

Space and Conversion in Global Perspective

Intersections

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN CULTURE

General Editor

Karl A.E. Enenkel (*Chair of Medieval and Neo-Latin Literature*
Westfälische Wilhelmsuniversität Münster
e-mail: kenen_01@uni_muenster.de)

Editorial Board

W. van Anrooij (*University of Leiden*)
W. de Boer (*Miami University*)
Chr. Göttler (*University of Bern*)
J.L. de Jong (*University of Groningen*)
W.S. Melion (*Emory University*)
R. Seidel (*Goethe University Frankfurt am Main*)
P.J. Smith (*University of Leiden*)
J. Thompson (*Queen's University Belfast*)
A. Traninger (*Freie Universität Berlin*)
C. Zittel (*University of Stuttgart*)
C. Zwierlein (*Harvard University*)

VOLUME 35 – 2015

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/inte

Space and Conversion in Global Perspective

Edited by

Giuseppe Marcocci, Wietse de Boer,
Aliocha Maldavsky and Ilaria Pavan



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Engraving representing Baldassarre Loyola (n.d.). Image © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Collezione Lamalle.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Space and conversion in global perspective / edited by Giuseppe Marcocci, Wietse de Boer, Aliocha Maldavsky, and Ilaria Pavan.

pages cm. — (Intersections : interdisciplinary studies in early modern culture, ISSN 1568-1181 ; volume 35)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-90-04-28062-5 (hardback : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-90-04-28063-2 (e-book) 1. Conversion. 2. Religion and geography. 3. Globalization—Religious aspects. I. Marcocci, Giuseppe, editor.

BL639.S63 2014

204'.2—dc23

2014027274

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual 'Brill' typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1568-1181

ISBN 978-90-04-28062-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-28063-2 (e-book)

Copyright 2015 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff and Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Contents

Acknowledgements	vii
List of Illustrations	viii
Notes on the Editors	xii
Notes on the Contributors	xiv

Introduction: Space, Conversion, and Global History	1
<i>Giuseppe Marcocci, Wietse de Boer, Aliocha Maldavsky, and Ilaria Pavan</i>	

PART 1

City and Country

1 Granada as a New Jerusalem: The Conversion of a City	15
<i>Mercedes García-Arenal</i>	
2 Conversion on the Scaffold: Italian Practices in European Context	44
<i>Adriano Prosperi</i>	
3 The Incas of Cuzco and the Transformation of Sacred Space under Spanish Colonial Rule	61
<i>Gabriela Ramos</i>	
4 The Spread of Catholicism in Seventeenth-Century Palestinian Villages	81
<i>Felicita Tramontana</i>	
5 Christian Missionaries and Jewish Spaces: British Missions in the Kingdom of Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century	103
<i>Agnieszka Jagodzińska</i>	

PART 2

Segregation and Permeability

- 6 **The Citadel of the Lost Souls: Spaces of Orthodoxy and Penance in Sixteenth-Century Lisbon** 129
Susana Bastos Mateus
- 7 **The Hospital as a Space of Conversion: Roman Examples from the Seventeenth Century** 154
Irene Fosi
- 8 **The Political Dimension of Space-Time Categories in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay (Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries)** 175
Guillermo Wilde
- 9 **The Social and Physical Spaces of the Malabar Rites Controversy** 214
Paolo Aranha

PART 3

Distance and Mobility

- 10 **Saltwater Conversion: Trans-Oceanic Sailing and Religious Transformation in the Iberian World** 235
Giuseppe Marcocci
- 11 **Giving for the Mission: The *Encomenderos* and Christian Space in the Late Sixteenth-Century Andes** 260
Aliocha Maldavsky
- 12 **Telling the Untellable: The Geography of Conversion of a Muslim Jesuit** 285
Emanuele Colombo and Rocco Sacconaghi
- 13 **Confessional Rivals: Conversions and Apostasies in the Middle-Volga Region of the Russian Empire (Nineteenth Century)** 308
Oxana Zemtsova
- Index Nominum** 327

Acknowledgements

The essays collected in this volume are based on papers given at the international symposium *Space and Conversion*, which was held in Pisa at the Scuola Normale Superiore on 13–14 December 2011. We wish to acknowledge the generous financial support offered by the Faculty of Arts of the Scuola Normale, which has allowed us to gather scholars from all over the world in Pisa. This book has also benefited from the contribution of those who participated in the symposium without authoring an article. We are deeply grateful to Véronique Castagnet, Simon Ditchfield, Jörg Deventer, Todd Endelman, Verónica Gutiérrez, Carol E. Harrison, Girolamo Imbruglia, Samuela Marconcini, Elena Mazzini, Ricarda Matheus, Stefania Pastore, Giorgos Plakotos, and Ellie Schainker. A special thanks goes to David Sorkin (City University of New York), who was a member of the scientific committee, but was unable to attend the conference due to family circumstances. Wietse de Boer joined the team of editors on behalf of the Editorial Board of *Intersections*. We thank Karl Enenkel and the Board for their keen interest in the project and their willingness to publish it in this series.

List of Illustrations

Figures 1.1–1.2 (accompanying the article of Mercedes García-Arenal)

- 1.1 Felipe Bigarny, *Baptism of the Muslims of the Kingdom of Granada* (1520–1522). Granada, Cathedral, Royal Chapel. Photo © Mercedes García-Arenal 26
- 1.2 Anton van den Wyngaerde, *View of Granada* (1567), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Ms. Min. 41, fol. 55r. Image © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna 29

Figures 3.1–3.6 (accompanying the article of Gabriela Ramos)

- 3.1 Temple dedicated to the Sun, Coricancha. Photo © Gabriela Ramos 64
- 3.2 Map showing the location of Cuzco parishes (ca. 1600). Map © Évelyne Mesclier 67
- 3.3 Colcampata, Cuzco. Photo © Gabriela Ramos 75
- 3.4 San Cristóbal, Cuzco. Photo © Gabriela Ramos 75
- 3.5 San Francisco, Cuzco. Photo © Gabriela Ramos 76
- 3.6 San Pedro, Cuzco (formerly Nuestra Señora de los Remedios or Parish of the Hospital de Naturales). Photo © Gabriela Ramos 77

Figures 5.1–5.7 (accompanying the article of Agnieszka Jagodzińska)

- 5.1 British missionaries on tour in Eastern Europe (1901). Photograph in Samuel Wilkinson, *Prisoners of Hope* (n.p., n.d.), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ d.51/1, before p. 15. Image © The University of Oxford 108
- 5.2 Chapel of the Institute for Jewish converts at Warsaw. Photograph in *Jewish Intelligence* 2 (1846), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ e. 44, before p. 33. Image © The University of Oxford 109
- 5.3 In a Jewish town in the Eastern Europe (ca. 1900). Photograph in Samuel Wilkinson, *Prisoners of Hope* (n.p., n.d.), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ d.51/1, title page. Image © The University of Oxford 111
- 5.4 ‘A secret inquirer’—a Jew reading a Christian tract watched by two missionaries. Photograph in *Jewish Records* (October 1878),

- Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ e. 24, 37.
Image © The University of Oxford 113
- 5.5 Scene at the Polish railway station. Photograph in *Jewish Records* (October 1877), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ e. 24, 37. Image © The University of Oxford 115
- 5.6 A missionary tract in Hebrew. *Ir ha-miklat* [*The City of Refuge*] (1826), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ e. 61, title page. Image © The University of Oxford 118
- 5.7 Polish Jews as imagined in the missionary press. Image in *Children's Jewish Advocate* (January 1876), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ f. 34, before title page. Image © The University of Oxford 121

Figures 6.1–6.4 (accompanying the article of Susana Bastos Mateus)

- 6.1 Limits of the penitential area connected to the College for the Doctrine of the Faith. Reworked version of an engraved map of Lisbon by Georg Braun, in *Civitates Orbium Terrarum*, vol. v (1598). Image © Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon 136
- 6.2 Current view of the ancient penitential neighbourhood, Lisbon. Photo © Susana Bastos Mateus 150
- 6.3 Current view of the Rua das Escolas Gerais and the entry to the neighbourhood of Santa Marinha, Lisbon. Photo © Susana Bastos Mateus 150
- 6.4 Current view of the Rua do Salvador in Lisbon, which ended at the Church of Salvador. Photo © Susana Bastos Mateus 151

Figures 7.1–7.9 (accompanying the article of Irene Fosi)

- 7.1 Giovanni Battista Falda, *Church and Hospital of San Giacomo in Augusta (San Giacomo degli Incurabili), Rome* (1665) 158
- 7.2 Camillo Acquisti, *The Hospital of Santa Maria della Consolazione, Rome* (1814) 158
- 7.3 Giovanni Battista Falda, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia (Hospital of the Holy Ghost), Rome* (1665) 159
- 7.4 *The English Hospice, Rome* (ca. 1580). Woodcut. Image © Archivio del Venerabile Collegio Inglese, Rome 162
- 7.5 *Plan of the Venerable English College, Rome* (ca. 1575). Image © Archivio del Venerabile Collegio Inglese, Rome 162

- 7.6 Giuseppe Vasi, *Church and Hospice of ss. Trinità dei Pellegrini, Rome* (1756) 163
- 7.7 *St. Camillus de' Lellis helping the sick during the plague, Church of Santa Maria Maddalena, Rome*. Photo © Ordine dei Ministri degli Infermi, Rome 166
- 7.8 Giuseppe Vasi, *The Hospital of San Salvatore (San Giovanni in Laterano), Rome* (1756) 167
- 7.9 *The Hospice of the Convertendi, Rome*. Photograph, ca. 1930 © Museo di Roma, Archivio Fotografico, Rome 172

Figures 8.1–8.12 (accompanying the article of Guillermo Wilde)

- 8.1 Johannes Blaeuw, *Paraquaria Vulgo Paraguay cum adjacentibus* (1667). Source: Furlong G., *Cartografía jesuítica del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: 1936), as reproduced in Barcelos A., *O Mergulho no Seculum: Exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*, Ph.D. dissertation (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul: 2006) 178
- 8.2 Tupinamba Indians of the Brazilian Coast. Source: Staden Hans, *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen* (1557) 184
- 8.3 Plan of mission town of Candelaria. Source: Peramás José Manuel, *La república de Platón y los guaraníes* [1793] (Buenos Aires: 1946) 187
- 8.4 Plan of the mission town of San Juan Bautista (1750s): detail of Indian houses. Source: Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, as reproduced in Barcelos A., *O Mergulho no Seculum: Exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*, Ph.D. dissertation (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul: 2006) 192
- 8.5 Map of the region of the mission town Santo Tomé. Source: *Cartografía jesuítica del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: 1936) 122, as reproduced in Barcelos A., *O Mergulho no Seculum: Exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*, Ph.D. dissertation (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul: 2006) 200
- 8.6 Map produced in connection with the litigation of 1773. Image © National Archive, Buenos Aires, AGN IX.40.2.5 202

- 8.7–8.8 Images from the Guarani imprint of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg y Otín's *De la Diferencia entre lo Temporal y lo Eterno* (1705) 205
- 8.9–8.11 Engravings of the mission town of Santísima Trinidad. Source: Perasso J.A., *El Paraguay del siglo XVIII en tres memorias* (Asunción: 1986) 207–209
- 8.12 Angel musician holding maraca in the mission town of Santísima Trinidad. Photo © Bozidar Darko Sustersic 210

Figure 9.1 (accompanying the article of Paolo Aranha)

- 9.1 *Disegno della Chiesa de' Nobili, e Parreas, entro lo stesso recinto di muro esteriore, e della casa del Missionario.* Source: Brandolini Broglia Antonio, *Risposta alle accuse date al praticato sin'ora da' Religiosi della Compagnia di Giesù, nelle Missioni del Madurey, Mayssur, e Carnate* (1729) 222

Figures 10.1–10.4 (accompanying the article of Giuseppe Marcocci)

- 10.1 Sandro Botticelli (attributed), *Madonna del Mare* (second half of the fifteenth century). Image © Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence 237
- 10.2 Hieronymus Bosch, *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (early sixteenth century). Image © Museu Nacional da Arte Antiga, Lisbon 238
- 10.3 Alardo de Popma, *La nave de la Iglesia.* Source: Melchor Preto, *Psalmodia Eucharistica* (1622) 241
- 10.4 Unknown author, *St. Francis Xavier's Departure from Lisbon to India* (ca. 1730). © Museu Nacional da Arte Antiga, Lisbon 249

Figures 12.1–12.2 (accompanying the article of Emanuele Colombo and Rocco Sacconaghi)

- 12.1 Engraving representing Baldassarre Loyola (n.d.). Image © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Collezione Lamalle 291
- 12.2 Portrait of Baldassarre Loyola, in Hamy A., *Galerie illustrée de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 8 vols. (Paris, Chez l'auteur: 1893), vol. v, n. 26 292

Figure 13.1 (accompanying the article of Oxana Zemtsova)

- 13.1 Map of the Volga Region 309

Notes on the Editors

Wietse de Boer

is Professor of History at Miami University (Ohio). His main research interests are in the religious and cultural history of early modern Italy. He is the author of *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (2001). Recent publications include the volume (co-edited with Christine Göttler), *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* (Intersections 26, 2012), and contributions to Intersections volumes 9 (*Spirits Unseen*, 2009) and 17 (*Meditatio—Refashioning the Self*, 2010). He is currently completing a monograph on religion and sensory experience in early modern Italy.

