thornton – *The Kongolese Saint Anthony. Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 28-29, 35; John K. Thornton – Religious and Ceremonial Life in the Kongo and Mbundu Areas, 1500-1700. In *Central Africans and Cultural Transformation in the American Diaspora*. Ed. by L. M. Heywood, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 70-90.

⁷ Louis Jadin – *Lancien Congo et l'Angola 1639-1655. (D'après les archives romaines, portugaises, néerlandaises et espagnoles)*. Bruxelles: Institute Historique Belge de Rome, 1975, pp. 1150-76. This work by Jadin will be hence referred to as ACA.

in Europe. The descriptions focus mainly on their pastoral duties; however, it is also possible to find information about how they functioned in these foreign surroundings. In many of the descriptions, information can be found about the real or imagined threats they encountered there.

In their accounts, the missionaries constantly emphasized that they often found themselves in situations which threatened their lives. These opinions seem to have been largely exaggerated. The Capuchins were under the care of the monarchs and the majority of the representatives of the political elites. In the case of the first mission, Garcia II (1640-1660) issued a written command which ordered the chiefs to extend their protection over the Capuchins situated in their areas. Similar documents had been given to missionaries who had previously travelled outside the capital. Garcia ordered the chiefs to listen to the missionaries' advice as they were interested only in acting for the good of the kingdom. They were also asked to be generous toward them. He told the chiefs to abandon their concubines, to discard various fetishes and to cease using the services of *witches* and *casting spells*. He himself would punish those breaking the Capuchins' recommendations. Showing the Capuchins disobedience was to be considered an attack on the ruler. The monarch's declaration was sent to the chiefs of the provinces. The governor of Bata province, referring to Garcia's declaration, ordered that the Capuchins functioning within his province be provided with all the necessary support. Any action against the Capuchins was to be punished severely.⁸

Similarly worded declarations were issued once again by the monarch in March 1653, during a period in which tensions had arisen between him and the friars. The ruler demanded that the Capuchins be greeted everywhere with due respect. He emphasized that he himself, as well as the most important state dignitaries in the capital and in the main provincial centres, acknowledged the friars' authority. Next, Garcia admitted that there were areas in Kongo inhabited by a population which was *more pagan than Christian*. He claimed that there had been cases of ill-treatment of the Capuchins, which in one case had ended with the death of Friar Joris van Gheel, who had been beaten to death when he attempted to oppose a *pagan* celebration and destroy some *idols*. Referring to the example of Joris van Gheel, the ruler claimed that if such situations were to be repeated, he would introduce severe punishments for those who acted out against the Capuchins, attempted to hinder them in their sermons and in administering sacraments, or prevented them from uprooting pagan customs and transgressions against the Catholic faith, such as destroying *idols* and fighting *witchdoctors*. All those who denied the friars aid or treated them badly would be punished. They would experience a similar punishment to the one administered to a chief of

⁸ ACA, pp. 1073; 1091-92; João António Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica ... cit.*, IV, § 13, p. 357.

Ulolo village and the local *witchdoctor* in the village where the Flemish Capuchin had been beaten to death.⁹

Joris van Gheel was the only Capuchin killed by the Kongolese. He died as a result of the wounds he incurred on 8th December 1652 in the Bata province. The monarch enslaved the population of the village in which the friar had been assaulted. News of this was announced throughout the country. The monarch reacted decisively despite the occurrence taking place during a period in which relations between him and the Capuchins were strained.¹⁰ According to Serafino da Corton, the chief and all the inhabitants of the village were enslaved and sold to the Portuguese.¹¹ This was warning enough for others. In the consciousness of the inhabitants of this part of Africa, leaving the country on a ship from Luanda heading for the unknown was a fate worse than death. As a result, some of the slaves preferred to commit suicide rather than sail off in one of the ships. It was envisioned that the Portuguese would take them to unknown lands where they would be processed into cheese or olive oil, or their skin would be made into water bags and their bones into gunpowder.¹² Initially, Garcia had intended to kill all the inhabitants of the village; however, under the influence of the friars who asked that he be more lenient, the ruler changed his mind.¹³ From the point of view of the missionaries, the monarch had shown mercy. However, for the inhabitants of Ulolo, the idea of being sent across the sea was probably a punishment worse than death. All the more so as it is speculated that according to Kongolese beliefs, the spirit of the deceased was supposed to remain close to his or her grave.¹⁴ The dissemination of information throughout the country about the harsh punishment discouraged potential imitators more than the death penalty would have. As a consequence of Joris van Gheel's death, travelling missionaries were always appointed an appropriate retinue, consisting of guards and slaves performing the function of porters.

In their accounts, many of the friars emphasized that they wanted to die in Kongo as martyrs.¹⁵ These statements were addressed to their superiors and other friars, with the aim of showing the enormous sacrifice they were making,

⁹ ACA, pp. 1450-53.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 1450-52; P. Hildebrand – *Le martyr Georges de Geel et les débuts de la mission du Congo (1645-1652)*. Anvers: Archives des Capucins, 1940, pp. 332-33.

¹¹ ACA, pp. 1452-53.

¹² João António Cavazzi – *Descrição histórica ...*, cit., I, § 329, p. 160; Louis Jadin (ed.) – Andrea da Pavia au Congo, à Lisbonne, à Madère. Journal d'un missionnaire capucin, 1685-1702. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*. 41 (1970) 484-87.

¹³ P. Hildebrand – *Le martyr Georges de Geel ...*, cit., pp. 334-35.

¹⁴ John K. Thornton – *The Kongolese Saint Anthony ...*, cit., p. 30.

¹⁵ ACA, pp. 1450-52; 1511-17; 1530-34; O. de Bouveignes and J. Cuvelier (eds.) – *Jérôme de Montesarchio. Apôtre du Vieux Congo*. Namur: Grands Lacs, 1952, pp. 113, 148.

the dangers they were facing and the significance of the Kongolese mission. However, this did not mean that the Capuchins did not expect support and protection from the monarch and other Kongolese dignitaries. In fact, they often complained that they had been abandoned by their porters and had been forced to manage by themselves in strange areas of the land. Some of these complaints were exaggerated and were meant to emphasize the exceptional fortitude of the friars who overcame all obstacles.

Nevertheless, there were some cases of friars being assaulted. Such dramatic events took place in 1673 in Soyo, a Kongolese province, which at the beginning of the seventeenth century became virtually independent from Kongo rulers. From 1645, a permanent Capuchin outpost was located there. Much as in the case of Kongo, tensions would sometimes become heightened between the friars and the local rulers, called counts or princes in the European sources. In 1673, three Capuchins resided in Soyo. They were suspected of favouring the Portuguese, who in 1670 had attacked Soyo. However, thanks to Dutch support, the inhabitants of Soyo had been able to defeat the invaders. Despite the victory, another attack was expected. Simultaneously, in Soyo in 1673, three Flemish Franciscans arrived. The ruler of Soyo had been considering the possibility of replacing the Capuchins with Franciscans.¹⁶

On 22nd December 1673, Pedro da Silva de Castro, the ruler of Soyo at that time, summoned the Capuchins and one of the Franciscans. He stated that the neighbouring kingdom of Angoi, inhabited by pagans, had rainfall, while in the Christian Soyo the drought was ongoing. In his opinion, this was supposed to have been caused by the relics that the Capuchins had brought with them. The drought was also supposed to have been the effect of the excommunications introduced by the Capuchins. The ruler also referred to the statements made by the friars, who were believed to have said that in his country there would be no rainfall during the harvest season. He warned the Capuchins that the prolonged drought might prompt the inhabitants of Soyo to attack the missionaries. He also emphasized that even though he himself was a great friend of the friars, he would not be able to stop his subjects from attacking them.

On Christmas Eve, the ruler of Soyo participated in the mass, during which he went to confession and took communion. He then went outside to the people awaiting him in front of the church and incited them against the Capuchins.¹⁷ According to Andrea da Butti, a Capuchin staying at that time in Soyo, a group of people rushed into the church, grabbed him and led him out of the building, hitting him as they went. Supposedly, three people had pulled him along by the rope girding his habit. The Capuchin also saw his brother in the order, Leonardo

¹⁶ Louis Jadin – *Rivalités luso-néerlandaises ...*, *cit.*, pp. 159-60, 300.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 296.

Tommaso, being assaulted, and who soon disappeared from his sight. The attackers forced da Butti to kneel, after which they pulled him along and covered him with sand. He was thrown strongly against the ground about thirty times, the rope around his waist was pulled about fifteen times; ten times he was turned upside down, in such a way that his habit was above his head; he was pulled by his beard ten times and the hair around the crown of his tonsure was pulled eight times. He was punched on the left side of his jaw so hard that he bled profusely. His hood and his habit were torn in five or six places.

He was beaten the whole way and by the end was barely breathing. One of his oppressors, about ten or twelve years old, followed him and sprinkled sand in his mouth, while others guarded him so that he would eat it and not spit it out. When he did spit it out, it came up as sand mixed with blood. He experienced all these misfortunes on a route which was three miles long. In the vicinity of the port, he saw Father Tommaso, who was barely alive. They embraced, forgave each other their trespasses, and comforted themselves with prayer. They encouraged each other to face martyrdom for their faith as the oppressors wanted them to renounce their beliefs. They were allowed to remain embraced for a while. The friars spoke in Italian, a language the locals did not understand, and the locals thought that the friars were saying spells against the duke and decided to separate them.

Before the friars were placed on board a boat, over a thousand women performed a dance of joy, holding green branches in their hands which they used to beat the friars. Their portable reliquaries were taken from them. Andrea da Butti also had a letter confirming the authenticity of the relic, which the inhabitants of Soyo considered to be a relic that suppressed rainfall. The friar was forced to eat the certificate, as it was thought that this would cause his death.¹⁸ Additionally, mud was thrown at the Capuchins, after which they were transported to Angoi on the other bank of the Zaire. There they met two local people who spoke Portuguese and who helped them find a boat, which then took them to Malembe, the capital of Loango, where a Portuguese trading post was situated.

The Capuchin's account provides a very meticulous list of all the suffering he experienced. The aim of such a description was to emphasize the friar's courage and sacrifice, as well as those of the other friars, and also their willingness to make sacrifices both for the salvation of the inhabitants of Soyo and for the missionaries to achieve holiness. The description of these events was also information for other friars in Europe wanting to achieve holiness and ready to suffer or even die in order to disseminate the Faith. It was a form of encouragement to go on a mission to Kongo, where one could perhaps become a martyr. By providing a precise list of all the suffering he had experienced, the friar wanted to show that from

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 304-10.

among the various regions of the world to which missionaries travelled at the time, Kongo was a place where one could satisfy the desire to achieve sanctity and martyrdom. This was especially significant as those missionaries who decided to travel somewhere could choose a multitude of places in non-European areas of the globe or they could go on internal European missions. The claim that the inhabitants of Soyo had wanted to force the friars to renounce their faith was supposed to emphasize the pressure they had found themselves under, as well as their steadfastness and readiness to suffer a martyr's death. Mentioning this in the account was supposed to show that the mission in Kongo was a place where it was possible to achieve sanctity through martyrdom. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Soyo, despite claims of the opposite, were not at all interested in the Capuchins renouncing their faith. They simply wanted rainfall in their country. Most probably, the friars themselves were fully aware of this.

After the Capuchins had been exiled, the ruler of Soyo made a proposal to the Franciscans to take the Capuchins' place, asking Father Wouters, the Franciscan prefect, to celebrate mass in the palace chapel. The Franciscan refused the ruler's invitation to his seat under the pretence of being ill. The local priest Francisco Fernández behaved similarly, and immediately after, he conducted a service in the Capuchin chapel. During the mass, he noticed among those gathered in the building a few culprits of the expulsion and brutal assault on the Capuchins. He told them to leave the church, which made them agitated. After some time, still during the course of the mass, the people returned to the church and desecrated the place, damaging the chasubles and overturning the liturgical vessels. Father Wouters met with the ruler, who stated that all this had occurred without his consent. He even sent out people to find the banished Capuchins. He also attempted to explain his subjects' behaviour as resulting from the drought. Wouters deemed these explanations to be untrue and came to the decision that he and the other Franciscans would leave Soyo.¹⁹

For some of the inhabitants of this land, the possibility of participating in church services was extremely important, even though they considered some of the clergymen to be the cause of misfortune and had personally taken part in their persecution. Sending an envoy to Holland with a request for missionaries independent from Luanda testifies to the fact that the ruler of Soyo acknowledged the significance of clergymen but wanted them to be autonomous from the Portuguese in Luanda.

The ruler of Soyo perceived a threat from the Portuguese not only in military terms. In Soyo, much as in the whole of Kongo, missionaries were considered to be vested with exceptional powers and supernatural forces that they could use for their own purposes. Church penalties, such as excommunication, were

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 204-209, 303.

perceived by the Kongolese as magic interventions, while the liturgical equipment and devotional objects were seen as items possessing supernatural powers. Any actions undertaken by the missionaries in order to discipline their flock could be perceived as hostile acts of a political character. One of the important reasons behind introducing excommunication was the fact that the people had retained their old beliefs and customs. This also pertained to many of the chiefs in Soyo, including the ruler, who was excommunicated because he gave in to his various passions and partook in *old pagan ceremonies*.²⁰ In a theoretically Christian country, polygamy was commonplace, especially among the political elites. Local *witchdoctors* and the priests of the guardian deities were still respected and continued to be approached in cases of illness and other misfortunes.²¹ By fighting these beliefs, which were not rejected by even the most Christianized of the elites, the missionaries exposed themselves to accusations of acting in a way that was harmful to society.

The rulers of Soyo were perceived by their subjects as people who functioned as a guarantee of both social and natural order. It was thus expected of them that they would counteract any anomalies. Missionaries could in fact easily have been perceived as the perpetrators of misfortune. In their sermons, the friars had warned that breaking the principles they conveyed could cause God to send various forms of punishment, including drought. The local population saw such threats not as the possibility of Divine intervention, but as the effect of the missionaries' actions, while natural disasters were perceived as the direct result of these actions.

On 19th March 1674, after numerous requests by the same ruler who had expelled the friars, the Capuchins returned to Soyo. He was afraid his country would be left without clergymen. This move evidences that, despite a series of misunderstandings of the intentions and teachings of the Catholic priests, their significance was still acknowledged. Almost two hundred years of missionary activities had led to the priests becoming an important element of local social life, even though their actions and teachings were frequently misconstrued. The lack of deeper roots for Christianity was undoubtedly influenced by the small number of priests and the high mortality rate within this group. Few of the priests were there long enough to learn the local languages and become acquainted with the customs.²² There were only three Capuchins in Soyo during the discussed period. They also did not manage to educate a sufficient number of local priests.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 304-10.

²¹ Jean Cuvelier – *Père Laurent Lucques, Relation sur le Congo du Père Laurent de Lucques*. Trad. Mgr. Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1953, pp. 56, 64; João António Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica ...*, cit., I, § 205-54, pp. 102-20.

²² Richard Gray – *Come vero prencipe catolico: The Capuchins and the Rulers of Soyo in the Late Seventeenth Century*. *Africa*. 53:3 (1983) 46.

The accounts describing the expulsion of the Italian Capuchins also mention a local priest educated by the Capuchins, who is portrayed in a positive light. However, in 1676 the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith came to the decision to abandon the education of local priests.²³ Such a decision was probably influenced by the approach of various African priests, usually mulattos residing in Kongo. Their lifestyle diverged quite strongly from the ascetic model propagated by the Capuchins. In addition, the presence of priests who did not belong to the Capuchin order within Soyo could have led to conflicts with the bishops residing in Luanda. Arguments over competences between the bishop and the Capuchins made the Capuchins' missionary activities in Kongo and Angola more difficult.²⁴

Tensions between the missionaries and the rulers of Soyo were frequent occurrences. The incident with the expulsion was only the most drastic case. The Capuchins often excommunicated the rulers of Soyo and other important dignitaries. The rulers attempted to force the Capuchins to lift the excommunication by not delivering food to them, as well as by frequently discouraging their subjects from participating in church services.²⁵ Similar methods had already been used earlier by the Kongolese rulers in conflicts between them and the European clergy in the seventeenth century.²⁶ Priests often complained about the inconveniences caused by the temporary loss of the ruler's favour.²⁷ As a rule, after some time had passed, a settlement was reached between the ruler and the missionaries. It must be said that the Capuchins did not always behave very stringently toward the rulers. The authors of the source that describes the conflict with the rulers were missionaries involved in the disagreement. Any mention of direct concessions to the rulers in matters of faith would have undermined their authority, especially considering that in their accounts, the friars were attempting to show their exceptional position and intransigence.

The events of 1673 were caused by the overlapping of a number of factors. The memory of the war with the Portuguese from Luanda was fresh in everyone's mind. Despite their victory, they still feared the Portuguese. The drought was treated as the effect of the Capuchins' actions. One of the reasons for the ruler's

²³ Louis Jadin – *Rivalités luso-néerlandaises ...*, *cit.*, p. 321.

²⁴ Louis Jadin – *Le clergé séculier ...*, *cit.*, pp. 185-483.

²⁵ Jean Cuvelier – *Père Laurent Lucques ...*, *cit.*, pp. 162-65; João António Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica ...*, *cit.*, IV, § 60-66, pp. 382-85.

²⁶ W.G.L. Randles – *Lancien royaume du Congo*. Paris-La Haye: Mouton, 1968, p. 113; Anne Hilton – *The Kingdom of Kongo*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 172-73.

²⁷ João António Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica ...*, *cit.*, V, § 16-20, 38-40, pp. 11-13, 22-23; ACA, pp. 1527-29, 1534-37; Teobaldo Filesi and Isidoro di Villapadierna. *La "Missio Antiqua" dei cappuccini nel Congo (1645-1835). Studio preliminare e guida delle fonti*. Roma: Istituto Storico Cappuccini, 1978, pp. 172-75; John Thornton – *The Development of an African Catholic Church ...*, *cit.*, p. 161; Anne Hilton – *The Kingdom of Kongo*, *cit.*, pp. 187-88; Graziano Saccardo – *Congo e Angola con la storia dell'antica missione dei cappuccini*. Venezia-Mestre: Curia Provinciale dei Cappuccini, 1982, vol. I, pp. 453-54, 463-64.

excommunication was that he had participated in *pagan ceremonies*, aimed at ensuring rainfall.²⁸ This excommunication was perceived as a hostile act against all the inhabitants of Soyo. It was regarded as *magical sabotage* for the benefit of Luanda. The Capuchins were also suspected of cooperating with the Portuguese because the missionaries condemned the sale of slaves in Soyo to Dutch and English traders. Tension between the rulers of Soyo and the Catholic clergymen concerning the issue of slave-trading to Protestant countries existed throughout the entire period the Capuchins were present in Soyo. Despite numerous attempts on their side, the Capuchins were not able to convince the rulers of Soyo to discard their trade contacts with the Protestants. Breaking such trade ties with Protestant countries would have deprived Soyo of the huge profits they made from the slave trade. Conducting trade with merchants from Protestant countries was much more profitable than exchange with the Portuguese. The inhabitants of Soyo might have perceived the approach the friars had to their trade contacts with the Protestants as an indication of their cooperation with Luanda, and not as resulting from their general hostile approach toward Protestants or concern for the salvation of the slaves' souls. In fact, the Capuchins believed that the souls of people sold to Protestant countries would be damned.²⁹ The rulers of Soyo attempted to solve this issue by appealing to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

One such ruler was António III Barreto da Silva, whose letter from 1701 has been preserved in the archives of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. In the letter, the ruler asked that he not be excommunicated due to the sale of slaves to Protestant traders in Soyo. He emphasizes that his brother, one of the earlier rulers, had sent similar letters to the Congregation. António III explained that the Protestants had better goods and that trade with them was necessary to maintain peace in the land. Simultaneously, he emphasized that he was a Catholic ruler.³⁰ However, he was eventually excommunicated, as he breached the Capuchin Church's right of asylum by arresting those who took shelter there. The Capuchins' excommunication of rulers of Soyo was a source of suffering among the friars. The missionaries lamented that when the rulers were excommunicated, the friars could no longer rely on having porters assigned to them. Those in power also made it impossible for the Capuchins' slaves to travel to Luanda. In addition, the friars complained that they lacked people to serve them at their outpost in Soyo. At one point, in 1705, when António III had once

²⁸ Toward the end of the year, the ruler of Soyo participated in rites aimed at ensuring heavy rainfall. Jean Cuvelier – *Père Laurent Lucques ...*, *cit.*, pp. 109-10.

²⁹ Louis Jadin – *Rivalités luso-néerlandaises ...*, *cit.*, p. 245; Louis Jadin (ed.). *Andrea da Pavia ...*, *cit.*, p. 457; Jean Cuvelier – *Père Laurent Lucques ...*, *cit.*, pp. 181-82.

³⁰ Louis Jadin (ed.) – *Andrea da Pavia ...*, *cit.*, pp. 573-74.

again been excommunicated by the Capuchins, they were served by only two or three young boys.³¹

Similarly, as in the case of the account detailing the expulsion of the Capuchins from Soyo, the account emphasizing the suffering experienced by the friars was also exaggerated. It seems that the friars' outpost was serviced by the missionaries' slaves, who were assigned to each Capuchin outpost in Kongo, even when the ruler of Soyo did not visit the Capuchins' church. In turn, the persecution mentioned by Lorenzo da Lucca came in the form of a refusal to supply porters, which made both missionary work outside the capital of Soyo and the supply of food to the friars more difficult. In addition, in situations in which the rulers were conflicted with the missionaries, subjects were less willing to participate in church services. However, the presence of the friars was perceived by the inhabitants of Soyo as a significant element that would ensure the prosperity of the ruler and his subjects. The "persecution" the Capuchins experienced at the hands of António III was aimed at encouraging them to lift his excommunication.

The exceptional position of the Capuchins in Kongo had a significant impact on the conflict between them and those in power in Soyo. As of the end of the seventeenth century, the choice of a new ruler was made in the square in front of the Capuchin church, indicating the important role these priests performed in legitimizing power. Of course, this did not exclude local elements of the ideology of power. However, the fact that Christian elements held such enormous significance meant that conflicts with the missionaries undermined one of the ideological fundamentals of their rule. On the one hand, in the eyes of the inhabitants of Soyo, the friars were a guarantee of prosperity. On the other, they were seen as a threat, both in the economic sphere by protesting against slave-trading with the Protestants, and in the supernatural sphere by condemning local beliefs and practices aimed at ensuring well-being and safety. Some of the rulers had remained in good relations with the Capuchins before they rose to power. In some cases, these future rulers had even been educated by the missionaries and had performed the function of catechists. Such was the case of António III, who upon rising to power was excommunicated on a number of occasions for slave-trading with the Protestants and violating the right of asylum in the Capuchin Church. In a number of such cases in Soyo, the excommunicated rulers were subsequently overthrown. Among other such examples, this is what ultimately happened to Dom Pedro de Castro, who had brutally exiled the Capuchins.³²

Despite frequent tensions in the relations between those in power and the Capuchins, both the ruler and probably also his subjects treated their presence

³¹ Jean Cuvelier – *Père Laurent Lucques ...*, *cit.*, pp. 163, 178.

³² Louis Jadin – *Rivalités luso-néerlandaises ...*, *cit.*, pp. 318, 336; Jean Cuvelier. *Père Laurent Lucques ...*, *cit.*, p. 181.

in Soyo as necessary for the functioning of the small land. As a result, the new ruler of Soyo, who had taken the place vacated by the overthrown Pedro de Castro, invited the Capuchins to return. The authority of the missionaries may also be evidenced by the fact that, despite the huge agitation of the crowd, they had only been exiled. The people feared killing the friars. In later cases of tension in relations with the Capuchins, the rulers did not even dare to banish them. On the one hand, they harassed the Capuchins; on the other, they allowed the friars to continue with their missionary activities. A partial explanation lies in the fact that the rulers in Soyo attempted to construct their ideology of power around Christian elements. It was emphasized that the ruling dynasty in Soyo originated from the chief of Soyo (at that time a province of Kongo), who had been baptized earlier than the very ruler of Kongo. This awareness was very much alive in the second half of the seventeenth century.³³ As in Kongo, St. James's Day was an occasion for the gathering of all the chiefs subordinated to the rulers of Soyo. As a result, the ceremony took place in the square in front of the Capuchin church. On this day, the ruler received tribute from his chiefs. One of the churches became the rulers' burial site.³⁴ The complete disposal of the missionaries would have ideologically undermined the foundation of the power structure. In addition, it would have allowed Luanda to treat Soyo as a *pagan* country. Perhaps those in power in Soyo were aware of this fact.

One of the important aspects of the accounts written by the friars were the descriptions of the destruction of local cult centres. The missionaries often encountered resistance from the Kongolese, who even threatened them with death at times. The sources mention that despite such threats, some of the friars managed to break Kongolese resistance.³⁵ Their effectiveness did not result from their courage but rather from the fact that often the friars did not act alone. They were accompanied by a retinue assigned to them by the ruler and the chief of the province, or sometimes the inhabitants simply feared repressions from the ruler. The descriptions authored by the Capuchins often omit this fact in order to emphasize their uniqueness and their willingness to jeopardize their lives. The missionaries were convinced of the destructive powers the idols held. By eradicating them, the friars showed that they had a stronger force at their disposal. The accounts emphasize that during such acts the missionaries showed no fear.³⁶ This was supposed to prove the friars' exceptional courage. In actuality, they were fearful of the powers held by the local *idols*, which they treated as Satan's tools.

³³ Louis Jadin (ed.) – Andrea da Pavia ..., *cit.*, pp. 452, 456.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 449-52; Jean Cuvelier – *Père Laurent Lucques* ..., *cit.*, pp. 118, 124.

³⁵ João António Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica* ..., *cit.*, IV, § 20, 22-24, 28, pp. 362-65, 367-68.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, IV, § 32, p. 370.

The friars' accounts emphasize their suffering connected to functioning in a strange environment. They often highlight their loneliness. The missionaries claimed they frequently travelled across the land alone. They were accompanied only by translators and porters. The function of translators was often performed by Kongolese who were, at least to some extent, acquainted with European culture and who had some knowledge of the basic principles of the faith. They were also catechists (*Maestri della Chiesa*). Many of them belonged to a political elite.³⁷ However, the Capuchins could not place their full trust in them. It wasn't uncommon for the friars to discover, after they had gained some basic fluency in the local language, that the translators had distorted the priests' words. In the name of the friars, they had demanded benefits from the inhabitants of the villages visited by the Capuchins contrary to the will of missionaries.³⁸ There must have also been cases where they falsified the friars' teachings. These need not always have been deliberate actions on the part of the translators. Portuguese, the language the friars and local translators used for communication, was not the mother tongue of either. As a result, this could have also been the cause of a number of misunderstandings. Few missionaries stayed in Kongo long enough to properly learn the local language. Difficulties in communicating even with the translators could have intensified the feelings of loneliness and of being misunderstood.

Some of the accounts of Capuchins active in Kongo emphasized their exceptional position, which was supposed to have been not so much due to their own personal merits, but rather the consequence of Divine support. As an example, it is worth referring to the opinion expressed by Lorenzo da Lucca at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He claimed that he was able to overcome great difficulties thanks only to Divine support. He also emphasized that the clergy could always count on God's protection, as a result of which they could overcome all adversities, as God would not allow them to die in distant lands. The missionary simultaneously emphasized his readiness to suffer a martyr's death.

The adversities encountered due to the resistance of the inhabitants of Kongo were explained by the friar as resulting from Satan's acts inciting some of the Kongolese against them.³⁹ God's support was supposed to have been manifested in situations in which the friar – thanks to Divine intervention – avoided death or assault upon meeting hostile local inhabitants. Supposedly, this resulted from the fact that the Kongolese, even those disinclined toward the missionaries, were

³⁷ John K. Thornton – *The Kingdom of Kongo ...*, cit., pp. 63-65; John K. Thornton – *The Development of an African Catholic Church ...*, cit., pp. 147-67; John K. Thornton – *The Kongolese Saint Anthony ...*, cit., pp. 28-29, 35; John K. Thornton – *Religious and Ceremonial Life in the Kongo ...*, cit., pp. 70-90; Richard Gray – *Come vero prencipe catolico ...*, cit., p. 46.

³⁸ João António Cavazzi, *Descrição histórica ...*, cit., IV, § 1-4, pp. 349-52.

³⁹ Jean Cuvelier – *Père Laurent Lucques ...*, cit., pp. 195-96.

afraid of the friars due to Divine Providence. In consequence, the locals did not cause them any physical harm, outside of making threats and throwing curses.⁴⁰ Divine Providence was supposed to have even protected the Capuchins from wild animals, which only attacked the Kongolese and spared the missionaries.⁴¹ This does not change the fact that, according to Lorenzo da Lucca's account, missionaries travelling across the country were exposed to many inconveniences and much suffering. It seems that on numerous occasions they were abandoned by their porters in strange and hostile territories.⁴² Such stories were meant to emphasize the missionaries' suffering and the sacrifices they made. In reality, such situations did not occur. The Capuchins rarely travelled alone. They were accompanied by translators, as few of them had learnt the local language, and by other people connected to the friars' hospices. In turn, the porters had either been hired by the friars themselves or had been assigned to them by the Kongolese chiefs. Although there were some situations in which the porters abandoned the missionaries, or some village chiefs refused to supply such travelling companions, this did not mean that the friars were left completely alone. They could rely on the translators accompanying them, as well as the other people connected to the friars' outposts who travelled with them. The fact that this was not emphasized in the accounts constitutes a manipulation introduced to indicate their readiness to bear any suffering in the name of their mission. The addressees of the friars' accounts were other friars living in Europe. One of their aims was to encourage other friars to travel to Kongo, where they might achieve redemption through their suffering or perhaps even martyrdom. Simultaneously, this account emphasized that the Capuchins could count on Divine protection throughout their entire time there, defending them from countless dangers. This is how the author of the account explains the fact that during his time there none of the friars suffered a martyr's death in Kongo. This did not result from their lack of readiness to suffer such an end, but was rather the decision of Divine Providence.

As of the second half of the seventeenth century, the Capuchins conducted missionary activities in Kongo, a country considered in Europe to be a Catholic kingdom, whose political elites acknowledged being Christian. The adoption of Christianity did not eliminate the previous beliefs and customs. In attempting to root out such practices, the friars encountered resistance from many of the inhabitants, including the rulers and representatives of the political elites. The friars' approach sometimes contributed to raising resistance against them. In

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 185-86.

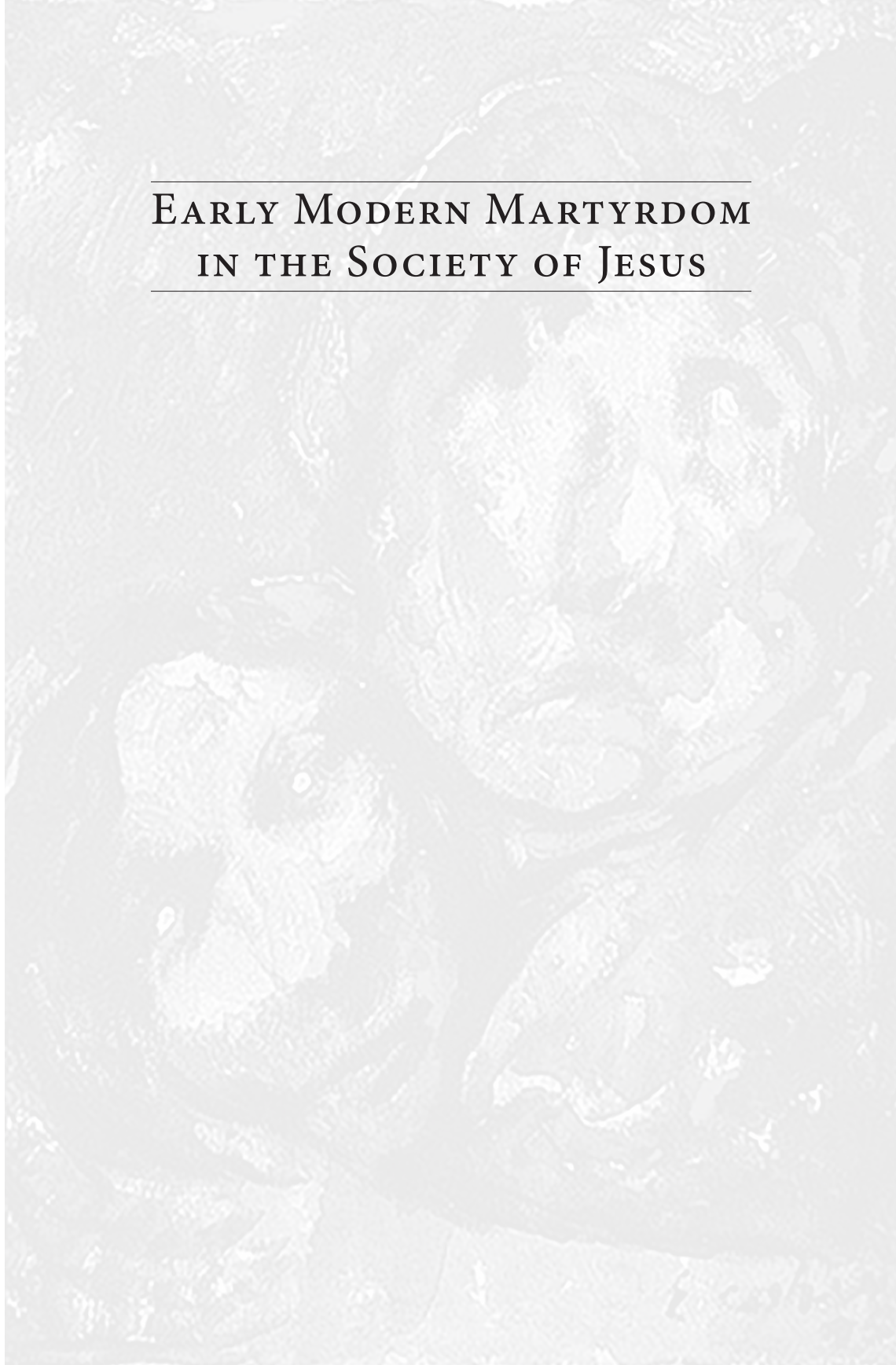
⁴¹ Michelangelo Guattini, Dionigi Carli et al. – *La mission au Kongo des pères Michelangelo Guattini et Dionigi Carli (1668)*. Paris: Chandeigne, 2006, p. 247.

⁴² Jean Cuvelier – *Père Laurent Lucques ...*, cit., pp. 183, 186, 190-93.

one such case, a friar was beaten to death. Simultaneously, the Capuchins were perceived as having a significant impact on maintaining the state structures and the ideology of power. As a result, their presence in the land was seen as desirable.

The accounts written by these friars emphasize their suffering and inconveniences in a foreign environment. Thanks to overcoming such adversities, the friars were able not only to strengthen the presence of Christianity, but also perfect their path to holiness. The texts written by the Capuchins were meant not only to justify missionary activities in Kongo, but also to encourage others to travel there. This resulted in the frequent highlighting and exaggeration of the suffering they had experienced, as well as the emphasis on the possibility of a martyr's death.

EARLY MODERN MARTYRDOM
IN THE SOCIETY OF JESUS



EARLY MODERN MARTYRDOM
AND THE SOCIETY OF JESUS
IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

CAMILLA RUSSELL

Introduction

This chapter explores the subject of Christian martyrdom in the early modern world, with particular reference to the Society of Jesus. It investigates the historical and contemporary contexts in which the Jesuits made their own appearance as martyrs and as contributors to the revived martyrological discourse of the early modern Catholic sphere.¹ Herein, we will consider how the Society as a whole, and Jesuits as individuals, accounted for the reality of violent deaths among their confreres, and how they elaborated a variety of responses, conceptions, and representations concerning the subject during the Society's first century. This chapter places these findings within the frame of the shifting meanings of martyrdom in the early modern period.

¹ This essay is dedicated to the Jesuits and lay collaborators, past and present, of Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), and Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (both as former Research Institute and Publications Imprint), with gratitude and esteem. The author wishes to thank Elisa Frei, who checked the Italian transcriptions of the archival documents, and Mark Lewis, S.J., who read and commented on a draft of this work. A discussion about this subject with Marc Lindeijer, S.J. was important in the development of the chapter. All translations are by the author, unless otherwise stated. The suffix "S.J." is used only in cases where published Jesuit authors are thus identified; it is not applied to the many Jesuit historical figures discussed here.

The study is positioned broadly within current Jesuit historiography,² as well as scholarship concerned with the Jesuit missions, focusing on Asia;³ it also deals with studies in the history of martyrdom in the early modern period,⁴ together with a more recent vein treating the cultural construction and consumption of the Jesuit martyrological narrative.⁵ Since no martyrs in this period were canonized

² Classic general studies include John W. O'Malley – *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993; Sabina Pavone – *I Gesuiti: dalle origini alla soppressione, 1540-1773*. Bari: Laterza, 2004. See also, Ines Županov, (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. For useful historiographical treatments, see: John W. O'Malley – The Historiography of the Society of Jesus: Where Does It Stand Today? *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Ed. by John W. O'Malley et al. 2 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, 2006 (*The Jesuits II*), vol. 1, pp. 3-37; Simon Ditchfield – Of Missions and Models: The Jesuit Enterprise (1540-1773) Reassessed in Recent Literature. *Catholic Historical Review*. 93 (2007) 325-43; Silvia Mostaccio – Review Article: A Conscious Ambiguity: The Jesuits Viewed in Comparative Perspective in the Light of Some Recent Italian Literature. *Journal of Early Modern History*. 12 (2008) 409-41; and about the missions, Emanuele Colombo – *Gesuitomania: Studi recenti sulle missioni gesuitiche (1540-1773)*. *Evangelizzazione e Globalizzazione: Le missioni gesuitiche nell'età moderna tra storia e storiografia*. Ed. by Michela Catto, Guido Mongini and Silvia Mostaccio. Biblioteca della "Nuova Rivista Storica". 42 (2010) 31-59. Updated historiographical overviews of many topics in this article are at Jesuit Historiography Online: referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/jesuit-historiography-online.

³ C. R. Boxer – *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967; substantial sections of Donald F. Lach – *Asia in the Making of Europe*. 3 vols. in 9 parts. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965-93, especially vols. 1, 3; Dauril Alden – *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire and Beyond, 1540-1750*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996; several essays in both volumes of John W. O'Malley et al. (eds.) – *The Jesuits ...*; Paolo Broggio – *Evangelizzare il mondo. Le missioni della Compagnia di Gesù tra Europa e America (secoli XVI.XVII)*. Rome: Carocci, 2004; Ines G. Županov – *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India, 16th-17th Centuries*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005; Liam Brockey – *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006; Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent (eds.) – *Missions Religieuses Modernes: Notre Lieu est le Monde*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2007; Luke Clossy – *Salvation and Globalisation in the Early Jesuit Missions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; Michela Catto, Guido Mongini, and Silvia Mostaccio (eds.) – *Evangelizzazione e Globalizzazione ...*; Liam M. Brockey – *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2014. The above list reflects this essay's emphasis on the Asian missions; for a treatment of the overseas Catholic missions as a whole, see Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, (ed.) *A Companion to the Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

⁴ For general overviews of Jesuit martyrdom, see several entries in the *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits*. Ed. by Thomas Worcester, S.J. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. The Catholic and Protestant spheres in early modern Europe (Brad S. Gregory – *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), and especially the British Isles, have been the focus of numerous valuable studies: Diana Wood (ed.) – *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. Oxford, UK: Published for the Ecclesiastical History Society by Blackwell Publishers, 1993; Anne Dillon – *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535-1603*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002; Alice Dailey – *The English Martyr from Reformation to Revolution*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012.

⁵ Two recent treatments along these lines are: Emma Anderson – *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013; Ulrike Strasser – Copies With Souls: The Late Seventeenth-Century Marianas Martyrs, Francis Xavier, and the Question of Clerical Reproduction. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 2.4 (2015) 558-85.

by the Catholic Church until much later, the study does not deal directly with the work that got under way after the Council of Trent (1545-63) through the offices of the Sacred Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies (founded in 1588), whose task included the formal recognition of martyrs (as venerable, blessed or saint).⁶ Rather, it considers martyrdom through a wide lens that in the early modern period carried multiple meanings:⁷ as a fact – that is, as the lived experience of a violent death with specific religious significance attributed to it (broadly defined as witnessing to faith in Christ to the point of death meted out *in odium fidei*);⁸ as a point of view – shared among witnesses and contemporaries, and afterwards by writers, artists, and confreres, as well as through popular devotions (bearing in mind that not all viewed those same deaths as martyrdoms); and finally, as a paradox, in that its glorifying and victorious connotations also pointed to experiences of personal trauma, institutional crisis, and outright failure.⁹ Because of – not despite – its problematic nature, the term “martyrdom” is retained in this study as a reflection of its many applications in this period, and its value for historical analysis.¹⁰

⁶ Ernesto Piacentini – *Il martirio nelle cause dei santi*. Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1979; Fabijan Veraja – *La Beatificazione: storia, problemi, prospettive*. Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1983; Vincenzo Crisculo, Carmelo Pellegrino, Robert J. Sarno (eds.) – *Le cause dei santi. Sussidio per lo Studium*, 4th ed., Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2018, Chapter 1.

⁷ Simon Ditchfield – *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. The Congregation nevertheless contributed to an upsurge in the martyrological atmosphere of the early modern period: as Ditchfield has shown, the increasingly legalistic methods of the Tridentine Church did not stamp out, but in some cases, increased (often unchanged), earlier interest and practice in the veneration of saints and martyrs; at the same time, through the Congregation's demands for rigour, more attention, not less, was paid to the subject (through written works, images, and so forth), despite the fact that this new-found rigour resulted in many with the fame of saintliness and those considered martyrs to remain outside the boundaries of official sainthood and martyrdom.

⁸ For this perspective as a frame for historical investigation, see Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, S.J. – *El martirologio del Japón 1558-1873*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu series), 1999.

⁹ This strand of the essay echoes Županov's reading of martyrdom in *Missionary Tropics*, which underlines the complexities, contradictions, and problems associated with the question of martyrdom in the Society. For Emma Anderson (*The Death and Afterlife ...*, cit., p. 7), this is one side of the “paradox of martyrdom”, where the term itself “ennobled the bitter pill of defeat”.

¹⁰ The problematic nature of martyrdom includes the colonial implications of much Jesuit missionary activity, which coincided either directly or indirectly with the European expansionist agenda, ambitions, and (often) their realisation through conquest and occupation. “Martyrdom” in this context describes the deaths of small numbers of Jesuits and other European (and on occasion local) religious in defence of their faith; but the term's use often neglected under its umbrella the significant numbers of local Christians who lost their lives. At the same time, the term implicitly vilifies those local populations blamed for perpetrating the martyrdoms. However, we may recall that these same populations on the whole experienced much greater loss of life at the hands of the European invaders that opened the way to the Jesuit and other missionaries (sometimes, of course, the missionaries protested against European colonial conduct, too). Also, we note that non-Christian local populations sought through violent means to defend their own faith

The study is divided into five main parts. First, it considers the contexts for the early Jesuit encounter and engagement with the subject of martyrdom, including the Roman paleo-Christian revival to which the Society also contributed. The second theme explores the earliest Jesuit documents, writings, and experiences of martyrdom in its many guises, such as the first accounts of Jesuit deaths in the “Indies”. The analysis goes on to discuss the Society’s treatments of martyrdom, both as an institution through its foundational documents, and through the perspectives of individual Jesuits seeking admission to the Roman novitiate, as well as through the printing press. In the final section, the idea of martyrdom is explored by way of the *Litterae indipetae*: petitions to join the overseas missions in the Indies written by young Jesuits from the Italian provinces. By tracing this single theme through a variety of documents – from formal to personal, and from visual to textual – the study seeks to provide new insights into how martyrdom worked in the early Society of Jesus.

The return of martyrdom in the early modern world

By the turn of the sixteenth century, Western Christendom had become unaccustomed to physical martyrdom, and in the centuries after the end of the persecutions of the ancient world, martyrdom gradually came to assume a spiritual meaning in the medieval Church.¹¹ Indeed, with its hegemonic role in the social, political, and religious landscape of Europe, the Church was more likely to generate heretics than martyrs. Heretics through their death were *excluded* from the body of the Church for holding to false doctrine; martyrs through their death were *included* in its body through defence of their faith in the face of persecution on account of that faith.¹² After the mid-sixteenth century, in Europe, Protestants and especially persecuted minorities like Anabaptists could expect a martyr’s death more than Catholics could.

and way of life, just as scores of Europeans did in good conscience on their own territory (for reflections along these lines, see Emma Anderson – *The Death and Afterlife ...*, *cit.*, p. 573). Precisely for these reasons, the term serves as a useful frame for the essay’s aim to understand a *specific* aspect of this phenomenon, and from the perspective of a distinct group, without condoning some of the dubious value systems that sometimes underpinned its use. At the same time, we should note that a key characteristic that for the most part defined the Christian martyrdoms of this period was the non-violent behaviour of those put to death.

¹¹ Vincenzo Crisculo, Carmelo Pellegrino, Robert J. Sarno (eds.) – *Le cause dei santi ...*, *cit.*, pp. 69-70.

¹² In fact, some features of martyrdom explored in this study follow a path along the lines drawn by Michel de Certeau (and further developed by others), when he observed – concerning heresy, its definition, and prosecution in early modern Europe’s Catholic and Protestant territories – that: “The multiplication of iconic representation and doctrinal elucidations devoted to the ‘victory’ of faith over heresy probably announces, in each church, the opposite of what they are supposed to prove or demonstrate”. Michel de Certeau – *The Writing of History*. Trans. Tom Conley. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, p. 127.

It is not surprising, then, that one of the earliest and most influential martyrologies of the sixteenth century was produced by a Protestant, John Foxe, who between 1563 and 1583 published in multiple editions his *Acts and Monuments of the Church Containing the History and Suffering of the Martyrs* (the work continued to be published after Foxe's death until the nineteenth century).¹³ Beginning with the martyrdoms of the earliest days of the Church (thus taking up venerable earlier examples in the genre, especially the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* of the fifth and sixth centuries), the book's innovation was to focus especially on the proto-Protestants of England and the Protestants of Foxe's own generation under Mary I Tudor; Foxe drew an uninterrupted line between the early martyrs and his Protestant contemporaries as part of the same tradition, to the outrage of the Catholic world and the satisfaction of the Protestant one.

The second half of the sixteenth century saw martyrdom return to the Catholic sphere as well, due to the twin developments of European overseas expansion and the ruptures of the Protestant Reformation inside Europe. As the Catholics of Britain and the overseas missionaries began to die for their faith, a growing Catholic enthusiasm for martyrdom as a means both for spiritual edification and the consolidation of Catholic identity got underway. From the beginning, however, there were signs of reticence about the contemporary martyrdoms of the sixteenth century: on the continent, Catholics executed in Protestant lands tended to be viewed as victims of war rather than as martyrs.¹⁴ As Brad S. Gregory notes, the reluctance of the Catholic Church to include its early modern victims of violence among the ranks of the saints is reflected in the fact that no one who was killed for his or her faith in the sixteenth century was canonised as a martyr before 1700, whereas many who were killed later were.¹⁵ While the establishment in 1588 of the Sacred Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies effectively relaunched official saint-making, it also regulated canonisation procedures more carefully.¹⁶ The system may have tightened up but, as Gregory reminds us, one did not have to be a saint to be considered a martyr and appear in a martyrology.¹⁷ We will see this combination of flexibility (in terms of definition), reticence, and promotion reflected in a number of Jesuit treatments of the subject as well.

¹³ See Brad S. Gregory – *Salvation at Stake ...*, *cit.*, p. 4; Anne Dillon – *The Construction of Martyrdom ...*, *cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 78.

¹⁵ Brad S. Gregory – *Salvation at Stake ...*, *cit.*, p. 252. The Nagasaki martyrs of 1597 were beatified relatively quickly, only thirty years after their deaths in 1627, but they were canonised much later, in the nineteenth century.

¹⁶ Simon Ditchfield – *Martyrs on the Move: Relics as Vindicators of Local Diversity in the Tridentine Church*. In *Martyrs and Martyrologies ...*, *cit.*, p. 283: with historical enquiry enlisted as a vital tool in this process, Ditchfield argues for the “martyrological origins of the historical revolution”, p. 294.

¹⁷ Brad S. Gregory – *Salvation at Stake ...*, *cit.*, p. 252.

Even if early modern martyrs were not destined for canonisation until much later, the imperative to carefully document accounts to support the claim to such a status intensified as the sixteenth century drew to a close. By this time, Catholic Europe had developed a new appreciation of the phenomenon in the wake of the crisis of the Reformation and the search for legitimacy through history. It tended to do so through celebrating – not so much its contemporary martyrs as its ancient ones. By identifying the Church’s ancient martyrological roots as part of a broader paleo-Christian revival, a new “Renaissance of Christian martyrdom” was born.¹⁸ This revival was inspired by the humanistic classicising processes already driving European culture: in the Catholic context, Roman martyrological commemoration provided a reminder of the Church’s claim to Petrine primacy, especially important in the uncertain century of the Reformations.¹⁹

Tertullian’s famous late-second-century pronouncement that “the blood of Christians is seed” expressed the spirit of the revival,²⁰ supported by literature concerning the martyrological history of the early Church, especially the *Roman Martyrology* of 1583 (revised by the Oratorian Cesare Baronio in 1586), and Baronio’s history of the Church, the *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588-1607). The revival took place through popular devotional activities as well, such as visits to the Roman sites of Christian martyrdom, processions, re-enactments, and lectures – all introduced to such good effect by Baronio and his fellow-Oratorians – as well as through artistic representations of famous early Christian martyrdoms.²¹

A major event in this process was the celebrated discovery in 1578 of the Catacomb of Priscilla on the Via Salaria. Other features included the renovation and decoration of ancient churches in Rome, many of which had fallen into disrepair.²² The first artistic restoration of this kind probably was that of 1559,

¹⁸ Brad S. Gregory – Late Medieval Religiosity and the Renaissance of Christian Martyrdom in the Reformation Era. In *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History: Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th Birthday*. Ed. by Robert James Bast, Andrew Colin Gow, and Heiko Augustinus Oberman. Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 379-99.

¹⁹ As such a potent construct, however, we are reminded of the multiple meanings of martyrdom, depending on time, place, and each group’s needs in making and keeping their martyrs. For the non-European context, for example, see Renato Cymbalista – The Presence of the Martyrs: Jesuit Martyrdom and the Christianisation of Portuguese America. *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*. 10.4 (2010) 287-305. See also Emma Anderson – *The Death and Afterlife ...*, for a reminder about the other side of the martyrdom event, that of the group enacting it and its perspective of the event, as well as its motivation; in the case of Anderson’s study of Aboriginal people in present-day Canada, the “native concept of soul return, ritual sacrifice, and physical incorporation are as important to our understanding of their fate [the killed Jesuits] as is the more familiar Christian concept of martyrdom”, *cit.*, p. 53.

²⁰ Tertullian – *Apologeticus*, Chapter 50.

²¹ For Baronio, see Giuseppe Guazzelli, Raimondo Michetti, and Francesco Scorza Barcellona (eds.) – *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*. Roma: Viella, 2012.

²² For the following points, see Gauvin A. Bailey – *Between Renaissance and Baroque: Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003, pp. 122-26.

undertaken at S. Sabina for Cardinal Truchsess by Taddeo Zuccaro, in which the apse holds a free interpretation in fresco of a mosaic panel, parts of which survived in their original site. The restoration and decoration of Ss. Nereo ed Achilleo constituted a celebrated example of this process: begun in 1596 under the care of the Oratorians, it followed a much more scholarly method of recovering, rather than redesigning, the original decorations.

The first Jesuit project undertaken within the context of this revival was at S. Saba. The church had been given to the German-Hungarian College in 1573 by Gregory XIII, and was founded by the Jesuits in 1552, the year after the Collegio Romano. Two other churches were given to the care of the German-Hungarian college as well, S. Apollinare and S. Stefano Rotondo: both were decorated with martyrological frescoes but only those of the latter survived (painted in 1582-83, the frescoes of S. Stefano Rotondo were among the most celebrated of their kind in the city).²³ These churches, at the time located on the fringes of urban Rome, were given to the Jesuits because, although ancient and therefore significant, they did not have titular cardinals attached to them, and thus had suffered neglect.

With these decorative cycles, constituting eight in total executed in Rome between 1582 and 1603, the Jesuits entered the martyrological discourse in the visual culture of the city.²⁴ Of course the difference for them was that their own men were undergoing martyrdom in their day, and did not belong to a distant, easily glorified past. It is for this reason that the Jesuits provide fertile ground for tracing the meanings ascribed to martyrdom in the sixteenth century, from vocation to experience and its articulation, to its reception back in Europe. They helped shape the paleo-Christian revival with their own blood, while their experiences were incorporated into a textual and visual record that is accessible to us today through the Society's extensive archival patrimony, its published accounts, and its surviving martyrological pictorial cycles.²⁵

²³ *Santo Stefano Rotondo in Roma: archeologia, storia dell'arte, restauro; atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 10-13 ottobre 1996 = Archäologie, Bauforschung, Geschichte: Akten der Internationalen Tagung, Rom 10.-13. Oktober 1996*. Ed. by Hugo Brandenburg and József Pál. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000, especially the chapter by Lydia Salviucci Insolera – Gli affreschi del ciclo dei martiri commissionati al Pomarancio in rapporto alla situazione religiosa ed artistica della seconda metà del Cinquecento, pp. 129-37, whose reflections on the religious and spiritual contexts for their production are particularly pertinent to this study.

²⁴ Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake ...*, cit., p. 304.

²⁵ For an orientation to the Roman archive of the Society, ARSI, see Edmond Lamalle, S.J. – L'archivio di un grande Ordine religioso. L'Archivio Generale della Compagnia di Gesù. *Archiva Ecclesiae* 24-25(1) (1981-82) 89-120. See also Flavio Rurale – “lo sguardo o la mano del generale”: problemi e prospettive di ricerca nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. In *Gli archivi per la storia de gli ordini religiosi. Fonti e problemi (secoli xvi-xix)*. Ed. by Massimo Carlo Giannini and Matteo Sanfilippo. Viterbo: Edizioni Sette Città, 2007, pp. 93-110.

The arrival of martyrdom in the Society of Jesus

True to the conflicted age into which it was born, the Society of Jesus was alert to the period's martyrological sensibilities.²⁶ Ignatius of Loyola first interpreted his visionary experience at La Storta, near Rome – in which he understood that he was called to embark on a path of divine service with the promise that God would be propitious to him in the Eternal City – as possibly even involving some form of martyrdom. Prior to this, Ignatius's various inquisitorial encounters, which included threats, trials and imprisonment, meant that a violent death was feasible.²⁷ The martyrological origins of the Church, furthermore, were present in the earliest conversion experiences of Ignatius during his convalescence from battle wounds in 1521, when he replaced his usual literary diet of romance tales with the only books available for reading: one on the life of Christ, and the other on the lives of the saints, which he read "over many times".²⁸ Of course the martyrs were there, although the saints he wished to emulate, as he recalls in his (later-named) *Autobiography*, were non-martyrs: "What if I should do what St Francis

²⁶ The theme is treated in a number of historical studies of the Jesuits: as noted above, England features heavily, for obvious reasons (for example, several essays in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits. Essays in Celebration of the First Centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford, 1896-1996*. Ed. by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007, along with Thomas M. McCoog's numerous other publications). Also noted above, for further treatments of Jesuits and the subject of martyrdom within a cultural-historical framework, see: Alison Shell – "We are made a spectacle": Campion's Dramas. In *The Reckoned Expense ...*, *cit.*, pp. 119-37, who effectively identifies both the theatre of martyrdom (with reference to Campion's scaffold-speech, on p. 131) and martyrdom in theatre (focusing especially on English Jesuit drama in the 1590s). See also Ulrike Strasser – *Copies With Souls ...*, who enlists methodologies in the history of the body, sexuality, and gender history, and identifies a kind of "imitation game" where Jesuits sought martyrdom in emulation of each other and of their ultimate model, (non-martyr) Francis Xavier. Studies that provide a gendered reading of martyrdom in the Jesuit sphere include: Ulrike Strasser – "The First Form and Grace": Ignatius Loyola and the Reformation of Masculinity. In *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*. Ed. by Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008, 45-70; Michelle Molina and Ulrike Strasser – The Global Currency of Female Sanctity: A Seventeenth-century Mexican Mystic and her Jesuit Biographers from the Spanish and German Empires. In *Women, Religion and the Atlantic World, 1600-1800*. Ed. by Daniella J. Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009, 156-79.

²⁷ *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis. Vol. 1, Narrationes scriptae ante annum 1557*. Ed. by Candido de Dalmases and Dionisio Fernandez Zapico. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI) 66 (1943) 354-507. The English translation used in this essay is: Ignatius of Loyola – *Autobiography*. Trans. Parmananda R. Divarkar. In *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*. Ed. by George E. Ganss, S.J. New York: Paulist Press, 1991 [96 for the vision at La Storta, and 58-59 for particularly risky encounters with the Inquisition, citing here and throughout standard paragraph numbers]. See John W. O'Malley – *The First Jesuits ...*, *cit.*, p. 34 (for the vision at La Storta), pp. 27-28 (for Ignatius and the Inquisition).

²⁸ Ignatius of Loyola – *Autobiography*, *cit.* [5]

did, and what St Dominic did?”²⁹ The intention here was not so much to seek a martyr’s lot, but “to serve the Lord” and “get on his way”.³⁰

From Rome, where Ignatius settled with two of the early companions, and where they encountered antagonists aplenty, martyrological themes began to surface for members of the nascent Society. Ignatius wrote to Isabel Roser just before Christmas in 1538: “It is more than a year since three of us belonging to the Society arrived here in Rome”, and while they met with success, providing tuition “free of charge in the Sapienza College ... giving and communicating spiritual exercises to others, both in and outside Rome”, they were also met with “opposition among worldly people ... for we could smell how barren the earth was of good fruit and how abounding in bad”.³¹ He described their enemies in some detail, including their powerful positions and that they sought the premature annihilation of the Society (a martyrdom of sorts). Another letter written shortly before, composed by Pierre Favre on behalf of Ignatius, alluded to “[the] trials for Christ we have had to undergo at Rome ... Even at Rome there are not wanting those to whom the light of the Church’s truth and life is hateful”.³² Indeed, the particular spirituality of the early Society, developed through the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises (where the spiritual is seen as embodied in the physical), allowed that otherwise physical phenomena like martyrdom might be manifested spiritually (a view that was in line with medieval views of martyrdom).³³ This can be observed in the companions’ early plan to go to Jerusalem. The aim to undertake works of charity and conversion, and face possible martyrdom for the faith, rapidly came to hold a spiritual meaning when passage to Jerusalem was denied them. Ignatius/Favre explained the situation in the following

²⁹ Ignatius of Loyola – *Autobiography*, cit. [7].

³⁰ Ignatius of Loyola – *Autobiography*, cit. [72].

³¹ The Ignatian correspondence from this earliest period is reproduced in: *Monumenta Ignatiana. Epistolae et instructiones*. Ed. by Mariano Lecina et al. Madrid: Gabriel Lopez del Horno. Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI), Series Prima. Vol. 1, 1903. The English translation of this letter by Ignatius (to Isabel Roser, Rome, 19 December 1538), and the others cited in this essay are quoted from *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*. Eds. Martin E. Palmer, S.J., John W. Padberg, S.J. and John L. McCarthy, S.J. St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006, pp. 35-40; this quotation, p. 36.

³² Ignatius of Loyola to Diego de Gouvea, from Pierre Favre, by commission, Rome, 23 November 1538. In *Letters and Instructions ...*, cit., pp. 32-34 (p. 33).

³³ The effort to trace an “organic” (not inevitable) evolution of Jesuit attitudes pertaining to the themes discussed in this essay – following a kind of internal thread in relevant extant texts and artefacts – recalls a similar approach adopted by Guido Mongini (*Maschere dell’identità: alle origini della Compagnia di Gesù*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2016). Despite the study’s different overarching aims and conclusions (including Mongini’s identification of a marked martyrological self-understanding in Ignatian and early Jesuit thought from the beginning), it avoids the linear, “progressivist”, and coherent narratives that generations of Jesuit leaders and internal historians – already in the lifetime of Ignatius – presented about their foundations, instead interrogating evidence that sheds light on porous beginnings, and often contradictory and contested dynamics in the early Society. In a similar vein, this analysis is interested in the responsiveness of the first companions and early Jesuits to changing circumstances. The advent of violent Jesuit deaths in the overseas missions some years after the Society’s foundation is an example of one such shift that was not present from the beginning.

terms: “it is not the Supreme Pontiff’s intention that we leave here, since the harvest is abundant at Rome as well”.³⁴ Several decades later, Nicolás Bobadilla underlined the acquired meaning of this turning point in his *Autobiography*, by describing how Pope Paul III had asked the first companions: “Why do you have such a desire to go to Jerusalem? Italy is a good and true Jerusalem if your desire is to bring forth fruit in God’s Church”.³⁵ Here we can see how, for the early Jesuits, the meaning of physical *things* and *places* became in their spiritual form *mutable* and *transferable*: Rome had become the Society of Jesus’s own Jerusalem.

Of course, the impetus to go on mission was not restricted to Jerusalem, or to the spiritual realm, and itinerancy and mission were established at the heart of the Jesuit ethos: already the first companions’ famous 1534 Paris resolution included not only pilgrimage to the Holy City but also offering their service to the pope for any ministry anywhere in the world that he adjudged to be in need of assistance. In 1540, the year of the Society’s papal ratification, the missionary path of the Society was set to include Europe and the wider world, with Ignatius receiving papal requests for companions to be sent to Ireland, India, and the Holy Roman Empire. In a letter sent from Rome in 1542, Ignatius provides some insight into how this played out in reality, giving the sense of a perpetually transient Society: “With these seven sent off (including Francis Xavier to India) there will be eight of us left in the house. In the spring we plan to send another six”.³⁶ The first secretary of the Society, Juan Alfonso de Polanco, echoed this state of impermanence in his 1570s chronicle (*Chronicon*) of the Society’s early history: “Almost as soon as men left [as they were sent to various places outside Rome], others were waiting [to be admitted] and actually were admitted as soon as accommodation became available”.³⁷

With mission, came martyrdom. From the beginning, Jesuits went to locations where Catholicism, indeed Christianity, was either marginal or outlawed, and often they did not enjoy the physical protection that they could count on in Catholic Europe or in overseas territories under Iberian control: many locations, like Japan, were outside the purview of European influence and this made them vulnerable. Jesuits arrived in the Holy Roman Empire in 1540, in Ireland in 1542, in Goa that same year, in Brazil in 1549, in Florida in 1566, and in England in 1580; only a year after their arrival in England, in 1581, the mission’s co-founder,

³⁴ Ignatius to Gouvea, from Favre by commission, 23 November 1538. In *Letters and Instructions ...*, cit., p. 33.

³⁵ This section of Bobadilla’s 1589 *Autobiography* is quoted by John W. Padberg, S.J. – Ignatius, the Popes, and Realistic Reverence. In *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*. 25.3 (May 1993) 18.

³⁶ Ignatius of Loyola to Pierre Favre, Rome, 20 September 1541. In *Letters and Instructions ...*, cit., pp. 67-69 (p. 69).

³⁷ *Year by Year with the Early Jesuits (1537-1556): Selections from the “Chronicon” of Juan de Polanco, SJ*. Translated and annotated by John Patrick Donnelly, S.J. St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004, p. 408 (in reference to the year 1556), first published in the original Latin in, Juan Alfonso de Polanco – *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Jesu historia*. 6 vols. Madrid: Excudebat Typographorum Societas (v. 2-6 published by Augustinus Avrial), Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI), 1894-98.

Edmund Campion, had been executed. Yet while the Reformation in England brought about the first Catholic martyrdoms of the century already in the 1530s, for the Jesuits, their first meeting with martyrdom took place a decade later in a different region altogether: India's Fishery Coast was the setting for the violent death in 1549 of the region's first Jesuit superior, Antonio Criminale, only a few years after the missionary enterprise had begun there under Xavier. The execution quickly came to be seen as a martyrdom.³⁸ An account of Criminale's death was included in the earliest European publication from the Asian missions in 1551-52, alongside Xavier's famous letters from the missions.³⁹

Back in Europe, a strong and enduring link between the overseas missions and martyrdom consequently was established. This can be seen in the increased importance afforded to martyrdom in Jesuit self-understanding. We know, for example, that Ignatius possessed personal devotional pictures, including a Holy family that survives; the fifth general of the Society, Claudio Acquaviva, instead, chose depictions of the martyred men of the Society to be among his private devotional collection. By this time, the situation had changed dramatically for the Society: after only two years of his long generalate (1581-1615), Acquaviva's own nephew, Rodolfo Acquaviva (whom he was personally responsible for appointing to the overseas missions), along with four other Jesuits, had been martyred in Cuncoim near Goa in 1583.⁴⁰ It is perhaps no surprise, then, that we are told in Acquaviva's *Vita* how: "In his rooms he had images of the Martyrs, and other Blesseds of the Society, and with particular affection he contemplated and venerated them".⁴¹ Through these two comparable examples, we can observe that a shift had taken place: by the generalate of Acquaviva, physical martyrdom had become an established reality in the Society, providing thereby a very concrete and immediate stimulus to spiritual contemplation and – for many Jesuits – a vocation to those missions where the faith on occasion required dramatic testimony.

³⁸ Ines G. Županov – *Missionary Tropics ...*, cit., Chapter 2, and on this point, especially p. 160.

³⁹ In Italian, the volume appeared as: *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portogallo, Ricevuti in questi doi anni del 1551 & 1552 ...* Rome 1552, with the following chapter: Copia de un Capitolo dove si tratta del Martirio del Padre Antonio Criminale, pp. 240-44.

⁴⁰ For a literary commemoration of this event, see Paul G. Gwynne – *Francesco Benci's Quinque Martyres. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

⁴¹ "Ha illustrato i Martiri, et altri Beati della Compagnia, de quali nelle sue stanze haveva ritratti, e con particolare affetto il contempeva e riveriva". Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (henceforth, ARSI), *Vitae* 144 I [Claudio Acquaviva], 74a, quoted in Gauvin A. Bailey – *Between Renaissance and Baroque ...*, cit., pp. 13, 275 n. 47. For more on this pivotal Jesuit superior general and his period, see Paolo Broglio, *Francesca Cantù, Pierre Antoine Fabre, and Antonella Romano – I Gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva: strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 2007; Silvia Mostaccio – *Early Modern Jesuits between Obedience and Conscience during the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615)*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014; Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Flavio Rurale (eds.) – *The Acquaviva Project: Claudio Acquaviva's Generalate (1581-1615) and the Emergence of Modern Catholicism*. Boston: Institute of Jesuit Sources Boston College, 2017.

Preparing for martyrdom in the Society of Jesus

The Society's foundational documents contain a number of indications about the subject of martyrdom, some direct and others indirect. The earliest document, the *Spiritual Exercises* (begun 1521; first published 1548), provides clear guidance for penitential practice that included welcoming pain and physical suffering as part of the remorse experienced on account of individual sinfulness: this is the theme of the meditation at the end of the first week, enjoining the following: "I will imagine myself a great sinner in chains", and "I should not think about pleasant or joyful things ... Instead, I should keep myself intent on experiencing sorrow and pain; and for this it is better to think about death and judgment". Penance should be both of the interior and exterior kind, and the types of suggested physical penance were described in detail (a practice in which Ignatius engaged in the early years after conversion, although he later warned against the kind of self-chastisement he himself had practised). The directions were clear about avoiding excess: "provided that we do not weaken our constitution or bring on noteworthy illness".⁴²

Pain and death were not to be feared, however; in fact, for Ignatius it was all too easy to welcome them, something he emphatically warned against: in his life story, known as the *Autobiography* (dictated to Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, 1553-55; circulated in manuscript; first published 1731), Ignatius, narrating in the third person, described how

in the year '50, he was very bad [unwell] with a very severe illness which in his opinion as well as in that of many others would be the last. At this time, thinking about death, he felt such joy and such spiritual consolation at having to die that he dissolved entirely into tears. This became so habitual that he often stopped thinking about death so as not to feel so much of that consolation.⁴³

Death, then, was not a "consolation" that should be sought; instead, the harder business of living was to be embraced. Physical suffering, according to this view, was contained and restrained within penitential practice, and not associated with martyrdom, which belonged most of all to the spiritual, not physical, realm.

⁴² *Monumenta Ignatiana. Exercitia spiritualia S. Ignatii de Loyola et eorum directoria*. Ed. by J. Calveras, and C. de Dalmases. Rev. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI) 100, vol. 1, 1969. The English version quoted in this essay is: Ignatius of Loyola – *The Spiritual Exercises*. Trans. George E. Ganss, S.J. In *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works* [74, 78, 82, 83, citing standard paragraph numbers].

⁴³ Ignatius of Loyola – *Autobiography*, *cit.* [33]. This account was unlike those describing previous life-threatening illnesses when, on the first occasion, the *Autobiography* outlined how Ignatius was afraid for his life [32], and on the second occasion he was filled with regret for not having used God's graces sufficiently [33].

The specific call to be ready for physical martyrdom is not explicitly present in these passages, as much as a call – standard in such meditations – to the imitation of Christ, including in his sufferings. The second week of the *Spiritual Exercises* – concerned with the discernment of individual election and vocation to a particular path, and a key week for those considering entry to the Society – opens with the contemplation of the temporal king and the “king eternal”.⁴⁴ It enjoins consideration of:

Christ our Lord ... and all the world assembled before him. He calls to them all, and to each one in particular he states: “My will is to conquer the whole world and all my enemies and thus to enter into the glory of My Father. Therefore, whoever wishes to come with Me must labour with me, so that through following me in the pain he or she may follow me also in the glory”.⁴⁵

And a little further along, those who wish to offer themselves completely to God’s service are enjoined to pray:

“Eternal Lord of all things, I make my offering, with your favour and help ... it is my deliberate decision, provided only that it is for your greater service and praise, to imitate you in bearing all injuries and affronts, and any poverty, actual as well as spiritual, if your Most Holy Majesty desires to elect and receive me into such a state”.⁴⁶

If reference to martyrdom in the *Exercises* is oblique, the potential physical dangers of the missionary apostolate of the Society are acknowledged and addressed more directly in the *Constitutions* (1552; printed 1558-59). Yet the tone is cautious and certainly averse to placing members in danger. In Part VII, dealing with the theme of mission – with the title “The distribution of the incorporated members in Christ’s vineyard and their relations there with their fellowmen” – the potential dangers of such work were addressed and anticipated as a result of “their intention to travel throughout the world ... ever intent on seeking the greater glory of God”.⁴⁷ In assessing which areas were most suited for the establishment

⁴⁴ For a recent analysis of the key second week in the *Spiritual Exercises*, with a particular focus on the famous meditation on the “Two Standards” (on the fourth day of that week), see Adriano Prosperi – Two Standards: The Origins and Developments of a Celebrated Ignatian Meditation. Trans. Camilla Russell – *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 2.3 (2015) 361-86.

⁴⁵ Ignatius of Loyola – *Spiritual Exercises* ..., cit. [95].

⁴⁶ Ignatius of Loyola – *Spiritual Exercises* ..., cit. [98].

⁴⁷ *Monumenta Ignatiana. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*. Vol. 3, ed. by Arturo Codina. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI) 65, 1938. The English translation in this essay, with standard citations, is: *The Constitutions of the Society of*

of a Jesuit mission, the following direction was given: “among the pious works of equal importance, urgency, and need, when some are safer for the one who cares for them and others are more dangerous ... the first should be similarly preferred over the second”⁴⁸ And further along, we see that superiors should not seek only heroes in appointing missionaries: “With one very ardent and daring [Jesuit] it seems that there could well go another [Jesuit who is] more circumspect and cautious”⁴⁹

All four books that comprise the *Constitutions* (with their ten parts), in different ways pertain to the selection, instruction and examination of candidates for entry, and here, too, we find reference to the Indies, and the inference of the sacrifice that this entailed, although with no clear reference to martyrdom. However, eight years after the books were completed (in 1552), and three years after Ignatius’s death (and a full decade after the death of Jesuit protomartyr Antonio Criminale), the theme of martyrdom entered the text of the *Constitutions* by way of a “prefatory letter” that appeared at the head of the first official printed edition of the *Constitutions*. It stated:

The professed ... should be like men marked out for death, ready, at the slightest bidding of the Supreme Pontiff and Vicar of Christ, to whom they have bound themselves by a special vow, to set off joyfully to preach Christ anywhere on earth, whether among pagans, Turks, or Indians, whether among believers or unbelievers. They should hold it a great privilege – as indeed it is – to pour out their blood, along with this momentary life, so that they might rejoice forever in immortality.⁵⁰

The authorship of this passage, which was approved by the First General Congregation in 1558, traditionally is attributed to Pedro Ribadeneira; however, it was omitted from subsequent editions, because it was decided that no content except that directly associated with Ignatius should be included in the *Constitutions*.⁵¹ It is significant for our purposes that this explicit reference to

Jesus. Translated, with an introduction, by George E. Ganss, S.J. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970 [603].

⁴⁸ *The Constitutions ...*, cit. [623e].

⁴⁹ *The Constitutions ...*, cit. [623j].

⁵⁰ This letter is quoted in the 1996 edition of the English translation of *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*. Ed. by John W. Padberg, S.J. Trans. George E. Ganss, S.J. (orig. pub. 1971) St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996 (with revisions), p. xix. In the quoted edition, the letter’s title is given as “Preface to the First Edition of the Constitutions”; the letter is at pp. xv-xx.

⁵¹ Comments on this addition began already in 1620: according to the early Jesuit historian of the Society, Francesco Sacchini, “some considered that nothing should be added to the Constitutions except what Ignatius had written himself” (quoted in the editorial apparatus of *The Constitutions ...* (1996), cit., p. xv; see also Martin E. Palmer, S.J. – Sources. *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*. 23.2 (March 1991) 3-37.

martyrdom is a later addition, is not linked with Ignatius, and was later dropped from the text.

As for the rest of the *Constitutions*, the first parts in particular (*Examen* and *Declarations on the Examen*, sometimes collectively called the *General Examen*) were intended for use both by candidates and their assessors in establishing suitability for entry to the Society.⁵² These included a list of thirteen questions to be put to the candidate, grouped around three themes: background and family, the candidate himself, and the nature of his vocation.⁵³ Part of the final question asks whether he is prepared to “live and die in the Lord with and in this Society of Jesus”.⁵⁴ For the Roman novitiate of Sant’Andrea, this theme was developed further in the questionnaires extant from the period 1636-44 relating to 179 individual candidates.⁵⁵ Each questionnaire contains twenty-two brief questions and answers, followed by a personal statement, in prose much like a letter, outlining the provenance, nature, duration, and intensity of the vocation.

The final question was: “Are you ready to go to India?” Most respondents answered in the affirmative in the Roman questionnaires, such as one interviewee who replied: “I have always felt inclined [to go], also as a child”.⁵⁶ Others were less sure: one admitted that he did not have a particular vocation for either India or Germany (another destination mentioned in some questionnaires), but instead stated: “I am ... very inclined to teach Christian Doctrine to Rough People, in

⁵² For a discussion of these texts, see Antonio M. de Aldama, S.J. – *An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*. Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, 1989, Chapter 2.

⁵³ *The Constitutions ... (General Examen)*, cit. [34-51].

⁵⁴ *The Constitutions ... (General Examen)*, cit. [51]; discussed in Antonio M. de Aldama – *An Introductory Commentary ...*, cit., pp. 29-32.

