GENDERING THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN WORLD


Ulrike Strasser

# Missionary Men in the Early Modern World

## German Jesuits and Pacific Journeys

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in the Early Modern World

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# Gendering the Late Medieval and Early Modern World



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

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

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# Missionary Men on the Move

## Jesuits and Gender in the Early Modern World

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

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

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

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

Strasser, U., *Missionary Men in the Early Modern World: German Jesuits and Pacific Journeys*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020
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abroad.[2] Strobach hoped that he too could die for the propagation of the Catholic faith among the islanders.[3]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

24 Notable exceptions include: Brockey, '*Largos Caminhos*'; Winnerling, *Vernunft und Imperium.*
25 Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds*, pp. 114-126.
26 Hiery, 'Die deutschen Kolonien in der Südsee'; Hiery, *Die deutsche Südsee*, pp. 475-605.
27 Amussen and Poska, 'Restoring Miranda.'

## Global History as the History of Masculinities and Patriarchal Dynamics

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

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

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

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

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

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

30 Laven, 'Jesuits and Eunuchs'; Laven, *Mission to China*; Amsler, *Jesuits and Matriarchs*, pp. 13-31.
31 An early and particularly powerful articulation of such critiques as well as some potential remedies can be found in Ditz, 'The New Men's History.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

44 See Chapters 3 and 4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

49 Ibid., p. 2.

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

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

52 Ibid., p. 4.

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

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

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

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

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

55 See also Molina, *To Overcome Oneself*.

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

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

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

56 Mulsow, 'Exemplum,' p. 318.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

58 Brown, 'Gender Frontiers.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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