Aliocha Maldavsky

is Maître de conférences in Early Modern and Colonial Latin-American History at the University of Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense. Her research has focused on Jesuit missionaries in the Andean region and European mission vocations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She has published *Vocaciones inciertas. Misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* (2012). Junior member of the Institut Universitaire de France, she is now working on lay commitment in religious and evangelizing institutions in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Andes.

Giuseppe Marcocci

is Assistant Professor in Early Modern History at the University of Tuscia, Viterbo. His main area of research is the early-modern Iberian world, with special attention to the Portuguese empire. His publications include a number of essays and articles, and four books: *I custodi dell'ortodossia: Inquisizione e Chiesa nel Portogallo del Cinquecento* (2004), *L'invenzione di un impero: Politica e cultura nel mondo portoghese, 1450–1600* (2011), *A consciência de um império: Portugal e o seu mundo, sécs. XV–XVII* (2012), and (with José Pedro Paiva) *História da Inquisição portuguesa, 1536–1821* (2013). His current project is about writing world history in Renaissance Europe.

Ilaria Pavan

is Assistant Professor in Modern History at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa. Her main field of research is the history of Italian Jewry and Italian antisemitism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Her

publications include *Persecution, Indifference and Amnesia: The Restoration of Jewish Rights in Postwar Italy* (2006) and (with Matteo Al Kalak) *Un'altra fede: Le case dei catecumeni in area estense 1583–1938* (2013). She is currently working on the social history of Jewish conversions in Italy from the late eighteenth century to the Holocaust.

Notes on the Contributors

Paolo Aranha

a Marie Curie—Gerda Henkel Fellow at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München; earlier he was a Marie Curie Intra-European Fellow at the Warburg Institute, London. He is about to defend his doctoral dissertation on the history of the Malabar Rites controversy at the European University Institute, Florence. His main area of research is the early modern history of Christianity in India, especially the Catholic missions to South India, the Goa Inquisition, Indo-Portuguese religious and social history, as well as early-modern Catholic representations of Hinduism. His publications include the book *Il cristianesimo latino in India* (2006) and several articles.

Emanuele Colombo

is Assistant Professor at DePaul University, Chicago. His research is focused on religious history in the early modern period, particularly on theology and politics, Jesuit missions, and Christian-Muslim encounters. He is the author of two books on Jesuit history: *Un gesuita inquieto: Carlo Antonio Casnedi (1643–1725) e il suo tempo* (2006) and *Convertire i musulmani: L'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo del Seicento* (2007); he is co-editor (with Bernard Heyberger, Mercedes García-Arenal and Paola Vismara) of the volume, *L'islam visto da occidente: Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all'islam* (2009). His Italian translation of Robert Bireley, *The Refashion of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation*, was published in 2010. He is member of the Accademia Ambrosiana, Milan.

Irene Fosi

is Professor of Early Modern History at the University “G. D’Annunzio”, Chieti-Pescara. As Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung fellow she spent many years in German universities (Marburg, Tübingen, Freiburg). Her main research topics are justice in early modern Italy, especially in the Papal State, religious conversion in the age of confessionalisation, and the cultural and diplomatic relations between Rome, the papal court and the Holy Roman Empire. She is author of numerous articles and books, including *La società violenta* (1985), *All’ombra dei Barberini: Fedeltà e servizio nella Roma barocca* (1997), *La giustizia del papa: Sudditi e tribunali nello Stato Pontificio* (2007), Engl. trans. *Papal Justice: Subjects and Court in the Papal state, 1500–1750* (2011), and *Convertire lo straniero: Stranieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna* (2011).

Mercedes García-Arenal

is Research Professor at the Centro de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales, CSIC, Madrid. Her main area of research concerns minorities in early modern Iberia and Jews in the lands of Islam. She is the Principal Investigator of the ERC Advanced Grant CORPI, 'Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction: Early Modern Iberia and Beyond'. Her most recent books are, with Fernando R. Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, The Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Beginnings of Orientalism* (2013), and with Gerard Wiegers (eds.), *A Mediterranean Diaspora: The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain* (2014).

Agnieszka Jagodzińska

is Assistant Professor in the Department of Jewish Studies, University of Wrocław. She is author of the award-winning monograph *Pomiędzy: Akulturacja Żydów Warszawy w drugiej połowie XIX wieku* [*The Acculturation of Warsaw Jews in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*] (2008) and editor of two other books: *W poszukiwaniu religii doskonałej? Konwersja a Żydzi* [*Conversion and Jews*] (2012) and *Ludwik Zamenhof wobec 'kwestii żydowskiej': Wybór źródeł* [*Ludwik Zamenhof and the Jewish Question: Selected sources*] (2012). Her main academic interest is in the history of Polish Jews in the nineteenth century, in particular Jewish acculturation and integration, and Christian missions and the conversion of Jews. Currently she is working on the missions of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in Poland.

Susana Bastos Mateus

is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Évora. Her dissertation deals with the consequences of the general conversion of the Portuguese Jews in 1497 and the social dimensions of the New Christians before and after the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition. She is a researcher at the Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Culturas, Sociedades, University of Évora (CIDEHUS/UE) and associated with the Chair of Sephardic Studies "Alberto Benveniste" at the University of Lisbon. She is co-author (with Paulo Mendes Pinto) of *Lisboa, 19 de Abril de 1506: O Massacre dos Judeus* (Lisbon: 2007).

Adriano Prosperi

is Emeritus Professor of Early Modern History at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa. He is a specialist of early modern Italian religious history, including the Roman Inquisition. He has published *Tribunali della coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (1996), *Leresia del Libro Grande: Storia di*

Giorgio Siculo e della sua setta (2000), *Dare l'anima: Storia di un infanticidio* (2005), *Giustizia bendata: Percorsi storici di un'immagine* (2008), and he is the editor of the *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, 4 vols. (2010, in collaboration with Vincenzo Lavenia and John Tedeschi). His latest book is titled *Delitto e perdono: La pena di morte nell'orizzonte mentale dell'Occidente cristiano* (2013).

Gabriela Ramos

is University Lecturer in Latin American History at the University of Cambridge and Fellow and College Lecturer at Newnham College, Cambridge. She is the author of *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532–1670* (2010), and editor of *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (2014).

Rocco Sacconaghi

is Adjunct Professor at the Catholic University of Milan. He studied in Italy, Germany, and the US. In 2011, he received a research fellowship from the Lonergan Center at Boston College and in 2012–13 he taught in the Philosophy Department at Boston College. His main research interests are German and French contemporary philosophy, the epistemology of the human sciences, and the philosophical implications of the Christian theological tradition. He is working on a book project on the relationship between philosophy and the empirical sciences in Maurice Merleau-Ponty.

Felicita Tramontana

is Assistant Professor at the University of Palermo. Her main research interest is in the social history of the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period, with special attention to religious conversions in Palestinian villages and population patterns in the area. She is the author of several articles in international journals and of the volume *Passages of Faith: Conversion in Palestinian Villages, 17th Century* (2014). In the framework of the Collaborative Research Centre “Differenz + Integration” (Universities of Leipzig and Halle-Wittenberg), she has worked on Mamluk chronicles.

Guillermo Wilde

is senior researcher at the National Scientific Council of Argentina (CONICET) and Associate Professor at the National University of San Martín, Buenos Aires. His main areas of research include the indigenous history of the Americas, colonial art and music, and mission history from a comparative perspective. He is the author of *Religion y Poder en las misiones guaraníes* (2009), awarded the Latin American Association Studies (LASA) Premio

Iberoamericano Award (2010). He has written several articles on the Jesuit Missions in South America, and has recently published the edition *Saberes de la conversion. Jesuitas, Indígenas e Imperios Coloniales en las fronteras de la Cristiandad* (2011). He has been a postdoctoral fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the John Carter Brown Library, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, and the Fulbright Commission, among other academic institutions.

Oxana Zemtsova

is a Ph.D. Candidate at the European University Institute, Florence. She received a Kandidat nauk degree in History from the University of Yoshkar-Ola. Her main areas of interest include the social history of the Russian empire in the late nineteenth—early twentieth centuries and the history of education.

Introduction: Space, Conversion, and Global History

Giuseppe Marcocci, Wietse de Boer, Aliocha Maldivsky, and Ilaria Pavan

Our world is becoming more and more conscious of the global scope of processes and events that have traditionally been interpreted within local or regional contexts. Individuals and societies perceive their geographic frame of reference as rapidly widening. This has led many scholars to stress the importance of the notion of ‘space’—a notion which is far from neutral or limited to the strictly physical sphere. Thus, for some years now, words like simultaneity, connection, circularity, and border crossing—to mention a few—have come to pervade a growing literature in the human and social sciences.¹ Historians, too, have embraced this new sensibility, which some have termed a ‘spatial turn.’² In doing so, they have begun to ask questions particular to their craft, that is, questions about time. How, for example, did events, actions and representations relate to the multiplicity of spaces with which they were associated? How did these relationships change over time? And how did people experience such more or less radical transformations? Historians do not tend to see most breaks with the past as clean and irreversible. On the contrary, they will point out that, if the global present reflexively adopts planetary scales to understand today’s economies, societies and demography, as well as politics and culture, this calls for the need to recognize the impact of (partly) similar processes during past centuries.³

Rejecting the idea of drastic historical breaks does not mean to deny any discontinuity. Between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the application of new technologies of transportation and mass communication deeply modified the relations between humans and space, though in different ways depending

1 Warf B. – Arias S. (eds.), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London – New York: 2009).

2 Middell M. – Naumann K., “Global History and the Spatial Turn: From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalization”, *Journal of Global History* 5 (2010) 149–170.

3 Osterhammel J. – Peterson N.P., *Globalization: A Short History* (Princeton: 2005).

on place and time.⁴ Secularization, for its part, marked a decisive shift in the role of religion in individual lives or entire societies, even though there is no doubt that this has not led to a world without faiths.⁵ In fact, recent times have witnessed the powerful rise of so-called ‘world religions’, which are competing, often on a local scale but nourished by global models and discourses, for the emotional and moral embrace of the new adherents they covet.⁶ Yet for all its slowness and contradictions, the process of secularization has removed us irremediably from earlier ages, in which religious belonging shaped rigid social identities and created confessional geographies that often reproduced political maps, making the passage from one faith to another complex and traumatic. Due to secularization, in contrast, conversion has not only become much more frequent, but also more diffuse, as the term itself has undergone a notable semantic expansion. The phenomenon has thus lost its once exclusive bond with religion: today it may refer, for example, to a change of heart in the political, cultural or aesthetic sphere. Even here, however, there is a relationship between changed perceptions of space and the sense of uncertain belonging that led to a generalization of the meaning of ‘conversion’.