⁵⁵ ARSI, Rom. 171, “Vocationi 1636-1644”. The dates given in these documents record the date of entry to S. Andrea. Similar questionnaires have been studied by Thomas V. Cohen – Why the Jesuits Joined, 1540-1600. *Historical Papers/ Communications Historiques*. 9.1 (1974) 237-258. His study encompassed Portugal, Castile, Andalusia, Aragon (1561-62), as well as published materials for the Polish Province, 1574-80. For English men writing of their wish to enter the priesthood (in two colleges with Jesuit oversight, a system probably developed by Robert Persons), see Lucy Underwood – Youth, Religious Identity and Autobiography at the English Colleges in Rome and Valladolid, 1592-1685. *Historical Journal*. 55:2 (June 2012) 349-74. The examples provided in this discussion are part of a larger collective biographical study in course by the author of this essay, based on self-narrative and other administrative documents covering the life span of dozens of Jesuits in the Italian Assistancy during the first century of the Society, from the time of their entry into the novitiate. For recent studies on Jesuit vocations and the rich documentation pertaining to them, see Aliocha Maldivsky – *Vocaciones inciertas: misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* – Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Universidad Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, 2012; various essays by Miriam Turrini (especially) – *La vocazione esaminata. Narrazioni autobiografiche di novizi gesuiti a metà Seicento*. Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà, XXVIII (2015), pp. 289-366; Adriano Prospero – *La vocazione: storie di gesuiti tra Cinquecento e Seicento*. Turin: Einaudi, 2016.

⁵⁶ ARSI, Rom. 171, fol. 222v: Vocation statement of Nicola Consalia, 8 May 1641, “Mi sono sentito sempre anco da piccolo inclinato”.

which ministry, I wholeheartedly pray my superiors to wish to employ me”.⁵⁷ Several claimed the key Jesuit attitude of “indifference” to the call of God and superiors in the direction that should be taken: Luca Rota replied, “I presently find myself to have no other inclination than to serve God in the most difficult things”, but was prepared to go “if ... commanded”.⁵⁸

Many were more definite in their views: Nicolò Mascardi was a student at the Roman College and only fourteen years old at the time of his interview. He indicated that he had a particular inclination “to the Indies, to Japan, to China”.⁵⁹ The twenty-two-year-old Antonio della Terra from Flanders specified: “I am inclined to go to England or to Holland on account of the language and my familiarity with their manner of living; or else to another mission where it may be for the greater service of God; or to the Indies”.⁶⁰ In Pietro Conti’s questionnaire, we come to a candidate who deals directly with the prospect of death that is not accidental, but that of a martyr. He declared that not only was he prepared to go to India and Japan, “but if beyond those parts there is a country, to open the road with my blood, where neither Fathers [priests], nor Others have ever been able to penetrate”.⁶¹

Between tragedy and triumph: experiencing and recording Jesuit martyrdom

As we have noted previously, the first Jesuit to die violently was Antonio Criminale in South India, and an account of his death was included in the earliest European publication from the Asian missions, in 1551-52, alongside Xavier’s famous letters.⁶² The report of Criminale’s violent death contained features that

⁵⁷ ARSI, *Rom.* 171, fol. 51r: Vocation statement of Giovanni Luigi Saluzzo, 14 August 1637, “Sono ... molto inclinato ad insegnare la Dottrina Xstiana alle Persone Rozze nel qual ministerio prego interamente i Superiori che mi vogliino impiegare”.

⁵⁸ ARSI, *Rom.* 171, fol. 225r: Vocation statement of Luca Rota, 6 June 1641, “Io hora non mi ritrovo altra inclinatione solo il servire a Dio nelle cose più dificali”; “se mi sarà comandato”.

⁵⁹ ARSI, *Rom.* 171, fol. 118r: Vocation statement of Niccolò Mascardi, 20 November 1638, “All’Indie, nel Giappone, nella China”.

⁶⁰ ARSI, *Rom.* 171, fol. 84v: Vocation statement of Antonio della Terra, 29 March 1638, “Ho inclinatione di andare in Engelterra ho in Hollande per respecto de la lingua et per essere pratico del modo di vivere loro o in altra missione unde sia di maggiore servitio a Dio o in Indie”.

⁶¹ ARSI, *Rom.* 171, fol. 1r: Vocation statement of Pietro Conti, 23 February 1636, the full quotation reads thus: “portare il Vangelo non solo alle Indie, et al Giappone, ma se di là c’è paese aprire la strada col mio sangue, dove mai né Padri, né Altri poterono penetrare”.

⁶² For this genre in Jesuit writing, see Marcus Friedrich – Circulating and Compiling the *Litterae Annuae*. Towards a History of the Jesuit System of Communication. *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*. 77 (2008) 3-39. For the epistolary path taken by the letters from the missions, from writing, to editing, to publishing, as well as their sometimes-dubious reliability, including according to the Jesuits themselves, see Camilla Russell – Imagining the “Indies”: Italian Jesuit Petitions for the Overseas Missions at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century. In *L’Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi. Per Adriano Prosperi*. Ed. by Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci, and Stefania Pastore. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011, vol. 2, pp. 179-89 (pp. 181-82).

would become set pieces of published Jesuit martyrological accounts, and would be repeated in subsequent descriptions of Jesuit deaths overseas.⁶³ According to the report, Criminale gave up his place on the escaping Portuguese boat in favour of the women and children among his converts: “He knelt down elevating his hands to heaven, and awaiting death”, he serenely welcomed his execution. Indeed, he so impressed his attackers with his fortitude, that some among his executioners decided not to kill him. When a swordsman finally did strike (“it is thought he was a Moor”), Criminale did not die immediately, but “turned to go to the Church”: and “kneeling down, I say, to offer up prayers, he fell down on one side and immediately they fell upon him and cut off his head”. The narrative ends by describing Criminale’s demise as “his happy death”⁶⁴

While Criminale’s death ensured the inclusion of martyrological themes in the Jesuit Asian missionary narrative from the beginning, the commencement of Christian persecution in Japan in the late 1580s placed martyrdom centre stage. The execution of twenty-six Christians in February 1597, mostly Franciscans and Japanese neophytes, plus three Jesuit brothers, resulted in a 119-page account by Luís Fróis.⁶⁵ The account was sent separately from the usual Annual Letters and published in Europe two years later, in 1599. The details are impressive: “I will write only that which I have learned from trustworthy people, who verbally, and by letter, have given certain and distinct information about everything which I will

For an earlier treatment of this genre, see Donald F. Lach’s valuable study – *Asia in the Making of Europe ...*, *cit.*, vol. 1, book 1, pp. 314–31; 429–30.

⁶³ The account is analysed at length in Ines G. Županov – *Missionary Tropics ...*, *cit.*, Chapter 4.

⁶⁴ *Copia de un capitolo dove si tratta del martirio del padre Antonio Criminale*. In *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portogallo ...*, *cit.*, pp. 242–44: “s’inginocchiò levando le mani al cielo, e aspettando la morte”; “si pensa fossi Moro”; “si voltò per andare alla Chiesa”; “inginocchiato dico a far oratione, cascò da un lato e subito venendo sopra di lui li tagliarono la testa”; “la sua morte felice”.

⁶⁵ The different responses to these deaths in the Franciscan and Jesuit spheres warrant further attention and tie into their differing approaches to the missionary apostolate itself, a theme discussed by Pedro Lage Reis Correia – Alessandro Valignano’s Attitude towards Jesuit and Franciscan Concepts of Evangelization in Japan (1587–1597). *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*. 2 (2001) 79–108: “The Franciscan arrival would be interpreted in a messianic and providential light, and revealed the central role that the Franciscan missionaries attributed to themselves in the process of evangelisation” (p. 85); the Jesuits, on the other hand, developed an attitude of “providentialism”, as best suited to “understanding the world and finding the most appropriate solutions to implant the Church” (p. 105), in particular through a distinct Aristotelian worldview that acknowledged different natures (and therefore cultures) and encouraged adaptation to them in the evangelical project. While historians continue to discuss the nature and extent of these distinctions – rightly advocating a cautious approach to the problematic concept of “accommodation” and its widely varied application (if applied at all, in some cases) across the different spheres of its missionary apostolate – we nevertheless can observe in the *Spiritual Exercises* and the Society’s other foundational documents a clear ethos that encouraged adaptation to individual circumstances and contexts.

relate here". The higher purpose of sending the account also was unmistakable: to offer "great consolation and edification, brought about by this persecution".⁶⁶

These martyrological accounts in fact had a dual intention: to provide not only information, but also edification, according to the Ignatian principle of keeping all members of the Society informed, as well as spiritually fortified, through the circulation and dissemination of regular reports among the Jesuit communities.⁶⁷ Jesuit novices ate their meals to the accompaniment of these epistolary reports from the missions. Outside the Society, no doubt the heroic overtones of these published accounts were intended also to attract new vocations, as well as the material and moral support of their benefactors and the public.

Information about violent deaths overseas was not restricted to published textual sources. In Rome, the Jesuit novices were treated to what is thought to be the earliest fresco cycle depicting Jesuit martyrdoms, in their recreation room at S. Andrea al Quirinale, undertaken probably between the mid-1580s and the early seventeenth century (unfortunately no longer surviving).⁶⁸ The frieze represented every martyr of the Society of Jesus from Antonio Criminale to the English Jesuit martyrs of 1606. As Gauvin Bailey points out, the frescoes represent a remarkable departure from usual practice, in that not one of these martyrs was yet declared blessed or a saint, an audacity that probably was only permissible on account of the frescoes being restricted to a Jesuit-only audience.⁶⁹ But this was not the only Jesuit site representing Jesuit martyrs. The Church of S. Thomas of Canterbury, inside the Venerable English College in central Rome, and given to Jesuit oversight in this period, also contains – among frescoes from the early 1580s that depict key figures and scenes in the history of the English Church – no fewer than sixty-three martyrs, including those from the sixteenth century, such as John Fisher and Thomas More. The fresco series included Jesuit martyrs Edmund Campion and Alexander Briant, executed in 1581 with Ralph Sherwin (also depicted), shortly before the frescoes were painted.

The inclusion of only informally recognised martyrs was unusual. It was possible because of concessions made by Pope Gregory XIII in the 1580s, which included permission that, upon news from England of fresh Jesuit martyrdoms there, a *Te Deum* might be publicly sung, and the English College might display

⁶⁶ Luis Fróis – *Relazione della gloriosa morte di XXVI. posti in croce per comandamento del Re di Giappone, alli 5 di Febraio 1597 ... Mandata dal Padre Luigi Frois alli 15 Marzo al R. P. Claudio Acquaviva Generale ...* Bologna, 1599, p. 7: "solamente scriverò quello, che ho saputo da persone ... degne di fede, che à bocca, & per lettere ne hanno data certa, & distinta informatione di tutto quello, che qui dirò"; "grande consolatione, & edificatione, avvenuti in questa persecutione".

⁶⁷ John W. O'Malley – *The First Jesuits ...*, cit., pp. 62-63.

⁶⁸ For a detailed treatment of these fresco cycles, see Gauvin A. Bailey – *Between Renaissance and Baroque ...*, cit., pp. 61-68. Their style and subject matter are known to us through Louis Richeome – *La peinture spirituelle ou L'art d'admirer aimer et louer Dieu en toutes ses oeuvres ...* Lyon: Pierre Rigaud, 1611.

⁶⁹ Gauvin A. Bailey – *Between Renaissance and Baroque ...*, cit., p. 66.

images of those killed, together with their names.⁷⁰ The context for these concessions was that this was a seminary chapel, and therefore with a specific, restricted audience for whom the frescoes held a personal poignancy: seminarians of the English College were famously known as *Flores Martyrum*. Viewers of these frescoes in reality extended to a larger public than just the seminarians, although the chapel was visited mainly by dignitaries and other elites connected to the English church in some way. Yet the frescoes themselves did not tell a specifically Jesuit story (most of the protagonists were not Jesuit and predated the Society, unlike the exclusively Jesuit subjects at S. Andrea), as much as they provided a visual narrative of a national Church and its ancient history within the bosom of the Catholic Church, depicted in the shared experience of martyrdom. Its wider message than just a Jesuit one is exemplified in the further circulation of its images, beyond the walls of the building, to the printing press, through the publication of reproductions from the frescoes, by Giovanni Battista Cavalleri, in the *Ecclesiae anglicanae trophaea*, of 1584.⁷¹ From 1611, the representations of Jesuit-only martyrdoms at S. Andrea also enjoyed a wider audience through the printing press, with the publication of Louis Richeome's well-known work, *La peinture spirituelle*, in which some of the now-lost novitiate frescoes were reproduced as etchings.⁷²

More familiar, and possibly more acceptable for a broader Roman public, were the depictions in fresco of early Christian martyrdoms made for the ancient church of S. Vitale, acquired by the Jesuits in 1595. Although attached to the novitiate of S. Andrea, the church had a very public function and attracted worshippers from inside and outside the Society. As with the famous depictions of ancient martyrs in S. Stefano Rotondo, already mentioned, these were famous early Christian deaths – not Jesuit ones – but the apparent allusion to contemporary violent deaths endured by Jesuits around the world no doubt was not lost on the audience. For the Jesuit viewers, there was a further specific meaning in these representations: the styles and subjects of the decorations reflect the Ignatian practice in the *Spiritual Exercises* that involve compositions of place, where scenes and images are brought to mind to aid personal and interior spiritual contemplation. The violent deaths of early Christians and contemporary

⁷⁰ John Hungerford Pollen – English Confessors and Martyrs (1534-1729). In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. vol. 5. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909. Online at <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05474a.htm>>. This entry describes the various other gradations of holy suffering according to Catholic teaching: *dilati* (martyr status under review), *confessors* (died for their faith but unclear whether precisely on account of the physical sufferings endured), *prætermissi* (not judged martyrs in the first instance but later deemed worthy of reconsideration of their cause).

⁷¹ See Michael E. Williams – Campion and the English Continental Seminaries. In *The Reckoned Expense ...*, *cit.*, pp. 371-87 (381-82).

⁷² Gauvin A. Bailey – *Between Renaissance and Baroque ...*, *cit.*, p. 48.

Jesuits likely were intended to become conflated in the process of reflection and meditation on these frescoes.⁷³

Yet the theme of martyrdom carried with it ambiguities and uncertainties. This was true not only in what was appropriate to recount and depict in print and on church walls without the formal approbation of the Church (as well as the Church's process of scrutinizing whether the conditions for a holy martyr's death were actually present or not) but also because it pointed to human tragedy. While Jesuit Visitor to the Indies Alessandro Valignano's 1583 annual letter was edited and published in a collection with the celebratory title, *Relatione della felice morte di cinque religiosi di Giesù ...* (published 1584),⁷⁴ reading against the grain of accounts of glorified martyrs, one can discern despair and dejection that also made it into the published accounts of the violent deaths of Christians in Asia. For example, Valentim Carvalho produced a poignant account of Jesuit martyrdom, and of his anguished personal responses to it, in a 1601 supplement to the annual letter of 1599, published in 1604.⁷⁵ The event was the "tragedy" of the violent death of the Japanese convert, Augustin Tzucamidono, whom Carvalho described as "our good and faithful friend" and "the strongest, and most significant pillar of this new Church of Japan."⁷⁶ The account of the execution is typically glorifying, describing how Tzucamidono turned his eyes to heaven and invoked the names of Mary and Jesus before three strikes of the sword cut off his head; but Carvalho's reaction is revealing on another level. He wrote: "It is impossible to explain by letter the extent to which I suffered, and suffer [still]," explaining that, on account of this event, "I drank the bitterest of tears, and experienced the greatest torments that have ever been visited upon me in this world". These appear not to be the holy tears of a patient saint. but those of a man in despair: "Thus it seems to me that I am paying in this life the punishment that I should have paid in the other life in the Purgatory of my faults."⁷⁷ Thus, the *felice morte* in one of these letter's

⁷³ This theme is explored in Thomas M. Lucas, S.J. – Virtual Vessels, Mystical Signs. Contemplating Mary's Images in the Jesuit Tradition. *Studies in The Spirituality of the Jesuits*. 35.5 (2003). See also, Salviucci Insolera – Gli affreschi del ciclo dei martiri. In *Santo Stefano Rotondo ...*, cit., pp. 129-37.

⁷⁴ *Relatione della felice morte di cinque religiosi della compagnia di Giesù, et di alcuni altri secolari ammazzati da' Gentili per la fede nell'India Orientale l'anno 1583. Cauata da una del P. Alessandro Valignano prouinciale dell'India per il P. Generale della Compagnia di Giesù data in Goa alli 28. di Dicembre dell'istesso anno*. Rome: Francesco Zanetti, 1584.

⁷⁵ *Lettera del P. Alessandro Valignano. Visitatore della Compagnia di Giesù nel Giappone, e nella Cina, del 1599. Con supplemento del P. Valentino Carvaglio ... 1601 ... Al Rever. Padre Acquaviva Generale della detta Compagnia*. The edition quoted here is from 1604, published in Venice by Giovanni Battista Ciotti.

⁷⁶ Valentim Carvalho – *Supplemento*. In *Lettera del P. Alessandro Valignano ...*, cit., pp. 100, 92: "tragedia"; "la morte del buono, e fedele amico nostro"; "la più forte, e più principal colonna, ch'in Giappone havesse questa novella Chiesa" The supplement runs from pp. 41-102.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 98: "Non si può con lettera spiegare il molto, c'hò patito, e patisco ... per cui ho bevute le più amare lagrime, e passati i maggior tormenti, ch'in questo mondo mi potevano venire adosso. Laonde mi pare, che vo' scontando in questa vita la pena, che nell'altra io doveva pagare nel Purgatorio de i miei falli".

published titles might be seen as one among many responses to these violent deaths, responses that included in other accounts the shedding of the “bitterest of tears” and experiencing “the greatest of torments”.

In the 1602 letter from the East (published in 1608), and written in Macau – the base for the persecuted Jesuits from Japan – a similarly sombre note was struck in the introductory paragraph, where the Jesuit population at the college seemed to be in a traumatised state:

In the vacations and in other times of the year many of ours [Jesuits] retired to undertake the spiritual exercises because, since this college is the seminary of two very important missions, that of China, and of Japan it is provided that ours [of the Society] who reside here attend to making the necessary preparations to persevere in their encounters with the enemy.⁷⁸

The final phrase introduces the edifying purpose of the stress that these men clearly felt: “suffering hardships, and overcoming every difficulty through the Holy Cross, promotes the growth of the holy Catholic faith in these parts”.⁷⁹

The prospect of martyrdom for those who faced it presented many realities of the kind that were far removed from the literary constructions of it, and far from the edificatory frame within which Jesuits tended to place their *post factum* accounts of it. Of course, traces of the lived experience of martyrdom are difficult to recover, although unpublished writings, including personal correspondence, can provide some rewarding results. One Italian Jesuit, Francesco Palliola, from Nola near Naples, left behind a fascinating corpus of letters (dated 1640-1644 and preserved in the family’s private archive), in which he wrote explicitly to family and superiors alike about his vocation to martyrdom; in fact, he died violently in the Philippines in 1648.⁸⁰

His correspondence in the lead-up to this event, beginning in Italy and ending in the “Indies”, included evident trepidation and sadness at leaving family behind, with constant requests to greet, kiss, and embrace long lists of family members and friends, and signing his final letters as “figlio indignissimo indiano”.

⁷⁸ *Raccolta di relationi de’ regni del Giappone, nelle quali si intende non solo il frutto et progresso de’ nuovi Christiani ...* Venice: Bernardo Giunti & Giovanni Battista Ciotti & Compagni, 1608, pp. 4-5: “Nelle vacanze e in altro tempo dell’anno molti di nostri si sono ritirati a fare gli essercitii spirituali percioché essendo questo Collegio Seminario di due missioni tanto importanti, della Cina, e di Giappone ... si procura, che i nostri, che qui risiedono attendano a fare provisione necessaria per resistere a gl’incontri del nemico”.

⁷⁹ *Raccolta di relationi de’ regni del Giappone ...*, *cit.*, p. 7: “sofrendo travaglie, e vincendo ogni difficoltà della Santa Croce promuovere l’ammonto della santa fede Cattolica in queste parti”.

⁸⁰ Nola, Archivio della famiglia Palliola, “Lettere del Padre Francesco Palliola”, reprinted with an introduction in Pietro Manzi – Carteggio familiare di P. Francesco Palliola, martire delle Filippine, 1640-1644. *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*. 33 (1964) 44-89. The Catholic Church now terms him a “Servant of God”, after the formal opening in 2016 of a Canonical Investigation of Francesco Palliola’s life and death.

A revealing theme around the subject of death, and of martyrdom, can be traced in these letters: Palliola wrote that he was offering his hoped-for martyrdom for the saving of his own soul and those of his loved ones, providing some insight into the appealing afterlife implications of a martyr's death for these young men.⁸¹ Death likely would come soon, he reasoned (both to his mother by natural causes and to him through martyrdom), thus speeding their reunion, and ensuring its location (in Heaven). Not only is this a reminder of the short life expectancy for many, and how this reality shaped ideas about life and death in the premodern period, it also points to a "martyrological logic" that held for some young men the promise of future rewards in eternity that they otherwise could not be sure they would deserve without such a sacrifice.

Another theme in these letters was trepidation, which began in Europe and intensified as the young Jesuit journeyed deeper into what for him were strange and frightening regions. One fear was that of an accidental death when Palliola narrowly escaped drowning before even leaving Europe, such as occurred for those sailing with his fleet when their ships sank: "My father, the most glorious S. Felix [patron saint of Nola and martyr, or possibly persecuted for the faith and survived] has made it so that I will die by another means".⁸² And another time, still within Europe, writing from Cádiz, he described: "some days of the journey were appalling on account of the heat", so that "blood was issuing out of my nose". He continued: "we are 42 Jesuits in one boat: to each is given little water, which is necessary. May Holy God keep us, so that we may not die ... until that time when it is pleasing for His Divine Majesty to call us to that death which is pleasing to him, to that other life, where we shall see each other".⁸³ In his final letter, Palliola recounted further dangers after his arrival finally in the Philippines, on his journey from Manila to Mindanao in "a little boat". During this journey, he encountered "a great storm at sea" that nearly grounded them, "with a very great fear of other enemy peoples" in the area. Yet another journey followed when, "there was a great deal of suffering on one particular day of the sea trip that il

⁸¹ See Francesco Palliola to brother Giovanni Domenico Iasio, Rome, 20 December 1641, reprinted in Pietro Manzi – Carteggio di P. Francesco Palliola ..., *cit.*, p. 63, where Palliola explains to his fellow-Jesuit that he received in Rome the pope's blessing "con indulgenza nella morte" for "tutti li parenti in primo e secondo grado nostro".

⁸² Francesco Palliola to Father Matteo Maiorana, Seville, 28 May 1642, reprinted in Pietro Manzi – Carteggio di P. Francesco Palliola ..., *cit.*, p. 77: "Padre mio, il gloriosissimo S. Felice mi ha da far morir in altra maniera".

⁸³ Francesco Palliola to Antonia Baiana, Cádiz, 10 July 1642, reprinted in Pietro Manzi – Carteggio di P. Francesco Palliola ..., *cit.*, p. 83: "Alcuni giorni di viaggio sono stati pessimi per il caldo; il sangue ... mòsci dal naso"; "siamo in una nave 42 gesuiti: ad ognuno un poco d'acqua, che cosa è necessario. Iddio benedetto ci mantiene, che non moriamo ... sinché piacerà a Sua Divina Maestà chiamarci, con quella morte che li piace, all'altra vita, a dove ci vidremo".

thought I would die from the blood that I vomited”⁸⁴ In the same letter, he begged for prayers from his mother for sustenance in facing a good death if it should be violent: he asked her “to pray to God for me ... above all when I am among infidels, not because I fear dying ... since I hope that God will grant me this grace, that I give my life for His Divine Majesty”⁸⁵ A bad death in the face of menacing violence was an ever-present fear for the would-be martyr. The prospect of the final painful and terrifying moments that must have accompanied many dying Jesuits also must have elicited fear among those preparing for it that a bad death was a strong possibility.

Even worse for the Society, persecution produced not just martyrs but also apostates, especially in Japan, and including the famous case of the Portuguese Jesuit vice-provincial, Cristóvão Ferreira, who renounced Christianity during torture.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, in the years after the first violent Jesuit death, of Antonio Criminale in 1549, a number of Jesuits died violently, and many of them were seen as martyrs. A distinction needs to be made at this juncture, between those formally identified by the Church as martyrs (almost none during this period), and those revered as martyrs informally within the Society. The distinction can be seen in the figures: from the over 100 Jesuits who have been made Blessed, and over forty Jesuit saints from the Old Society (the period prior to its suppression in 1773), most were martyrs.⁸⁷ In 1950, lists were compiled and published in the *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*: defined in broad terms, the compilers named a total of 907 Jesuits from the Old Society (1540-1773) who died a “violent death to preserve the faith or religious vocation”⁸⁸ Among those who died were 271 from Portugal, 111 from France, 104 from Spain, 74 from England and Ireland, 66 from

⁸⁴ Francesco Palliola to Antonia Baiana, “from Mindanao, in Iligan” (the Philippines), 11 April 1644, reprinted in Pietro Manzi – Carteggio di P. Francesco Palliola ..., *cit.*, pp. 85-86: “un piccolo navicciuolo”; “se mosse tanta tempesta de mare che q[uasi] stavamo vicino per dare in terra . . . con grandissimo timor de altra gente inimica”; “Fu tanto el patir de un giorno particular por viaggio de mar, que pansava morir del sangue del vomitar”.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 89: “de pregar Dio per me ... massime quando sto con jente infide[le], no perché temo de morir, ... che spero al Signor me farà questa gratia, che dii la vita per Sua Divina Maestà”.

⁸⁶ Dauril Alden – *The Making of an Enterprise* ..., *cit.*, p. 136; the apostasies provide the storyline for a famous novel, *Silence*, by Shusaku Endo (1969), translated in 1980 by William Johnson, and a film based on the book directed by Martin Scorsese (2016).

⁸⁷ Vincent A. Lapomarda, S.J. “Blesseds”, “Saints” – *The Cambridge Encyclopedia* ..., *cit.*, pp. 105-106, 708-709.

⁸⁸ Franz Xaver Wernz, Ludwig Schmitt, and J. B. Goetstouwers – *Synopsis historiae Societatis Jesu*. Leuven: Typis ad Sancti Alphonsi, 1950. The authors noted that: “The martyrs of the Society of Jesus are recorded in a very broad sense, that is, including those who were declared as such according to the judgement of the Church, and including those who according to human judgment underwent a violent death to preserve the faith or religious vocation” (and by implication, in the case of the latter category, without formal ecclesiastical acknowledgment), pp. 725-26. This was the sense in which the volume dedicated to the martyrs of Japan was compiled as well: Ruiz-de-Medina, S.J. – *El martirologio del Japón*, whose “Inventário Cronológico” provides chronological lists and extensive information concerning over 2,000 people who

Japan, and 63 from Italy.⁸⁹ The locations of these deaths are very interesting. For the period under consideration here, 1540-1640, the authors of the *Synopsis* identified eighteen Jesuits killed in Africa, thirty-eight in South, Central, and Northern America, seventy-four in Asia (including the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, China, Japan), with the highest number out of all regions, totalling seventy-six, from Europe (stretching from the British Isles to Russia). Some of the details provided about these deaths in Europe provide a sense of just how broad was this list's definition of dying for the preservation of faith and vocation: one Jesuit in Italy was "killed by a bad priest", and another was "poisoned". The authors of the *Synopsis* were careful not to use the word "martyr" – in the Catholic tradition, this definition technically is reserved for the relevant Roman Congregation that makes a recommendation to the pope, who alone makes that judgment; however, there is nothing unusual about these long lists of heroic deaths maintained by the Society: future saints are drawn from exactly such lists and from the cults that develop around individuals on account of their reputation for holiness, often through a martyr's death.

At a practical level, the prospect of martyrdom presented difficulties for Jesuit decision-makers back in Europe, in terms of personnel.⁹⁰ Despite the apparent encouragement to the ultimate sacrifice of physical martyrdom directed at young Jesuit novices on the walls of their novitiate at S. Andrea, sending the brightest and best to their deaths in Asia was inadvisable on many levels, including the tragedy of human lives lost and more simply in light of organisational considerations.⁹¹ An allusion to the pragmatic side of the question was made in a letter from China by the future mission superior, Nicolò Longobardo, written in 1598 and published in 1601.⁹² In it, he seems to reassure his European readers that the China mission could flourish "without troubling Christians from other nations, as happens for love of [the] Japan [mission], where there is such great poverty".⁹³ In other words, it was a viable enterprise in terms of financial and human capital, unlike Japan.

were killed between 1588 and 1873; this list is distinguished from a subsequent list of the canonised and beatified martyrs of Japan.

⁸⁹ For the following points, see Franz Xaver Wernz, Ludwig Schmitt, and J. B. Goetstouwers – *Synopsis historiae ...*, *cit.*, pp. 745-46.

⁹⁰ See Michelle Molina and Ulrike Strasser – *The Global Currency of Female Sanctity ...*, *cit.*, pp. 169-71.

⁹¹ This is a key argument in Ines G. Županov – *Missionary Tropics ...*, *cit.*; see especially pp. 149-50.

⁹² Nicolò Longobardo – *Copia d'una lettera del P. Nicolò Longobardi, scritta nel 1598, dalla Cina ...* In Francesco Pasio, *Copia d'una breve relatione della Christianità di Giappone ... del ... 1598*. Venice, 1601, pp. 39-72.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 49: "senza dare fastidio a' Christiani d'altre nationi, come si fa' per amore di Giappone, dove è così grande la povertà".

A more general ambivalence towards martyrdom can be traced in the governance of the Society from this period. The decrees of the General Congregations do not address the subject, and make very little mention even of themes relating to the missionary apostolate of the Society more broadly.⁹⁴ Also regarding the English mission, we have some expressions of dismay from Superior General Acquaviva, in the face of the apparent rising appeal of, and enthusiasm for, the crown of martyrdom in Jesuit ranks, especially among the English. In his exchanges with Robert Persons and Cardinal Allen in the 1580s, Acquaviva cautioned that the Jesuits were in England to help souls as much, if not more, than they were to secure the salvation of the missionaries' own souls.⁹⁵

Quite aside from the problem of martyrdom in Japan, many Jesuits suffered illness and death in harsh climates and environments for reasons unrelated to human violence. Many of the internal communications within the Society in Europe that did not reach the printing press provide an insight into the reluctance of superiors to send their best to the missions: in a 1592 list of potential candidates from Sicily for the Indies, one student is mentioned as being so talented that he should be sent not to the Indies but to Palermo as master of novices.⁹⁶ There was a general feeling that local provincials held back their quality candidates – understandable, perhaps, especially for the Portuguese: they lost by far the greatest number of men to violent deaths in the pre-suppression period, with a worldwide total of 271, as noted previously.⁹⁷ Indeed, early in his role as Visitor to the Indies, Valignano regularly complained to Superior General Everard Mercurian about

⁹⁴ Two exceptions are *General Congregation* (hereafter *GC*) 1, D. 130 (“Missions to the Indies are to be assisted”, that is, the over-stretched Portuguese) and *GC* 7, D. 21 (“On missionaries scattered throughout various provinces”), the latter in fact directed at the English mission, which was criticised for isolationist tendencies in communal life and governance (answering only to English leaders and not to the formal non-English leaders) in the mixed-race environments of their European hosted bases. See John W. Padberg, S.J., Martin D. O’Keefe, S.J., and John L. McCarthy, S.J. (eds.) – *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations: A Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994. These decrees from the highest governing body in the Society (which elected the Superior General) were related to organisational questions within the Society, the introduction of reforms, the airing of problems, as well as the updating of interpretations of the Society’s founding documents and adjustments in the applications of their directives. Relevant pages for these points are: pp. 100, 256-57, and (editorial explanation provided) 15-16.

⁹⁵ John Bossy – The Heart of Robert Persons. In *The Reckoned Expense ...*, *cit.*, pp. 187-207. See, especially, p. 194, where Bossy observes that the advice from Acquaviva was that the English Jesuits “were being sent to do a job not, if they could help it, to get martyred”. For their letters, see Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. – Robert Parsons and Claudio Acquaviva: Correspondence. *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*. 68 (1999), 79-182.

⁹⁶ ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico* (henceforth *F.G.*) 733, fol. 25/1r: “È ben vero ch’habbiam pensato di proporlo per mastro de’ novitii in Palermo”. The report was written in 1592 by the Sicilian Provincial Bartolomeo Ricci about the talented Father Gasparo Tarantina, who we learn preached with outstanding zeal and to great acclaim.

⁹⁷ Franz Xavier Wernz, Ludwig Schmitt and J. B. Goetstouwers – *Synopsis historiae ...*, *cit.*, p. 745.

the “little zeal towards the conversion of India” that the provincials seemed to demonstrate in the poor quality of candidates they nominated.⁹⁸

The missions, then, posed a risk, and cost the European provinces dearly in terms of talent and personnel. Paradoxically, they attracted the best and brightest, many of whom wrote to the superior general seeking appointment to the missions. It is to these petitions that we now turn.

The theme of martyrdom in the *Litterae indipetae*

We have observed from our analysis thus far that the authors of the *Litterae indipetae* had no shortage of information about violent Jesuit deaths overseas.⁹⁹ The letters were the product of a process that involved a personal vocation to the missions, followed by permission by the petitioners’ superiors to write to the superior general in Rome, who made the final decision of appointment. Some petitioners already had encountered the question of a vocation to the “Indies” with their entry questionnaires including whether they would be prepared to go to the Indies if required to do so.

In reality, however, very few petitioners actually managed to go to the Indies. For example, from the date of the first Italian petitions in 1590 until the end of Claudio Acquaviva’s generalate in 1615, when over 600 petitions were written, only ninety-two Jesuits travelled to Asia from the Italian provinces, and of these there are only twenty-three extant petitions.¹⁰⁰ Despite the limited success of the

⁹⁸ Alessandro Valignano to Everard Mercurian, 15 January 1574. In Josef Wicki, S.J. – *Documenta Indica*. 18 vols. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI) 9 (1573-1575), 1948-88, pp. 59-64 (63): “poco zelo del rimedio dell’India”.

⁹⁹ For this source, see Alessandro Guerra – *Per un’archeologia della strategia missionaria dei Gesuiti: le Indipetae e il sacrificio nella ‘vigna del Signore’*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2000; Gian Carlo Roscioni – *Il desiderio delle Indie. Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani*. Turin: Einaudi, 2001; Marina Massimi and André Barreto Prudente – *Um incendiado desejo das índias ...* São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 2002; various essays in Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent (eds.) – *Missions religieuses modernes: notre lieu est le monde*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2007; Aliocha Maldavsky – *Pedir las Indias. Las cartas indipetae de los jesuitas europeos, siglos xvi–xviii*, ensayo historiográfico. *Relaciones*. 132 (2012) 147-81; Christoph Nebgen – “Missionaries: Who Were They?” In *A Companion ...* Ed. by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, (ed.), *cit.*, 401-23. See, also, by the present author: Camilla Russell – *Imagining the “Indies” ...*, *cit.*, pp. 179-89; Camilla Russell – *Vocation to the East: Italian Candidates for the Jesuit China Mission at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century*. In *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*. Ed. by Machtelt Israëls and Louis Waldman. 3 vols. Florence: Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2013, vol. 2, pp. 313-27; Camilla Russell – *Becoming “Indians”: The Jesuit Missionary Path from Italy to Asia. Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*. 43.1 (2020) 9-50. The discussion that follows in this section develops several themes in these studies, reproducing some analysis and documentary material from them.

¹⁰⁰ Josef Wicki, S.J. – *Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541-1758. Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*. 7 (1967) 252-450 (279-87). For Italian Jesuits travelling to Asia in the sixteenth century, see M. I. Gramazio – *Gesuiti italiani missionari in Oriente nel XVI secolo. Archivum Historicum Societatus Iesu*. 66 (1997) 275-300.

petitioners, the letters are instructive for the purposes of this essay: the *Litterae indipetae* can be seen as a meeting point between the petitioners' own impressions of the missionary enterprise (in particular what they imagined might be required of them for such an undertaking), and the expectations of their superiors, whom the candidates had to impress, themselves responding to received notions for what constituted the ideal missionary candidate. It was seldom the case that those involved in this process had actually been to the "Indies".

Martyrdom is a recurring theme in the petitions. A typical treatment of the topic is the missive of Vespasiano Bonamici, one of the few selected to depart for Goa in 1602. Already in 1598 he wrote not only of his conviction that he must go to the missions, but that he must also die there, if possible ("*Io devo morire*"). He wrote: "I have been in the Society for eleven years, and with ease, eating well and dressing well, and comfortable everywhere, and I will finish my life in a bed: is that possible? That my life ends in a bed while Christ died on the cross?"¹⁰¹ In 1606 Cesare Spario wrote of martyrdom explicitly in terms of a spiritual warfare from which he hoped to liberate himself through martyrdom: "*Ecco me padre*", he wrote, "I remain gravely offended by my enemies ... [hoping that] through martyrdom I will be vindicated before all of my spiritual enemies".¹⁰² He thus deftly conflated spiritual themes with physical martyrdom. Francesco Sasso was more concrete: he had written previously from Naples to volunteer to go either to "Transylvania, for which mission people were being sought, or to India and Japan". A month later he wrote again, indicating this time his "particular desire for Japan, with indifference". It is true, he continued, that "there are the travails of the journey; [however] at its conclusion [there is] the conversion of many peoples, with the hope of martyrdom".¹⁰³

The *Spiritual Exercises* provided the origins of some vocations to the Society – and to martyrdom. Girolamo Poerio described how it had been sixteen months since he had the desire "to go to the Indies, or another place, where more easily it is possible to spill my blood for his Divine Majesty; this desire occurred for the first time when I was doing the spiritual exercises of the Society in the probation house in Naples after four months of the novitiate".¹⁰⁴ Others trace their vocation

¹⁰¹ ARSI, *FG*. 733, fol. 77v: Petition of Vespasiano Bonamici, S. Andrea, 23 September 1598, "undeci anni sono stato nella compagnia, et sempre in aggi, mangiato bene, vestito bene, et comodo per tutti i luoghi, et finirò la vita mia in un letto; è possibile? io finire la vita in un letto, et Christo in croce?"

¹⁰² ARSI, *FG*. 733, fol. 395r: Petition of Cesare Spario, Messina, 29 June 1606, "Ecco me Padre, che resto gravemente offeso da miei nemici ... col martirio mi vendicaro da tutti li miei nemici spirituali".

¹⁰³ ARSI, *FG*. 733, fol. 94r: Petition of Francesco Sasso, Naples, 23 June 1600, "d'andare, o in Transilvania, che gente per questa missione si cercava, o nell'Indie et nel Giappone"; "il mio desiderio del Giappone in particolare con indifferenza"; "ci è il travaglio della navigazione per la strada; nel termine conversione di tanti popoli, con speranza di martirio".

¹⁰⁴ ARSI, *FG*. 733, fol. 42r: Petition of Girolamo Poerio, no place indicated, 29 May 1595, "di andare all'Indie o in altra parte dove più facilmente potesse spargere il sangue per sua Divina Maestà il qual desiderio hebbe

more broadly to their novitiate: we hear from Pietro Conti again – we have his questionnaire from when he entered the novitiate in 1636, discussed above – this time as a petitioner for the Indies, written in 1638. He describes his desire “to suffer greatly, and spill also my blood if necessary for the love of God and in imitation of his son, this having played not a minor part in my vocation to the Society”.¹⁰⁵

Francesco Corsi’s letter of petition is interesting because he was selected for the missions: he arrived in Goa in 1599, was in Lahore in 1600 and died in Mughal lands in 1635. As he wrote, from the beginning of his entrance to the Society he had wished to go to Japan: “to spend my energies, and my life, for his [God’s] glory”.¹⁰⁶ Corsi was careful throughout the letter to express the Society’s highly valued “indifference” to his vocation and complete submission to the will of his superiors and to God, and he constructed his sacrifice not specifically in terms of martyrdom. Francesco Sambiasi was another successful candidate who left Europe for the China mission in 1609; he wrote three petitions in total, and in the third – which he wrote from Lisbon, when he was already destined for China – he alluded to the suffering that he expected during his mission: “in the greatest travails, and hardships ... I will suffer for the love of that cross”.¹⁰⁷

A curious feature of the *Litterae indipetae* is the paucity of references to Antonio Criminale, to his martyrdom, or indeed to the Japanese martyrs of subsequent decades. Preferable to contemporary martyrs, it seems, was the example of the early Church. In an undated letter, one Marc’Antonio d’Isola used Tertullian’s famous pronouncement, already mentioned, when he wrote of how he wanted to lose his life in his search for new conversions, “like the blood of the ancient martyrs was seed of new Christians”.¹⁰⁸

Contemporary martyrs were eschewed most of all in favour of key, non-martyred, figures from the missionary enterprise, especially Francis Xavier, who appears with marked regularity in the *Litterae indipetae*. Cesare Spario sought

principio al tempo, che fecero gl’essercitii spirituali della Compagnia nella Casa di probatione di Napoli, doppo quattro mesi di novitiato”.

¹⁰⁵ ARSI, F.G. 741, fol. 116r: Petition of Pietro Conti, Collegio Romano, 25 May 1638, “di patire assai, et spargere anco il sangue, se sarà di bisogno, per amore di Dio, e per immitare il suo figliuolo ... essendo ciò stata parte non piccola della Vocatione alla Compagnia”.

¹⁰⁶ ARSI, F.G. 733, fol. 68r: Petition of Francesco Corsi, Collegio Romano, 2 February 1590, “a’ spendere le forze, e la vita mia, per gloria sua”.

¹⁰⁷ ARSI, F.G. 734, fol. 259r: Petition of Francesco Sambiasi, Lisbon, 27 February 1609, “nelli maggiori travagli, et fatiche per amor d’essa croce patirò”. The entire letter is reproduced and discussed in Camilla Russell – Vocation to the East ..., *cit.*, p. 327.

¹⁰⁸ ARSI, F.G. 732, fol. 210v: Petition of Marc’Antonio D’Isola, no date or place: “come il sangue degl’antichi martiri era seme di nuovi Cristiani”. Ines G. Županov – *Missionary Tropics*, outlines the “demotion” of Criminale as a martyr from the 1580s, and the reasons for that demotion, but there were other more celebrated martyrs also not mentioned in the petitions.

martyrdom, but did not refer to its actually having taken place. He preferred to mention Xavier instead, describing how his vocation was formed when he read about the Indian enterprise “in a letter from Our Blessed Father Xavier, colonel of the Indian army [*esercito*]”.¹⁰⁹

Artistic representations of martyrdom also were passed over in several references to the visual stimuli for the missionary vocation. While no mention was made in the Roman *Litterae indipetae* of the martyrological fresco cycles of Rome, one young petitioner explained in his letter to the superior general: “one day, upon seeing two paintings, one of our Blessed Father Ignatius and the other of Blessed Francis Xavier, the sight of which penetrated inside my heart and lit in me the desire to suffer and to die for Christ...”¹¹⁰

One successful Italian petitioner, Francesco Buzomo, who left Lisbon in 1609 on the same boat as Sambiasi (mentioned above), combined the old with the new in his 1595 petition: he mentioned his readiness to shift his vocation – which originally was to go to the Mughal Empire – to Japan, after learning of the dramatic events taking place there: “I felt a great deal of emotion on hearing the latest letters from Japan”. His request was fulfilled: he went there in 1620 and, beginning in 1623, he spent four years as superior of CochinChina mission, (present-day Vietnam); he died in 1634. In his petition, he submits to the obedience of his superiors, but also articulates his desire for martyrdom: “begging that Your Paternity send me as soon as possible to the place of travails, in hopes of martyrdom”.¹¹¹

In another letter from 1639, we encounter the example of Ignatius as a would-be martyr in Jerusalem: Domenico Arcolino wrote how at the end of a hard-working day, and tired from his labours, he looked for a book to read; the first one that came to hand was “the Compendium of the Glorious Patriarch Saint Ignatius”, where he came across the passage describing the saint’s great desire to travel to Jerusalem to take care of the souls there and “acquire the palm of Martyrdom”.¹¹²

Arcolino wrote again the following year, this time with explicit mention of fellow Jesuits overseas, including the martyrs of the Society. He begged the

¹⁰⁹ ARSI, *F.G.* 733, fol. 395r: Petition of Cesare Spario, Messina, 29 June 1606: “in una lettera del Nostro Beato Padre Xaverio colonello dell’esercito indiano”.

¹¹⁰ ARSI, *F.G.* 733, fol. 301r: Petition of Giuseppe di Maio [no place], 29 May 1605: “un di vedendo due ritratti, l’uno del Beato Nostro Padre Ignazio et l’altro del Beato Francesco Xaverio, della qual vista mi penetrò dentro al cuore et mi accese un desiderio di patire e morire per Christo” (quoted in Carlo Roscioni – *Il desiderio delle Indie* ..., *cit.*, p. 77).

¹¹¹ ARSI, *F.G.* 733, fol. 46r: Petition of Francesco Buzomo, Naples, 6 July 1595: “sentì appresso tanta motione nel’udir l’ultime lettere del Giappone”; “pregando Vostra Paternità ... mi mandi quanto prima al luoco di travagli, sperando di martirio”.

¹¹² ARSI, *F.G.* 742, fol. 29r: Petition of Domenico Arcolino, S. Andrea, 3 April 1639: “il Compendio della vita del Glorioso Patriarcha Santo Ignatio”; “acquistare la palma del Martirio”.

superior general not to look at his “shortcomings, which I confess to have been many and serious”, and which he recognises with sorrow and regret. He asks instead to have his wish satisfied: “to distance myself from beautiful Italy, to take voluntary exile from Relatives and friends, to go among foreign People or Barbarians, and immers myself in the Ocean of sufferings”. He begs to end his life in the lands of “my great Father and Apostle Saint Francis Xavier, [and of] the precious blood of our many holy martyrs, which calls me”.¹¹³ Crucially, the Japanese martyrs had been beatified, in 1627. Clearly, it had become acceptable to mention them. Previous to this, near-contemporary martyrdoms had not been mentioned in the Italian petitions.

The situation changed still further with the events around the life and martyrdom of Marcello Mastrilli, who became famous throughout the Society for his path to martyrdom in Nagasaki in 1637, after visions in which Francis Xavier reportedly appeared to him predicting his martyrdom (and intervened in saving him from death in order for him to accomplish his martyrdom). Intense and widespread devotion sprang up around the figure of Mastrilli and, as the seventeenth century proceeded towards its second half (outside the focus of this essay), the aim for martyrdom, in explicit imitation of fellow Jesuits who went before to claim its crown, can be seen in the vocational requests of young Jesuit petitioners.¹¹⁴ By the time of the eighth General Congregation of the Society (after the death of Muzio Vitelleschi in 1645), the martyrology of the Church was being read; the subject, whether directly or indirectly linked to the Society’s martyred members, had become a part of daily life for Jesuits.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ ARSI, *FG*. 742, fol. 329r: Petition of Domenico Arcolino, S. Andrea, 5 July 1640: “mancamenti i quali confesso esser stati molti e gravi”; “f’allontanarmi dalla bella Italia, il prender volontario essilio da Parenti et amici, l’andare tra Popoli stranieri o Barbari, l’immergermi nell’Oceani di patimenti”; “[i] mio grande Padre et Apostolo S. Francesco Xavier, il pretioso sangue dei tanti ss nostri Martiri, che mi chiama”.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, ARSI, *FG*. 745, fol. 48rv: Petition of Ferrante Bellini, Novellara, 20 March 1647, which mentions his desire for martyrdom, and his would-be protectors on his journey east, Xavier and the “amabilissimo Marcello [Mastrilli]”. Another Italian Jesuit, Francesco Palliola, mentioned above, wrote on many occasions of his wish to imitate Mastrilli’s martyrdom. Palliola and Mastrilli were from the same town of Nola and the two had met; Palliola entered the Society in the same year as Mastrilli’s martyrdom and himself met a violent death in the Philippines, on which, see Pietro Manzi – *Carteggio familiare di P. Francesco Palliola ...*, *cit.*, 44-89. Ulrike Strasser – *Copies with Souls ...*, *cit.*, pp. 565-67, argues that the mimetic and textual reproduction that accompanied such events, furnishing a particularly enduring legacy for martyrdom’s perpetuation in Jesuit culture, can be linked to the method of visualisation practised in the *Spiritual Exercises*, as well as to the Ignatian emphasis on letter-writing for the preservation of unity among members: written accounts, relics, paintings, and plays, brought the immediacy of the missions, and the physicality of distant events, to the hearts and minds of Jesuits in Europe through these means, producing visceral responses to them, and strong desires for martyrological imitation (see examples on p. 573), exemplified, for instance, in literary form in the work of the Bohemian Jesuit, Matthias Tanner, who wrote the 1675 work, *Societas Jesu ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans*.

¹¹⁵ GC 8, D. 47: “Let the martyrology be read in the morning rather than in the evening”; “... at table [and] so that priests may know in timely fashion how the breviary is to be arranged”. See John W. Padberg, S.J.

In tracing references to martyrdom in the petitions prior to 1640 it is possible to discern a kind of “studied distance” from the contemporary incidences of Jesuit martyrdom, with at most a vague reference to the accounts coming from the East about martyrdoms, but without any details of events or protagonists, with a tendency instead to retreat to the safer territory of the distant past, to the realm of the spiritual attributes of martyrdom, or to authoritative non-martyrs like Ignatius or Xavier. This is somewhat surprising if we consider that these same petitioners were inundated with very detailed and specific textual, visual, and other representations of the contemporary, overseas martyrdoms in vivid detail. One explanation for their relative silence is the sometimes dubious reliability of the accounts coming from the Indies. Criticism of the accounts’ credibility came from the mendicant orders, who complained of exaggeration,¹¹⁶ but such complaints also came from within the Jesuits’ own ranks. Many perhaps instinctively understood that the spiritual meaning of martyrdom remained a central aspect of the textual treatment of the subject, whether in accounts coming from the Indies, or in their own vocational letters. Whatever the case, the result seems to be a disjunction between what these petitioners broadly *knew* about contemporary Jesuit martyrdoms, and what they *wrote* about the subject, reflecting, it seems, an understanding on their part that martyrological narratives should be consumed for edificatory purposes more than they should be enlisted explicitly as the basis for a missionary vocation. This appears to have changed after the beatification of the Japan martyrs, and the powerful devotion that developed around the martyr Mastrilli.

However, the reticence of those writing before 1640 also reminds us of the problem of martyrdom: there were many reasons of practical and spiritual dimensions that dissuaded an open discussion of the subject. For Catholics, the final judge of who was a martyr (as venerable, blessed, or saint) belonged to the Church’s hierarchy, not individuals or religious orders. Another explanation is that it was forbidden to seek martyrdom for its own sake, since this was considered a form of suicide, or as a dangerous source of pride in seeking personal glory through the fame that martyrdom attracted.¹¹⁷ Another equally viable explanation for not mentioning contemporary martyrdoms may have been a lack of interest in emulating them, remaining instead in the safer abstract realm, and in distant historical spheres, perhaps pointing to the many spiritual, rather than actual martyrdoms that young Jesuits knew they were encouraged to welcome after

(ed.) – *For Matters of Greater Moment ...*, cit., p. 295.

¹¹⁶ Donald F. Lach – *Asia in the Making of Europe ...*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 261, 430; Ines G. Županov – *Missionary Tropics ...*, cit., 162.

¹¹⁷ This was one reason for Crimalle’s “demotion” in not being considered for sainthood; the martyrological characteristics of his death also received muted attention from the Society’s leadership: Ines G. Županov – *Missionary Tropics ...*, cit., pp. 166-68.

entry to the Society. This attitude appears to have been particularly prevalent in the first few decades after the Society's foundation, and visible in the thirty-point questionnaires studied by Thomas. V. Cohen, which were drawn up by Ignatius's trusted collaborator, Jerónimo Nadal, and distributed to the Iberian provinces in 1561 and 1562, about motivations for joining the Society (by which time Criminale, and the account of his martyrdom, already would have been known). According to Cohen, out of 695 respondents, only four (0.6%) declared they wanted to die a martyr, and only ten (1.4%) claimed to want to serve on the missions; nine mentioned the letters from the Indies as their inspiration for joining the Society. This compares with the much more common – and vague – motivation to “serve God” (267 or 38%), to save one's soul (108 or 15.5%), and to leave the world (82 or 11.8%).¹¹⁸ Out of ninety-two spiritual autobiographies from the Polish Province (1574-80), only one mentioned a desire to go to the Indies, and none mentioned martyrdom; Nadal's questionnaire given in France, Germany, and the Low Countries in 1562, produced more preferences for scholarly pursuits than for pastoral ones such as the missions.¹¹⁹ Reasonably enough, then, not few Jesuits thus were interested in martyrdom in these early years of the Society. While Jesuits in Italy have not received the same kind of qualitative study, on the basis of the analysis here, it is possible that the expressed desire for missions and martyrdom may have mirrored their confreres elsewhere and been minimal in the first decades, increasing over time.

As for the authors of the *Litterae indipetae*, what we can establish is that, at the turn of the seventeenth century, even though the petitioners from the Italian provinces *did* mention martyrdom – their own – they did *not* mention that of their contemporaries. These letters from Italy were written at least one to seven decades after the documents studied by Cohen, at a time when martyrdom appears to have become an important part of the Jesuit experience and identity. From Cohen's findings from the first decades of the Society, and the reserved tenor of the Society's foundational documents, one might conclude that a martyrological sensibility was not integral to early Jesuit self-understanding (except of the spiritual kind), but that it became more prominent as Jesuits increasingly died violently in almost all parts of the world, including Europe. And while a thirst for martyrdom does feature in the letters of petition from this period, the lack of detail in referring to contemporary martyrdoms quite possibly reflects the deeper problems that martyrdom posed to the missionary enterprise, but may also hark back to an earlier Jesuit non-martyrological identity (in terms of its physical meaning), of which the petitioners may have been aware.

¹¹⁸ Thomas V. Cohen – Why the Jesuits Joined ..., *cit.*, pp. 248-49.

¹¹⁹ Thomas V. Cohen – Why the Jesuits Joined ..., *cit.*, p. 250.

Conclusion

As we saw at the beginning of this essay, the city of Rome and its violent early Christian history provided a framework for viewing the contemporary martyrdoms of the sixteenth century, creating a link between the bloody origins of the establishment of Christendom in the Ancient world, and the violent circumstances of the crisis of Christendom throughout sixteenth-century Europe, and as a result of European incursions into regions beyond its territories.

The analysis showed how, from the sixteenth century, on the one hand, the incidence of martyrdom increased to encompass European and worldwide events (and the return of persecution); on the other hand, in the Catholic sphere, its definition became more restricted to technically verifiable criteria overseen from Rome. It traced how the Jesuits arrived on the religious landscape in this period of flux to both influence and be influenced by the phenomenon of martyrdom in the early modern world.

Evidently the depictions of martyrdoms in Jesuit buildings and texts had multiple functions and meanings, both for their larger publics and for their own internal purposes. What might they have meant to the Jesuits themselves? From the analysis conducted in this essay, Jesuit self-understanding predictably drew inspiration from the *Spiritual Exercises*, and the textual and visual stimuli that Jesuits encountered functioned in many senses as continuators of the exercises and its spiritual messages. To this end, while the frescoes and publications discussed here may have been presented to harden the resolve of those destined for martyrdom, they also pointed to the spiritual meaning of martyrdom, indicating the value of martyrdom in one's own vocation, but not necessarily in the bodily sense.

For the thousands who applied for the missions, only a small percentage managed to go, much less become martyrs. The real martyrdom for some was the necessity of having to stay at home, like their own spiritual father, Ignatius (who was not able to go to Jerusalem but instead ended his days in Rome). Surrounded by the words, images, and other retellings of martyrological events in the Society, here at least were models to emulate, where depictions of physical heroism might point to another type of victory, spiritual heroism, secured through even the minor details of everyday life.

“TO SPREAD ALL MY SWEAT, BLOOD, AND LIFE”:¹
ITALIAN LITTERAE INDIPETAE BETWEEN 1690 AND 1730

ELISA FREI

This essay examines how disappointment and suffering were common emotions among Jesuits who submitted petitions to be sent as missionaries to the Indies. We will focus on the *Litterae Indipetae* (petitions for the Indies) written in the Italian Assistency between the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, during the two generalates of Thyrso González de Santalla and Michelangelo Tamburini (1687-1705 and 1706-1730, respectively). The main focus will be on the petitioners who requested appointments as missionaries in the Chinese Empire and in Japan.²

The first part will demonstrate how persecutions, tears, blood, and finally martyrdom were what these Jesuits were really asking for: they expressed a preference for the (impossible to reach) Japanese destination due to the high probability of dying there as martyrs. In the case of China, the high and low points of that Jesuit mission did not guarantee a similarly cruel death, but Jesuits were confident that the journey would be very difficult and dangerous, and even after arriving in the empire, daily life was bound to be difficult.

The first and hardest issue for a petitioner, however, was to be successfully selected. The second part of this essay establishes that only a few candidates received

¹ “spargere ... tutti i sudori, il sangue, e la Vita” was the desire expressed by the Italian Jesuit Agostino Cappelli in one of his petitions for the Indies (Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hence ARSI) – Fondo Gesuitico (hence FG), 750, fl. 194 (Rome, December 21, 1704).

² For a historical introduction on the Jesuit enterprise in Japan and China and further bibliography, see Andrew C. Ross – *A Vision Betrayed. The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742*. New York: Orbis Books, 1994. I would like to thank Leonardo Cohen for kindly inviting me to write this chapter.

a “license” for the Indies. Those rejected often did not give up, but sometimes the disillusionment and anger was too much to conceal, which brought some of them to a definitive resolution; that is, leaving the Society of Jesus.

This article’s goal is to show that suffering and disappointment were very common among the “emotional community”³ of the petitioners for the Indies, whether they were appointed to the longed-for mission or were rejected and had to stay in their native province.

Introduction

During the Early Modern age, many Jesuits across Europe addressed their petitions for a missionary appointment in the Indies to the superior general of the Society of Jesus in Rome. These so-called *Litterae Indipetae*⁴ are currently preserved in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hence ARSI), in the Fondo Gesuitico; their writers are known today as *indipeti* because they were *Indiam petentes*. The *Litterae Indipetae* have recently raised the interest of scholars in many fields:⁵ cultural history, psychology, religious history, and the history of emotions. As Aliocha Maldavsky observed regarding the process of applying for a mission to the Indies, writing a specific petition to Rome was the standard practice since the end of the Society’s first century. The superior general was in fact “an important part of the cycle of selecting missionaries, even in the case of lost records of the *Litterae Indipetae*, because he regularly wrote to the provincials about how to organize the expeditions”,⁶ and he maintained with many Jesuits a close, personal relationship.

³ This definition was used by the medievalist Rosenwein to describe “systems of feeling: 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”. Barbara H. Rosenwein – Worrying about Emotions in History. *The American Historical Review*. 107:3 (2002) 842.

⁴ The archivist of ARSI, Edmond Lamalle, briefly wrote about the subject in his article: Edmond Lamalle – L’archivio di un grande ordine religioso: l’Archivio Generale della Compagnia di Gesù. *Archiva Ecclesiae*. 34-35:1 (1981-82) 89-120. For a table with their precise distribution in the S.J. Archive and a review of the recent studies, see Aliocha Maldavsky – Pedir las Indias. Las cartas ‘indipetae’ de los jesuitas europeos, siglos XVI-XVII, ensayo historiográfico. *Relaciones*. 33:132 (2012) 147-81.

⁵ Concerning *Litterae Indipetae* and their authors, for the Antica Compagnia see Gian Carlo Roscioni – *Il desiderio delle Indie. Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani*. Torino: Einaudi, 2001; Adriano Prosperi – *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessori, missionari*. Torino: Einaudi, 1996, esp. pp. 549-684; and Alessandro Guerra – Per un’archeologia della strategia missionaria dei Gesuiti: le *indipetae* e il sacrificio nella ‘vigna del Signore’. *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*. 13 (2000) 109-92. As for the Antica and Nova Compagnia and further bibliographical data, see Emanuele Colombo and Marina Massimi – *In viaggio. Gesuiti italiani candidati alle missioni tra Antica e Nuova Compagnia*. Milano: Il Sole 24 ore, 2014.

⁶ “una pieza esencial del circuito de elección, incluso cuando no se conservan cartas *indipetae*, pues mantenía una correspondencia asidua con los provinciales acerca de la organización de las expediciones”.

“Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century was awash with accounts from the Jesuit missions in the Indies, while young Jesuits in colleges and novitiates eagerly sought a place on the missions, especially in the East”;⁷ wrote Camilla Russell. After a century, their desires had not yet changed much. During those years, Italian Jesuits were asking more or less for what their fellow *indipeti* had wanted a century earlier.⁸ The missionary activities of the Society of Jesus had, however, changed consistently in the meantime.

The preference of the Eastern destination stated in many letters was due to what a young European, especially one studying in the Jesuit schools and colleges, could read at the time. The most fascinating and widespread news about Eastern Asia appeared in the accounts of merchants and travelers, but also those of Jesuits,⁹ like the letters of Francis Xavier (1506-1552) and Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). Many *indipeti* dreamed about an oriental adventure even before entering the order. Their vocation to the mission has been defined by Pierre-Antoine Fabre as *désir antérieur*:¹⁰ these men became Jesuits because they wanted to leave for the Indies as missionaries, frequently even before studying in Jesuit schools, as their letters clearly explained. It is true, however, that the Society of Jesus, since its beginning, tried to integrate every social class, and therefore education had a prominent role in the dissemination of information.

In spite of the preference for the Eastern destination, Jesuits had to show their “indifference” toward the general. This is because it was a necessary precondition

Aliocha Maldavsky – *Pedir las Indias ...*, *cit.*, p. 154. About the selecting process, see by the same author, *Administrer les vocations missionnaires. Les Indipetae et l'organisation des expéditions de missionnaires aux Indes Occidentales au début du XVIIe siècle*. In *Missions religieuses modernes. "Notre lieu est le monde"*. Ed. by Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent. Roma: École française de Rome, 2007, pp. 45-70.

⁷ Camilla Russell – *Imagining the "Indies": Italian Jesuit Petitions for the Overseas Missions at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century*. In *L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi*. Ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci and Stefania Pastore. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011, pp. 179-89. Russell wrote especially about Jesuits and the Chinese Empire as a beloved destination: Camilla Russell – *Vocation to the East: Italian Candidates for the Jesuit China Mission at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century*. In *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*. Ed. by Machtelt Israëls and Louis Waldman. Firenze: Villa I Tatti – The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2013, pp. 313-27.

⁸ A similar time span is considered in Anna Rita Capoccia – *Le destin des Indipetae au-delà du XVIe siècle*. In *Missions Religieuses Modernes ...*, *cit.*, pp. 89-110 and more extensively in *Per una lettura delle "indipetae" italiane del Settecento: indifferenza e desiderio di martirio. Nouvelles de la république des lettres*. 1 (2000) 7-43. Focusing on the two (contradictory only at first glance) main themes of indifference and desire for martyrdom, the author analyzes the geographical preference expressed by some *indipeti* (China and the Philippines were the two most sought-after destinations), highlighting the importance of the generals' letters (*Epistulae Communes*), which exhorted the Jesuits to apply for the Indian missions.

⁹ Concerning the circulation of information, see Charlotte de Castelneau L'Estoile, Marie-Lucie Copete, Aliocha Maldavsky and Ines G. Županov (eds.) – *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs. XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2011.

¹⁰ Pierre-Antoine Fabre – *Un désir antérieur. Les premiers jésuites des Philippines et leur indipetae (1580-1605)*. In *Missions religieuses Modernes ...*, *cit.*, pp. 71-88.

for Jesuits to be submissive and avoid intervention in a decision which should arise only from the Lord. *Indipeti* had to therefore adapt their hopes to what the general's office believed to be the best choice, depending on the Society's needs at any given time. In so doing, each Jesuit had to balance between what they really wanted and what was possible to obtain. This is one of the reasons why the majority of the petitioners did not express a preference, and if they did, the knowledge they demonstrated about a certain place or office was quite vague. Apart from this, it is also true that while Jesuit colleges taught some things about the "new worlds" of the Western and Eastern Indies, in the minds of most of the petitioners there still prevailed "a certain lack of awareness of the real state of the mission they longed for".¹¹ *Litterae Indipetae*, written by common, unknown, and usually young students, tell us about these students' geographical and cultural knowledge and are therefore an even more valuable sign of how information circulated in specific contexts,¹² thanks mostly to these missionaries' printed letter collections and reports.

Relations with Westerners in Japan¹³ were unstable from the beginning and changed frequently over time. The first Europeans reached Kyūshū in 1543 after a shipwreck. As soon as the adventure of these Portuguese sailors became known to Francis Xavier, who was operating in Goa as a missionary, Xavier decided it was time to try and convert the population of this new and mysterious country. The "Apostle of the Indies" did not speak Japanese, nor did he understand most of what transpired during the years he spent there,¹⁴ but he had the extraordinary merit to write about this new reality with such enthusiasm and optimism that for centuries there was no lack of candidates hoping to reach the Land of the Rising Sun. The political situation was at first quite positive, since the Japanese lords desired Portuguese muskets to help them prevail against one another in their constant civil war. After the stabilization of the Tokugawa shogunate, which ruled Japan until 1867, and the arrival of other religious orders (primarily Franciscans, starting in 1592) along with other Westerners less interested in conversion (Dutch and English merchants), the Japanese rulers following Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1587) periodically persecuted Christian missionaries and their converts. This culminated

¹¹ "una gran inconsciencia de la realidad de la misión a la que aspiraban", Aliocha Maldavsky – *Pedir las Indias ...*, *cit.*, p. 155.

¹² Concerning the city of Milan and the *Provincia Mediolanensis*, for example, see Aliocha Maldavsky – *Société urbaine et désir de mission: les ressorts de la mobilité missionnaire jésuite à Milan au début du XVIIe siècle. Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine.* 3:56-3 (2009) 7-32.

¹³ For further bibliography, see Gen Shiraishi – *Christianity in Japan: a history defined by great influence and sudden decline. Concord Review.* (2013) 139-63; Adriana Boscaro – *Ventura e sventura dei gesuiti in Giappone (1549-1639).* Venezia: Cafoscarina, 2008; and Andrew C. Ross – *A Vision Betrayed ...*, *cit.*

¹⁴ About Xavier's tragicomic misunderstandings, see the three essays by Urs App – *St. Francis Xavier's Discovery of Japanese Buddhism. A Chapter in the European Discovery of Buddhism. The Eastern Buddhist. New Series.* 30:1 (1997) 53-78; 30:2 (1997) 214-44; 31:1 (1998) 40-71.

in finally expelling all foreigners¹⁵ from the country. Thus began the so-called *sakoku* or "closed country" (1639-1866), a long period of national isolation.

At the end of the seventeenth century, as stated, Japan was inaccessible as a destination: nonetheless, several Jesuits requested it. The Sicilian Antonio Trigonas, for example, wrote in one of his three petitions, that he was "indifferent" about his destination, but added: "I must admit, to follow my Confessor's orders, that I always had a sort of inclination for the Japanese islands, if entry into them is permissible".¹⁶ Born in 1687, Trigonas was one of several Jesuits who was sent to the Eastern mission. He departed from Lisbon in 1718¹⁷ and headed to China. He landed in Macau but fell ill and died shortly thereafter.¹⁸

The European Jesuits were not discouraged by the situation in Japan. The Society of Jesus was no longer able to preach in Japan, but the problems experienced there were compensated by the fact that the Chinese mission was, in contrast, flourishing.¹⁹ Between many successes and failures, approximately one century after Ricci's arrival in Beijing, Jesuits were usually viewed positively by those in the court and high society. They were especially appreciated and employed as scientists and astronomers in the Ming and Qing courts, and could operate and convert with considerable freedom.

After certain problems (religious persecutions, arguments with the local astronomers, provisory bans, quarrel with eunuchs, etc.) during the second half of the seventeenth century, in 1692 the Kangxi Emperor issued an Edict of Toleration which recognized Roman Catholicism as a *religio licita* in China. Jesuits were proud of this result, accomplished through the trust and esteem they achieved with their many efforts in Beijing, and made it known in Europe as a fundamental moment for the history of Christianity in Asia.

During the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, many Jesuits therefore wanted to be sent to China, even if they could not express a clearly specific preference toward this end. We will now examine what these *indipeti* were looking for in their overseas missions – or what they were trying to avoid.

¹⁵ With the exception of several traders (Dutch and Chinese mostly) at Dejima, Nagasaki.

¹⁶ "devo però, per ubbidire al mio Confessore, sinceramente manifestarle di aver avuto un non so che d'inclinazione a portar la fede nelle Isole del Giappone, se pur ivi è permesso l'entrarvi", Rome, – ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 452 (Palermo, March 5, 1717).

¹⁷ Joseph Wicki, S.J. – Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541-1758. *Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*. 7 (1967) 319.

¹⁸ Joseph Dehergne, S.J. – *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*. Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I. – Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1973, p. 275.

¹⁹ On the Chinese situation, see Ana Carolina Hosne – *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru, 1570-1610. Expectations and appraisals of expansionism*. London & New York: Routledge, 2013; Liam Matthew Brockey – *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*. Cambridge & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007; David E. Mungello – *Curious Land. Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985.

Blood

One of the most eminent scholars of the Society of Jesus, Paul F. Grendler, recently mentioned an ironic answer he received from a Jesuit while he was conducting archival research in Rome. Grendler was surprised when he noticed how all the *indipeti* seemed not to be afraid of suffering, martyrdom, and death. He was told that “after spending years teaching Latin grammar to boys, martyrdom might not look so bad”.²⁰

As the historian Alessandro Guerra noticed, there was a constant tension between the special place of martyrdom²¹ within the Society of Jesus and “the real fanaticism”²² of some *indipeti*, especially in the sixteenth century. It was not beneficial for the Society to spend money and resources educating and feeding young men and send them to the Indies only to have them die soon after their arrival because they were seeking martyrdom. If a Jesuit was pursuing self-sacrifice through death, the Indies could seem to him the perfect place to obtain it.²³ The so-called *Indie di qua*²⁴ were presented by the Jesuit power elites as less magnificent but at the same time equally satisfying destinations, but they never managed to convince the petitioners. It was important for the Society of Jesus to avoid inhibiting the enthusiasm shown by the *indipeti*, and to let them at the same time dream of the Indies, even if they would never be sent there.²⁵

Martyrdom was an exceptional grace, a sort of “baptism of blood”: the first martyr was Jesus himself, and it is well known that Ignatius named his newborn religious order after him. Martyrdom was the highest form of *Imitatio Christi*, and therefore the most desirable one, which is why many Jesuits wanted to be sent far away, because working in the Indies could be very dangerous. What seems to a modern reader to be a real obsession with martyrdom provides the impression that many petitioners did not know what was happening on the other side of the world. It is true, however, that in the “real Indies” it was – in certain periods

²⁰ Paul F. Grendler – The Culture of the Jesuit Teacher 1548-1773. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 3 (2016) 17.

²¹ See Russell’s essay in this volume.

²² “il vero e proprio fanatismo”, Alessandro Guerra – Per un’archeologia della strategia missionaria dei Gesuiti ..., *cit.*, p. 129.

²³ Guerra noticed that “nonostante tutti gli sforzi, migliaia di giovani continuarono a vedere nelle Indie (quelle vere), la loro vocazione, l’unica possibilità di concretizzare il loro desiderio di martirio ... la loro adesione alla Compagnia di Gesù diventata pretestuosa al desiderio del martirio”, *Ibidem*, p. 133.

²⁴ For the “Indie di qua” or “our Indies”, see Chapter 28 of Adriano Prosperi – *Tribunali della coscienza* ..., *cit.*, pp. 549-99.

²⁵ “c’è la sensazione ... che, in una sorta di gioco di specchi, per i vertici della Compagnia la ‘via indiana’ fosse a sua volta un pretesto per richiamare su di sé l’attenzione di tanta parte di giovani desiderosi di patire a cui, la promessa delle Indie era indispensabile per l’avvicinamento alla Compagnia”, Alessandro Guerra – Per un’archeologia della strategia missionaria dei Gesuiti ..., *cit.*, p. 134.

and locations – more probable to die as martyrs than in “our Indies”; that is, in Europe.

Consequently, the idea of blood spilling is very prevalent in the *Litterae Indipetae*, not only as a subject, but also as a material element. In the first decades of the eighteenth century, a few petitions were written using blood as ink.²⁶ We do not have scientific proof of this, as it is not yet possible to analyze the ink without damaging the documents, and therefore we must simply trust the authors who declared that they used tears or blood to write their epistles.

We will now analyze the three then-contemporary Italian *Litterae Indipetae* that made this particular claim.

Agostino Cappelli was one of the lucky Jesuits who managed to travel to the Eastern Indies during the first decades of the eighteenth century. Born in the Italian Marche (Ascoli) in 1670, he entered the Society of Jesus at age sixteen²⁷ and professed his fourth vow in 1712 in Lisbon, while waiting to leave Portugal.²⁸ He voyaged on the *Padroado* ships to Japan in 1706, but finally ended up in Southern China. Subsequently, he was transferred to Malabar,²⁹ where he died in 1715.

Cappelli addressed five *Litterae Indipetae* to the general Thyrso González de Santalla (1687-1705) between 1699 and 1705. In the latter year, he wrote his last petition for the Indies:³⁰ he probably decided to reinforce the pathos which was already present in the previous ones. Cappelli knew there was an expedition about to leave for China, where he wanted to go and where his provincial superior seemed, according to him, uninterested in letting him go: “I am ashamed because this Province is so reticent for people of no account and vile like me, while many other Provinces accept to lose many and more qualified subjects”.³¹

One of his Roman brothers was going to join the expedition, and Cappelli suffered every day for not being chosen and wrote the entire letter with his own

²⁶ With the exceptions of the Italian petitions, there should be an example of such Spanish *Littera Indipeta* (ARSI – FG. 759 fl. 234) and one or two documents *outside* Fondo Gesuitico, written by Jesuits from the *Assistentia Germaniae* (ARSI – *Germ. Sup.*, 18), the latter one mentioned by Luke Clossey – The Early-Modern Jesuit Missions as a Global Movement. *UC World History Workshop* (2005) (<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0h45m0jw>), n. 4. I am grateful to the archivist Mauro Brunello, who updated me on the issue. The Roman “Polizia Scientifica” conducted preliminary examinations on them, but without tearing off a piece of the document, it is impossible to analyze the ink’s composition. The ARSI decided to wait until technological innovations will allow such an examination without invasive interventions.

²⁷ For the basic biographical data see ARSI – Schedario unificato, *sub nomine*.

²⁸ Cappelli professed his fourth vow on September 8, 1712 in the *Provincia Lusitana* (see in ARSI the typescript *Ultimi voti dei gesuiti*).

²⁹ Dehergne wrote: “Emb. 1706 pour le Japon, ainsi que les PP. MESSARI et BAKOWSKI; en fait destinés à la Chine du Sud; mais Cappelletti est envoyé au Malabar ‘puisqu’il le Patriarche [de TOURNON] ne veut pas qu’il entre en Chine’”, Joseph Dehergne, S.J. – *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine ...*, cit., p. 43.

³⁰ ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 201-201v (Rome, April 6, 1705).

³¹ “mi vergogno che questa Provincia faccia tante difficoltà per un soggetto Vilissimo e da nulla, mentre Molte altre Provincie si contentano di perderne tanti, e tanti incomparabilmente più qualificati”, *Ibidem*.

blood, according to his testimony and the archival note written on the verso of the document:³² “I ask you to accept these few drops of wicked blood as a pledge for my desire to shed it all for the Lord’s love”.³³ We do not know if the fact that he used his blood as ink influenced the father general’s decision, but this was his last request, because in 1707 he finally departed for Eastern Asia.

Antonino Porzio was a Sicilian Jesuit and mathematician who wanted to go to China where he could use his scientific skills at the imperial court. He approached Rome with at least eleven requests for the Indian mission, between 1715 and 1718, without ever receiving approval to depart for his beloved destination. In his tenth *Litterae Indipetae*, he explained that he was writing it with his own blood “to express more vividly to Your Reverence my great desire for the Indian Missions, which I still feel strongly in my heart”.³⁴ The letter was quite short, and the Jesuit only renewed his plea in it, crying out: “I do not presume, nor do I hope, to obtain them [the Indian missions] for my merits: on the contrary, I am afraid they would be denied to me because of my great faults”.³⁵

Porzio did the same in his eleventh – and last – petition, about one year after.³⁶ He was afraid of annoying the father general,³⁷ but was even more concerned that the latter might have forgotten his previous requests.³⁸ He therefore decided to “reveal, through the senses, with my own blood, the most ardent longing to sanctify myself to the Lord’s glory in the Indian Missions”.³⁹

Unfortunately, the Jesuit was left unsatisfied; even with all this blood spilled, there are no further *Litterae Indipetae* from him to Rome in the Fondo Gesuitico, but there is another unique source which can help us: the *Epistulae Generalium*.⁴⁰

³² “Romana, 1705, Collegio Germanico, 8 Aprile 1705, Fratello Agostino Cappelli. Scrive col proprio sangue, chiedendo le Missioni del Tonchino colloccazione del ritorno alla Cina del Padre Castner, e della partenza per colà del Padre Lodovico Gonzaga. È Teologo del 2° anno”, ARSI – FG. 750, 201v.

³³ “rendo insieme poche stille di questo sangue scelerato pregandolo ad accettarlo in pegno della brama di spargerlo tutto per amore suo”, ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 201 (Rome, April 6, 1705).

³⁴ “Per esprimere a Vostra Paternità più vivamente il gran desiderio delle Missioni dell’Indie, che ancora ho acceso nel cuore”, ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 510 (Messina, August 27, 1717).

³⁵ “non presumo, né spero poterla giamai ottenere per merito: anzi temo, che mi sarà negata in pena del mio sommo demerito”, *Ibidem*.

³⁶ ARSI – FG. 751, fl. 42 (Messina, April 22, 1718).

³⁷ “il timore di rendermi appresso di Vostra Paternità troppo importuno, m’ha obbligato a lasciar scorrere gran tempo senza replicare nuove istanze per le Missioni dell’Indie”, *Ibidem*.

³⁸ “ora il timore medesimo d’essere affatto scancellata dalla mente di Vostra Paternità la mia memoria, e delle mie antiche istanze”, *Ibidem*.

³⁹ “palesararle [sic] sensibilmente col proprio mio sangue l’ardentissimo desiderio, che ancor ne mantengo vivo nel cuore di sacrificarmi tutto alla Maggior Gloria di Dio Signore nelle Missioni dell’Indie”, *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ Regarding the importance of the Roman answers to the *Litterae Indipetae* in shedding new light on the missionary enterprise, even for those who never obtained the permission to leave, see my essay *The Many Faces of Ignazio Maria Romeo S.J. (1676-1724?), Petitioner for the Indies: A Jesuit Seen through his Litterae Indipetae and the Epistulae Generalium*. *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, forthcoming, and Chapter 5 of

These registers of correspondence, sent from the office of the superior general in Rome to a wide variety of people, preserve many responses to petitioners for the Indies. From the Sicilian *Epistulae Generalium* of the period, we understand that in 1722 the general had to answer to Porzio's requests again, this time clearly specifying that, because of his age, the general would have never considered sending him to the Indies.⁴¹ Porzio should be happy to have been "loyal to the Lord's calling" having written all his requests, but it was time to move on and concentrate on his activities "in your Province, with your soul freed from every remorse."⁴² We know from the *Catalogi Triennales* that until 1730⁴³ he was registered at the College of Messina, where he taught grammar, theology, and mathematics. These were the same skills he hoped could help him reach the Chinese Empire, but on the contrary, they were probably⁴⁴ responsible for his rejection.

Another Jesuit who used his own blood – this time "only" to sign his (apparently one and only) *Littera Indipeta* – was Francesco Saverio Farugi, in 1725. Even if he did not provide precise details, the Roman secretaryship took note on the verso that the Jesuit "signs with blood."⁴⁵ The signature's ink is in fact of a different color than the rest of the document, and states: "Most unworthy and obedient slave and son in Christ Saverio Farugi, Jesuit."⁴⁶ Unfortunately, we do not know what became of this Jesuit, but it is very possible that he did not leave his hometown in the Roman Province.⁴⁷

Monika Miazek-Męczyńska – *Indipetae Poloniae – kołatanie do drzwi misji chińskiej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2015.

⁴¹ ARSI – *Siciliae* (hence *Sic.*), 50, fl. 44 (Messina, April 20, 1722).

⁴² "soddisfatto a pieno alla fedeltà dovuta alle divine chiamate ... con l'animo libero da ogni rimorso in coteste Province", *Ibidem*.

⁴³ ARSI – *Sic.*, 113, C. 65 for the *Primus* e *Sic.*, 115, C. 21r for the *Secundus*. For our research we only looked into the *Catalogi Triennales* until 1730, but Porzio's name does not appear in Josephus Fejér, S.J. – *Defuncti secundi saeculi Societatis Jesu. 1641-1740*. Roma: Curia Generalitia, S.J. – Institutum Historicum, S.J., 1985, therefore we are not sure that he died as a member of the Society of Jesus.

⁴⁴ It would not have been unusual for the Italian Assistancy to try to keep amongst its ranks the most talented Jesuits, instead of sending them to the other side of the world. On this topic Alessandro Guerra concluded that, especially in the first years after the foundation of the order, all the Jesuits "che sembravano provvisti di virtù e doti migliori, il generale preferiva ove possibile trattenerli presso di sé, cooptandoli nella gestione del difficile assetto missionario e nella pianificazione di una precisa casistica delle missioni"; Alessandro Guerra – Per un'archeologia della strategia missionaria dei Gesuiti ..., *cit.*, p. 160.

⁴⁵ "si sottoscrive col sangue", ARSI – *FG*. 751, fl. 338-338v (Rome, December 5, 1727).

⁴⁶ "Indegnissimo e Obedientissimo Servo e Figlio in Cristo Francesco Saverio Farugi Della Compagnia di Gesù", *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ It is not uncommon for the Jesuits under discussion to appear just as *indipeti* in some letters, and after that cease to be visible from every documentary trail. For example, Farugi's name is not among the deceased Jesuits, which could lead us to believe that he left the Society of Jesus, but this could have happened for many other reasons (for example, a mistake in the transcription of his name, a documentary lacuna, and so forth). It is, however, definite, that he did not sail to China or Japan.

Tears

Litterae Indipetae have always been filled with blood, as we have seen, but they also regularly featured tears. Tears were an Ignatian *topos*: the founder of the Society of Jesus was described in his *Autobiography*⁴⁸ as frequently crying. Today we usually associate tears with femininity, but during the Early Modern period there was an ambiguous interpretation of this phenomenon. The Society of Jesus's founder "recorded weeping as a truly masculine ability in terms of his new definition of clerical manhood", and even before his conversion, the "chivalric masculinity in which Ignatius was raised ... included a conception of weeping as particularly manly".⁴⁹

The Italian Jesuit Nicolò Staglianò wrote three *Litterae Indipetae* between 1705 and 1706, after one of the Roman calls to apply for the Indian missions.⁵⁰ He recalled after reading it: "I wept so sweetly for more than two hours, and in the night I continuously felt such a yearning to be amongst barbarians, and let them know our common creator".⁵¹

Another Jesuit, Vincenzo Maria Guerrerri had implored the general to remove him from his province (Sicily) because he was tormented by his superiors and his family who wanted him to abandon his desired vocation. He did it "with tears in

⁴⁸ Saint Ignatius of Loyola – *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius Loyola, with Related Documents*. Ed. by John C. Olin. New York: Fordham University Press, 1992.

⁴⁹ "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. 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. At the very end of the story, when Ignatius is working on the constitutions for his order, copious crying has become a daily habit". Ulrike Strasser – "The First Form and Grace": Ignatius of Loyola and the Reformation of Masculinity. In *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*. Ed. by Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn. Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008, p. 56 and following.

⁵⁰ The Generals of the Society of Jesus on certain occasions sent to most or all of the provinces epistles exhorting Jesuits to offer themselves as missionaries for the Indies, thereby influencing the number of petitions written in response to this communication. Two of the most known and efficacious of these, at least in the Italian Assistancy, were (1) Michelangelo Tamburini's *De mittendis ad Indias novis operariis*, in 1722, destined "ad omnes Provinciales exceptam Angliam", read openly to promote vocations (ARSI – *Ep. NN.*, 9, fl. iii); and (2) The letter written by his successor Franz Retz, who in 1734 sent "ad Patres provinciales omnes, praeterquam Anglia et Lithuaniae" his communication about "Capita informationis de iis, qui petunt Missiones transmarinas" (ARSI – *Ep. NN.*, 9, fl. 151). For chronological reasons, the exhortation which Staglianò referred to could not be one of these, and it is unfortunately impossible to find the precise details of what was mentioned *passim* by every petitioner.

⁵¹ "piansi così dolcemente, che per più di due ore, e poi ininterrottamente la notte mi sentiva una brama ardentissima di trovarmi fra gente barbara, e far loro conoscere il commune creatore", ARSI – *FG.* 750, fl. 216 (Naples, July 18, 1705). We do not know what happened to the Jesuit, since his name is not on the records of the dispatched missionaries or in Josephus Fejér, S.J. – *Defuncti secundi saeculi ...*, *cit.*

my eyes, but above all else in my heart"⁵² The Jesuit managed to get rid of all these obstacles and, after some years, sailed for the Eastern Indies. But the ship had to turn back in 1724 with five Jesuits.⁵³ Poor Guerreri was probably among them, since his Eastern career ended then, and he died a dozen years later (1738) in Palermo.⁵⁴ It is difficult to imagine how disappointed this Jesuit must have been.

The Sicilian Giovanni Battista Federici, being less morbid than some of his confrères, assured the general he was using tears instead of blood to write his *Littera Indipeta*.⁵⁵ In 1717, he complained to the general about not having been chosen for the overseas mission. He admitted, however, that the fault was all his own ("reasonably ... my tremendous faults"⁵⁶); he was even aware that his Eastern preference could have been interpreted as an act of hubris instead of an attempt to emulate his beloved Francis Xavier, thus persuading the general to reject his previous requests. Federici was filled with grief; the matter caused him "to be consumed, sighing all day, bemoaning my faults"⁵⁷ Particularly painful for him was the fact that the general had some time before coming close to promising him his desired Indian departure. From then on, he waited desperately for the fateful decision: it seemed to him "more than a year, and every day seems to me a century".⁵⁸

In the days before writing his letter, some of his companions were sent to Quito and the Philippines: "Some to one side, some to the other; it is only me who is untrustworthy for now, and, who knows, maybe forever";⁵⁹ wrote the Jesuit, emotionally. He cried all day because of his horrible life⁶⁰ and concluded his letter "on my knees, writing more with tears, than with ink".⁶¹ After many delays and promises by the general, Federici was finally sent to the East⁶² (current South

⁵² "con le lacrime agli occhi, e molto più al cuore", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 396-396v (Caltagirone, October 1, 1716).

⁵³ Joseph Wicki, S.J. – Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer ..., *cit.*, p. 321.

⁵⁴ Josephus Fejér, S.J. – Defuncti secundi saeculi ..., *cit.*, p. 257.

⁵⁵ ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 488 (Palermo, s.d. [May 27, 1717]). Since tears are, of course, transparent, we can assume that they were mixed with some ink or, alternatively, that this kind of statement was more a rhetorical *topos* than a description of actual circumstances.

⁵⁶ "ragionevolmente ... le mie gravissime colpe", *Ibidem*.

⁵⁷ "struggere, e sospirare tutto di sino a piangerne i miei demeriti", *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ "più che un anno, ed ogni giorno un Secolo", *Ibidem*.

⁵⁹ "chi una, e chi l'altra parte; solo io me ne ho reso indegno finora, e forse, dio sa, se son per sempre", *Ibidem*.

⁶⁰ "piango per sempre la mia pessima vita", *Ibidem*.

⁶¹ "inginocchiati vergando più con lagrime, che con inchiostro questo foglio", *Ibidem*.

⁶² Joseph Wicki, S.J. – Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer ..., *cit.*, p. 320.

India), where he died in the Mysore missions aged 31, after only a few years of activity.⁶³

Tears could also be of consolation and joy. Giovanni Berlendis wrote at the end of the seventeenth century in one of his three *Litterae Indipetae* asking specifically for the Japanese destination: “To be sincere, our Father is calling me in the Indies, and not everywhere in them, but specifically where it is possible to watch more closely my Japan”.⁶⁴ He was one of the *indipeti* most obsessed with the Land of the Rising Sun, and openly admitted he had been since his childhood: “Japan ... it is incredible, just naming it, how filled with joy I become. Japan, my love, my noble vow, my sigh”.⁶⁵ He candidly explained the reasons for such a passionate devotion: “I love it in its graves, its gallows, its water, its tortures, its martyrdom”.⁶⁶ He knew that in other places too, a missionary could meet the same risks and tortures, but he wished for all these experiences only in Japan. Only when thinking about his martyrdom and death in the Far East, was Berlendis full of excitement and happiness.⁶⁷

To be more persuasive and explain why he was so fanatic about Japan, Berlendis narrated a curious game he had played as young boy, not yet a Jesuit: with a friend of his, the Sicilian played the role of a Jesuit questioned and accused by the Japanese tyrant he wanted to convert. This performance was to him incredibly thrilling: “I started weeping and sighing”, especially when the tyrant condemned him to death. Berlendis wrote that, “on my knees ... my head up, I took the fake beheading like it was true, and with so much delight, oh my God! With so many tears, which I could not easily conceal from my friend!”⁶⁸ From this

⁶³ A short biography of Federici was written, some years after his death, as an edifying *exemplum* in Giuseppe Antonio Patrignani – Menologio di pie memorie d’alcuni Religiosi della Compagnia di Gesù raccolte dal padre Giuseppe Antonio Patrignani della medesima Compagnia, e distribuite per quei giorni dell’anno, ne’ quali morirono. Dall’Anno 1538. sino all’Anno 1728, Tomo Primo, che contiene gennajo, febbrajo, e marzo. Venezia: Niccolò Pezzana, 1730, pp. 124-25.

⁶⁴ “A dirla dunque apertamente, Padre Nostro il Signore mi chiama all’Indie, e non già, se ho a dir, come devo, il vero, in qualunque parte di esse, ma solo in quelle, che guarda più da vicino il caro mio Giappone”, ARSI – FG. 749, fl. 595, 595v, 596 (Naples, February 27, 1694).

⁶⁵ “Giappone, quale, a nominarlo solo, non è credibile, di quanta gioia mi colma. Giappone, il mio amore, il mio nobil voto, il mio sospiro”, *Ibidem*.

⁶⁶ “Ma perché amor sì grande verso il Giappone? Amo in esso le fosse, le forche, le acque, i stratii, i martirii”, *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ The Jesuit filled his letter with passionate interjections: “Patir per Dio, Morir per Dio! O mio Dio! O felicità! Ah Padre nostro già, in ruminar tal martirio, sento intenerirmi, ed eccitarmi al pianto. Mio martirio! Mio Giappone! Quando sarà, che squarciato io muoio nel mio Giappone, quando sarà Dio mio, quando! Son continue le voci mie a voi, dicentes, quando consolaveris me!”, *Ibidem*.

⁶⁸ The complete section of this quoted text is: “Un desiderio sì fatto di martirio è in me fin da giovinetto ancor secolare; e mi ricordo, che soleva io più d’una volta, or in piazza, or ne’ lidi del mare, fingermi in atto di predicatore apostolico; e quasi che mi ritrovassi già su le piazze del mio Giappone, meco stava con voce sommessa, o chiara, quanto me ’l permetteva il luogo, predicar tra’ quei popoli l’Evangelio; Correndomi intanto tal giubilo per l’animo, che tutto dava in sospiri, ed in lacrime ... mi accompagnavo con un de miei

and similar cases, we understand that the tears of a (future) Jesuit were not only of desperation and disappointment, but could be a sign of the joy which would come to him in a missionary – and exotic – future.

Physical and moral suffering

In the emotive anticlimax we are describing, in addition to dying, bleeding, and crying for Christ's sake, *indipeti* more generically expressed in their letters the desire to suffer, struggle, and experience an uncomfortable life in the name of evangelical poverty.

At the end of 1719, Giuseppe Maugeri renewed his request for the missions, and further promised the general to do the same every year, "until I will be 50 years old, and [petition] for every part of the world".⁶⁹ He recognized the fact that he could be a missionary anywhere, even in his original province, but every time he thought about Francis Xavier and the Indian missionaries, he felt "moved in such a way, that blood boils in my veins, and my heart of stone softens, and bursts into ardent longing for struggling and suffering there".⁷⁰

Tomaso de Domenicis asked, in his only known request, to be sent to the Eastern Indies because this was the reason he became a Jesuit. He noticed that he was conducting a life too weak and soft, not sufficiently in compliance with his religious status: "I notice how my lower self is glad to become comfortable with my daily life, in which I have so many comforts in my duty, and so few chances to suffer payment for my faults and help the souls of others".⁷¹

Girolamo Matthia wrote in his account that he longed for the overseas mission in spite of – or rather, because of – "harshness, efforts, struggle, and persecution, which inevitably are related to missions everywhere, and especially

condiscepoli; ed uscendo fuor delle mure della Città, stabilivo con esso un accordo, ch'egli prendesse le parti di un Tiranno, tutto applicato a pervertirmi, mentr'io le prendeva di un Gesuita, tutto inteso a convertirlo. Mi dilettao ... fin anche nella mostra del vestire, come meglio potevasi, a maniera di un de Nostri ... giungendo al termine, ivi dopo il pruovarsi più gagliardamente il tiranno con promesse, e con minaccie, ma indarno, a rimuovermi ... Allora io in ginocchio... chinato il capo, accettava come vero, il finto colpo, ma con quanto diletto, o Dio! con quanta vehemenza di lacrime, che pur mi bisognava comprimere, per occultar all'amico!"; *Ibidem*.

⁶⁹ "fin all'età di anni 50 e per qualsivoglia parte del Mondo", ARSI – FG. 751, fl. 76 (Palermo, December 4, 1719).

⁷⁰ "in tal guisa commuovere, che mi bolle nelle vene il sangue, e il mio Cuore tutto che di pietra? Si intenerisce, e sfoga in ardenti brame di faticare, e patire in quelle parti", *Ibidem*.

⁷¹ "vedo, che la parte inferiore s'accomoda volentieri alla vita che al presente faccio, in cui ho moltissime comodità corporali, nell'ufficio assegnatomi, e poche occasioni di patir, molto in isconto delle mie colpe, et in aiuto dell'anime altrui", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 294-294v (Rome, July 19, 1714).

in the Indies”.⁷² His purpose was to “resemble the Crucifix in its pain, but, more than that, answer to the Lord’s calling because of my offences”.⁷³

Nicolò Clavesana, author of three petitions between 1717 and 1718, asked especially for fieldwork “where it is possible to gather more abundantly hard work and struggle, because it is specifically there that the Lord is waiting for me”.⁷⁴ The Jesuit died in his native province ten years thereafter.⁷⁵

The Roman Jesuit Giulio Gori⁷⁶ wrote one of his three long and passionate memoirs asking specifically for a Chinese destination. Gori was born in Siena in 1686 into a rich and important family; he decided to become a Jesuit in 1704, after philosophical studies *in saeculo* (as a layman). His petition was never accepted and Gori committed himself to studying and teaching: he became a professor of philosophy and canon law. In some of his courses he taught forbidden scientific and philosophical theories, and was condemned by the Church and the Society of Jesus: the historian Anna Rita Capoccia underlined how Gori was a “dissident” Jesuit for his whole life.⁷⁷ He died at the Collegium Romanum in 1764.

Before his academic career, Gori was an *indipeta* who had passionately asked in three detailed accounts between 1700 and 1709 to be sent to the Chinese Empire. In the first,⁷⁸ Gori imagined the general to be skeptical about his missionary desire, and supposed he would have said that it was “the World”, and not a real vocation which was the source of this missionary calling. He therefore explained methodically that “the World has the habit to deceive with only three things:

⁷² “durezze, le fatiche, i stenti, gli odi, le persecuzioni, le quali infallibilmente portano seco le missioni d’ogni luogo, ed in particolare quelle dell’Indie”, ARSI – FG. 751, fl. 37-37v (Recanati, April 8, 1718).

⁷³ “assomigliarmi al Crocifisso nei dolori; e più ancora l’obbligo di dover soddisfare alla divina giustizia per gli oltraggi fattigli”, *Ibidem*.

⁷⁴ “paesi dove si raccolgono in maggior abbondanza e stenti e fatiche, perché là aponto parmi che il Signore mi aspetti”, ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 520 (Genoa, October 23, 1717).

⁷⁵ Josephs Fejér, S.J. – Defuncti secundi saeculi ..., *cit.*, p. 270.

⁷⁶ See *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* online: Gori’s biography was edited by Anna Rita Capoccia ([http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-gori_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-gori_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)), who researched the Italian Jesuit for her dissertations (Master: *Giulio Gori S.J. e le sue Lettere morali*; PhD: *L’Introductio physicae aristotelicae (1723) di Giulio Gori SJ e l’insegnamento della filosofia naturale al Collegio romano*). She also analyzed his teachings in *Modernità e ortodossia: strategie di conciliazione e dissidenza nell’insegnamento della filosofia nei collegi gesuitici del primo Settecento. Les Dossiers du Grihl. 2 (2009) 1-37* (<http://dossiersgrihl.revues.org/3678>).

⁷⁷ For instance, as far as philosophy was concerned, Capoccia noticed that the Jesuit “non assume un atteggiamento di “neutralità metafisica” ma, dimostrando una certa propensione all’approfondimento ... alla luce delle più recenti teorie, affronta anche le problematiche meno ortodosse ... presentando – talvolta in maniera ironica. le obiezioni ricorrenti e comuni a diversi autori, rivolte contro il sistema atomistico; dall’altro si addentra in una spiegazione talmente particolareggiata degli scritti di autori condannati dalla Chiesa ... da far presupporre il privilegio della dottrina eterodossa piuttosto che di quella aristotelica”, Anna Rita Capoccia – *Modernità e ortodossia ...*, *cit.*, p. 12.

⁷⁸ ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 89, 89a, 89b, 89bv, 89c, 89d, 89e, 89ev (Rome, December 2, 1704).

riches, honor, and pleasures",⁷⁹ but not one of these things could be found in the Chinese Empire. As for riches, "it speaks for itself".⁸⁰ Regarding honor, it was equally clear that no missionary would obtain honor because one should instead "expect a very humiliating navigation, always with a terrible crew, that continuously vituperate, mistreat, and insult you, and you can nonetheless do anything but serve them, and be everyone's slave".⁸¹ Even after his landing, the Jesuit would pass many days and months in learning the language and practicing the *accomodatio*, spending "much time at home, sweeping and cooking so as not to be idle: tasks which no worldly man would consider honorable".⁸²

Gori was convinced that, on the contrary, earthly desires kept many men from asking for the Indian missions.⁸³ The Jesuit *in primis* described himself as "inclined to speculation" and admitted he rather considered it "tempting for my honor (and indeed sometimes I felt this way) to stay here, in Europe".⁸⁴

Concerning pleasures, he knew perfectly well that going to China meant "getting rid of the many legitimate and honest recreations that we can enjoy here in the Society of Jesus, losing some luxury and comfort".⁸⁵ According to Gori, since entering a religious order corresponded to leaving behind all the "lay pleasures", trying to reach the farthest missions was thus like rejecting every possible "licit leisure a religious man could have here in Europe".⁸⁶ Finally – and he added this remark on a piece of paper glued onto his epistle – human nature was naturally attracted by comforts: "As for the flesh, it is an indisputable fact that people do not like inconvenience, the sufferings of navigation, or even worse, every change of climate, and food, and customs".⁸⁷

⁷⁹ "il mondo suole ingannare, et adescare con tre sole cose, Ricchezza, Onori e Piaceri", *Ibidem*.

⁸⁰ "la cosa parla da sé", *Ibidem*.

⁸¹ "certo è, che bisogna aspettarsi una navigatione assai humiliante, sempre con ciurmaglia, che continuamente caricano di ingiurie, strapazzi e villanie, e bisogna per questo istesso servirli, e far lo schiavo a tutti", *Ibidem*.

⁸² "starsene molto tempo in casa, e per non starvi otioso, scopare, fare il quoco, et altre cose simili, che l'uomo mondano non reputa per onore", *Ibidem*.

⁸³ "io credo, che questo misero, e miserabilissimo onore abbia impedito a molti ad andare a predicare la legge di Christo agli infedeli, chi per riconoscersi atto ad havere alto grado di predicatore, e chi di Filosofo, o Teologo", *Ibidem*.

⁸⁴ "avendo io grandissima inclinazione alla speculatione, stimerei più tosto (come alle volte ne ho sentito alcun moto dentro di me) stimerei, dico, più tosto allettativo d'onore il restarmene qua in Europa", *Ibidem*.

⁸⁵ "privarsi delle molte ricreazioni lecite, ed honeste, che qui si godono in Domino nella Compagnia, perdere qualche agio, e commodità", *Ibidem*.

⁸⁶ The complete section of this quoted text is: "siccome uno, che entra in religione lascia tutti i piaceri secolareschi, così mi pare, che uno, che si invia in parti remote a portare la Luce dell'Evangelio agli infedeli, lasci tutte le ricreazioni permesse, e dovute ai religiosi qui in europa", *Ibidem*.

⁸⁷ "Quanto poi alla carne, certo è che ella non gusta gran cosa né degli incomodi, patimenti sommi della navigazione, né di quelli molto maggiori, che portan seco un clima diverso, diversi cibi, et il doversi assuefare a diversi costumi", *Ibidem*.

Another Jesuit perfectly expressed the feelings of many of his fellow *indipeti*, noticing that all of them wanted to go to the Indies not so as to “do” – but rather to “suffer”. Giorgio Maria Solari wrote four *indipetae* between 1717 and 1719, carrying an ill-concealed exhaustion for his life as a teacher, asking to become a missionary instead. While Gori wanted to leave for China, Solari would have been satisfied with nearby Corsica. The Jesuit feared the general’s probable opposition, because he felt he did not deserve such a reward: “First of all, you can contest my idle life”.⁸⁸ But it was precisely because of these deficiencies that he really needed to be sent away: “I reply that the Indies are for me a means to amend myself”.⁸⁹

Solari was afraid that someone among his superiors would have mentioned his frail health as an excuse. Therefore he assured the general that he was already capable of teaching for hours without becoming sick, and that his daily life in school was far more dangerous for his health: “Recently, my life, with the exception of some sleep and little comforts ... seems to me too hard to keep me healthy in the future”.⁹⁰ He concluded his letter admitting that in Italy it could be possible “to do things” as well, but “I think you go to the Indies not to do, but to suffer”.⁹¹ He probably accomplished this, but not in the Eastern provinces since he worked as a missionary in Europe.⁹²

Being rejected: “Holy envy”

Only a fraction of the hundreds of *Litterae Indipetae* were approved for the overseas missions their authors had requested. How did the others react to missing out on being sent? Certain individuals who were highly motivated continued addressing their epistles to Rome. Nonetheless, they often did not conceal their disappointment. The Sicilian Martino d’Andrea, for instance, wrote seven petitions for the Indies between 1716 and 1718. In one of them, he recalled the general’s answer about the impossibility of being sent there, admitting that

⁸⁸ “prima mi si può opporre la mia vita rilassata”, ARSI – FG. 751, fl. 74 (Como, November 27, 1719).

⁸⁹ “a questo rispondo, ch’io prendo l’Indie, come un mezzo per emendarmi”, *Ibidem*.

⁹⁰ “Aggiungo che la vita che fo da qualche tempo in qua, sottraendo qualche poco di tempo al sonno, e qualche cosa ad altre commodità ... non mi pare una vita, a cui possa reggere lungamente una sanità profligata”, *Ibidem*.

⁹¹ The complete quotation is: “non mancherà che fare in Italia, e questo lo concedo. Ma non stimo nell’Indie tanto il fare quanto il patire”, *Ibidem*.

⁹² In 1727 he was in Locarno, Switzerland (see Ernst Staehelin – *Der Jesuitenorden und die Schweiz: Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Basel: Verlag Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1923, p. 46); his name is however not on Fejér’s list.

"Your Paternity's reply deeply comforted my spirit ... but on the other hand it embittered it, because of the delay of my longed-for departure for the Indies".⁹³

Most of the *indipeti* did not receive what they were hoping for, not because of an obscure plan to keep them in the Italian colleges, but merely because there was no corresponding need for missionaries in Eastern Asia. It was more likely for a Jesuit to be employed as a teacher in a Jesuit school in his *Assistentia* (in this case, Italy), sometimes changing provinces (especially in the event of problems with superiors and families), than to become a missionary in the "Indie di qua", in Europe, where they faced a less adventurous and exotic future.

Not all of the Jesuits accepted their rejection peacefully: many of them confessed to be very envious of those chosen to be sent to the Indies, especially if they knew them personally because they had studied or taught in the same colleges. This emotion was, however, not disclosed as totally negative, because it also encouraged them to pursue their requests, inflaming even more their calling and focusing their efforts on trying to conduct a pious and exemplary life to deserve the ultimate consolation.

In many cases, *Litterae Indipetae* were written after discovering that confrères were to be sent there: the desire to emulate them was the reason why they sent a new request, or repeated what had already been communicated to Rome. This envious sentiment which could be seen as negative, was thus converted into something positive: "holy envy" (*santa invidia*). This expression was very common among the "emotional community" of the petitioners for the Indies.

The Sicilian Vincenzo Maria Guerrerri, for example, wrote in 1716 that he had been happy to hear the news about the missionaries recently sent to Paraguay, especially because they were not only priests, but also students like himself. His heart was filled with joy at their lucky fate, but at the same time he felt an even stronger urge to "turn to Your Paternity to be fulfilled, although I absolutely do not deserve such a grace".⁹⁴

Guerrerri acknowledged that this was his first request (he applied again in 1722), but he specified that he had desired the Indian missions for many years, and his vocation had been "stimulated by the ones happily selected for those

⁹³ "riscontro di Vostra Paternità come m'ha molto consolato nello spirito ... m'ha dall'altra parte ammaregiato alquanto il mio spirito per il differimento della partenza tanto desiderata per le Indie", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 398 (Modica, October 13, 1716).

⁹⁴ The full quotation is: "le liete novelle capitate della consolatione, che si è degnata Vostra Paternità conferire non solo a qualche nostro Sacerdote, ma anco a più d'uno studente, destinati già felicemente a faticar nelle Missioni del Paraguai, sicome m'hanno riempito di sommo giubilo il cuore, che gode dell'altrui felicità; così pure m'hanno spronato a ricorrere alla somma Benignità di Vostra Paternità per essere ancor io consolato, benché per altro indegnissimo sia d'una tal gratia", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 396-396v (Caltagirone, October 1, 1716).

missions, who also were my school companions”⁹⁵ After proper examination, he recognized the true determination of his calling and was “touched by holy envy for what my brothers accomplished”⁹⁶ Guerreri, however, never managed to fulfil his dream; he died some years later (1738) in his native Sicily.⁹⁷

Litterio Celona wrote one of his four *indipetae* (one in 1716 and three in 1717) asking to be sent to Mexico. He returned to this issue because, although he was sure that the father general would never be unfair with his Jesuits, he had recently noticed that some of his companions’ candidacies to Mexico had been accepted, whereas his own still remained pending: “I do not deserve less (indeed, I deserve it more) to suffer in the name of the Lord than my companion ... who was selected by Your Paternity to the enterprise I so much desire. I therefore put my trust in the paternal justice”⁹⁸ Celona was lucky enough to be sent to the Eastern Indies the following year (1718),⁹⁹ where he worked in the Philippine mission.¹⁰⁰

Ignazio Maria de Franciscis wrote five *indipetae* from Sicily between 1721 and 1729. In 1729, he explained to the general that a former fellow Jesuit contacted him from Genoa, where this colleague was waiting to leave for the Philippines, congratulating Franciscis for having being selected for the Madurai mission in South India.

Franciscis had not received an official communication yet, neither from the general nor from the provincial, and was suffering “like a beggar, who dreamed to be enriched”¹⁰¹ He was afraid that the provincial could have decided to reject his request, using the excuse that he was not healthy enough. The Jesuit declared to be “sound and strong ... I assure to Your Paternity that I have an excellent physical constitution, I am in a good health, therefore I am suitable”¹⁰² He proclaimed himself ready to go to the overseas mission as a *temporal coadiutor*: these domestic helpers were unordained brothers, lay religious people who held the most practical positions in the Society of Jesus and worked as “cooks, tailors,

⁹⁵ “stimolato (da que’ medesimi destinati già felicemente alle sud.e Missioni, che mi furon Compagni nell’Academia)”, *Ibidem*.

⁹⁶ “tocco da santa invidia d’un tanto bene ne’ miei stessi Compagni”, *Ibidem*.

⁹⁷ Guerreri died in Palermo in March 1738 (Josephus Fejér, S.J. – *Defuncti secundi saeculi ...*, cit., p. 257).

⁹⁸ “non ho minore obligo di patire per Christo, anzi di lunga maggiore, di quello, che ha un altro compagno mio di classe ... già eletto da Vostra Paternità alla tanto da me desiderata impresa. Spero dunque nella paterna giustizia”, ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 503 (Frascati, July 29, 1717).

⁹⁹ Joseph Wicki, S.J. – *Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer ...*, cit., p. 319.

¹⁰⁰ Anna Rita Capoccia – Le destin des *Indipetae* au-delà du XVIe siècle. In *Missions Religieuses Modernes ...*, cit., p. 100.

¹⁰¹ “come un Mendico, che già sognò dèssere straricchito”, ARSI – FG. 751, fl. 401-401v (Palermo, November 11, 1729). We do not know what happened to him nor whether he remained within the Society of Jesus.

¹⁰² “sano, e robusto ... Assicuro a Vostra Paternità che sono d’ottima complessione, e godo perfetta salute, siché son atto”, *Ibidem*.

gardeners, buyers, masons, carpenters, even architects".¹⁰³ Francis especially wanted to work at "the most laborious task, as a scullery boy"¹⁰⁴ and, to augment his labors, he asked for the Eastern Indies because they were, according to him, "the most painful" destination.¹⁰⁵

Cesare Filippo d'Oria wrote six petitions to Rome during 1716 and 1717: after these years his name disappears from the S.J. archives and we do not know what became of him. However, in 1716, he complained to the general because he was suffering terribly after "hearing that from here and there missionaries have been selected",¹⁰⁶ whereas his name was not yet "among the lucky ones destined for that enviable endeavor. I am afraid that because of my faults I will always be left out of this longed-for luck".¹⁰⁷

As demonstrated in these examples (many more are available among the Italian petitions of the time), many *indipeti* did not surrender after a rejection, but instead took a chance and pursued their requests. Moreover, upon seeing their companions being selected, they sometimes became more motivated because they felt this "holy envy" stimulating them to do better and finally earn the sought-after mission.

The *extrema ratio*: Leaving the Society of Jesus

Not every *indipeta*, however, was so patient and interpreted the general's negative replies as an incentive to maintain a pious life within the Society of Jesus. Especially in the first years after the foundation of the order, many young Europeans with an inclination for adventure, more than for religion, entered the Ignatian Order and left it after several personal disappointments or disagreements with their superiors. Another source of disappointment was simply that the expectations around entering the Society of Jesus, and even more so those of operating as a missionary, did not correspond with the lives that the largest percentage of Jesuits would have had.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ John W. O' Malley – *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 60-61.

¹⁰⁴ "l'uffizio più laborioso di guattero", ARSI – FG. 751, fl. 401-401v (Palermo, November 11, 1729).

¹⁰⁵ "più penose", *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁶ "udendo che da varie parti si sono fatte scelte di Missionari", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 360 (Genoa, July 11, 1716).

¹⁰⁷ "nel fortunato numero de' destinati in quella invidiabile impresa, ho gran timore fondato principalmente ne' miei demeriti di vedermi escluso da una fortuna tanto desiderata", *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁸ Pavone wrote: "La tensione di straordinarietà che porta ad avvicinarsi alla Compagnia (specie per coloro che intendono dedicarsi alle missioni) non corrisponde spesso alla vita ordinaria che si conduce all'interno dell'ordine e questa delusione delle aspettative conduce in alcuni casi all'allontanamento volontario specie di quei soggetti difficilmente irregimentabili in una comunità organizzata gerarchicamente", Sabina Pavone – I dimessi dalla Compagnia negli anni del generalato di Francesco Borgia: una nuova questione

In its very first century of existence, the Society of Jesus became aware of the importance of being extremely careful about accepting people into its ranks. To dissuade the less motivated from departing the order, daunting stories were written and spread about the *fuoriusciti* (Jesuits who left their order), whose lives were ruined in various ways: sudden death, family catastrophe, imprisonment by infidels, and similar cruel destinies.

Within the *Provincia Sicula*¹⁰⁹ at the beginning of the eighteenth century, we found the *Litterae Indipetae* of two Jesuits who grew so disappointed for not being allowed to depart (and probably because of other reasons which are not so clear and objective to understand) that they decided to leave the Society once and for all. This was done after many years of religious life – and therefore the decision was considered and taken with mature deliberation.

The first was Ignazio Maria Romeo.¹¹⁰ Born in Palermo in 1676, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1692. As he specified in desperation on one occasion, during his entire adult life he addressed “more than 30 epistles”¹¹¹ to Rome without ever managing to depart for the Indies. There are thirteen petitions written by Ignazio between 1702 and 1720 now preserved in the Fondo Gesuitico in ARSI.

It is clear that in the first years, Ignazio had personal problems with his father, like many fellow *indipeti* and Jesuits in general.¹¹² The Marquis delli Magnisi did not support his decision, and wanted him to stay in Sicily to take care of the family that included a hypochondriac/sick marchioness and ten young children. Ignazio

storiografica. In *Francisco de Borja y su tiempo: Política, religión y cultura en la Edad Moderna*. Coord. by Enrique García Hernán and María del Pilar Ryan. Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 2011, p. 466.

¹⁰⁹ The Society of Jesus is divided into Assistancies (*Assistentiae*) and Provinces (*Provinciae*): the Italian administrative unit of the time included, from North to South, the *Provinciae Mediolanensis, Veneta, Romana, Neapolitana* and *Sicula*.

¹¹⁰ For more details, see our article on AHSI, *cit.*

¹¹¹ “più di trenta mie lettere”, ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 464 (Palermo, March 15, 1717).

¹¹² Fathers could become involved in support of an *indipeta's* decision, and frequently they took a position against it: several letters in the *Epistulae Generalium* were addressed to *indipeta's* fathers, with the Roman Curia trying to understand if there were specific reasons why the candidate should not depart (above all, on account of health issues). For the potentially complicated relationship between Jesuits and their fathers (spiritual and *secundum carnem*), see Adriano Prosperi – Il figlio, il padre, il gesuita. Un testo di Antonio Possevino. *Rinascimento*. (2014) 112-55; this theme concerning Jesuits in disagreement with their real fathers (specifically, the French René Ayrault, and his Italian counterpart, Luigi da Molin) is further developed in Adriano Prosperi – *La vocazione. Storie di gesuiti tra Cinquecento e Seicento*. Torino: Einaudi, pp. 170-87. See also, Miriam Turrini – La vita scelta? Appunti per una storia della vocazione in età moderna. In *Dai cantieri della storia. Liber amicorum per Paolo Prodi*. Ed. by Giuseppe Olmi and Gian Paolo Brizzi. Bologna: CLUEB, 2007, pp. 145-59, who underlines that “i conflitti tra padri e figli, tra famiglie, ordini regolari, istituzioni ecclesiastiche e statali attorno a scelte vocazionali sono uno dei luoghi nei quali cercare”, to better investigate the topic of religious vocation (p. 159); Turrini wrote about conscience, confessions and young Jesuits in several other articles. For an earlier general study of fathers and sons in the Early Modern period, see the now classic (but also criticized and somewhat outdated) Philippe Ariès – *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*. Paris: Seuil, 1960.

was instead absolutely convinced he was meant to be a missionary in the Indies: as for the destination, the only important thing was being sent far from Palermo. He specifically wrote: "Tanto Paradiso vicinior, quanto Panormo longius me abire video".¹¹³ That is why Malta, the island beneath Sicily and part of the Italian Jesuit *Provincia Sicula*, was not far enough: because his parents could reach him there too easily and thus summon him back every time they believed they needed him.

Ignazio managed in 1704 to receive the much-hoped-for official permission for the Western Indies, but his father intervened and "persuaded" Ignazio's superiors and the general in person¹¹⁴ to decide otherwise. As soon as Ignazio was informed about it, he wrote to the general describing himself as "terribly needy and afflicted" and "imploring", desperate since his Indian departure had been canceled due to his family's protests.¹¹⁵

In the following years, the Jesuit tried to "find the Indies in Sicily", but this was impossible for him, and he declared: "I'm waiting for the Real Indies".¹¹⁶ He became, however, a very busy and efficient missionary in his province, seemingly concerned only about these duties – even if he did not conceal his intention to periodically renew his petition for the Indies, especially after all his "domestic enemies"¹¹⁷ had died.

If we limit our investigation only to the *Litterae Indipetae*, we could think that Ignazio finally surrendered to the Roman decision about his future and found different but equally satisfactory meaning within his Jesuit calling. As mentioned earlier, however, thanks to the *Epistulae Generalium* we have the opportunity to rewrite the ending to Ignazio's story. During the following years, in fact, the general became worried about the Jesuit's excessive commitment to everything he cared for: the previous Indian missions, and the current Sicilian ones. In 1722, General Tamburini exhorted him to quieten: "Efforts cannot prevail over reason".¹¹⁸

¹¹³ ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 157 (Palermo, January 24, 1704). Ignazio ascribed this quotation (whose translation is "the further I see Palermo from me, the closer I feel to Paradise") to "our" Marcello Mastrilli (1603-1637). On this fascinating and ambiguous Jesuit missionary, see Ines G. Županov – Passage to India: Jesuit Spiritual Economy between Martyrdom and Profit in the Seventeenth Century. *The Journal of Early Modern History*. 16 (2012) 121-59.

¹¹⁴ The Marquis addressed several epistles to the general, who, with the same frequency, replied to him: the responses from Rome are quite numerous, but not particularly relevant because they contain mainly vague sentiments of gratitude or congratulations. In the case of Ignazio's license for the Indies, his family protested vociferously against his appointment, and articulated their displeasure in a letter to the general, now fortunately preserved in ARSI – Sic., 188, fl. 133 (Palermo, March 4, 1704).

¹¹⁵ "bisognevolissimo ed afflittissimo ... supplichevole ... intorno alla mia partenza Indiana", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 162 (Palermo, March 6, 1704).

¹¹⁶ "mentre procuro colle prediche, e colle Missioni di ritruovar l'Indie in Sicilia, aspetto d'esser consolato coll'Indie Reali", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 170 (Palermo, July 12, 1704).

¹¹⁷ This was how Ignazio referred to his family on more occasions: "miei nimici domestici", for example in ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 464 (Palermo, March 15, 1717).

¹¹⁸ "ella ben vede che non deve l'impegno prevalere alla ragione", ARSI – Sic., 50, C. 113r (Palermo, August 31, 1722).

Ignazio was profoundly disappointed with this recommendation: he probably thought the entire Society of Jesus (his local superiors, the general, his confrères) had never understood or appreciated him. How did he actually react? He took the *extrema ratio*, deciding to leave the Society of Jesus and move to another religious order: his decisions came “absolutely unexpected”¹¹⁹ to the father general, who was even more shocked to learn that Ignazio claimed that he conceived and ruminated upon this decision for at least twenty years. Tamburini probably understood that the reason for this crisis of vocation was Ignazio’s frustration about the Sicilian mission and, in the following weeks and months, tried to persuade him to wait and reconsider his decision: “Since I like to believe that you have already changed your mind about this rushed proposal, I assure you that it will remain forever cancelled from my memory, where only the virtues of your reverence and your merits within the Society of Jesus will remain alive”.¹²⁰

The disappointment and the pain for Ignazio was, however, too much, and he did not admit defeat until he received the “official permit” to leave the Society of Jesus, in a letter in which the general appointed the provincial with “all the necessary authority to allow you the hoped-for passage to another religion”.¹²¹ Tamburini concluded the letter with what we can read as a subtle threat: “I pray that the Lord bless you in this resolution of yours, in such a way that there will be no cause to regret it, while for my part, I will always have the consolation of having used all necessary means to keep you in the society”.¹²²

Ignazio entered the Society of Jesus in 1692 and, at the age of 47 (in 1723) decided to leave it: the fact that he had not departed to the Indies, after more than thirty petitions, and the unpleasant feeling of not being understood, probably came together in forming a grudge that brought him to his final decision.

Another Jesuit who experienced a similar disappointment was Francesco Maria Riccio, born in Palermo in 1693, who entered the Society of Jesus in 1709. In his first preserved *indipeta*, Riccio implored the general to be sent “out of this province” at the very least. He included in his reasons for this request the fact that outside his island he could be “more free and released from my relatives, who are

¹¹⁹ “Mi giunge affatto improvvisa l’istanza che Vostra Reverenza mi porge di poter passare ad altr’ordine Religioso”, ARSI – *Sic.*, 50, C. 136 (Palermo, October 26, 1722).

¹²⁰ “siccome mi giova crederla già pentita di una sì precipitosa proposta, così l’assicuro che resterà perpetuamente cancellata dalla mia memoria, in cui resteranno vive soltanto le virtù di Vostra Reverenza et i suoi meriti con la Compagnia”, *Ibidem*.

¹²¹ “tutte le necessarie facultà per accordare a Vostra Reverenza il sospirato passaggio ad altra Religione”, ARSI – *Sic.*, 50, C. 228 (Palermo, July 28, 1723).

¹²² “prego il Signore a benedire cotesta sua risoluzione in modo, che non se ne abbia a pentire, mentre a me rimarrà sempre la consolazione di aver usati tutti i mezzi per ritenerla nella Compagnia”, *Ibidem*. Ignazio’s story curiously did not end here, because we find in the following months several letters the father general addressed to him. It appears from these documents that Ignazio had second thoughts about his decision, but Tamburini was not so keen on them.

many and in many places and torment me all day".¹²³ As with Ignazio, he saw his natural family as an obstacle to fulfilling his personal religious vocation.

Furthermore, Riccio felt that his desire for India was "obstructed by this province", the same thing that he knew "many others experienced".¹²⁴ We can discern his frustration and helplessness in these words, the same emotions that a large number of Jesuits, especially from Sicily, seemed to experience during those decades (ca. 1690-1740). Due to the repeated mentions of this issue, it is possible that the *indipeti* were not overreacting or daydreaming, but that their Sicilian superiors, as a matter of practice, tried to keep their pupils for themselves.

Several months later, Riccio wrote another, quite embittered, *indipeta* to Rome: "After my repeated requests ... and because of the uninterrupted good hopes Your Paternity gave to me, I was quite positive that, at the right time ... I would have been sent to the missions".¹²⁵ Not only had his departure not been fixed yet, but Riccio became aware that two of his confrères, Fratel Carcione¹²⁶ and Fratel Andrea, had been chosen for the Western mission. He was not among the lucky ones: "[I], that since before becoming a Jesuit have felt this calling, and as a novice started writing to Your Reverence, and went on until now, as you can verify from your reply".¹²⁷

Riccio wanted to be sure that the general knew about his "big ... disappointment". Even if he tried to submit himself to God's will, he was begging him "deep with my heart, with my most warm tears, please, satisfy me, as you satisfied many others who were less ancient than me, in religion, and in this vocation".¹²⁸

Six months later, and for the third time, Riccio again submitted his candidacy: his "calling to the Eastern missions" was growing more and more, together with the "burning yearning and the desires"¹²⁹ that he had always felt for those places. He reminded the general, as a moderate reprimand, that he had received "grounded

¹²³ "fuori di questa Provincia ... più libero, e sciolto da Parenti, che, per esser molti, ed in più luoghi, tutto di mi infestano", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 329 (Palermo, April 11, 1716).

¹²⁴ "impedito da questa Provincia ... a molti è spesso accaduto", *Ibidem*.

¹²⁵ "Per le mie replicate istanze ... e per le continue buone speranze datemi da Vostra Paternità, haveva fatto concetto, che alla prima occasione ... mi consolerebbe intorno alle Missioni dell'Indie", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 359 (Palermo, July 20, 1716).

¹²⁶ Riccio was talking about Calogero Carcione, born in Messina in 1692, and who left for Paraguay in July 1716, but was thereafter sent to Quito. In 1717, however, the Jesuit died at sea. Hugo Storni – *Catálogo de los jesuitas de la Provincia del Paraguay (Cuenca del Plata) 1585-1768*. Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1980.

¹²⁷ "io, che hebbi fin dal secolo la Vocazione e da Novizio cominciai a scrivere a Vostra Paternità; ed ho proseguito sino al Presente, come lo testimifica una risposta da Vostra Paternità della data de' 4 Maggio 1716", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 359 (Palermo, July 20, 1716).

¹²⁸ "sconsolazione ... grande ... con tutto l'intimo del cuore, e colle più calde lacrime agli occhi, che si degnasse consolare me, come si è degnata consolare tanti altri meno antichi di me, e nella Religione, e in questa Vocazione", *Ibidem*.

¹²⁹ "vocazione alle Missioni dell'Oriente ... ardenti brame, e desiderii", ARSI – FG. 750, fl. 434 (Monreale, February 2, 1717).

promises, a long time ago¹³⁰ from him. Thus, it was not his fault if he was victim of the already known “holy envy” for his fellow Jesuits. As soon as he heard that “the pious candidacies of my companions” had been satisfied, he decided to write another letter and promise the general that “I will never cease to torment, so to say, Your Paternity, until you will destine me to the same fate you granted to others.”¹³¹

Riccio wrote his fifth and last, quite sympathetic (was he hopeless by then?) petition in 1718, underlining once again how he was disappointed and filled with “holy envy” since he was still in Sicily while his fellow *indipeti* were leaving Italy one by one. This was intolerable to him especially since the general himself had praised his candidacy and almost guaranteed him a forthcoming license to the Eastern missions, bringing to life “grounded hopes to be fulfilled in some near opportunity.”¹³² One could think that Riccio was deluding himself and not understanding what the general was telling him, but, thanks to the *Epistulae Generalium*, we have the proof that the Jesuit was simply reporting the general’s replies.¹³³

From the Sicilian *Catalogi Triennales*¹³⁴ of 1720 we know that Riccio studied and taught in the College of Messina¹³⁵ during the following two years, but something was probably amiss with him. The judgements regarding his

¹³⁰ “larghe promesse fin da gran tempo”, *Ibidem*.

¹³¹ “non lascerò giamai di molestare, per così dire, Vostra Paternità, finché mi farà partecipe della sorte, che ad altri ha concessa”, *Ibidem*.

¹³² “sode speranze di essere consolato in qualche vicina opportunità”, ARSI – FG. 751, fl. 31 (Trapani, March 25, 1718).

¹³³ For example, in 1717 Tamburini assured Riccio: “Non essendo molto lontana la congiuntura di mandar operarii alle Indie Orientali da voi sospirate, averò particolar riguardo alle replicate istanze del vostro fervore quando giungerà il tempo di far le spedizioni per quelle parti”, ARSI – Sic., 47, C. 183r (Monreale, March 25, 1717).

¹³⁴ From the *Catalogi Triennales* it is possible to know basic biographical data about every Jesuit in the world. These registers were compiled approximately every three years: the *Catalogus Primus (sive publicus)* provided general information, which, with little variation, listed: “Nomen et cognomen”, “Patria”, “Aetas”, “Vires”, “Tempus Societatis”, “Tempus Studiorum”, “Ministeria quae exercuit”, “Gradus in Litteris”, “Gradus in Societate”. Using not the complete names but only a number (“Numerus respondens nomini”, known to the superiors only), the *Catalogus Secundus (sive secretus)* analyzed these Jesuits’ characteristics even more deeply, recording their “psychologies”, personal attitudes and talents: “Ingenium”, “Prudentia”, “Experientia Rerum”, “Profectus in Litteris”, “Naturalis complexio”, “Ad quo ministeria Societatis habet talentum”. The *Catalogus Tertius (sive rerum)* registered practical information concerning every Jesuit house. On this source, see Cristiano Casalini – Discerning Skills: Psychological Insight at the Core of Jesuit Identity. In *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ways of Proceeding within the Society of Jesus*. Ed. by Robert Aleksander Maryks. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016, pp. 189-211; Kateřina Bobková-Valentová – Come elaborare la biografia di un gesuita? Rassegna delle fonti di registro dell’ordine, loro conservazione, accessibilità e valore documentario nella prospettiva di una sistematica elaborazione di un database biografico. *Bollettino dell’Istituto Storico Ceco di Roma*. 9 (2014) 111-45; José Manuel Díaz Blanco – Un sistema de información en la Europa del siglo XVII, los catálogos trienales de la Compañía de Jesús. *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*. 23 (2014) 341-69; Marina Massimi – Engenho e temperamentos nos catálogos e no pensamento da Companhia de Jesus nos séculos XVII e XVIII. *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicopatología Fundamental*. 11:4 (2008) 675-87.

¹³⁵ ARSI – Sic., 104, C. 73 for the *Primus* and Sic., 105, C. 73 for the *Secundus*.

qualities were not particularly positive, even if he had been a Jesuit for eleven years: *ingenium*, *iudicium*, *prudentia*, and *profectus in litteris* were “mediocris/e”, while his *experientia rerum* was described as *nulla*; the feature *ad quo ministeria Societatis habet talentum* was left blank: Was this by chance, or was it the precise intention of the superior who did not complete it?

In 1720, apparently two years after his last petition,¹³⁶ Riccio was once again assured from Rome that the general, as well as the father assistant of the Indies had “all the inclination” to grant him the overseas mission.¹³⁷ These ambiguous replies did not manage to convince Riccio, who, in 1723, was employed as teacher of grammar and humanities at the Jesuit College in Palermo.¹³⁸ Browsing the Roman letter books, we understand that in those years Riccio was involved in a “controversy” concerning a relic: the general became worried about it because the issue was keeping Riccio “in a tizzy”, and was raising the provincial’s “diffidence”.¹³⁹

There is no further information about the relic incident, nor extant evidence that Riccio’s rejection for the Indies was the underlying reason for what transpired. However, he decided to leave the Society of Jesus in 1724,¹⁴⁰ after five years (1714-1718) of petitioning for the Indies and fifteen years as a Jesuit.

At the age of thirty-one, the Sicilian Jesuit had failed to build close relationships with his local superiors: his provincial, as we have seen, was worried about his behavior, and in the previous *Catalogi Triennales*, the judgments about him were not very flattering either. Riccio probably felt disappointed, embittered, and maybe even deceived by the general, who, during the previous years, had promised him the overseas mission, and repeatedly, with one excuse or another, delayed his departure. His career looked to be that of a teacher or preacher, and Riccio was probably unenthusiastic about it, especially if compared to the more exciting, exotic life of a missionary in the Eastern Indies. Maybe all these considerations came together in his final decision, which, for us, is an example of definitive disillusion about what the Society of Jesus could offer a man at the beginning of the eighteenth century in Europe.

¹³⁶ No further *indipeta* written in the meantime by Riccio are preserved in the Fondo Gesuitico, nor were other replies sent by the general before the mentioned one.

¹³⁷ “Padre Assistente d’India ... tutta la propensione”, ARSI – *Sic.*, 49, C. 15 ([s.l.], April 15, 1720). It is unclear whether the Collegium Romanum was involved in the financing of this expedition because usually assistants or procurators were accountable for those types of issues. The general superior simply stated that “avendo il Collegio Romano mantenuto molti studenti di cotesta Provincia [Sicula], e mantenendone attualmente ... non sarà così facile, almeno per ora, il soddisfare a vostri desiderii”.

¹³⁸ ARSI – *Sic.*, 107, C. 112 for the *Primus* and *Sic.*, 108, C. 34v for the *Secundus*.

¹³⁹ The full section of this quoted text is: “Desidero, che mi scriva il suo sentimento sopra la controversia di una certa Reliquia, che siane in agitazione il Fratello Francesco Maria Riccio, entrato in diffidenza del Padre Provinciale, per mostrarsi quasi impegnato per una parte”, ARSI – *Sic.*, 50, C. 215 (Palermo, March/May 1723).

¹⁴⁰ From the *Schedario unificato, sub nomine* available in ARSI we understand that, on May 21, 1724, Riccio had been “dimissus e Residentia Regalbuti”; see *Sic.*, 170, fl. 184 for further information.

Conclusions

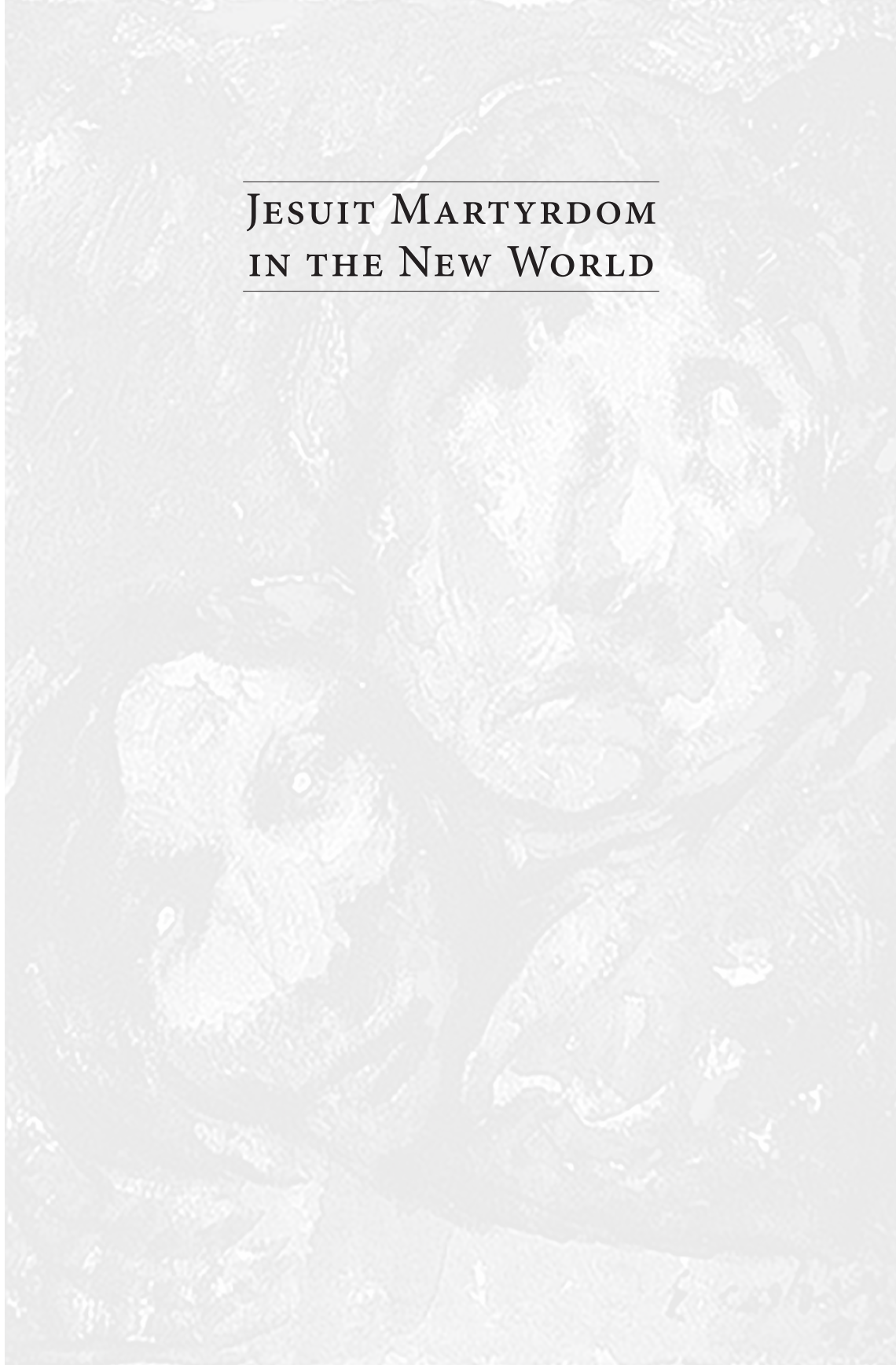
This article demonstrates how most of the *indipeti* declared their goal as accepting a mission where they would suffer, sweat, cry, shed blood, and possibly die as martyrs. They claimed to be totally indifferent to what the general would decide for their future, but they were, in fact, usually very keen to leave as soon, and go as far, as possible.

They described in their *Litterae Indipetae* how they understood their lives as missionaries, and their accounts were filled with suffering – physical as well as moral. Jesuits knew they had to adapt to a completely different reality, eat different types of food, deal with new people and cultures, study unfamiliar languages, and learn everything *ex novo*. As for physical pain, the *indipeti* were aware that many missionaries never reached their destination and died en route. This was caused by being shipwrecked, from the pestilence onboard, encounters with pirates, and so forth. Others passed away soon after their arrival, victims of illnesses unknown in Europe, or due to excessive, exhaustive efforts. Additionally, only in several overseas missions was the population keen to convert to Catholicism. Indeed, usually the locals were openly and actively hostile: an already difficult situation could be even worse and be taken to the extreme. All these obstacles, however, were of no worry to these Jesuits: on the contrary, they were motivated to ask for the overseas missions, time and again. To lose life, or shed blood or tears, was what they expected and *wanted* to do.

We have seen, though, that these dreams became reality only for a scant few, because the Society of Jesus did not require many missionaries on the other side of the world: Europe needed them too. Most of these *indipeti* never left for the Indies and had to therefore face their disappointment of remaining in Italy, either in their original province or moving to other locations which were not as “exotic” or “savage” as they had hoped for. Usually they reacted by persevering with their requests until they were told they were too old to be sent overseas, and they had to finally acquiesce.

Some of them professed that being rejected motivated them to insist again, but others admitted that they were saddened and embittered by their brothers’ departures, resulting in what they called experiencing “holy envy”. When disappointment and frustration were too much to bear, some of them thus adopted their last resort, and left the Society of Jesus. This makes it difficult for historians to follow their traces, but at the same time keeps the subject all the more fascinating.

JESUIT MARTYRDOM
IN THE NEW WORLD



A MARTYRDOM NARRATIVE AS THE WAY OF DEALING WITH THE TRAGEDY OF THE HURON MISSION

JOHN STECKLEY

One of the great tragedies in the history of the Jesuit Order is the defeat of the Huron (a name imposed by the French);¹ or Wendat (the people's own name for themselves), the indigenous people that the Jesuits had their primary North American mission with, in their homeland of central Ontario in the late 1640s. Not only did it mean that the Jesuits' mission charges were dispersed out of their traditional territory, never to return, but it brought the death of five of the eight martyred saints of North America,² all of them members of the Jesuit order, all receiving their sainthood in 1930. The focus of this paper is on the three of the martyrs who were killed in Wendat territory,³ and how a martyrdom narrative was used to make the double tragedy of the Wendat, and the Jesuits appear in a more positive light. This double tragedy would give birth to saints who would intercede for the Wendat and the Jesuits in reaching the spiritual goal of eternal life in heaven, a victory for the Church Triumphant.

¹ John Steckley – *Words of the Huron*. Waterloo, ON.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, p. 23.

² The other three were killed by the same enemy, but at an earlier time, and outside of Huron territory. These were René Goupil, 1608-1642; Father Isaac Jogues, 1607-1646; and Jean de Lalande, ?-1646. The two without 'Father' before their names were *donnés*, people who gave their labour to the Jesuit fathers.

³ The other two were Father Charles Garnier (1606-1649) and Father Noel Chabanel (1613-1649), who died later than the other three, and in the territory of the Petun (Etionnontateronnon, "people where there is a hill, mountain"), western neighbours of the Huron, and people who spoke a different dialect of the same language as the Huron.

A Whole New World for the Taking

In the early seventeenth century, the northern part of North America held great promise for the political, financial and religious leaders of France. It offered the potential for lands larger than France itself. Wealth was there for the trading in the form of beaver pelts, which could be used to make felt for the large hats that were the fashion of the century in Europe. And for Catholic religious orders, it gave them hope that they could mold whole peoples in their religious model, so in numbers alone the faith would gain more than sufficient converts to outdo the growing Protestant churches in Europe and English and Dutch North America. And there was the possibility that, in making a new country in their religious image, a Nouvelle France could be a model that would inspire those of the old country to follow suit. Such was the project of the Jesuits in Nouvelle France.

The World of the Wendat

The world of the Wendat or Huron when the Jesuits came to their country was one of a people that were growing in number and influence. They lived between Lake Ontario to the south and Georgian Bay (part of Lake Huron) to the north, with many of their communities near the shores of the latter body of water. They numbered between twenty and thirty thousand and were made up of four affiliated tribes: the Bear, the Cord, the Rock, and the Deer. The first two made up the greater number of the people and had been in the area that came to be known as Huronia for centuries; the last two had only within a lifetime moved north into the territory.⁴

The keys to the people's success were twofold. One was that they grew corn, beans, and squash in large fields, enabling them to sustain population growth over the last few centuries. With the abundant fish in the area, along with fruit and some meat, they met all of their nutritional needs. The second key was the extensive trade network that they had established with their neighbours. This was fueled by their abundance of corn, which, as cornmeal, could be traded to their non-agricultural neighbours to the north, and could provide the carbohydrates necessary for the traders in paddling and portaging their canoes through the extensive rivers and lakes of the area. Trading goods included shells from the Atlantic coast for making wampum beads, tobacco from the related people to the west – known as the Etionnontateronnon (“people of where there is a hill or mountain”) or, to the French, the Petun (because of their trade in tobacco) – deer

⁴ Elisabeth Tooker – *Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 190, pp. 9-12.

hide for clothing, and furs/pelts of various species, including the beaver.⁵ They had trading partners to the east of them, which included the Algonquin and the Innu – known to the French as the Montagnais. This gave them ready access to the St. Lawrence River, by Quebec, where the French settled in the early years of the seventeenth century.

A close connection between French and Wendat appeared in the early years to be a win-win for both parties, so both groups eagerly pursued the trade. The Jesuits saw a bright future in this connection. The Wendat lived in stable villages that could number from one thousand to two thousand inhabitants, unlike their less sedentary neighbours, who lived by hunting and gathering. This would make it easier for missionaries to stay with the peoples.

A Dangerous World

It was a dangerous world for both French and Wendat. To the south, in what is now the United States, there were British and Dutch colonies that were competing in trade, religion and in colonization generally. Samuel de Champlain, the first governor of Nouvelle France, established Quebec in 1608. During the next two years, 1609 and 1610, as well as in 1615, encouraged by the Wendat and their allies, he attacked the enemies of those peoples: the Haudenosaunee (“they [masculine] build or extend a house”), known to the French as the League or Confederacy of the Iroquois. The Haudenosaunee were at the time a confederacy (sometimes known as a league) of five nations or tribes: from east to west, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca, who lived south of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River. They traded with the English and Dutch, but, unlike the Wendat, did not have positive links with their indigenous neighbors.

Champlain’s raids helped to establish an antagonistic relationship between French and Iroquois that would last throughout the seventeenth century. Examples of military action between the two abound, but two that are relatively well known were two devastating acts of aggression in 1686-7, led by the governor of Nouvelle France, the Marquis of Denonville. In 1686, under the guise of peace talks, the French captured some of the fifty traditional sachems or chiefs of the Haudenosaunee and sold them into slavery. The next year they attacked the Seneca, the westernmost of the member nations of the Confederacy.⁶ In part in retaliation, a group of one thousand Mohawk, the easternmost of the Haudenosaunee, successfully attacked (hence the colonially imposed label of

⁵ See Bruce Trigger – *Natives and Newcomers: Canada’s “Heroic Age” Reconsidered*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1985, pp. 164-225.

⁶ See William Eccles – BRISAY DE DENONVILLE, JACQUES-RENÉ DE, Marquis de Denonville. In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 2, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003. Accessed February 18, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brisay_de_denonville_jacques_rene_de_2E.html.

“massacre”) the village of Lachine on part of Montreal Island in the St. Lawrence River in 1689.⁷

The Jesuit Mission⁸

The first three attempts (1609, 1611, and 1613) the Jesuits made to establish themselves in New France as priests to the French failed, as did their efforts to establish themselves with the colonies of which they were a part. In 1625 they made a more concentrated effort with three priests, including Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Énemond Massé, and led by Father Charles Lalemant. This was directed more at the indigenous inhabitants of the land. Brébeuf, after a short stay with the Innu, stayed with the Wendat from 1626-9. The French were driven out by the English Kirke brothers, but they returned and with them the Jesuit missionaries, led by Brébeuf (named Hechon by the Wendat, who changed his first name “Jean” by adding a masculine prefix to make it a Wendat word) in 1633.⁹

It is important to note that the Jesuits were competing with another Catholic order for the Huron mission and for a prominent place in Nouvelle France. The Recollets (Récollets) were the competition. They were a reform order of Franciscans who, like the Jesuits, were founded in Spain in the sixteenth century. The group of merchants who financially supported the colonizing efforts of Samuel de Champlain preferred the Recollets to the more controversial Jesuits. So Champlain brought members of this order with him to the New World, and Recollect Father Joseph Le Caron travelled with him in 1615 to Huronia, and Le Caron returned with Father Nicholas Viel and Brother Gabriel Sagard in 1623-4. One small sign of the rivalry between the two Catholic orders is linguistic. Sagard wrote a French-Wendat dictionary/phrasebook, that was published in 1632 along with Champlain’s works. None of the Jesuit linguistic efforts show the slightest sign of their authors having read Sagard’s work, as helpful as that would have been.

When the French retained control of Nouvelle France, Champlain was supported by the *Compagnie des Cent-Associés*, founded in 1627 by the powerful Armand Jean du Plessis, also known as Cardinal Richelieu, who himself supported Champlain’s colonial mission.¹⁰ Richelieu also preferred the presence of the Jesuits to that of the Recollets, so he banned the latter from coming to Nouvelle France, despite the Recollets getting papal approval for their return. The involvement

⁷ See Daniel Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: the Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992, pp. 150-65.

⁸ For a good introduction to this mission, see Bruce Trigger – *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, 2 vols., Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1976. Especially, for the early years, see chapter six, “The Quiet Years”, vol. 1, pp. 331-433.

⁹ John Steckley – *Huron Dictionary: Verb Roots and Noun Roots*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.

¹⁰ Bruce Trigger – *The Children of Aataentsic . . . , cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 455–56 and 467.

of politics in the mission in this way added a political component to the annual reports of the Jesuits (known as the *Jesuit Relations*; see below).

From then until 1650, there were fifty Jesuit missionaries who worked with indigenous people. The Jesuits were so optimistic about the future of this mission that in 1639 they established a self-supporting mission community called Sainte-Marie aux Hurons in the middle of Wendat territory. There they lived with their lay helpers (called *donnés*, as they “gave” their labour to the fathers) and could preach to the people, either by having the Huron come to them or by having the missionaries go to the nearby villages.

The Place of Brébeuf in the Jesuit Mission

It is important to emphasize the place of Brébeuf in the Jesuit mission. He was the first missionary to become fluent in the Wendat language, although it took him a long time to do so without significant errors.¹¹ The reports that he wrote (see *Jesuit Relations* below) in 1635 and 1636 taught the Jesuits who would later come to the Huron mission about the language and spirituality of the people, along with other aspects of their culture. He set the model for the French-Wendat and the Wendat-French dictionaries to come, the latter following the five conjugations of the noun and verb roots of the language based on the pronominal prefixes used in nouns and verbs. The pronominal prefixes are by far the most complicated aspect of the language.¹² The dictionaries that would follow can, without exaggeration, be considered among the greatest linguistic projects of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹³

Of significance, evidence of the Wendat’s respect for Brébeuf lies in that his Wendat name, Hechon, was passed down or resuscitated like other Wendat names twice to Jesuit linguistic leaders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Father Pierre Chaumonot, and Father Daniel Richer).¹⁴ I currently bear this name.

The Place of Father Gabriel Lalemant in the Huron Mission

Father Gabriel Lalemant followed the footsteps of two of his uncles, both of whom would become provincial superiors of the Jesuit missions in New France. The first of the two to hold that position was Father Charles Lalemant. The second was Jérôme Lalemant, who spent several years as the superior of the Huron

¹¹ John Steckley – *Words of the Huron ...*, *cit.*

¹² *Ibidem.*

¹³ For a look at what might be the oldest surviving French-Wendat dictionary written by the Jesuits, see John Steckley – *The First French-Huron Dictionary by Father Jean de Brébeuf and His Jesuit Brethren*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010.

¹⁴ See John Steckley – *Huron Dictionary ...*, *cit.*

mission, leading the founding of Sainte-Marie aux Hurons (Saint Marie among the Hurons) in 1639. From 1645-50 he was the provincial superior. Great things were expected of their nephew. Gabriel Lalemant crossed the Atlantic to New France in 1646 and travelled to and joined the Huron mission in September 1648.

He seemed to have earned the early respect of the Wendat. This is suggested in the fact that they gave him the name *Hatironta* (usually written as Atironta), meaning “he draws or attracts”.

This was a name of great significance among the people. It belonged to the Deer clan (meaning that he was adopted into that clan) and was the name of the first Wendat leader who made firm contact with the French.¹⁵

A Dangerous Situation Escalates

As the 1640s marched on, the Haudenosaunee began to be more and more successful in their raids upon the Wendat. By 1649-50, they had driven the Wendat and the Jesuit missionaries out of the Wendat’s homeland. The Jesuits themselves burned down the wooden walls of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons. The leading figure in the mission, Father Jean de Brébeuf, was killed in a Wendat village close to Sainte-Marie, and along with him, Father Gabriel Lalemant.

We know most of this history from the annual reports known as the *Jesuit Relations*. These were documents sent to the leadership back in France, generally providing optimistic stories about how the missions were faring. These documents performed a kind of public relations function, ensuring that the mission would continue to be funded and politically supported by high-ranking figures in France. In my reading of the Jesuit literature, the *Relations* appear to be unique in Jesuit missions. Because of their significance to the writing and understanding of the seventeenth and eighteenth century in North America, the *Jesuit Relations* were translated into English from 1896-1901 and published.

The Wendat people dispersed in three directions. Many became adopted into the tribes of the Haudenosaunee. Some went west, to become known later as the Wyandot, and would be missioned to again by the Jesuits in the eighteenth century at the newly founded French town of Detroit. They live today in communities in Michigan, Kansas, and Oklahoma. Some went east to the area of the main French settlement of Quebec, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. They would form a community there that exists today as Wendake (lit. “at the Wendat”).

The *Jesuit Relations* continued to be written for the rest of the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth century. The question being addressed here is how the Jesuits would write about the mission when and where their model work

¹⁵ John Steckley – *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014, pp. 31-33.

had been destroyed, the people they worked with driven out of their homeland, and two of their leading figures tortured and killed.¹⁶ Their writing focused on the value of martyrdom.

Martyrdom in the Jesuit World

The history of martyrdom among the Jesuits – an order founded in 1540 – began early. There were the four martyred Fathers Rodolfo Acquaviva, Peter Berno, Alphonsus Pacheco, and Anthony Francis, as well as Brother Francis Aranha in the state of Goa, India in 1583. Among the Twenty-Six Martyrs of Japan of 1597 (there were more during the seventeenth century), there were Jesuit Brothers Paulo Miki, James Kisai, and John Soan de Gota. In Scotland, Father John Ogilive was martyred in 1615. Two Jesuit priests were killed in Europe in 1619: Melchior Grodziecki in Slovakia, and Istvan Pongrácz in Transylvania. In Paraguay, among the Guarani people, there were three martyred Jesuit priests in 1628: Fathers Roque Gonzalez (born in the area), Juan Castillo, and Alonzo Rodriguez, all killed in 1628. Eight Jesuits were among the Forty Martyrs of England and Wales, from 1581 to 1679. That included Father Henry Morse, who was executed in England in 1645, an execution of which the Jesuits in New France would probably have been well aware.¹⁷

Jesuit Father Paul Le Jeune, provincial superior of New France from 1632 to 1639, wrote what I believe to be the most powerful presentation to be found in the *Jesuit Relations* concerning the desirability of martyrdom: when talking about the difference between the work involved with the then quite slow conversion of the Wendat, he wrote in his *Relation* of 1639:

[C]onsidering the glory that redounds to God from the constancy of the Martyrs, with whose blood all the rest of the earth has been so lately drenched, it would be a sort of curse if this quarter of the world should not participate in the happiness of having contributed to the splendor of this glory.¹⁸

Carrying on with this theme, he even stated that:

I do not doubt that many persons could be found who would prefer to receive at once a hatchet blow upon the head, than to spend their years enduring the life that one must every day lead here, working for the conversion of these barbarians.¹⁹

¹⁶ See Bruce Trigger – *Natives and Newcomers ...*, *cit.*, pp. 226-97.