These considerations were at the heart of an international symposium about space and conversion that took place at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, in December 2011.⁷ It gathered leading scholars and young historians from many countries, specialists in the history of a wide variety of religious and social groups: Catholics and Protestants; renegades; Turkish, North-African and Central Asian Muslims; Sephardi, Ashkenazi and Italian Jews; Nahuas, Incas, Guarani, Chiquitos and Moxos; Eastern Christians; castes from Southern India. This volume results from some of the questions and the still tentative and partial answers that emerged during the discussions held at the symposium. Yet, however provisional the findings, they confirm the importance of studying the intersections between space and conversion. The book’s

4 Osterhammel J., *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: 2009).

5 See for instance Clark C. – Kaiser W. (eds.), *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: 2003). For today’s world see Adogame A. – Shankar S. (eds.), *Religion on the Move! New Dynamics of Religious Expansion in a Globalizing World* (Leiden – Boston: 2013); Contreras J. – Martínez de Codes R.M. (eds.), *Trends of Secularism in a Pluralistic World* (Madrid – Frankfurt am Main: 2013).

6 Ben-Rafael E. – Sternberg Y. (eds.), *World Religions and Multiculturalism: A Dialectic Relation* (Leiden – Boston: 2010).

7 The workshop was a joint initiative of the Faculty of Arts of the Scuola Normale Superiore and the research project ‘Beyond the Holy War’ (RBFRO8UX26) – Principal Investigator: Giuseppe Marocci.

chronology encompasses the early modern period, which saw a redefinition of the geographic frame of reference of a great part of humanity, associated with a simultaneous proliferation of conversion paths. A few contributions push the analysis into the nineteenth century, when some dynamics and trends of the previous four centuries are still in evidence.

The Pisa symposium shed light on many aspects that deserve in-depth analysis. We wish to stress three of them. First, it is important to consider the difference between ‘space’ and ‘place’ in the study of conversion processes, borrowing the terms of a debate especially intense among social scientists and geographers. Second, processes of conversion were often uncertain or unstable, and could even result in failure. Their spatial ramifications were thus equally unpredictable, also considering that the concept of conversion itself could have different meanings in the various religious and cultural contexts. Finally, it remains critical to consider ‘time’ alongside ‘space’. On the one hand, the deep transformation of cultural references resulting from conversion also involved temporal categories. On the other hand, despite the ostensibly basic unity of concepts like ‘religion’ and ‘conversion’, their meaning changed in the course of the early modern period up to the break, however incomplete, represented by secularization.

The recent historiography on conversion has been original and abundant. The impressive amount of research and publications it has produced has stimulated new questions and approaches, which go well beyond the field of religious history. As a result, conversion has come to be accepted as a central theme in history. It helps us to understand and interpret episodes of social transformation and resistance, to study the biographies of individuals who crossed cultural and political borders and changed religious identity, and thus to penetrate the thoughts and emotions of many people of the past.⁸ In this way conversion has become a key to reflect on the birth of the modern world.⁹

This volume proposes to rethink important results of this historiography in light of the ‘spatial turn’—a trend whose significance is confirmed by the more and more sophisticated and persuasive studies conceptualized as ‘global

8 García-Arenal M. – Wiegiers G., *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: 2003); Davis N.Z., *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: 2006); Subrahmanyam S., *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, MA: 2011).

9 Conversion may be understood as a typical example of the shifting identities that are frequently a substantial part of the work in global history. Despite an emphasis on religion, conversion is not taken into consideration by Bayly C.A., *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: 2004).

history' or 'connected history'.¹⁰ These approaches invite us to reconsider events and processes often taken for granted by placing them on different scales and varying the analytic focuses with which we study them.¹¹ As a consequence of so many intriguing and heterogeneous directions, the current historiography on conversion tends to be fragmented in time and space. Generally speaking, the early modern era has received much more attention than other periods, while geographic areas and contexts have generally been studied independently from each other. One of the aims of this volume is to connect the different fields of research by adopting a wider but consistent chronology, while focusing on conversion through the lens of space. Therefore our approach has been multifaceted, and our scale global. We have taken advantage of current research and existing literature on specific aspects: for instance, by bringing the extremely productive work on conversion and confessionalisation in early modern Europe in conversation with the ever-developing scholarship on Catholic missions outside of Europe, and by examining the differences between the Islamization and Christianization of space.¹² Of course, we do not deny that it is important to emphasize chronological discontinuities, religious

-
- 10 Among the recent scholarship most relevant for our purposes, see Subrahmanyam S., "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia", *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997) 735–762; "Une histoire à l'échelle globale", *Annales HSS* 56/1 (2001); Subrahmanyam S., *Explorations in Connected History* (New Delhi: 2005); Gruzinski S., *Les quatre parties du monde: Histoire d'une mondialisation* (Paris: 2004).
- 11 Hopkins A.G. (ed.), *Global History: Interactions between the Universal and the Local* (London: 2006); Manning P. (ed.), *World History: Global and Local Interactions* (Princeton: 2006); Douki C. – Minard P., "Pour un changement d'échelle historiographique", in Testot L. (ed.), *Histoire globale: Un nouveau regard sur le monde* (Auxerre: 2008) 161–176.
- 12 On conversion and confessionalisation see Pitassi M.-C. – Solfaroli Camillocci D. (eds.), *Les modes de la conversion confessionnelle à l'Époque moderne: Autobiographie, altérité et construction des identités religieuses* (Florence: 2010); "Conversions in Early Modern Europe: Initiated by Martin Elbel", *Colloquia. Journal of Central European History* 15 (2008) 104–127 (discussion with J. Deventer, U. Lotz-Heumann, R. Po-chia Hsia, K. Luria, R. Pörtner, K. Siebenhüner, A. Walsham). On Catholic missions see Fabre P.-A. – Vincent B. (eds.), *Missions religieuses modernes: "Notre lieu est le monde"* (Rome: 2007); Castelnau-L'Estoile C. – Copete M.-L. – Maldivsky A. – Zupanov I.G. (eds.), *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des savoirs* (Madrid: 2011). See also Po-chia Hsia R. (ed.), *Reform and Expansion, 1500–1660* (Cambridge: 2008). On conversion to Islam and Islamization see García-Arenal M. (ed.), *Islamic Conversions: Religious Identities in Mediterranean Islam* (Paris: 2001); Luz N., "Aspects of Islamization of Space and Society in Mamluk Jerusalem and its Hinterland", *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002) 133–154; Bear M.D., "The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 36 (2004) 159–181. A recent study linking conversion and

peculiarities, and the irreducibility of some regional or local phenomena to a more general level of explanation. We only mean to suggest that a selection of case studies about the still largely unexplored link between conversion and spatial context offers a different, and potentially very productive, point of view and puts new questions on the table. In pursuing this goal, we wish to take up and extend to other religious contexts the successful experiment of the volume *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, edited by Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, and their ambition ‘to spark new thinking about religious conversion across disciplines and various subfields of history’.¹³

Our starting point is the notion of conversion as ‘metanoia’, a transformation of religious belonging. This was often entangled with a transformation of space, not only physical space—particularly sacred space (the subject of a book by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer that was a point of reference for our work)¹⁴—but also the space of interiority, that is the intertwining of religious conversion and the evolution of the self (individual conscience, sentiments, emotions, and autobiography). It is well known that the inner dimension of conversion was often a true battlefield, a point highlighted especially in research on the Jews.¹⁵ It influenced the gradual definition of the notion of ‘person’, as Adriano Prospero has shown for the early-modern Catholic world.¹⁶ Not by chance, conversion was often a passage relating to the birth or the death of individuals.¹⁷ It also gave rise to a specific literary genre, the conversion narrative.¹⁸ This said, as the conversion process unfolded in the privacy of the self, it frequently had a spatial representation too, as many writings and paintings show.¹⁹

place is Menegon E., *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2009).

- 13 Mills K. – Grafton A. (eds.), *Conversion: Old Worlds and New* (Rochester, NY: 2003) ix.
- 14 Coster W. – Spicer A. (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2005).
- 15 In a very rich literature see, for the Ashkenazi world, Carlebach E., *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven: 2001), and, for the Sephardic world, Graizbord D.L., *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580–1700* (Philadelphia: 2004).
- 16 Prospero A. (ed.), *Salvezza delle anime, disciplina dei corpi: Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo* (Pisa: 2006).
- 17 Ramos G., *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532–1670* (Notre Dame, IN: 2010).
- 18 Mazur P. – Shinn A. (eds.), “Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013) 427–584.
- 19 Stelling L. – Hendrix H. – Richardson T. (eds.), *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature* (Leiden – Boston: 2013).

From the point of view of institutional and social history, conversion often implied isolation, as in the houses of catechumens and other similar institutions, or segregation, especially in the case of minority groups or converts subject to discrimination, enclosed in areas of confinement or special neighbourhoods. However, these spaces were permeable and became a stage for the differentiated agency of individuals. Moreover, conversion was a potential factor of change, transformation, and re-appropriation of urban areas (in terms of topography and toponomy, architecture and buildings), as well as rural villages and landscapes (as evidenced, for example, by the foundation or disappearance of localities, the re-purposing of art and the alteration of local lifestyles). Historiography has considered urban areas more open to conversion than rural ones. Big cities, especially, offered the convert anonymity, a space to redefine her or his status, and a new place of social belonging. In addition, cities like Jerusalem or (for Catholics) Rome had a special power of attraction, becoming a kind of universal reference point. Accordingly, historians have correctly recognized and emphasized the role urban areas played as a stage of conversion.²⁰ However, the rural dimension seems to be more complex than they have allowed, not only because roads and paths could turn the countryside into a space of communication and connection (a characteristic shared with the seas), but also because small towns and villages at times permitted cross-cultural encounters in a way that big cities did not, thus encouraging conversion. This distinction is extremely interesting, because it makes us wonder if urban conversions required closed institutions or quarters, while rural ones might be facilitated by less-controlled interconfessional interactions. Considered from this point of view, the country and the forest may unexpectedly appear to be spaces of relative freedom, where it was possible to apostatize, to convert, or to reconvert to one's former religion.

Moreover, the centuries this book explores, especially during phases of greater power of Eurasian empires, saw episodes of conquest and settlement that caused religious reconfigurations of cities, villages, regions, and even entire societies. Since the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the work of proselytization and the resulting conversions encompassed ever larger distances—from central and South Asia to the African coasts, from Europe to the Americas—sometimes reviving dreams of universal conversion. Inevitably, this process was accompanied by increased movements of missionaries and

20 An interesting article about the urban context is Brockey L.M., "Jesuit Pastoral Theater on an Urban Stage: Lisbon, 1588–1593", *Journal of Early Modern History* 9 (2005) 1–50. See also Xavier A. Barreto, *A Invenção de Goa: Poder imperial e conversões culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: 2008).

religious agents, converts and, not uncommonly, those who tried to avoid conversion, which could be imposed by violent means. Indeed, another element that our approach allows us better to understand is the violation of established religious spaces for the sake of future converts—a violation that was not only physical, but cultural as well. This was particularly true where the conversion and reappropriation of sacred spaces involved negotiation with local elites, no matter how ambivalent they were about adopting the new faith.

Thus our challenge is to consider together a variety of conversion processes relating to space in the early modern world. This requires that we pay special attention to the ways in which global studies have contributed to our understanding of the dynamics of connection, integration, and hybridization characteristic of the intensification in human relations from the fifteenth century onwards. Therefore this volume has a comparative structure, but also deploys a set of analytical tools befitting a global approach: not only a wide-ranging geographic scope encompassing four continents (Africa, America, Asia, and Europe), but above all the study of instances of circularity and exchange across political and cultural borders, the shift in focus from micro- to macro-levels, the inclusion of a plurality of viewpoints, cultures and religions, and a refusal to follow one or another as more representative or characteristic.²¹ In adopting these tools, we believe that this book will be a contribution to the field of global history as well.