¹⁷ For a good general history of this period and later, see Jonathan Wright – *God's Soldiers: Adventure, Politics, Intrigue and Power: A History of the Jesuits*. New York, NY: Image Books (Doubleday), 2005.

¹⁸ JR. 17, p. 13.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

The missionaries were frustrated by the “petty martyrdoms” of harsh living conditions, and the Wendat resistance to conversion. Their choice to come to Nouvelle France was not bearing the results that they wanted. Martyrdom was, in a way, a solution to this frustration. The questionable results of their work could be sanctified by martyrdom. It had become something of a Jesuit tradition.

Narratives of Martyrdom

In assessing the response by the Jesuits to the tragedy of the Huron mission, I will be looking at the first *Jesuit Relation* written after the tragic events of the spring of 1649. It was entitled *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Mission des Peres de la Compagnie de IESVS aux Hurons, pays de la Nouvelle France, és années 1648 & 1649*²⁰ or *Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS among the Hurons, a country of New France, in the years 1648 and 1649*.²¹ It was written by Father Paul Ragueneau, who was the superior of the mission to the Wendat,²² to Father Hierosme (Jérôme) Lalemant, who held that position before him, and then was the superior of the missions of the Society of Jesus in New France. The text was written at Sainte-Marie on May 1, 1649. In his introductory note to Father Lalemant, he wrote concerning the mission there:

It is a blessing for us ... that we have seen some of our brethren there shedding their blood and enduring torments, the cause of which may indeed enable them to pass some day for martyrs.²³

Thus began what I am calling the narrative of martyrdom that started to expand and flourish shortly after the death of Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant.

In his note of address written on September 8, 1649 to his superior, Father Claude de Lingendes, provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of France, Father Jérôme Lalemant did not use the word “martyr”, but did refer to “la mort glorieuse” (glorious death) of Brébeuf and of Lalemant, which had been preceded by that of Father Antoine Daniel.²⁴ The events leading up to their death, some detail of the way in which they were killed, and the way they bravely responded to both are all featured in this chapter.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, 34, p. 70.

²¹ *Ibidem*, 34, p. 71.

²² I played the role of Father Ragueneau in a slide show presentation made in the mid 1980s, both for the pictures, and his voice. This presentation is still (2017) shown in the theatre at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons before visitors go onto the reconstructed site.

²³ JR. 34, p. 81.

²⁴ JR. 34, p. 82.

There are six chapters in Ragueneau's writing. In the first chapter of the *Relation*, Ragueneau writes about Father Daniel, who was killed by the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois in July 1648, in Teanaustataie, southeast of Sainte-Marie, the primary village of the Wendat nation known as *Hatingueennonniak*,²⁵ meaning "they used to make cord for nets",²⁶ or Cord nation. He was one of the first Jesuits to enter the mission and appeared to have a gift with the language.

A key message in the chapter on Father Daniel comes from a vision that a colleague had of him after Daniel's death, one of two such visions:

The thought which most readily occurred to the person to whom he appeared was to ask him how the divine goodness had permitted the body of his servant to be so unworthily treated after his death, and so reduced to powder that we even had not had the happiness of being able to gather up its ashes.

The vision spirit of Father Daniel replied in the following way. There were benefits coming from his death:

Truly, God is great and adorable forever; he has regarded the reproaches cast upon this his servant, and, in order to recompense them in God, great as he is, he has given me many souls which were in Purgatory, – who have accompanied my entrance into Heaven and my triumph there.²⁷

In the second chapter, entitled "State of Christianity in these Countries, in the winter of the same year, 1648", Father Ragueneau spun a tale of triumph in a country where the Wendat were fast diminishing in villages and in population:

Everywhere, the progress of the Faith has surpassed our hopes – most minds, even those formerly most fierce, becoming so docile, and so submissive to the preaching of the Gospel, that it was sufficiently apparent that the Angels were laboring there much more than we.²⁸

Among the "victories" spoken of in this chapter are stories that feature children: a six-year-old boy, a five-year-old girl, and a fifteen-year-old girl, and how they opposed the traditional religious practices of their people. The writer was looking to the future. He also made careful note that there had been one thousand eight hundred baptisms during the last year, making a point of saying that that exceptional number included those baptized by the three martyred

²⁵ John Steckley – *Words of the Huron ...*, *cit.*, p. 32.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

²⁷ JR. 34, p. 97.

²⁸ JR. 34, pp. 101, 103.

Jesuits in and around the time that they were killed. The point here is that it was a chapter that stressed the positive. It was not a narrative of despair.

Chapter three, “Of the Capture of the Villages of the Mission of St. Ignace, in the Month of March of the Year 1649²⁹ (JR34:123)”, tells of the defeats in a number of villages, especially that Cord nation community known as “Saint Louys”, a short distance east of Sainte-Marie, where Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant were engaged in their mission.

Chapter four is entitled “De L’Heureuse³⁰ Mort du P. Jean de Brébeuf, & du Pere Gabriel Lalemant”.³¹ The translation of “L’Heureuse” in English is “the Blessed”,³² but I believe that “the Happy” is more apt. On the first page, Father Ragueneau expresses no doubts that the two priests were martyrs to their faith and there was “triumph” in their deaths. He was already putting forth arguments to his superiors back in France for identifying his colleagues as martyrs. When speaking of what those sent to the village found there when looking for the remains of the two, Ragueneau wrote that they discovered the:

relics of the love of God, which alone triumphs in the death of Martyrs.

I would gladly call them, if ... allowed, by that glorious name, not only because voluntarily they exposed themselves to death. ... But much rather would I thus call them, because ... hatred for the Faith and contempt for the name of God have been among the most powerful incentives which have influenced the mind of the Barbarians to practice upon them as many cruelties as ever the rage of tyrants obliged the Martyrs to endure, who, at the climax of their tortures, have triumphed over both life and death.³³

They were cast then by Ragueneau as soldiers in a religious war, soldiers who had achieved a significant victory with their tortured deaths. And I believe it can be suggested that Ragueneau was at least hinting at the eventual sainthood of his two colleagues when he wrote, a little farther on, after describing the nature of their torture:

But let us leave these objects of horror, and these monsters of cruelty; since one day all those parts will be endowed with an immortal glory, the greatest of their torments will be the measure of their happiness, and, from now on, they live in the repose of the Saints, and will dwell in it forever.³⁴

²⁹ JR. 34, p. 123.

³⁰ In *The Jesuit Relations* the word “Heureuse” was translated into English as “Blessed”. JR. 34, p. 139. It could just as well have been translated as “Happy”.

³¹ JR. 34, p. 138.

³² JR. 34, p. 139.

³³ JR. 34, pp. 139, 141.

³⁴ JR. 34, p. 149.

To further make his point to the readers in authority back in France and Rome, that sacrificing his life for the cause was what Father Lalemant wished for, Ragueneau included in the chapter seven statements taken from his writing:

I cannot grudge to the public a private writing from his hand, which I found after his death, concerning the motives which he had had, for so ardently desiring occupation in these Missions. Here are his own words.³⁵

While Lalemant does not directly say in these quotations that he wished to be a martyr, he does so in the flowery speech of his trade and time. He writes about wishing to abandon what Jesus abandoned, including life (statement one); that he wished to make “burnt offerings of myself”³⁶ (statement two); that to protect his family from “blaspheming” in any way, he would be willing to “be for them the victim”³⁷ (statement four); and that he “sacrificed” himself for the “Barbarians”³⁸ (statement five).

Lalemant follows these statements with his conclusions that:

Such are the motives which had animated his zeal to come and die with us in the midst of this barbarism.³⁹

In Lalemant’s next chapter, entitled “Some Remarks on the Life of Father Jean de Brébeuf”, the longest one in that *Relation*, he would look to the writings of Brébeuf for the same purpose. Lalemant comments that in Brébeuf’s later writings:

I see nothing more frequent in his memoirs than the desires which he had to die for the glory of Jesus Christ, – desires which continued with him eight or ten days in succession. Finally, wishing to become a burnt-offering, and a victim consecrated to death, and in order to anticipate more holily the happiness of the martyrdom which was awaiting him, he devoted himself to it in a vow which he conceived in these terms.⁴⁰

In the words that follow Brébeuf refers to “the grace of martyrdom.”⁴¹ In another quotation from Brébeuf’s writings, this time from his eight-day-long Spiritual Exercises, a Jesuit practice, in 1640, Lalemant quotes Brébeuf as saying:

³⁵ JR. 34, p. 151.

³⁶ JR. 34, p. 151. The French translation is “holocausts”. JR 34, p. 152.

³⁷ JR. 34, p. 153.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ JR. 34, p. 155.

⁴⁰ JR. 34, p. 165.

⁴¹ JR. 34, p. 167.

Two days in succession, I have felt in me a great desire for martyrdom, and for enduring all the torments which the Martyrs have suffered.⁴²

Ragueneau ends the chapter with a telling statement: “His martyrdom took place on the 16th day of March in the current year, 1649”.⁴³ For him, it could not be seen or articulated any other way.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Jesuits in New France, as embodied by Father Paul Ragueneau in his *Relation* (1649), immediately following the tragic overthrow of the Wendat people from their land, as well as the martyred death of three priests, the most prominent being Father Jean de Brébeuf, dealt with tragedy by articulating a narrative of martyrdom to cope with their great loss and defeat.

This narrative had begun before these priests were killed. This was in part because the Jesuit writers could see that their mission was collapsing, and that martyrdom was a distinct possibility in the near future. It was also due in part to the order having experienced since the late sixteenth century a series of martyred deaths of their members. It was a signature spiritual story that helped them cope with their near complete failure in the physical realm.

I would be remiss at this point if I did not at least mention Emma Anderson’s *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*,⁴⁴ in which she looks at all eight North American martyrs, all of whom were Jesuit priests or lay helpers, and discusses how the story of their martyrdom rose to have a profound influence on the development of New France, Quebec, and the Catholic Church in North America over the centuries that followed. She makes the important point that the narrative of martyrdom was restricted to the newcomers and not Wendat Christians. In some of my earlier works I make a similar argument concerning the slow recognition of the martyrdom of Joseph Chihoatenhwa (“He comes from afar”), a Wendat Christian possibly killed by his own people for his faith,⁴⁵ and of Kateri Tekakwitha,⁴⁶ only recently canonized (2012).

⁴² JR. 34, p. 189.

⁴³ JR. 34, p. 195.

⁴⁴ Emma Anderson – *The Death and Afterlife of the North American Martyrs*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.

⁴⁵ John Steckley 1992 – *Untold Tales: Three 17th Century Huron*. Toronto: Associated Heritage Publishing, 1992.

⁴⁶ John, Steckley – *Beyond Their Years: Five Native Women’s Stories*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1999.

JESUIT MISSIONARIES' SUFFERING AND DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE NEUE WELT-BOTT

PÄIVI RÄISÄNEN-SCHRÖDER

Introduction¹

In the early modern Jesuit context, missions, martyrdom, and suffering are so closely interlinked that the willingness to suffer or even die for the glory of God has been singled out as a hallmark of the Jesuit missionary.² Admittedly, many put themselves in real danger, especially on the untamed mission frontiers, and the Society of Jesus made sure to commemorate the blood spilled in its service. Narrative and visual depictions of Jesuit martyrs abounded in the wake of the post-Tridentine revival of Catholicism and Catholic martyrs. Within the order, martyrs formed an inspiring template on which to model one's own life.³ As Ulrike Strasser has noted, martyrdom had a double boost effect on Jesuit missions in that it "promised both a rich harvest of new Christians and new missionaries". She continues:

¹ This article has been written with the financial support of the Academy of Finland (project number 1275246).

² Peter Downes – Die Wahrnehmung des Anderen: Jesuitenmissionare und Indios im Neuen Welt-Bott. In *Sendung – Eroberung – Begegnung: Franz Xaver, die Gesellschaft Jesu und die katholische Weltkirche im Zeitalter des Barock*. Ed. by Johannes Meier. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005, pp. 348-49.

³ See Liam Matthew Brockey – *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 2007, pp. 6, 227; Luke S. Clossey – *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 119-21, 125; Aliocha Maldavsky – Pedir las Indias: Las cartas *indipetae* de los jesuitas europeos, siglos XVI–XVIII, ensayo historiográfico. *Relaciones: Estudios de historia y sociedad*. 33 (2012) 164.

As the most heroic form of death, [martyrdom] 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.⁴

Similarly, Renato Cymbalista has argued in his study of Jesuit martyrdom in sixteenth- and early seventeenth- century Portuguese America that martyrdom in fact was part and parcel of "the argument of Jesuits who were already in Brazil, calling for companions" in the overseas missions.⁵ The reward for the missionaries' suffering, pain, and martyrdom would be nothing less than eternal life and the soul's salvation.

The religious framework for experiencing and discussing Jesuit suffering, a classic Christian *topos*, is obvious. However, reading Jesuit stories of suffering from a history of emotions point of view, as I will do below, sheds light on the complex relationship between religion and emotions in the early modern era that is beginning to be explored in more depth by scholars.⁶ In this article, I will provide a tentative reading of German-language accounts from global Jesuit missions from the perspective of suffering, martyrdom, and disappointment, guided by insights of recent research into the history of early modern emotions. For easier communication, I will use the term "emotions" as shorthand for early

⁴ Ulrike Strasser – Copies With Souls: The Late Seventeenth-century Marianas Martyrs, Francis Xavier, and the Question of Clerical Reproduction. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 2 (2015) 560. See also Aliocha Maldivsky – Pedir las Indias ..., *cit.*, pp. 157, 163.

⁵ Renato Cymbalista – The Presence of the Martyrs: Jesuit Martyrdom and the Christianisation of Portuguese America. *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*. 10 (2010) 292.

⁶ For recent works on Jesuit emotions, see Raphaële Garrod – Conceptual Eclecticism and Ethical Prescription in Early Modern Jesuit Discourses about Affects: Suárez and Caussin on Maternal Love. In *Ordering Emotions in Europe 1100-1800*. Ed. by Susan Broomhall. Leiden: Brill, 2015, pp. 180-96; Yasmin Haskell – Early Modern Anger Management: Seneca, Ovid, and Lieven De Meyere's 'De ira libri tres' (Antwerp, 1694). *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*. 18 (2011) 36-65; Id. – Suppressed Emotions: The Heroic Tristia of Portuguese (ex-)Jesuit, Emanuel de Azevedo. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 3 (2016) 42-60; J. Michelle Molina – *To Overcome Oneself: The Jesuit Ethic and Spirit of Global Expansion, 1520-1767*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013; Id. – Father of My Soul: Reason and Affect in a Shipboard Conversion Narrative. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 2 (2015) 641-58. There have been studies that focus on religion and emotion, but only relatively rarely for the early modern period and usually only within one religious group. According to Corrigan, theologians and religious scholars tend to take emotions for granted as a universal category and reflect too little on their historicity and variability. John Corrigan – Religion and Emotions. In *Doing Emotions History*, Ed. by Susan J. Matt. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013, pp. 143-62. For a first comparative approach in the context of the Reformation, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn – *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Eitler, Hitzer and Scheer have recently provided a sharp analysis of the interplay between Christianity and emotions from the perspective of modern history. See Pascal Eitler, Bettina Hitzer and Monique Scheer – Feeling and Faith – Religious Emotions in German History. *German History*. 32 (2014) 343-52.

modern affects and passions, although emotion as such is of course a more recent concept.⁷

I draw from the German-language Jesuit periodical *Der Neue Welt-Bott* (“The New World-Messenger”), which appeared in print from 1726 to 1758. Similar to the seventeenth-century Jesuit accounts from New France that were distributed in the well-known *Relations*, or the French Jesuit periodical *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, the *Neue Welt-Bott* is a rich blend of different literary genres such as travel accounts, ethnographic descriptions, and scientific treatises, but also hagiography, martyr stories, and confessional writings.⁸ It assembled over eight hundred individual accounts by missionaries active in the Americas and Asia, with a special emphasis on China and Paraguay. While the old Chinese civilization can be seen as an “anti-topos to the missionary fields of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies,”⁹ it was Paraguay with its successful reductions more than any other mission that represented both the merits and sacrifices – indeed, the martyrdom – of the Jesuit enterprise in the accounts of the *Neue Welt-Bott*. Consequently, the harsher the public critique against the Society grew in the eighteenth century, the more the *Neue Welt-Bott* praised Paraguay.¹⁰ The emotional dimension of the Jesuit mission project is thus reflected already in the general composition of the publication.¹¹

Some of the material had been published before, mainly in the French *Lettres*, while other texts were written and sent directly to the *Neue Welt-Bott* editor in

⁷ Jan Plamper – *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 10-12. The most influential interpretations of affects and passions go back to Augustine and Thomas of Aquinas, who, to put it very simply, viewed affects as a positive movement of the soul towards God, while passions described movement in the opposite direction, away from God. Thomas Dixon – *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 54-56. On the much-criticized ahistorical projection of modern concepts and emotions to the past, see, for example, the discussion in Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions ...*, *cit.*, pp. 20-25.

⁸ Allan Greer – *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-century North America*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000, pp. 14-15; Bernd Hausberger – El padre Joseph Stöcklein o el arte de inscribir el mundo a la fe. In *Desde los confines de los imperios ibéricos: Los jesuitas de habla alemana en las misiones americanas*. Ed. by Karl Kohut. Frankfurt/M.: Vervuert, 2007, pp. 633-47.

⁹ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia – Jesuit Foreign Missions: A Historiographical Essay. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 1 (2014) 63.

¹⁰ Galaxis Borja González – Jesuitenautoren und Amerikaschriften im alten Reich (18. Jh.) In *Expansion und Gefährdung: Amerikanische Mission und europäische Krise der Jesuiten im 18. Jahrhundert*. Ed. by Rolf Decot. Mainz: Zabern, 2004, pp. 74-75; Id. – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung über die Neue Welt: Zur Veröffentlichungs-, Verbreitungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte jesuitischer Americana auf dem deutschen Buchmarkt im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011, pp. 145-49; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia – Jesuit Foreign Missions ..., *cit.*, p. 49.

¹¹ On the role of emotions in early modern missions as a burgeoning field of historical research, see, with further references, Jacqueline Van Gent and Spencer E. Young – Introduction: Emotions and Conversion. *Journal of Religious History*. 39 (2015) 461-67; Jacqueline Van Gent – The Burden of Love: Moravian Conversions and Emotions in Eighteenth-Century Labrador. *Journal of Religious History*. 39 (2015) 557-74.

southern Germany/Austria. The new material consisted mainly of accounts written by German-speaking missionaries who wanted to tell their stories alongside those already circulating in print. On the German book market, the work was valued especially for its news from South America.¹² However, I would like to emphasize that the *Neue Welt-Bott* also testified to the intensified martyr cultures of post-Reformation Christianity in a global context, contributing to the distribution of Catholic martyr stories and role models from around the world.¹³

The *Neue Welt-Bott* was aimed at a double audience in Europe: those within or close to the order, including potential donors and future missionaries, and the broader, educated reading public beyond the confessional divide.¹⁴ In the production process, the role of the editor was central. Not only was he responsible for the choice of accounts to be included, but he also enjoyed great freedom to abridge, merge, and comment on the individual texts.¹⁵ On the whole, the *Neue Welt-Bott* allows an analysis of the Jesuits' worldwide communication networks and practices in a single case study. Although the work has long been known to researchers, it still yields numerous possibilities for fresh insights.¹⁶

Mapping Jesuit emotions

In his 1726 preface to the reader, the first editor of the *Neue Welt-Bott*, Joseph Stöcklein (1676-1733), linked the Jesuits' missionary work to two predominant emotions, namely "consolation and misery" (*Trost und Elend*).¹⁷ In his short

¹² Galaxis Borja González – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung ...*, *cit.*, pp. 149-51.

¹³ Brad S. Gregory – *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 250-54; Ulrike Strasser – *Copies With Souls ...*, *cit.*, pp. 569, 573-77. On the global orientation of the Society of Jesus, see also Luke S. Clossy – *Salvation and Globalization ...*, *cit.* For indigenous views on and adaptations of Jesuit martyrdom, see Renato Cymbalista – *The Presence of the Martyrs ...*, *cit.*, in which Cymbalista argues that the Indians in Portuguese America associated martyrs with warriors and prophets – interpretations that the Jesuit missionaries readily applied in their attempted dialogue with the locals.

¹⁴ Galaxis Borja González – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung ...*, *cit.*, p. 136. See also Ronnie Po-chia Hsia – *Jesuit Foreign Missions ...*, *cit.*, p. 49.

¹⁵ Galaxis Borja González – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung ...*, *cit.*, pp. 132-34.

¹⁶ With further references to historiography, see the most important recent studies on the *Neue Welt-Bott*, Galaxis Borja González – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung ...*, *cit.*, pp. 124-45; Renate Dürr – *Der 'Neue Welt-Bott' als Markt der Informationen? Wissenstransfer als Moment jesuitischer Identitätsbildung*. *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*. 34 (2007) 441-66; Id. – *Wissen als Erbauung – zur Theatralität der Präsentation von Wissen aus aller Welt im Neuen Welt=Bott*. In *Theatralität von Wissen in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Ed. by Nikola Roßbach and Constanze Baum. Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2013. [Accessed 5 June 2017] http://diglib.hab.de/ebooks/ed000156/id/ebooks_ed000156_article11/start.htm.

¹⁷ *Der Neue Welt-Bott* (hereafter: NWB) I:1, II. Absatz, Allgemeine Vorrede des Verfassers über dieses gantze Werck [no page numbers]. On the similar emotional cluster of consolation, resolution, and joy, often found among the *indipetae* letters and lists of newly appointed missionaries, see Charlotte de Castelneau-Estoile – *Élection et vocation: Le choix de la mission dans la province jésuite du Portugal à la fin du XVIIe*

introductory notes to individual accounts, Stöcklein further mapped the emotional territory of the missions. Consolation and misery played a significant role here too. Consolation was understood by the Jesuits as an emotion or activity grounded in meditation and prayer where the believer achieved a state of “inner happiness” or illumination through his or her contact with the Almighty.¹⁸ In connection with successful conversions, joy and hope were added to this repertoire of feelings.¹⁹ This is in line with the observation of Renate Dürr that a constituent feature of the stories assembled in the *Neue Welt-Bott* is exactly their emotionality and that the missionaries’ narratives are especially laden with expressions of fear and joy.²⁰

How do we make sense of these past and narrativized emotions? The history of emotions is currently a prospering field of inquiry. A recent trend has been to regard emotions as socially constructed – and therefore relational, binding or dividing people. Such an understanding of emotions directs our gaze towards power relations and hierarchies of difference in the given historical, social, and political context. Emotions, although felt in an actual human body, were experienced and expressed in relation to both the self and to others, or within “emotional communities”, to quote the concept coined by Barbara Rosenwein.²¹ Moreover, as Susan Broomhall has argued, “emotions arise as a result of a dialogue between one’s self and a reality or world beyond” and by doing this, “assist in defining, refining and highlighting individual identity”.²² Specifically in regard to the emotionality of missionary encounters, Jacqueline Van Gent and Spencer Young have underlined that emotions actively “do things”. Furthermore, “their appearance in historical sources can be investigated in various ways. For example, they can function as rules dictating norms of acting; they help shape the self; and they can express, and even create, power relations”.²³

siècle. In *Missions religieuses modernes: Notre lieu est le monde*. Ed. by Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Vincent Bernard. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2007, pp. 30-31; Ines G. Županov – Passage to India: Jesuit Spiritual Economy between Martyrdom and Profit in the Seventeenth Century. *Journal of Early Modern History*. 16 (2012) 127.

¹⁸ J. Michelle Molina – *To Overcome Oneself ...*, *cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁹ See, for example, Stöcklein’s introduction to the letters of Franz Xaver Zephyris in 1727 and 1728. NWB III:17 (no. 389) 99, (no. 390) 108.

²⁰ Renate Dürr – *Wissen als Erbauung ...*, *cit.*, ch. 2.2 [no page numbers]. See also Jacqueline Van Gent – *The Burden of Love ...*, *cit.*, p. 556. For the relation between religion and fear, as one of the more studied emotions, see Pascal Eitler, Bettina Hitzer and Monique Scheer – *Feeling and Faith ...*, *cit.*, p. 346.

²¹ Susan Broomhall – *Emotions in the Household*. In *Emotions in the Household, 1200-1900*. Ed. by Susan Broomhall. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 10, 13; Barbara H. Rosenwein – *Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions. Passions in Context*. 1 (2010) 11-12; Id. – *Worrying about Emotions in History. The American Historical Review*. 107 (2002) 842-44; Pascal Eitler, Bettina Hitzer and Monique Scheer – *Feeling and Faith ...*, *cit.*, p. 211.

²² Susan Broomhall – *Emotions in the Household ...*, *cit.*, pp. 12-13.

²³ Jacqueline Van Gent and Spencer E. Young – *Introduction: Emotions and Conversion*, *cit.*, p. 463.

The accounts assembled in the *Neue Welt-Bott* open up important vistas into Jesuit emotional repertoires and practices of self-modelling. And yet, as a “self” is constructed in a continual process of negotiation and revision – shaped by the selection of memories, stories, and emotions “out of a range of available materials, including memories, but also narrative conventions, cultural stereotypes, myths, collective expectations”²⁴ – the “selves” displayed in the accounts of the *Neue Welt-Bott* have to be understood as reflections of this process. However, it is exactly these “complex and varied possibilities for being selves” that make the analysis fruitful.²⁵ That the publication of the *Neue Welt-Bott* was composed with an eye to the reading public does not hamper the analysis when bearing in mind the enormous cultural potential of emulation that was one of the motives behind the publication.²⁶

Hagiographic accounts of Jesuit martyrs are regularly integrated into the *Neue Welt-Bott*. However, not every life (or rather, death) story could be included, as editor Stöcklein pointed out in his preface. Those without a full account were still celebrated in the long lists of names of martyrs and other exemplary witnesses of faith placed at the end of each *Neue Welt-Bott* volume. The lists were usually followed by a short appraisal by the volume’s editor. For example:

How blissful would it be, if I were to depart in such a manner of, I will not call it dying, rather departing into eternal life, as these brave men have done, whose only desire it has been to travel to India and become, according to their wish, slaughter offerings (*Schlacht=Opffer*)?²⁷

Repeated textual contemplation of suffering was an integral part of the Jesuit missionaries’ complex emotional process of coping, self-modelling, and reassuring oneself about one’s identity and place in the world. Writing emotions was also a practice of relating both to other people and the divine – an aspect that may have gained in importance if the writer was in unfamiliar surroundings.²⁸ Martyrdom

²⁴ Geoffrey Cubitt – *History and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007, pp. 91-92.

²⁵ David W. Sabeian and Malina Stefanovska – Introduction. In *Space and Self in Early Modern European Cultures*. Ed. by David W. Sabeian and Malina Stefanovska. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012, p. 3.

²⁶ On the outspoken motives of publication, see, for example, the general preface by the first editor, Joseph Stöcklein. NWB I:1 [no page numbers]. See also Renate Dürr – Der ‘Neue Welt-Bott’ ..., *cit.*; Galaxis Borja González – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung ...*, *cit.*, pp. 127-28.

²⁷ “Wie glücklich würd ich mich nicht schätzen/ wann ich eines gleichen Tods/ ich sag nicht sterben/ sondern zu einem unsterblichen Leben abfahren sollte? aus wessen einziger Begierde diese tapffere Männer nach Indien gereiset und daselbst nach ihrem Wunsch zum Schlacht=Opffer worden seynd”. NWB I:1, Vorrede des ersten Theils [no page numbers]. For similar testimonies of Jesuits in Portuguese America, see Renato Cymbalista – *The Presence of the Martyrs ...*, *cit.*, p. 294.

²⁸ See also Renate Dürr – Der ‘Neue Welt-Bott’ ..., *cit.*, pp. 462-65.

and suffering formed central narrative spaces for discussing fundamental issues of Jesuit missionary existence, emotions, and identity.²⁹

All these factors may have held especially true for those German-speaking missionaries who penned the accounts incorporated into the *Neue Welt-Bott* corpus in addition to the translated French *Lettres*. Not only did they feel the need to recount their own experiences, thus inscribing their lives into the history of both the Society and Catholic Christendom; the setting of their missionary work in the front line of the colonial empires was also oftentimes a particularly harsh one. While Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Jesuits usually tended to their compatriots in the Latin American missions in established settlements, central European Jesuits were primarily sent to the less peaceful frontier mission stations, for instance along the Amazon or Orinoco Rivers. Faced thus with a “double culture shock”, missionaries from the German Assistency were left to deal with the strangeness of both Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits and the indigenous people.³⁰ Given the uneasy situation in the frontier missions, opportunities for suffering and martyrdom presented themselves to the central European Jesuits in abundance. They were, moreover, eager to present their hardship and successes to a wider audience in print, surely in part, as Galaxis Borja González has argued, to emphasize the achievements of the German-speaking Jesuits in contrast to others.³¹

According to Ulrike Strasser, reading and writing, and distributing the writings by way of print, turned out to be pivotal “mimetic operations and technologies for producing new saints for the Society in a global age”.³² Jesuits were trained to reflect and write on a regular basis, and putting their thoughts and observations on paper in the missions, was, as Paul Nelles has suggested, a selection process of “sifting through the barrage of experience in order that truly significant phenomena could be isolated and brought into focus”.³³ Discussing pain, suffering, and disappointment in these texts therefore has to be seen as a conscious choice of the writers, who, furthermore, framed their stories largely fitting the conventions of writing Jesuit mission reports.

Suffering is and has always been a central category of the Christian faith. The Bible alone stated different reasons for human suffering. In the Old Testament, world sickness and suffering were closely associated with sin, as Amanda

²⁹ On narrative spaces and emotions, see also Claudia Jarzebowski – ‘My heart belongs to daddy’: Emotion and narration in early modern self-narratives. In *Methods of Exploring Emotions*. Ed. by Helena Flam and Jochen Kleres. London & New York: Routledge, 2015, p. 254.

³⁰ Ronnie Po-chia Hsia – Jesuit Foreign Missions ..., *cit.*, pp. 58-59.

³¹ Galaxis Borja González – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung ...*, *cit.*, pp. 160-64.

³² Ulrike Strasser – *Copies With Souls ...*, *cit.*, p. 569.

³³ Paul Nelles – Seeing and Writing: The Art of Observation in the Early Jesuit Missions. *Intellectual History Review*. 20 (2010) 327.

Porterfield argued in her book *Healing in the History of Christianity* (2005): “God chastised Israel for her sins and turned her toward repentance with punishments of sickness, barrenness, disgrace, and misery”.³⁴ Although omnipotent and thoroughly good, as explained by the Christian teaching of theodicy, God could test the believer’s faith by making him or her suffer. Since the early Church, suffering was increasingly linked to Christ’s passion. Thomas Aquinas regarded suffering as a consequence of the fall of man, whereas the late medieval *devotio moderna* laid emphasis on the Christian’s inner suffering.³⁵

The Council of Trent relied heavily on Aquinas when it formulated, in its Decree of Original Sin, that due to the original sin inherited from Adam and Eve, Christians “share in the same penalties they suffered: deprivation of divine grace, psychological disorder, bodily suffering, and ultimately death”.³⁶ They are exposed to two kinds of evil: the evil of fault or moral evil (*malum culpae*) on the one side, and the evil of punishment (*malum poenae*) on the other, the latter signifying “the pain and suffering of our fallen condition”.³⁷ This classic teaching concludes, according to Nicolas Lombardo, that:

While God is never the author of moral evil, he is the author of punishment—not in the modern sense of punishment, which tends to see punishment mainly in terms of retributive justice, but in the ancient, holistic sense of punishment, which emphasizes the role of correction and guidance. God does not necessarily will each instance of suffering we experience under the aspect of punishment, let alone intervene to bring it about, but he did will to create a world where our sins have consequences and where we can therefore learn from our mistakes.³⁸

The Christian martyrs’ suffering, however, was not brought on by their sinfulness – quite the contrary. Pain was imposed on them from the outside, in the context of the missions, often by hostile heathens. Such suffering resembled the testing of Job and other biblical figures. In post-Tridentine Catholicism, contemporary martyrdom was, moreover, intrinsically tied to the venerable

³⁴ Amanda Porterfield – *Healing in the History of Christianity*. Cary, NC: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 5.

³⁵ M. Gerwing – Leiden. In *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias – Lexikon des Mittelalters Online*. [Accessed 5 June 2017] <http://apps.brepolis.net.libproxy.helsinki.fi/lexiema/test/Default2.aspx>. See also Thomas S. Freeman – Over Their Dead Bodies: Concepts of Martyrdom in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern England. In *Martyrs and martyrdom in England, c. 1400-1700*. Ed. by Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007, pp. 7-9, 20-21, 30.

³⁶ Nicholas E. Lombardo – Evil, Suffering, and Original Sin. *Oxford Handbooks Online*. Oxford Handbooks Online. 2016-04-07. Oxford University Press. [Accessed 23 February 2017] <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566273.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199566273-e-6>.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

lineage of early Christian martyrs.³⁹ As the “highest form of imitation of Christ”, martyrdom was “surpassingly valuable”, “eminently desirable”, and good, despite any (passing) physical pain.⁴⁰ Further, as Peter Burschel has argued, Jesuit martyrs were presented as highly proactive (and one might add, extremely masculine), heroic fighters for the Catholic faith, rather than as passive and submissive subjects in the face of death. Their main success lay not so much in their death for the right cause, but in the conversion of as many pagans as possible during their lifetime.⁴¹ At the same time, “it was in the very act of labouring for the salvation for potential converts that the Jesuit missionary worked out his own salvation”, as Luke Clossey has emphasized.⁴²

Mary Laven has recently reminded us of the strong corporeal dimension of Catholic and, therein, Jesuit spirituality. Jesuits embraced the traditional focus of Christianity on Christ’s bodily suffering and death, and celebrated in the Eucharist the transformation of Christ’s body into bread and wine. As Catholics, they had further developed a strong sense for physical pain and suffering through the exemplary lives of Christian saints and martyrs. Moreover, many Jesuits were themselves willing to suffer in the name of God up to the point of death and were prone to interpret even small ailments along these lines.⁴³

Suffering in the *Neue Welt-Bott*

The interconnection between mission, the missionaries’ suffering, and martyrdom is evident in the accounts of the *Neue Welt-Bott*. Suffering of the converts is much less of an issue; it is either not discussed, or, in some instances,

³⁹ Brad S. Gregory – *Salvation at Stake ...*, cit., pp. 277-81.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 279. See also Esther Cohen – The Animated Pain of the Body. *The American Historical Review*. 105:1 (2000) 45-47, 68.

⁴¹ Peter Burschel – *Sterben und Unsterblichkeit: Zur Kultur des Martyriums in der frühen Neuzeit*. München: Oldenbourg, 2004, pp. 281-82. On the passive suffering of martyrs as a gendered practice, see, for example, Nikki Shephardson – Gender and the Rhetoric of Martyrdom in Jean Crespin’s ‘Histoire des vrais tesmoins’. *Sixteenth Century Journal*. 35 (2004) 155-74; Megan L. Hickerson – Negotiating Heresy in Tudor England: Anne Askew and the Bishop of London. *Journal of British Studies*. 46 (2007) 774-95. On Jesuit masculinity, see Ulrike Strasser – “The First Form and Grace”: Ignatius of Loyola and the Reformation of Masculinity. In *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*. Ed. by Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Scott H. Hendrix. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008, pp. 45-70; Mary Laven – Introduction. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 2 (2015) 545-55.

⁴² Luke S. Clossey – *Salvation and Globalization ...*, cit., p. 121.

⁴³ On the other hand, when disadvantageous to their goals, Jesuit missionaries could also downplay the corporeal traits of their religion, as Laven has shown for Matteo Ricci’s catechism published for the Chinese market, which omitted references to Christ’s passion and shameful death on the cross. Mary Laven – The Role of Healing in the Jesuit Mission to China, 1582-1610. In *Embodied Knowledge: Historical Perspectives on Belief and Technology*. Ed. by Katharina Rebay-Salisbury and Marie Louise Stig Sorensen. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013, pp. 74-75.

the quiet pining of indigenous converts on their deathbeds is presented as a model for the European readership to follow in their lives.⁴⁴

The suffering itself could be seen as purifying, strengthening, and good. It placed the Jesuit sufferer in the long tradition of Christian saints and martyrs (and also Christ's passion) who had suffered for the glory of God and the Catholic Church. This also shaped the missionaries' views on their own bodily afflictions. In the words of Mary Laven, the Jesuit missionaries "enjoyed a strong sense of their calling to martyrdom, and they were quick to interpret even minor illnesses and indispositions – an arthritic knee or an injured foot – in this light."⁴⁵

And indeed, a number of Jesuits were martyred, although they usually died of something more violent than an arthritic knee. Yet it is significant that, in order to be honoured as a martyr, one did not necessarily need to die at the hands of hostile natives. The *Neue Welt-Bott* refers to cases of missionaries dying in the course of their travels or due to illness. There were also several examples of missionaries dying as result of nursing plague patients.⁴⁶ They were, all the same, enlisted in the *Neue Welt-Bott* catalogues of martyrs and other blood witnesses (*Blutzeugen*).⁴⁷ Sickness, suffering, and martyrdom thus form a very complex web of interconnected meanings and practices that is central both to the missionaries' self-image and self-modelling.

Narrated suffering was integrated into the different stages of a missionary's life and career, such as travel overseas, arrival and work at the mission station, and the prospect of a violent martyr's death at the hands of hostile natives. Renato Cymbalista has even proposed that already "setting off for the colonies was at times literally taken as martyrdom."⁴⁸ Indeed, it has been estimated that only about half of the outbound Jesuits arrived safely overseas.⁴⁹ Consequently, it was not uncommon for new missionaries to begin their first letters home with an account of their suffering or illness during travel or, once arrived in the new surroundings, because of the climate their bodies were unaccustomed to.⁵⁰

Georg Brandt was one to describe the torments of the outbound journey. He interpreted his voyage to Panama in 1686 as a rehearsal for possibly a later actual martyrdom, characterizing the eight-month journey over land and sea as a veritable school of suffering or martyrdom (*Marter=Schule*).⁵¹ The arduousness of

⁴⁴ See, for example, NWB I:7 (no. 169), 63-64.

⁴⁵ Mary Laven – The Role of Healing ..., *cit.*, p. 74.

⁴⁶ See, for example, NWB I:6 (no. 146), 97; NWB I:7 (no. 169), 66.

⁴⁷ See, for example, the list at the end of NWB I:8 for the first eight volumes of the work, NWB I:8 [no page numbers].

⁴⁸ Renato Cymbalista – The Presence of the Martyrs ..., *cit.*, p. 292.

⁴⁹ Liam Matthew Brockey – *Journey to the East* ..., *cit.*, p. 234.

⁵⁰ Ines G. Županov – Passage to India ..., *cit.*, pp. 133-34.

⁵¹ NWB I:1 (no. 27), 72.

the trip had tried the nerves of Brandt and his fellow travellers beyond anything they knew before, but Brandt coined this painful experience as a welcome chance to practise for his future as a missionary.⁵²

We express our childish gratitude to the creator of all grace for letting us take part in his suffering from the very beginning through these many crosses, and yet he miraculously sustained us with superhuman strength so that we may fulfil the tribulations that still lie ahead of us and follow those fellow priests from this world to the next, who succumbed to the misery, some of them during the journey, some of them here [in the mission].⁵³

To what extent is this suffering specifically Jesuit? It has been shown that early modern Protestant clerics preferred to frame their life stories as testimonies of pain and suffering. Some scholars have also suggested that Catholic life narratives rarely encompassed such “spiritual torments” as did especially the more radical Protestant groups.⁵⁴ The revival of martyrdom in the wake of the Reformation took different forms within Catholicism than in other denominations. For Catholics, martyrdom was an option only for a few select Christians – not a generic feature “of simply being a Christian” and continually living in mortal danger, as was the case, for example, for the continuously persecuted Anabaptists.⁵⁵

Although not necessarily officially canonized, post-Tridentine Catholic martyrs were, according to Brad Gregory, generally treated as saints who could act as intercessors for the faithful immediately after their deaths. The cultural and religious meanings of these new martyrs cut across different groups within Catholicism, such as “clergy and laity, elite and popular, devout and conformist”.⁵⁶ The interpretative context was also different from Protestantism. Catholic

⁵² However, most Jesuit travel descriptions focus more on the hardships of the journey after arriving overseas. See, for example, Johannes Meyer and Christoph Nebgen (eds.) *Jesuiten aus Zentraleuropa in Portugiesisch- und Spanisch-Amerika: Ein bio-bibliographisches Handbuch, Bd. 3, Neugranada (1618-1771)*. Münster: Aschendorff, 2008, pp. 84-85; Galaxis Borja González – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung ...*, cit., p. 89.

⁵³ “Niemals haben neue Missionarii auf ihrer Reise nach Indien mehr Müheseligkeiten/ als ich samt meinen Gefährten zu Wasser und Land mit mehr als menschlicher Gedult übertragen/ für welche wir dem Urheber aller Gnaden kindlichen Danck sagen/ daß er gleich von Anfang uns seines Leidens durch so mancherley über einander gehäuften Creutz theilhaftig machen/ und dennoch über menschliche Kräfte hat bey dem Leben wunderbarer Weise so lang erhalten wollen/ bis daß wir nemlich die Maß der uns noch bevorstehenden Drangsalen erfüllen und unsern Mit-Priestern/ so theils hier theils unter Weegs vor Elend verschmachtet seyend/ von der neuen in die andere Welt nachfolgen”. NWB I:1 (no. 27), 71.

⁵⁴ Lorenz Heiligensetzer – *Getreue Kirchendiener. gefährdete Pfarrherren: Deutschschweizer Prädikanten des 17. Jahrhunderts in ihren Lebensbeschreibungen*. Köln: Böhlau, 2007, pp. 12-13; David George Mullan – *Narratives of the Religious Self in Early-Modern Scotland*. Franham: Ashgate, 2010, p. 15.

⁵⁵ Brad S. Gregory – *Salvation at Stake ...*, cit., pp. 254, 287.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 252-53, 297.

martyrdom was not understood against the backdrop of apocalyptic battles, but rather integrated into the long tradition of the Christian church. Therefore, it was especially the Catholics who found inspiration in the examples of early Christian martyrs.⁵⁷

As Ines Županov has noted, the Society's official take on martyrdom was to "avoid rather than seek it out at all costs, ... especially in the overseas missions". In other words, "the desire for martyrdom was excellent, but the renunciation of martyrdom for greater efforts at learning languages and pastoral and missionary work was even better".⁵⁸ Therefore, quotidian forms of suffering may have offered a viable option for those seeking martyrdom but not wanting to overstep official ideals. This attitude is reflected in the words of the French Jesuit Father Le Gac, whose 1714 letter from India was included in the *Neue Welt-Bott*. Le Gac claimed to be prepared and willing to die at the hands of hostile natives, but deemed it even more important to stay alive and continue his work as a shepherd of souls in "this new Christendom".⁵⁹

This work was by no means easy, and entailed all kinds of practical, emotional, and spiritual difficulties. Sometimes, even though progress was clearly quantifiable (and the Jesuits did like to count the souls they had managed to save), a missionary could still be anxious. Joseph Neumann, for one, had, according to his own calculation, baptized no less than sixteen thousand people with his fellow missionaries during the six years he had spent among the Tarahumara in northern Mexico. Still he was not content. Instead, he complained,

we lead here a quasi-hermitic life (*gleichsam ein Einsiedlerisches Leben*), where all human consolation is lacking, even that comfort which the messengers of the Gospel would normally draw from their newly converted heathens.⁶⁰

The usual emotional strategy of finding comfort and strength from successful conversions now failed Neumann and his companions. The German *Einöde* (desert, solitude), or *einsiedlerisch*, translated here roughly as "hermitic", are terms that are used in the accounts to mark loneliness as well as emotional and geographic distance of the missionaries from their peers and family.⁶¹ In 1699,

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 272, 280-82.

⁵⁸ Ines G. Županov – Passage to India ..., *cit.*, pp. 154-55. See also Aliocha Maldavsky – Pedir las Indias ..., *cit.*, p. 167.

⁵⁹ NWB I:6 (no. 146), 98.

⁶⁰ "führen wir allhier gleichsam ein Einsiedlerisches Leben/ als dem es an allem menschlichen Trost gebricht/ auch so gar an demjenigen/ welchen sonst die Evangelische Botten ab ihren neu-bekehrten Heyden schöpfen". NWB I:1 (no. 32), 103.

⁶¹ See, for example, NWB III:17 (no. 389), 99. Joseph Neumann's sojourn in Mexico was an exceptionally long one, from 1680 to his death, at the age of eighty-four, in 1732. Luke S. Clossey – *Salvation and Globalization* ..., *cit.*, p. 136.

Wenceslaus Breyer went so far as to claim that he would not mind dying, but he would be much less eager to be transferred to the out-of-the-way mission station that was the working ground of his colleague Samuel Fritz, who encountered innumerable dangers along the river banks and thus was more than likely to end up as a martyr.⁶²

Sometimes the awareness of how the failures would affect the public image of the Society resonate in the accounts. Johann Haffenecker, too, was faced with little or no progress at all in his mission station in Surat, south-east India in 1658. Recently, the local neophytes had been relapsing into their old religious ways to such an extent that the so-far undamaged body of the “great Indian Apostle”, St. Xavier, had been showing signs of clear irritation by way of slightly “diminishing”. Johannes Grueber, a fellow Jesuit active in Surat three decades earlier, lamented his own pain at watching the setbacks:

Oh! How does it hurt a missionary to observe such things or to report them to Europe? A missionary, I say, whose only ambition it is to convert the heathens, when he has to see with his own eyes how vexatious Satan sows weeds among the good seed, and thereby at times his thistles spoil our seed in the ground.⁶³

Even when troubled, the Jesuit missionaries sought to present themselves in their accounts as loyal servants of God and the Society, and as fearless in their tasks, but they felt the heavy burden of their calling. Luke Clossey has characterized this as the Jesuits’ strong determination to “celebrate or do ‘the work’ of God”, both in a very literal, hands-on way, and in a more metaphorical way.⁶⁴ Hereby, the writing missionaries reproduced the ideal of the “new man” as outlined by the Society’s founder Ignatius of Loyola: in touch with his feelings, yet active, strong, and controlled – a man who spreads his message with words and reason instead of force.⁶⁵ And yet, the rhetoric of battle and soldierhood, not surprising considering Loyola’s military background, could also be employed to underline the scale and value of the missionaries’ sacrifices when comparing their suffering to that of soldiers.⁶⁶

⁶² NWB I:2 (no. 51), 68.

⁶³ “Ach! wie wehe thut es einem Missionario dergleichen Sachen zu vernehmen oder nach Europam zu berichten? einem Missionario, sag ich/ wessen einziges Absehen die Bekehrung dern Heyden ist/ wann er mit Augen muß ansehen/ wie bald der leidige Satan Unkraut unter den guten Weitzen säe/ mithin durch seine Disteln unsere Saat in den Grund verderbe”. NWB I:1 (no. 34), 112.

⁶⁴ Luke S. Clossey – *Salvation and Globalization ...*, *cit.*, pp. 123-24.

⁶⁵ Ulrike Strasser – *The First Form ...*, *cit.*, pp. 60-61. See also NWB III:17 (no. 390), 108-109. On Ignatian ideals among aspiring missionaries, see also Charlotte de Castelnau-L’Estoile – *Élection et vocation ...*, *cit.*, pp. 30-31; Aliocha Maldavsky – *Pedir las Indias ...*, *cit.*, p. 165.

⁶⁶ Military rhetoric, popular among young males in the war-ridden Europe of the seventeenth century, may have appealed especially to the younger Jesuits. Aliocha Maldavsky – *Pedir las Indias ...*, *cit.* pp. 167-68.

Disappointment as loss of consolation?

Less pervasive than the references to martyrdom are the cases in the *Neue Welt-Bott* in which the Jesuit missionaries express disappointment in their work and life in the missions. This disappointment is nevertheless noteworthy, as it undermines the narrative logic of legitimizing Jesuit activities and offering models for imitation. The ideal missionary might at times struggle with himself, but there was no need to put this in print for a potentially critical audience, especially if the story did not culminate in the overcoming of the inner and outer obstacles. It is in these instances where important disruptions in the narrative can be observed and analysed.⁶⁷ The feeling often emerged out of difficulties in mission work and could be expressed and interpreted both in spiritual and more mundane terms. However, the writers did not refer to disappointment with this perhaps too modern word. Instead, they described the causes and effects of this emotion: for example, the loss of comfort, confidence, or hope for the future due to slow mission progress, and desolate material conditions or hostile attacks by natives.

Although many young Jesuits were keen to be sent overseas as missionaries, some of them hoping to die a glorious martyr's death, others found themselves astounded and even disappointed once faced with the realities of the missions.⁶⁸ For instance, Anton Sepp and Anton Böhm, who arrived in Yapeyú, Paraguay in 1692, could not hide their surprise when they realized what practical multitasking awaited them. In their travelogue, published a few years after their arrival, Sepp, who seemed to be the main narrator, described how he found himself, much to his astonishment, advising the cooks in the kitchen and supervising the dishes.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ On the narrative ruptures, see also Jacqueline Van Gent – Emotions, Missions and Colonial Histories: An Epilogue. In *Emotions and Christian Missions: Historical Perspectives*. Ed. by Claire McLisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgård. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, p. 247.

⁶⁸ On the aspiring missionaries, see, for example, Liam Matthew Brockey – *Journey to the East ...*, *cit.*, p. 227; Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile – *Élection et vocation ...*, *cit.*; Luke S. Clossey – *Salvation and Globalization ...*, *cit.*, pp. 114-35; Mary Laven – Introduction, *cit.*, pp. 545-46; Ines G. Županov – Passage to India ..., *cit.*, pp. 123, 127. On the missionaries' often unrealistic ideas of their future work environment, see Aliocha Maldivsky – *Pedir las Indias ...*, *cit.*, pp. 155-56. Maldivsky even proposes that the Society of Jesus may have deliberately cultivated a vague, or at times even erroneous, picture of the overseas missions in order to reinforce the missionary candidates' vocational calling. *Ibidem*, pp. 163-64.

⁶⁹ Anton Sepp and Anton Böhm – *Reißbeschreibung wie dieselbe aus Hispanien in Paraquariam kommen: Und kurzer Bericht der denkwürdigsten Sachen selbiger Landschafft, Völkern, und. Arbeitung der sich all dort befindenden P. P. Missionarium*. Nürnberg: Hoffmann, 1697, pp. 223-25. On the publication context of this travelogue, see Galaxis Borja González – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung ...*, *cit.*, pp. 85-100.

Who in Europe would have thought that a missionary has to consider such things? I would not have believed it, and still cannot believe it, although I see it with my own eyes, feel it with my own hands.⁷⁰

Similar lamentations are recurrent in the *Neue Welt-Bott* accounts. Wenceslaus Breyer, for instance, drafted a long list of obstacles to the missionary work in the Amazonas region in 1699, including the necessity to be one's own shoemaker, tailor, and butcher.⁷¹

Personal shortcomings in mission work could also engender disappointment, frustration, and spiritual pain. Therefore, when Hieronymus Franchi described his gout that had seriously interfered with his work in China in 1710, he not only sought to explain his failure to deliver his written reports as regularly as was expected, but also to reassure his superiors that he would not abandon his duties – even if his health threatened to fail him. In fact, Franchi had been given extreme unction twice, but thanks to the prayers of his peers and those he converted (plus a paste of ginseng and “tiger claws” rubbed into his aching limbs), he finally recovered.⁷² He asserted that he was willing to continue his work, but also expressed a slight disappointment at not having died and become a martyr. Franchi had to conclude that he was still too much of a sinner to be granted such a “blessed departure” (*einen so seeligen Hintritt*).⁷³

Although the reporting missionaries went a long way to assure the Society of their loyalty, sometimes they nonetheless voiced disappointment or dissatisfaction with, for example, their mission station assignment. This may have reflected certain general trends among missionaries on the waiting list as to which areas were more desirable than others. Following Diego Luis de San Vitores's martyr death in 1672, for instance, the Mariana missions became popular and a good number of aspiring missionaries expressed their disappointment when sent elsewhere.⁷⁴ Japan was also known as a mission area with good prospects of becoming a martyr.⁷⁵ Such sentiments could be conveyed, for example, in the numerous *indipetae* letters

⁷⁰ “Und wer in Europa hätte ihme dieses eingebildet/ daß ein Missionarius auch auff dieses Acht haben muß? ich hätte es nie geglaubt/ und glaube es noch nicht/ sondern siehe es mit meinem Augen/ greiffe es mit meinen Händen”. Anton Sepp and Anton Böhm – *Reißbeschreibung wie dieselbe aus Hispanien ...*, *cit.*, p. 225.

⁷¹ NWB I:2 (no. 51), 71.

⁷² NWB I:5, (no. 108), 55-56.

⁷³ NWB I:5 (no. 108), 56. For a similar case from Portuguese America, see Renato Cymbalista – *The Presence of the Martyrs ...*, *cit.*, p. 294.

⁷⁴ Ulrike Strasser – *Copies With Souls ...*, *cit.*, p. 573.

⁷⁵ Luke S. Clossy – *Salvation and Globalization ...*, *cit.*, p. 125; Renato Cymbalista – *The Presence of the Martyrs ...*, *cit.*, p. 291; Aliocha Maldavsky – *Pedir las Indias ...*, *cit.*, p. 155.

surviving in the Jesuit archives.⁷⁶ At the same time, some restrictions applied as to what nationalities the Society would send to what missions. Jesuits from the German Assistancy were only rarely assigned to overseas positions in the seventeenth century, but the situation changed somewhat in the early eighteenth century so that especially between 1730 and 1750, Jesuits from the German lands were sent to faraway missions.⁷⁷

Sometimes disappointment grew over time when things did not turn out the way the missionaries had expected. Such a development was described in 1686 by Joseph Neumann, who, as mentioned above, was evangelizing among the Tarahumara people in Mexico. However, Neumann was careful not to include himself among the grumblers. It was other missionaries, who had

begun to fancy that they are losing all time and effort, or who bemoan that they have been deceived in their vocation, so that they painfully regret (*schmerzlich reuet*) their holy calling because they cannot reach their goal. That is why they are impetuously pleading with their Superiors to be sent to other missions, where they can be of more use.⁷⁸

The reason for the missionaries' frustration was the mission's slow progress or lack of progress altogether among the natives. Neumann delineates in colourful detail the reluctance of the Tarahumara to accept or stick to the Catholic faith. Similar sentiments were reported by Franz Xaver Zephyris from Peru in 1727. Here, it was not only the bad infrastructure, but also the many foreign languages a missionary could hardly master that made mission work tedious, not to mention the alleged "stupidity" of the indigenous.⁷⁹ Others, such as Wenceslaus Breyer, who in fact was a predecessor of Zephyris in the Amazon basin in the 1690s, described the difficulty of the missionaries' situation among crocodiles and hostile natives, but refrained from complaining and instead asserted that this was a cross he was

⁷⁶ For a historiographical overview of this material with further references, see Christoph Nebgen – 'dahin zillet mein verlangen und begierd.' *Epistolae Indipetarum der Deutschen Assistenz der Gesellschaft Jesu als Quellengattung*. In *Sendung – Eroberung – Begegnung ...*, cit., pp. 67-97; Aliocha Maldavsky – *Pedir las Indias ...*, cit.

⁷⁷ Christoph Nebgen – 'dahin zillet mein verlangen ...', cit., pp. 78, 92-95; Christoph Nebgen – *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee in drei deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2007, pp. 69-70; Aliocha Maldavsky – *Pedir las Indias ...*, cit., p. 156.

⁷⁸ "anfangen ihnen gänzlich einzubilden/ sie verlihren hier alle Zeit und Arbeit/ oder sich beklagen/ sie seyen in ihrem Beruff hintergangen worden/ mithin dieselbe ihres heiligen Vorhabens/ da sie dessen Zweck allhier nicht erreichen/ schmerzlich reuet/ daß sie bey denen Oberen um andere Missiones, wo mehr Nutzen zu schaffen wäre/ heftig bitten." NWB I:1 (no. 32), 103.

⁷⁹ NWB III:17 (no. 389), 99-108, esp. pp. 101-102.

willing and able to bear.⁸⁰ A further reason for sadness and disappointment may have been what Jacqueline Van Gent has described as the missionaries' emotional investment in their converts; humanly, there was more at stake in the complex relations between missionaries and converts than just proselytization or plain survival of the missionaries in foreign lands.⁸¹

However, the disappointment described does not amount to total disillusionment or despair (which, in effect, would have been a sin). Also, it is often an emotion that is ascribed to others rather than to the writer himself. This would imply that it was an emotional expression that was discouraged rather than acceptable. The writers concluded in effect that such setbacks were, when regarded in the larger scheme of things, minor issues. Galaxis Borja González's reading of the German-language Jesuit prints of the eighteenth century suggests that, in fact, nothing could subvert the master narrative of triumphant Jesuit missions in South America. González further interprets the travel account of Sepp and Böhm more as a depiction of pilgrimage than of martyrdom.⁸²

Many things speak for the metaphor of pilgrimage in the *Neue Welt-Bott*, too. Still, in my view, the aspect of suffering and martyrdom, presented as legitimizing arguments for the Jesuit enterprise and as models for emulation, as I have outlined in this article, should not be underestimated. When skipping through the volumes of the *Neue Welt-Bott*, the tales of martyrs – including images and the mentioned name lists – are recurrent. Also, Joseph Stöcklein himself, as the prime editor of the work, clearly identified suffering and martyrdom as a central feature of both Jesuit missions and his oeuvre. In one of his prefaces, Stöcklein describes in emotional tones the Jesuit missionaries' work as a ship sailing under a white main flag with a red cross on it, the "blood-coloured cross" signifying the pains of the "Apostolic laborers" (*Apostolische Arbeiter*) who have heroically "washed their clothes in the blood of the lamb slaughtered on the cross". The ultimate prize for the missionaries' many sacrifices, Stöcklein underscored, was salvation and eternal life alongside the holy apostles.⁸³ In this process, emotions played a vital role.

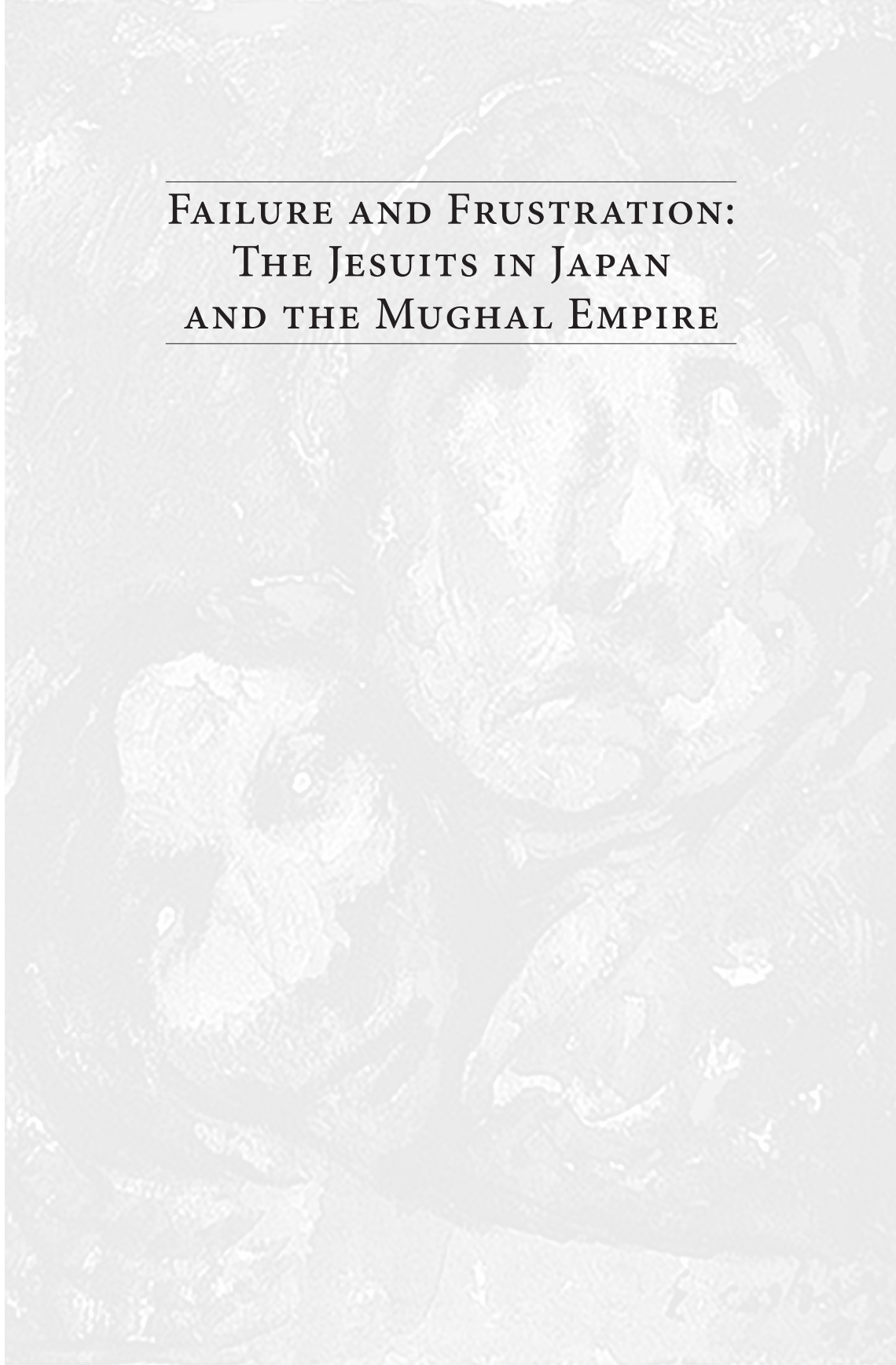
⁸⁰ NWB I:2 (no. 51), 66. See also NWB III:17 (no. 389), 99.

⁸¹ Jacqueline Van Gent – Emotions, Missions and Colonial Histories ..., *cit.*, pp. 246-47.

⁸² Galaxis Borja González – *Die jesuitische Berichterstattung ...*, *cit.*, pp. 92-93. On the mental connection between the Jesuit mission and pilgrimage, see also Esther Schmid Heer – *America die verkehrte Welt: Prozesse der Verräumlichung in den Paraguay-Berichten des Tiroler Jesuiten Anton Sepp (1655-1733)*. Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz, 2013, p. 32.

⁸³ NWB I:1, Zuschriift des Verfassers [no page numbers]. See also Bernd Hausberger – El padre Joseph Stöcklein ..., *cit.*, pp. 644-45.

FAILURE AND FRUSTRATION:
THE JESUITS IN JAPAN
AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRE



FROM A WATCHTOWER:
FRANCISCO CABRAL'S ENVISIONING OF THE FAILURE
OF THE JESUIT JAPANESE MISSION (1593)¹

LINDA ZAMPOL D'ORTIA

And would that God had willed that the Father Visitor, when he left Japan, had not allowed [the use of] the honours and pomp that he did; because if he had been more moderate, maybe things would have not turned out as they did, which I nearly saw from a distance. And for this reason and for other similar ones, I was much displeased with him at that time, because he could never convince me it was well arranged. Rather, it reminds me that I wrote to Your Paternity what I thought, and in a letter I said these words: "If a remedy to this is not found, I foresee the coming storm, as it were from a watchtower".²

Francisco Cabral and Alessandro Valignano

The letter from which this passage is taken is one of a number written by Jesuits stationed in India which had the common aim of removing Alessandro Valignano from office as the Society of Jesus's Visitor to Asia.³ Written mostly

¹ The author is grateful to the Harold S. Williams fund of the National Library of Australia, which supported the research for this paper, and to Will Sweetman and Ana Fernandes Pinto for the helpful comments. Biblical citations are taken from the NRSVCE; except where stated, all other translations are the author's.

² Francisco Cabral to General Claudio Acquaviva, Cochin, 15th December 1593. In *DI*, vol. 16, 1984, p. 547.

³ On Alessandro Valignano, see M. Antoni J. Üçerler – Alessandro Valignano: Man, Missionary, and Writer. *Renaissance Studies* 17.3 (2003) 337-66.

in 1593, these letters represent the peak of the intervention of senior Jesuits of the Indian Province against Valignano, whose role would be changed to Visitor of Japan by the end of 1595. This article will consider the attempt of a long-time antagonist of Valignano, fellow Jesuit Francisco Cabral, to propose a competing vision for the evangelization of Japan to the General of the Order, Claudio Acquaviva. It will analyse Cabral's rhetoric by looking at his use of the textual canon and of his lived experience to support his interpretation of the Japanese mission as a failure, and his bid for the change of missionary policy to overcome the occurring crisis.

The administration of the Jesuit Province of India at the turn of the 1590s was characterised by heightened tensions generated by an array of issues. Among these were the nationalistic tendencies that pitted the Portuguese missionaries against the Spaniards, exacerbated by the union of the two Crowns under Philip II of Spain (1580); the different opinions on the correct manner of governing the Society of Jesus in the province; the latter's relationship with the subordinate Vice-Province of Japan; and, finally, the persistence of the same few people holding the province's most powerful offices.

This last matter was what set in motion the initial attempt to have Valignano's authority curtailed, already in 1588. He had been Visitor to Asia between 1573 and 1583, and had then taken on in addition the office of provincial of India until 1587. This prompted the third Provincial Congregation (1588) to ask the General not to let visitors also have the role of local superiors.⁴ In practice, this meant removing Valignano from the office of Visitor.⁵ By 1593, a small but powerful group of senior Portuguese missionaries was pushing for the nomination of a new Visitor in Rome.⁶ Among other allegations, Valignano was accused of considering Portuguese missionaries to be incapable of assuming leadership roles, of aspiring to become a second general of the Society in India, of being arrogant enough to believe he was irreplaceable, of favouring a too lax style of governing, and of simply being in power for too long. This concerted effort that resulted in the removal of Valignano from the post of visitor of India in 1595 was only partially successful, as he was then nominated Visitor of Japan. Two missionaries appear

⁴ *DI*, Article 6, vol. 15, pp. 11-12. On this congregation, see *ibidem*, pp. 29*-31*.

⁵ "This Province in Congregation, unanimously, asked to Your Paternity [General Claudio Acquaviva] that Father Alessandro Valignano would not be visitor any longer", as clarified by Francisco de Monclaro, at the time procurator, in 1593, *DI*, vol. 16, p. 185.

⁶ See Markus Friedrich – "Government in India and Japan is different from government in Europe": Asian Jesuits on Infrastructure, Administrative Space, and the Possibilities for a Global Management of Power. *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4 (2017) 16. See also *DI*, vol. 16, p. 524, n. 58.

to have been particularly vocal regarding this question: Father Francisco de Monclaro⁷ and Father Francisco Cabral,⁸ author of the letter quoted above.

Francisco Cabral was an old opponent of Valignano. The pair had met in Japan in 1579, during Valignano's first visitation of the country. His arrival had initially been celebrated by Cabral, the local superior since 1570. Over time, however, disagreements on the reforms to be undertaken in the mission came to the fore. Valignano was worried by what he described as Cabral's lack of respect for both Japanese culture and Japanese people, and his strict and imperious way of governing the mission. Cabral in turn considered Valignano's reform of the method of evangelization, towards an accommodation to the local context, to be an inadmissible jeopardizing of the vow of poverty, and a betrayal of the Jesuit way of proceeding.⁹

Cabral had begun appealing to the General for permission to leave Japan in 1576, since he had news of the imminent arrival of a Visitor.¹⁰ His requests became more insistent with time, culminating when, in 1580, he listed seven reasons – in addition to his lack of virtue and inclination – why he should be allowed to return to India.¹¹ Unable to present an efficient opposition to the power of the Visitor, Cabral preferred to be removed, and to place as much distance as possible between himself and the Japanese mission.¹² Valignano, unable in turn to convince Cabral to conform to the new policies, was content to let him go.

The widespread unhappiness characterizing the Indian Province in the 1590s gave Cabral the occasion to return, in his correspondence with the General, to the topic of Valignano's misdeeds. He had already presented his grievances regarding some aspects of the Visitor's tenure; he was among the participants of the third General Congregation who unanimously asked for a limitation thereof. In 1591, as superior of the professed house in Goa, he requested a new visitor from Rome

⁷ Markus Friedrich – "Government in India ..., *cit.*, p. 16.

⁸ An overview of his life and work is available in Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín María Domínguez, eds. – *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 590-1. For his life before Japan and a sketch of his character, see Joseph Franz Schütte – *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980, vol. 1, pp. 189-96.

⁹ Valignano's reform and Cabral's objections are analysed extensively in Joseph Franz Schütte – *Valignano's Mission ..., cit.*

¹⁰ See his letter in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Jap. Sin.* 8, I, 12v.

¹¹ Joseph F. Schütte – *Valignano's Mission ..., cit.*, pp. 376-78.

¹² On Cabral's loss of hope for the Japanese mission, see Linda Zampol D'Ortia – *The Cape of the Devil: Salvation in the Japanese Jesuit Mission Under Francisco Cabral (1570-1579)*. PhD Dissertation, University of Otago, 2017.

to moderate the excesses displayed by the provincial, Pedro Martins;¹³ Valignano could not be counted upon to intervene, as he was in Japan.¹⁴

Indeed, at the turn of the decade, the Visitor was deeply troubled by Japan, and hard-pressed to find a solution for the calamity that had hit the mission. Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the emerging ruler of the country after the civil war of the *sengoku* period (1467-1573), had unexpectedly banned evangelization and decreed that Christian missionaries be expelled from the country. Valignano attempted to regain Hideyoshi's favour by organizing an embassy in the name of the Viceroy of India and by presenting him with rich gifts, in the hope of smoothing over the relationship and gaining permission to reinstate the mission.¹⁵

The 1593 Letters

It was particularly after Cabral's nomination as provincial of India in September of 1592, and in the wake of Monclaro's stand against Valignano,¹⁶ that Cabral's letters to Rome became more aggressive.¹⁷ In four missives dated 15th December 1593, and sent from Kochi, he extensively objected to the activities of the Visitor in Asia. In the first letter, the matter of the duration of Valignano's office was confronted again, and presented as a province-wide complaint:

Your Paternity should understand that this whole province suffers much and bears very heavily that Father Alessandro Valignano has been its visitor for twenty years; this is a tense topic of discussion in general, and the gravest Fathers are those who feel it the most,¹⁸ saying that nothing like this has ever happened since religious orders were founded ... how much more burdensome it is, for

¹³ The Provincial's manner of government was condemned by various missionaries in India. See *DI*, vol. 15, p. 378, n. 3.

¹⁴ See Francisco Cabral to the Assistant, Manuel Rodrigues, Goa, 3rd January 1591, *DI*, vol. 16, p. 578; and Francisco Cabral to the General, Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 4th January 1591, *ibidem*, p. 589.

¹⁵ On Hideyoshi's ban, see George Elison – *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988, pp. 111-26. It has been pointed out, however, that the ban was not as unexpected as was represented in Jesuit sources. See Reiner H. Hesselink – *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki: World Trade and the Clash of Cultures, 1560-1640*. Jefferson: McFarlan, 2016, pp. 75-82. It was certainly an enormous setback for the mission and would lead to the crucifixion of the famous twenty-six martyrs of Nagasaki in 1597.

¹⁶ Markus Friedrich – "Government in India ...", *cit.*, pp. 16-7.

¹⁷ Cabral and Monclaro's accusations did not go unanswered; when Valignano returned from his second trip to Japan and was dramatically deposed as visitor to India in 1595, he took some time to compose a number of scathing letters to Acquaviva, where he describes how he had been attacked by "some old men". See *DI*, vol. 17.

¹⁸ These "gravest fathers" themselves (Monclaro, Cabral, Valerio de Parada, Jeronimo Cota, and Nuno Rodrigues) were often accused of holding power for too long as consultants of the provincial; see for example, *DI*, vol. 16, pp. 424, 826, 878, 897.

this Province, to suffer a visitor for twenty years, since it is so far from Your Paternity, and he is so authoritarian and independent in his decisions. Indeed, he commands from Japan that, even if Your Paternity orders something relative to the matters that he has arranged,¹⁹ Your Paternity's order must be suspended until he can be informed ... Particularly while being in Japan, [Valignano] cannot help this Province of India; on the contrary, he damages it, because he does not see its needs, nor can take care of them.²⁰

Cabral believed that Valignano would bring about the downfall of the Indian Province. He accused him of keeping for Japan the best men of the Indian Province, while using Goa as a dumping ground for the troublemakers. This not only aggravated the difficulties in finding suitable Jesuits for administrative roles in India, but was considered a waste of personnel, given that the missionaries in Japan could not preach openly after the ban on Christianity issued by Toyomi Hideyoshi. The Visitor was also accused of keeping part of the monetary contributions that Japan was supposed to give to Goa, while the latter still had to bear the totality of the expenses of the Asian missions in Europe.²¹

A solution Cabral proposed for this untenable situation was to acquiesce to the 1592 request of the Congregation of Japan to become a separate province.²² This proposition, however, had been met with irritation by the senior Jesuits of India.²³ Monclaro himself wrote a letter to the General against it, reminding him that the second Provincial Congregation of India (1583) had already declared its opposition of the separation of Japan and China,²⁴ and that for many years it had been considered "not licit" by the "superiors of this province, the Viceroy, and the kings of Portugal".²⁵ They believed that this partition would allow the missionaries (and the merchants after them) to reach Japan through the shorter Spanish route of the Acapulco-Manila galleon. This practice, prohibited by both King Sebastian of Portugal and King Philip II of Spain, would infringe upon the privileges of the

¹⁹ Wicki refers (*DI*, vol. 16, p. 524, n. 60) to Valignano's request (*DI*, vol. 16, p. 506) to limit of the power of the provincial of India to ensure that the general's orders were obeyed in Japan, on the basis that the latter was too different to be ruled in the same way. On this matter, see Markus Friedrich – "Government in India ...", *cit.*

²⁰ Francisco Cabral to the General, Claudio Acquaviva, Kochi, 15th December 1593, *DI*, vol. 16, pp. 524-25.

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 518-21.

²² See Valignano's suggestions for the implementation of the Congregation's petition in his letter to the General, Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 12th January 1593, *DI*, vol. 16, pp. 91-97.

²³ Wicki mentions the instances of Monclaro, Cristobal de Castro, Jeronimo Xavier, and Gomes Vaz, *DI*, vol. 16, p. 416, n. 26.

²⁴ The Congregation, while expounding on the political consequences considered by Monclaro too, did state that the decision was taken "for the time being", *DI*, vol. 13, p. 323. The fourth Congregation (1594), however, requested that India and Japan and China not be separated, *DI*, vol. 16, pp. 642-45.

²⁵ Francisco de Monclaro to the General, Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 26th October 1593, *DI*, vol. 16, p. 196.

Padroado Real and imperil the trade rights of the Portuguese crown. Monclaro, however, admitted that, if not for this impediment, this separation would be a good solution for liberating India from the burdens of Japan.²⁶ Cabral did not have any of his scruples, and suggested the division of the two missions as an excellent solution.