The thirteen essays collected in this volume have been organized in such a way as to reflect this approach. In fact, the common themes that emerge from them go well beyond the central issue of space. Yet the spatial anchor makes it possible to highlight them all the better in that it frees our reflection from the temporal boundaries and specific contexts that demarcate each specialized contribution. Therefore we have grouped the essays not according to conventional chronological or geographic criteria but in terms of three pairs of concepts which, as argued above, are particularly significant in global studies: city-country, segregation-permeability, and distance-mobility. Thus, for example, the uses of urban space in Granada or Rome (discussed by García-Arenal and Prospero) may be compared with the role of the Palestinian countryside as a space of conversion (Tramontana). The tension between segregation or seclusion and the possibility of communication and exchange is highlighted in different ways in essays on a penitential neighbourhood in Lisbon, a Roman

21 See the remarks on this topic by Trivellato F., “Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?,” *Californian Italian Studies* 2 (2011) 1–26; Andrade T., “A Chinese Farmer, Two Black Boys and a Warlord: Towards a Global Microhistory,” *Journal of World History* 21 (2010) 573–591.

hospital, Paraguayan missions, and a model for a Jesuit church in India (Mateus, Fosi, Wilde and Aranha). Experiences and spaces of travel are fundamental to some forms of conversion, as essays on the Mediterranean and Atlantic suggest (Marcocci, Colombo-Sacsonaghi), while the significance of distance is evident in chapters by Maldavsky and Zemtsova.

Yet this structure—and the analytical categories that underlie it—is suggestive rather than absolute. Some essays illuminate several different categories; and the ties that hold the volume together are by no means limited to those conveyed by its chapter organization. Among other common themes we may point to places and institutions specifically dedicated to conversion, such as the college of spiritual re-education studied by Mateus, Jesuit *reducciones* in Paraguay (Wilde), and convents in the Bethlehem area (Tramontana). Other spaces were less specifically devoted to conversions. Hospitals (discussed by Fosi as well as Colombo-Sacsonaghi) or public squares where executions took place (Prosperi) were not primarily set up for conversions, but proved particularly effective for this purpose because of the weak condition in which the sick and the condemned found themselves. The vulnerability of the body, which was especially acute on the scaffold and in a place of cure like a hospital, where life was much more at risk in early modern times than it is today, was also on display on board ships, as Marcocci and Colombo-Sacsonaghi suggest in their complementary essays. Corresponding with this weakness, which is similarly present in Mateus's contribution, where the illness of penitents is one reason for the production of sources that allow us to know them, is the question of constraint and domination, which returns throughout the volume.

In fact, constraint and political domination are essential in the conversion of spaces through the Christianization of their inhabitants and the transformation of public buildings. These strategies are pursued with particular vigour in the context of military conquests. The two most significant examples featured in this book are those of Granada and Cuzco, studied by García-Arenal and Ramos, respectively. As Muslim and Andean spaces, both cities symbolize in the eyes of their Castilian conquerors the power of the conquered. Their religious conversion is thus a high-stakes political endeavour on which the exercise of sovereignty depends. The same dynamic of conquest of space and domination of indigenous peoples helps explain why the Peruvian *encomenderos* studied by Maldavsky wished to sponsor the missionary orders.

Nevertheless, multiple case studies presented in this book indicate that military and political force was insufficient to achieve the religious transformation of a space and its inhabitants without their consent and without good reasons for them to submit and adhere to the new faith. This becomes

evident when one lends an attentive ear to the socio-political motivations of sixteenth-century Inca elites, the Guarani caciques of Paraguay and the apostates of the middle-Volga region in nineteenth-century Russia (Ramos, Wilde and Zemtsova). Such motives might include the recognition and legitimation of local powers, as well as the emergence of new colonial elites. Constraint and submission are only one side of the conversion process, regardless of whether they involve spaces or persons. Missionaries themselves were not misguided in adapting church interiors to the local caste system, as was the case in South India (Aranha); and, in any case, they did so without fundamentally overturning their hierarchical conception of society.

The ability of converts to affect the ways in which they and their living spaces were transformed transpires in numerous instances. This discovery, made possible by current historical approaches, allows us to understand processes of conversion no longer as projects decided, conceived, and executed exclusively by conquerors, governors, missionaries and other agents, but—in a more complex fashion—as socio-cultural processes that were frequently shifting, ambiguous, and marked by advances and reverses. For this reason these processes can in no way be reduced to a linear, easily identifiable trajectory. That is evidently the case for the Guarani populations of Paraguay, whose traditional chiefs negotiated their conversion and administration by the Jesuits in a context of colonial pressure and great insecurity, but without ever renouncing their parentage relations: thus they established an ambiguous pattern of coming and going between the Christianized space of the mission and that, supposedly pagan, of the forest. One encounters a similar ambiguity in the conversion of Mohammed el-Attaz: after having turned Jesuit and assumed the name Baldassare Loyola, he remained eager for contacts with the Muslims on whom he had turned his back in adopting Catholicism. And if the interest in Christian burial sites by traditional elites of Cuzco arose from their quest for political legitimacy, it also reflected their keen sense of the ambiguity of these spaces, which were often ancient, non-Christian temple grounds. In a similar fashion we need to understand the apostasies of nineteenth-century populations in the Volga region as they navigated between Islam and Orthodoxy on the tide of political opportunity. In short, the focus on space allows us to capture not only the stakes of conversion for conquerors and other authorities but also the ways in which the converts deployed their agency and developed strategies of resistance, negotiation, and survival. Here we also reach a limit: even as we consider the subjects of conversion, we do not pretend to make pronouncements about the sincerity with which they changed their faith.

Selective Bibliography

- Adogame A. – Shankar S. (eds.), *Religion on the Move! New Dynamics of Religious Expansion in a Globalizing World* (Leiden – Boston: 2013).
- Bayly C.A., *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: 2004).
- Bear M.D., “The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul”, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 36 (2004) 159–181.
- Ben-Rafael E. – Sternberg Y. (eds.), *World Religions and Multiculturalism: A Dialectic Relation* (Leiden – Boston: 2010).
- Carlebach E., *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven: 2001).
- Castelnaud-L’Estoile C. – Copete M.-L. – Maldavsky A. – Županov I.G. (eds.), *Missions d’évangélisation et circulation des savoirs* (Madrid: 2011).
- Contreras J. – Martínez de Codes R.M. (eds.), *Trends of Secularism in a Pluralistic World* (Madrid – Frankfurt am Main: 2013).
- “Conversions in Early Modern Europe: Initiated by Martin Elbel”, *Colloquia. Journal of Central European History* 15 (2008) 104–127 (discussion with J. Deventer, U. Lotz-Heumann, R. Po-chia Hsia, K. Luria, R. Pörtner, K. Siebenhüner, A. Walsham).
- Coster W. – Spicer A. (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2005).
- Douki C. – Minard P., “Pour un changement d’échelle historiographique”, in Testot L. (ed.), *Histoire globale: Un nouveau regard sur le monde* (Auxerre: 2008) 161–176.
- Fabre P.-A. – Vincent B. (eds.), *Missions religieuses modernes: “Notre lieu est le monde”* (Rome: 2007).
- García-Arenal M. (ed.), *Islamic Conversions: Religious Identities in Mediterranean Islam* (Paris: 2001).
- Graizbord D.L., *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580–1700* (Philadelphia: 2004).
- Hopkins A.G. (ed.), *Global History: Interactions between the Universal and the Local* (London: 2006).
- Luz N., “Aspects of Islamization of Space and Society in Mamluk Jerusalem and its Hinterland”, *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002) 133–154.
- Manning P. (ed.), *World History: Global and Local Interactions* (Princeton: 2006).
- Mazur P. – Shinn A. (eds.), “Conversion Narratives in the Early Modern World”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013) 427–584.
- Menegon E., *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2009).
- Mills K. – Grafton A. (eds.), *Conversion: Old Worlds and New* (Rochester, NY: 2003).
- Pitassi M.-C. – Solfaroli Camillocci D. (eds.), *Les modes de la conversion confessionnelle à l’Époque moderne: Autobiographie, altérité et construction des identités religieuses* (Florence: 2010).

- Prosperi A. (ed.), *Salvezza delle anime, disciplina dei corpi: Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo* (Pisa: 2006).
- Ramos G., *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532–1670* (Notre Dame, IN: 2010).
- Stelling L. – Hendrix H. – Richardson T. (eds.), *The Turn of the Soul: Representations of Religious Conversion in Early Modern Art and Literature* (Leiden – Boston: 2013).
- Subrahmanyam S., *Explorations in Connected History* (New Delhi: 2005).
- Xavier A. Barreto, *A Invenção de Goa: Poder imperial and conversões culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: 2008).

PART 1

City and Country



Granada as a New Jerusalem: The Conversion of a City

Mercedes García-Arenal

O senyor omnipotente
Dios eterno trino y uno
no quede moro ninguno.

No quede perseguidor
de tu santa fe bendita
por questa gente maldita
no nos ponga más temor
porque en su santa loor
todos sean de consuno
no quede moro ninguno.

Ni judíos ni paganos
no permitas que en la tierra
quítanos aquesta guerra
venga de tus santas manos
porque todos como hermanos
nos amemos de consuno
no quede moro ninguno.

Mighty Father, greatest Lord,
living God both Three and One,
of the Moors let there be none.

May no man now cast a blot
on the faith we hold so dear,
and may we no longer fear
those who bear the cursèd spot.
In the praise that is Your lot
let all people join as one;
of the Moors let there be none.

Cleanse the pagan and the Jew
from the earth that is our stage;
let this war no longer rage.
With Your blessed hands should You
make us all be brothers too,
so that all may love as one;
of the Moors let there be none.

This *villancico* or ballad was composed around 1506 to commemorate the conquest of Oran in North Africa by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros in 1506, an event that inspired an intense wave of eschatological fervour. The ballad, which circulated widely, refers to the conversion of all Muslims to Catholicism (and their consequent disappearance as Muslims) rather than

* The research for this paper is part of the project 'Islam and religious dissidence in Catholic and Protestant Europe' (FILOF2010, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas), of which the author is Principal Investigator.

to their expulsion or extermination.¹ It was composed in the aftermath of an event in which Cisneros had taken a leading role just a few years before: the forced conversion to Christianity, in 1502, of all the Muslims in the Kingdom of Castile. The conversion order, in turn, was the consequence of the severe measures imposed on the Muslims that had led to their armed revolt in the Albaicín quarter of Granada in December 1499—measures that Cisneros himself had been largely responsible for putting in place. The rebellion had the effect of cancelling the terms of the treaty of surrender (the *Capitulaciones*) to which Granada had agreed ten years before. The ballad expresses the Christians' fear that there would be no chance for peace or concord in the kingdom, or even on the whole earth, unless pagans (Muslims) and Jews vanished, leaving all the rest to be 'as one' (believers in a single religion) and to live in love and brotherhood. The chronicler Luis del Mármol Carvajal expressed a similar thought, speaking particularly about the Granadans, when he employed the terms 'peace', 'love', and 'loyalty': 'For it was a fact that the natives of [the Kingdom of Granada] never lived in peace and love with the Christians, nor did they retain their loyalty to the monarchs, so long as they followed the rites and ceremonies of the Mohammedan sect.'² These messianic sentiments also implied a new concept of the state and a new definition of the subjects of the Crown, whose loyalty became identified with their status as Christians. All subjects had to be converted. This chapter deals with the conversion of a whole city, Granada, of symbolic and emblematic meaning for the whole of the Hispanic Monarchy. A space in which conversion was enacted and imposed on its recently conquered population, it was both a space of conversion and a converted space. Because of conversion, Granada became a sacred space right at the core of the Catholic Monarchs' plans for constructing and legitimating their own royal power.

The Conquest of the Kingdom

The war in which Castile conquered the Kingdom of Granada, the last area of the Iberian peninsula still under Muslim political rule, took place between 1485 and 1491, and ended with the negotiated surrender of the kingdom's

1 Andrés Díaz R. de, "Fiestas y espectáculos en las 'Relaciones Góticas del siglo XVI'", *En la España Medieval* 14 (1991) 307–336; Ladero Quesada M.Á., "Los bautismos de los musulmanes granadinos en 1500", in *De mudéjares a moriscos, una conversión forzada: Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo* (Teruel: 2002), vol. 1, 481–542, at 481.