It was in the third letter that Cabral tackled the topic of the Japanese mission and his past opposition to Valignano.²⁷ In addition to supporting his bid to have the Visitor removed, just like the other letters of the set, the specific aim of this text was to persuade the General to order a change of missionary policy in Japan and, fundamentally, a return to Cabral's policies of the 1570s. As such, this letter is part of the long controversy that began with the meeting of the two missionaries, and later evolved into a personal conflict, and an object of gossip when they became the two highest authorities in the province.

There was another concern not explicitly mentioned by Cabral, but that appears between the lines of these letters: that the storm that had hit Japan might extend to India too. It is not by chance that he started by mentioning the trouble he had personally incurred with the Viceroy in procuring the presents for Hideyoshi at Valignano's request. Already in his first letter, he interpreted the connection between the two missions as no more than a complication for Goa and, by extension, himself. Cabral's preoccupation with the Japanese mission, therefore, is fuelled by this apprehension, too, which is also a probable reason behind his supporting the creation of a separate Province of Japan.

Considering the importance these objectives held for the letter's author, it is perhaps not surprising that the letter appears to be rather carefully arranged. The text is more focused, and displays a more polished rhetoric, and thus a diminished tendency to slip into ramblings, than other letters by Cabral. The time of writing – a moment when Cabral believed it possible to intervene successfully in the matters of Japan – was another incentive for this judicious planning. He also felt that the Visitor's opinions held much more sway over the General than his own;²⁸ as he wrote in a vitriolic letter addressed to the Portuguese Assistant three years later, "I understand perfectly that, in the end, in these matters I am [like] Cassandra because, for Our Father General, half a word of Father Alessandro (as he himself boasts) is more important than all these truths."²⁹

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 196-98.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 541-51.

²⁸ While it was true that the two men enjoyed a personal connection and a deep respect for each other (*DI*, vol. 14, p. 3*), this does not necessarily mean that Acquaviva disregarded all viewpoints that did not agree with Valignano's; he heard clearly, for example, the pleas to put a stop to the many expenses of the Visitor. See Claudio Acquaviva, General to Alessandro Valignano, Rome, 16th January 1595, *DI*, vol. 17, pp. 39-41.

²⁹ Cabral to the Assistant, João Alvares, Goa, 10th December 1596, *DI*, vol. 18, p. 625. On Valignano's statements about the credit he enjoyed with Acquaviva, see also *DI*, vol. 14, p. 290; and *ibidem*, pp. 735-36.

Therefore, to support as strongly as possible his position against the policies actuated in Japan, Cabral appealed to the two sources of authority at his disposal: the textual canon and his own experience.

Canon and Experience as Sources of Authority

Anthony Pagden, discussing rhetorical devices used to legitimate early modern recountings of the peoples of New Spain,³⁰ highlighted the importance of these two modes of authorization: the first derived from “an understanding of the world ... dependent upon the interpretation of a determined canon of texts: the Bible, the Church Fathers, and a regularly contested although in practice restricted corpus of ancient writers”.³¹ The other represented an “appeal to the authority of the eye-witness, to the privileged understanding which those present at an event have over all those who have only read or been told about it It was evidence that ‘these things are within my understanding, that is from the experience and sight I had of them.’”³² Both devices were therefore part of the rhetorical toolkit of the early modern writer of the New World. However, it was not simple to attain a resolution of the tensions emerging between canon and experience, and attempts in this sense characterized these texts past the 1650s.³³

When it came to written texts, therefore, direct experience, especially eyewitnessing, granted authority to portrayals of the newly encountered populations and territories, over competing representations.³⁴ Unsurprisingly, it also played an influential part in the policymaking of the missions of the early modern Jesuits, whose humanistic formation facilitated assessments based on empirical evidence.³⁵ Valignano himself was fond of stating that it was not possible to really understand the matters of Japan unless one had experienced the country; even being familiar with India was not enough to grant clarity regarding the peculiarities of the archipelago.³⁶ This reasoning would not only justify his “rather nonchalant attitude towards instructions sent from Rome”,³⁷ but also his endeavour to limit the influence that the Jesuits of India could exert over Japan.

³⁰ See especially Anthony Pagden – *European Encounters with the New World*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1993, pp. 54-55.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 51. Pagden quotes Jean de Lery's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil autrement dite l'Amérique* (1585).

³³ Anthony Pagden – *European Encounters ...*, *cit.*, p. 56.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 55-57.

³⁵ Peter A. Dorsey – Going to school with savages: Authorship and Authority among the Jesuits of New France. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55:3 (1998) 403-05.

³⁶ Markus Friedrich – “Government in India ...”, *cit.*, p. 6.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

Cabral was one of the few Jesuits living in India who could boast a long tenure in Japan, and as such he could call forth an authority similar to Valignano's on the subject: he purposefully drew attention to it three times in his missive to the General. Nuno Rodrigues, a senior missionary partial to the opinions of Monclaro and Cabral, depicted efficiently the weight that both Cabral and Valignano's experiences had on the debates regarding the missionary policies of Japan:

Regarding Japan and its progress, the Father Provincial [Cabral] writes to Your Paternity with such efficacious reasons and evidence from his experience, that he seems to persuade me completely, and I have no evidence against him. And I remember sometimes writing and saying in Rome to Your Paternity that I could not understand the manner of proceeding of Ours [in Japan], which appeared to be so foreign to some points of the doctrine of Christ, and his Gospel, and the examples of the Saints, who converted the world with the humility and poverty of Christ. When I mentioned this to the Father Visitor, he presented me with many reasons, which did not convince me. He then told me that I could not talk about this matter [of Japan], because I have no experience of it; and that he wrote so to Your Paternity, and that I should say so in Rome, as I did. Therefore now I have nothing else to add, than what the Father Provincial says, and that is demonstrated by experience.³⁸

Cabral's appeals to experience not only legitimized his writing about Japan to the General, but became a precaution against possible accusations of insubordination: as it gave him knowledge of the "real" situation in Japan, it would have been remiss of him not to speak out regarding what he felt was best for the mission. Thus, together with the love he declared for the Society of Jesus, experience allowed him to frame his move against the Visitor as a duty; even if it meant disagreeing with his superior (and attempting to have him removed), he was still formally operating within the bounds of Jesuit obedience.³⁹

Cabral, however, had not been in Japan for approximately ten years at the time of the redaction of this letter. He managed to overcome this lack of recent direct experience, when necessary, by referring to other eyewitnesses, who had provided him with information on the events. These were (or were presented as) trustworthy Jesuits, whom he named and knew personally: Father Gil da Mata, the procurator of the Japanese mission; Brother André D'Oria, who had accompanied him back to India; and Father Luis Frois, the Japanese mission's interpreter. In a slight lapse that highlights how out of touch with the mission he might have

³⁸ Nuno Rodrigues to the General, Claudio Acquaviva, 20th November 1593, *DI*, vol. 16, pp. 396-97.

³⁹ Silvia Mostaccio – *Early Modern Jesuits Between Obedience and Conscience During the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615)*. Farham: Ashgate, 2014, p. 68.

actually been, Cabral also refers to some not further identified “fathers of Japan” when presenting the actual reason behind the persecutions against Christianity. The transmission of information provided by eyewitnesses was still rhetorically effective, even if not as effective as presenting himself as an eyewitness.⁴⁰ Still, as Cabral had added, the General could easily ask Gil da Mata, who was travelling to Europe soon, for confirmation of these details.

The other source of authority utilized by Cabral, as many before him, was the textual canon that formed the basis of his worldview: he cited directly, or made allusions to, passages of the New and Old Testaments, the *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Varagine,⁴¹ and the *Epistulae ad Familiares* by Roman orator Cicero. As rhetorical tools, quotations, too, lend authority to the speaker in the eyes of a reader who belongs to the same cultural milieu, particularly if taken from an established and/or religious canon. They are used often to prevent a disputation of the argument raised, and while they generally do not comprise its totality, they carry out an important supportive function.⁴² Cabral's quotations mostly fall under this category.

No tensions between canon and experience, of the sort highlighted by Pagden, are found in Cabral's argument. He was not preoccupied with the natural world, or the legal status of conquered people, as were Pagden's Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and Bartolomé de Las Casas, but only with (re)proposing a well-trodden path of religious life. To do so, he was careful to select passages of the Gospels that could support his proposed reforms, and according to those, he interpreted some events that he had witnessed in Japan, choosing to disregard others which did not fit in his analysis.⁴³

The Third 1593 Letter

After therefore presenting his case for discussing the matter in the form of experience, Cabral moved to lay out his charges: the main recrimination was that Valignano appeared “to be wanting to be in charge of everything, without leaving anything to God.”⁴⁴ As a result, Cabral now feared that God would abandon the Visitor (and the whole mission), and he could already see this playing out in

⁴⁰ Antony Pagden – *European Encounters ...*, cit., p. 80.

⁴¹ Composed in the thirteenth century, it was the famous book on the lives of saints that Ignatius of Loyola had read before his conversion, known as *Flos Sanctorum* in its Spanish version. See George E. Ganss ed. – *Ignatius of Loyola ...*, cit., pp. 15-16.

⁴² Christopher D. Stanley – *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul*. New York, London: T&T Clark International, 2004, pp. 12-13.

⁴³ For example, Cabral's recounting to the General completely omits the pervasive feeling of isolation from Europe and lack of edification of the mission during his tenure.

⁴⁴ *DI*, vol. 16, p. 542.

Valignano's inability to have Toyotomi Hideyoshi lift the ban on the preaching of Christianity.

By citing Gil da Mata as his source, Cabral explained that the Visitor had organized an embassy in the name of the Viceroy of India, bringing many valuable presents and a large retinue to Kyoto, hoping to persuade the ruler of Japan to allow the Jesuits to evangelize in the country again. As a response, not only had Hideyoshi refused to even discuss the matter during the visit, but he had destroyed the church and the houses of Nagasaki as well. The expense of the embassy had been astronomical, stated Cabral, citing the numbers given by his witnesses (Mata, d'Oria, and Frois), and it had all been for nothing. At the same time, a Dominican monk, Juan Cobo,⁴⁵ had headed an embassy sent from the Philippines to the same Hideyoshi; Cobo had brought a miserable present, "half, or a dozen, of rusty swords", and yet he had been shown much favour by the ruler.⁴⁶

Cabral concludes the first section of his letter, focused on the inability of the Visitor to solve the problems of the mission, thus: "From which [events] it can be clearly seen that it is God who moves the hearts, and holds them in His hand, to incline them as He pleases, and not the schemes, racket, and pomp, with which [Valignano] believed he could dissuade [Hideyoshi] from what he had done". Here, Cabral is evoking the authority of the canon by referring to the image of Prov. 21, 1:⁴⁷ "The king's heart is a stream of water in the hand of the Lord; he turns it wherever he will". After this reference, Cabral expounds the central tenet of his missionary policy:

I don't think that there is harm in resorting to human means to serve God, together with divine ones. However, they have to be accommodated and conform to the same work of conversion, founded in humility, poverty, and great trust in God and mistrust in our own artifices, because this was how God Himself blessed the Apostles, when He sent them to convert the world: I am sending you out like sheep into the midst of wolves, etc. [Mt. 10, 16]

The images that follow this quote are an elaboration of the subsequent verses of the same Gospel: the suffering of the Church and the blood shed for its cause will be the seed of future conversions.⁴⁸ A final allusion closed the first part of the

⁴⁵ Cabral erroneously identifies the monk as an Augustinian friar. See *DI*, vol. 16, p. 544. N. 15. On Cobo's embassy and its role in rising the ire of Hideyoshi against the Jesuits in Nagasaki, see Reiner H. Hesselink – *The Dream ...*, *cit.*, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁶ *DI*, vol. 16, pp. 543-44. Cf. José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, ed. – *Apología de la Compañía de Jesús de Japón y China (1598)*. Osaka: Eikodo, 1998, p. 227, n. 14.

⁴⁷ *DI*, vol. 16, p. 544, n. 18.

⁴⁸ Cf. Mt 10.17-23.

missive, this time to the *Legenda Aurea*'s Heraclius: the emperor of the Byzantine Empire, bringing back the Holy Cross to Jerusalem, found the gate of the city closed; only when he left behind his sumptuous clothes, imitating Jesus's humility, was he miraculously let through.⁴⁹

Cabral opened the following section by linking these ancient examples to the missionaries' present situation – a connection supported by his experience: according to “what [he had] seen in Japan”, a successful mission is obtained by respecting the Institute and the rules of the Society of Jesus, which are conformed to the poverty of Christ. God would then help the missionaries by bringing about conversions.⁵⁰ The words “I have seen” [*tenho visto*] used here reinforce the narrative, and therefore the testimony, by literally presenting Cabral as an eyewitness.⁵¹

Introducing finally what first-hand experience had taught him, he quickly summarised his first years in Japan:⁵² he had been sent there to remove the silk garments used by the missionaries, as they were prohibited by the Constitutions. He believed that, as consequence of the reintroduction of the black cotton cassock, the behaviour of the Japanese authorities became much more favourable towards them, and Christianity earned more respect.⁵³ The consequent increase in the number of converts was interpreted as a clear sign of God's approval.⁵⁴

Cabral emerged therefore as successful and victorious over the faction that supported the use of silk, who anticipated that the reform would have halted the conversion of Japan. The objective of this recounting, in Cabral's own words, was to reveal how their complaints were only “imagined or feared setbacks, and

⁴⁹ See Barbara Baert – *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004, pp. 369-371.

⁵⁰ This had always been the central tenet of Cabral's policy for evangelization. See Linda Zampol D'Ortia – *The Cape of the Devil ...*, *cit.*

⁵¹ Reiner H. Hesselink – *The Dream ...*, *cit.*, pp. 75-76.

⁵² On Cabral's first years in Japan, see Liam M. Brockey – Authority, Poverty, and Vanity: Jesuit Missionaries and the Use of Silk in Early Modern East Asia. *Anais de História de Além-Mar 17* (2016) 188-95; on Cabral's specific procedure to gain experience in relation to Japanese attitudes towards religious garments, see Linda Zampol D'Ortia – Purple Silk and Black Cotton: Francisco Cabral and the Negotiation of Jesuit Attire in Japan (1570-73). In *Exploring Jesuit Distinctiveness: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ways of Proceeding within the Society of Jesus*. Ed. by Robert A. Maryks. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016, pp. 137-55.

⁵³ In Reiner H. Hesselink's words, “The Jesuits had tried, in the beginning, to work by themselves to spread their message, but had met with very little success. When they changed direction, in the early 1560s, and became interpreters and agents for, as well as manipulators of, the trade brought by the Portuguese, the numbers of baptisms had begun to rise, but simultaneously the order's involvement in the dangerous game of power politics in the final stage of Japan's civil war brought complications they were unable and unwilling to face”. Reiner H. Hesselink – *The Dream ...*, *cit.*, p. 82.

⁵⁴ *DI*, vol. 16, pp. 545-46. This section also contains another direct quotation from Ôtomo Yoshihige, lord of Bungo, who would later convert and become one of the pillars of Japanese Christianity. Ôtomo is cited as appreciating the change in garments, which “makes the Jesuits look like members of a religious order now, instead of merchants”.

untrue”,⁵⁵ just like those of some missionaries who were now corresponding with the General.⁵⁶ The correct way to proceed was instead that delineated by 1 Cor. 2, 2, quoted verbatim at the end: “For I resolved to know nothing while I was with you except Jesus Christ and him crucified”.

The Watchman

The excerpt below, translated in its entirety at the beginning of this contribution, represents the rhetorical pinnacle of Cabral’s letter. It makes explicit the transparent reference to Valignano in the letter’s preceding lines, as someone who “imagined setbacks” and reiterated his lack of moderation in the use of human means. According to this interpretation, the Visitor’s policies caused the 1587 ban on Christianity. And, as he reminded the General, Cabral had foretold it: “It reminds me that I wrote to Your Paternity what I thought, and in a letter I said these words: ‘If a remedy to this is not found, as it were from a high watchtower, I foresee the coming storm.’”

The letter Cabral refers to in this passage was the one he had addressed to the General in 1580, which listed the seven reasons he should be allowed to leave Japan. In it, he had first foreseen the future troubles of the mission:

The seventh [reason] is because since God Our Lord in his mercy showed me many favours, in the preservation and growth [in numbers] both of the converts and of those of the Society, I wish now to leave this obligation. Because until now we lived in poverty and need, as it was a necessity, for both the inner and outer man and for the growth of conversion. But now since three or four years ago we proceed with more liberality, and expenses, and with people who are not very used to the works and necessities of the land, and to its many temptations and freedoms. So that as it were from a watchtower, I foresee the coming storm.⁵⁷

Among the quotations used in Cabral’s third 1593 letter, the reference to his 1580 writing stands out for its peculiarity. It is the only overt citation with no apparent connection to sacred texts: it is indeed a quotation of Cabral himself, quoting Cicero.

⁵⁵ *DI*, vol. 16, p. 547.

⁵⁶ In addition to the motivation adduced by Cabral, the detailed narrative of these events wanted to show not only his diligence in unmasking the sinning Jesuits, but also his good judgement and his discernment – all qualities that a good Jesuit leader should possess. See John W. O’Malley – *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 81.

⁵⁷ Transcribed fully in Josef F. Schütte – *Valignano’s Missionsgrundsätze Für Japan, 1; Teil 2. Die Losung, 1580-1582*. Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1958, pp. 501-2.

The overall passage invited the reader to consider Valignano's initial error of introducing pomp in the Japanese mission; by extension, it also invited consideration of the mismanagement of the General, who did not heed Cabral's warning. Thus in this passage Acquaviva is urged not to repeat the same error again. The specific sentence, in Latin in both letters ("*tanquam ex aliqua alta especula [sic] prospicio tempestatem futuram*"), comes from the epistolary collection, *Epistulae ad Familiares*. The citation does not entirely respect the original, which read, "I foresaw the coming storm, as it were from a watchtower".⁵⁸ Cicero was remembering his past foresight of events, which in the end came to pass, as a way to console himself and his interlocutor. Cabral instead originally foresaw the coming storm and is now reminiscing his prevision, but with no particular consolation. All considered, this quotation could just have an esthetical function, or may simply reinforce values shared by both reader and writer.⁵⁹ However, I would suggest that the use of the motif of the watchtower might be alluding to more than initially meets the eye.

In the first place, the watchtower (*specula*) was a popular metaphor for central governance and good vision. The seat in Rome of the Jesuit generals, for example, could be compared to a vantage point, the tower: as the whole Society of Jesus corresponded with him, the Jesuit General had a supposedly perfect vision of the happenings in the Order, and could therefore make the best decisions for it. For example, in 1602 Acquaviva wrote that "the Roman Curia is sitting on a high tower and is thus able to take in the status of the entire Order with one single glance".⁶⁰ Cabral was, quite obviously, not in Rome, nor did he appear to be in any central position that granted him special vision (if anything, the reverse is true). However, as was implied in the letter of 1580, and painstakingly made explicit in that of 1593, he had a clear advantage: it was experience that granted him access to that vantage point, from which he, correctly, saw the storm approaching.

A search in the textual canon – more specifically, the Bible – points to an additional reading of the motif of the watchman.⁶¹ A powerful metaphor is found in the Book of Ezekiel: in Ez., 3 and Ez., 33, for example, the watchman is invested with the critical role of warning the people against the incoming punishment of

⁵⁸ "Tamquam ex aliqua specula prospexi tempestatem futuram", Cic., *Fam.* 4.3.1. (Perseus Project, perseus.uchicago.edu).

⁵⁹ Christopher D. Stanley – *Arguing with Scripture ...*, cit., p. 14. On the attitudes of the Society of Jesus towards Cicero, see Robert A. Maryks – *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probabilism*. Farham: Ashgate, 2008.

⁶⁰ Markus Friedrich – Governance in the Society of Jesus 1540-1773. Its Methods, Critics, and Legacy Today. *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 41:1 (Spring 2009) 9-10. From this passage it is also possible to evince that the Ciceronian expression "*tamquam ex specula*", used by Acquaviva in the Latin version of his letter, was quite well known.

⁶¹ Wicki suggests Is. 21.5 (*DI*, vol. 16, p. 547, n. 34). Is. 56-66 and Jer. 6.17 might be other options. See Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer – The Watchman Metaphor in Isaiah LVI-LXVI. *Vetus Testamentum* 55:3 (2005) 378.

their sins by God: if they will not heed him, their punishment will be terrible; but if the watchman does not fulfill his task, he will be considered guilty himself.⁶² In these passages, thus, the role of the watchman comes close to that of the prophet.⁶³

Casting himself as the watchman then, in 1580, Cabral established that the coming storm was not simply a drawback for the mission, but a punishment from God; the later repetition of the same quote demonstrates in his intentions how those who did not heed his warning indeed suffered God's wrath. The role of the watchman and the prophet were already close in the canon he alluded to, but in 1593, by self-quoting, Cabral did everything to make them overlap completely, short of explicitly stating he was blessed with prophetic powers. His experience, based on what he had seen in Japan, allowed him now to see better than everyone else, and foresee future events.⁶⁴

The Solution

After delivering his rhetorical lunge, Cabral proceeded to describe to the General how the policy of the Visitor not only caused the fiasco that was his embassy, but was also the cause of the initial ban on Christianity. It was, fundamentally, a complete failure. Valignano's excessive flaunting of luxury⁶⁵ and of military power, in the form of their fortified cities of Nagasaki and Mogi and of armed vessels, had made Hideyoshi fear them and compare them to the so-called "bonze of Osaka".⁶⁶ As a reaction, he had expelled them from the country.⁶⁷ This was therefore not a persecution *in odium fidei*, because Hideyoshi did not care about religion at all; as such, it is implied, it could not be compared to the oppression that he had described referring to Mt. 10, which produced martyrs. In Cabral's opinion, this persecution was simply the consequence of Valignano's wrong policies, and once those were righted, a solution could be easily found.

Indeed, continued Cabral, if the General was resolute and did not capitulate in front of the Visitor's excuses, this could be a great opportunity to re-establish the correct manner of evangelization. The destruction of the houses and church of

⁶² Daniel Bodi – *The Book of Ezekiel and the Poem of Erra*. Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1991, pp. 263-4.

⁶³ Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer – *The Watchman ...*, *cit.*, p. 381.

⁶⁴ Monclaro had a similar interpretation of experience, see *DI*, vol. 16, p. 196.

⁶⁵ Cabral omitted the fact that he himself never stopped receiving the profits of the silk trade that supported the Japanese mission, deciding instead to rationalize them as "alms of the carrack".

⁶⁶ Honganji's abbot Kenryo (1543-1592) and his followers of the Ikkō school of Buddhism had been important political players during the civil war. See Shizuka Kinryū – *The Ikkōshū as Portrayed in Jesuit Historical Documents*. In *Rennyō and the Roots of Modern Japanese Buddhism*. Ed. by Mark Laurence Blum and Shin'ya Yasutomi. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 72-82.

⁶⁷ *DI*, vol. 16, pp. 547-48. Jesuit sources from Japan generally agree with this interpretation, but focus on being seen as a military threat, rather than an economic one.

Nagasaki was a good pretext to make a show of the Jesuits' poverty and to refuse to offer any more presents to the Japanese. If these, and the relative pomp, were not necessary anymore, Cabral believed then that a real imitation of Christ could be introduced. This reform, however, could not be carried out while Valignano was governing the mission, as he had "a spirit so great and magnificent" that he was always intent on artifices so that "important things seem[ed] small instead to him".⁶⁸ With this statement, this letter too made its contribution to the bid to remove Valignano from his post of visitor, following the general objective of the other letters sent by the senior missionaries in India.

Strengthened by the preceding demonstration that his experience allowed him to "see" the future, Cabral boldly concluded:

If we follow [the Institute], I myself guarantee that neither [Hideyoshi] nor all the devils of Hell will be able to hurt us, except when it is advantageous for us, as I believe this persecution to be. Because I believe absolutely that it was a great mercy of God, for us and for the [Japanese] Christians. For us, because this will ... be an occasion to lose trust in our artifices ... and for the Christians because, the more they are persecuted, the more they will be helped by God, as we saw Him doing since the primitive Church until now. And I believe that all of Japan has to become Christian, but this according to the plans of God, not according to ours, when they deviate from and leave our Institute and our rules.⁶⁹

A final *captatio benevolentiae* closed the letter, asking forgiveness for the impudence shown in writing such a letter to the General. Cabral adduced, as reasons that spurred him, his love for the Society of Jesus and the sake of Japan, a country with which, he declared, he had just as much experience as those who lived there.

Conclusion

The discussions surrounding the people and cultures with which Europeans came in contact in the sixteenth century were characterized by a tension created between the Western worldview based on the textual canon inherited from tradition, and the new experiences that the explorers and traders lived in these foreign lands. In the Jesuit mission to Japan, the importance of experience in particular was enhanced by Visitor Alessandro Valignano, effectively marginalizing the missionaries in India in the debate surrounding the correct strategy of evangelization. At a time when the policies of the Visitor appeared

⁶⁸ *DI*, vol. 16, p. 550.

⁶⁹ *DI*, vol. 16, pp. 550-51.

to have failed, Francisco Cabral, by referring to his own experience, was able to intervene in the controversy and to attempt to sway the opinion of the General, with the final objective of having Valignano removed. To support his argument in his correspondence and to gain additional credit in the eyes of his superior, Cabral continuously referred to the textual canon and made use of motifs originating from said canon, while at the same time being careful not to provoke any tensions between these two modes of authorization.

JESUIT EMOTIONS IN THE FIRST MISSION TO AKBAR, 1579-1582

JESSE SARGENT

What is the emotional identity for Jesuits? History departments across the world have begun to deal with emotions and their history in a separate and unique discipline.¹ Subsequently, the feelings and emotions of martyrdom and suffering culminate in Jesuit identity and Catholic thinking in various locations, it is claimed. This book investigates these ideas through the exploration of suffering and martyrdom in Jesuit and other Catholic missions and attempts to summarize a distinct set of ideas about these emotions and ways of communicating them in the Church. The Jesuits in particular traveled to many locations in their attempts to spread the word of God, and communicated with each other regularly about their successes and failures. While some of these attempts could appear to be organized for particular audiences and purposes, this chapter looks at these generated and recorded emotions as illustrative of the special character of the Society itself. How did these Jesuits attempt to categorize and express their emotions on mission and their exhaustive efforts to gain conversions? These emotions can be regarded as a particular part of cultural history which defines a particular tapestry of expression as part of a group. In the current age dominated by social scientific analysis, emotions are dealt with in scientific ways through measuring brain waves through scans at certain emotional moments.² Such experiments lead one to believe that emotions are “hardwired” unchanging categories that are universal across human brains. But a proper history of emotions approach allied with the humanities

¹ Rob Boddice – *The History of Emotions*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018, p. 1.

² William Reddy – *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 3.

and qualitative sciences realizes that there is significant space for interpretation in finding expression of these brainwaves through face and feature and emotive context.³ In each, there must be an “emoter” and a “receiver” who interprets the emotions being perceived. This causes the necessity of sharing norms about particular interpretations; that is, a furrowed brow displays frustration or anger, while a smile demonstrates happiness or playfulness. These symbolic “norms” remain the real signifiers of emotions, and the objects to which the history of emotions properly attends. These norms form groups of human beings who participate in these norms for communication – what Barbara Rosenwein calls “emotional communities”.⁴ These communities embody particular values, modes of feeling, and ways of expressing those feelings through performance and communication. The Society of Jesus, throughout its long history, forms a sort of emotional community in the same way, with specific ways of encoding and communicating emotional content. These norms can be brought consciously into the use of the subject-communicator, thereby allowing the potential feedback of feigning particular emotions or making the emotional experience more real through creative expression according to these recognized norms.

The codification of emotional expression through gestures, acts, and even particular words means that a tapestry of meaning begins to be established through use of the shared symbols. But the same word may not contain the same meaning across various contexts. Different thinkers across time may classify different emotional states using similar words. Rosenwein discusses this in depth within her first chapter through the idea of “love” as both an emotional and symbolic affect.⁵ Thus, the instances chosen for analysis should be as narrowly defined as possible in order to preserve cognitive validity of the symbolic meanings intended. Therefore, this chapter proposes an examination of emotions as presented in the letters of a few Jesuits sent to obtain conversion of a great Indian king: Akbar of the newly founded Mughal Empire. Akbar represented the greatest of native non-Christian kings whom the Jesuits sought to convert during their expansion outside the European ecumen in the sixteenth century, and his case could be seen as a typical example of the emotional content experienced and expressed by Jesuit missionizers. Three Jesuits, Antonio Monserrate, Rodolfo Acquaviva, and Francisco Henriques, traveled upon invitation to Akbar’s court to educate him in Christian religion and ideally obtain his conversion in 1579. They wrote a number of letters and commentaries about their experiences there, containing

³ Barbara Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani – *What is the History of Emotions?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018, pp. 9-10.

⁴ Barbara Rosenwein – *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, p. 3. This is very similar to the concept of a “speech community” where one finds a “group of people who share a set of norms and expectations regarding the use of language”.

⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 16-34.

details regarding the hardships and challenges they found there. A particular forlorn feeling pervades these records as initial hope with warm welcome slowly degenerated into doubts and frustrations regarding the mission and the desire to turn Akbar into a good Christian ruler, ally to the Portuguese, and subject to the Christian pontiff. Many of these impressions are organized together in the volume of John Afonso Correia, who collected these sentiments as some of the only available observations on a critical transition period in Indian history.⁶ This chapter examines these letters and their use of emotive language to represent the experiences being recorded here, and to what effect these emotive norms were used. Is it possible to reflect on the overall character of the Society based on these short examples? What will be found is a cyclical effect in which emotions are channeled into theologically centered teleologies, which allow the renewal of the mission and prevent, as far as possible, the exhaustion of the missionaries in their precarious situation. Before attempting to show the operation of the emotions based on these specific letters in our narrow frame, the effort should be reflected upon a greater general history of the Jesuits and their purpose and character, which will yield insights into how larger corporate norms were adapted into the narrow situation and shed light on the dialectical process outlined above.

Jesuit Foundations

The Jesuits came about as the result of a reform movement spearheaded by the Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century in his attempt to create a society of well-educated, theologically oriented missionaries who could combat the rising heresy of the Protestant Reformation. This required a great deal of flexibility in making arguments which would align Christians with their God properly through the Catholic Church as an organization. Ignatius had experienced a vision in a Spanish cave which allowed him to produce and record his “Spiritual Exercises”, which claimed that like soldiers could physically exercise to maintain their strength, his “soldiers of Christ” could spiritually exercise themselves to maintain their spiritual strength necessary for collapsing the numerous expanding heresies of the age. The vision at the heart of his efforts was fundamentally spiritual, and dealt with the proper activity and lifestyle for a Christian:

Human beings are created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by means of doing this to save their souls. The other things on the face of the earth are created for the human beings, to help them in the pursuit of the end for

⁶ John Correia-Afonso – *Letters from the Mughal Court: The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar (1580-1583)*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1981.

which they are created. From this it follows that we ought to use these things to the extent that they help us toward our end, and free ourselves from them to the extent that they hinder us from it. To attain this it is necessary to make ourselves indifferent to all created things, in regard to everything which is left to our free will and is not forbidden.⁷

Thus, Jesuits were intended to use whatever tools were available to them in bringing themselves and their flock to God, using all created things on this earth for that inspired purpose. This included signs and symbols as a part of a cultural speech community, human-created collective representations which could be made useful for the purposes of God. Those creations which were helpful, the words and ideas, could be folded into this aim of praising, reverencing, and serving the Lord. The key for Ignatius was stripping such creations from our natural reactions and making ourselves *indifferent* to them; that is, making ourselves emotionally and cognitively neutral, for the purpose of turning these creations into tools. This meant that norms could be absorbed and repurposed through a suspension of Jesuit judgment and self-derived emotional content. Jesuits were then trained to find particular norms, create things, and recirculate them in their networks in order to turn them to a godly-inspired purpose. Specifically, during one of the Society's early missions to a set of sovereigns not unlike Akbar, Ignatius spells out very clearly how he saw such temperamental norms and how his Jesuits should deal with them in their negotiations for conversion, an effective recognition of the holy purpose of praise and reverence described above. During their mission to the Irish Lords, authorized by Ignatius and the pope in 1541 as part of efforts to bring these rebels back into the folds of Catholic Christendom, Ignatius gave the following instructions to two of his original companions, Alfonso Salmeron and Paschase Broet, regarding their intended negotiations with the Irish:

In dealing with men of position or influence – if you hope to win their affection for the greater glory of God our Lord – first consider their temperaments and adapt yourselves to them. If they are of a lively temper, quick and cheerful in speech, follow their lead while speaking to them of good and holy things, and do not be serious, glum, and reserved. If they are shy and retiring, slow to speak, serious, and weighty in their words, use the same manner with them, because such ways will be pleasing to them. I became all things to all men [1 Cor. 9:22].

⁷ George Ganss – Principle and Foundation. In *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*. Ed. by George Ganss. New York: Paulist Press, 1991, p. 130. See also David Fleming – *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius. A Literal Translation and a Contemporary Reading*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1978.

You must keep in mind that if someone with a lively disposition does not deal with another who is likewise lively, there is very great danger of their failing to come to any agreement, since they happen not to be of the same mind. And therefore, if one knows that he himself is of such a lively disposition, he ought to approach the other, possessing similar traits, well prepared by a close study of himself and determined to be patient and not to get out of sorts with him, especially if he knows him to be in poor health. If he is dealing with one of slower temper, then there is not so much danger of a disagreement arising from words too hastily spoken.

Whenever we wish to win someone over and engage him in the greater service of God our Lord, we should use the same strategy for good that the enemy employs to draw a good soul to evil. The enemy enters through the other's door and comes out his own. He enters with the other, not by opposing his ways but by praising them. He acts familiarly with the soul, suggesting good and holy thoughts that bring peace to the good soul. Then, little by little, he tries to come out his own door, always portraying some error or illusion under the appearance of something good, but which will always be evil. So, we may lead others to good by praying or agreeing with them on a certain good point, leaving aside whatever else may be wrong. Thus after gaining his confidence, we shall meet with better success. In this sense we enter his door with him, but we come out our own.⁸

Ignatius shows a great deal of understanding regarding the psychological foundations of emotions and the nature of associating particular emotions within an emotional community for purposes of communication. In order to get his Jesuit missionaries closer to the insider perspective, and thus the inner circle of these lords, Ignatius recommended taking over the norms of the other in harnessing their ability to communicate. Ideally, such an appropriation of norms would yield a more congenial atmosphere, where, as Satan manages to accomplish by leading people to his own "door", the Jesuit is able to communicate these norms so effectively as to convince the listener of the alignment of Jesuit identity and purpose with their own. Jesuits had to therefore make their emotions and emotional character a mirror of that of their objects, taking on their natures and norms of communication. This was not an easy process since it required the eliding of personal convictions and emotions, and a remapping of the normative framework of the missionizer onto alien norms. It was not always possible for Jesuits to manage such "indifference", especially when the norms were subject to change or radically different in their expressive capacities. In Ireland, Salmeron and Broet worked among other Europeans who spoke the same languages and participated in similar emotional community norms as did other Europeans,

⁸ James Broderick – *The Origin of the Jesuits*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1971, pp. 104-6.

where the Church managed to touch almost all corners of the continent. In other faraway lands however, speech community norms, in different languages and with different cultural contexts built around them, such understanding and selective mirroring of emotions was much less easy to perform.

Portuguese and Jesuits in India

Such dissonance can be readily recognized by the efforts of the first Jesuit missionaries in India to convince local lords and newly minted Christian communities of the proper way to be Christian and share identity. Francis Xavier was among the first companions of Ignatius to be sent to work amongst the new Christians populating the Portuguese coasts in 1542. These communities had been established through the efforts of the Portuguese ships to peel away allied communities along the coasts for pearl fishing.⁹ Most of these communities were still under the influences of Brahmin priests, whom Xavier refers to as “pagans” in his many letters.¹⁰ These pagans lacked any good concept of god, and worshiped “demons” according to the priest, who wrote to Ignatius many times to request the proper “program” to be followed in their education and conversion. Still using emotive language, he writes “his Divine Majesty will be pleased to let us know through you how we are to serve him, deigned to make us ‘feel’ how he wishes to be served by us”. Xavier’s overall impressions are quite negative however, and he communicates this in his letters saying: “I was saddened by the fact that demons rule over our neighbors to such an extent that they have themselves worshiped by them instead of God”.¹¹ The Brahmin inhabited the buildings known as “pagodas” and from here they commanded a great deal of respect and reigned unchallenged over the populace. Overall, the intrepid missionary was concerned with the lack of knowledge held by these priest-Brahmin, and the power they had over the minds of the local populace. He instead experiences great joy in considering the conversion of these people, and that they became great in faith in Christ after their conversion. These experiences gave Xavier “strength to go among the infidels” which was the primary difficulty faced by the man, as he remains happy when he learns that the people are not making more pagodas or drinking palm wine to excess. He remains fearful of the potential problems created by the Portuguese and their efforts to fight with different tribes of the interior in making Christian pearl fishers a part of their new commercial networks.¹² Some local lords sent

⁹ For more information, see, S. Jeyaseela Stephen – *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast: Historical Explorations in Commerce and Culture, 1507-1749*. Pondicherry: Navajothi, 1998.

¹⁰ Francis Xavier – *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*. Trad. Joseph Costello. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992, p. 34.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 70-71.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 89.

requests for additional personnel to teach their religious persons and spread the “law of God” amongst those who had lived like “brute animals”. The Brahmins were therefore “the most perverse people in the world” interested in keeping a class of people under them. “They are people that never speak the truth and they are always thinking on how they can cunningly lie and deceive the poor, the simple, the ignorant, saying that the idols are asking them to bring them certain offerings, which are simply what the Brahmans desire and fancy for support ... of their homes”.¹³ Despite these difficulties, Xavier insists that if they had “anyone to instruct them in our holy faith, they would be good Christians”.

That instruction would not come from Xavier however, as he was engaged in a very unaccommodating spread of Christianity which could not brook compromise with these pagans. His successor in the region, Henry Henriques, put his mind more closely to the task of studying these Christians and their language and to create a book of their symbolic world for instruction. His missionary grammar of Tamil set forth a program for learning the languages and translating the words into meaningful images for the speech community being established in South India. The problem was highlighted by Xavier originally as, “I did not find in them any other answer save that they were Christians, and that because they did not understand our language, they did not know our law, nor what they ought to believe”.¹⁴ He wished for companions coming from Rome who had been instructed at the university in Paris, or the Sorbonne, for a good use of the talents given to him by using them in favor of training these Christians. Henry was such a companion. When Henriques began his study of the language in earnest in 1548, he “found it so difficult that I did not believe I could succeed and so I gave it up”.¹⁵ Later, without an interpreter, Henriques was forced to find a way to learn the language, and his grammar was the fruit of these efforts. Composing the “Arte” gave more confidence to Henriques’s assessment of the future, as he “felt in [himself] the ability to compose a grammar” for exactly this purpose. The difficulty still existed of finding ways to express the mysteries of the faith “which no interpreter here knows how to express, so that the priests say it one way and many times, yet they say it another”. Thus, although the import of Western priests was critical in the vision of Xavier regarding the flourishing of the faith in South India, for Henriques, “confidence” in the task was enhanced by faith in God, which led to the “confidence” established through his work as a language translator that “through this way of teaching and others which we have among the people, if our Lord, for our sins, permitted that there might not be Portuguese in

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

¹⁴ Jeanne Hein, ed. – *The Earliest Missionary Grammar of Tamil*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

this part of India, the Paravas Christians themselves could carry forward the task of Christianity, which would be possible in but few parts of India”.¹⁶ Henriques traveled throughout these coastal communities to spread the Christian faith properly, but he still lacked much understanding regarding the unknown interior of the continent quickly becoming known as India.

Akbar’s India

Akbar the great was the conqueror best known in India at the time, having descended from his father Humayun and grandfather Babur (d. 1530) to take over all of the north of India. His army invaded Delhi in 1556, and expanded into the Gangetic Plain by 1560. By 1575 Akbar had added Bihar and Bengal to his domains, and with the inclusion of Gujarat in 1572, he now ruled over the largest empire in India. It was in Gujarat in 1572 that Akbar first encountered the Portuguese, who forced the sovereign to purchase access to the Mecca pilgrimage route through their system of *cartaz* shipping licensing.¹⁷ Then again later, in 1576, after acquiring Bengal, Akbar heard about the actions of the two Jesuits Antonio Vaz and Pedro Dias, who had severely rebuked some Portuguese merchants who had defrauded the Mughal state treasury by not paying taxes. Thoroughly impressed and curious about the religion that put so much weight on honest dealings, Akbar inquired about the Jesuits through Fr. Gil Pereira in Bengal in 1578, and it was he who finally raised the idea of some Jesuits attending to the court of Akbar. As he had become interested in the law of God as told by these Christian priests, he directly requested that the Portuguese in Gujarat send him some learned religious men for training:

Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar
 King by God appointed
 Chief Fathers of the Order of St. Paul
 Know that I am your great friend

I send thither Abdullah my ambassador and Dominic Pires to ask you to send me two learned priests, who should bring with them the principle books of the Law and the Gospel, so that I may learn the Law and what is more perfect in it. And I earnestly request that they should not fail to come with the said ambassadors as soon as these arrive there, and that they should bring along the books of the Law: and let the Fathers who come know that they will be received with all possible honours, and I shall be greatly pleased with their coming. And

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

¹⁷ K. S. Mathew – Akbar and Portuguese Maritime Dominance. In *Akbar and his India*. Ed. by Irfan Habib. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 257.

when I shall know about the Law, and its perfection as I desire, they may go whenever they like, and I shall send them with many honours and favours; and they should have no fear to come, because I take them under my protection.

Fatehpur Sikri, December 1578.¹⁸

Akbar underscores positive emotions in his letter, testifying that he shall be greatly pleased with the coming of the fathers, and that the fathers should have no fear (a common emotion for the Jesuits in India among various non-Catholic sovereigns) because “I take them under my protection”. Akbar is thus making a claim that his military might is great enough so as to prevent threats to the lives and livelihood of the Jesuit priests; something which no local kings could guarantee Xavier along the smaller coastal villages of South India. Therefore, on the 28th of February, 1580, the Jesuit priests Rodolfo Acquaviva, Antonio Monserrate, and Father Francisco Henriques were sent out to meet the newly empowered sovereign at his new capital at Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar had already shown much interest in forging a new type of empire which was religiously tolerant. He engaged in major translation projects from 1576-81 regarding the chief books of Indian religions in Sanskrit, put into Persian for consumption by his court and library. Hindu chiefs who wanted recognition at Akbar’s court made sure to put the Vedas in a light favorable to Islam overall. Thus, Akbar was already engaged in a project of cross-cultural translation upon the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries.¹⁹ A system of religious discussions in the *Ibadat Khana* (House of Worship) at the capital had already been inaugurated in 1575, and although originally the debates had been between schools of Islamic thought, they had recently been expanded to include Hindus, Jains, and Zoroastrians.

Positive Emotions and Hope in the Jesuit Letters

The Jesuits were received at the court with “great love and joy” which raised in the Jesuit hearts great hopes of potential for conversion.²⁰ They rejoiced in their opportunity to share the law of God without regard to the physical and potential dangers. Upon meeting the priest Gil Pereira already at the court, greater rejoicing took place since the old priest had been preserved to the culmination of the plan he himself had set in motion. The Jesuits are clear in their depiction of the situation as full of joy, love, and therefore hope for the Christianization of

¹⁸ Correia-Afonso, John – *Letters from the Mughal Court ...*, cit., p. 1.

¹⁹ Athar Ali – *Mughal India, Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society, and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 174.

²⁰ John Correia-Afonso – *Letters from the Mughal Court ...*, cit., p. 20.

this king. What is not clear is whether the Jesuits engaged in such description as a true recounting of events, or as an effort to communicate hope for conversion back to the watchful superiors of the society, waiting to know how much to invest in this new missionary impulse to Akbar. Thus, they are careful to point out “the King received us with great love, as we were desired, manifesting his great joy on our arrival”.²¹ Positive emotions are continuously emphasized in the early letters, in order to support this scene of hope. Akbar was “very happy with the Portuguese he has here, and grants them favours, and he desires that many more of them should come and live here, and he provides them with houses reserved for this purpose”. This statement seems to imply how much Akbar wanted to effectively Christianize his lands. Although the issue of language still appears, as “the King was happy when he heard me speaking Persian”, especially in the context of debates at the House of Worship which were conducted in Persian, it still is a positive emotional encounter and display. Improvements would be furthermore welcome as it could be said “with confidence ... that if we spoke the language well the King would be extremely pleased and I feel we would do signal service to God”.²²

The gifts which Akbar received from the Jesuits were also sources of positive emotions and displays of happy omens. The Jesuits had brought with them a special Arabic version of the Gospel, translated into many languages, and upon receiving it, Akbar “performed such an elaborate ceremony that we were all together surprised”. After taking up each tome individually, he kissed it, placed it on his head with “great reverence” in front of his entire retinue, and paid overwhelming respect to the Gospel itself “over the others”. There were also paintings which caused Akbar to “order replicas of the crucifixes and the other pictures made in ivory, gold, and he has also ordered for himself a reliquary of gold”.²³ Thus, all the gifts were accepted with “great effusiveness and immense joy”. He leafed through the books with “great reverence and delight” and wished that [the collection] should be left to him. When the priest Monserrate became ill, Akbar treated him with great love and care, with his finest doctors “display[ing] a special solicitude and love through the treatment”, and upon his revival, Monserrate mirrored Akbar’s special feelings by the “pleasure he experienced in being in his presence”, and by expressing what a “great and joyful day” that of their reunion was. When dining together, Akbar would often send special selections of food from his own table to the fathers, displaying again his unique regard for the fathers, and by extension, their religion. Thus, while it was difficult at times for the three Jesuits to continue, they were able to report that “where there are

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 30.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

prayers and sacrifices, there are hopes”, meaning hopes regarding the possibility of Akbar’s future conversion. The sovereign furthermore instructed his sons to behave in the same manner, especially within churches or other sacred spaces. For example, “He at once entered the church, having left his shoes outside, and the others followed suit, and he instructed his sons to behave very respectfully in the church.... On entering, he admonished his children to reverence to the altar-piece, and he himself and all the rest paid much reverence and respect to the picture. We were overjoyed with the hopes that this raised in our hearts”. Thus, all of these signs together raised “great hopes” in the hearts of the Jesuits that it would be possible to bring Akbar, like the lords of Ireland, into the Catholic fold. At a later point, Akbar gives up his second son Pahari to Jesuit instruction, hoping to have him trained in Portuguese and Christian law. Monserrate, in charge of the child’s new program of education, writes with great anticipation and hope about the future: “I have frequently reason to offer prayers to Our Lord when I see this child before me like a blank paper on which may be written whatever one wishes.... I have my hands in such important dough”.²⁴

Doubts of the Missionaries

The Jesuit fathers were of course very savvy and observed the king carefully in their attempts to turn him into a good Christian lord. This was in line with Ignatius’s effort to have his priests read carefully the norms of another speech community and conform themselves to those norms. In general, Akbar’s actions continued to improve the hopeful qualities of their interactions. “His talk, the much light he receives from God, and his great liking for the things of our holy faith are very gratifying”. Upon discussing the potential for conversion to Christianity, Akbar told the Jesuits “that it was in the hands of God Almighty to provide the necessary means [for his conversion]; that he had nothing else to wish for in this world; that wife, children and kingdom did not matter to him, and that, if there were no other means available to him, he would pretend he wanted to go to Mecca and then would go to become a Christian [instead] ... on that day, the King appeared more inclined towards our religion than at any other time”. The Jesuits continued to profess their usefulness to the king, in hopes of what it would bring: “[We proposed] occupations in which we could serve him ... that we would teach Portuguese to the princes [sons] ... he turned [to this offer] with great pleasure and signs of contentment”. The Jesuits further observed, however, that Akbar himself was very bright, and his “eyes seem as if they hurt you with their brightness”, so that nothing escaped his notice, and also “reveal the sharpness of mind and keenness of intellect, being very courteous and sensible

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

and extremely dignified”. All of these images and characterizations push the role of a good Christian lord which the Jesuits hoped that Akbar would consent to play. However, being rather unaware of the other problems facing the sovereign, the Jesuits were not able to obtain the succor of hope that they wished for. Akbar had become embroiled in a serious dispute regarding his ultimate authority, which began at the aforementioned House of Worship, with the arrival of the Jesuits. This involved the process of *muta*, or the practice of taking temporary wives, which was allowed in Hindu tradition. Akbar had expanded the practice to include over three hundred wives for himself, some from as far away as Tibet. Akbar had maneuvered the legal experts at the House of Worship to allow that when one or two of the mullahs disagreed on a ruling, Akbar had the right to choose the proper interpretation between them. He used this incisive launch point to begin an overhaul of the mullah’s authority to determine proper law within his kingdom. The Jesuits were quick to notice these dissimulations, and were slowly becoming aware that they were being used as pawns in a much greater drama. “King has a vocation from God, but weak, according to his capacity ... he has some defects both native and acquired: Native, such as curiosity and inconsistency, and acquired, such as of drink and desire of personal glory”. These “defects” would prove impediments to conversion unless they could be remedied. However, Akbar showed little interest in such remedies prescribed by the Jesuits. “with all these acts of courtesy and the rest I have said about him, he still has the same negligence in seeking to know things of God, and never finds the time to speak with us.... He [promised an appointment for instruction] but ultimately he did not keep the appointment, and sent word to say that he was going hunting the next day and wanted to sleep.... From a short time ago till now he has shown himself little generous, when before he was very much so. We think that this results from his wishing to save for some war that may present itself”.²⁵ The Jesuits knew that Akbar had made himself very unpopular in some circles by his religious disputations and his apparent lack of reverence paid to Muslim laws. Thus, they understood that it may be necessary for Akbar to force his authority onto some others. It was the ideal situation for him to turn Christian, but the potential for such a conversion seemed to be rapidly diminishing. “The hope that this king be converted is slender, on account of the great obstacles in his way”,²⁶ claimed Acquaviva in 1581. He wrote to the general of the Society: “with all of this good news, we are in great doubt about the conversion of the king: first, because he doubts about everything and so it is not enough to prove to him the mysteries of the faith with Scripture, but he desires to understand them with his reason; second, because he does not give time for understanding the word of

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 53, 81-82.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 94.

God, and when he does give time he pays little attention; third, because he has many hobbies and at least a hundred wives, he has whatever his soul desires, and when the seed of the word has grown, the thorns grown at the same time choke it. Fourth, because he is very curious and wants miracles, and three or four times he tempted us that we should enter into the fire with the Gospel, and that one of his would enter with the Koran”.²⁷ All these factors combined to keep alive strong doubts in the face of the hope the Jesuits wished to project regarding Akbar’s conversion to Christianity. In another letter to the provincial of India, Acquaviva again lists the reasons for great doubt in the future of the king’s adherence to Catholicism:

He does not pay adequate attention to the word of God ... he does not believe the sacred books of scripture and, even if he believes, he doubts the genuineness of the ones we have and hence wants to understand the mysteries of faith and to attain that inaccessible light of god through his own wisdom ... the third obstacle is that he keeps himself greatly occupied, partly with his people, granting them audiences, partly in watching the deer, pigeons, elephants, camels, etc., that are brought before him daily; and a part of the time he spends with the numerous women he keeps in his house, so that he has no time available to care for what is of consequence to him ... the fourth is that the King has every sort of recreation imaginable, so that the thorns choke the word ... the fifth is the opposition of his own people which, believe me your reverence, is rather great, for on the one side he has his mother, wives, and friends to importune him, and on the other are those who wish him ill, like those of Bengal, who frighten him with their uprisings; the sixth is that he has some defects both native and acquired.²⁸

The Jesuits were clever enough to perceive, however, the difficult circumstances of Akbar’s current leadership, and the precarious nature of his position. Especially as their knowledge of the language and the court and its intrigues increased, they began to understand other mitigating factors which influenced Akbar’s apparent disinterest in their religion. Akbar was playing a very delicate balancing game between many competing political interests in his empire, while he himself had always strayed into a very liberal religious outlook. He had gotten himself this reputation after the prediction of his three sons’ births by a Sufi saint caused Akbar to revere a Sufi branch of Islam which favored a direct connection with God. Akbar began to make increasing breaks with “traditional” Islam, ending persecutions for “unorthodox” Muslims, protecting the idols and sacred spaces of other sects like the Jains, and undergoing a mystical experience while on a

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 59.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 64-65.

great hunt, after which he allowed all the captured animals to go free.²⁹ In order to coalesce support among the newly conquered Hindus that he was attempting to bring into his empire, Akbar allowed the increase of various public worship of religions, building of temples, and even allowed the forced conversion to Islam among former Hindus to be reversed. He chose from all ranks of men for his administration and army without reference to the historical Muslim monopoly on such positions. Akbar was trying to build a new kind of empire in India, one which went beyond the traditional divide of Muslim and non-Muslim, and this required breaking the exclusive power held by the governing Muslim elites.

In reality, the House of Worship was a development with this motivation planned exactly in the mind of the sovereign. Akbar had proposed to set up debates at the house over various aspects of religious policy and Islamic law, but what quickly became apparent was that very little linked together the various schools and sects of Islamic thought, much less those attached to other intellectual traditions. There was no actual possibility at the house that consensus could be reached, and dissonance reigned. This was where Akbar had his advantage, as he quoted Islamic tradition selectively himself:

“Have you heard that, supposing there are ninety-nine traditions for awarding the punishment of death for a certain offense, and one tradition in accordance with which the accused person may be set at liberty *muftis* should give preference to that one tradition?” I said, “Yes it is just as your Majesty has said; and this question is governed by the Arabic maxim ‘Verily legal punishments and inflictions are set aside by doubts’”, and I translated the maxim into Persian.³⁰

This was the basis upon which Akbar built his so-called “infallibility” decree in which he claimed that in all debates on religious policy held at the House of Worship, when there arose disagreements on the correct policy or administrative directive in orthodox Islam, even to the point of having a single dissenting opinion against overwhelming consensus, Akbar would hold the right to make his own choice between the opinions. This effort was formally inscribed into a document issued in September 1579 as a result of these debates: the “Mahzar” of Akbar’s reign. The basic assertions of the document were (1) Akbar was the kalifa of the age, (2) the rank of the kalifa was higher than that of a mujtahid, or teacher of Islamic law, (3) in the case of a difference of opinion among the mujtahids, Akbar was free to select any one opinion, and (4) Akbar himself could issue religious

²⁹ Sri Ram Sharma – *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*. New York: Asia Publishing House, 1962, pp. 14-15.

³⁰ Shireen Moosvi, ed. – *Episodes in the Life of Akbar: Contemporary Records and Reminiscences*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1994, p. 67.

decrees which were not against any injunctions in the Qur'an and which "[were] also of real benefit to the people".³¹ These revolutionary assertions made Akbar a totally independent sovereign who could govern and make all decisions without specific reference in the Islamic tradition, and who therefore proceeded to set down an administration for his empire with only weak and nominal reference to Sharia law. This was the true purpose of the House of Worship to which the Jesuits had been invited: it was a device designed to expose religious disunity within traditional Islamic thought and law in order to bolster Akbar's own claim to exclusivity in religious governance. The historical significance of such a document should not be underrepresented; stated clearly, "Akbar intended to devise some means of freeing himself from the politico-religious pretensions of Iran and religious hegemony of Rum ... thus very slyly the Imami-i-adil of Hindustan was placed above the mujtahids of Persia".³²

Thus, the Jesuits slowly became aware of the reality Akbar faced through their experiences at the debates of the House of Worship. Monserrate notes, "[During the lecture] he was sleeping, and on the other hand he cast his very bright eyes all about the room taking stock of the persons with the dissimulation of a very prudent and wise man".³³ Such experiences led the Jesuits to believe that many of Akbar's "bad" qualities were dissimulations, designed to protect the ruler from unwanted public association which may have even further degraded his position in the eyes of Islamic traditionalists, and perhaps even endangered his own rule. These worries seemed to come directly to the forefront of public consciousness during a subsequent rebellion in Bihar and Bengal against Akbar's overlordship. Although contemporary scholars have identified the rebellion as related to the imposition of military administrative reforms and the reduction of pay schemes for soldiers,³⁴ at the time the Jesuits saw that the king's appearance of opposition to Islamic tradition had given the rebels a popular excuse for executing on their efforts to break away from Akbar's rule. This was why Akbar himself began to disassociate from spending so much time with the Jesuits, and began to prefer talking with them through his closest Muslim ally, Abu'l Fazl, chronicler of Akbar's reign. This coolness is eventually seen in a positive light: "we came to understand the great prudence of the King, who, in order not to excite his people to rebellion, shows himself to be on their side.... Thus he carries on being instructed and understanding the things of our faith with as little scandal of his own as is possible".

³¹ Nurul S. Hasan – *Religion, State, and Society in Medieval India*. Ed. and Intro. by Satish Chandra. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 79. For the complete text of the decree, see Sri Ram Sharma – *The Religious Policy ...*, cit., pp. 31-32.

³² Nurul S. Hasan – *Religion, State, and Society ...*, cit., p. 83.

³³ John Correia-Afonso – *Letters from the Mughal Court ...*, cit., p. 74.

³⁴ Douglas Streusand – *The Formation of the Mughal Empire*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989, pp. 154, 159.

He warned the fathers because of the “love” he bore them, that they should “mind our words” at the debates of the House of Worship and not speak too harshly of the Prophet Muhammad and other Islamic traditions. But the negative omens did not stop appearing, and the Jesuits knew increasingly of the dangers, writing of their doubts: “We are led to believe that all this is dissimulation towards his men by the noise and tumult there is among the people, to the effect that the King has given up his law and taken up ours, and on this account he lost the kingdom of Bengal ... and the King does not dare to move from here because he fears to be stabbed in the back by the King of Kabul, his brother, who is suspected of having an understanding with the rebels”.³⁵ These understandings gave some impetus to the Jesuits to set aside their doubts, perceiving the delicate balance Akbar had to work within, and allowed them to return to a flickering hope of possible conversion in the future, with the comment, “It is possible that, when there are many Christians in these parts, he may more easily make up his mind in the matter of religion ...”.³⁶

When the Jesuits had the opportunity to express their doubts to the sovereign himself, Akbar always responded by effectively doubling down on his love and positive emotional expressions to prevent the Jesuits from giving up their mission and leaving, an eventuality Akbar consistently attempted to avoid. The Jesuits always finished their lists of doubts with recurring reasons to keep up their hopes: the king “is also very good in some ways ... of good disposition, prudent, very intelligent, amenable to reason, does good deeds, has great devotion to Christ our Lord and to the most holy Virgin Mary and to their pictures. And above all, we are very hopeful because we have here a King with good will, although he is hated on this account, and is prone to danger ... we are neither disillusioned nor without hopes ... [instead] we are placed between hope and fear”.³⁷ The tensions of this position became more visible as the mission began to wear on into the years.

Frustrations in the Mission

The inability to find a way to convert Akbar, always tantalizingly close, caused a great deal of frustration in the missionaries, expressed at times in their letters despite prominent efforts to return their narrative again to a hopeful one with future possibilities. The major frustration faced at most of the instances was the same one which Xavier had faced moving about all the southern villages of Tamil India: that of language. The difficult debates at the House of Worship had to be

³⁵ John Correia-Afonso – *Letters from the Mughal Court ...*, cit., p. 78.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 102

³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 66, 60.

interpreted constantly for the Jesuits, and their own comments were presented through the means of Persian interpreters, whose grasp of the language appeared to be less than adequate. Monserrate's frustrations at the court appear within the first few months, and he said of the other mullahs, "I was as unhappy with them as I am with the rest of the accursed sect I was very dissatisfied with the interpreters: they spoke little and misunderstood what was being said, and of some replies which were not in accord with what we were saying. I realized that they did not understand the idea".³⁸ The only man at the House who seemed capable of giving appropriate explanations was Abu'l Fazl, the court chronicler previously assigned to the Jesuits, who managed to give a tremendously satisfying explanation on the possibility of God having a Son as part of a debate, which seemed to convince many at the House, including Akbar himself. Thus, the Jesuits concluded, just as Henry Henriques did, that in order to have the most convincing explanations of theological concepts, in addition to understanding the common goings-on at court and other centers of power, a particular self-mastery of the Persian language was absolutely necessary, and that their mission could not be accomplished effectively through interpreters. The Jesuits agreed therefore upon a program of learning and studying the language for four months, and they translated some stories from the Bible for use in their explanations. The true advance of their skills in understanding what was happening around them was based on the directive that they should forever be absolutely ready to answer all who should ask any question regarding the faith, without any fear. Yet their experiences and consequent frustrations had already compromised this point to a great degree, making the fathers less brazen in their demonstrations: "experience has taught us, and will teach all who should be chosen for a similar mission, that as regards to the time and the manner it is necessary to have much judgment in order to yield fruit". The flow of information and the need for temperance in attempting conversion was stunningly impressed on the missionaries even years after their original arrival, as Acquaviva writes in 1582:

I have many things to convey to you [the provincial] regarding this mission which I have found out and am still finding out each day, ever since I learnt the language, and wherein there is need of great discretion and much advice and consideration in order to be able to deal properly with the affairs of this mission ... we undertake the mission with renewed strength and courage despite the very great difficulties that this wicked sect always presents. And for the time being I suggest to you a means as it occurs to me, to start in Goa a seminary in the Persian language for the Muslims and in the Hindustani for the Hindus, to cater for the children of both the Hindus and the Muslims that you will find over there,

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

and those who may be sent from here, and in my opinion, this method will be unique, since the King says openly that in his lands everyone is free to follow the religion of his choice.³⁹

Not only was frustration great regarding the technicalities of language, but the minority status assigned to the missionaries among all the many prominent Muslims made another major impression on the Jesuits, especially Rodolfo Acquaviva. He felt increasingly unable to continue the mission, its requirements being above his strength, after the departure of Monserrate with Akbar to wage war against his brother Mirza Khan in Kabul. Alone and without assistance, Rodolfo laments having to remain

in the midst of a perverse nation ... where our eyes see nothing but what is sinful, and our ears hear nothing else than the unmentionable and ugly name of Muhammad. And this I write to your reverence with tears, that here in the air echos with nothing but this diabolical name, and hardly ever do we hear the sweet name of Jesus, for the Muslims when they refer to him call him only Jesus the prophet and deny that he is the Son of God. And I say: I do not know this Jesus and I cannot speak but of Jesus the Son of God. And if at times I want to communicate this ardor to others through my words to satisfy this desire of mine of saying Jesus Christ the Son of God, the trouble and pain is then redoubled, for some say 'astafarla' (God forbid), another stops his ears, a third laughs, and another bursts into blasphemy. And when I return I wish that the walls and the few Christian souls as in Noah's ark speak to me of nothing else than the Son of God, the Son of God. But to these desires they seem to reply ["How shall we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land?"] ... in brief, everything is Muhammad and this Antichrist dominates among this people.⁴⁰

This stark singularity among a sea of Muslims shakes Rodolfo to his core, especially under the threat of physical violence and death if one were to speak too freely of Jesus Christ the Son or against Muhammad the prophet. Rodolfo cannot help but feel "alone as I am among infidels who desire to drink my blood", and his doubts regarding Akbar's behavior begin to take a more negative turn, as "we have come to know that much of what this King did last year and this year was dissembling, because he knew that his brother was going to wage war against him, and since he had to go and meet the enemy in person he wished to protect his back, making sure of the Portuguese by a show of attachment to our faith".⁴¹ This

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 117.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 89-90.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 95-96.

feeling of despair begins to creep into Rodolfo's letters in the last months of the mission; in those letters, he expresses that he has no hope for their intended goal of conversion; however, he was also unable to leave the court to return to Goa.

Martyrdom as a Theological Resource

The frustrations and challenges associated with the mission in the “middle of a perverse nation” mounted against the Jesuit, and time and again the positive emotions melded with negative situations through the catalyst of martyrdom. “The Lord makes us feel that our labors are acceptable before his Majesty no less than if they had the desired effect ... so much service to God as is planting of his faith among a barbarous people with so much danger to our lives ... every true son of the Society must be envying us ... ‘Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends’ (Jn 15, 13)”. Thus, the circumstance and emotional nature of death remains strongly contrasted against the idea of great, or the greatest, love. The Jesuit missionaries could then begin to read great positivity into situations which would normally cause great displeasure or negative emotional conditions. The contrast in emotional norms remains striking: “I am in good health, content and happy with my mission in the midsts of a perverse nation, where there is the possibility of martyrdom, owing to the hatred all bear us, were it not that my sins have so far barred me from it”. These norms are reversed as Acquaviva claims pleasure from these trying circumstances. Further, he blames his own sins as the reason he has not yet achieved the positive feat of martyrdom, while furthermore the Jesuits have not yet been called to “resist to the blood”, or resist until torture and death.⁴² In such dire straits, “Our Lord in his mercy does not cease to comfort us in the midst of these and similar things and humiliations which we receive from this people”, and the idea of a God comforting a martyred Christ can be used by Acquaviva to comfort himself in his darkness. Even after also experiencing a long and dangerous illness, which left him helpless, Acquaviva finds himself “as a man without help, but with great confidence [he] kept saying ‘to the poor and fatherless you will be a helper.’” Thus, the idea of martyrdom, and the death of weak creatures who cannot help themselves, but are helped by God instead, meant “the Lord is pleased to test those who trust in Him”. This returns the discussion to the idea of indifference; that is, being detached from the negative or positive qualities of experience, and simply evaluating things based on their effectiveness in being used as a tool to help others realize Christian truth. Ignatius had originally continued in his previous letter:

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 98.

To attain this it is necessary to make ourselves indifferent to all created things, in regard to everything which is left to our free will and is not forbidden. Consequently, on our own part we ought not to seek health rather than sickness, wealth rather than poverty, honor rather than dishonor, a long life rather than a short one, and so on in all other matters.

Such disassociation of good things from bad things, in relating to the emotions experienced, became a resource for the Jesuit missionaries to express joy and hope at very difficult situations or while undergoing very unpleasant trials. Acquaviva himself uses the idea of indifference, denying to the general of the society that he relied on a sense of his own desires, but instead: "I keep before my eyes only God's will, which I know can be interpreted for me by you alone". He claims "I am indifferent, and the suspense of not knowing what God has in store for this mission adds to my indifference".⁴³ No matter how bleak the prospect of mission, the idea of a martyred faith held strong and caused Jesuits like Acquaviva not to give up. Instead, he even writes in his letters discussing the end of their time and the court of Akbar with the general: "if we think that there is no hope of fruit in these parts, we should ask the king leave to return to Goa. And since the Father left the whole matter in our hands, it seems to us that it would not be to God's service that we abandon this mission". In spite of all the pain and suffering of living alone in miserable conditions among many "infidels", the father's indifference to his own condition meant that he could still recommend to the general that the mission continue, but he furthermore produced a number of rational arguments:

The first reason is that the King gives greater hope of himself than in the past, and wants to know more of the law of God, and this he does with greater diligence than before, and shows greater affection to our faith, though he still has those impediments ... the second reason is that we hope the King's second son, called Pahari, now 13 years old, who is learning the Portuguese language and with it the teaching of our faith towards which he feels inclined, will profit very much from this occasion, as he is endowed with very good natural dispositions and talent.... A third reason is that we have discovered the existence of a pagan tribe called Bottant... a people of excellent disposition and given to pious works. They are white people and ... very fruitful work could be done ... we hope that there will be in that region an abundant harvest of other gentiles ... the fifth reason is that this region where we are is India proper, and this kingdom is, so to say, the stepping stone to the whole of India, and the shelter where people of all parts of India converge and many of Asia ... it does not seem convenient to throw away this wonderful occasion before all possible avenues have been explored to

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p .116.

start conversion work in the terra firma of India, for what has been done so far has been only on the seacoast ... this is what moves us not to abandon this enterprise.⁴⁴

The Jesuit sense of indifference allows the possibility of positive emotional content being grafted onto typically negative events like martyrdom and death, and allows Acquaviva to focus here on the positive and reasons why a little more could still yet be tried in favor of the Law of God. Even to his last days at the court, Acquaviva can still call such a death a privilege: "Perhaps the hour has already come for me to be sacrificed, as the King himself begins to be cautious and fears for my life. May I, Father, through your sacrifices be found worthy of such a privilege".

Such self-sacrifice in the name of Christian conversion may have been justified by ideas of martyrdom and the eternal quest for dying for the truth of Christian faith, yet the Jesuits had a few more clues regarding the plans and sensibilities of Akbar which informed them that even in contrast with the Muslim religion, Akbar may not join Christianity even if he left the circle of Islam. Akbar had issued his Mahzar decree and formed the House of Worship in order to break the back of Muslim control over his legal and royal jurisdictions, but there is less evidence to suggest that he intended to fully abrogate the teachings of Islam. He proved remarkably integrative in taking elements of various religious traditions and coalescing them into something which touched on them all. Akbar called this approach *Sulh-i Kull*, or "Absolute Peace" as a mark of "universal toleration".⁴⁵ Members of any religion could join Akbar's service as if they were all of the same religion, and the ruler did not make the traditional Muslim distinction between Muslim and *zimmi* (non-Muslim). Akbar built a model of kingship which resembled more standard Hindu models, echoing the discipleship allowed to Sufi members through the following of their Pir, or spiritual guide. This approach led the Jesuits into recurring bouts of disappointment when attempting to convert Akbar, because he was open to their arguments and especially their commitment to truth, but he drew the line at his own adoption of another religion as his faith.⁴⁶ The Jesuits knew of this confusion, and spoke of it in their letters underlining their well-founded doubts regarding the potential for conversion in this royal personage:

Among the people here, there are still different opinions about the King, for some think he is a Christian, others think that he is a Hindu, and others

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 102-104.

⁴⁵ Douglas Streusand – *The Formation ...*, cit., p. 137.

⁴⁶ Gian Carlo Calza, ed. – *Akbar: The Great Emperor of India*. Milan: Skira Editore, 2012, p. 56.

a Muslim. Others, with better judgment, think he is neither a Christian, nor a Hindu, nor a Muslim. I consider this to be true, or perhaps that he is a Muslim, but conforms himself to all to win the goodwill of all.⁴⁷

The Jesuits were very aware of the potential dangers in this game, in that they could be sidelined through their association with the King of Portugal, with whom Akbar had many disagreements over the control of the seas and issuance of *cartaz* passes. They also could be drawn further into Akbar's efforts to remove himself from being under the authority of Islamic law experts who insisted on the application of Sharia without fail. The Jesuits identified this danger too, and asked for help from the superior regarding the approach to take in such a delicate task, writing:

Your reverence should kindly write to me what my attitude toward the King should be, as I am afraid that he and some of his people may make use of me to disprove the Muhammadan religion and then avail of some matter of our Holy Scripture, not for the benefit of our religion but for some other purpose, because there are those who feel that the King is bound to come out with something new one day.⁴⁸

And come out with something new he did: what he called the *Din-i-Ilahi*, or *Tauhid-i-Ilahi*, or divine monotheism. His religion did not use persuasion, force, or bribery for gaining new adherents, and there were no missionaries or converts to the "religion", only disciples.⁴⁹ Akbar's intention was to separate himself and his disciples from "traditional" and "imitative" Islam which had marked previous dynasties in India. Instead, he set himself up as a Sufi-like saint, a "perfect man", whom his disciples would emulate, rather than having his "religion" focus on worship of a particular deity.⁵⁰ Each disciple was asked to sacrifice for the sake of fidelity to the *Din-i-Ilahi*, the "four goods of the world's market": namely, property, life, reputation (honor), and religion. The potential readiness to make any one of these four sacrifices became one of the qualifications for joining the imperial cult.⁵¹

Finally seeing no other option, the Jesuits were recalled from Akbar's court. Akbar's strong emotional reaction is proof of the value he placed in having them at

⁴⁷ John Correia-Afonso – *Letters from the Mughal Court ...*, *cit.*, p. 96.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

⁴⁹ Sri Ram Sharma – *The Religious Policy ...*, *cit.*, pp. 42-46.

⁵⁰ Douglas Streusand – *The Formation ...*, *cit.*, pp. 150-51.

⁵¹ S. M. Burke – *Akbar: The Greatest Mogul*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1989, p. 106.

his court, and present in the debates at the House of Worship. His four arguments, according to Acquaviva, were:

(1) I am very fond of you, and take much delight in your presence and companionship. (2) My disposition is such that I am ready to embrace the truth of the divine law if it is explained to me even by the humblest and poorest, including a woman of lowest rank. (3) You led me to understand many things, which satisfy me much more than what I have heard from exponents of other religious beliefs, by the Muslims or Hindus. (4) If you are bent on going, I shall not prevent you by force, but by no means can you count with my blessing; in a word, if you decide to go, this sin will be on your head.⁵²

Including his use of emotional language, the king offers logical exposition, but also an endorsement of the clarity and excellence of the Jesuit sayings. The veiled threat in the final stanza shows that Akbar really had little intention of driving the Jesuits away; indeed he claims himself to want the divine law explained to him. This continued to be such a truth that it confused even Acquaviva, who wrote, “Frankly I am unable to understand him myself, because on the one hand he is very friendly with us and continues to inquire about our faith ... and on the other hand ... he admitted to me one day that he was so bewildered as to be unable to establish the truth.”⁵³ Akbar insisted on the use of reason for discovering all things related to religion, and as such there were some things even his intelligence could not penetrate.

Jesuit emotions during the mission are mapped onto theological frameworks which helped the Jesuits cope with the reality of their difficult situations. Hope continued to flourish, as doubts and frustrations were converted from martyrdom narratives into the potential for new growth and hope for tomorrow. The key to this cycle was the Jesuit “indifference” to emotion, which allowed emotions to be shaped into tools for the use of God and the spread of Christianity. The particular instance encountered by the Jesuits in King Akbar could not be fully assessed by the model, as the continued friendliness and lack of hostility could not be paired accurately with the martyrdom syndrome, nor with Akbar’s continued refusal to convert to Christianity. However, the final summary of their interactions can be found in the emperor’s own letter to the Jesuit provincial, sent with the departing Jesuits to their leader back at Goa:

God only is great.

⁵² John Correia-Afonso – *Letters from the Mughal Court ...*, cit., p. 108.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 115.

Firman of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Padshah Ghazi, Lord of the sciences of all the books of the law and of the interpretations, to whom nothing pertaining to the law of Christ is hidden, but to whom rather the divine secrets are manifest. The Father Provincial, whom I greatly cherish and love, will know that the petition he sent me was given to me. It came in good condition and I saw it well, and with it friendship was further increased.

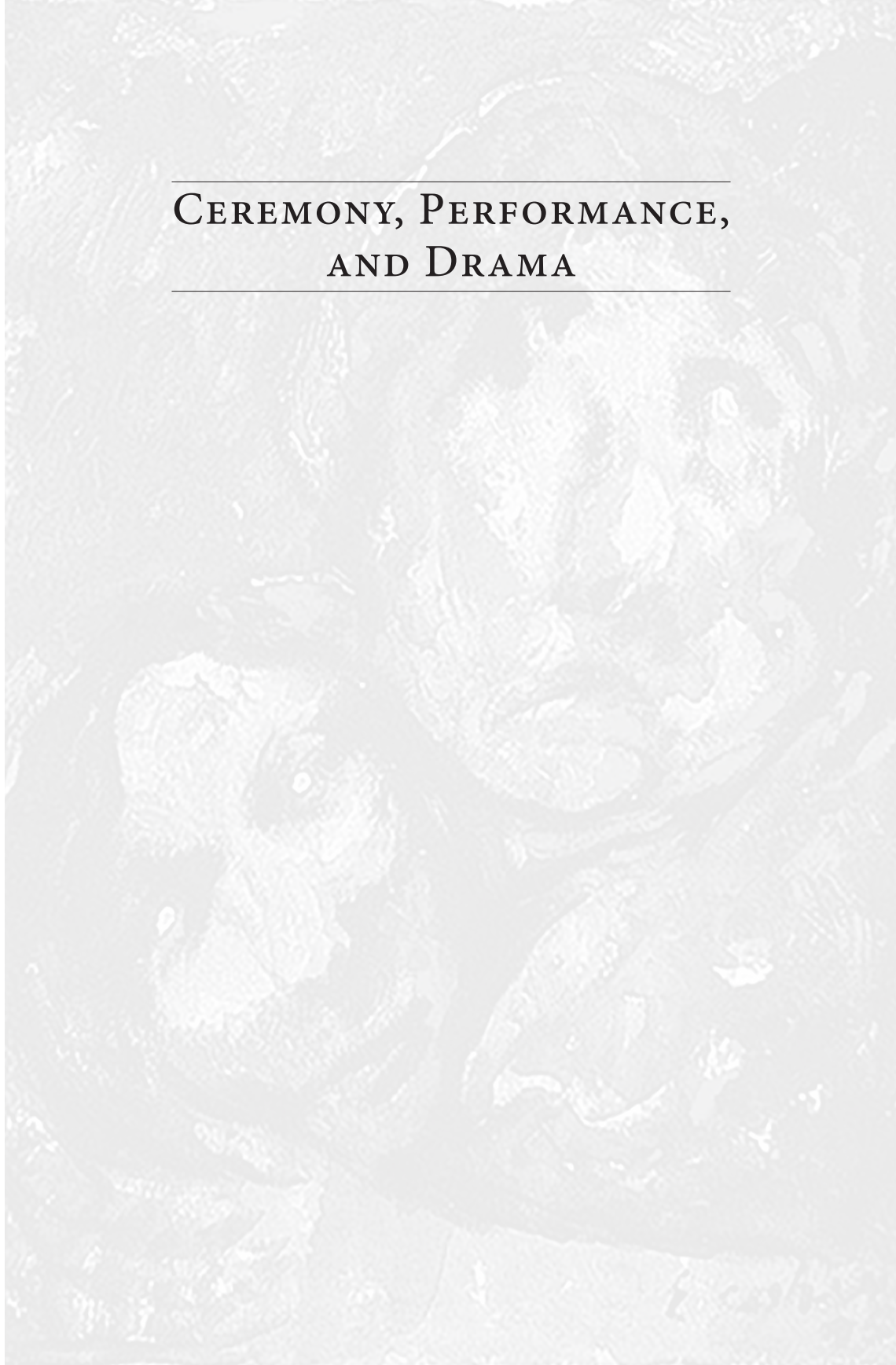
With regard to what he wrote to me about sending hence Fr. Rudolf – since I like very much the book of the heavenly Jesus, and desire to discover the truth of it and with the aid of his skill to find out the meanings of those who have written in the past, therefore I have much love for the Father; and, considering that he is wise and versed in the laws, I desire to have him every hour in conversation with me, and for this reason I refused him the permission. But as Your Paternity asked it of me by letter several times, I did so and gave him permission. And as my intention is that our friendship should go on increasing more day by day, it behooves your paternity to labor on your side towards preserving it, by sending Father Rudolf back to me with some other Fathers; and I would like this to be with the least possible delay, for I desire that the Fathers of this Order be with me, because I am delighted with them. And to the Father I said many things by word of mouth, for him to say there to Your Paternity, which are to be well considered.

Done in the moon of the Month of February of 583 (24 Feb 1583).⁵⁴

Akbar claims mastery of Christian knowledge, but not adherence to the religion itself. He requests the fathers be with him, not for conversion, but because they delight him. This was not an archetype that fit easily into the Jesuits' schematic of oppression and martyrdom. Instead, they are praised by the emperor while conversion remains unfulfilled. The Jesuits could not find many tools for conversion among a court ruled by different emotional frameworks, one where amity did not mean submission. Instead of experiencing martyrdom, the Jesuits were slowly strung along on a thin bit of hope until the end. Ultimately, Akbar was a spirit the fathers could not defeat with their indifference.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 121-22.

CEREMONY, PERFORMANCE,
AND DRAMA



“SHAKING THE DUST FROM THE FEET”:
RITUAL AND TESTIMONY AMONG JESUITS
AND ETHIOPIAN CATHOLICS (SEVENTEENTH CENTURY)¹

LEONARDO COHEN

Rituals reveal values at the deepest level ... Surely men express in ritual what moves them most, and, since the form of expression is conventionalized and obligatory, it is the values of the group which are revealed. I see in the study of rituals the key to an understanding of the essential constitution of human societies.

Monica Wilson,
Nyakyusa Ritual and Symbolism.

On March 29, 1633, the Catholic patriarch of Ethiopia left his home by orders of Emperor Fasilädäs. Accompanied by an entourage of Jesuit fathers and local faithful Catholic followers, he was banished to Färemona in the northern lands from where he would finally be deported back to Goa. It was the beginning of the end: the end of the dream of Ignatius of Loyola himself – of witnessing the reconciliation of the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia with the Catholic Church under the authority of the Roman pope.² Afonso Mendes, the Portuguese patriarch, had occupied the position of representative of the Catholic Church in Ethiopia for nearly nine years. As the supreme Catholic authority in the country,

¹ I would like to thank Professor Steven Kaplan, Professor Nurit Stadler, Professor Kay Kaufman Shelemay, and Dr. Linda Zampol d’Ortia, for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

² For more on this subject see Santiago Madrigal. La carta al Negus de Etiópia. *Miscelánea Comillas*. 53 (1995) 341-79; Id. – La ‘jornada’ de Etiópia en el epistolario ignaciano. *Manresa*. 68 (1996) 71-85; Nuno da Silva Gonçalves – Inácio de Loiola, D. João III e a Missão da Etiópia. *Brotéria*. 134 (1992) 497-510.

he saw the Ethiopian emperor's decree as an ominous decision which irrevocably brought the Catholic venture to an end and put him and his followers on the road to an uncertain destination. Before setting off on his journey, Mendes preached a sermon and performed a ceremony which fulfilled the function of preparing his congregation for the fate that awaited them.³

Mendes began by referring to the exemplary sanctity of the Jesuit fathers who accompanied him and the righteous and pure manner in which he had carried out his own duties. He continued, stating the difficulties and vicissitudes besetting the efforts that he and his companions undertook to bring the "gospel of peace" to Ethiopia:

Along the way by land and sea we suffered great toils, and in payment for it we are now cast out of Ethiopia in the manner you see, and forced to do as Christ entrusted his disciples, saying that they should give peace to every house they entered so that if its dwellers were children of peace, it would rest upon them, and if they were unworthy of it, then it were unto the disciples themselves to give it unto them; and if they happened to enter a town into which they were not welcome or were driven away after having been received, they should leave it and shake off the dust of their feet as testimony against its people, showing thus that they had toiled in vain or that they were such ingrates that it was better not to carry even the dust of the town with them, or that God would turn it into dust which the wind lifts and scatters upon the face of the earth. We came to Ethiopia bringing the gospel of peace, we bloodied our feet on the way to Dancaly [that is, Dänkäl]; we walked many roads for provision, and after having been received by your pastors and [you] swore obedience to the Roman Church with oaths and excommunications, you abandon its faith and cast us out.⁴

Following these words, Mendes called upon his followers to observe the precepts of Christ and, removing his shoes, with one in each hand, said:

Oh ungrateful and strange land, ingrate to God and strange to the Roman Pontiff, his vicar on earth, ingrate and strange to the King of Portugal, to its true patriarch the bishop and to the fathers, thou are not worthy of having our feet carry thy dust; hence I shake it off. Hither do I leave everything I took from thee.⁵

³ A transcription of the sermon can be found in Portuguese in the work of the Jesuit Manuel de Almeida. *Historia de Ethiopia a Alta ou Abassia*. In *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Saeculo XVI ad XIX*. Ed. by Camillo Beccari. Vol. VII. Roma: C. de Luigi, 1903-1917, pp. 233-36; and in Balthazar Tellez – *Historia Geral de Ethiopia a Alta*. Coimbra: Na officina de Manoel Dias, 1660, pp. 532-34. The Latin version can be found in the work of the Catholic patriarch, *Expeditio Aethiopica*. See Camillo Beccari – *Rerum Aethiopicarum ... cit.*, vol. IX, pp. 49-53.

⁴ *Ibidem*, vol. VII, p. 234.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

He hurled his shoes into the air and added:

Remember ye also that when Christ in his death left Judea for its ingratitude, the world was shrouded in darkness whereby God showed to those who nailed his Son to a cross that they were unworthy of looking upon it. Saint Paul says that those who abandoned the truth of faith after knowing it, have again crucified the Son of God; so does Ethiopia now; she crucifies the Son of God again; she is not worthy anymore of looking upon the cross that the Roman Pontiff entrusted me to carry forth.⁶

And again, as testimony, the patriarch placed the cross in a sack of black cloth with which it was covered during the journey. Then he continued:

I warned ye that after Christ sent his disciples to shake the dust off their feet, he said that more mercifully were Sodom and Gomorrah to be treated on the Day of Judgment, than the ungrateful cities in which such a ceremony was performed.⁷

Then, falling to his knees, with all the fathers and priests before the cross, he said:

Most merciful Christ, together with thy servants, captive and cast out for the sake of thy love, I ask upon thy five wounds and infinite mercy to forgive those who have grieved us; first of all emperor Saltan Segued [that is, Fasilädäs] for he knows not what he does nor is he more to blame than those who counselled him; but forgive also his great ones and counselors and all women of royal blood, and all monks and priests and all men and women who seek our banishment. We ask thee to enlighten them with thy faith so that knowing their sins and the causes of the unrighteous hatred they bear us they turn to thee with their heart, to thee, the true God and true man, one person and two natures, Truth for which I am prepared to give my life even a thousand fold if I could. And so fathers, my companions, we have such a certain and abundant reward for so little toil, that we can commence to enjoy it now.⁸

Then, embracing them all, he exclaimed: "*Gaudete et exultate*. [Rejoice and be glad]". He instructed the singers to sing a psalm befitting such a leave-taking; then two musical trios sang in the language of their book (that is, Gə'əz) Psalm

⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. VII, pp. 234-35.

⁷ *Ibidem*, vol. VII, p. 235.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

114: “*In exitu in Israel de Aegypto, Domus Iacob, de populo barbaro*” (“When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a barbarous people”).⁹

Father Manuel de Almeida noted: “Having ended the music among the tears and cries of the many poor who bemoaned their helplessness, we all set off on our way”. Concurrently, the patriarch dispatched an envoy to the emperor with a letter which had been translated into Gəʿəz, and was considered his own will and testament, explaining his motives and declaring his truths.¹⁰

Afonso Mendes vividly and intensely expresses his disillusion when witnessing the collapse, before his very eyes, of the longed-for project. Several elements of this story deserve careful study since they reveal the importance that Jesuits placed on the choreographic and aesthetic elements as a means of channeling situations of a highly emotional intensity. This is made evident at the moment of experiencing – and later of retelling – the beginning of the exile itself. Through the sermon and the ceremony, Mendes emphasizes the temporary defeat of Catholicism in Ethiopia, and, even more so, how these rituals expressed in a comprehensible manner the outpouring of feelings and emotions which that historical moment produced in its protagonists.

The Biblical and Patristic Background

Attention is drawn, first, to the act of hurling shoes into the air as a way of showing contempt for Ethiopia. Mendes provides several explanations for this act, some of which have a basis in patristic literature itself: not wanting to take anything from that land, not even its dust, due to its ingratitude; or that God would scatter the land as dust over the face of the earth; or as proof of having toiled the soil in vain. Such precept could have had its origin in Hebraic symbology, in which *afar vʿefer* (dust and ashes) represent lowliness and worthlessness: sitting on the dust (the ground) was a sign of humiliation, and casting dust atop one’s own head was a sign of grief.¹¹ Indeed, we have no knowledge that this precept, which appears in three of the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles,¹² gave rise to a common practice of the Church in which the officiant performs in a literal manner that which Christ commanded his disciples to do: the act of hurling shoes into the air. It seems more likely that when this experience of humiliation happened, it occurred as a spontaneous act of profound disillusionment with the rejection suffered. It is known that some decades before the event under discussion, in

⁹ *Ibidem*, vol. VII, p. 236.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ Louis F. Hartman – *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*. New York – Toronto – London: McGraw-Hill Company, 1963, p. 596.

¹² Matthew 10:14-15; Luke 10:10-11; Mark 6:11; Acts. 13:50-51.

November 1559, the humanist, physicist, and mathematician Justus Velsius, having been expelled by the senate of the University of Heidelberg, shook off the dust from his shoes and then took his leave.¹³ There is also a precedent of such practices in early Jesuit sources from the middle of the sixteenth century. Because the Gospel was not accepted on the island of Nusa Laut, Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies, removed his shoes and shook the dust from them. He did also the same in Seram Island, at the Maluku province of Indonesia. He did not want to carry with him such "evil earth along with him upon his shoes".¹⁴ But even more interesting is an event recorded in the Ethiopian hagiographic literature, evocative of the ceremony. A Christian holy man repudiated the moral behavior of a man who was faithful to him. Written apparently during the 15th century, the event illustrates how the saintly monk *abunä* Yostinos¹⁵ reprehended a man that removed his wife from his house and sent her away with her child. In her place, the man took a good-looking and wise woman who was capable of taking care of his house and married her. *abunä* Yostinos was furious with him, but the man refused to repent. At this point, the hagiography explains, *abunä* Yostinos came out of the man's house and shook the dust off his feet saying, "We shake for you your dust which followed me from your house, as Our Lord said to his disciples in the Gospel: The house in which you entered, if the people will not receive you, shake off your dust at its door when you leave the house, saying, 'We shake off for you your dust which followed us from your city, so that it be a testimony against them.'"¹⁶

It is difficult to evaluate to what degree such a practice was rooted in local Christianity. Had Mendes received inspiration for this specific performance from Ethiopian monks or clergy who were involved in his Catholic community; or, perhaps, did he base the ceremony on a specific interpretation of patristic sources? Be it as it may, we certainly know that patristic literature does not unequivocally state a way to interpret the precept. For example, Ambrose presents an allegorical interpretation regarding the instruction to shake the dust off one's shoes:

If Christ is to dwell in a house, it undoubtedly must be chosen. But lest an unbelieving people or a heretical teacher deface its home, the church is commanded that the fellowship of heretics be avoided and the synagogue

¹³ Karl Büttinghausen – *Beyträge zur Pfälzischen Geschichte*. Mannheim: Tobias Löffler, 1776, pp. 277-82.

¹⁴ Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink – *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*. Leiden: Brill, 2008, p. 38.

¹⁵ It is possible that the life of *abunä* Yostinos was composed under the direct supervision of the Emperor Zär'a Ya'eqob (1434-1468). According to tradition, Yostinos was one of the teachers of the emperor. See Osvaldo Ranieri – Yostinos. In *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Ed. By Alessandro Bausi, in cooperation with Siegbert Uhlig. Vol. 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014, p. 95.

¹⁶ Getatchew Haile – The Life of Abunä Yostinos (EMML no. 480, fl. 44r-47r). *Analecta Bollandiana*. 101, 3-4 (1983) 117 (Gə'əz) 123 (English).

shunned. The dust is to be shaken off your feet, lest when the dryness of barren unbelief crumbles the soil of your mind it is stained as if by a dry and sandy soil. A preacher of the gospel must take on himself the bodily weakness of a faithful people so to speak. He must lift up and remove from his own soles worthless actions as if they were dust. For it is written: "Who is weak, and I am not weak?" (2 Corinthians 11:29). Any church which rejects faith and does not possess the foundations of apostolic preaching is to be abandoned lest it be able to stain others with unbelief. The apostle also clearly affirmed this by saying: "Reject a man that is a heretic after the first admonition" (Tit. 3:10).¹⁷

Mendes's approach is more literal. Consequently, his interpretation of the verse is more in accordance with the commentaries formulated by John Chrysostom as well as that of Bede, the seventh century English monk. Both of these commentaries allow the comprehension of the act of expulsion of Society of Jesus as an act of dramatic effect.

According to Chrysostom, "If they treat you with insolence, their first reproach will be to not receive the benefit of your peace, and the last will be that they suffer the doom of Sodom. You are to seek out the houses of those who are worthy. If you shake the dust off your feet, you are showing either that you have not been received and heard or that you are attesting to them the long journey you have traveled for their sake".¹⁸ In his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, he adds: "If any do not receive you, shake off the dust from your feet. But these did not do it lightly but because they were driven away by them. In no way did this hurt the disciples; on the contrary, all the more did they continue in the word, 'And the disciples were filled with joy and with the Holy Spirit.' For the suffering for the teacher does not check his boldness but makes the disciple more courageous".¹⁹

Bede the monk states: "According to the commandment of the Gospel, dust was shaken off from their feet in testimony of their labor, because they entered their city, and the apostolic preaching reached all the way to them [the Antiochenes]. Alternatively, the dust was shaken off so that they would take nothing, not even a thing so basic to life, from those who had rejected the gospel".²⁰

¹⁷ Ambrosius – Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam. 6.68. In *Patrologia Latina*. Ed. by Jacques Paul Migne. Vol. 15. Parisiis: Excudebatur apud Migne, 1845, pp. 1685-86. English translation from St. Ambrose of Milan – *Exposition on the Holy Gospel According to Saint Luke with Fragments of the Prophet Isaias*. Trans. T. Tomkinson. Etna, CA: Center for Traditional Orthodox Studies, 1998, pp. 216-17.

¹⁸ John Chrysostom – Homiliae XC in Matthaeum. 32.5. In *Patrologia Graeca*, Ed. by Jacques Paul Migne. 57, p. 383.

¹⁹ John Chrysostom – Homiliae LV in Acta apostolorum. 30. In Jacques Paul Migne – *Patrologia Graeca* ..., cit., 60, p. 222. English translation in Philip Schaff, ed. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Vol.11. Grand Rapids, MI: W.M.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1979, p. 189.

²⁰ Venerabilis Bedae – Expositio in Actus Apostolorum. In *Patrologia Latina* ..., cit., 92, p. 975. English translation in *Cistercian Studies*. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1973, 117-21.

Mendes explains that such an act is performed as a manner of testimony. Indeed, Christ in the Gospels tells his disciples to carry out such a gesture as an act of *martyrium*. Thus, over the years, it became evident in primitive Christianity that verbal testimony would not suffice, and that blood would have to be added. Even though the etymological sense of *martyrium* remained intact well into the fifth century, martyrdom as testimony had weakened. Nevertheless, Clement of Alexandria perceives martyrdom as the supreme testimony which Christians may give of their fealty and love for God, shedding their blood for him.²¹ Despite the fact that Mendes is aware of the sacrifices awaiting him on the road to exile, it is evident that he interprets this verse in the purest sense of testimony in view of the Ethiopian people's antagonism and hostility toward the Catholic faith.

Other Aesthetic Elements

The use of music to increase the aesthetic character of such a catastrophic experience is another exceptional element. The efficacy of much ritual is founded in aesthetics. As noted by Bruce Kapferer, there is a comprehensive pragmatic force of aesthetic processes in ritual.²² As in other religious contexts, it seems that in the case under discussion, music also worked as a "technology" implemented to produce practical results: supplication, communication with the divine, and control of the various levels of psycho-cosmic experience.²³ Several scholars have already developed the idea that music "enhances, intensifies, and – in ways that may elude precise analysis and control but which are nevertheless apparent both to participants and observers – transforms almost any experience into something felt not only as different but also as somehow better".²⁴ As in other liminal experiences, the aesthetic experience emphasizes the participants' communion of certain painful moments, through a mixture of humility, the sacred, homogeneity, and friendship.²⁵ This becomes clear from the descriptions of de Almeida and

²¹ Daniel Ruiz Bueno, ed. – *Actas de los mártires. Edición bilingüe completa*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1987, p. 37.

²² Kapferer stresses what can be broadly described as the dynamic logic of aesthetic processes as symbolically constitutive rather than expressive. However, he reminds us that both aspects are intimately connected. See Maurice Kapferer – *Sorcery and the Beautiful. A Discourse on the Aesthetics of Ritual*. In *Aesthetics in Performance. Formation of Symbolic Construction and Experience*. Ed. by Angela Hobart and Bruce Kapferer. New York – Oxford: Barghan Books, 2006, p. 129.

²³ Ter Ellingson – *Music and Religion*. In *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Ed. by Mircea Eliade. Vol. 10. New York, NY: Macmillan Publishers Company, 1987, p. 164.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 168.

²⁵ Arnold Van Gennep assembles the ceremonial patterns which accompany a passage from one situation to another or from one social world to another. Van Gennep reminds us that in certain ceremonial patterns, the transitional period in a rite of passage is sufficiently elaborate so as to constitute an independent state. Van Gennep – *The Rites of Passage*. Trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffé. London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, pp. 10-11. Victor Turner uses the term *communitas* for the model of

Mendes which evoke music as a transformative power in an evident situation of crisis.

The Jesuits, especially after the arrival of Father Luis Cardeira in 1624, started cultivating the teaching of music and singing, particularly among Ethiopian children. Examples of this innovation were evident at the Catholic seminars and in Catholic services in the period immediately following the conversion of Emperor Susənyos. In his first instructions to missionaries traveling to Ethiopia, Ignatius of Loyola encouraged the introduction of celebrations and processions and suggested that, if the emperor permitted it, a chapel with a choir and organs might be established, though, due to the prohibition against vocal music, the singers could not, of course, belong to the Society of Jesus.²⁶ Father António Fernandes points out that Cardeira's arrival was much needed, because he could teach singing and the playing of musical instruments.²⁷ Indeed, by May 1624, we see that Cardeira was already teaching seminary students how to sing and play, "to the pleasure of the emperor and other lords."²⁸ Cardeira gave music lessons bearing in mind pastoral objectives. The objective was to make innovations in the Divine Offices and other festivities of religious character, introducing new aesthetic elements to enhance the emotions and enliven the Catholic population. At the Gorgora residence, he gave musical instruction so that the young people could sing in the Divine Offices and at other festivities of a religious character.

Cardeira's pupils must certainly have been the group of youngsters who sang Psalm 114 at that noteworthy occasion. Thus, the choice of this literal interpretation of the verse in the Gospels in combination with the chants stems from the need to dramatize the agonizing moment of exile. The chanting of Psalm 114 underscores a clear analogy with the exile from Egypt. In agreement with the Augustinian

interrelatedness that emerges in the liminal period. This is a communion of equal individuals who together submit to the general authority of the ritual elders. See Victor W. Turner – *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure*. New Brunswick and London: Aldine Transaction, 2008, p. 96.

²⁶ Ignatius of Loyola – *Instructio P. Joanni Nunnio et Socis Data pro Aethiopiae ad Ecclesiam Catholicam Reductione*. In *Epistolae ed Instructiones*. VIII, MHSI, vol. 36. Romae: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1966, p. 684. The motto *Jesuit non cantat* (the Jesuits do not sing) was repeated for many centuries among ecclesiastic circles. The *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* even prohibited the singing of the hours and the use of musical instruments in Jesuit residences. The state of affairs changed quickly, however, beginning with the second generation of the Jesuit Order. Students educated after the first generation had different needs. For more detail regarding the Jesuit ambivalence about music, from their earliest years until the first quarter on the seventeenth century, see Franz T. Kennedy – *Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years*. *Studi Musicali* 19 (1988) 71-101; Thomas D. Culley and Clement J. McNaspy – *Music and the Early Jesuits (1540-1565)*. *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*. 40 (1971) 213-45.

²⁷ P. Antonius Fernandez ad Praepositum Generalem S. I. 18 febr. 1624. In Camillo Beccari – *Rerum Aethiopicarum ... , cit.*, vol. XII, p. 40.

²⁸ P. Antonius Fernandez ad Praepositum Generalem S. I. Dancáz, 15 maii, 1624. In Camillo Beccari – *Rerum Aethiopicarum ... , cit.*, vol. XII, p. 55.

commentary, the Christian people are the real Israel and the true House of Jacob. But Egypt, since it is meant to imply affliction, or one who afflicts the right ones, or one who oppresses, is often used as an exemplification of this world.²⁹

This implies that Mendes improvised, or rather planned, a ceremony of passage for this unique occasion, in which he and his community remained in a liminal moment of transition toward new, and until then, implausible circumstances. The ceremony was therefore aimed at assuaging the distress of its participants, facilitating change and the healing from the rupture caused by the irrevocable banishment of the Society of Jesus and its followers.³⁰ Its very characteristics suggest that this way of ritualizing the start of the exile, had, among other objectives, that of imbuing in the participants a sense of aesthetic distancing from their emotions. Indeed, this solemn ceremony provided a symbolic control of the emotional discharge produced by banishment, exile, confusion, danger, and the uncertain risks of the journey. Father Manuel de Almeida tells of what happened after Mendes's words:

The tears of all present were many, and rising, [he] told them: "Do not weep, but if thou must, let it be for them and thy kingdom, against which the angel of God has unsheathed his sword. Yet, sing and help us sing, for today we commence to be disciples of Christ and the time is at hand when he says: 'Beati estis cum maledixerint vobis, et persecuti vos fuerint, et dixerint omne malum adversum vos mentientes, propter me: gaudete, et exultate, quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in caelis.'"³¹

²⁹ Saint Augustine – Expositions on the Book of Psalms. In Philip Schaff – *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers ...*, cit., vol. VIII, p. 550. In different processions organized by Jesuit missionaries around the world, it is possible to see the exile of the Children of Israel as a paradigm of the resurrection of Christ. See, for example, the testimony by Aires Sanches from the mission to Japan in the second half of the sixteenth century: "In that procession of the Resurrection, several events from the Holy Scripture were represented, especially the flight of the Children of Israel from Egypt, for which purpose the Red Sea was created, and which parted to let the Israelites pass through and then closed up again when Pharaoh was passing with his army. The story of the Prophet Jonas was also depicted, showing him emerging from the whale, and other such stories. When the procession was over, the people were exhorted to contrast the sadness of the Passion with the joy of the Resurrection." Quoted in Charles R. Boxer – *The Church Militant and the Iberian Expansion*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, p. 58.

³⁰ See Barbara G. Myerhoff, Linda A. Camino, and Edith Turner – Rites of Passage. An overview. In Mircea Eliade – *The Encyclopedia of Religion ...*, cit., vol. 12 p. 381.

³¹ Camillo Beccari – *Rerum Aethiopicarum ...*, cit., vol. VII, p. 235. "Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you, and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of Me. Rejoice and celebrate, because great is your reward in Heaven; for in the same way they persecuted the prophets before you". Matthew, 5:10-12.

Interpreting the Ceremony

Besides marking the beginning of the exile, this spontaneous ceremony tends to give a structure to the emotions and impulses which could have derived from the confusion of the moment. The emotional patterns of the tale stem from the Ignatian lexicon itself. The tears must be tears of woe for sinners. Saint Ignatius writes to Francis Borgia in 1548 that a motive for tears must be the pain for the sins of others.³² Requesting the same, Mendes thus asks his followers to sing and be joyful as the disciples were when they preached, infused with the Holy Ghost. Undoubtedly, the Jesuits possessed their own pedagogy of feeling. Stemming from the Spiritual Exercises themselves, this pedagogy speaks of articulation between the senses, the affections, and knowledge. It speaks not only of listening to feelings but also of redirecting, channeling, training, and purifying them.³³ The ceremony represents suffering in a meaningful way. One can say that theodicy justifies itself through ritual, as then does culture, since ritual is formulated as the representation of culture.³⁴

Evans-Pritchard suggests: "It well may be that it is not the emotion which brings about the rites, but the rites which bring about the emotion".³⁵ Certainly, this ceremony occurred at a critical moment, in a situation of anxiety or great suffering. We should, however, consider that the expression of emotions – through weeping and crying – could be obligatory and dictated by the ceremony itself. Sociological and anthropological approaches undoubtedly contribute to clarify and explain the necessity of improvising such a ceremony in this particular case of stress and uncertainty. Different anthropologists have acknowledged the importance of the ritual process in diminishing the anxiety caused by critical or dangerous situations, in order to compose a social catalog of individual and subjective emotions.³⁶ This situation of uncertainty and hardship in which the basic interests – of the group as well as of the individual – are seriously threatened, produces the need for prayer.³⁷

³² Santiago Thió – Lágrimas. In *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*. Ed. by José García de Castro et al. Vol. 2. Madrid: Mensajero-Sal Terrae, 2007, p. 1102.

³³ Javier Melloni – Sentir. In José García de Castro – *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana ...*, cit., vol. 2, p. 1635.

³⁴ On this topic see Don Haldeman – Introduction: Why Ritual in Its Own Right? How so? *Social Analysis*. 48, 2 (2004) 1-32.

³⁵ E. E. Evans-Pritchard – *Theories of Primitive Religion*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 45.

³⁶ See, for example, George C. Homans – Anxiety and Ritual: The Theories of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. In *Reader in Comparative Religion. An Anthropological Approach*. Ed. by William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Company, 1958, pp. 112-18; Pietro Scardueli – *Dioses, Espíritu, Ancestros. Elementos para la comprensión de los sistemas rituales*. Trans. Stella Mastrangelo. México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988, pp. 74-88.

³⁷ Jean Cazeneuve – *Sociología del rito*. Trans. José Castelló. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu Editores, 1971, p. 238.

For Mendes and the Catholic laity, the land of Ethiopia had become impure, and needed to be symbolically repudiated and disavowed.³⁸

While analyzing certain expressive types of religion in Africa, different anthropological approaches pointed out the necessity of religious groups suffering deprivation and subordination to emphasize the symbolic displacement of the situation that is causing frustration. This is achieved through symbolic forms in ritual and ceremony – singing, drama, and dance – which confer some kind of compensation. Intense participation in these activities distracts the participants from the frustrations and hardships of their situation. Thus, the group as an entity is not the only important thing. The group and its activity are only a means for this symbolic displacement.³⁹ In Durkheim's view, religious ritual was of primary significance as a mechanism for expressing and reinforcing the sentiments most essential to society's institutional integration.⁴⁰ As Talcott Parson pointed out, this view is closely linked with that which Malinowski applied to the significance of funeral ceremonies as a mechanism for reasserting the solidarity of the group at a time of severe emotional strain.⁴¹ One might assume that without this form of symbolic control or regulation, this emotional discharge would be reduced to a set of impulses devoid of connections to group rules and therefore incapable of contributing to social cohesion. Symbolic and aesthetic creations indeed constitute a response to suffering and loss of meaning.⁴²

Beyond this defensive function of ritual, it can be added that it is also about generating an aesthetic experience. In this sense, it is convenient to define ritual not only in terms of its object, as Durkheim did, but in terms of the emotional dynamics of its participants. The ritual created by Mendes gathers the tensions experienced and incorporates them into the epitome of a cultural model. An appropriate distancing from the emotions is then achieved through a cognitive process. The main idea consists of stimulating the emotions without the emotions overcoming the participants. As expressed by Thomas J. Scheff: "Distress which

³⁸ Sociologist Jean Cazeneuve explains that such are the moments in which religious man becomes uneasy and distressed, "for he comes face to face with his own mystery, with everything that is undefinable in the most intimate of his being ... He then resorts to rites that will reestablish the destroyed balance and that will preserve it or free it of impurity ... He wants again the protection of rules that every change implies. Taboos, cleansings and rites of passage are other defensive reactions to those threats." Jean Cazeneuve – *Sociología del rito ...*, cit., pp. 123-24.

³⁹ James W. Fernandez – African Religious Movements – Types and Dynamics. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 2 (1964) 535-36.

⁴⁰ Emile Durkheim – *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Trans. Karen E. Fields. New York – London – Toronto – Sydney – Tokyo – Singapore: The Free Press, 1995.

⁴¹ Talcott Parsons – *Essays in Sociological Theory*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1954, p. 206.

⁴² Julia Kristeva developed her research on psychoanalysis and religion in this vein. See Julia Kristeva – *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1989; see also, James Dicenso – New Approaches to Psychoanalysis and Religion: Julia Kristeva's *Black Sun*. *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*. 24 (1995) 279-95.

is unbearable is repressed. How can one bear unbearable pain? By experiencing it within a dramatic frame, that is, by feeling assured that one can escape from it, if necessary. At an aesthetic distance, one is both participant in, and observer of, one's own distress, so that one can go in and out freely".⁴³

The understanding of Jesuit dramatic resources, as well as the way the Order used to deal with disruptive situations, should be integrated with the sociological approaches in order to take account of this particular ceremony. Besides the sociological and anthropological view, which sheds light on a ceremony that was created for such a turbulent moment, one can also notice in the ceremony the presence of the typical Jesuit tools for relating to emotional moments. The descriptions of this act show the importance that the Jesuits attached to the aesthetical experience; the choice of this particular performance, as well as its detailed exposition in the Jesuit sources, is linked with Jesuit theater and drama, which was in this period a well-known pedagogical medium for transmitting the Christian message.⁴⁴ As in this specific ceremony, the idea was to move emotions to increase the devotion and communion of audiences and participants.⁴⁵ In this context, the story told by the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles provides a good opportunity to undergo an aesthetic experience in which the past and the present exist simultaneously. The dramatization of exile, thus, manages to generate a path through which the apostolic past and the missionary experience are linked.

Indeed, besides the provoked pain at the foundation of the Ignatian concept of suffering, there is also "unexpected" pain, the pain that occurs as a natural outcome of life, which derives from illness, death, the loss of honor, insults and humiliations, failures, and apostolic frustrations. The Ignatian view perceives experiencing such pain as something closely linked with the sacred.⁴⁶ Given the disruptive capacities inherent in this type of pain, the ceremony led by the Catholic patriarch proposes a framework of understanding and reference in order to link these events with the general history of the People of Israel and the

⁴³ Thomas J. Scheff, Brenda E. F. Beck, Michael P. Carroll, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, Richard Day, Stephen Fuchs, Jeffrey H. Goldstein, Don Handelman, Arlie Russell Hochschild, Bruce Kapferer, Ivan Karp, Aaron Lazare, Philippe Mitrani, Kurt O. Schlesinger, John D. Stoeckle, Jan Van Baal, W. E. A. Van Beek, Thomas Rhys Williams – The Distancing of Emotion in Ritual [and Comments and Reply]. *Current Anthropology*. 18, 3 (1977) 486.

⁴⁴ For a general article on Jesuit theatre with a very useful bibliography, see C. J. McNaspy – Teatro jesuita. In *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*. Ed. by Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín Domínguez. Vol. IV. Madrid: Institutum Historicum S. I., 2001, pp. 3708-14; see also Jean-Marie Valentin – *Les jésuites et le théâtre (1554-1680)*. Paris: Éd. Desjonquères, 2001; Ernest Boyssse – *Le théâtre des Jésuités*. Paris: Henri Vaton, Libraire Éditeur, 1880.

⁴⁵ See Marguerite Soulié – Le théâtre et la Bible au XVI^e siècle. In *Bible de tous les temps*. Ed. by Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel. 5 – *Les temps des Réformes et la Bible*. Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1989, p. 656.

⁴⁶ Santiago Arzubialde – "Dolerse de" y "padecer por" en la mente de S. Ignacio. Reflexiones en torno al análisis textual. *Manresa*. 65 (1993) 107-38.

Catholic Church. This community was preparing itself for exile. In his letter of 1633, Mendes writes that the people accompanying him to Føremona were many and they experienced many dangers, especially the danger of losing their faith.

Not only common people of our own house and the fathers, but many monks and priests in disguise, many widows, nuns, Portuguese as well as Amhara, who would rather leave their lands to go to Føremona, than stay in danger of losing their faith.⁴⁷

The way this event was recorded, as well as the detailed manner in which Mendes's sermon appears in its different versions, suggests that the episode must have been mostly planned, including the delivery of the letter to Emperor Fasilädäs. Moreover, both de Almeida and Mendes wrote similarly about the event, emphasizing the same details in their respective works in an effort to produce an additional emotional impact on readers. Thus, the objective was to turn "factual events into symbols for posterity".⁴⁸ The intention was to make this ritual appear as a watershed in the history of the mission and Catholicism in Ethiopia, as a demarcation of "a before and an after" point, as the final act in the Jesuits' heroic struggle to convert Ethiopia into a Catholic kingdom. The tale presented here is a written account of the exiles' experiences that tries to arouse readers' emotional empathy for those who sacrificed their faith. The event discussed in this paper is a reminder that, when facing specific events in the world, people react in a symbolic and expressive way, while truth and falsehood are not necessarily essential elements.

⁴⁷ Balthazar Tellez – *Historia Geral de Ethiopia a Alta ...*, cit., p. 534.

⁴⁸ Victor Turner – Hidalgo: History as Social Drama. In *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974, p. 112.

STAGING MARTYRDOM IN GOLDEN AGE THEATRE¹

DANN CAZÉS G.

I

The representations and accounts of martyrdom had very relevant functions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since the stories of those who made the “supreme sacrifice for the sake of faith and the declaration of God’s supremacy” had become a matter of actuality throughout Europe. During the Reformation and the Wars of Religion, Christians of all persuasions felt they were living a similar situation as in the early Church period, since many Catholics and Protestants alike had been victims of violence that could be attributed to religious persecution, for it was suffered by people in countries with a persuasion different from their own.² In all of Christianity, there was a general awareness of the possibility of dying for one’s faith, and for many it was something to be embraced, perhaps even longed for. Catholics regarded such action as a testimony to the glory of God and the “true religion”, an act that could “justify” the individual, opening the gates of salvation without any purgatorial suffering.³ Seminarists from the Jesuit Colleges

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² See Brad S. Gregory – *Salvation at Stake. Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1999.

³ See Malveena McKendrick – Introduction. In Pedro Calderón de la Barca. *El Mágico prodigioso. A composite edition and study of the manuscript and printed versions*. Ed. and Introd. by Malveena Mackendrick. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, p. 30.

in Rome getting ready to travel to Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican countries to try to gain or convert followers back to their faith, were fully aware that they risked persecution, torment, and death, and they would prepare to face it. Churches and schools, as well as printed books, featured many plastic representations depicting the most horrifying scenes of torture, execution, and the dismembered bodies of Ancient and Modern martyrs (Fig. 1 and 2). These images presented and glorified the saints' example, but they were also meant to inspire people in the way Cardinal Paleotti expressed it when referring to the most explicitly violent paintings, such as the frescoes of Niccolò Circignani, *il Pomarancino* (c. 1520-1596) in the church of Santo Stefano Rotondo and at the Jesuit English College in Rome: "Il ne faut pas craindre de peindre les supplices des chrétiens dans tout leur horreur, les roues, les grils, les chevalets, les croix. L'Église veut, de la sorte, glorifier le courage des martyrs, mais elle veut aussi enflammer l'âme de ses fils"⁴

In Counter-Reformist Spain, martyrdom stories were found in the hagiography compilations and were also dramatized and staged, addressed to a large and varied audience, meant to evoke a spirit of exaltation by portraying the heroes' resistance to persecution and their acceptance of death. The Catholic population in Spain at that time did not need to expect persecution from other religions, since they lived right in the center of a Catholic country,⁵ but the sense of crisis was kept alive by reports from abroad. Many stories of martyrdom from the missions in the Far East and the accounts of prisoners in Muslim countries were perceived and presented as narratives of actual Modern Age martyrs.⁶

⁴ "Do not be afraid to depict the suffering and torture of the Christians in all its horror, the wheels, the instruments of torture, the grills and crosses. The Church wants to glorify the martyrs' courage, but also to inflame its children's souls" (my translation). Gabriel Peleotti – *De imaginibus sacris, et profanis illustriss. et reuerendiss.* 1594, cap. 35, *apud* Emile Mâle – *L'art religieux de la fin du XVI siècle, du XVII siècle et du XVIII siècle.* Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1972, p. 112. There are many narratives of martyrdom and visual representations produced during this period, meant to aid and support the propagandistic discourses of the various religious persuasions. They all portray the representatives of their own confession as martyrs of the Modern Age, executed in the name of the true faith by the "heretics". Nicolas Beatrizet depicted the suffering and executions of seventeen Carthusians tortured in England during the reign of Henry VIII (1555); Giovanni Battista Cavalieri published *Crudelitas in Catholicis Mactandis* (1582), a book consisting exclusively of illustrations of tortures and executions, and in *Ecclesiae anglicanae trophæa, sive, Sanctorum martyrum, qui pro Christo catholicæ fidei veritate asserenda* (1584), he included engraved reproductions of *il Pomarancino's* frescoes at the church of St. Thomas of Canterbury of the English College in Rome. In Spain, the Carthusians made similar oil paintings for their monasteries, but other plastic representations were mainly portraits of the martyrs with hardly any depictions of violence or cruelty (see Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos – El mártir, héroe cristiano. Los nuevos mártires y la representación del martirio en Roma y en España en los siglos XVI y XVII. *Quintana*. 1 (2002) 83-99). John Foxe published a book with plates showing Anglicans tortured during Mary Tudor's reign (*Actes and monuments of these latter and perilous dates.* 1563). See also John R. Knott – John Foxe and the Joy of Suffering. *Sixteenth Century Journal*. 27/3 (1996) 721-34.

⁵ Many, however, feared persecution resulting from the vigilance of the Inquisition in its efforts to ensure continuation of orthodox practices and beliefs.

⁶ See Malveena McKendrick's Introduction in her edition of *El mágico prodigioso* (*cit.*).

In general, the dramatization of hagiographical material played an important role in the culture of Golden Age Spain.⁷ The plays were performed in the context of religious festivities but were also staged at public playhouses (*corrales de comedias*) for general audiences. This responded to various political, ideological, religious, and cultural circumstances, as well as to play-going practices. Most relevant was the fact that since the Council of Trent, and in accordance with the Jesuit educational concept and methods (based on Horace's *docere et delectare*), theatre was accepted and recommended as a most effective means for transmitting, teaching, and reinforcing faith and religious knowledge, as well as for moral education, through presenting the exemplary lives of saints and other virtuous characters. Offering such material in the attractive, amusing, vivid, and touching ways that only plays could provide was considered even more effective than sermons or paintings:

Habr4 cuatro a1os (por dejar ejemplos lejanos) que en Madrid se represent4 una comedia intitulada *La Baltasara* por ser el caso de la vida virtuosa de una mujer deste nombre; y una moza, est4ndola oyendo se convirti4; lo que no hab4a hecho a vista de tantas im4genes; lo que no hab4a hecho a instancias de muchos predicadores en los p4lpitos.⁸

The use of hagiographical dramas was also very important in promoting the cult of saints. *Comedias de santos* were performed as a part of the beatification and canonization festivities to exalt and glorify the saints, as well as to provide information about them. The plays presented the life stories, miracles, and attributes of new saints, both ancient and recent, introducing or reinforcing the knowledge about them or about venerated candidates for sainthood.⁹ Many plays

⁷ Jes4s Men4ndez Pel4ez lists more than eight hundred titles of plays dealing with the life of saints (*El teatro hagiogr4fico en el Siglo de Oro espa1ol: aproximaci4n a una encuesta bibliogr4fica. Memoria Ecclesiae*. 24 (2004) 721-802). Germ4n Vega Garc4a-Luengos notes the increasing interest in the publication of these dramas since the early 1600s, and observes that between 1663 and 1676, there were from three to six hagiographical plays in twelve-play collections (*Sobre la trayectoria editorial de las comedias de santos. In La comedia de santos. Actas del Coloquio Internacional Almagro, 1, 2 y 3 de diciembre de 2006*. Ed. by Felipe B. Pedraza Jim4nez and Almudena Garc4a Gonz4lez. Almagro: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2008, pp. 22, 30). McKendrick explores the theme of martyrdom in drama (*Introduction ... cit.*, pp. 29-36).

⁸ "Only four years ago (to exclude older examples) a play was performed in Madrid, called *La Baltasara*, because it presented the case of the virtuous life of a woman of this name. A young maiden, after seeing it, converted [acquired virtuous behavior], something not achieved by looking at many paintings or by listening to so many preachers" (my translation). *Informaci4n en favor de Manuel de Faria i Sousa*, ms. 6415, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, [s.a.] (?1640?), [s.n.], *apud* Agust4n de la Granja – Pr4logo. In *La vida de san Eustaquio. Comedia jesu4tica del Siglo de Oro*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1982, pp. 14-15.

⁹ Saint Isidore, for instance, was revered in Madrid before he was canonized, and his life story was dramatized by Lope de Vega for the festivities in 1622. There are modern editions of Lope's plays on Isidore: Lope de Vega – *La ni1ez de san Isidro* (Ed. by Lisa Falli). *Anuario de Lope de Vega*. 15 (2008) 375-475, and Lope de Vega – *La juventud de san Isidro* (Ed. by Lisa Falli). *Anuario de Lope de Vega*. 15 (2009) 247-309.

were composed by commission for those occasions in which a religious order, or a city, celebrated the elevation to the altar of founding members or local figures.

In post-Tridentine times, the Spanish Monarchy, like the Church, aspired to have a deeply religious nation, so faith and the Council of Trent's resolutions were meant to serve as guidelines for many aspects of the way of life and culture. Fr. Juan de Salazar suggested that even the political atmosphere was permeated by this spirit: in his *Política española* (1619) he declares that the strength of the Spanish Monarchy was not based on what atheism referred to as "Reason of State", but on a commitment to religion, self-sacrifice, divine cult, and service of God.¹⁰ In such an environment, theatrical activity was a controversial issue, in spite of its many supporters, since extreme moralists tried to prohibit it. They claimed that theatre-going was a distraction from the devout, political, and social duties, and that plays corrupted people¹¹ by mainly offering "indecent" stories about adultery, vengeance, social and political disobedience, unequal marriages, and vulgar humor. A decree from 1600 allowed theatre as long as the plays dealt with "honest" subjects (proper and decorous), and as long as the performance was decent.¹² Theatrical activity continued to flourish in the seventeenth century, particularly during the reign of Philip IV, who was partial to stage entertainment, and dramas of many genres of both devout and secular content were developed. Although it was not an obligation to offer exemplary or religious plays, the general atmosphere, aside from the playwrights' personal faith and devotion, might have encouraged the writing of hagiographical dramas; it is possible that poets thought that pious and edifying subjects would make the censors accept the plays more easily.¹³

A very important factor behind the proliferation of the *comedias de santos*, however, was that dramatizing the hagiographical material related to the miraculous and the supernatural required the use of theatrical machinery. The effects produced with such equipment entertained, amazed, and moved the audiences, who were more interested in these aspects than in the educational message. Staging a *comedia de santos*, thus, could guarantee the attendance of people who were eager to enjoy

¹⁰ Fr. Juan de Salazar – *Política española*. Ed. by Miguel Herrero García. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1945, pp. 53-54.

¹¹ See Marc Vitse – Teoría y géneros dramáticos en el siglo XVII. In *Historia del teatro español I. De la Edad Media a los Siglos de Oro*. Coord. by Abraham Madroñal Durán and Héctor Urzáiz Tortajada. Madrid: Gredos, 2003, p. 722. Also, see Emilio Cotarelo y Mori – *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*. Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1904.

¹² *Dictamen de Fray Agustín de Dávila, electo de Santo Domingo, y otros teólogos de Madrid sobre la permisión de comedias*, 1600. In Emilio Cotarelo y Mori – *Bibliografía ...*, cit., pp. 207-209.

¹³ However, there were also arguments against the presentation of pious material in theatres instead of pulpits, and there was a strong opposition to the representation of sacred and holy characters by actors, whose lives were considered immoral, to say the least (see Fr. Ignacio Camargo – *Discurso theológico sobre los theatros y comedias de este siglo*, Salamanca, Lucas Pérez, 1689. In Emilio Cotarelo y Mori – *Bibliografía ...*, cit., pp. 127-28).

such spectacular effects – for instance, flames coming out through the stage trapdoor, angels descending from the top on a platform decorated like a cloud, dragons or demons flying over across the stage, the ascension of the saint to the heavens in the final apotheosis, lightning, thunder, fireworks, or even just the costumes and music.¹⁴

Plays based on the lives of martyrs would produce highly attractive spectacles, even if they primarily sought to inform or educate, since the staging was impressive and they were composed to reach the audiences on an emotional level. The plays addressed people's religious devotion and the cultural significance of the saints' stories, creating empathy with the hero and his situation, and presenting his death with dramatic staging effects designed to impress the spectators. Like other Spanish plays from that period, the hagiographical dramas followed the guidelines proposed by Lope de Vega in his *Arte Nuevo*, namely, appealing to the audience's taste;¹⁵ and the regular spectator had a taste for stage cruelty and violence. Many Golden Age plays portray either the character's regrettable or well-deserved death, in order to evoke the audience's pity or horror. In a *comedia de santos*, the saint's death is a very important and expected part of the plot, as it is the closure of the character's exemplary story, and serves to present him as an exceptional and heroic figure, especially in the case of martyrs. Such theatrical presentation, evoking admiration and commotion, helped to reaffirm the faith.¹⁶

¹⁴ For the description of such stage machinery, see John Allen and José María Ruano de la Haza – *Los teatros comerciales del siglo XVII y la escenificación de la comedia*. Madrid: Castalia, 1994, pp. 448-91. Many moralists considered that the machinery and effects distracted the audience from the pious and edifying content; and many poets also disapproved of the excessive use of theatrical equipment in hagiographical plays in order to appeal to audiences. One of Cervantes's characters puts it quite plainly: “¡qué de milagros falsos fingen en ellas!, ¡qué de cosas apócrifas y mal entendidas, atribuyendo a un santo los milagros de otro! Y aun en las humanas se atreven a hacer milagros, sin más respeto ni consideración que parecerles que allí estará bien el tal milagro y apariencia, como ellos llaman, para que gente ignorante se admire y venga a la comedia” (Miguel de Cervantes – *Don Quijote de La Mancha*. Ed. by Luis Andrés Murillo. Madrid: Castalia, 1978, I, 48, p. 570. “what miracles they invent in them! What apocryphal, ill-devised incidents, attributing to one saint the miracles of another! And even in secular plays they venture to introduce miracles without any reason or object except that they think some such miracle, or transformation as they call it, will come in well to astonish stupid people and draw them to the play”. Miguel de Cervantes – *The History of Don Quixote*. Trans. John Ormsby. London, 1885, p. 745).

¹⁵ “... que un arte de comedias os escriba / que al estilo del vulgo se reciba y escribo por el arte que inventaron / los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron / porque como las paga el vulgo, es justo / hablarle en necio para darle gusto” (Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio – *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*. Ed. by Enrique García Santo-Tomás. Madrid: Cátedra, 2006, v. 9-10 and v. 45-48. “... to write a set of rules for plays that's based / on what will satisfy our public's taste ... and substitute the rules that were invented / by those who sought the plaudits of the mob, / for since it is the mob that pays, it's right / to act the fool to give such fools delight”. Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio – *New Rules for Writing Plays at This Time* [Ed. by Victor Dixon]. In *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo dirigido a la Academia de Madrid de Lope de Vega*. Ed. by Felipe Pedraza. Almagro: Festival de Teatro Clásico de Almagro / Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2009, v. 9-10 and v. 45-48).

¹⁶ See Christophe Couderc – El cadáver en escena en el teatro de Lope de Vega. In *El teatro del Siglo de Oro: edición e interpretación*. Ed. by Alberto Blecuá, Ignacio Arellano, and Guillermo Serés. Madrid / Frankfurt:

To explore how martyrdom is configured in Golden Age Spanish drama it should be kept in mind that a play is a complex text, conceived and composed to be performed live on a stage by a group of actors for multiple spectators, by means of action, movement, and the use of visual and audible elements, as well as the spoken word. A play offers a succession of scenes and actions relating to the characters' different situations and stages, thus allowing the audience to see changes and development as the plot unfolds. It can also create highly emotional moments as the introduction of conflict builds dramatic tension. The plays are composed considering the use of literary and performance devices, as well as the staging resources available and known at a given time, used according to aesthetic and cultural conceptions, composition rules, and theatrical conventions of the period and culture in which they were created, in addition to taking into account the characteristics of the particular space in which they were performed.¹⁷

In Golden Age Spain, the *corral de comedias* was the main type of stage for most of these plays. The *corral* – named thus because it was built in former corrals and house patios adapted as theatres – was based on an open patio without a ceiling, so that illumination would be provided by the sunlight. At the end of the patio, there was an elevated platform where the performance took place (*tablado*), with a structure known as the *fachada del teatro* at its far end. At the level of the *tablado*, the *vestuario* (named as such because the women's dressing room was behind it) had entrances on both sides for the actors. In the “discovery space” (*espacio de las apariencias*), in the center, there would be a stage set, whereby an image or character could be displayed by suddenly drawing the curtain, to present it as a surprise. Above this, one or two galleries or balconies (*corredores*) spanning the width of the stage, one on top of the other, would represent windows, balconies, the top of a tower or a mountain, or even an area connected to the Heavens. From the audience's point of view, this structure gave the impression of being divided into several niches distributed horizontally and vertically, each with a curtain, behind which, there could be some kind of stage set.¹⁸ In some theatres, there was a projecting roof on top of the balconies from where the theatrical machinery was operated. The trapdoors in the floor of the *tablado* (*escotillones*) led to the area beneath the stage, which could represent the underworld or Hell. Other types of theatres followed similar design and conventions. Like the Elizabethan stage, the *corral* had little or no scenery, rather relying on costumes,

Universidad de Navarra, Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2009, p. 72. Also, Ignacio Arellano – Cabezas cortadas y otros espectáculos. Violencia, patetismo y truculencia en el teatro de Calderón. *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*. 44-1 (2014) 192.

¹⁷ See Aurelio González – Introducción. *Texto, espacio y movimiento en el teatro del Siglo de Oro*. Ed. by Aurelio González. México: El Colegio de México, pp. 9-15.

¹⁸ See Manuel Canseco's illustrations of the recreation of the Corral del Príncipe at Madrid (1583-1744), in José María Ruano de la Haza – El corral del príncipe (<http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~jmruano/Corral.html>).

props, acting, and dialogue to indicate fictional space or time. The elements of decoration were mainly used as a synecdoche; that is, the presence of a chair would indicate that the fictional space presented was a room; a single plant might suggest that the action took place in a garden or a forest. Theatrical machinery (*tramoyas*) was used in some *corrales*, and was certainly included in the more complex, spectacular, and luxurious court performances, or in the religious plays presented in the street.

The theatrical representations made use of a variety of elements from the different arts. Visual arts were used to create attractive decorations representing mountains, clouds, the sea; images painted on canvases were occasionally shown as aids in establishing the fictional space. Portraits and paintings, even statues, would often be presented on stage or in one of the niches of the *fachada* for dramatic, as well as spectacular, purposes. In the staging of devout dramas, the presence of religious images was obvious and expected, and not only because of the impact attributed to visual representations in post-Tridentine times, but also because the pious value of such images could transcend the theatrical fiction and touch the audience and their beliefs on a personal level.¹⁹

Lope de Vega uses such images in many ways in his dramas. In *Lo fingido verdadero*, a painting is shown to introduce Heavenly characters and to connect that world with the earthly plane, thus changing the intention and result of the protagonist's actions. In this play the Roman actor Genesisius rehearses how to play a Christian character in a believable way for a drama he has to perform before the emperor. He raises his head and hands towards the sky, imitating the way he has seen Christians move, and asks to be baptized, pretending to be a man willing to convert. The picture is visible to the audience on top of the *fachada*, indicating the presence of the divine or the connection with it; Genesisius's make-belief petition is taken seriously by the divinity, so he becomes a Christian. The stage directions and dialogue are as follows:

Con música se abran en alto unas puertas en que se vean pintados una imagen de Nuestra Señora y un Cristo en brazos del Padre, y por las gradas de este trono algunos mártires.

...

Una voz dentro

Voz: No le imitarás en vano,
Ginés; que te has de salvar.²⁰

¹⁹ See Natalia Fernández Rodríguez – Imaginería sacra y espacios pictóricos en las comedias de santos de Lope de Vega. *eHumanista*. 30 (2015) 87 and 96.

²⁰ Felix Lope de Vega y Carpio – *Lo fingido verdadero*. Ed. and Introd. by Maria Teresa Cattaneo. Roma: Bulzoni, 1992, III v. 2468 and v. 2487-88 (“As music plays, doors open high up on the stage, revealing a painting of Mary, Christ in the arms of God the Father, and some martyrs on steps leading up to the throne of God. ... AN OFFSTAGE VOICE: You will not play this role in vain, Genesisius, for you will be saved”. *Acting is*

Sometimes, the curtain may open to present a *tableau vivant*, with the actors standing motionless as in a painting, reproducing known sacred images or presenting religious scenes and actions, such as one that “depicts” Josaphat being baptized: “*Barlaan con un aguamanil, Josafat de rodillas y un ángel en alto con una corona*”.²¹ These plays always refer to pictorial representations to indicate the appearance of characters, so that the audience would recognize them based on how they are portrayed in paintings or altars, with their proper attire and attributes, or engaged in a particular activity: “*Entrase Joseph, y aparece María de la manera que la pintan en la Anunciación*”;²² “*Córrese una cortina y se descubre la Santa escribiendo, y sobre su cabeza una paloma blanca, y un ángel teniéndole la escribanía, como pintan a la Santa en este paso*”;²³ “*Baja San Agustín, como le pintan con una pluma en la mano, y un Ángel*”.²⁴ Even the distribution of elements and characters on stage might remind one of a painting, just like a scene from *San Francisco Javier. El sol en oriente* brings to mind a most complex baroque pictorial composition, with many characters on stage, the presence of supernatural beings hovering above between Heaven and earth, and, just below them, the saint surrounded by people from different nations, giving a speech that is “translated” to the characters by *Genies* in the form of a song:

*En cuatro nubes, que incluyan cada una su trono, bajarán en vuelo arrebatado los cuatro Genios, vestidos del traje que corresponde a cada uno [India, China, Japón, Portugal], quedándose en ala sobre la cabeza del Santo. Traerán instrumentos músicos.*²⁵

Believing: a Tragicomedy in Three Acts. Trans. Michael D. McGaha. San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1986, pp. 91-92). References to the plays are composed by a Roman number, to indicate the act, and then, in Arabic numbers, the verse or page. Stage directions are written in italics, and the reference indicates the verse that immediately precedes it.

²¹ “*Barlaam with a water jug in his hands, and Josaphat on his knees, and on top, an angel holding a crown*” (my translation). Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio – *Barlaán y Josafat*. Ed. by José F. Montesinos. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1935, II, v. 1350.

²² “*Exeunt Joseph, and Mary appears, as she is depicted in the Annunciation*” (my translation). Guillén de Castro – *El mejor esposo*. In *Parte segunda de las comedias de don Guillem de Castro*. Valencia: by Miguel Sorolla, 1625, I, p. 63.

²³ “*A curtain opens to show the saint writing, and above her head, a white dove, and an angel who holds her writing desk, as she is depicted in portraits of this passage*” (my translation). Juan Bautista Diamante – *Santa Teresa de Jesús*. In *Comedias de Fr. Don Juan Bautista Diamante. Segunda parte*. Madrid: by Roque Rico de Miranda, at the expense of Juan Martín Marinero, III, p. 410.

²⁴ “*Saint Augustine descends as he is portrayed with a quill in his hand, and an angel*” (my translation). Juan Bautista Diamante – *Santa María de Pazzi*. Ed. by Paolo Pintacuda. Como-Pavia: Ibis, 2007, II, v. 2132.

²⁵ “*On four clouds, each with a throne, descending fast, four Genies, dressed in the corresponding attire [of a nation: India, China, Japan, Portugal], that remain above the saint’s head. They have musical instruments*” (my translation). Diego Calleja (atrib.) – *San Francisco Javier. El sol de Oriente*. Ed. by Ignacio Arellano. Madrid: Universidad de Navarra-Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2006, I, v. 1093. Considering the complex staging the play requires it is possible that it was composed for a court-like performance, where they could

Such displays were meant to appeal to the spectators' memory – people would recognize the characters, scenes, and visual compositions, since they were familiar with the saints' images, or at least with the pictorial codes, seen in paintings, altar pieces, statues in churches or streets, or depictions presented in various festivities.²⁶

To explore the staging of martyrdom, it is also necessary to consider other components of performance, as well as the organization and presentation of the material. The following pages explore the configuration of martyrdom in dramas for stage performance in seventeenth-century Spain. Each play is by a different playwright (Calderón de la Barca, Cervantes, and Lope de Vega), and each focuses on a character martyred under different specific circumstances, with his own particular story and life path: a pagan sage from antiquity who converts; a Christian captured by the Muslims who resists renouncing his faith; and a missionary priest in the Far East who seeks to save the souls of others.

II

Calderón de la Barca's *El mágico prodigioso* (1637)²⁷ dramatizes the story of Saint Cyprian and Saint Justine, martyred in Antioquia during the persecutions ordered by Decius.²⁸ The drama is set in an ancient Roman environment. Cyprian

have all of the staging resources (see Dann Cazés Gryj – Tramoya y personaje en la comedia *San Francisco Javier, el Sol en Oriente*. In *Dramaturgia y teatralidad del Siglo de Oro: la presencia jesuita*. Ed. José Ramón Alcántara Mejía, Adriana Ontiveros, Dann Cazés. México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2014, p. 115); Such images may be seen in paintings like Juan Roelas' *Transit of Saint Isidore* (1613) at Church of Saint Isidore, Sevilla or Peter Paule Rubens' *The miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (1617-1618).

²⁶ Some images would only be available to people with access to court(s) and palaces. Natalia Fernández Rodríguez examines the conception of the images and visual arts in Golden Age Spain, and explores different ways in which Lope de Vega uses sacred iconography in his plays (*Imaginería sacra ... cit.*, 83-98).

²⁷ Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El mágico prodigioso*. Ed. by Bruce Wardropper. Madrid: Cátedra, 1985. The English versions of the quotes are taken from Denis Florence MacCarthy's translation: Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *The wonder-working magician*. In *Calderon's Dramas*. London: by Henry S. King & Co., 1873.

²⁸ The earliest mentions of Saints Cyprian and Justine's legend are traced back to a homily by Gregory of Nazianzus (fourth century) and an opusculum by Empress Eudoxia (fifth century). Their literary transmission, however, begins with the Greek texts from the fifth century, translated into Latin as *Confessio seu penitentia Cypriani* and *Conversio Sanctae Justinae Virgini et Cypriano episcopi*, and included in the *Acta Sanctorum* (in some codices, they appear as *Passio B. Cypriani et Justinae* and *Martyrium Sanctorum martyrum Cypriani et Justinae*). These texts, considered as the origin of the legend's western line, are said to be the basis for the versions in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden legend* (thirteenth century), from which they were taken for the first Castilian *flores sanctorum* and for the *Leyenda de los santos* (fourteenth century). Alonso de Villegas also seems to derive Cyprian and Justine's legend from this line, though not through De Voragine. A second line, the eastern line, developed from a ninth century re-elaboration of Cyprian and Justine's legend, composed by Archbishop Ado of Vienne, who based his work on Greek martyrologies and menologies. This version was included in Metaphrastes' lives of saints (tenth century) and then translated into Latin by Lippomano in the fourteenth century. It was then presented in Spanish in Pedro de Ribadeneira's *Flos Sanctorum* (late sixteenth century). The main source for Calderón's play is

is depicted as a pagan sage who, through his studies and reflections, is on the verge of discovering God, as he searches for the ultimate truth. To stop this from happening, the Devil tempts Cyprian by making him meet and lust after Justine; after being rejected by her – because she is secretly a Christian devoted to God – Cyprian sells his soul in order to learn magical arts that will help him get her love. He performs great magic, but the Devil’s teachings are not enough to achieve his goal since, as he learns from his master, only God has true knowledge and power. As Cyprian becomes aware of this, he understands that he is now the Devil’s slave and his soul is lost. He confesses his conversion publicly, is then sentenced to death and, therefore, he is condemned to Hell.

The hero’s conversion and martyrdom are presented towards the end of the play in a sequence of actions which are a result and a continuation of the previous ones. Cyprian’s path is characterized as one of constant physical, moral, and spiritual descent, as he continues to make the wrong choices. This movement is presented in relation to the places he “inhabits” throughout the drama – places that symbolically signal the hero’s moral fall due to their function and their cultural value.²⁹ On stage the transformation is represented with the use of dialogue and performance elements, such as costumes, sounds, actions, and gestures, all indicated in the written text – either as explicit stage directions, or expressed implicitly in the lines of the characters. Costumes are particularly important components, for they help specify the character’s location, as well as his social status, state of mind, and even moral standing or quality.

At the beginning of the play, Cyprian is in a quiet field, a secluded place away from the noises of the city and the festivities, where he can study and discover God. At this point, he is dressed as a scholar, a condition reaffirmed by the attire of his servants and the books they carry for him: “*Salen Cypriano, vestido de estudiante, Clarín y Moscón de gorriones, con unos libros*.”³⁰ After meeting Justine,

most likely Alfonso de Villegas’s *Flos Sanctorum*, although it is highly probable that he might have also been acquainted with the various Spanish versions, as well as with the early legendary aspects (see Natalia Fernández Rodríguez – De la leyenda ejemplar a la indagación filosófica: Calderón y *El mágico prodigioso*. In Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El mágico prodigioso*. Ed. by Natalia Fernández Rodríguez. Barcelona: Crítica, 2009, pp. 15-22).

²⁹ See Anne Teulade – *Le saint mis en scène*. Paris: Cerf, 2012, pp. 64-69.

³⁰ Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El mágico prodigioso ...*, cit., I, v. 1 (“*Enter Cyprian in a student’s gown, followed by Clarín and Moscón, as poor scholars, carrying books*”. Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *Wonder-working magician ...*, cit., p. 123). Regarding the use of costumes in Golden Age theatre, Lope de Vega states in his *Arte Nuevo*: “*Los trajes nos dijera Julio Póllux, / si fuera necesario, que en España / es de las cosas bárbaras que tiene / la comedia presente recibidas, / sacar un turco en cuello de Cristiano, / y calzas atacadas un romano. / Mas ninguno de todos llamar puedo / más bárbaro que yo, / pues contra el arte / me atrevo a dar preceptos, y me dejo / llevar de la vulgar corriente adonde / me llamen ignorante Italia y Francia*” (Lope de Vega – *Arte Nuevo ...*, cit., v. 356-66. “*On costumes we might turn to Julius Pollux, / if that were necessary, though in Spain / you’re liable to see in plays today, / as well as many other barbarous things, / Turks wearing Christian ruffs about their necks, / and Ancient Romans sporting fancy kecks. /*

he moves to the world of vanity and mundane desires in the city, a profane space where he is distracted and tempted; he wears the clothing of a Roman noble and intends to court Justine. This change of attire implies that he has turned away from the search for truth to pursue earthly delights and carnal love: “*Salen Cipriano, Moscón y Clarín, vestidos de Galanes*”.³¹ Later, his descent is more transcendental, after he makes the pact with the Devil. The third act begins with Cyprian coming out of a cave: “*Sale Cipriano solo, de una como cueva*”.³² This indicates that he was in a place conventionally and culturally associated with the underworld, as well as linked to evil and obscure knowledge, where he has been learning the Devil’s dark arts. Although it is not explicitly stated in the text, it can be assumed that he would be dressed as a sorcerer (probably a long dark cloak and hat),³³ indicating

But I can hardly say that anyone’s / more barbarous than I am, since I dare / to give you rules against the rules, and merely / go with the flow where Italy and France / will label me an errant ignoramus”. Lope de Vega – *New rules ...*, *cit.*, v. 356-66). Attire of ancient Roman characters would surely be anachronistic and conventional.

³¹ Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El mágico prodigioso ...*, *cit.*, II, v. 1032 (“*Enter Cyprian, Moscon and Clarin, in gala dresses*”). Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *Wonder-working magician ...*, *cit.*, p. 158). Probably with an elegant cape, a hat and a sword, similar as the noble characters of secular plays set in times contemporary to the audience.

³² *Ibidem*, III, v. 2027 (“*A wood. At extremity a grotto*”). Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *Wonder-working magician ...*, *cit.*, p. 194). Caves were a very common decoration, and in the *corral* they would be composed by very simple decoration elements, such as branches on a door of the *vestuario*. Sometimes it could be something even more elaborate, such as painted cardboard shaped like rocks (see John Allen and José María de la Haza – *Los teatros comerciales ...*, *cit.*, p. 415).

³³ Cervantes describes the attire worn by an astrologer as a long black velvet dress and a tall pointed hat: “un anciano varón, al parecer de edad de sesenta años, vestido de una ropa de terciopelo negro, que le llegaba a los piés, forrada en felpa negra, y ceñida con una de las que llaman colonias de seda; en la cabeza traía un sombrero alto y puntiagudo, asimismo al parecer de felpa” (Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra – *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*. Ed. by Juan Bautista Avallé Arce. Madrid: Castalia, 1969, p. 108. “entered an old man, seeming to be three score years old, attired in a gown of black velvet reaching down to his feet, lined with furs and girt with a silken cord; on his head he wore a hat high and sharp pointed, which seemed to be of rich furs”. Miguel de Cervantes – *The travels of Persiles and Sigismunda. A Northern History*. London, 1619, p. 55). In María de Zayas’s *El castigo de la miseria*, a character pretending to be a magician wears similar black attire and holds a book: “Y luego el astuto mágico se vistió una ropa de bocazí negro y una montera de lo mismo, y tomando un libro de unas letras góticas en la mano, algo viejo el pergamino para dar más crédito a su burla”. (“Then the crafty magician wore black linen attire and a cap of the same material, and held a book with gothic writings on the cover and old parchment inside to make his trickery more believable” [my translation]. María de Zayas y Sotomayor – *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares compuestas por doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor*. Barcelona: by Gabriel Nogués, at the expense of Sebastian de Cormellas, 1664, p. 79v. See also Alba Urbana Baños – Lo sobrenatural en la narrativa de María de Zayas. In *Brujería, magia y otros prodigios del Siglo de Oro*. Ed. by María Luisa Lobato, Javier San José, Germán Vega. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2016, pp. 633-84). Characters related to the dark and evil crafts are shown in similar attire, probably a dark cloak and a hat with star patterns, like the Devil in *El José de las mujeres* (Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El José de las mujeres*. Ed. by Javier Aparicio Maydeu. In *Calderón y la máquina barroca. Escenografía, religión y cultura en “El José de las mujeres”*. Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999, I, v. 75). Some magicians or wizards wore a similar outfit, as can be deduced by the parodic wardrobe in Quiñón de Benavente’s “El mago” (an *entremés*), in which the “wizard” character is presented “*con muchas luces en la cabeza*” (“*with many lights on his head*”), which probably referred to a hat with a many-starred pattern (Luis

his new condition and his relationship with a dark power. After realizing that he has been tricked by the Devil, his martyrdom and ascension process begin, although in the final sequence of the play, he continues to fall in the worldly plane.

As Cyprian discovers and recognizes God as the source of knowledge and supreme truth, he understands he has lost something more important than carnal love or earthly delights, so he runs in desperation. Shortly thereafter, he re-enters the stage in a state of anguish and half naked; that is, in incomplete attire: “*Salen todos, y Cipriano, medio desnudo*”.³⁴ His appearance and behavior make the other characters think that he has gone mad, but these changes point to a more essential modification. His new attire and actions indicate his state of mind and loss of hope, as well as the separation from his world: because of his conversion to Christianity he is no longer a part of his society, and his knowledge of God makes him acknowledge his damnation. The change in his manner of dress also implies his fall into disgrace. Mainly, however, he has disrobed; that is, he has removed the attire that served to identify him as a sorcerer who practices dark magical arts, thus indicating he has renounced this condition.

His semi-nakedness also points to the beginning of his path to martyrdom, as he is now presented, conventionally, in a similar manner to other saints on their way to torment and execution. After publicly admitting his new faith, Cyprian drops to the ground. The Governor, angered by the situation, steps on Cyprian’s body, and threatens him with terrible punishments:

Déjase caer boca abajo en el suelo.

GOBERNADOR: Tan absorto, Cipriano,
me deja tu atrevimiento
que, imaginando castigos,
a ninguno me resuelvo (*pisándole*).³⁵

Quiñón de Benavente – Entremés cantado, el mago. In *Loco Seria. Burlas veras, o reprehension moral, y festiva de los desordenes publicos*. In *Doze entremeses representados, y veinte y quatro cantados*. Madrid: by Francisco García, 1645, fl. 204v). Anastasio, another pagan sage in a Calderonian hagiographic play, is explicitly living in a cave where he learns dark arts from demons, and he appears dressed in furs, like savage or hermit characters (Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *La exaltación de la cruz*. In *Primera parte de comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España*. Madrid: by Domingo García y Morras, at the expense of Juan de San Vicente, 1652).

³⁴ Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El mágico prodigioso ...*, cit., III, v. 2869. (“*All enter, and Cyprian, half naked*”. Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *Wonder-working magician ...*, cit., p. 224). Stage nudity was not complete or even half nakedness, as in some paintings from the period. *Desnudo* also meant badly or poorly dressed: “Se llama tambien el que está mui mal vestido, y indecente” (*Diccionario de autoridades*. Ed. facsímil. Madrid: Gredos, 1969, s.v. DESNUDO). See also Yolanda Mancebo Salvador – *Desnudos honorables. La famosa asturiana* de Lope de Vega. In *La desvergüenza en la comedia española, XXXIV Jornadas de Teatro Clásico Almagro, 5-7 de junio de 2011*. Ed. by Felipe Pedraza, Rafel González Cañal y Elena Marcelo. Almagro: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2013, pp. 71-88.

³⁵ Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El mágico prodigioso ...*, cit., III, v. 2944-48 (“*He falls as if in a swoon, with his face on the ground. / GOVERNOR: So absorbed, so lost in wonder, / Cyprian, has thy daring left me, /*

This literal fall, perhaps caused by Cyprian's state of mind also implies, at the dramatic level, his downfall in the worldly plane and his submission, as he is now in a lower position, both physically and socially. The Governor's stepping on Cyprian's body is an expression of his anger and contempt, as well as an act intended to humiliate the newly confessed Christian. It is also a violent action probably representing some of the sufferings inflicted on the soon-to-be martyr. Finally, it indicates the complete degradation of the character in relation to others.

Justine, whose real faith has also been revealed, is locked up with Cyprian in a room at the Governor's palace, which now functions as a prison cell where they both await execution. This fictional space is not staged with decorations, but indicated by the dialogue, which also helps to underline an ominous and macabre atmosphere, using vocabulary that describes images referring to death:

GOBERNADOR: ... Con ese vivo cadáver [Cyprian]
 todos sola la dejemos;
 quizá mudarán de intento,
 viéndose morir el uno
 al otro; o sañudo y fiero,
 si no adoraren mis dioses,
 morirán con mil tormentos (*Vase*).

...
 JUSTINE: ... Cuando yo contenta vengo
 a morir, ¡aun no me dais
 la muerte, porque la deseo!
 Mas sin duda es mi castigo,
 cerrada en este aposento,
 darme muerte dilatada,
 acompañada de un muerto,
 pues solo un cadáver me hace
 compañía. ...³⁶

Justine is eager to die for her faith, and she comforts Cyprian by letting him know that God will forgive him and save his soul if he asks for this, and is truly

that considering modes of torture / I have yet not one selected. *Spurns him with his foot*". Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *Wonder-working magician* ..., *cit.*, p. 226).

³⁶ Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El mágico prodigioso* ..., *cit.*, III, v. 2952-74 ("GOVERNOR: ...With this living corpse here lying / let us leave her for the present. / For the two being here confined, / it may alter their intentions, / seeing that they are condemned / both to die: if not, 'tis certain, / that unless they adore our gods, / frightful torments soon shall end them. ... JUSTINE: But my punishment is, doubtless, / thus locked up to face the terrors / of a slow and lingering death, / with the body of this wretched here / left alone, my sole companion / being a corpse". Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *Wonder-working magician* ... *cit.*, pp. 226-27). She refers to Cyprian, who she thinks, at first, is dead, as he lies on the floor.

repentant. Their servants are brought to this prison with them, and when Cyprian and Justine are taken away, the servants are left to discuss low, lascivious, and ridiculous information, in the manner of the *graciosos*,³⁷ providing a contrast that helps to underline their masters' virtuous quality. This scene slightly deviates from the main characters' situation, thus giving a pause from the tension, and helping to increase the final scene's dramatic impact. The momentary calm and distraction are interrupted by a loud noise that further elevates the tension. As the servants talk, there is a sudden sound of storm and thunder:³⁸

Suena gran ruido de tempestad, y Salen todos alborotados.