2 Mármol Carvajal Luis del, *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los Moriscos del reyno de Granada* (Málaga, Juan René: 1600; reprint, Málaga: 1991) 153.

capital city in December 1491. This war had been preceded by almost two centuries during which, along the broad frontier between Islamic and Christian territories, commerce was practiced, raids were mounted, fortified towns were won and lost, and captives were taken and ransomed. Bandits fleeing from justice on their own side also moved across the border. During the two centuries' existence of the Muslim Kingdom of Granada and the special frontier environment that it created in the peninsula, it was very common for members of the elite—individuals who wanted to retain their elite status even if the frontier shifted—to make a religious conversion. On both sides of the line it was religion that defined the elite class, together with a shared set of aristocratic codes and ideals. Throughout the fifteenth century, persons of noble origin were converting continually; this fact gave rise to such well-known phenomena as the Moorish guard of Kings John II and Henry IV of Castile.³ A sort of Praetorian Guard made up of Muslim knights, most of them from families that had fallen out of favour with the current King of Granada, these men would appear in the royal camp to place themselves at the service of the King of Castile; they were prepared either to return to Granada if the political situation there changed, or to stay and convert to Christianity. On other occasions, residents of the frontier would offer to surrender a fortified town and convert in exchange for certain privileges. The Castilian-Granadan frontier had developed institutions like courts in which two judges, a Muslim *qāḍī bayna l-mulūk* and a Christian *juez de la frontera*, would preside together over cases that involved persons of different faiths. What mattered in these instances was not primarily the religion of those concerned; rather, the authority of the monarchs of Granada and/or Castile was presented and put into force. Another institution, the *alfaqueque*—a person who negotiated the ransoming of captives—made of the frontier not a line of demarcation or separation but a series of interconnected relationships that reached far into the interior of both kingdoms.

When we consider how the residents of the Kingdom of Granada converted to Christianity we must take into account—something that has not always been done—the nature of this frontier and the structures to which it had given rise, especially during the twenty years of the so-called War of Granada. Christian kings, lacking sufficient resources, needed the collaboration of certain elements of the Muslim population. The spread of Christianity would have proved more difficult if it had not been marked by a gradual process of adaptation. As John Lynch has said in regard to the almost contemporaneous process in Mexico, 'Spaniards preserved their religion without surrendering

3 Echevarría A., *Caballeros de la frontera: La guardia morisca de los Reyes de Castilla, 1410–1467* (Madrid: 2006).

to cultural relativism, and Indians clung to the reserves of their own culture without challenging Christian beliefs.⁴ The aim was not so much conversion as incorporation, and this incorporation had to be accomplished, at least in part, with the collaboration of the Muslim elites.⁵ In the case of Granada, *alfaquíes* or religious authorities played a crucial role as intermediaries in agreements and treaties of surrender; they further served as exemplars when some of the most prominent among them converted to Christianity.⁶ We are speaking here of cases which occurred from before the city's conquest up until the early sixteenth century, and which involved conversions by leading families and individuals of the Nasrid elite. A well-known instance from the final decades of the fifteenth century was the conversion of Sidi Yahya al-Najjar, lord of Baza, Almería and Guadix and cousin of El Zagal. He was the son of Prince Abenzelín [Ibn Salim], an opponent of *el Rey Chico* ('the Little King'). He surrendered Baza, of which he was governor, after a five-month siege in 1489, and from that time onward, after Sidi Yahya's own conversion, the entire family entered the service of the Christian monarchs.⁷ The new converts were Sidi Yahya himself, who assumed the name of Pedro de Granada Venegas; his son Alfonso, *veinticuatro* (one of twenty-four city councillors) of Granada and chief Arabic interpreter; and his grandson Alfonso, another *veinticuatro*. Governors and residents of the *Generalife*, they were all knights of the military-religious Order of Santiago (which would later become known for requiring proof of its members' 'purity of blood') and also of the Order of Calatrava, for which they supplied detailed genealogical information.⁸ Pedro Venegas took part in the conquest of the city

4 Lynch J., *New Worlds: A Religious History of Latin America* (New Haven: 2012).

5 This type of collaboration among elites has recently been studied by historians like Galán Sánchez and Soria Mesa.

6 Galán Sánchez Á., "Fuqaha' y musulmanes vencidos en el Reino de Granada (1485–1520)", in Echevarría A. (ed.), *Biografías mudéjares o la experiencia de ser minoría: Biografías islámicas en la España cristiana* (Madrid: 2008) 329–384.

7 Real Academia de la Historia [henceforth RAH], Salazar y Castro, B-86 9, fol. 28r. The king accepted him, his sons and his nephews as vassals, 'por más servís a Dios y a mí en lo restante de la conquista que desta manera seréis más parte y porque vuestra gente de guerra no os deje y se pase con nuestros enemigos y para remedio desto queriendo vos recibir el santo Baptismo, lo reseceviréis en mi cámara secretamente de manera que no lo sepan los moros hasta hecha la entrega de Guadix'.

8 Caro Baroja J., *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada: Ensayo de historia social* (Madrid: 1957) 102; RAH, Salazar y Castro, D-49.

of Granada, and seems to have been responsible for converting the Mosque of the Penitents (*al-Tāʾibīn*) into the church known as San Juan de los Reyes.⁹

Granada Conquered

The city of Granada was taken by Christian forces at the beginning of January 1492, after the signing of a surrender agreement that had been negotiated during the final months of the previous year. Known as the Capitulations (*Capitulaciones*), this agreement was particularly favourable to the conquered, because the Catholic Monarchs felt an urgent need to end the war as soon as possible. Like every royal treaty, it rested on the solemn word of the king; therefore the Nasrid prince known as El Zagal, to show that the Muslim authorities were well acquainted with Christian laws and customs, asked that it be ratified by the Holy See. It is curious to find a Muslim prince approaching the papal Curia in Rome for mediation and guarantees, but in any event the transfer of power was accomplished with unusual calm and good order. Contemporary accounts speak of the sorrow of the conquered—some 60,000 to 70,000 souls—and of their incredulity in the face of their kingdom's defeat, but also of their belief that their situation would not suffer any dramatic change.

The Capitulations offered generous terms to the vanquished: these included the legal practice of Islam, but at the same time all possible assistance to those Muslims who preferred to emigrate to North Africa.¹⁰ Similar agreements had been signed in earlier years with other conquered areas of the kingdom, and many of those capitulations had been welcomed by the local population:

Soon the towns and fortresses of Junquera, Burgo, Monda and Tolox surrendered [...] and their Moorish inhabitants were glad to become Mudejars and vassals of the Catholic Monarchs, for they were offered very honourable conditions. They swore according to their law that they would be the Monarchs' loyal vassals and would obey their decrees and orders and go to war at their command and present them with all the

9 García-Arenal M. – Rodríguez Mediano F., *Un Oriente español: Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: 2010) 80; English trans. *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden – Boston: 2013) 70.

10 Garrido Atienza M., *Las capitulaciones para la toma de Granada* (Granada: 1910; reprint: Granada: 1992).

tributes, taxes and duties that they had been used to pay to their Moorish kings, and would do so faithfully without any fraud or deceit.¹¹

The Capitulations of Granada were in accord with the medieval practice by which pacts had been made with resident Muslims, known as Mudejars: these pacts recognized Islam as a legal religion which the Muslims of the kingdom were entitled to uphold and practice, while still maintaining their status as 'loyal vassals'. They were further entitled to be ruled by their own authorities in matters of family and personal law, and to a considerable extent of civil and penal law as well. In Granada the Christian authorities in the early years were scrupulous in upholding the Capitulations, so that the city, whose population was overwhelmingly Muslim, in effect harboured two parallel societies, each with its own government. Its municipal structures and authorities continued to be what they had been in Nasrid times; therefore the Muslims of both the city and the kingdom were living, in the first post-conquest years, essentially as they had lived one hundred years before. If their taxes were heavy, they had been even more so under the Nasrids. Unlike some other cities like Málaga, Granada in these years was home to a very small number of Christian inhabitants: there were only 470 of them in 1495.¹² Outside Granada's walls, Ferdinand and Isabella had built a temporary satellite city called Santa Fe as a base for the Christian army; remaining on the spot until May 1492, they resided in Granada and Santa Fe by turns. At first, events seemed to proceed in a spirit of moderation and respect for the vanquished.

There was no indication in those years that the Monarchs intended anything but obedience to what had been negotiated: in 1497 they even allowed Portuguese Mudejars who had been expelled from their country to enter the Kingdom of Castile. An enormous bibliography has grown up around the question of what could have happened between the signing of the Capitulations, with their promise of continuity, and the forced mass conversions that began in 1499 under Cardinal Cisneros. That new reality inspired the state of affairs and ideas that is reflected in the ballad quoted above. My present purpose is to discuss the ballad's ideology of messianism and total conversion: in the post-conquest years it existed in conflict and tension with the policy of respect for pacts and capitulations, only to emerge triumphant. I will also place conversion within the framework of the Catholic Monarchs' plans for constructing

11 Mármol Carvajal, *Historia* 47.

12 Galán Sánchez Á., *Una sociedad en transición: Los granadinos de mudéjares a moriscos* (Granada: 2010) 25–26.

and legitimating their own royal power. We will be exploring an extraordinary place and time whose complex aspects are still too little known.¹³

Granada, the New Jerusalem

For over a century Granada had represented, for the Christians of the Iberian peninsula, a messianic faith in a revitalized Christendom.¹⁴ The Catholic Monarchs had proclaimed the war on Granada as a crusade, a designation that had been essential for raising the large sums of money required and obtaining the support of the Holy See; it also nourished an eschatological frame of mind that lent Ferdinand and Isabella a much-needed legitimacy. The Catholic Queen had ascended the throne after a prolonged civil war that—although she had won it—had left large numbers of her subjects unconvinced that she was the legitimate successor. For centuries the struggle against Islam had served to legitimate the kings of Castile, but the issue was even more important in the present case. The army quartered in Santa Fe (the city that had been built next to Granada during the siege) included not only soldiers from all over Spain but also Italian, German, Swiss, French, and English troops; these had come to join in the grand project of conquering the last Muslim enclave in Europe, an enterprise that was seen in Rome and in all of Europe as a true crusade. Divine Providence would grant victory over Granada to the Catholic Monarchs and to the Cross—a Cross which, in a fitting gesture and one of the first after their triumphal entry, Ferdinand and Isabella would place on the Alhambra's highest tower, where it overlooked the whole city. The conquest was interpreted in providentialist terms: it provoked an intense messianic fervour that foresaw the end of Islam and the joining of all humanity under a single king, a single shepherd. After 1492 the order of the Monarchs' titles was changed so that Granada came first, even before Toledo, 'so that the grace that God gave to us and to all our kingdoms may live in memory'; they were also given the title 'Monarchs of Jerusalem.'¹⁵ Thus Granada took on the features of a New Jerusalem.

13 A modest but fascinating approach to the issue is Prospero A., *Il seme dell'intolleranza: Ebrei, eretici, selvaggi: Granada 1492* (Rome: 2011).

14 Pastore S., *Il Vangelo e la spada: L'Inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici, 1460–1598* (Rome: 2003) 108–110.

15 Vincent B., "De la Granada mudéjar a la Granada europea", in Ladero Quesada M.Á. (ed.), *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla: Actas del Symposium Conmemorativo del Quinto Centenario* (Granada: 1993) 307–319, at 309.

Therefore for a number of years, two different systems coexisted in Granada: the medieval agreements that I described in the previous section, typical of the Iberian kingdoms, in which monarchs had vassals of different religions; and the 'modern' view of royal power that did not countenance that subjects could follow a religion other than their king's. The expulsion of the Jews, also accomplished in 1492, is a good illustration of the latter; so is the conquest of America, begun in the same year and imbued with a messianic desire for universal conversion and a reestablishment of the early Church.¹⁶ The notion that subjects should have a single religion and that it should be that of the king is but one of a number of legal and social transformations that herald the modern state. In Granada, new ideas arose about the 'nature' and condition of the king's vassals, the structure of the state, and the relationship between the Church and royal power.

A leading figure in this whole process was the Hieronymite friar Hernando de Talavera, a person of supreme importance and of great political and intellectual stature who has been the object of renewed attention in recent years.¹⁷ He was confessor to Isabella the Catholic, and she and Ferdinand named him Granada's first archbishop with explicit orders to 'carry forward the banner of the Cross, and since by its virtue we have conquered, let it claim the triumph'.¹⁸ Talavera, who was sixty years old on assuming the archbishop's mantle in 1493, already had an impressive ecclesiastical and political career behind him. He had played a fundamental role, above all, in initiating measures that would

16 Milhou A., *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español* (Valladolid: 1983).

17 Since Pastore's abovementioned book, several others have appeared: they include Vega M.J., *Fray Hernando de Talavera y Granada* (Granada: 2007); Ianuzzi I., *El poder de la palabra en el siglo xv: Fray Hernando de Talavera* (Valladolid: 2009); Martínez Medina F.J. – Biersack M., *Fray Hernando de Talavera: Primer arzobispo de Granada: Hombre de iglesia, estado y letras* (Granada: 2011). There is a new edition of Talavera Hernando de, *Católica impugnación: Del herético libelo maldito y descomulgado, que el año pasado del nacimiento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo de mil y cuatrocientos y ochenta años fué divulgado en la ciudad de Sevilla*, ed. F. Márquez Villanueva with an introduction by S. Pastore (Córdoba: 2012).

18 Bermúdez de Pedraza Francisco, *Historia eclesiástica de Granada* (Granada, Andrés de Santiago: 1638, reprint, Granada: 1989) 172: 'En entrando los Reyes triunfantes en Granada le nombraron por Arzobispo della. Cumpliose así su vaticinio de ser Obispo de Granada. En llegando a las puertas de la ciudad le dijeron los Reyes: pues ha llegado padre el tiempo tan deseado de nosotros y de vos, comenzad a ejercer oficio de Arzobispo en Granada: "llevad delante la bandera de la Cruz pues en su virtud hemos vencido, sea el triunfo suyo"':

lead to the creation of a state Church, one that was subordinate to the Crown and as free as possible from Rome.¹⁹ Those measures were set forth in the so-called *Privilegio Real y de Presentación*, obtained before the conquest of Granada but applied chiefly afterward. By virtue of these privileges the Crown was free to build and endow churches, monasteries, cathedrals and parishes, as well as to present to Rome men of its own choosing for ecclesiastical appointments. This ability to select the clergy for every local church meant that the appointees became, in the language of the time, ‘creatures and servants’ (‘hechuras y criados’) of the king. With Talavera’s planning and help, the count of Tendilla, Íñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones, obtained these privileges from Pope Innocent VIII through a series of bulls granted in 1486.²⁰ For example, with the bull *Dum ad illam* of August 1486 the Holy See authorized Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza and the archbishop of Seville, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Quiñones, to erect churches in the areas of the Kingdom of Granada that were yet to be conquered: ‘let cathedrals and collegiate churches flourish in those places where, after their occupation by the infidels, worship had been totally abandoned’. Note that in this text, inspired by Talavera, the implicit idea is that Christian worship is to be ‘restored’, an important concept to which I shall return. The last bull, *Ortodoxae fidei* of 13 December 1486, made the greatest concessions: giving to Ferdinand and Isabella *plenum ius patronatus et praesentandi*, it accorded them full use of royal patronage and presentation. These singular privileges applied to the Kingdom of Granada, the Canary Islands, and the Royal Port of Cadiz. In this manner the Monarchs obtained almost absolute power over the Church in those regions; after long diplomatic struggles, they were invested with the ecclesiastical rights that rulers coveted the most. These were the first steps in the transformation of the medieval political order: they nullified certain aspects of Rome’s international jurisdiction and made those faculties and powers revert to the person of the king. They initiated an absolute monarchical rule that negated earlier patterns and would evolve in the direction of a new political form of dominance.

The first persons to hold power in newly Christian Granada were Íñigo López de Mendoza, count of Tendilla, Hernando de Talavera, and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, military conqueror of the city; all of them had helped to design

19 He took part in drawing up the *Instrucciones de los reyes al conde de Tendilla, a Juan Arias, deán de Sevilla y a Juan Ruiz de Medina, para la embajada a Roma*, 20 January 1486, in Suárez Fernández L. (ed.), *Política internacional de Isabel la Católica: Estudios y documentos*, 5 vols. (Valladolid: 1965–1972), vol. II, 339–360.

20 In this matter I follow Suberbiola Martínez J., *Real Patronato de Granada: El arzobispo Talavera, la Iglesia y el Estado Moderno (1486–1516): Estudio y documentos* (Granada: 1985).

the new system of royal patronage.²¹ Talavera, archbishop of Granada from January 1493 onward, as a result of those privileges was placed by the Crown at the service of the state. On his investiture, the suffragan bishoprics of Málaga, Almería and Guadix were mapped out and placed under his jurisdiction.

The royal *Patronato* of Granada then embarked on a new period in which religion as an *instrumentum regni* was rapidly imposed, incorporating the new techniques, methods and strategies put in place by Talavera; he was without doubt, among the ecclesiastics of his time, the most skilled in inspiring and leading the new state Church. He began by requiring and supplying education for the clerics who served under him: through designation of funds, a merit system for prelates who wished to serve in official posts in the archdiocese, transformation of those prelates into an intellectual force, modern devotional practices and the use of religion as an *instrumentum regni*, he expanded this new state Church until it became virtually a national one.

The fact was that the Kingdom of Granada presented a unique challenge and also a remarkable opportunity. It did not carry the heavy medieval baggage that weighed down the other Hispanic kingdoms; it offered the chance to create a new society and a revitalized Church. That Church would also (among other things) take charge of evangelization and catechization, and of incorporating the residents of the former Nasrid kingdom into Castilian culture and Catholic religion. Ecclesiastical control would be very strong, but it would also be at the service of the Crown. The special circumstances that coincided in newly Christian Granada allowed for a singular and unique regime that far surpassed the aspirations of medieval and early modern kings.

Talavera, in his person and in his pastoral and political acts in Granada, united evangelism with the desire for a renewed Church; he accomplished this through preaching, images, books and his own personal example. He brought to bear on his enterprise every modern technique available to him; in particular he had a printing press installed in Granada as soon as it was conquered, becoming the patron of the typographers Meinhard Ungut and John of Nuremberg. Talavera's eight treatises were printed there. The first, *Breve e muy provechosa doctrina de lo que debe saber todo christiano* ('Brief and Most Useful Doctrine of What Every Christian Should Know') was a sort of catechism for his flock. A second product of the press was Master Francesc Eiximenis's *Vita Christi*, which Talavera himself translated in 1496. At the same time, during the six years in which he had full freedom to manage his

21 Szmolka Clares J., *El Conde de Tendilla: Primer capitán general de Granada* (Granada: 2011); Spivakovsky E., *Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504–1575* (Austin – London: 1970).

diocese, Talavera surrounded himself with *alfaquíes* (Arabic *faqīh*, 'jurisconsult') from whom he learned the details of Islamic law and who helped him to form a clergy capable of teaching Christianity in Arabic. His personal library contained one copy of the Qur'an in Latin and another in Romance.²² In short, he became an 'Arabized Christian', as Ramón Llull had liked to call himself.²³ He ordered his confessor and fellow-Hieronymite Pedro de Alcalá²⁴ to compose two works that appeared in Granada in 1505, printed on the press that Talavera had founded in 1494: a dictionary, the *Vocabulista in Arabico*, and a grammar, the *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua árábica* ('Quick Method for Learning the Rudiments of the Arabic Language').²⁵ The *Arte* included a basic catechism for evangelizing the Moriscos, with the Arabic transliterated into Latin letters for greater ease of pronunciation by preachers.

Upon being named archbishop of Granada, Talavera famously initiated a series of measures intended to persuade the Granadan Muslims to accept baptism [Fig. 1.1]. He respected the legal framework established by the Capitulations of late 1491, which forbade any use of coercion in the conversion process, and he insisted on this point in the *Instrucciones* that he gave to the clergy of his diocese: 'in their conversion, let the Capitulation that their Highnesses granted to the Moors in these matters be respected'.²⁶ The *Instrucciones* are of particular importance in illuminating the nature of the archbishop's pastoral mission: they specify, among other things, the practices that the Moriscos of the Albaicín quarter of the city should follow, and define the fundamental ways in which a Morisco should both be and appear to be a good Christian.²⁷ They exhort the Moriscos to abandon and forget all the ceremonies of their former religion, including their traditional celebrations of births and funerals; they further urge them gradually to give up their language, clothing and footwear, habits of shaving and hairdressing, and foods. Christianization had to be accompanied by Castilianization in every sphere, but especially in language. Realizing that

22 Aldea Q., "Hernando de Talavera, su testamento y su biblioteca", in *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel*, 2 vols. (Silos: 1976–1977), vol. 1, 513–547.

23 Urvoy D., "L'idée de 'christianus arabicus'", *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994) 497–507.

24 This friar was a converted Muslim, born in Granada before the city was conquered, according to Garrido Aranda A., "Papel de la Iglesia de Granada en la asimilación de la sociedad morisca", *Anuario de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea* 2–3 (1975–1976) 69–104.

25 Both have been newly edited: *Les textes de Pedro de Alcalá: Édition critique*, ed. A. Lonnet (Paris – Louvain: 2002).

26 Domínguez Bordona J., "Instrucción de Fr. Hernando de Talavera para el régimen interior de su Palacio", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 96 (1939) 785–835.

27 Gallego y Burín A. – Gámir Sandoval A., *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada según el Sínodo de Guadix de 1554* (Granada: 1968; reprint, Granada: 1996) 161–163.



FIGURE 1.1 *Felipe Bigarny, Baptism of the Muslims of the Kingdom of Granada (1520–1522). Granada, Cathedral, Royal Chapel. Photo © Mercedes García-Arenal.*

a change in speech habits would take time, Talavera instituted a remarkably modern program: he had catechisms and vocabularies written in the Arabic language but with a phonetic transcription in the Spanish alphabet to assist Christian priests in their preaching; he disseminated various texts produced by his new printing press, as we have seen, but also added engravings of sacred images. He brought to the city Flemish sculptors charged with carving large statues, to be placed in newly founded churches and in public squares, and small ones for use in homes. This ambitious, universal project made Christianity

present to Muslims in every area of life in Granada.²⁸ Talavera made personal pastoral visits in the company of *alfaquíes*, other Arabic speakers, and converted Muslims of noble origin. Hieronymus Münzer recorded his impressions of the archbishop in 1494: 'He converted many Moors to our religion. He protects and instructs them. What more? He teaches and practices just as Christ did'.²⁹ Talavera is an example of the reformers who sought to renew the Church by returning to its origins and following the model of Christ.

In spite of Talavera's open evangelism, we must acknowledge that at this early stage Christianization was still subordinate to the political, military and fiscal advantages that flowed from the *status quo* of the Mudejar period—especially to the state, which had just emerged from a long and costly war. The Monarchs needed to fill their coffers with the tax revenues paid by their Muslim subjects by virtue of their status as such. Talavera, as a close adviser of Queen Isabella, had been one of the persons in charge of designing the modern Castilian treasury, and therefore was fully aware of that reality; he respected it and had no intention of violating the mutual interdependence of state and Church. It is important to remember that in this early period neither the Monarchs nor Talavera intended to evangelize the entire Kingdom of Granada, but only key urban areas. None of the efforts described was applied to the Vega, the fertile plain around the city. The overwhelming size of the Muslim population made it impossible at first for the Christian authorities to attempt more widespread conversions. As the count of Tendilla wrote in a letter:

One of their honourable men told me: 'We belong to the king; he may ask for everything we possess, and we will give it to him; but let him not require our women to unveil'. I do not know what I replied, but he went on: 'Remember, sir, that there are twenty of us for each one of you. It is dangerous to embark on such a course, especially in a place so near the sea, and if things get out of hand . . .' I do not claim that anyone should be a bad Christian, for that would not be pleasing to God; but I believe that we should do everything at its proper season and time, and that we should prepare carefully so as not to do wrong.³⁰

28 The process has been expertly studied by Pereda F., *Las imágenes de la discordia: Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del Cuatrocientos* (Madrid: 2006).