LIVIA: La casa se viene abajo.
 MOSCÓN: ¡Qué confusión!, ¡qué portento!
 GOBERNADOR: Sin duda se ha desplomado
 la máquina de los cielos.

Durando la tempestad

FABIO Apenas en el cadalso
 cortó el verdugo los cuellos
 de Cipriano y de Justina,
 cuando hizo sentimiento
 toda la tierra.

*... el cadalso se descubrirá con las cabezas y cuerpos, y el Demonio en lo alto, sobre una serpiente.*³⁹

These sounds create an atmosphere of imminent peril, but the characters' description turns them into signs of destruction and universal chaos (the heavenly machine has plummeted), caused by God's indignation after the violent execution of his saints (as the executioner cut off their heads, the whole earth trembled). There was, in popular culture, a knowledge that associated the effect caused by

³⁷ The comical characters.

³⁸ There were many ways to produce thunder sounds, from making a metal sheet vibrate, to rotating a barrel or a wooden box filled with rocks, dropping metal planks, or rolling a cannon ball inside a box, until it banged one side. Sometimes also pyrotechnics and explosions were used. On the techniques to stage storms and tempests, see Santiago Fernández Mosquera – *La tormenta en el Siglo de Oro: variaciones funcionales de un tópico*. Madrid: Iberoamericana / Vervuert, 2006, pp. 31-42.

³⁹ Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El mágico prodigioso ...*, cit., III, v. 3086-94 and 3104 (“*The sound of a great tempest is heard. The Governor, a crowd of people; then Fabius, Lelius, and Florus, all astonished; afterwards the Daemon. / LIVIA: Sure the house is tumbling down. / MOSCÓN: How terrifying! What a tempest! / GOVERNOR: Doubtless in disastrous ruin / topple down the walls of Heaven. / The tempest is renewed, and enter Fabius, Lelius, and Florus. / FABIUS: Scarcely on the public scaffold / had the headsman's hand dissevered / Cyprian and Justina's necks, / when the earth, even to its center, / seemed to tremble / ... The scene opens, and a scaffold with the heads and bodies of Justina and Cyprian is seen. Over it in the air, upon a winged serpent, is the Daemon*”). Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *Wonder-working magician ...*, cit., pp. 231-32).

Cyprian's and Justine's execution with the storm and earthquake that followed Christ's death on the cross, so the sound, along with the description, serves to establish the transcendental significance of the heroes' death; the event and its importance are confirmed by what is shown afterwards.⁴⁰ The execution is not staged, but rather described or announced in dialogue, and later confirmed by presenting the results. Leaving aside the possible technical difficulties for staging it, this omission is due to the fact that in Spanish theatre, violent actions were normally not shown to the audience because of the decorum recommended by the *ars poeticae* that followed Horace;⁴¹ therefore, torture or beheadings were not enacted in front of the audience. Also, narrating or describing the violence instead of staging it, allows the "messenger" to imbue the fact with a certain meaning.

As the curtain from the discovery space in the middle of the *vestuario* suddenly opens, it presents a visual composition of beheaded bodies and bloodied severed heads (Fig. 3).⁴² The spectators should be aware that the characters have become martyred saints because it has been implied in dialogue, so this impressive violent image would be perceived in accordance with its religious significance. The visual composition unveiled presents the characters in a way that leads to their identification as martyred saints: the *fachada del teatro* niches were sometimes used to introduce divine characters, such as angels, Christ, the Virgin, and other saints; elements shown in this area could be, to some degree, associated by convention with the divine supernatural, or with representations of other aspects identified with the sacred. As pointed out above, these niches were also used to display paintings of sacred images, *tableaux vivants* or sets depicting scenes from sacred history, hagiographies, or religious activities. Showing the bodies of the executed heroes in this area can establish a relationship between this visual composition and the portrayal of other saints and martyrs depicted in plastic representations. Even the "framing" of the composition by the borders of the discovery space could suggest association with paintings of hagiographical subjects, as it could remind the audience of images in churches altarpieces.

⁴⁰ The meaning and associations of the thunder sounds are also supported by the fact that this is a hagiographical play, and audiences would be familiar with the dramatic and stage conventions of this genre.

⁴¹ "You will not bring upon the stage what should be performed behind the scenes, and you will keep much from our eyes, which an actor's ready tongue will narrate anon in our presence; so that Medea is not to butcher her boys before the people, nor impious Atreus cook human flesh upon the stage, nor Procne be turned into a bird, Cadmus into a snake. Whatever you thus show me, I discredit and abhor". Horace – *The art of poetry*. In *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*. Translated by Henry Rushton Fairclough. London, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Heinemann / Harvard University Press, 1942, v. 179-88.

⁴² To present the severed heads next to the bodies, a table or board with holes would be used. The actors who played Cyprian and Justine would sit underneath, hiding their bodies and putting their heads out through one hole, as other actors dressed like the heroes would lie down on the board, hiding their own heads through another hole. Blood stains or red paint would be added around the heads and necks (John Allen and José María Ruano de la Haza – *Los teatros comericales ...*, cit., pp. 532-33).

After the bodies are revealed, the Devil is shown on the top of the stage riding on a snake, calling upon the characters and the audience to publicly proclaim Justine's virtue and announce the liberation of Cyprian's soul, thus indicating his salvation, as well as the glorious ascent to Heaven of both souls. This confirms their elevation to sainthood through martyrdom:

DEMONIO: ... Cipriano, que con ella [Justine]
yace en feliz monumento,
fue mi esclavo; mas, borrando
con la sangre de su cuello
la cédula [the contract] que me hizo,
ha dejado en blanco lienzo;
y los dos, a mi pesar,
a las esferas subiendo
del sacro solio de Dios,
viven en mejor imperio.⁴³

The perforce elements have continued to present Cyprian's path of descent, but they stop reflecting his moral fall in order to signify his rise and salvation. His last onstage appearance is in the lowest possible position in the worldly plane, beheaded in the scaffold. However, given the sequence of actions and the scene's literary and performance configuration, the discovery of his executed body marks his ascension to the highest point in Heaven, as it indicates Cyprian's baptism by blood. The evident presence of supernatural beings and events explicitly confirms the character's salvation and elevation.

III

Miguel de Cervantes's *Los baños de Argel* (1615)⁴⁴ is a *comedia de cautivos* that depicts the misery and afflictions suffered by Christians during bondage in

⁴³ Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El mágico prodigioso ...*, cit., III, v. 3117-26. ("Cyprian, who with her lieth / on a happy bier at rest there, / was my slave. But he, effacing, / with the blood his neck outsheddeth, / the red signature, the linen / is now spotless and unblemished. / And the two, in spite of me, / having to the spheres ascended / of the sacred throne of God, / live there in a world far better". Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *Wonder-working magician ...*, cit., p. 233).

⁴⁴ First published in Miguel de Cervantes – *Ocho comedias, y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados*. Madrid: by the widow of Alonso Martín, at the expense of Iuan de Villarroel, 1615. It was probably composed in 1588 (Schevill and Bonilla), 1605 (Astrana Marín), 1609 (Buchanan) or 1614 (Cotarelo Valledor). See Aurelio González – *Las comedias: el proyecto dramático de Cervantes*. In *Cervantes 1547-1997. Jornadas de investigación cervantina*. Ed. by Aurelio González. México: El Colegio de México, 1999, p. 79. Cited from Miguel de Cervantes – *Los baños de Argel*. In *Obra completa 14*. Ed. by Florencio Sevilla Arroyo and Antonio Rey Hazas. Madrid: Alianza, 1998. Translations are taken from Miguel de Cervantes, Barbara

the North African territory, where captivity was said to have been the cruelest. Many accounts of great suffering and brutality came from Islamic countries where Christians were held as prisoners, but they were not necessarily stories of martyrdom, since torment was not really motivated by religious persecution. The prisoners were not forced to convert nor had to die in defense of their faith; they were either held for ransom – if they came from the nobility or if someone could pay for their rescue – or forced into hard labor, and indeed treated brutally. They did have the option of gaining freedom by converting to Islam, with all that this implied, but if a “renegade” turned back to Christianity, the Moors considered it a crime of apostasy, punishable by death. However, many Spanish writings on the subject depict the victims of this violence as persecuted Christians and martyrs of the Modern Age, courageously enduring cruelty and torment, or even dying, rather than renouncing their faith.⁴⁵ This is the case, for instance, of some accounts in Sosa’s *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel* (1612),⁴⁶ Lope de Vega’s *Los cautivos de Argel*, or Cervantes’s *Los baños ...* and *Los tratos de Argel*. The characterization of this cruelty as religiously motivated was mostly related to ideological and political factors, in a search for promoting a sense of homogeneity against the different “other”. The enemy is generally portrayed as having barbaric habits, inhuman behavior and a perverted sense of the truth. In many accounts and dramas, this negative portrait contrasts with the image of the Spanish characters, who are usually depicted as brave, resolute, and strong in their beliefs and values, and their courage appears as a Spanish trait and a Catholic virtue.⁴⁷ By exalting Spanish courage in the face of suffering, the texts would certainly appeal to the audience at an emotional level.

In *Los baños de Argel*, there are many subplots and scenes of suffering and torment that are based on what Cervantes saw or experienced during his captivity in Algiers (1575-1580), or on stories he heard or read about.⁴⁸ Some are shown on

Fuchs, and Aaron J. Ilika – “*The Bagnios of Algiers*” and “*The Great Sultana*”. Ed. and Trans. by Barbara Fuchs, and Aaron J. Ilika. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc., 2012. ProQuest Ebook Central. Created from uisantafox-ebooks on 2017-02-21 16:55:04, from now on referred to as *Bagnios*.

⁴⁵ As Hutchinson observes, suffering a cruel treatment or being executed by an enemy or a captor of a different faith does not always constitute an act of martyrdom. For the executioner, the victim may be considered a heretic, or even just a criminal or a spy. Sometimes the death may not even be motivated by a religious issue; sometimes the victims may not be thinking of, or willing to die for their faith. And yet, the discourses and representations may portray them as martyrs (Steven Hutchinson – *Martiologios cervantinos: acerca de la lógica del sufrimiento*. In *Comentarios a Cervantes. Actas selectas del VIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*. Oviedo, 11-15 de junio de 2012. Ed. by Emilio Martínez Mata and María Fernández Ferreiro. Asturias: Fundación María Cristina Masaveu Peterson, 2014, pp. 977-85).

⁴⁶ Antonio de Sosa – *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel*. Ed. by Emilio Sola and José María Parreño. Madrid: Hiperión, 1990.

⁴⁷ Joaquín Casaldueiro – *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes*. Madrid: Gredos, 1967, pp. 98-99.

⁴⁸ Stanislav Zimic – *Los baños de Algiers*. In *El teatro de Cervantes*. Madrid: Castalia, 1992, p. 151.

stage, like the prisoners walking around in chains,⁴⁹ or the ill Christian captive beaten by a Moorish guard and being forced to work;⁵⁰ another prisoner has had his ears cut off for trying to escape, and is shown with blood and bandages on his head (“*Sale el guardian bají y un moro llamado Carahoja, y un Cristiano atadas las orejas con un paño sangriento, como que las trae cortadas*”).⁵¹ There are also scenes of the abuse of a Jewish man by the sexton Tristan, a *gracioso*-like character. Thus, the violence against a weaker character of a different faith is not presented as exclusive or inherent to the Muslim, since it is administered by both the captors and the Christian captive. This may suggest that the play offers a disenchanting view on Spain:

Tristán’s persecution of someone from an opposing religious background renders the sexton no different from Cauralí [the captain of Algiers]. Cervantes, therefore, exposes the other side of the coin as he highlights the contradictions of a fractured Spain. The Spaniard, who esteems himself on the basis of a “pure” heritage and clean blood, is complicit in the racial prejudice and bigotry that defined seventeenth-century Spanish life.⁵²

Besides showing the cruelty, the play exalts the Spanish, and most of the characters have great qualities, such as honor, courage, strength, and fervor. They remain true to their faith and country, and refuse to stay on as slaves. The mutilated escapee, for instance, expresses his firm resolve on regaining his freedom:

CRISTIANO: Si las prisiones no doblas,
haz cuenta que me has perdido
... tanto ser libre deseo,
que a la fuga me acomodo
por el agua y por el fuego
... si no me cortas los pies
al huirme no hay reparo.⁵³

⁴⁹ Miguel de Cervantes – *Los baños de Argel ...*, cit., I, v. 261.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, I, v. 279.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, I, v. 516. (“Enter the Warden and a Moor named Carahoja and a Christian whose ears are tied with bloody rags, as though they’ve been cut off”. *Bagnios ...*, cit., p. 18).

⁵² Melanie Henry – *The Signifying Self: Cervantine Drama as Counter-Perspective Aesthetic*. London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013, p. 113.

⁵³ Miguel de Cervantes – *Los baños de Argel ...*, cit., I, v. 530-49 (“If you don’t double my chains, you should just pretend you’ve lost me ... I so want to be free that I’ll flee by land, air, water, and fire ... If you don’t cut off my feet, nothing can stand in the way of my escape”. *Bagnios ...*, cit., p. 18).

Los baños de Argel is not a devout piece, but it does include two martyrdom subplots that introduce an ideological subtext, provide a general atmosphere that underlines the captives' suffering, emphasize the significance of the Spanish characters' situation, and exalt their courage. The first is the story of the renegade Hazen, who is secretly still a Christian and longs to go back to Spain. Though he has betrayed his faith and mistreated his own countrymen, he can no longer endure the Christian captives' misery, so he stabs the cruel renegade Yzuf to death. He then publicly confesses his true religion, in the hopes that he will be executed as a Christian and die as a martyr. He is taken away to be impaled, and his martyrdom is reported in dialogue.⁵⁴ The other plot presents the martyrdom of Francisquito, a Christian child who is captured by the corsairs who raided his village in search of prisoners, and is taken with his brother and old father to Algiers. He is sold to the *cadi* (a judge), who forces him to convert to Islam, but the boy refuses, so the angry master sentences him to death. His martyrdom is prepared from his first appearance as the *cadi*'s captive, and his attitude and behavior foreshadow the sad ending, also conferring on him the heroic quality of one who dies in the name of his faith.

From the start, Francisquito is characterized as a very young and innocent boy, and therefore vulnerable – all aspects that evoke an elevated pathos around his death. Once in Algiers, he is also presented as a good and true Christian who courageously refuses to abandon his faith; he even defies and insults his master. Although the *cadi* regards his remarks as playful because of the boy's age, they are rather uttered in a tone of despise, as the boy refers to the sodomite practices attributed to Muslims during the time: “que alterada / está la mora garrida / ... Pues sepa que he de burlalle / aunque me dé montes de oro”.⁵⁵ The boy declares his refusal to obey and constantly expresses that he would rather die than convert. He consciously and willingly accepts his execution, following, as he states it, the example of Saints Justus and Pastor,⁵⁶ the Christian children martyred by the Roman governor of Spain in 304 A.D.

In the second act, Francisquito and his brother enter dressed in rich and costly Moorish attire, “*vestidos a la turquesca de garzones*”.⁵⁷ This contrasts with the poor Christian robes they wore in the first act, and indicates a negative change, as the children seem to have strayed from their faith. Their father expresses his concern when he sees they are no longer dressed as “Christ's sheep”, honest though poor,

⁵⁴ Such an image may be similar to Juan Roelas' painting of San Sebastian (1610 to 1615).

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, II, v. 1477-78 and 1485-86 (“My goodness, the fine Moorish lady is so upset!”: “Well, know that I'll make fun of you even if you give me mountains of gold”, *Bagnios ...*, *cit.*, pp. 49, 50).

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, II, v. 1883-84.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, II, v. 1309. The term “*Garzones*” refers to handsome sodomite youths (see p. 77, n. 43) (“Enter Juanico and Francisquito, for those are the names of the Old man's sons; they are dressed in the Turkish fashion as *garzones*”. *Bagnios ...*, *cit.*, p. 44).

and they seem to be celebrating in spite of the other captives' suffering.⁵⁸ However, Juanico, the older brother, explains that the new suits are merely an inevitable "accident", but they are still good Christians:

JUANICO Padre, no le pene el ver
que hemos vestido trocado
... porque si nuestra intención
está con firme afición
puesta en Dios, caso es sabido
que no deshace el vestido
lo que hace el corazón.⁵⁹

Then Francisquito expresses his defiance, vehemently proclaiming his strong faith. The angry master sentences the boy: "Éste, a mi instancia, llevadle / y estotro, que han de morir".⁶⁰ Francisquito takes off his clothes and throws away a toy he had been playing with: "*Arroja el trompo y desnúdase*".⁶¹ Contrary to what happens with Cyprian, the child's attire indicates a new social, religious, and moral condition imposed on him, not chosen as a result of ignorance and worldly desires. Thus, his undressing indicates an open rejection of such impositions, renouncing the wealth, comfort, and leisure implied. By throwing the top away, he indicates the end of his innocent attitude. As he does this, after reaffirming himself as a true Christian, expressing his desire to die rather than converting, and actually being sentenced to death, his nakedness also signifies his renunciation of his body and his mortality, thus preparing himself to be martyred and reach sanctity: "bien es que vaya ligero / quien se atreve a esta carrera".⁶² The act closes with the boys being taken away.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, II, v. 1318.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, II, v. 1320-29 ("Father, don't cry over our change of clothes, there was no way around it; and, if you think about it, there's nothing to worry about, for if our love of God stands firm, everyone knows clothes can't undo what the heart does". *Bagnios ... cit.*, p. 45).

⁶⁰ *Ibidem* II, v. 1990-91. ("Take this one, on my orders, and that other one, for they must die". *Bagnios ... cit.*, p. 66). The rest of the action is centered on Francisquito and Juanico is dropped from the plot.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, II, v. 1991 ("*Francisquito throws away the top and undresses*". *Bagnios ... cit.*, p. 66).

⁶² *Ibidem*, II, v. 1994-95 ("He who dares walk this road should go lightly dressed". *Bagnios ... cit.*, p. 66). A similar meaning can be detected in later plays of non-convert Christians who die in defense of their faith. On the motif of the main character disrobing in Calderón's *El príncipe constante* (1636), Fernando Cantalapedra and Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez note: "La acotación contiene un sólido sentido simbólico, según el cual don Fernando renuncia a su cuerpo, a su mortalidad. Andrés de Claramonet había elaborado este motivo escénico con suma maestría en *Púsoseme el sol, salióme la luna*, en donde Teodora, la pecadora adúltera, abandona su figura mundana y su cuerpo de mujer para alcanzar la santidad en un monasterio, vestida de fraile carmelita descalzo, por la vía de la penitencia y con ayuda de la Virgen-Luna". ("The stage direction has a strong symbolic sense, which refers to don Fernando's renunciation of his body and mortality. Andrés de Claramonte very skillfully developed this performative motif in *Púsoseme*

A narrative given by a captive summarizes the child's story and describes how he has been tied to a column and literally turned into a portrait of Christ: "Atado está a una columna, / hecho retrato de Cristo, / de la cabeza a los pies / en su misma sangre tinto";⁶³ this description implies the torture and anticipates what is going to be shown to the audience. Then, there is a scene that presents a situation parallel to that of Francisquito and his brother, as Tristan enters the stage holding the son of the Jewish man he has been mocking and harassing throughout the play: he has stolen the boy and threatens to raise him as a Christian if he is not paid ransom.⁶⁴ Tristan's abuse of the Jew reproduces the abuse all the captives endure from more powerful figures, and the action in this specific scene reproduces Francisquito's situation at a different level, providing a counterpoint that underlines what is happening to the Christian boy, enhancing the pathos and the impact of what will be shown. Shortly after this, a curtain opens in the *vestuario* and reveals Francisquito tied to a column, his body bearing marks of the beatings:

*Córrese una Cortina; descúbrese Francisquito atado a una columna en la forma que pueda mover a más piedad.*⁶⁵

This discovery, meant to deeply move the audience, as Cervantes's stage direction asks, would present the boy in the same area where the sacred images and martyred characters are shown, and in a similar manner. In this case it reproduces the specific visual representation of Christ tied up to the column and tortured before the crucifixion, an image spectators would be expected to recognize from church imagery.⁶⁶ Furthermore, as the curtain opens, the boy is presented not dead, but terribly wounded and in agony, and he slowly expires before the spectators' eyes, while his father encourages him to die tied up to the column (the instrument of his torture) instead of lying down, to better imitate Christ: "Si vas caminando al cielo, / no has de sentarte en el suelo; / más ligero

el sol, salióme la luna, where Teodora, the penitent sinner, deserts her worldly figure and female body in order to achieve sanctity in the monastery, dressed as a Carmelite friar, by means of penitence and with the help of the Virgin" [my translation]). Pedro Calderón de la Barca – *El príncipe constante*. Ed. by Fernando Cantalapiedra y Alfredo Rodríguez Lopez-Vázquez. Madrid: Cátedra, 1996, II, note to v. 1424). A character's nakedness in theatre is often related to poverty, as is seen, for instance, in Calderón's *autos sacramentales* such as *La vida es sueño* y *El gran teatro del mundo*.

⁶³ Miguel de Cervantes – *Los baños de Argel* ..., *cit.*, II, v. 2373-76 ("He's tied to a column, the very image of Christ, stained crimson from head to toe in his own blood". *Bagnios* ..., *cit.*, p. 76).

⁶⁴ *Ibidem* II, v. 2513-49.

⁶⁵ Miguel de Cervantes – *Los baños de Argel* ..., *cit.*, II, v. 2554 ("A curtain is drawn; Francisquito is discovered tied to a pillar in whatever way is most conducive to pity". *Bagnios* ..., *cit.*, p. 82).

⁶⁶ The image represents the moment of Christ's flogging, although the column is never mentioned in the Gospels (Matthew 27, Mark 15, John 18 and 19, Luke 22 and 23). It was only at the end of the sixteenth century that the column was included as part of the Passion's iconography (Emile Mâle – *L'art religieux de la fin du XVI siècle* ..., *cit.*, pp. 263-66).

vas ansi”⁶⁷. As the child draws his last breath, his father turns him into a symbol of persistent faith. In the final scene of the play, Francisquito’s father carries the child’s remains as if they were holy relics: “*el padre, con un paño blanco, dando muestras que lleva los huesos de Francisquito*”⁶⁸.

The configuration and staging of the boy’s path towards martyrdom is similar to that of other martyred saints in the theatre, but the meaning of the components and actions is different. When he openly declares his Christianity, he is not confessing a secret but reaffirming his faith; his disrobing is not the result of a sudden realization of truth, but a courageous refusal of impositions. The way in which he is tormented depicts him as a Christian hero, persistent in his beliefs, as he knowingly and willingly dies literally imitating Christ, sharing in his pain and enduring torture, in spite of his young age. And yet, though he represents “the strongest version of Christian identity” in the play, there is a discordant tone, since, “while his youth and vulnerability make him a highly sympathetic figure, his father’s absolute willingness to see him martyred instead of converted introduces a jarring note”⁶⁹.

IV

In *Los mártires de Japón*⁷⁰ Lope de Vega dramatizes the presence and martyrdom of a group of mendicant missionary friars who worked towards

⁶⁷ Miguel de Cervantes – *Los baños de Argel ...*, cit., III, v. 2560-62 (“If you’re headed to heaven, you must not sit on the ground; you go quicker like this” *Bagnios...*, cit., p. 82).

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, III, v. 3057 (“the father, with a white handkerchief, to show that he carries the bones of Francisquito”. *Bagnios ...*, cit., p. 97).

⁶⁹ Barbara Fuchs – Introduction. In Miguel de Cervantes, Barbara Fuchs, and Aaron J. Ilika – “*The Bagnios of Algiers*” ..., cit., p. xxiv.

⁷⁰ Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio – *Los mártires de Japón*. Ed. and Introd. by Christina H. Lee. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2006. Probably composed after 1618, the play is kept in a manuscript copy from 1637 in which Lope appears as the author of the first two acts, and Antonio Mira de Amescua’s name is on the front page of the third one (MS. 17365 BNM). Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo made the first transcription of the manuscript in 1895 and gave it the title of *Los primeros mártires de Japón*, although this title is only present in the second folio of the manuscript (*La famosa comedia de los primeros mártires de Japón*). The play, however, does not refer to the twenty-six Christians crucified in Japan on February 1592, who were indeed the “first”, but to the protomartyr Navarrete. The modern editor of this *comedia* indicates that the term “*primeros*” in the title rather refers to the quality of the characters, as defined by the *Diccionario de autoridades*: “aquí se usa para describir a la persona que es principal en dignidad, como decir ‘cuarto en número, primero en virtudes’” (Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio – *Los mártires de Japón ...*, cit., p. 45, n. 1); Lee amends the title by which the play has been known, and offers a study on the historical-political context of the characters, the political and religious relations between Spain and Japan during the period, and the text (*Ibidem*, pp. 9-44). Lope de Vega wrote a previous narrative about the Japanese martyrs of 1614-1615 (*El triunfo de la fe en los reinos del Japón por los años de 1614 y 1615*. Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín-A. Pérez, 1618), from which he might have taken some of the material for the composition of the play (see Alois Richard Nykl – “Los Primeros Mártires del Japón” and “Triunfo de la fe en los Reinos del Japón”. *Modern Philology*. 22-3 [February 1925] 305-23).

evangelizing the island. In 1614, the Japanese authorities had issued a decree prohibiting all Christian presence and activity in Japan, but these friars carried out their work clandestinely, until they were apprehended and executed in 1617. The play, centering on the Dominican beatus Fr. Alonso Navarrete, was commissioned by his brother, Royal Chaplain Pedro Fernández Navarrete, after he received a letter from Fr. Francisco Morales giving an account of Fr. Alonso's "glorious passing".⁷¹ This play was of course meant to honor and celebrate Fr. Alonso's work and martyrdom and to serve as edifying and exemplary material, but it also had other more practical purposes, such as, to begin with, promoting Navarrete's canonization.⁷² *Los mártires ...* presents, perhaps in an over-exalted manner, the work done by the Dominicans in the Far East, so that the Order would get more recognition and support from the Spanish authorities. The fact was that since the Society of Jesus settled in Japan, in 1549, the Jesuits tried to keep their sovereignty over the missions in the region and prevent the mendicant orders from entering the island. However, by the early 1600s, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians had established their own missions, and since then they accomplished a great number of conversions. Nevertheless, apparently there was still great rivalry between the mendicant orders and the Jesuits. The accounts sent to Spain by missionaries sought to focus the attention of their religious leaders and the Crown on the "miracles of faith" taking place in the Far East, in order to get more support and assistance from them. The hope was that by presenting a play about the martyrdom of the Royal Chaplain's brother, the work of the Dominicans in Japan would be better acknowledged and that the Order would gain political support and financial assistance from the Crown.⁷³

The play consists of three plots: one centering on a political/military story; another focused on the hagiographical material; and the last a romance plot. The first one is based on the history of Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615), heir to the Japanese throne, and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616), the usurper who overthrew him. Hideyori lived in exile in a fortress in Osaka, but he planned an uprising

⁷¹ Morales was the superior of the Dominican Order in Manila. Together with his letter, dated March 12, 1618, he sent a drop of Navarrete's blood and the sword used to decapitate him. Navarrete's cousin, Fr. Alonso de Mena, also sent another letter addressed to the Dominican's mother to inform her (see Christina H. Lee – Introducción. In Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio – *Los mártires de Japón ...*, cit., p. 13). Accounts of Hernando de Ayala and Alonso Navarrete's story, as well as those of other martyrs, can be found in P.M. Fr. Joseph Sicardo – *Christianidad del Japón y dilada persecución que padeció. Memorias sacras de los mártires de las ilustres religiones de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, Compañía de Jesús, y crecido número de seglares; con especialidad de los religiosos del Orden de N.P.S. Agustín*. Madrid: by Francisco Sanz, 1689.

⁷² Fr. Alonso Navarrete was only beatified until 1867.

⁷³ See Christina H. Lee – Introducción. In Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio – *Los mártires de Japón ...*, cit., pp. 10-14, and Christina H. Lee – Lope de Vega and the Martyrs of Japan. In *The Renaissance Society of America: A Companion to Early Modern Hispanic Theatre*. Ed. by Hilaire Kallendorf. Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2014, p. 232.

in an attempt to regain his rightful place. His intent was discovered and, when he was under siege, rather than suffering the humiliation of being captured, he committed suicide in 1615. This is the context whereby the hagiographical plot is inserted, although the martyrdom of Navarrete and his companions really took place two years later, in 1617. The romance plot is related to the political plot, but mainly derives from dramatic composition forms and conventions of the *Comedia Nueva*. The plots are interwoven and integrated in the drama, and presented as if the events had been contemporary; this provides the play with some verisimilitude, creates increased dramatic tension, and offers the kind of variety and entertainment that appealed to the general playgoers in Golden Age Spain. Besides the anachronism, the drama alters some historical facts: it ends with the capture and execution of the friars, but it also presents the death of the usurper (called Daiso Sama in the play), and the victory and conversion to Christianity of the rightful heir to the throne (called Taiko Sama), most probably to exalt the work of the Christians and the figure of Navarrete in the Far East.⁷⁴

In *Los mártires de Japón*, four characters are martyred: the Dominican Navarrete, two friars – one Augustinian and one Franciscan – respectively named Agustín and Francisco, and a Japanese Christian boy called Tomás.⁷⁵ Their sacrifice, announced in the title, is prefigured from the beginning of the play, when the king of Bomura persuades the Emperor to expel all Christians from Japan. This character, who had been baptized but then renegaded, proclaims that Christians should all leave or suffer great punishment: “y porque así sosieguen mis intentos, / para aquel que quedare / busca nuevos rigores y tormentos”.⁷⁶ The friars’ fatal ending is somehow unavoidable, for Navarrete and his companions are true to their mission, and would never run away from their duties nor abandon the Japanese converts. They are aware of the risk and they choose to face it. In fact, the way in which they express it shows that they have already accepted their death as inevitable:

NAVARRETE: Padres, paréceme a mí
que nos volvamos aquí,
aunque arriesguemos la vida.

⁷⁴ See Christina H. Lee – Introducción. *cit.*

⁷⁵ As the play centers on Navarrete, he is the only character named after an actual historical figure, but the other friars might represent the Augustinian Hernando de San José Ayala and the Franciscan Pedro de la Asunción. The first one was a provincial vicar and the only Augustinian in the region by 1617; he was executed with Navarrete and a Japanese man named León. The Franciscan was martyred a week earlier, together with the Jesuit Juan Bautista Tavora, whose absence in the play could very likely derive from the rivalry between the Jesuits and the mendicant orders. Tomás is based on a young boy who asked to be arrested with Alonso Navarrete (see notes 109, 116 and 123 in the edition by Lee).

⁷⁶ “And so that I appease my intent, for he who would stay, do think of new rigors and torments” (my translation). Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio – *Los mártires de Japón ... cit.*, I, v. 191-93.

Es quedar desconsolados
 si salimos del Japón.
 Los que ya cristianos son
 es fuerza, y los bautizados,
 si les falta la doctrina,
 a sus ritos volverán.

...

FRANCISCO: Démonos los tres las manos
 de volvernos a morir.⁷⁷

These characters are thus presented, in accordance with their profession, as conscious of their cause and mission, and true to their work. They are portrayed as faithful, virtuous men, ready to actively face any danger, to stand up to persecutors and sacrifice their lives for the sake of religion and the salvation of others' souls. Navarrete, in particular, is presented as a man of great faith and able to perform miracles, thus characterized as favored by God.⁷⁸ When Navarrete stops the Emperor from abusing a woman, and points out the ruler's tyrannical behavior, the angered ruler prepares to shoot him, but he feels his arm held by an inexplicable force, so he fears that the friar is using magic, or that he might be one of his gods:

EMPERADOR: Dudo
 que eres hombre. Di quién eres,
 que con secretos impulsos
 me tienes el brazo,
 ¡oh, mis fuerzas quitas!

NAVARRETE: Busco
 la salvación de las almas.

EMPERADOR: ¿Eres, por ventura, alguno
 de mis dioses?

⁷⁷ Navarrete urges his companions to "return here, even if we risk our lives, for if we leave, Japan will be greatly afflicted. The ones who are already Christians, and those who have been baptized, will surely turn back to their rites if they lack the doctrine", and the Franciscan agrees: "Let us shake hands making the promise of returning here to die" (my translation). *Ibidem*, I, v. 767-96.

⁷⁸ Many *comedias* about virtuous characters present them as related to the miraculous and the supernatural, even if there is no mention of this in their life stories, not only to allow a varied drama and a spectacular staging, but also to characterize them in a manner that is more appealing to the audience, since such "perfect" characters usually undergo no changes and present almost no conflict (see Dann Cazés Gryj – Tramoya y personaje ..., *cit.* pp. 112-114. Also, Anne Teulade – Santidad y teatralidad: el santo como paradoja estética. In *La comedia de santos. Actas del Coloquio Internacional Almagro, 1, 2, 3 de diciembre de 2006*. Ed. Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez y Almudena García González. Almagro: Universidad de Castilla/La Mancha, 2008, pp. 85-99.

In many hagiographical plays about religious characters that are virtuous from the start, the protagonist often receives a white cloth⁸⁴ given to him or her by a character from the heavenly plane, during a mystical experience, or as a result of successfully facing a great challenge. In this sense, as Navarrete comes out of the fire in a white cloth, this represents an element of spiritual protection, but it also reflects a modification in “quality”, or an elevation in his spiritual state.

In the end, Navarrete and his companions are shown executed; each most likely dressed in their original attire. This is not clearly expressed in the stage directions, but is suggested by the Franciscan friar’s lines, when he requests the man who gave them shelter to keep their cloths while they put on Japanese attire, for they might need them if they are executed; thus, their attire acquires a sacred value, more important than mere means of recognition:

FRANCISCANO: ... Esos hábitos, amigo
de tus tres huéspedes guarda,
porque mortajas tengamos
si el Emperador nos mata.⁸⁵

In this way, the characters are identified as members of their religious orders and are presented to the audience in the way similar to that in which martyred saints appear in portraits.

The martyred characters are presented to the audience by means of theatrical machinery that produced a very spectacular effect, and was very appreciated in court performances:

*Tócase una trompeta y vuélvese el monte, y parece entre las peñas Tomás crucificado; a los pies, Navarrete con la cebeza en las manos y un hacha que la parte; el franciscano al lado derecho de la cruz con una flecha en el pecho, y el fraile agustino al lado, atravesado con lanza.*⁸⁶

⁸⁴ “Tunicela. Se llama una vestidura Episcopal a modo de Dalmática con sus mangas, que se aseguran con unos cordones. Úsase en los Pontificales debajo de la casulla”, *Diccionario de autoridades ...*, cit., s.v. TUNICELA.

⁸⁵ “Keep guard of these, your three guests’ robes, my friend, so that we would have a shroud should the Emperor kill us” (my translation). Félix Lope de Vega – *Los mártires de Japón ...*, cit., I, v. 1945-48.

⁸⁶ “A trumpet sounds, and the mountain opens; between the rocks is Tomás, crucified. By his feet is Navarrete, holding his head on his hands, with an axe that cuts through it; to the right of the cross, the Franciscan with an arrow to his chest, and the Augustinian friar with a spear through his body” (my translation). *Ibidem*, III, v. 2667. The movement indicated brings to mind the mountain-shaped machinery described by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza in his account of the staging of Villamediana’s *La gloria de Niquea*, presented before King Philippe IV (Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza – *Fiesta que se hizo en Aranjuez a los años del Rey nuestro señor D. Felipe IV*, Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1623. In *Nobleza y espectáculo teatral (1535-1622). Estudio y documentos*. Ed. by Teresa Ferrer Valls. Valencia: UNED – Universidad de Sevilla – Universitat de Valencia, 1993, pp. 283-96). How this stage machinery looked or worked is not certain, but it is thought to have

This sort of *tableau vivant* remains in view until the end of the play, as the action develops around it. The visual composition and the presence of the open machinery help stress the virtuous saint-like character of the protagonist and his companions, affirming the triumph of the Christian missionaries in spite of (and because of) their execution. The boy Tomás, inexplicably still alive and agonizing on the cross, explains that the deceased friars are preparing his entry into Heaven, explicitly affirming their sainthood (“El camino me previenen / del cielo y delante van”).⁸⁷ He also reminds his mother, Quildora, to keep her promise of converting to Christianity if she becomes the empress of Japan. The new emperor Taiko, who is to marry her, affirms that he too will convert. When Taiko enters the stage with his army, he chases and defeats the usurper, who falls from the top of the mountain to die “kissing the blood of the innocent Christians” (“Precipitado del monte / has de bajar, a que beses / la sangre que has derramado / de los españoles inocentes”).⁸⁸ The effect of Navarrete’s severed head informing Daiso Sama that he has seen his downfall and his death (“No te alegres, / que sí lo he visto”)⁸⁹ presents the ultimate miracle related to the protagonist, which is witnessed by all the other characters, confirming that Navarrete is a virtuous man favored by God, and reaffirming the triumph of the friars and the Christian faith over the tyrant persecutor.

V

Theatrical representation of martyrdom in these plays is presented as part of a process that offers a sequence of actions and situations organized progressively, and shows specific moments in the character’s path towards his sacrifice: in a general scheme, the character admits to being a Christian in a hostile environment; is diminished, humiliated, and condemned, and might suffer some kind of torture or mistreatment. After affirming or reaffirming his faith and trust in God, he is executed, and this results in his elevation to sainthood because of his sufferings in the name of his faith. The staging of this process is based mainly on the use of clothing, theatrical machinery, and other effects: the character is shown wearing different attires that express his condition or situation at each of the stages or

been a huge structure that was shaped and decorated like a mountain (fourteen metres tall and with a circumference of twenty-three metres), with ramps and steps on each side hidden behind it, for climbing up and down. It had a mechanism that would activate and open the mountain in the middle, displaying a decoration of rocks or cliffs, and other characters inside.

⁸⁷ “They go ahead of me, preparing the way to heaven” (my translation). Félix Lope de Vega – *Los mártires de Japón ...*, *cit.*, III, v. 2672-73.

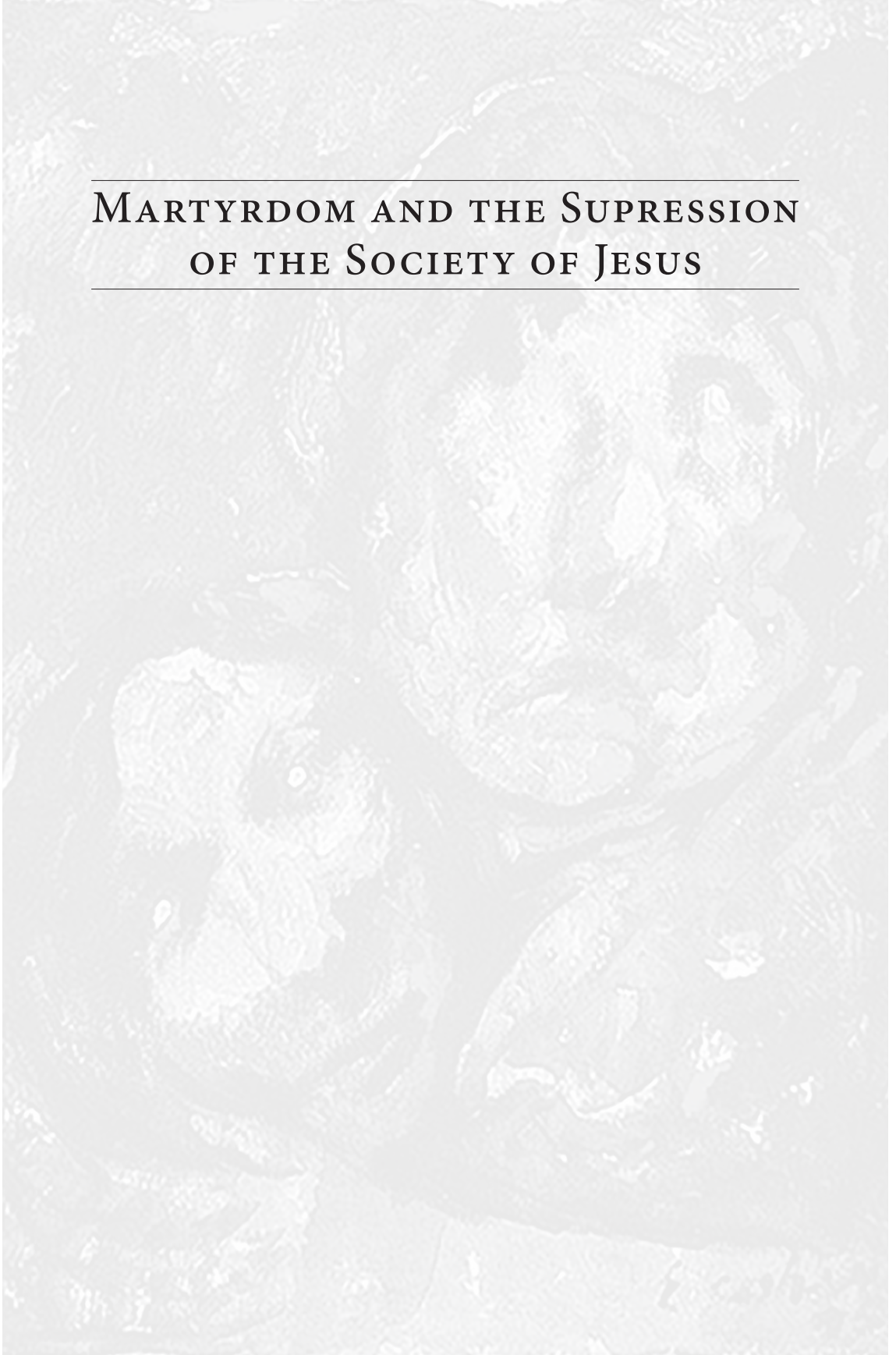
⁸⁸ “You will plummet from the mountain, and fall down to kiss the blood of these innocent Spaniards that you have spilled” (my translation). *Ibidem*, III, v. 270-06.

⁸⁹ “Do not be glad, for I have seen you” (my translation). *Ibidem*, III, v. 2718.

changes he goes through at any given moment. There is a violent act of humiliation, which is mostly narrated, and then his body is presented in the discovery place, in a manner meant to impress the audience and touch them on an emotional level, but also expressing his triumph in spite, or because of, his execution.

However, although the characters go through a basic succession of actions, there are differences in the dramatic configuration and the theatrical representation for the different kinds of martyrs. The pagan sage goes through a process of descent and degradation, endangering himself to the verge of condemnation of his soul; this leads him to information that may help him reverse his situation and be saved. His execution is portrayed in a tragic tone, in which his death is presented as provoking the anger of God and universal chaos. The Christian captive in a Moorish country is presented in a heroic manner, as he refuses to abandon or betray his faith. His execution is shown in a pathetic tone meant to move the audience deeply, as he slowly agonizes and dies in a manner that evokes Christ's death. The missionary's path in the drama is not one of search and discovery of truth, nor one of a defenseless Christian facing adversity, but of a man who openly, knowingly, and willingly acts against persecution and tyrants, for the glory of God and the salvation of others. He is presented as an active hero who continues his mission in spite of being aware of the fatal end, and his execution portrays him as triumphant. Thus, the main dramatic and performance components in each play are similar, but in each case, they acquire a different meaning and function.

MARTYRDOM AND THE SUPPRESSION
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS



“THEY WERE AMONG US BUT NOT OF US”:
JESUIT EMOTIONS IN THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE
AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

SABINA PAVONE

1.

In the variegated panorama of “narratives of suffering”, António Vieira’s well-known phrase – more suggestive than emotionally descriptive – “To be born, a square of earth, to die, the whole world”¹ – opens up a whole emotional universe and gestures inescapably towards a human need for understanding of the final sacrifice and the inevitable end of the missionary road. Behind the activities

¹ The quote condenses a slightly longer passage from one of António Vieira’s sermons: “to be born a square of earth, to die all the earth, to be born, Portugal: to die, the whole world”, from *Seconda parte delle prediche del p. Antonio Vieira ... tradotte da Annibale Adami*. Roma: Giovan Battista e Giuseppe Corvi, 1686, p. 95. On the same theme of exile cf. the considerations of António Trigueiros, “Há vários exílios no exílio desta mão cheia de jesuítas. Para um número significativo deles, há o exílio da pátria. Reunidos de todos os cantos do império português, viram-se despojados de nacionalidade, porque forçados a optar entre esta e a sua convicção. Talvez fosse este, afinal, o menor dos exílios. ... Para um número talvez ainda mais significativo, havia o exílio de funções. Homens habéis, muitos ocupando postos de relevo no âmbito académico, científico, ou mesmo político, viam-se agora reduzidos à condição de párias supérfluos, irradiados de toda a possibilidade de uma efectiva intervenção nos assuntos do mundo. É fácil pressentir a angústia desta destituição. A situação de um desperdício. Para todos, porém, haveria um outro exílio forçado. Com a supressão e extinção da Companhia, é a sua própria identidade que é posta em causa. São homens exilados de si mesmos. Mas há outro exílio. ... O tempo era outro. Encurralados nesse longo exílio, estes homens que tinham vindo de todo o mundo davam-se conta de que também a história parecia querer esquecê-los e ultrapassá-los. ... E este é o exílio mais profundo, como também aquele de onde virá a retirar forças uma nova geração que no século sucessivo voltará a erguer bandeira de Inácio”, Para morrer, todo o mundo. Entre a extinção e a sobrevivência dos jesuítas portugueses refugiados no Estados Pontifícios. PhD dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa, 2007, pp. 62-63.

themselves, and, one could say, within the ceaseless rhythm of evangelisation, lurk sentiments and possible alternative perceptions and interpretations of those activities. The missionary life carries with the vocation, more or less implicitly, the potential for suffering and martyrdom, but the context of such trials will change with time, location and the persons involved.

Literal martyrdom is obviously the most extreme outcome of the missionary vocation² but “narratives of suffering” can also derive from the anguish felt at the dismembering or destruction of one’s Order,³ an experience felt by the Jesuits all the more acutely when linked with themes of exile, imprisonment and/or survival in far-off lands. It is no surprise to find the *Imitatio Christi* a recurring presence both in the writings of those invoking martyrdom and in the letters of ex-Jesuits after the suppression of the Society of Jesus.⁴

² For a recent synthesis on the theme of martyrdom, see Brad Stephan Gregory – *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. On the Jesuit martyrs of Cuncolim see Angela Barreto Xavier – Power, Religion and Violence in Sixteenth-Century Goa. *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*. 19 (2010) 19-41; Teotonio de Souza – *Why Cuncolim Martyrs? An Historical Re-assessment*. <http://www.goacom.com/culture/history/cuncolim.html>. On the Japanese martyrs see Diego Yuuki – *The Twenty-Six Martyrs of Nagasaki*. Tokyo: Enderle Book Co., 1998.

³ As in, for example, this anonymous letter in which expulsion is felt as a genuine martyrdom: “In every bodily feeling we have suffered a martyrdom so cruel that we have experienced a unique test and a special providence from God in preserving us. ... Brought low by hunger, by thirst, by the squalor of our surroundings, exhausted and reduced to pale corpses, we managed to reach the mouth of the Tagus”, ARSI – *Relazione della cattura e del viaggio dal Brasile a Lisbona, e da Lisbona a Genova de’ Padri Gesuiti della Provincia del Brasile*, *Hist. Soc.* 248, c. 352, July 24th, 1760, no name. It is worth noting that this *Relation abregée* was published in the early twentieth century in a collection of martyrdom accounts: Henri Leclercq – *Les Martyrs. Recueil de pièces authentiques sur les martyrs depuis les origines du christianisme jusqu’ au XXe siècle*. Paris: H. Oudin, 1910, vol. 10, *Le XVIIIe siècle*.

⁴ For example: ARSI – *Lettera di Giuseppe Panzi Laico della Compagnia e Pittore dell’Imperador di Cina, scritta da Pechino a Giuseppe Solari a Genova*, *Jap. Sin.* 185, f. 91, Peking, September 23rd, 1795: “It is finished, Jesus said from the Cross, and he died and after three days rose again glorious and triumphant. We too shall rise”. Giuseppe Panzi (Chinese name: Pan Tingz-hang, Ruose) belonged to the French mission rather than the Portuguese. He was born on May 2nd, 1734 in Florence and died in Peking around 1811. He entered the Society on September 20th, 1768, in Genoa, leaving for Peking on January 12th, 1773, only a few months before the suppression. He was less well known as an artist than Baldassarre Castiglione but numbered among his paintings a famous portrait of the Emperor Quianlong and another of Father Amiot. He renewed his vows at Peking on November 1st, 1806, with Fathers Jean-Joseph Grammont and Louis Poirot. This pair had furthermore been denouncers of those Jesuits in China who had decided after the suppression to keep their community alive under François Bourgeois. Cf. R. Po-cha Hsia – *Jesuit Survival and Restoration in Qing China*. In *Jesuit Survival and Restoration. A Global History, 1773-1900*. Ed. by Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright. Leiden: Brill, 2015, pp. 245-60; Id. – *The End of the Jesuit Mission in China*. In *The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context: Causes, Events, and Consequences*. Ed. by Jeffrey D. Burson and Jonathan Wright. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 100-116; Sabina Pavone – *Ricostruire la Compagnia partendo da Oriente? Lacomunità gesuita franco-cinese dopo la soppressione*. In *Missioni, saperi e adattamento tra Europa e imperi non cristiani*. Ed. by Vincenzo Lavenia and Sabina Pavone. Macerata: eum, 2015, pp. 129-64.

This paper has its origins in a desire to establish whether certain lines of enquiry deriving from the history of emotions⁵ can prove fruitful in the context of the eastern missions of the Society of Jesus at the time of the destruction of the Order in Portugal and its final suppression. This occurred over a time span of a little more than twenty years (1759-1782) which saw the Jesuit missionaries subjected to a series of "persecutions" – to employ a term going back to the origins of Jesuit historiography – according to which, to cite the most obvious example, the Inquisition investigations of Saint Ignatius were equally read as *persecutiones*.⁶ In this sense, here we do not talk about the actual Jesuit martyrdom of the Early Modern Jesuit perpetrated by infidels, but about the feeling of martyrdom perceived by Jesuits as a consequence of the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

The Jesuit missionaries deployed by the Society's Portuguese Assistance (not exactly coterminous with the Portuguese empire) will experience in fact different traumas. First of all, they suffered the expulsion from Goa and Macao between 1759 and 1762,⁷ then imprisonment in Lisbon (1762-1777). Between 1768 and 1769 the Jesuits endured a further wave of persecutions in China where they managed to retain a presence at the imperial court. Finally, in 1773, the definitive suppression of the Society by Clement XIV occurred.

We are talking therefore about a sequence of traumatic events, studied above all by the European historiography in recent years from the perspective of exile, but which I mean here to analyse instead from the perspective of the emotions of the protagonists who lived the experience of suppression in contexts differing both from the geographical and from the psychological point of view.

Historians of emotions are in agreement on the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of reconstructing the emotions actually experienced by individual actors in history and concur on the fact that emotions may be read rather as expressions of corresponding social signals. Many scholars have for this reason concentrated their attention on the contemporary images and iconography as the readiest instruments for highlighting a corpus of emotions understood

⁵ William M. Reddy – *The Navigation of Feeling. A Framework for the History of Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001; Forum. History of Emotions. *German History*. 28/1 (2010) 67-80; The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns. *History and Theory*. 49/2 (May 2010) 237-65.

⁶ See Sabina Pavone – *A Saint under Trial: Ignatius of Loyola between Alcalá and Rome*. In *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola: Life, Writings, Spirituality, Influence*. Ed. by Robert A. Maryks. Leiden: Brill, 2014, p. 45-65.

⁷ Anselm Eckart glossed as follows the fate of the Goa Jesuits: "The Jesuits in Asia, too, had to learn the hard way how sweeping was the Marquis of Pombal's influence: it reached the furthest flung corners of the Portuguese eastern empire", *Memórias de um Jesuíta prisioneiro de Pombal [Historia persecutionis Societatis Iesu]*. Braga-Sao Paulo: Loyola, 1987, p. 101. Cf. Aline Schefer – Anselmo Eckart, Jesuíta missionário e prisioneiro nas prisões pombalinas. Modelo de "vida exemplar". *Oficina do Historiador*. 27 (2014) 1798-1812.

as a system of relationships – emotions, that is to say, “as a cultural-historical discourse of power”, in Susan Broomhall’s formulation.⁸ This perspective needs to be integrated with Barbara Rosenwein’s research, which has focused on what she calls “emotional communities”,⁹ reflecting on group emotional dynamics which often “may coalesce around the memory of a charismatic figure”.¹⁰

The Society of Jesus certainly constitutes an appealing field of study for developing this perspective of emotional analysis, particularly at the time of its suppression. In this phase, in fact, the need to preserve the corporate identity of a group tracing its self-image to a set of principles inspired by the charismatic figure of Ignatius (whose Spiritual Exercises represent in this light the foundation for the construction of an introspective identity) seems to put in doubt the sense of self of the individuals that make it up.¹¹

The basic idea of this paper is therefore to establish the possibility of a reading of Jesuit emotions in terms of an “emotional community” and to assess to what extent such an approach can provide insights not only into their group identity but also into the reactions provoked by the different contexts in which the missionaries operated – contexts which, as again Rosenwein has pointed out, often impose or condition an emotive response: “Emotional suffering occurs when people are forced (usually by the prevailing regime) to feel in very restricted ways”.¹²

⁸ Susan Broomhall – Introduction. In *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650-1850*. Ed. by Susan Broomhall. London-New York: Routledge, 2015, p. 4. Broomhall takes over and adapts Catherina A. Lutz’s concept from her *Feminist Emotions*. In *Power and the Self*. Ed. by Jeannette M. Mageo. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 194-215. Broomhall also stresses the concept in her Introduction. *Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder: Gender and Emotions*. In *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder*. Ed. by Susan Broomhall. London-New York: Routledge, 2016 (1st ed. Ashgate 2015), p. 5.

⁹ Barbara H. Rosenwein – Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions. *Passions in Context*. I (1/2010) 11. See also Barbara H. Rosenwein – Worrying about Emotions in History. *American Historical Review*. 107 (2002) 821-45, esp. 842-45; Id. – *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.

¹⁰ Barbara H. Rosenwein – Problems and Methods ..., *cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹ See Adriano Prosperi – *La vocazione. Storie di gesuiti tra Cinquecento e Seicento*. Torino: Einaudi, 2016, in particular pp. 34-36 where he speaks of the documentary sources regarding the *Vocationes* around which this last work is structured. These are first-person writings which nonetheless need to be contextualised and interpreted in the ambit of obedience to instructions from superiors: “There is no doubting the sincerity of these feelings nor denying their importance for a history of the emotions. But neither should we overdo it. Indicators of human emotions must be interpreted in the light of the historical gulf separating the writers then and their readers now. It is necessary to take into account both context and the established conventions between those asking and those answering”, p. 36. Prosperi is referring here particularly to Thomas V. Cohen – Why the Jesuits Joined, 1540-1600. *Historical Papers/Communications Historiques*. IX (1974) I, 237-58.

¹² Barbara H. Rosenwein – Problems and Methods ..., *cit.*, p. 22.

Can we then specify certain characteristics of the “emotional community” that repeat themselves over time and space in concomitance with a traumatic event such as the suppression of an Order? Conversely, to what extent do the differing geographical contexts in which the missionaries are called on to operate impinge at the emotional level? If we must agree with those that oppose any “universal” or “presentist” idea of emotions (the assumption that today’s emotions were the emotions of the past and will remain those of the future), deriving exclusively from biological stimuli, it seems to me just as important to underline the necessity of not losing contact with the flesh and blood individuals expressing the emotions. What we are dealing with in truth are “conditioned” emotions and it is precisely on the nature of that conditioning that we will concentrate here. But losing the individual dimension seems to me to risk slipping from the field of the emotions into that of their representations. Obviously the two worlds are interconnected and both must be read in light of the problem of communication, but they should not be confused.

2.

On the basis of these last considerations, it is obvious that any investigation of this kind presupposes a careful evaluation of the nature of potentially available sources and an equally precise analysis of their modes of production, circulation and preservation. Sources that bear witness to emotions are likely to be elusive and greatly varied in their typology, the uses to which they have been put, and their survival histories. In the last few years much has been made of the concept of “ego documents”.¹³ These form an equally slippery category, but one which will surely be of relevance in our choice of sources that in this case will often be epistolary, and therefore safely within its remit.

It will not be necessary to dwell here on how correspondence was a favoured instrument of communication within the Society from its foundation. We are also all familiar with Ignatius’s letter on how letters ought to be written, as a basis for what we might call Jesuit epistolary diplomacy. Well known, too, is the different tenor of Jesuit letters intended for internal versus external consumption, and we can identify a degree of “rituality” in the construction of these letters (one thinks for example of the *Litterae Indipetae*).¹⁴

¹³ Cf. Michelle Molina – Technologies of the Self: The Letters of Eighteenth-Century Mexican Jesuit Spiritual Daughters. *History of Religions*. 47/4 (2008) 282-303; Mary Fulbrook and Ulinka Rublack – In Relation: The ‘Social Self’ and Ego-Documents. *German History*. 28/3 (2010) 263-72.

¹⁴ On this theme, see Emanuele Colombo and Marina Massimi – *In viaggio. Gesuiti candidati alle missioni tra Antica e Nuova Compagnia*. Milano: Il Sole 24 Ore, 2014; Gian Carlo Roscioni – *Il desiderio delle Indie. Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani*. Torino: Einaudi, 2001; Camilla Russell – Imagining the ‘Indies’: Italian Jesuit Petitions for the Overseas Missions at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century. In

Again, the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*,¹⁵ for all their roots in propaganda and apologetics, in a period of crisis such as that following the expulsion of the Society from the European kingdoms,¹⁶ can perhaps be reread from the standpoint we are proposing here. The silence of these letters may be interpreted emotively, just as the criteria for the selection of news items may in their turn suggest a way of seeing the protagonists' interpretation of events from an emotional angle.

At the same time, letters to another brother or a provincial father lend themselves to different levels of interpretation that suggest on occasions the writer's desire to reach a wider readership than merely the addressee, so that an ampler public can be apprised of, and understand, the sufferings of the Jesuits.

One must also try to allow for a degree of restraint, both in the sense of self-censorship (which is the hardest form to evaluate) and, as we shall see, in the censoring or manipulation *post factum* by the editor of the source. Given this, it is highly probable that letters sent by Jesuits to relatives could provide a particularly illuminating contribution in tracing emotions. These are, however, difficult sources to track down, because even where they have survived, tracing the relevant archives may be problematic.

Other than letters and diaries (not exactly the same type of sources) we have also the series of reports produced more or less contemporaneously by the fathers themselves on the destruction of the Portuguese missions which need to be taken into consideration.

As far as the Jesuits active in the Portuguese charitable missions to India are concerned, we need to further emphasise that the practical nature of their work of evangelisation also influences the kind of sources produced: the "Indian" Jesuits, including those returning to Europe, do not tend to pen literary works or, at any rate, documents expressly intended for publication. This differentiates them from the "American" missionaries, perhaps more tied to collegiate life than to missions in the field, who contrastingly produce a substantial literature. Possibly

L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi. Per Adriano Prosperi. Ed. by Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci, and Stefania Pastore. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2015, vol. II, pp. 179-89; Id. – Vocation to the East: Italian Candidates for the Jesuit China Mission at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century. In *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*. Ed. by Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman. Vol. II: *History, Literature and Music*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013, pp. 313-27; Aliocha Maldavsky – Pedir las Indias. Las cartas indipetæ de los jesuitas europeos, siglos XVI–XVIII, ensayo historiográfico. *Relaciones*. 132 (otoño 2012) 147-81. Also, in this volume, see the studies of Elisa Frei and Camilla Russell.

¹⁵ The famous printing effort started in 1702 at the initiative of the Jesuit Charles Le Gobien, procurator of the French-China mission in Paris in order to celebrate the success of the Jesuit missions. Le Gobien published the first eight series; the later ones were printed by Jean-Baptiste Du Halde and other French Jesuits.

¹⁶ The Society of Jesus was expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764 and from Spain and Naples in 1767.

the experience of imprisonment conditioned literary production, but this was an experience shared with a number of Jesuits in Brazil, like Anselmo Eckart, who moved from São Paulo back to Braga, was imprisoned in the Fort of São Julião, and only after many years succeeded in reaching the remnants of the Society of Jesus surviving in Russia, where he arrived in 1803.¹⁷ One might hypothesise that, emotionally, the experience of exile affected the American Jesuits above all in the sense of nostalgia for the home country. On the contrary, the eastern missionaries were ready, in Vieira's words, to die in "the whole world", but they did not have any feeling of belonging to the mission countries. In the East they were all foreigners and as we read in one report, *Circa l'espulsione dei gesuiti di Portogallo*, it seems that they were themselves aware of this:

For these, at the human level, returning to Europe was not a punishment but a favour. From wild and deserted places where they led an extremely limited life surrounded by great danger, they passed to being able to enjoy the comforts of their own countries.¹⁸

Writing as a means of expressing one's own emotionality (as historians of emotions suggest) would apply then only to certain types of missionary, but on this a great deal of research remains to be done, and at this point one can only suggest possible lines of enquiry. In this paper I have examined the documentation regarding the oriental missions, but it would be interesting, from a comparative point of view, to include the Portuguese missionaries in South America, whose letters would constitute an extra documentary resource. Yasmin Haskell, who worked on the fruitful idea of investigating missionaries' Latin verse compositions as an alternative outlet for the expression of ex-Jesuit emotions in the face of the events surrounding the suppression and their exile, stressed that Emanuel de Azevedo, in his *Heroum*,¹⁹ "emphasizes the homesickness of the American [ex-Jesuit] exiles".²⁰ She writes again:

¹⁷ First edition of his diary, Anselm Eckart – *Historia persecutionis Societatis Jesu in Lusitania*, was published by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr in *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur*. vol. VII (1779) 293-320, VIII (1789) 81-288, IX (1780) 113-227.

¹⁸ ARSI – *Circa l'espulsione dei gesuiti di Portogallo*, in Goa 94, f. 82r.

¹⁹ Emanuel de Azevedo – *Heroum libri iv. Ad heroas epistolae*. Louvain [but Venice]: n.p., 1789.

²⁰ Yasmin Haskell – Suppressed Emotions: The Heroic Tristia of Portuguese (ex-)Jesuit, Emanuel de Azevedo. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 3/1 (2016) 59. And again: "Azevedo's *Epistolae ad heroas* are not ingenious literary exercises, nor propaganda from a distance, but a genuine attempt at 'processing' the events and emotions of the suppression from within", p. 56. At the same time as I was drafting this paper, Yasmin Haskell was working on this essay. I thank Professor Haskell for having shared with me her ideas before the publication of this article. See also Raphaelae Garrod and Yasmin Haskell (eds.) – *Changing Hearts: Performing Jesuit Emotions Between Europe, Asia, and Americas*. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.

neo-Latin writings are rich sources for historians of emotion, and Jesuit neo-Latin writings for historians of the emotions of the suppression. Not only could Latin be the vehicle for articulating sincere and complex emotions, belying the frequent association of “epilinguistic” idioms with stereotypicality, but, I venture, precisely by exploiting the genres and tropes of ancient literature, eighteenth-century Jesuit writers found the tools to express and manage their “modern” emotions with as much authenticity as, and perhaps even more precision and subtlety than, when they wrote in the vernacular.²¹

Regarding the Jesuits from the eastern missions, we should not forget that the difficulty of accessing sources is also due to the very difficult conditions faced by those who set sail from Goa to Lisbon in 1761. This first shipment from the east comprised one hundred twenty-seven fathers; the following year another twenty-nine set off from Macao.²² Conditions on board were particularly grim and took their toll not only on morale but on the physique. Of the one hundred twenty-seven from Goa, twenty-four died on the voyage; on arriving in Lisbon, sixteen left the Order, a further twenty-six were imprisoned in São Julião, sixteen were sent to Azeitão, and forty-five – the Portuguese nationals – went into exile in Italy. Furthermore, their writings were confiscated and the greater part was lost. A number of others besides – as we shall see – died before they could leave. The surviving sample of written documents is therefore drastically reduced.

3.

“They were among us, but not of us”.²³ The phrase which I have used as the title of this paper is taken from a letter from the ex-Indian missionary Gianfranco Filippi to Pietro Licchetta in 1782 by way of reply to a letter of Licchetta’s from some years before.²⁴

Filippi’s phrase was the stimulus for the hypothesis on which my speculations are based: it is their *esprit de corps* which fixes the horizons within which the former

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 44-45.

²² On the expulsion from Macao, see R. Po-cha Hsia – *The End of the Jesuit Mission ...*, *cit.*

²³ ARSI – *Lettera di Giovan Franco Filippi a Pietro Licchetta*, Rome, April 17th–June 23rd, 1782, Goa 63, f. 31. The letter was drafted over a number of sittings. The version in ARSI, Goa 63, is a copy transcribed by Filippi’s nephew in 1822.

²⁴ ARSI – *Lettera di p. Licchetta*, Daraburam, April 16th, 1780 (antiqua missio), N. C. – *Missio Madurensis*, vol. I, fasc. I, doc. 1. The letter, as attested in *Vita del P. Pietro Licchetta della Portoghese Provincia di Goa* (ARSI, *Vitæ* 94: ff. 292-303), was received by Father Filippi towards the end of 1781. The letter is also quoted (but not in its entirety) in David Ferrol – *The Jesuits in Mysore*. Kozhikode: Xavier Press, 1955, pp. 193-95 and was included by Joseph Bertrand in *La Mission du Maduré*. Paris: Librairie de Poussielgue-Rusand, 1847-54, IV, pp. 457-63. Cf. Sabina Pavone – The province of Madurai between the Old and New Society of Jesus. In *Jesuit Survival and Restoration ...*, *cit.*, pp. 331-52.

Jesuits forced to abandon the Order moved, and within which, notwithstanding the dissolution of the Society, they will continue to move.

The importance of discretion in controlling the passions has been noted in one of the fundamental texts of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. Oddly enough, in the letters we are looking at, Ignatius himself rarely makes an appearance: it is the Company as a living body that is the focus of attraction, a Society that lives on after its formal extinction.

Our starting point then is the idea of belonging. We go back to Filippi's cited letter: the remark "They were among us, but not of us" refers to the sixteen Jesuits who, overcome by their ordeals and their journey, decide to abandon the Order on disembarking in Portugal. The remark raises the question immediately in terms of an internal and external space not least from an emotional viewpoint: formal membership of the Society is not sufficient to make a father "one of us". It is no accident that in the letters and reports where mention is made of the defectors, there is a tendency to talk down the numbers and collocate brusquely *elsewhere* those who abandon the Order; they immediately lose their community identity. We also have a confirmation *a contrario* of such hypotheses from another anonymous manuscript: *Circa l'espulsione dei gesuiti dal Portogallo* (relating to resident Portuguese rather than missionaries), where it is reported that Marquis of Pombal himself attempted to exploit the emotional aspect by convincing the youngest Jesuits (in whom the *esprit de corps* was assumed to be less strong) to leave the Society by seeking the help of their families. It is worth quoting the passage where the document refers to Pombal's strategy:

All their relations came, their friends came, from afar came their mothers and sisters, and some with arguments, some with tears, all alike did their best to persuade them to adapt to the times. The church was at all hours full of women weeping to this effect.²⁵

Their families (that is, communities of origin) tried to play on their emotions with a view to weakening their sense of belonging to the Jesuit community, without, it seems, succeeding in the attempt, in that the majority of even the younger members chose to remain within the Order and – the report observes – "many burned the letters [from their families] without even opening them, imagining what they contained".²⁶ Interesting too is the use of the formula "adapt to the times". Together with space, time is a fundamental concept: Pombal's time is not Jesuit time, but the times *tout court*, the spirit of the age. And how do the Jesuits respond to contemporary time that is in some degree alien to them? They do so by harking back to a mythical time, a time of prophecies – in this

²⁵ ARSI – *Circa l'espulsione dei gesuiti di Portogallo*, Lus. 94, ff. 74v-75.

²⁶ *Ibidem*

case a prophecy attributed to the shoemaker Simon Gomez, who died with a reputation for sanctity in 1578. Gomez's prophecy was republished at the height of the storm in 1759, evoking terror among the people by the hunting down of the Jesuits,²⁷ and which we need not be surprised to find referred to in the same résumé immediately after the passage about adapting to the times:

God – says the prophecy – wished to redeem this kingdom through the agency of the Society of Jesus, causing the latter to be loved by its Princes, but when he wished instead to punish it, he determined to remove the Society from the Kingdom and send it far away.

And the author of the report comments:

Taking the above words together with the expulsion of the Jesuits it seemed that the moment had arrived when God wished to punish the realm, and a great fear spread through the People. If this fear was justified, future events will tell us.²⁸

But, to return to the Jesuits who had embarked on the Indian missions “from a holy desire to spread the Faith, and even to earn a glorious death in the name of Jesus Christ”,²⁹ the idea of martyrdom is always present in the background alongside a strong dose of rituality. As soon as the news of Pombal's decree and its actual application throughout the empire reaches India, the sufferings of the missionaries become concrete. The most interesting source we have for reconstructing the details of the overseas missionaries' exile is undoubtedly a manuscript (published largely without notes in 1936)³⁰ by the Portuguese Jesuit José Caeiro – *De exilio Provinciarum Transmarinarum assistentiæ Lusitanæ Societatis Jesu*³¹ – put together from the oral accounts³² of the Jesuits banished from their missions and imprisoned

²⁷ The prophetic note, widespread in any case at the time, also resurfaces in Caeiro, p. 784-85 in relation to Teotónio José and to the troubled future of the Society.

²⁸ ARSI – *Circa l'espulsione dei gesuiti di Portogallo*, f. 81v.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 82. In another text from the *Compendio istorico dell'espulsione dei gesuiti*, published in Nice in 1791 by Francisco Romão de Oliveira, we read on the other hand – introducing a political motive – “Almost all these priests resigned themselves for the length of their lives to a perpetual exile from their homeland, and from their relations, to go into the remotest areas to bring the heathen to the Faith and to multiply the subjects of the Crown”, p. 263. The source of the text is again José Caeiro.

³⁰ José Caeiro – *Os jesuitas do Brasil e da Índia na perseguição do Marques de Pombal*. Baía: Escola Tipografia Salesiana, 1936. Only the first three volumes are relevant. The first volume has been recently reprinted: José Caeiro – *História da expulsão da Companhia de Jesus das províncias ultramarinas da assistência de Portugal (séc. XVIII)*. Lisboa: Editorial Verbo, 2005.

³¹ José Caeiro – *De exilio Provinciarum Transmarinarum assistentiæ Lusitanæ Societatis Jesu*, in ARSI, *Lus.* 94 II.

³² The preface in fact reads: “the information has largely been accumulated from diverse written sources, with the addition of accounts given only orally [in various Portuguese prisons], from exiles from India,

in many cases in Lisbon before making the perilous journey to Italy to join their Portuguese brethren who had emigrated in 1759.³³ It is a text of interest not least for the manner of its production. Caerio’s work – not without its problems, but with a strong degree of trustworthiness – contains a mine of information on the Jesuits’ emotional reactions to the news of their imminent expulsion from the missions. The words that crop up most frequently in the pages dealing with the Jesuit expulsion from Goa are “crudelitas”, “crudeliter” and “most cruel”, peppering the text alongside such terms as “terror” and “tears”.³⁴

These refer to physical as much as to psychological events and are to be read with constant reference to the behaviour of the political and ecclesiastical authorities tasked with keeping the Jesuits in conditions of semi-imprisonment. Physicality and psychology are closely linked in the revised conception of martyrdom that emerges from the experience of these Jesuits. Caerio reports cases of some aged fathers dying “of grief” at the thought of having to abandon the mission and consequently their very *raison d’être*; similar instances are recorded by François Bourgeois in China when news of the suppression reaches Beijing in 1773.³⁵ Another Jesuit, Father Anselm Eckart, former missionary in the Brazilian province, in his memoirs written after several years of imprisonment in Lisbon, refers to the Goan Jesuits using a metaphor touching on physical and mental suffering at the same time: “The Jesuits in Asia also suffered the long arm of Pombal in their own flesh, which reached the furthest corners of the Portuguese dominion in the East”.³⁶

from Brasil, and from the Vice-Province of Maranhão in Italy, whither they were removed to share in their brothers’ suffering in less cruel circumstances”, (“informationes scriptæ maxime diversorum fontium, narrationibus adauctæ ore tenus prolatis, ab exulibus ex India, Brasilia ac Vice-Provincia Maranonensi Italiam convenerant, ubi minus crudeliter participes dolorum fuere quam eorum Fratren coniecti”, ARSI, *Lus.* 94 II, p. 8). And then again “it seems that the author has not infrequently availed himself of oral testimony” (“non raro apparet auctorem confugisse ad testimonia ore prolata”, *ibidem*, p. 10). The importance of this work lies precisely in its being based on oral accounts thus making it in itself a primary written source: “You have heard them directly from eye witnesses ... conferring a degree of certitude to the evidence thanks to the multiplicity of speakers” (“directe ea accepit a testis ocularibus ... conferendi testimoniorum certitudinem per narrantium multiplicitem”, *ibidem*).

³³ Disappointing, even if partly based on primary sources, is an article by José P. Bacelar e Oliveira – Arrest, Spoliation and Exile of the Goa Jesuits According to Father Caerio’s *De Exilio*. In *Indo-Portuguese History. Old Issues, New Questions*. Ed. by Teotonio R. de Sousa. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1984, pp. 123-32.

³⁴ See for example Caerio – *De exilio ...*, *cit.*, pp. 765, 780, 781.

³⁵ See the letter by François Bourgeois, November 15th, 1775, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des Missions étrangères*. Lyon: Vernarel et Cabin, 1819, vol. IV, pp. 270-71. On receiving news of the suppression, both Father Benoist (October 23rd, 1774) and Father Hallerstein (October 29th, 1774) died of apoplectic strokes. Cf. also Henri Cordier – *Histoire générale de la Chine*. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1920, vol. III, p. 253.

³⁶ “Tambien os Jesuitas da Asia experimentaram na sua carne como eram compridos os braços de Pombal para chegarem aos mais longinquos rincões do dominio portugues no Oriente”, Anselm Eckart – *Memorias de un Jesuita prisionero ...*, *cit.*, p. 101.

The theme of martyrdom reappears often in the documents we have examined. Pietro Licchetta, author of a letter sent in 1780 to the above-mentioned Father Filippi on the subject of Father Joseph Pedemonte, who died during the ordeals accompanying his arrest at Goa, writes “*je sais qu’il était saint avant d’être martyr*”.³⁷ Filippi adds his own comment: “we were crucified . . . [our] lives [were] set about with crosses and suffering” and “[our] martyrdom” continued over many years.³⁸ Again, in the *Compendio dell’espulsione dei gesuiti* (which almost certainly derives from Caeiro) the story of Father Sequeyra, who died on the voyage from Macao to Goa in 1762, draws on the commonplaces of Jesuit martyrdom, but in this case the perpetrator is not an idolatrous Indian governor but the “cruel” Portuguese captain.

Before expiring he begged the favour of being buried in the Church which the Catholics had there, but the cruel Captain would not even concede so much, having the sailors take the corpse out and bury him on the high seas, although the land was nearer, where he could easily have been given an ecclesiastical burial.³⁹

Furthermore, the same *Compendio* states that the missionaries stationed in Macao, pressed by the Portuguese to reveal the names of other fathers active in more distant provinces “resolved among themselves to undergo any sanction rather than give up names or identify the provinces in which their missions were operating”.⁴⁰

³⁷ «I know he was saint before being martyr». *Lettera di p. Licchetta ...*, *cit.* Concerning the Chinese mission, saint and martyrs are also remembered in the letter written by Giuseppe Panzi to Giuseppe Solari (Beijing, 23rd September 1795), about Father Houbein, a Lazarite dead in a Chinese prison: «We can safely assume that his soul has entered Heaven through the door used by holy martyrs», ARSI – *Jap. Sin.* 185, f. 95.

³⁸ *Lettera di Giovan Franco Filippi ...*, *cit.*, f. 39.