29 Münzer Hieronymus, *Viajes por España y Portugal: Reino de Granada (1494–1495)*, ed. F. Camacho (Granada: 1987) 35. Original in Latin.

30 Galán Sánchez, *Una sociedad en transición* 47.

The count of Tendilla was recommending prudence, moderation, time, and partial and gradual measures, while the 'honourable' Moor felt more violated by the thought of women's uncovered faces than by any other possibility; he even dared to make the subtle threat that 'there are twenty of us for each one of you' and the danger of having a Muslim power just across the Straits. Tendilla's anecdote also shows to what extent the female body is a marker of boundaries and of identity; it may be set against another common prohibition that forbade Old Christian women to adopt Muslim dress. I present it here as a sign of the adaptation strategies that both communities employed in the early post-conquest years. A decree of 1513 prohibited Old Christian women from dressing in Moorish fashion or wearing the head-to-toe cloak called *almalafa*:

Some Old Christian women who live in the city of Granada and the other towns and villages of this kingdom, ignoring our general proclamation and order that the newly converted abandon their Moorish garments and adopt the clothing and customs of the Christians, dress in Moorish style and cover themselves with *almalafas*.³¹

The Urban Transformation of Granada

The Catholic Monarchs had three aims that would justify the designation of Granada as a New Jerusalem: to make the city into a great capital, to Christianize it, and to model it along the lines of a Castilian city.³² Yet even so it would remain deeply Muslim for almost a decade. That is how foreign travellers described it in the late fifteenth century: as a place where one heard muezzins calling the faithful to prayer, and where a few Christian edifices, civil and ecclesiastical, were scattered within a profoundly Muslim urban fabric.³³ Drawings made by Anton van den Wyngaerde in the mid-sixteenth century [Fig. 1.2] show a city in which Christian buildings and symbols were superimposed on a landscape that recalled the medina of Fez.³⁴ The conquerors began by erecting crosses on the highest towers of the city walls and building chapels into their gates. Several mosques were immediately consecrated as parish

31 Gallego y Burín – Gámir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada* 179–180.

32 Vincent, "De la Granada mudéjar"; Barrios Rozúa J.M., *Granada, historia urbana* (Granada: 2002); Cañete Toribio J., *Granada, de la Madina nazarí a la ciudad cristiana* (Granada: 2006).

33 Münzer, *Viajes* 37.

34 Barrios Rozúa, *Granada* 70.



FIGURE 1.2 Anton van den Wyngaerde, *View of Granada* (1567), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Ms. Min. 41, fol. 55r. Image © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

churches dedicated to various saints, the Virgin, and Jesus Christ. In principle, all that was needed to create a radically altered space was to place an altar in the *qibla* (the niche showing the direction of Mecca) and to hang bells from the minaret; the simplicity of Islamic places of prayer facilitated their transformation. The first mosque so converted for Christian worship was that of al-Tā'ibīn, consecrated as the parish church of San Juan de los Reyes on 5 January 1492; the al-Murābiṭīn mosque was dedicated to St. Joseph (San José) two days later. On 16 December 1499, Cardinal Cisneros consecrated the great mosque in the Albaicín quarter as the collegiate church of El Salvador ('The Saviour').

Beginning in 1499 there was a new tendency to replace mosques with modern churches; the old mosques had become too small for a rapidly expanding population of immigrants that came to join the newly converted Muslims. There was no systematic effort to demolish mosques, since their reconsecration as churches was considered sufficient, but rather a gradual replacement to conform to new tastes and needs of the population. Just as members of the old Granadan (including the Nasrid) aristocracy now preferred to live in ample houses in the Castilian or Andalusian style, the clergy and their parishioners aspired to worship in temples with wide naves and lofty ceilings.

The claim to be a New Jerusalem was tempting for the religious orders, which rushed to open convents and monasteries—often in bitter rivalry with the parish churches and the archbishop himself. Convents were constructed throughout the urban space. Monasteries and convents placed outside the walls began to create an exurban perimeter very different from that of the Nasrid capital, whose outskirts had contained only small *ribāṭs* or oratories; those were now replaced by large, complex buildings that harboured an inward way of life, at the same time that chapels and crosses sprouted along all the roads that led to Granada.³⁵

The Mudejar revolt of December 1499, of which we shall speak below, and its suppression were followed by an acceleration of these changes in the city's plan. A bull of 1501 allowed 23 parish churches to be built, which was followed in the same year by the erecting of the Clares' convent of Santa Isabel

35 Ibidem, 70.

la Real. The transformation of Granada into a Christian and Castilian city was marked by a series of important buildings: the Hospital Real (Royal Hospital), founded in 1504 and erected in 1511; the Santa Ana Hospital, founded by Hernando de Talavera; the Capilla Real (Royal Chapel), built between 1504 and 1521; Charles V's royal palace, begun in 1527; and the palace for the Royal Chancellery, for which ground was broken in 1531 after the institution's move to Granada in 1505. The Royal Chapel contained the tombs of the Catholic Monarchs and later of their successors, Philip the Fair and Joanna the Mad; finally, after Charles V's wife, Empress Isabella of Portugal, was buried there, it became the Royal Pantheon that completed Granada's transformation into a royal and sacred capital. Diego de Siloé's famous Renaissance cathedral would subsume the shapes of both a Roman basilica and the rotunda of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In 1555, shortly before Charles V's abdication, the pope granted a plenary indulgence to any pilgrim who visited the cathedral on 2 January, the anniversary of the conquest of Granada.

All the elements of this impressive program of monuments carried the same message, in direct reference to the conquest: they proclaimed an alliance between God and the Catholic Monarchs with their descendants. Important symbols were the replacement of the former Almaxarra palace, home to the Nasrid princesses, by the Dominican convent of Santa Cruz la Real, and of the old Dar al-Horra palace by Santa Isabel la Real, the convent of the Clares' order.³⁶ In sum, the cathedral, the collegiate church of San Salvador, 23 parish churches, 13 monasteries of friars and 13 convents of nuns—this dense network proved that the sovereigns wished to turn Granada into a sacred space. By way of contrast we should observe that in those same years Málaga, the second city of the kingdom with 15,000 inhabitants, contained only four parishes.

It was only after the mass conversions of 1500 that the city of Granada acquired a set of fully Castilian buildings for its municipal government. A royal decree of 20 September 1500 gave the city council the Madraza edifice as its permanent seat, saying that

it pleased Our Lord to bring the Muslims into our holy Catholic faith, where they are today, so that within this city its residents all profess our holy Catholic faith. And the mosques that it contained have been made into churches where the divine offices are celebrated to the honour and glory of Our Lord Jesus Christ and in exaltation of his holy Catholic faith.³⁷

36 Vincent, "De la Granada mudéjar" 313.

37 Martínez Medina – Biersack, *Fray Hernando de Talavera* 90.

At this stage the city was organized into neighbourhoods each centred around a parish church, and those churches began to keep the records that have allowed us to document the life of Granada's population.³⁸

The process of change and Castilianization reached into even the smallest details of city life. According to contemporary accounts, works of 'cleaning, ordering and draining' were undertaken. Streets were widened and houses realigned to allow swifter urban traffic, although that involved demolishing the *ajimeces* or wooden balconies that had allowed residents to see out without being seen. An effort was made to set aside space for public squares. An important goal was to bring Christians closer together: a royal order of March 1495 exempted dealings between Christians from the *alcabalas* or taxes on business transactions. Those incentives in turn encouraged the arrival of immigrants, who often felt uncomfortable in Muslim-style houses and set about remodeling them. On 20 March 1500, in the midst of the conversions in the kingdom, the Monarchs granted a special privilege to the city of Granada. While it applied to Christians already living in the city, the Albaicín and outlying districts, it was particularly directed to new converts from Islam, to 'the Christian residents and inhabitants of the city of Granada and its Albaicín and its suburbs, those who are now and those who will be in the future': Granadans, in exchange for embracing the Catholic faith, would be exempt from the previous system of taxation.³⁹

Nevertheless the city was Castilianized only up to a point. Granada's topography made some kinds of adaptations difficult, and the native Muslim or crypto-Muslim population was strongly attached to its way of life. Residents whom the Christians sought to displace were recalcitrant, indemnities and public works were expensive, and the administration was slow to act. By the middle of the sixteenth century there was still no Plaza Mayor or central square, and processions, jousts and *autos de fe* had to be held in the outskirts.⁴⁰ Nor, by the same date, had Arabic been replaced by Spanish. The issue was not simply

38 They have been studied in Ladero Quesada M.Á., "Datos demográficos sobre los musulmanes de Granada y Castilla en el siglo xv", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 8 (1972) 481–490; idem, "Los bautismos"; and above all idem, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I* (Valladolid: 1969) with an impressive appendix of documents. See also Carrasco García G., "Huellas de la sociedad musulmana granadina: La conversión del Albaycín (1499–1500)", *En la España medieval* 30 (2007) 335–380, esp. 335–338.

39 Galán Sánchez Á., "Las conversiones al cristianismo de los musulmanes de la Corona de Castilla: Una visión teológico-política", in *De mudéjares a moriscos: Una conversión forzada: Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 2 vols. (Teruel: 2002), vol. II, 617–660.

40 Vincent, "De la Granada mudéjar" 317.

one of turning mosques and palaces into churches. A profound transformation needed to be made, through the vehicle of Christianity and its revitalized Church; a Christian city had to be constructed that was at the same time new and restored or recovered from its ancient roots.

Cisneros in Granada

In our attention to the physical transformation of the city of Granada we have left aside certain fundamental events in the conversion of its Muslim population. In 1499 the Catholic Monarchs returned for a visit accompanied by the Queen's new confessor, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo. It seems that they were disappointed in what they found: the city was still Islamic and little progress had been made in conversions. At that date the Inquisition had just been initiated in Granada, and in September 1499 Diego Rodríguez de Lucero was named its first inquisitor. The conflict between Archbishop Talavera—who wanted a slow and evangelical transformation of the Muslims—and the inquisitor Lucero, one of the hardliners of the Holy Office, was so great that Ferdinand decided to name Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros special inquisitor for the whole Kingdom of Granada only two months later, in November 1499.

This act did not prevent Hernando de Talavera from having his own problems with the Inquisition at the end of that year. He was one of the generation of reformers which defended a return to the purity of the primitive Church. He became the victim of the great split that was opening in the Church's organization in Castile: new and powerful groups, headed by the mendicant orders, differed from Talavera in their vision of that organization. Nonetheless he continued as archbishop throughout the events that produced the forced mass conversions; therefore he must have agreed with or condoned them to some degree. It is certainly the case that Cisneros had very different ideas about how the conversion of the Muslims should be carried out, as we shall see at once. But we must remember that Cisneros came to Granada as an inquisitor and a politician. As a Franciscan, he belonged to one of the orders that stood in open opposition to the episcopal party: he was against the power that the bishops held and their dependence on the Crown, that is to say, against everything that royal patronage implied. The orders were in favour of a stronger and more direct relationship with Rome. Cisneros and the religious orders in general held a different view of ecclesiastical organization, and Cisneros hoped to subvert the policies that Talavera had put in place in Granada, taking advantage of the loss of royal support that Talavera had enjoyed: a profound political change

had occurred in Castile upon the death of the Infante Don Juan in 1498, with Queen Isabella's relegation to the background, and the fall from power of the secretary Fernán Álvarez de Toledo and the men who surrounded him. That political change would have a fundamental influence on the issue of conversion: while both men, Talavera and Cisneros, agreed on the need to convert all Muslims, they differed on the pace and methods of the process; yet conversion itself was merely a pawn in a much larger game.