³⁹ Romão de Oliveira – *Compendio istorico ...*, *cit.*, p. 280. Derived from Caeiro’s text. Cf. also a letter from Lorenzo Kaulen to Prov. Del Basso Reno, from Fort San Guliano prison, December 12th, 1766: “Our fathers in Macao, many of whom had already suffered imprisonment, beatings and other torments among the Gentiles have been plucked from our chains. Certainly God will be more glorified by the miseries they bear in these prisons, without having deserved them, than by the sacrifice they would have made of their lives in idolatrous countries”. In *Aneddoti del Ministero di S.G. Carvalho ... sotto il regno di Giuseppe I re di Portogallo*, 1787, II (part III concerns Goa), p. 202. Lorenzo Kaulen, formerly a missionary in Paraguay, was imprisoned as one of the culprits of a plot against the king of Portugal. He was the author of various works among which was a collection of *Litterae de miseriis captivorum in Lusitania*, printed in 1777 (the manuscript – *Relação de algumas causas que succederão aos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus no reyno de Portugal, nas suas prisões* – is preserved in the National Library in Lisbon, cod. 7997). See also his profile written by L. Palacín in Charles E. O’Neill and Joaquín M. Domínguez – *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*. Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, 2011, vol. III, pp. 2179-80; cf. Inmaculada Fernández Arillaga and Mar García Arena – *Jesuitas alemanes en las misiones de Portugal: expulsión, confinamiento y escritos*. In *Desde los confines de los imperios ibéricos. Los jesuitas de habla alemana en las misiones americanas*. Ed. by Karl Lohut and María Cristina Torales Pachecho. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2007, pp. 251-57.

⁴⁰ Romão de Oliveira – *Compendio istorico ...*, *cit.*, p. 277.

We find confirmation of this attitude in Licchetta's letter: at the time of the arrests Licchetta was not in Goa (he had left in 1755), but with a mission in Madurai, a territory outside Portuguese political jurisdiction. When the Portuguese subsidies dried up (after 1759 and the expulsion of Goan Jesuits), he and his companions initially thought of returning, but then "judged it to be more in keeping with the divine will to remain for the succour of these poor Indians, and to stick together as one body".⁴¹ The metaphor of the body had been part of the image-world of the Society of Jesus since its beginnings and surfaces in many of the letters sent from the oriental missions, even those of the Jesuits remaining at the Beijing court, in circumstances very different and in many ways protected, where in fact it is deployed in more nuanced terms.⁴²

Licchetta makes much of "the constant anguish in which the vicissitudes of our persecuted Mother the Society kept us, and the disastrous news continually arriving of Jesuits banished" from various parts of Europe until the "final blow of the suppression".⁴³ This was another occasion of emotional revaluation of one's membership in the Society, and the account Licchetta, who was marooned in India, gives us suggests a mixture of sentiments ranging from disappointment at the lost opportunities for converting the Indian population to the firmness with which he insists on his Jesuit identity. The disappointment is clear in a passage censured from Joseph Bertrand's nineteenth-century edition, where he asks rhetorically:

I have baptised some hundreds of souls, converted none, and what I say more or less any missionary from any mission in this peninsula could say also But what fruit then do you harvest from your labours? Father Giulio Cesar Potenza who is now at our mission in Maduré can answer on my behalf. He refers to that monk in *The Lives of the Fathers*, who on the Superiors' orders was set to watering a dry post.⁴⁴

This does not prevent him, however, from experiencing the suppression of the Order as real deprivation. "As far as the spirit is concerned ... I fear and I

⁴¹ *Lettera di p. Licchetta ...*, cit. Italics are mine.

⁴² Cf. for example the *Lettera di Giuseppe Panzi Laico della Compagnia e Pittore dell'Imperador di Cina, scritta da Pechino a Giuseppe Solari a Genova*, 23 September 1795, in ARSI – *Jap. Sin.* 185, f. 91: "And my please to all is that we do not lose sight of one another, for I truly hope that God will soon reunite us".

⁴³ *Lettera di p. Licchetta ...*, cit. The word "madre/mother", as in "nostra buona madre" also reappears in François Bourgeois's letters from China written in 1778: "We will work with the Lazarite fathers Which does not mean however that we will not mourn, unconsolated, our unfortunate Society. How could any good Jesuit ever forget such a good mother! Ah! Those wonderful days! The precious days through which we lived together in the bosom of that good Mother! My eyes fill with tears at this dear memory", in Fernando Bortone – *I gesuiti alla corte di Pechino 1601-1813*. Roma: Desclée & C. – Editori Pontifici, 1969, p. 226. This, along with Bourgeois's other letters, are preserved in the Bibliotheca Zi-Ka-Wei, originally established by the Jesuit missions to Shanghai.

⁴⁴ *Lettera di p. Licchetta ...*, cit.

tremble from head to toe”:⁴⁵ once again his state of mind is revealed as much physically as spiritually – *I fear and I tremble*. The body and the soul are presented as two inescapably connected facets, connected with a remarkable clarity of introspection from a man confined to a remote mission in Madurai at the end of the seventeenth century. His description of the memory of the news of the suppression is also based above all on his psychological reaction, and the Jesuit treatise *Regole della modestia* that he was reading at the time.

I did not want to read it, or see it, so as not to relive the suffering and the injury that had been for me so intense and piercing that I had never known the like in my life, or would again, not even whatever may cause my natural death. I thought I would not survive the anxiety; I neither ate nor slept, unless exhausted and cast down by an extraordinary sadness, and such snatches of sleep would always be interrupted, and waking in spite of myself, the first thought that would come into my mind, like the cruellest knife-thrust penetrating my heart, was this: the Society is destroyed and I am no longer a Jesuit. And this left me quite stunned and beside myself.⁴⁶

This intimate intermingling of body and psyche we find unsurprisingly even more forcibly expressed in the letters from the non-Portuguese missionaries who, on arriving in Lisbon, were arrested on Pombal’s instructions and confined in the fortress of São Julião. This prison is described by all as “a deep cavern, or rather ... some ancient sepulchre”⁴⁷ in which – Filippi writes – “our regular diet was the bread of sorrow, and the water of tears”.⁴⁸ Once again psychological assaults are displaced onto the body via “a deadly hypochondria ... [and] exaggerated sickness, ... all but inevitable concomitants of an ultra-violent tenor of life, utterly alien to humanity and educational pursuits”.⁴⁹ It was as if – Anselm Eckart writes – “we were moving from Purgatory to Hell”.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*. Even such a Jesuit as Father Bourgeois, head of the Jesuit community in Peking writes apropos of the suppression: “What I write seems a bad dream. Our dear, our holy Society, then, is no more! ... The Lord be praised. His will be done! I will suffer cruelly, but by the mercy of God I will submit with all my heart, I want to embrace this terrible cross with love”, from Bortone. *I gesuiti alla corte di Pechino ...*, cit., p. 216.

⁴⁷ Letter from F. Karel Příkryl of Prague, former chancellor of the Goa College, to the Prov. of Bohemia, December 1766. Karel Příkryl (1718-1785) remained in prison in San Giuliano in Lisbon for six years before returning to Bohemia, where he died. It was also thanks to this letter and through the intercession of Empress Maria Teresa that he was freed from his Portuguese prison July 13th, 1767. Among his other works is a Konkani grammar: *Principia linguae brahmanicae*. See his profile written by Joseph Krajcar in Charles E. O’Neill and Joaquín M. Domínguez – *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús ...*, cit., vol. IV, p. 3231; also on Příkryl, see Inmaculada Fernández Arillaga and Mar García Arena – *Jesuitas alemanes ...*, cit.

⁴⁸ *Lettera di Giovan Franco Filippi ...*, cit.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ Anselm Eckart – *Memorias de un Jesuita prisioneiro ...*, cit., p. 120.

Despondency was the prevalent emotion, and it is again Filippi who recalls "buried alive in that dark and horrible sepulchre, with water dripping everywhere, I must confess my weakness, I found myself oppressed by a profound melancholy, and ambushed by terrible fears. But as Jesus Christ *est solutio omnium difficultatum*, to Him as the inseparable companion of my sufferings I turned"⁵¹ In this context being deprived of the sacraments was seen as the umpteenth trial inflicted on the fathers.

The letters then oscillate between an emotional framework within which the suffering of the individual emerges with maximum force ("for all that we were resigned, we were none the less weak and fragile men, and could do nothing from our own strength but had constant need of the Highest Power"),⁵² and the overarching scaffolding of belonging to the Church of God and the Society, this too however finding expression in emotional terms. Thus the persecutions could be interpreted through the filter of an underlying serenity deriving from the knowledge that their own sufferings were light compared with those endured by Christ himself and "so many selfless martyrs for the faith", owing to which – writes the Bohemian father Příklad – "I am ashamed to suffer so little for my God"⁵³ since for the love of the Lord one must "be in readiness for all things",⁵⁴ if need be at the cost of one's life.

In the context of our theme there is an interesting gloss on the communication of the suppression of the Society to those who were in prison in 1773. Confronted by the "tears and sighs"⁵⁵ of the prisoners for the extinction of their "mother", those informing them of the fact would have it that the fathers, rather than weeping, rejoice that this was the express will of the Portuguese sovereign. Filippi comments apropos: "What barbarity! After forcing what was left of our Bodies into an iron servitude, they sought then to overrule the most righteous and innocent attachments of our Souls".⁵⁶

This seems to me a key passage, in that it brings us back to that disciplining not only of the body but also of the soul which in the view of many historians represents one of the principal features of Ancien Régime society. Finding himself on the receiving end, it is as if all of a sudden Filippi wakes up to the inhumanity of seeking to indoctrinate hearts, a barbarism hitherto synonymous with the confessional churches, only now being perpetrated by the civil power. When talking of emotions, as we said at the outset, we cannot exclude the "power relations"⁵⁷ under the aegis of which such emotions are developed.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵² Letter from F. Karel Příklad, *cit*.

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴ *Lettera di Giovan Franco Filippi ... cit*.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁷ Cf. Carlo Ginzburg – *Rapporti di Forza. Storia, retorica, prova*. Milano: Feltrinelli, 2000.

Nonetheless, notwithstanding the imbalance of power, the term “joy” is frequently voiced in the letters. I emphasise “voiced” because there is still much to be said on the relation between the expressed and the actually lived: we must not forget the possible public dimension of some of these documents given the wide circulation their authors may have aspired to. In this sense, the recurrence of the word “hope” in relation to a renaissance of the Society of Jesus, while also giving us an indication of the persistence of an *esprit de corps* among many of the persecuted Jesuits, also testifies to an awareness on the fathers’ part of being engaged in a political struggle. The theme of the “ever-living Society of Jesus”⁵⁸ is one that we find equally among those surviving in a reduced missionary context such as that of Licchetta and the “privileged” missionaries still active at the imperial court in Beijing,⁵⁹ as well as those enduring the extreme persecutions of exile and imprisonment.

As we emphasised at the outset, this article should be seen as an open laboratory whose object is to examine the phenomenon of the emotions in the wider framework of the history of the Society of Jesus, with particular reference to the causes, the implementation and the consequences of the suppression – an event clearly highly provocative of emotions. Such conclusions as can be drawn in the light of the potentially available sources are double faceted – political/public and private – even if from the examples examined, one can readily appreciate the complexity of analysing distinctly these two emotional worlds, which would appear in fact to feed off and into one another. In the Jesuit case, in fact, the construction of a “collective memory” of the suppression would seem to confirm what Anna Green has written recently with reference to arguments put forward by Maurice Halbwachs:⁶⁰ “the need for an ‘affective community’ ensured that individuals remembered primarily those memories which were in harmony with those of the others”. It behoves us to keep this idea in mind and to read between the lines of the documents to try and distinguish how much of the sentiment come down to us belongs to the private sphere and how much is conversely due to a public discourse intended to perpetuate an image of an Order that would not accept its dissolution.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Lettera di Panzi ai padri Solari, Rossi e Bridault*, November 11th, 1791, in ARSI – *Jap. Sin.* 185.

⁵⁹ See the above-cited (note 4) *Lettera di Giuseppe Panzi ... cit.*, and the copy of the letter of November 22nd, 1777: “And I again urge all of you not to lose sight of one another, because I truly hope in God that we shall soon be reunited: I hope it in God, and not because the Valentana has prophesied it”, *ibidem*, f. 121.

⁶⁰ Maurice Halbwachs – *La mémoire collective*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1950.

⁶¹ Anna Green – Individual Remembering and ‘Collective Memory’: Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates. *Oral History*. 32/2: *Memory and Society* (Autumn, 2004) 35-44. On these issues see also Peter Burke – History as Social Memory. In *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*. Ed. by Thomas Butler. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989, pp. 97-113.

A MARTYRED SOCIETY: THE SUFFERING OF SUPPRESSION AND THE JESUIT FACTORY OF SAINTS FROM THE EIGHTEENTH TO TWENTIETH CENTURIES¹

ELEONORA RAI

The “Martyrdom” of Suppression and the Restoration of the Ignatian Order

7 agosto 1814: dunque si riparte. Non era come partire la prima volta nel 1540 dal nulla con nove elementi giovani e con un Ignazio leader geniale e mistico, e un piano planetario in un oltremare ancora vergine L'ordine gesuitico era come una casa da rifare dai ruderi con solo pochi mattoni freschi.²

7 August 1814: thus they start over. It was not like starting from scratch the first time in 1540 with nine young people and Ignatius, the genial and mystic leader, and a still virgin global program overseas The Jesuit Order was like a house that had to be rebuilt from the ruins with just a few fresh bricks.

In 1814, Pope Pius VII restored the Society of Jesus after the Order's Suppression by Pope Clement XIV, with the Breve *Dominus ac Redemptor*, in 1773.³ This marked the end of forty-one years in which the ex-Jesuits suffered from difficult emotional and living conditions, and many barely survived. In Italy, where the

¹ This project received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 757314).

² Guido Sommavilla – *La Compagnia di Gesù*. Milano: Rizzoli, 1985, p. 168. English translation is mine.

³ On the Suppression see, for instance, Pierre Antoine Fabre – *La Suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus (1773): Interprétations eschatologiques et hypothèses historiographiques. E-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*. 12 (2011); Maurice Whitehead – *From expulsion to Restoration: the Jesuits in crisis, 1759-1814. Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*. 133.412 (2014/15) 447-61.

Jesuits expelled from Spain and Spanish colonies lived in exile, a grandee of Spain from the Ignatian Order spent his life keeping alive the Jesuit spirituality, helping his dispersed brothers in distress, and working for the Restoration of the Order. This was José Pignatelli (1737-1811), who was venerated as a living saint by the ex-Jesuits of the Italian Peninsula, and whose role in the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus in Italy attracted immediate attention from the General Postulation for the Causes of Saints of the Restored Society.⁴ He was proposed for canonisation, which ended successfully with the beatification of the so-called “Restorer” (of the Society of Jesus in Italy) in 1933 and his canonisation in 1954. Pignatelli represents the suffering of the Jesuit Suppression and the efforts to rebuild the Society of Jesus. His cause for canonisation, among many others, conveys the response of the Restored Order to the suffering and attacks experienced by the Society and the ex-Jesuits in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It also confirms the idea that the Restoration of the Ignatian Order depended on the actions of a holy man.⁵

This article explores the suffering brought about by the Suppression and the promotion of Jesuit sanctity in the delicate passage between the Suppression and Restoration of the Society of Jesus, reflecting the Order’s revival and the pain caused by the Suppression.⁶ The strategies of sainthood fostered by the Restored Society reveal fundamental information about the Order’s self-image as presented to the world after the “martyrdom” of the Suppression.⁷ These strategies appear clearly in the activity of the General Postulation for the Causes of Saints of the New Society of Jesus, representing a valuable lens through which the passage of

⁴ Celestino Testore – *Il restauratore della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia. S. Giuseppe Pignatelli S.I. (1737-1811)*. Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1954; Camillo Beccari and Carlo Miccinelli – *Il Beato Giuseppe Pignatelli della Compagnia di Gesù (1737-1811)*. Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1933.

⁵ On the Restoration and the New Society of Jesus see, for example, *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: A Global History, 1773-1900*. Dir. Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

⁶ On the relationship between Suppression and Restoration see, for example, Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Patrick Goujon – *Suppression et rétablissement de la Compagnie de Jésus (1773-1814)*. Paris-Namur: Lessius, 2014.

⁷ For a first approach to the topics of sainthood and causes for canonisation see Peter Brown – *The cult of saints. Its rise and function in Latin Christianity*. London: SCM, 1981; Miguel Gotor – *I beati del papa. Santità, Inquisizione e obbedienza in età moderna*. Firenze: Olschki, 2002; Pierluigi Giovannucci – *Canonizzazioni e infallibilità pontificia in età moderna*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 2008, and *Recenti ricerche sulle canonizzazioni in età moderna (secoli XVI-XVIII)*. *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*. LIX, 2 (2005) 542-59; Henryk Misztal, Anna Maria Martinelli and Roman Chowaniec – *Le cause di canonizzazione: storia e procedura*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2005; Gajano S. Boesch – *Santità, culti, agiografia. Temi e prospettive*. Roma: Viella, 1997; Fabijan Veraja – *Le cause di canonizzazione dei santi. Commento alla legislazione e guida pratica*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992; Alessandra Anselmi – *Theaters for the canonization of saints*. In *St. Peter’s in the Vatican*. Dir. William Tronzo. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 244-69.

the Catholic Church from the Ancien Régime to the “modern world” may be observed.⁸

Martyrdom and Suppression, and the idea of the Suppression as a form of martyrdom, seem to be privileged ways of reaching sainthood after the Restoration of the Society of Jesus. In this sense, the example of José Pignatelli’s cause for canonisation is extremely important and carries a precise message: the Ignatian Order was restored in Italy by virtue of a saint.

The Suppression and rebirth of the Society of Jesus took place in close connection with the transition of the Catholic Church from the Ancien Régime to “modernity,” from Enlightenment and Revolution to Restoration and Reactionary Movement.⁹

The Suppression of the Society developed in the climate of enlightened piety, which characterised much of eighteenth-century European Catholicism, only a few years before the outbreak of the French Revolution and the end of the Ancien Régime. There were various reasons for the Suppression of the Ignatian Order: several actors in eighteenth-century European society and culture found a common enemy in the Society of Jesus, although these forces often also rivalled one another.¹⁰

The Jesuits were deeply rooted in European society and the royal courts, where most of the sovereigns’ confessors belonged to the Ignatian Order. The Society of Jesus, with its spirituality, education system, intellectual production, and allegiance to the pope, was generally considered an obstacle to state secularisation, the Enlightenment, and jurisdictionalist policy, promoted by influential rulers such as Joseph II Habsburg.

The Jesuit presence and role in courts elicited accusations of political plots. The Society was also charged with moral laxism and financial speculation, as happened in the 1760s in France with the case of Antoine Lavalette, S.J., which led to the Jesuit expulsion.¹¹ At the end of the eighteenth century, French anti-Jesuitism

⁸ The expressions “modern world” and “modernity” (used in this article in the historical-sociological sense) refer to the period characterised by the Second Industrial Revolution, scientific progress, and the era of new political/philosophical orientations, such as socialism and positivism. The nineteenth century, however, was also a time of Catholic reaction and the Church’s condemnations, mostly of the political, religious, cultural, and intellectual movements characterizing modernity. Pius IX’s *Syllabus* represents an excellent example of the Roman Church’s attitude toward several nineteenth-century movements and cultural trends.

⁹ A terminological note: “Ancien Régime” refers to the socio-political system abolished by the French Revolution, and “Reactionary Movement” to the Catholic forces that fostered the return to the Ancien Régime system, with particular emphasis on the political and social role of the Roman Church.

¹⁰ Sabina Pavone – *I gesuiti dalle origini alla soppressione. 1540-1773*. Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2004, p. 117. *Les Antijésuites. Discours, figures et lieux de l’antijésuitisme à l’époque moderne*. Dir. Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010.

¹¹ Lavalette was a Jesuit missionary, and Superior General of Martinique from 1754. His financial speculations led to bankruptcy.

was also considered by the ex-Jesuit Augustin Barruel as part of the strategy of the so-called “*sophistes de l’impiété*”, who fostered the French Revolution. According to Barruel, these philosophers worked toward the Suppression of the Society of Jesus (which was responsible for education in schools in most of France and strongly opposed the *Encyclopédie*) with the intention of weakening the Catholic Church and allowing the ideals of the Revolution to prevail.¹²

The Jesuit presence in the autonomous reductions of the Indios Guaraní, in Paraguay, further undermined the Portuguese political authority in the American colonies, and the Society was eventually expelled. Its expulsion from Spain and France followed.¹³

In addition to political, economic and cultural motives, the anti-Jesuit movement was based on theological issues. In particular, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, strict Augustinian and Jansenist theologians proposed a pessimistic anthropology and theology of salvation, according to which man was irremediably corrupted by original sin.¹⁴ These doctrines were in marked contrast to the validation of free will that was usually supported by the Jesuits. As a result, conflict with the Jesuit theologians, who were more lenient from the points of view of moral theology and theology of grace, was inevitable.¹⁵ Also, the diffusion of rigorism and the idea that the Church needed to reform through the promotion of enlightened piety and regulated devotions, weakened the Jesuit positions.

I giansenisti diranno che occorre eliminare la setta che aveva corrotto la dottrina di Cristo; i regalisti esulteranno per la caduta del maggiore ostacolo

¹² Paolo Bianchini – Un mondo al plurale: i gesuiti e la società francese tra la fine del Settecento e i primi decenni dell’Ottocento. In *Morte e resurrezione di un Ordine religioso*. Dir. Paolo Bianchini. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2006, p. 53, 53 n.1. On the anti-Jesuitism see *Les antijésuites ...*, cit.

¹³ On the Jesuit expulsion from Spain, see, for example, Manuel Luengo, et al. – *Diario de 1769. La llegada de los jesuitas españoles a Bolonia*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2010; Niccolò Guasti – *L’esilio italiano dei gesuiti spagnoli. Identità, controllo sociale e pratiche culturali (1767-1798)*. Roma: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 2006.

¹⁴ Regarding the soteriological controversies in which the Society was involved in the early modern age, the disputes over grace and free will are notable. A quarrel took place in the 1580s in Leuven, between the Jesuit theologian Leonard Lessius (1554-1623) and the theologians of the University of Leuven. Another related dispute was the *controversia de auxiliis* between the Jesuits and the Dominicans (*Congregatio de auxiliis divinae Gratiae*, 1598-1607). On the early modern disputes over Grace, see, for example, Paolo Broggio – *La teologia e la politica. Controversie dottrinali, Curia romana e Monarchia spagnola tra Cinque e Seicento*. Firenze: Olschki, 2009; Edmond J.M. Eijl. La controverse louvaniste autor de la grâce et du libre arbitre à la fin du XVIIe siècle. In *Augustinisme à l’ancienne Faculté de théologie de Leuven*. Dir. Mathijs Lamberigts, Leo Kenis. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994, pp. 207–282; Jean-Louis Quantin – Ces autres qui nous font ce que nous sommes: les jansénistes face à leurs adversaires. *Revue de l’histoire des religions*. 212, 4 (1995) 397-417; Eleonora Rai – Ex Meritis Praevisis. Predestination, Grace, and Free Will in intra-Jesuit controversies (1587-1613). *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*. 7,1 (2020) 111-150. Wim François and Antonio Gerace – The Doctrine of Justification and the Rise of Pluralism in the Post-Tridentine Catholic Church. In *More than Luther: The Reformation and the Rise of Pluralism in Europe*. Dir. Karla Boersma et al. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019, pp. 9-40.

¹⁵ On the contrast between Jansenists and Jesuits, see, for instance, Dale Van Kley – *The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France, 1757-1765*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975.

al potere dello Stato; mentre gli illuministi insisteranno nel proclamare la incompatibilità tra il valore assoluto della ragione – che in realtà rappresentava la linea guida delle direttive poste da Ignazio – e una Costituzione religiosa che ha esasperati i principi della rinuncia e dell'obbedienza.¹⁶

The Jansenists will say that it was necessary to eliminate the sect that had corrupted the doctrine of Christ; the royalists will rejoice at the fall of the main obstacle to the secular power; while the Enlightenment thinkers will insist on proclaiming the incompatibility between the absolute value of reason – which in reality was the guideline of Ignatius's directives – and religious Constitutions that exacerbate the principles of sacrifice and obedience.

The union of these heterogeneous forces, in addition to political activities by some European powers, signalled the temporary end of the Ignatian Order. The ex-Jesuits were deprived of their juridical status and religious congregation, leading to a difficult time for the Order.

In 1814, the rebirth of the Society was proclaimed, by contrast, concomitantly with the European Restoration, the reinstatement of absolute rulers in Europe and development of the Reactionary Movement, which was typical of nineteenth-century Italian Catholicism.

Thus, in 1814, both the rebirth of the Jesuits and the opening of the Congress of Vienna, which restored the Ancien Régime in Europe, occurred. The Society's Restoration appears to have been a strategic choice for re-establishing the pre-revolutionary balance of power on the European stage, in a century that was already striving for "modernity."

On the one hand, the re-establishment of the Jesuits seems to represent an attempt to override the Enlightenment ideals and values of the Revolution, which had strongly contributed to the Order's Suppression. On the other hand, it is a form of religious revival, which developed within Catholicism after the "traumas" of Revolution and Suppression, in contrast to the ongoing secularisation.

The policy of sainthood promoted by the New Society of Jesus shows how the causes for canonisation not only expressed the Jesuit religious sentiment after the suffering of the Suppression, but also represented part of the Church's response to eighteenth-century traumatic events. As explored further below, these canonisation strategies focusing on particular typologies of sanctity (the victim of the Suppression, the "martyr of the revolutions," and the martyred missionary) support the idea of the Suppression as martyrdom, suggesting that the Society was reborn by means of the "heroic virtues" and deeds of the ex-Jesuits, who suffered because of the Suppression and the ideals of the Revolution. In this sense, the

¹⁶ Nello Caserta – *Dal giurisdizionalismo al liberalismo. Un secolo di travaglio della coscienza religiosa in Italia, 1748-1848*. Napoli: Morano, 1969, p. 157. English translation is mine.

Restoration of the Society coincided with a new phase in the history of the Catholic Church, after the troubling events in the pontificate of Pope Pius VI (1775-1799), during a period of secularisation and estrangement from Catholic values.¹⁷

The records of causes for canonisation of these Jesuit saints or saints-to-be bear witness to their suffering and narrate the moral or physical pain of their experiences. The Suppression produced the idea of a new kind of Jesuit martyrdom: exile and abolition of the Order involving physical and mental separation from religious community, extreme living conditions, and inability to fully experience Jesuit spirituality.

As shown below, the Superiors General Lorenzo Ricci (1703-1775) and Jan Roothaan (1785-1853) proposed suffering and martyrdom as crucial elements in the identity of the Society of Jesus in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and, in the early years after the Order's Restoration, the General Postulation for the Causes of Saints strategically focused on martyrdom as a specific way of reaching sainthood.¹⁸ This might be physical martyrdom, as in many cases of Jesuit missionaries from the Old Society, who died in the lands where they served in missions, often killed by the same people they were evangelising; or "spiritual martyrdom," as in the Suppression. The "missionary" also became an extremely important model of sanctity in the Restored Society: Jan Roothaan, General from 1829 to 1853, considered as a new Ignatius due to the importance of his leadership and whose cause for beatification is still open, immediately promoted a new wave of missions, in the spirit of the Old Society.¹⁹ In this sense, the promotion of the missionary model of sanctity fostered the image of the Restored Society as

¹⁷ This was the case, for example, with the events of the French Revolution and the Civil Constitution of the clergy; the Napoleonic expedition in Italy and the Roman Republic; and Pius VI's captivity and death in prison.

¹⁸ The discourse about Jesuit identity is complex and the Ignatian order cannot be considered as a monolithic block. However, various guidelines help us understand the major features of Jesuit identity over the centuries: Ignatian spirituality, missions, education, martyrdom, suffering, and persecution are important elements of the identity of the Society of Jesus. Between Suppression and Restoration (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), martyrdom and suffering (often in missionary contexts) were central elements. On Jesuit identity, see for example Perla Chinchilla Pawling's work, especially *La identidad de la Compañía de Jesús ante su Restauración. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome-Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines*. 126.1 (2014). In this fascinating article, Perla Chinchilla Pawling sheds light on how persecution is a major aspect in Jesuit identity through her analysis of Spanish-language histories and sermons. On persecution and the idea of martyrdom in the Society see also Guido Mongini – *L'apostolo gesuitico tra propaganda religiosa e autoconservazione. Aspetti del martirio nella Compagnia di Gesù (1540-1580)*. *Annali di Scienze Religiose*. 12, 2019, pp. 11-51.

¹⁹ On this matter, see, for example, Guido Mongini – *Missioni estere e tradizioni identitarie nella nuova Compagnia di Gesù. Percorsi di ricerca nelle lettere indipetæ italiane del primo Ottocento (1817-1835)*, *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa* 84, 2013, pp. 87-122; Emanuele Colombo and Marina Massimi – *In viaggio. Gesuiti italiani candidati alle missioni tra antica e nuova Compagnia*. Milano: Il Sole 24 Ore, 2014. Roothaan extended the Jesuit missionary outreach to newly discovered territories. For instance, the Jesuits were the second Catholic Order to establish missions in Australia, in 1848 (the Benedictines arrived two years earlier and founded the mission of New Norcia, in Western Australia).

a missionary order, or a seamless continuation of the Old Society, despite forty years of Suppression.

The causes for canonisation should not only be considered as an expression of popular devotion to the dead, but also should be explored in the broader religious, cultural, and political context in which they were promoted. This article shows how the suffering of Suppression stimulated the promotion of the role of martyrs within the Restored Society of Jesus.

The Jesuit causes for canonisation, as well as both the Order's Suppression and Restoration, constitute an excellent angle for observation and deeper understanding of the religious and cultural European panorama in the delicate passage between the *Settecento Riformatore* (to quote Franco Venturi) and nineteenth-century Catholic Reaction.²⁰

“Narratives” of Suffering in the Jesuit Strategies of Sainthood: Martyrdom

Causes for canonisation play a deep cultural and political role in the history of Catholic countries. Devotion to the dead is a necessary element for starting the process: there is no sainthood without veneration. However, devotion is not enough.²¹ Over the centuries, the Catholic Church and the Society of Jesus (as other religious orders) made choices about sainthood, fostering strategies and models of sanctity expressing specific ideas and religious feelings.

The efforts of the General Postulation of the Society of Jesus in supporting those affected by the Suppression, and martyrs of the revolutions from 1789 until the twentieth century, has precise meaning. In fact, it suggests that the passage of the Catholic Church from Ancien Régime to “modernity” was characterised by suffering, bloodshed, and the persecutions of “saints.” From this perspective, the Suppression and Restoration of the Ignatian Order have a broader significance as signs of the changing times.

The attention paid by the Restored Society and the Catholic Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to these causes for canonisation is extremely meaningful. In fact, the Society and the Church highlighted the role of the martyrs of the Suppression, who worked for the Society's Restoration, and the martyrs of revolutions, as victims of the epochal transition to the modern world.

In the early years after the rebirth of the Order, the Jesuits struggled with the idea of the Suppression. How were they supposed to look at that painful phase of

²⁰ Franco Venturi – *Settecento Riformatore*. Torino: Einaudi, 1969.

²¹ In time, the legal apparatus of the causes for canonisation has been modified. In particular, in the seventeenth century, Pope Urban VIII reorganised and centralised the causes for canonisations, followed a century later by Prospero Lambertini's (Pope Benedict XIV) legislative reorganisation, in which Lambertini also precisely defined all the necessary elements to consider a killing as a real martyrdom. On sanctity and sainthood in early modern age, see Giovannucci – *Canonizzazioni ...*, cit.

the Society's history? The Suppression was ratified by a pope, to whom the Jesuits were bound by a vow of obedience. However, the Jesuits felt themselves to be victims of unjust treatment.

The oppression of the Jesuits was justified by their Order on the basis of the idea of the Society's holiness. The Jesuits were unfairly persecuted, as were Jesus and the saints, and thus were holy men. "Blessed are you when men ... persecute you," to quote the well-known passage in Matthew's Gospel. The traditional cliché of the Society of Jesus as a victim of persecution has roots in the early history of the Order. Since the late sixteenth century, the Jesuits were attacked in Europe from various theological, moral, and political perspectives.

In this sense, the Suppression, which became a crucial element in Jesuit identity, represented the final step in the oppression. In the years before the Suppression, the last Superior General of the Old Society, Lorenzo Ricci, addressed several letters to the troubled Jesuits, focusing on the concept of "tribolazioni" (tribulations), and offering consolation.²² Ultimately, the idea of self-abnegation and acceptance of suffering and persecution was the basis of Ignatius's Spiritual Exercises insofar as it was a form of *sequela Christi* (imitation of Christ). Exile and Suppression represented a further chance to follow Jesus in his sufferings (as the "captain" of the Society, to adopt a military term frequently used by the Jesuits).

Superior General Jan Roothaan considered the Suppression of the Society to be a sacrifice. The Order offered itself as a sacrificial lamb to allow the Roman Church to survive in a period of accusations from within and without. This sacrifice permitted the Church to dispel the hatred of the enemies (opponents of the Society of Jesus).²³

The tribulations of the Suppression, described in Ricci's letters, became real martyrdom in Roothaan's conception. On 27th December, 1839, Roothaan addressed an important letter to all the Jesuits on the occasion of the forthcoming three-hundredth anniversary of the Society of Jesus's approval by Paul III in 1540. Moreover, in the mid-nineteenth century, the Ignatian Order faced new oppression in Portugal and Spain, and many Jesuits fell as victims of the Spanish Civil War.

In this letter, for the first time, Roothaan explicitly referred to the Suppression as a "specie di martirio," a sort of martyrdom, also pointing out that, during the

²² On Ricci's and Roothaan's letters (with important reflections on Jesuit identity), see Guido Mongini (1769-1839): *Tribolazioni e martirio, morte e risurrezione della Compagnia di Gesù*. Lorenzo Ricci, Jan Roothaan e l'identità gesuitica come "Corpo Cristiano." *Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa*. 85-86 (2014) 158-208. Most of Lorenzo Ricci's and Jan Roothaan's letters focusing on their tribulations were published in a volume significantly entitled, *Las cartas de la tribulación*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Diego de Torres, 1988.

²³ *Ibid.*, 202. See also, Pierre-Antoine Fabre – Abraham lui, avait épargné Isaac. La Suppression et le rétablissement de la Compagnie de Jésus (1773-1814). *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo*. 11.2 (2014) 265-84.

Suppression, the Jesuits shared Jesus's cross and sufferings as never before.²⁴ Throughout Suppression and Restoration, the Jesuit *sequela Christi* reached a peak. As Christ died and was resurrected, the Society was destroyed and then reborn. In other words, the Suppression could be considered the highest achievement in terms of Jesuit spirituality, which the Jesuits could consider as martyrdom.

After the Order's Restoration, the General Postulation introduced several causes for canonisation, focusing on protagonists of the Suppression and martyrs. These causes, along with the archival records revealing the experiences of venerated men and the hagiographies written about them, indicate how suffering influenced the Restored Society's sensibility, and bring to light the emotional side of the causes of sainthood.

Over the centuries, the Society of Jesus "produced" a large number of saints – one of the most remarkable among religious orders. These Jesuits, often venerated as holy men while they were still living, were later canonised, sometimes after impressively long and difficult causes for canonisation. These men contributed significantly to the history of the Order and the Catholic Church.

The Society of Jesus pioneered the use of causes for canonisation for strategic reasons. The promotion of specific models of sanctity (the theologian, the martyr, and the missionary) indeed reflect the Order's spirituality and policy of sainthood, and thus the self-image the Order wished to promote. The strategies of sanctity of the Restored Society also reflect the religious and cultural sensitivities of the time. Canonisations represent the Church's or specific religious orders' answer to the historical context and the cultural climate in or after which the causes were defined. In this case, it was a time of suffering, martyrdom, and rejection of Catholic values.

A close look at the list of Jesuit causes for beatification and canonisation promoted in the last two centuries is extremely useful for understanding the motivations of the Jesuits and the Catholic Church.

Time of Suppression

The role of José Pignatelli in the Italian Peninsula was fundamental for the dispersed ex-Jesuits. During the Suppression, in France, another "restorer" committed himself to preserving Jesuit spirituality and rebuilding the Ignatian Order: Pierre de Clorivière (1735-1820) played a substantial role in the rebirth of the Society of Jesus. He was banished from France with the other Jesuits in 1762, due to the Society's suppression there, after Lavalette's economic scandals. The day before the promulgation of the *Dominus ac Redemptor*, Clorivière pronounced the solemn profession. On his return to France, after apostolic missions in

²⁴ Guido Mongini quotes the text of the letter in *Tribolazioni e martirio*, p. 204.

Belgium and England, Clorivière made efforts to keep the ex-Jesuits together and Ignatian spirituality alive, as did Pignatelli in Italy. In particular, he established the *Institut séculier des prêtres du Cœur de Jésus* and *Filles du Cœur de Marie*, two congregations dedicated to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary.²⁵

Before the Society's Restoration, Clorivière was appointed as provincial of France. The ex-Jesuit spent five years in prison after his arrest by the French government. His incarceration is an example of the ex-Jesuits' treatment during the Suppression. His suffering drew the attention of the General Postulation, as did his efforts to restore the Society of Jesus in France.

The fundamental role of Pignatelli and Clorivière in Jesuit history is reflected by the Order in the causes for canonisation. Clorivière's process for beatification was finally opened in 1991, reflecting the fact that the bureaucratic mechanism of sainthood often takes a long time, and also that devotion to and interest in the French restorer increased over the centuries.

On 17th October 1926, Pope Pius XI beatified almost two hundred men, mostly ecclesiastics and religious men who were killed at the beginning of September 1792, during the Terror, after the events of the French Revolution.²⁶ Among these "Martyrs of September," several ex-Jesuits are listed: Jean-Jacques Bonnaud (1740-1792), Guillaume-Antoine Delfaud (1733-1792), Alexandre-Charles Lanfant (1726-1792), and twenty other fellows.²⁷

The cause for beatification of the Jesuit martyrs of the French Revolution, together with the other secular and religious men beatified by Pius XI (who was a protagonist of the Jesuit canonisation season), perfectly expresses the idea of the suffering of the Society of Jesus and the Catholic Church during the transition from the Ancien Régime to the nineteenth century. These martyrs were killed *in odium fidei*, technically meaning because of hate towards the Catholic faith, and, more precisely, in this case, the victims' refusal to sign the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

Martyrs of the Old and New Society of Jesus

A vivid interest in martyrdom encouraged the New Society of Jesus to remove the dust from the Old Society's causes for canonisation of martyrs, which were

²⁵ Pierre-J. de Clorivière, *Adelaide de Cicé. Correspondance 1787-1804*. Dir. Marie-Louise Barthelemy. Paris: Beauchesne, 1993.

²⁶ On the documentation of the causes for beatification see Philippe Boutry – Hagiographie, histoire et Révolution française. Pie XI et la béatification des martyrs de septembre 1792 (17 octobre 1926). *Publications de l'École française de Rome*. 223, 1 (1996) 305-55.

²⁷ Preliminary information about the Jesuits named in this article can be found in: *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús biográfico-temático*. Dir. Charles E. O'Neill and Joachin M. Domínguez. Roma-Madrid: Institutum Historicum S.I./Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001, I-IV.

introduced before the Suppression. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in fact, several causes for beatification and canonisation of Jesuit martyrs were initiated. Some of them ended successfully, while others were dropped for reasons that often remain unclear. Some are still open. Two Roman pontiffs were particularly committed to the ongoing factory of Catholic saints: Pius XI (Achille Ratti, 1857-1939) and John Paul II (Karol Wojtyła, 1920-2005), who launched a season rich with beatifications and canonisations in which martyrs played a crucial role.

The following examples, which are not meant to be a comprehensive review, offer some clarification about the interests of the Restored Society of Jesus in the matter of sanctity. The idea of a “martyred” Society fits in well in the broader scenario of a “martyred” Church, whose followers were killed over the centuries around the world for testifying their faith in Christ.

In 1930, to provide some examples, Pius XI canonised the French Jesuit martyrs who were tortured and killed by the Iroquois in Canada between 1642 and 1649, and were later named patron saints of Canada by Pius XII.²⁸ R. Goupil, I. Jogues, G. de La Lande, A. Daniel, G. de Brébeuf, G. Lalemant, C. Garnier, and N. Chabanel.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the cause of the martyrs of Ethiopia, who were killed during the persecution of Catholics and after the decree of expulsion of the Jesuits from the country, was introduced and is still open.²⁹

A year before this, in 1901, the cause for beatification of Antonio Crimalini, protomartyr of the Old Society, began. Crimalini was killed in India, in 1548, by a group of locals who attacked a missionary house; he died while helping the mission's Christians to escape.³⁰

Crimalini is the first Jesuit martyr. His name and story were employed by the Old Society in the sixteenth century as an example of Christian virtue, although many doubts were cast on the “quality” of his martyrdom. Both Juan Alfonso de Polanco and Niccolò Orlandini, respectively secretary of the Society under

²⁸ On Canadian martyrs, see Celestino Testore – *I santi martiri canado-americani*. Isola del Liri: A. Macioce & Pisani, 1930; Joseph P. Donnelly – *Jean de Brébeuf (1593-1549)*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1975; Emma Anderson – Blood, Fire, and “Baptism.” Three Perspectives on the Death of Jean de Brébeuf, Seventeenth-Century Jesuit “Martyr.” In *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape*. Dir. Joel W. Martin and Mark A. Nicholas. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010, pp. 125-58.

²⁹ On Jesuits in Ethiopia see Leonardo Cohen's work, for example, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia (1555-1632)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009. See also Carobbio da Nembro – Martirio ed Espulsione in Etiopia. In *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum: 350 Anni a Servizio delle Missioni, 1622-1972, 1622-1700*, vol. 1. Dir. Josef Metzler. Freiburg: Herder, 1971, pp. 624-49; J. Vaz de Carvalho – Mártires de Etiópia. In *Diccionario Histórico ...*, cit, 3: 2532-33; Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner – *Envoys of a Human God. The Jesuit Mission to Christian Ethiopia 1557-1632*. Leiden: Brill, 2015, pp. 311-37.

³⁰ On Catholicism in India, see Paolo Aranha – *Il cristianesimo latino in India nel XVI secolo*. Milano: Franco Angeli, 2006.

Ignatius's leadership and first historian of the Order, explored the circumstances of his death. Pedro de Ribadeneyra mentioned him in his biography of Ignatius, and Daniello Bartoli narrated his story in his work on the Jesuit evangelisation of Asia.

In late nineteenth century, the Restored Society looked back with interest at Criminali's martyrdom. It was a new era for Jesuit missionary activity, which was revitalised after the election of Jan Roothaan, in 1829. The missionary spirit was alive and strong, as proved by the large number of nineteenth-century *Litterae Indipetae*, which the Jesuits wrote to the General asking to be sent to the missions.³¹

The willingness to shed one's blood for the triumph of the Catholic faith and evangelisation is a recurring idea in these letters. A strong desire for martyrdom bonded many aspiring missionaries, as proved by the exploration of hundreds of Italian *indipetae*, written during General Roothaan's time.³² For this reason, most of the senders considered the European missions as fallback destinations. Becoming a martyr would be easier in far-off and dangerous lands of the missions.

While the Society re-established missions in Asia, the cause for beatification of Antonio Criminali was introduced. The promotion of Criminali's example and martyrdom can be considered a knowing move to stimulate the desire for mission and evangelisation in the new generations of Jesuits. Moreover, it highlighted the first and most important aim of the Society of Jesus, which was born as a missionary Order and reborn with the same intentions. Desire for martyrdom, narratives of martyrdom, the causes for canonisation, and the idea of martyrdom itself constituted a fundamental *trait d'union* between the Old and the New Society.

The early modern Asian Jesuit missions produced a remarkable number of martyrs, later beatified or canonised. Almost 150 years after Criminali, João de Brito was beheaded in India (1693), where his missionary "accommodation" method proved fruitful. He was canonised by Pius XII, in 1947.

In 1862, Pope Pius IX canonised Paulus Miki, a Jesuit priest born in Japan, and his companions. Along with two other fellows, Paulus was crucified in Nagasaki in 1597. They were victims of the wave of Christian persecution promoted by the Japanese after a period of acceptance and tolerance.

On 1st October 2000, John Paul II created more than one hundred new saints, and mostly were martyrs. Among them, we find the French Jesuits who were massacred during the Boxer Rebellion in China. Twelve years earlier, Wojtyła also proclaimed as saints the three Jesuit martyrs of Rio de la Plata, who were killed

³¹ See Eleonora Rai – "Come le Anime del Purgatorio." Le emozioni dell'attesa nelle *indipetae* italiane durante il generalato di Jan Roothaan. *Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa*. XLV, 88 (2016) 67-88. In the same volume, see also Mauro Brunello – Nuova Compagnia di Gesù e vocazione missionaria: le *indipetae* dell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) e l'archivio fotografico Acquaderni, 21-44; Emanuele Colombo and Marco Rochini – Prima la missione. *Indipetae italiane (1814-1853)*, 45-66.

³² Rai – "Come le Anime del Purgatorio" ..., *cit.*, pp. 70-77.

during the evangelisation of Central-Southern America, in the first half of the seventeenth century.

On 16th May 1988, in the homily for these Jesuit martyrs' canonisation, John Paul II very significantly described them as models of evangelisation, reflecting the importance of martyrdom in the mission territories:

La forza salvifica e liberatrice del Vangelo si è fatta vita in questi tre generosi sacerdoti gesuiti che la Chiesa in questo giorno presenta come modelli di evangelizzazione.³³

The redemptive and liberating force of the Gospel became life in these three generous Jesuit priests whom the Church presents today as models of evangelisation.

Jesuit martyrs also fell in early modern Europe. Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England and Scotland were centres of martyrdom. In 1970, Paul VI canonised several British and Scottish Jesuits, who were imprisoned, tortured, and eventually killed as a result of the persecution of the Church of England against the Catholics, after the Anglican schism.

Moreover, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, during a period characterised by wars of religion, three priests, two of them Jesuits, were arrested in Kosice, where they operated as missionaries. They were tortured and killed for refusing to recant their Catholic faith. In 1995, John Paul II, an important protagonist of the twentieth-century canonisations, eventually proclaimed them as three new saints.³⁴

In 1938, Pius XI also canonised Andrzej Bobola, a figure whose cause had a clear political dimension, nevertheless connected to the suffering of persecuted Catholics. Bobola, a missionary and preacher, was tortured to death by a group of Cossacks in 1657, after his betrayal by Orthodox Christians in the territory of today's Poland.

The most intriguing aspect of Bobola's story is the fate of his corpse, since on 20th July 1922, the Bolsheviks seized and exposed Bobola's mummified body to the public. Pius XI established relevant diplomatic relations with the Russian government to obtain the restitution of the body, which was finally returned to the pope, taken to Rome, and buried in the *Chiesa del Gesù*. In 1957, Pius XII dedicated the encyclical *Invicti Athletae Christi* to Bobola, reflecting the importance of Bobola's martyrdom and desecration to the twentieth-century

³³ John Paul II, Homily for the canonization of Rocco Gonzáles, Alfonso Rodríguez, and Juan de Castillo, 16 May 1988. Info accessed on <https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/homilies/1988.index.3.html> on 18 March 2020. English translation is mine.

³⁴ For a first approach to John Paul II's canonizations, including the martyrs of Kosice, see Andreas Resch – *I santi di Giovanni Paolo II 1982-2004*. Innsbruck: Resch Verlag Innsbruck, 2009. On the martyrs of Kosice, see here, pp. 155-58.

Church, in a period in which the Catholic Church was in sharp opposition to Soviet Communism.³⁵

The Encyclical describes the so-called *athlete* of Jesus Christ who rose

to the heights of the noblest triumphs which the Church commemorates. Andrew was asked if he were a priest of the Latin rite, and he replied, "I am a Catholic priest; I was born in the Catholic faith; in that faith I wish to die. My faith is true; it leads to salvation. Do you rather repent; give place to sorrow for sin, else you will be unable, in your errors, to win salvation. By embracing my faith, you will acknowledge the true God, and will save your souls."³⁶

Bobola's and other Christians' martyrdoms are openly declared as victories and triumphs. The suffering of the persecuted Catholics is the realisation of Jesus's words: "Blessed are you when men reproach you, and persecute you, and speaking falsely, say all manner of evil against you, for my sake. Rejoice and exult, because your reward is great in heaven; for so did they persecute the prophets who were before you."³⁷ "He feared death and sufferings not at all", continued Pius XII in his letter,

on fire with love for God and his neighbour, he entered the fray with all his resources, in order to draw back as many as he could from a foreswearing of the Catholic faith, and from the snares and errors of those who were separated from the Church, and in order to provide a valiant and rousing encouragement for the preservation of Christian teaching in all its integrity On May 16, 1657, on the feast of our Lord's Ascension into heaven, he was seized near Janovia by the enemies of the Catholics. We do not think this filled him with fear, but rather with a heavenly joy. For We know that he always prayed for martyrdom.³⁸

In the nineteenth century, the rejuvenated missionary enthusiasm gave birth to new Jesuit martyrs. The cause for the martyrs of the French Commune (Pierre Olivaint and companions), killed in 1871, was opened.³⁹ The process for Jacques Berthieu, a Jesuit missionary killed in Madagascar in 1896, for not recanting the

³⁵ On Polish religious context at the time of Bobola's martyrdom, see Robert Alvis – Deluge and Illusions (1648-1764). In *White Eagle, Black Madonna. One Thousand Years of the Polish Catholic Tradition*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2016. See also Bernard Marchadier – L'exhumation des reliques dans les premières années du pouvoir soviétique. *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*. 22. 1 (1981) 67-88.

³⁶ Pius XII, *Invicti Athletae Christi*, 1957 (English version).

³⁷ Mt 5, 11-12.

³⁸ Pius XII, *Invicti ...*, *cit.*

³⁹ Father Olivaint, S.J. One of the Martyrs of the Paris Commune, 1871. *The Irish Monthly*. 7 (1879) 260-70.

Catholic faith, ended successfully with his canonisation in 2012.⁴⁰ The Jesuit martyrs of Lebanon, killed in 1860 for their Christian faith in circumstances similar to the Franciscans in Damascus, present an interesting anomaly. An informative process was opened, but it did not make any progress. On the contrary, the Franciscans were beatified by Pius XI in 1926.⁴¹

This brief introduction to the Jesuit factory of saints after the Restoration of the Order shows great interest in the idea of suffering and martyrdom.⁴² The appreciation of martyrdom was expressed, not only by the Ignatian Order, which promoted the self-image of a martyred Society, but also by the Catholic Church itself as the supreme testimony of faith in Christ.

Writing Jesuit History: José Pignatelli between Suffering and Hope (1737-1811)

E pure ... Speriamolo tutto in Dio ... che no, no no[n] ha dimenticato i Figli del Grande Ignazio.⁴³

Still ... Let's hope in God ... that no, no, he did not forget the sons of the Great Ignatius.

These are the words that José Pignatelli wrote in a letter to his fellow Carlo Borgo in 1792, after two decades of Suppression. Borgo was a combative ex-Jesuit who moved to Parma in the 1780s under the protection of Duke Ferdinando, who looked at the rebirth of the Society of Jesus with interest. Ferdinando transformed Parma, which had been a major jurisdictionalist base in 1760s, into a Catholic and philo-Jesuit centre. Also thanks to Carlo Borgo's presence, a committed anti-Jansenist and critic of the Roman Curia, Pignatelli intensified his contacts with Ferdinando, working together with him for the Order's Restoration.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ On the revolts in Madagascar, see Gwyn Campbell – The Menalamba Revolt and Brigandry in Imperial Madagascar, 1820-1897. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 24, 2 (1991) 259-91.

⁴¹ Andrea Riccardi – Il martirio: un modello per il cristiano nel mondo islamico tra Ottocento e Novecento? Il caso dei martiri di Damasco nel 1860. In *Santi, culti, simboli nell'età della secolarizzazione (1815-1915)*. Dir. Emma Fattorini. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1997, pp. 259-83.

⁴² In the same period causes for canonisation of important Jesuit personalities of the Old Society were re-introduced, for instance those of Roberto Bellarmino and Pieter Kanisius, who were both declared saints and doctors of the Church in the 1920s and 1930s. On Kanisius see, for example, Patrizio Foresta – *Ad Dei gloriam et Germaniae utilitatem: San Pietro Canisio e gli inizi della Compagnia di Gesù nei territori dell'impero tedesco (1543-1555)*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006. On Bellarmino, see the important studies of Franco Motta; for instance, *Bellarmino: una teologia politica della Controriforma*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 2005.

⁴³ José Pignatelli to Carlo Borgo, 14th June 1792. APG (Archivio della Postulazione Generale della Compagnia di Gesù) 829 E, 1-3. Copy of the *Epistolae originales, autographae, fere omnes cum sigillo P. Josephi Pignatelli*.

⁴⁴ On Carlo Borgo see Marek Inglot – *La compagnia di Gesù nell'Impero Russo (1772-1820) e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia*. Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997, p. 167, 3.

José Pignatelli's correspondence with several ex-Jesuits and political and religious personalities of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Italy reveal his deep involvement in the process of the Society's Restoration in the Italian Peninsula, and the troubled feelings of the ex-Jesuits during the Suppression, the most emotional and painful moment in the history of the Society. The ex-Jesuits faced the Suppression in different ways: by silently fighting for the Restoration through private letters and writings, and keeping the Jesuit spirit alive; writing in Latin as a form of personal "narrative therapy" (in this regard, Yasmin Haskell's exploration of the "emotions" of the Suppression through the lens of late eighteenth-century Jesuit writings is fascinating);⁴⁵ or sometimes by renouncing Jesuit spirituality and entering other religious orders, or embracing the secular world. Substantial information is yet unknown about the destiny of many ex-Jesuits under the Suppression.

Pignatelli, born in 1737 into a noble family in Saragossa, entered the Society of Jesus in 1753. In 1767, after the Suppression of the Society in Spain, he was exiled and moved to Italy with the Spanish Jesuits.⁴⁶ In Bologna, for about twenty-five years, he was committed to assisting and maintaining contacts with his dispersed Jesuit brothers in distress. He strongly wished to join the Jesuits in Russia, where the Society survived. Unable to go there, Pignatelli became the most important leading figure of the Jesuits in the Italian Peninsula, and finally managed to obtain the favour of the duke of Parma, who was keen to re-establish the Society in his territory. Parma eventually became a vice-province of the Society in Russia. A Jesuit noviciate was opened in Colorno, where Pignatelli became the novice master. He was later appointed Jesuit provincial in Italy, after contributing significantly to the rebirth of the Society in Napoli and later in Sicilia (until the expulsion of the Jesuits due to the arrival of Joseph Bonaparte, in 1806). In his last years, he worked for the Order's reconstitution in Rome. He died three years before the Society's Restoration, having spent his life hoping for a Jesuit rebirth.

Pignatelli was warmly supportive, particularly from an economic perspective (he drew on his family's finances) in an extremely difficult time, when several exiled/ex-Jesuits barely survived. His correspondence shows his daily dedication to practical issues, such as the payment of rents and the search for new teachers in the early nineteenth century, after the opening of the noviciate.⁴⁷

Pignatelli was venerated as a holy man during his lifetime. Archival research brought to light fifty postulatory letters, which were written by devotees and Jesuits

⁴⁵ See, for example, Yasmin Haskell – Suppressed Emotions: The Heroic *Tristitia* of Portuguese (ex-)Jesuit, Emanuel de Azevedo. *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. 3, 1 (2016) 42-60.

⁴⁶ On the exile of Iberian Jesuits see, for example, Ugo Baldini and Gian Paolo Brizzi – La presenza in Italia dei gesuiti iberici espulsi. Bologna: CLUEB, 2010.

⁴⁷ See, for example, José Pignatelli to Bartolomeo Hernandez, 9th August 1803. APG 829 E, 8-9; José Pignatelli to Luigi Mozzi, *ibid.*, 8th February 1807, 46.

in support of Pignatelli's canonisation. These letters, like the documentation of miracles, express the deep veneration he gained during his "restoration" activity in Italy. In this sense, the commitment of the Jesuits to pursuing his cause for canonisation is extremely significant since it expresses the idea that the Society was re-established through a saint's actions.

Pignatelli's correspondence and dedication to the Jesuit cause resulted in a "spiritual" community consisting of the ex-Jesuits dispersed in Italy, and contributed to keeping this Jesuit community alive and emotionally involved. Pignatelli's commitment to maintaining continuity with the Old Society, in a period of attempts at modifying the original institution, eventually led to the preservation of the ancient model.⁴⁸

Luigi Mozzi (1746-1813), one of the protagonists in Pignatelli's correspondence, wrote of Pignatelli:⁴⁹

Il caro P. Pignatelli, che è l'anima di tutto, ed è tutto a tutti.⁵⁰

The dear Father Pignatelli, who is the soul of everything; and he is everything to everyone.

Deep gratitude toward Pignatelli emerges from Mozzi's letters, including gratitude for his leadership in managing the Society's affairs as it was restored in the central part of Italy. As Pignatelli's correspondence makes clear, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, after the first steps for the Order's reconstitution in Italy, the major concern was "recruitment" of young blood to build a future for the Society.

As Pignatelli wrote in 1809:

Tale è, Caro Amico, la nostra attuale povertà! Siamo in pochi, e ormai tutti vecchi.⁵¹

Such is, dear friend, our current poverty! We are a few, and all already old.

On the same issue, in Luigi Mozzi's correspondence:

⁴⁸ See, for instance, the case of Niccolò Paccanari. Eva Fontana Castelli – *La "Compagnia di Gesù sotto altro nome": Niccolò Paccanari e la Compagnia della fede di Gesù (1797-1814)*. Roma: Institutum Historicum SI, 2007.

⁴⁹ On Luigi Mozzi see Emanuele Colombo – *Jesuit at Heart. Luigi Mozzi de' Capitani (1746-1813) Between Suppression and Restoration*. In *Jesuit Survival and Restoration: 200th Anniversary Perspective*. Dir. Robert A. Maryks and Jonathan Wright. Brill: Leiden, 2014, pp. 214-30

⁵⁰ Luigi Mozzi to Bartolomeo Hernandez, 13th January 1805. APG 829 E, 10-12. English translation is mine.

⁵¹ José Pignatelli to Bartolomeo Hernandez, 9th August 1803. APG 829 E, 8-9. English translation is mine.

Ci troviamo nondimeno uniti e vestiti in numero di oltre 20, e se ne aspetta ogni giorno dei nuovi. È necessario che vengano reclute giovani, perché noi siamo tutti vecchi. Ad ogni modo i miei fratelli sono tutti pieni di cuore e desiderosi di operare.⁵²

We stand together nonetheless and more than 20 wear the habit [that is, the Jesuit habit], and we wait every day for newcomers. It is necessary that young recruits arrive, as we are all old. Anyway my brothers are all wholehearted and keen to work.

After Pignatelli's death, a number of letters focusing on him were exchanged among the Jesuits. It has been pointed out very significantly that Pignatelli died on a Friday, the same day of the week on which both Ignatius and Francis Xavier died.⁵³ While this link to two of the most important Jesuit saints is quite weak, it is fascinating that such a connection was proposed. In fact, it is a clear attempt to show Pignatelli's similar role in the history of the Ignatian Order to two of the Society of Jesus's pillars: the founder, and one of the most remarkable missionaries of the Old Society.

A strong devotion to Pignatelli arose immediately after his death. In March 1812, just a few months after Pignatelli's death, his relics started to circulate among the Jesuits and, most probably, among the wider public.⁵⁴

In addition, in the 1840s, Ferdinando II of the Two Sicilies (1810-1859) promoted Pignatelli's cause for beatification and canonisation. His minister for the ecclesiastical affairs, Marquis Giovanni d'Andrea, sent a postulatory letter to Cardinal Lambruschini (Gregory XVI's secretary of state) requesting the opening of the cause for beatification.⁵⁵ D'Andrea described Pignatelli as "*eroe cristiano*," a Christian hero. As understood from several postulatory letters from Napoli, Pignatelli and his Jesuits left a mark in the city, where the Society was re-established in 1805.

Cardinal Archbishop of Napoli Filippo Giudice Caracciolo, in his postulatory letter from 1841, mentions that Pignatelli and his Jesuit brothers were remembered in Napoli for their pastoral activities, as well as for their commitment to education.

Quindi ritrovandomi ora Arcivescovo di questa città, la quale ammirò la santa condotta, e fu edificata dalle virtù, di questo Servo di Dio, prego la Santità Vostra, e le sottometto le mie più vive premure perché si degni disporre a

⁵² Luigi Mozzi to Bartolomeo Hernandez, 13th January 1805. APG 829 E, 10-12. English translation is mine.

⁵³ APG 827 C, 8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁵ Giovanni d'Andrea to Luigi Lambruschini, 24th March 1841. APG 830, *Lettere postulatorie*, 26a-26b. It should be noted that D'Andrea sent his postulatory letter only a week before he died.

maggior gloria di Dio l'istruzione della causa di Beatificazione del Servo di Dio P. Pignatelli della Compagnia di Gesù.⁵⁶

Thus as Archbishop of this city, which admired this Servant of God's holy conduct and was edified by his virtues, I beseech Your Holiness, and ask with my warmest solicitude that He agrees to launch the cause for beatification of the Servant of God José Pignatelli of the Society of Jesus for the greater glory of God.

Caracciolo wrote in Italian, asking to begin the cause for beatification, stating that the entire city of Napoli admired Pignatelli's holy behaviour and "was edified by his virtues."

A few hagiographies were also composed by Jesuit authors recalling Pignatelli's "heroic virtues" and life experience. Although these works are not particularly useful for reconstructing Pignatelli's biography scientifically, as they are altered by the authors' sentiments, they do provide an excellent perspective for studying the Jesuit point of view on devotion and strategies of sainthood. These hagiographies express the feelings of the Society of Jesus about Pignatelli very well, and the hagiographies dedicated to other Jesuit saints or saints-to-be provide understanding of the reasons for the veneration of the dead, and the origins and dynamics of their causes for beatification and canonisation.

Following Pignatelli's beatification (25th February 1933), John MacErlean, S.J. described him in these terms:

An old religious priest whose seventy-four years had been passed amidst the turmoils of the world, but who despite revolutions and persecutions contrived to combine apostolic work with contemplative retirement.⁵⁷

This reference to suffering and persecution of the Church and the Society of Jesus in Pignatelli's lifetime is also highlighted by Pius XI, in a discourse following the approval of the miracle attributed to Pignatelli for his beatification. Celestino Testore, S.J. opened his hagiography, published a few days before Pignatelli's canonisation (June 1954), with the pope's words. The idea of the Suppression as a troubled time for the Society of Jesus and the Church and the fundamental role of Pignatelli in those years emerge strongly from Pius XI's speech:

Ecco anzitutto, la congiura dei governi e delle sette che imperavano e che avrebbero voluto impedire ogni attività religiosa; congiura contro Iddio e contro la Chiesa e quindi per conseguenza (gloriosa conseguenza!) congiura contro la

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 4a-4c. English translation is mine.

⁵⁷ John MacErlean – The Venerable Father Joseph M. Pignatelli, S.J. (1737-1811). The Suppression and Restoration of the Society of Jesus. *The Irish Monthly*. 61, 719 (1933) 261-68, here 261.

Compagnia di Gesù ... in Spagna, ove la raffica coglie la grande figura del Servo di Dio, che ben può somigliarsi ad una roccia, ritta immobile di fronte a più di una burrasca.⁵⁸

Here, in the first place, is the conspiracy of governments and sects that ruled and wanted to prevent any religious activity; conspiracy against God and the Church and thus as a consequence (glorious consequence!) plot against the Society of Jesus ... in Spain, where this gust hit the great figure of the Servant of God, who resembled a rock, upright and still in the face of a storm.

In this passage, the Pope described Pignatelli as a rock that stands in the midst of a storm, meaning the conspiracy of governments and sects against God and the Church, and “as a consequence ... a plot against the Society of Jesus,” a reference to the exile of the Jesuits from France, Portugal, and Spain.

In his discourse, Pius XI mentioned:

Un altro dolore ben più grave ancora poiché riguarda specialmente la Compagnia di Gesù, la famiglia spirituale che il Servo di Dio aveva scelto, o, meglio a cui era stato chiamato da Dio ... la soppressione Pagina dolorosa di storia ... dolorosa anche solo a rileggerla a tanta distanza di tempo; che cosa dovette essere nella realtà per il Pignatelli e per i suoi numerosi confratelli!⁵⁹

A greater pain as it concerns especially the Society of Jesus, the spiritual family that the Servant of God had chosen, or, better, to which he had been called by God the suppression A painful page of history ... painful even to reread it after a long time; who knows how it was in reality for Pignatelli and his many brothers!

The Suppression, reflected in the text above, caused serious suffering to the members of the Society of Jesus, which Pignatelli had chosen as his religious family. It is described as a painful page in the history of the Ignatian Order.⁶⁰

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars worsened the situation and increased Pignatelli's and the ex-Jesuits' suffering.⁶¹ In his hagiography, in the wake of Roothaan's considerations, Testore focused particularly on the experience of the Spanish exile as martyrdom, highlighting Pignatelli's fortitude and guidance. He reported also that the exiled Spanish Jesuits were publicly called “martyrs” by the bishop of Modena, Giuseppe Maria Fogliani (1700-1785). Although this

⁵⁸ Celestino Testore – *Il Restauratore*. Roma: Tipografia Pontificia Università Gregoriana, p. 2. Testore quoted the *Osservatore Romano* (20th–21st February 1933). English translation is mine.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 3. English translation is mine.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

information is hard to prove, it is indicative of the message the hagiographer aimed to present: the Jesuit exile, as well as the Suppression, was real Jesuit martyrdom.

As in the Suppression, the leading role of “holy” José Pignatelli was also of primary importance in the suffering of the exile, during which Pignatelli committed himself to sharing his brothers’ fate, renouncing the privileges provided by his status. He strove also to keep the Jesuit spirituality and studies alive in the long journey from Spain to the Papal States.

New Perspectives on the Suppression of the Society of Jesus

Exploring the Suppression of the Ignatian Order through the strategies of sainthood fostered by the Restored Society of Jesus reveals a world of suffering. The promotion of the model of sanctity of the “martyr,” along with the “missionary,” and the opening of a large number of causes for canonisation of Jesuit martyrs allows understanding the self-image “promoted” by the Restored Society to raise awareness of the role played by the Jesuits in the long history of Catholicism, and in more recent years.

This policy of sainthood was built on the authentic feelings of suffering that emerged during and after exile and Suppression. The troubling experiences of the eighteenth-century drove the Jesuit General Postulation and the Church to revitalise the image and role of martyrs in the Catholic Church. The same strategies were indeed promoted by the Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with interest in martyrdom continuing into the twenty-first century. Suffice it to observe the long list of martyrs who were beatified or canonised in the last two hundred years to understand that Rome encouraged the image of a “martyred” Church.

The idea of martyrdom developed in the Jesuit panorama. In the Society’s early decades, the missionary workforce was poor and needed to be preserved while desire for martyrdom was nonetheless encouraged. The definition of martyrdom was under discussion, as demonstrated by the fact that some Jesuits cast doubts on Antonio Crimalini’s death. As mentioned, the cause for canonisation began in the early twentieth century. However, soon after Crimalini’s killing, the reports on his death were discussed in Rome in order to understand whether it was real martyrdom. Apparently, the major cause of concern was that Crimalini willingly sought his own death by running toward the attackers three times, until they killed and beheaded him. In other words, his martyrdom did not occur by God’s will, but by his own.⁶²

⁶² On this topic, see Ines G. Županov – *Missionary Tropics. The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005, pp. 157-71; E. Rai – *La legge e il martirio*.

The idea of the Suppression as a form of martyrdom, which emerges from Roothaan's letter and the activity of the General Postulation of the Restored Society of Jesus, provides a novel perspective on both the transition from the Old to the New Society of Jesus and the concept of Jesuit martyrdom.

The suffering of the Suppression stimulated the search for old and new Jesuit martyrs. At the same time, the Catholic Church promoted the self-image of a martyred institution and welcomed the Society of Jesus's motions for beatifications and canonisations of many of its martyrs. Whether they were physically martyred or experienced the suffering of exile and Suppression, the Jesuits who lived in the difficult period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were challenged by trauma, pain, rejection, and persecution.

Approaching the dynamics of Suppression and Restoration from the perspective of causes for canonisation requires understanding reasons and expectations that have moved the New Society for about two centuries. Thus, the Society's saints or saints-to-be represent its ideals and reflect the guidelines of the restored Order to its members.

Over the centuries, saints reflect the times in which their causes were promoted and strategies of specific "institutions." The latter include the Roman Church, religious orders, and, especially during the Catholic revival in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Catholic countries (particularly Spain and Italy, whose Counter-Reformation activities were notable in the post-Tridentine Church).

As Ronnie Po Chia-Hsia pointed out, during the Counter-Reformation the "martyr" model of sanctity was set aside, although an important number of Catholics suffered martyrdom during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and were often later canonised.⁶³ Nevertheless, the post-Tridentine Church was not interested in providing the self-image of a "martyred" Church. On the contrary, at that time, the politics of sainthood depicted the picture of a triumphant, glorious Church. It is no coincidence that Rome, which, in the seventeenth century, would have taken upon itself the legal procedures of the causes for canonisation, focused on models of sanctity that expressed the triumphal actions of the Counter-Reformation Church: founders of religious orders (such as Ignatius of Loyola), reformers and mystics (such as Teresa d'Avila), Tridentine-Counter-Reformist bishops (such as Carlo Borromeo), and missionaries (such as Francis Xavier). All of them worked for the Counter-Reformation, sixteenth-century Catholic reform, or global evangelisation. They depict, in other words, the image of a victor Church.

Morte e normativa nel processo di canonizzazione del "protomartire" gesuita Antonio Crimalini (XVI-XX secolo). *Lexia*. 31-32 (2019) 205-224.

⁶³ Ronnie Po-Chie Hsia – *The World of Catholic Renewal. 1540-1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, in particular pp. 127-43.

By the nineteenth century, the situation had radically changed. The Catholic Church and the Society of Jesus experienced the transition from the Ancien Régime to the modern world through the impact of the French Revolution, the age of Enlightenment and jurisdictionalist ideals, and the secularisation process. The Revolution produced many victims, and the Suppression of the Society of Jesus, approved by the Roman Pontiff, though temporary, eliminated a precious ally to Rome.

The nineteenth-century Church felt under attack on various fronts. Pius IX's 1864 *Syllabus* perfectly expresses the idea of the need to defend Catholicism from the modern world. The *Syllabus*, an appendix to the encyclical *Quanta Cura*, was a systematic manifesto against the "false prophets" of modernity. The pope identified them with the new political, philosophical, and pseudoscientific trends, such as socialism and mesmerism.⁶⁴ These "false prophets" could be interpreted as an apocalyptic sign, preceding the arrival of the Antichrist. At the same time, the Jesuit candidates to the missions concentrated their efforts on fighting against the Devil overseas, in lands where the inhabitants did not know the Gospel. There, the Jesuit missionaries committed themselves to saving souls and possibly facing martyrdom for Christ.⁶⁵

The European panorama was evolving, with new trends condemned by the *Syllabus*. The Jesuits responded to this context with a renewal of the missionary project and desire for martyrdom. In Italy, soon after the Restoration of the Order, many Jesuits asked to go to missions in order to "*spargere il sangue*" (spill their blood). The memory of the Suppression was still fresh, and the idea of martyrdom, especially in missionary territories, was quite widespread, as indicated by the *Litterae Indipetae*.

Sacrifice and suffering appear as important identity values for the Catholic Church and the Society of Jesus throughout their history. Their politics of sainthood promoted the value of martyrdom in the Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (along with other models of sanctity),⁶⁶ and the causes

⁶⁴ On apocalypticism in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italy, also in connection with the Suppression of the Society of Jesus, see Marina Caffiero – *La Nuova Era. Miti e profezie dell'Italia in rivoluzione*. Genova: Marietti, 1991. See also Eleonora Rai – *L'apocalittica come spiegazione ai mali del XIX secolo. Il caso di Giacomo Maria Montini (1874)*. *Ricerche storiche sulla Chiesa Ambrosiana*. 27 (2009) 167-90. On mesmerism see David Armando's studies, in particular the item *Magnetismo animale* in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*. Dir. Adriano Proserpi with the collaboration of Vincenzo Lavenia and John Tedeschi. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010, II, pp. 960-61.

⁶⁵ Rai – "Come le anime del Purgatorio" ..., *cit.*, p. 81.

⁶⁶ The long list of saints canonised in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries includes founders of religious orders, such as Giovanni Bosco; "good mothers" and medical doctors, such as Gianna Beretta Molla; religious men and stigmatics, such as Pio of Pietrelcina; victim souls, such as Anna Katharina Emmerick; important early modern theologians, such as the Jesuit Doctor of the Church Roberto Bellarmino; and several others. Among them, there are hundreds of martyrs. See also, Andrea Riccardi – *Il secolo del martirio*. Milano: Mondadori, 2000.

for canonisation of martyrs describe experiences of pain that contributed strongly to depicting the images of a suffering Church and a suffering Society of Jesus.

Non abbiamo veruna felicità al mondo, ma le pene non passano oltre le porte della morte.⁶⁷

We have no happiness in this world, but sufferings do not overshoot the doors of death.

Pignatelli's writings date from 1767, during the Spanish exile. The memory of his suffering and of the Jesuits' pain during the Suppression survived, and contributed to the renewed value of martyrdom in the restored Society.

Suffering and martyrdom became crucial ingredients in the identity of the New Society of Jesus, with remarkable connections to the early modern Order. After the Restoration, the Jesuits could reread their own history as a high form of *sequela Christi*, which was promoted by Ignatius in the Spiritual Exercises along with Paul's doctrine of *stultitia crucis*, and practiced during the persecutions, reaching a peak with the "death" of the Order in 1773, and eventually its resurrection in 1814.

⁶⁷ José Pignatelli to his brother Joachim Pignatelli Fuentes, 8th July 1767, in Testore – *Il Restauratore ...*, *cit.*, p. 86. English translation is mine.

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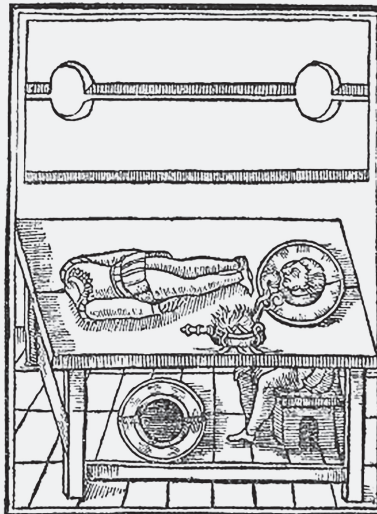


Fig. 1. Reproduction of an engraving of one of Circignani's frescoes in the church of St. Thomas of Canterbury at the English College in Rome. Giovanni Battista Cavalieri (1525-1601), Nicolò Circignani Pomarancio (1520-1596) – *Ecclesiae anglicanae trophæa, siue, Sanctorum martyrum, qui pro Christo catholicaeque fidei veritate asserenda: antiquo recentiorique persecutionum tempore, mortem in Anglia subierunt, passiones, Romae in Collegio Angelico. Romae: Ex officina Bartholomaei Grassi, 1584.*



Fig. 2. John Rogers, the first victim of the Marian persecutions in England (February 4, 1555). The writing on the banner is: "Lord receive my spirit". John Foxe – *Actes and Monuments ...*, cit., 1563.

To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter, which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist.



The forme
of y^e planks
&c.

The order
of the action,
as it is
to be shewed.

What order is to be observed for the practising heereof with great admiration, read page 349, 350.

Fig. 3. Machinery used to stage the effect of decapitated body and head. Reginald Scott – *The Discoverie of witchcraft*, 1584.

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