The Capitulations still had to be respected, but Cisneros discovered that they contained a loophole. There was a category of Muslims called *elches* (from Arabic *'ilj*, 'infidel', transformed into *elche* or 'renegade' in Spanish; their women were *romías*, from *rūmīyya*, 'Roman'), who descended from Christians who had converted to Islam for a variety of reasons, or were children of Christian women, usually captives; these were in a different category from genuine Muslims who were subject to conversion. Cisneros began by trying to bring those who 'in any manner came from a Christian heritage' back into the fold of the true religion. The phrase 'in any manner' opened a very wide door, for it had always been believed that most of Granada's inhabitants were of Christian origin. A letter by James II of Aragon to the pope, dated 1 December 1311, had affirmed that

people of good repute report that in the city of Granada, where some two hundred thousand persons dwell, one cannot find five hundred who are Saracens by nature; rather, either they were Christian themselves or their father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, or great-grandparents were Christians. And in the Kingdom of Granada there are fully five hundred thousand who denied the Catholic faith and in their madness embraced the sect of Mohammed.⁴¹

Within the ideology of the conquest as a restoration of territory that had been usurped by the Muslims, it was necessary to believe that in earlier centuries all residents had been Christians and that in essence they continued to be so. Thus the path lay open for a Church conceived as a community of blood made up of Christians and those of 'Christian heritage' or lineage.

Cisneros's requirement that all the *elches* be baptized produced a violent revolt in the Albaicín quarter in December 1499; the Christian authorities lost all control of the upper city for a few days, and Cisneros's own life was in danger. Talavera and the count of Tendilla managed to negotiate a surrender, with the stipulation that the Muslims would convert but that no punishment

41 Galán Sánchez, "Las conversiones" 631.

would be meted out to the rebels. Cisneros was quick to take credit for the mass conversions that followed.⁴² His biographers relate how he ordered the public burning of all the Arabic books that could be found; the only ones exempted were those related to science, which were sent to the University of Alcalá, founded by Cisneros.⁴³ In any event, the Muslim rebellion meant that the peace agreement had been broken and that as a result the Capitulations were null and void.⁴⁴ There was now no barrier to forced mass conversions.

In this way the gradual evangelization based on conviction that Talavera had begun was replaced by the use of force as a means of incorporating the Mudejars into Christian society. Cisneros had accepted an idea, much debated in the Middle Ages (and defended by the Franciscan John Duns Scotus), that baptism carried out by force or coercion was acceptable on both theological and political grounds. Naturally there were serious doubts about its effectiveness in achieving a complete and sincere conversion on the part of the New Christians; every contemporary observer agreed that Muslims converted in this way would not abandon their own religion. But it was believed that coercion would succeed in the long run, particularly among the young, their children and their descendants in later generations; that is what Scotus claimed and what the supporters of forced baptism understood.⁴⁵ As Peter Martyr of Anghiera wrote to Cardinal Bernardino López de Carvajal in Rome on 16 July 1500:

All of them have been baptized, as the archbishop of Toledo advised their Majesties to do, so that their souls would not be lost. You may object that in any case they will continue to believe firmly in Mohammed, and it is logical and reasonable to think so; it is genuinely difficult to abandon the institutions of one's ancestors. Nonetheless, in my opinion it was providential that [the Monarchs] accepted [Cisneros's] requests; as the new discipline is imposed little by little the young people, or at least

42 These conversions extended to areas outside the city itself: see Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, 1117 and 1118, *Capitulaciones de los Reyes Católicos, año 1500 con Valdelecrín y Alpujarras y con la ciudad de Baza*.

43 Vallejo Juan de, *Memorial de la vida de fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, ed. A. de la Torre (Madrid: 1913) 35.

44 Santa Cruz Alonso de, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. Juan de la Mata Carriazo, 2 vols. (Seville: 1951) 190–193; Mármol Carvajal, *Historia* 60.

45 Pérez García R. – Fernández Chaves M., “La infancia morisca, entre la educación y la explotación”, in Núñez Roldán F. (ed.), *La infancia en España y Portugal: Siglos XVI–XVII* (Madrid: 2010) 149–186.

the children, and certainly the grandchildren's generation, will come to abandon these useless and hardened superstitions.⁴⁶

On 25 January 1502 the Council of State issued the order of conversion for all the Mudejars in the Kingdom of Castile. Just as in the expulsion decree for the Jews in 1492, a choice was offered between conversion and emigration, but now the conditions imposed for leaving the kingdom made the latter nearly impossible:

likewise for the Moors of Castile, who were considered suspect on account of certain indications that were found among them, it was ordered that they take their goods and go wherever they wished, but they preferred to turn Christian rather than to abandon their natural state (*naturalezas*).

Here it seems that the terms *natural* and *naturaleza* have broadened their meaning from 'a native of the place' to 'a subject of the Crown of Castile'.⁴⁷ This decree initiated the great problem of the 'Moriscos', the name by which the converted Muslims came to be known.

As Peter Martyr of Anghiera recognized, it is 'difficult to abandon the institutions of one's ancestors'. It was equally hard for the Moriscos to abandon their memories. They were well aware that the Christians, in forcing them to adopt Christianity, would also make them abandon every one of their customs, characteristics and cultural traits, and above all would deny and destroy their collective past. We have many testimonies to the resentment that this attitude engendered: the converts would protest over and over, by recalling their past glories, against the suppression of their memory. In 1567 Don Fernando Núñez Muley addressed his famous *Memorial* to the Audiencia (court) in Granada. An aristocrat of Muslim origin who had been a page to Hernando de Talavera in his youth, he was writing in response to a decree that forbade, among other things, the use of spoken or written Arabic and of Arabic names:

The ancient surnames that we bear are meant to allow people to recognize one another, for otherwise knowledge of persons and lineages would be lost. Of what good is it to lose one's memories? For, considering the matter well, they increase the glory and renown of the Catholic

46 *Epistolario de Pedro Mártir de Anglería*, ed. J. López de Toro, 4 vols. (Madrid: 1953–1957), vol. I, 409. Original in Latin.

47 Nieto Soria J.M., *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla, siglos XIII–XVI* (Madrid: 1988) 240.

Monarchs who conquered this kingdom. Such was the intent and wish of their Highnesses and the emperor; for their sake are preserved the rich palaces of the Alhambra and other lesser ones that date from the time of the Moorish kings, so that they would always manifest their power through memory and serve as the trophy of the conquerors.⁴⁸

The above-mentioned decree led to the uprising of the Moriscos of the Alpujarras Mountains that became known as the Alpujarras War (1568–1570) and led to a second and final Christian conquest of the kingdom. One of the rebel captains, Fernando el Zager, declared in 1568: ‘and you must know well how, for almost a hundred years, the Christians have robbed and usurped our glorious deeds and respected triumphs, won by our ancestors in time past’.⁴⁹

For many years historians have constructed an image of the conversion of Granada’s Muslims that is based on two opposing personalities: Talavera, the ‘good’ one, tolerant and almost ecumenical, and Cisneros, the ‘bad’ one, rigorous, harsh and almost fanatical—opposites, in short, in both their positions and their politics. Attempts by a number of scholars (like Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, Ángel Galán Sánchez, Jesús Suberbiola Martínez and Francisco Javier Martínez Medina) to introduce some nuance into this picture have not really taken hold. Nonetheless I wish to insist here on the existence of an ideology that was common to both prelates: messianic, favouring restoration of the Church, elimination of Islam, and creation of a Granada that would be an ideal city, the New Jerusalem. For this I wish to draw attention to a little-known document, the so-called *Oficio de la toma de Granada* (‘Office of the Taking of Granada’).

Hernando de Talavera’s *Oficio de la toma de Granada* or *In festo deditiois nominatissime urbis Granate*

Following Hernando de Talavera’s appointment as archbishop, Queen Isabella commissioned him to compose a sacred service with music that would be performed yearly on the anniversary of Granada’s conquest in thanksgiving for the victory. This liturgy was devoted to consecrating and sanctifying the events of 1492, and for years it was sung and recited in the city’s principal Christian shrines: the cathedral, the Royal Chapel, the Royal Pantheon, the collegiate

48 García-Arenal M., *Los moriscos* (Madrid: 1975) 55.

49 García-Arenal – Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español* 95; *The Orient in Spain*, 84.

church of Santa Fe and the largest parish churches. Its Latin text, which had been lost, was discovered a few years ago in the Archivo General de Simancas, with autograph notes of Talavera, and was published with a Spanish translation by Francisco Javier Martínez Medina in 2003.⁵⁰ It expresses clearly, in both historical and propagandistic terms, the official contemporary view of the conquest and of the plans being made for the city, including an expunging of its Islamic past; it reveals the ideological vision of the conquerors and how closely Talavera was identified with that vision. As Martínez Medina demonstrates, Talavera, a reader of both St. Augustine and St. Isidore of Seville, takes from them his respective notions of the restoration of the Church and of Granada as the City of God. Muslim Granada was Augustine's earthly city, while the Christian Granada that arose from the conquest was the heavenly city, the City of God. Other chroniclers of the time had alluded to St. Augustine and his ideal city in connection with the conquest of Granada.⁵¹ Martínez Medina has shown that some passages of the *Oficio* seem almost literally copied from the *City of God*, a work that we know formed part of Hernando de Talavera's library.⁵²

The *Oficio's* text describes an invasion in which the Muslims resembled wild animals who treated the vanquished Christians with extreme cruelty. The latter were being punished collectively by divine Providence for the crimes of the Visigothic King Rodrigo:

I shall tell of how the Lord smote all of Spain for the crime of King Rodrigo. The Arabs came, and like wild boars they devastated and crushed Spain and like savage beasts fed upon its pastures. They offered churches full of dead Christians as food for the birds of heaven, and the flesh of the saints as food for the beasts of the earth. Everywhere in Spain they spilled innocent blood like water. They humiliated the Christians and offended their heritage. They killed the widow and the stranger and massacred children. They humiliated women and outraged young virgins. They hanged the leaders with violence and did not spare the elderly. They violated adolescents and crucified children [...].

50 I follow the edition included in Martínez Medina – Biersack, *Fray Hernando de Talavera: "En la fiesta de la entrega de la famosísima ciudad de Granada. Oficio y Misa"* 330–343. Appendix, with the Latin text, "In festo deditionis nominatissime urbis Granate" 311–327.

51 Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiástica* 171 ('Mucho deseó San Agustín ver triunfando un Emperador en Roma [...] y perdiera el santo africano este deseo si viera este día triunfar en Granada [...] los Reyes católicos').

52 Aldea, "Hernando de Talavera" 539.

And they said: 'Come, let us scatter the Christians and let no memory of them, their nation or their name survive'. In concert with the inhabitants of Tyre and at the same moment, they contrived false witness against Christ and set up temples to the Idumaeans and the Ishmaelites, to Moab and the sons of Hagar, to Elagabalus and the Amoreans. And Azor came with them. This is how the Lord punished Spain.⁵³

After God had allowed this punishment and had 'let no memory of them, their nation or their name survive', both nation and memory were now restored by virtue of the Christian conquest; therefore it was time to erase in turn the name and memory of the Islamic nation. Talavera identified the conquering Muslims with the pagan peoples who, in the Old Testament, had prevented Israel from possessing the Promised Land; by virtue of that identification, Granada became the Promised Land and the Spanish Christians its chosen people.⁵⁴ At the same time the conquest had brought peace to Christendom's frontiers, now fully sealed. Antiphon 5 of the second Vespers declares: 'Oh Spain, praise the Lord; oh West, praise the Lord; for He has made peace on your borders and has strengthened the locks of your gates'.⁵⁵ We may compare this sentiment to the passage in which St. Augustine equates the City of God with the Heavenly Jerusalem from the time of the Apocalypse, when eternal peace will reign: 'Glorify the Lord, oh Jerusalem; praise your God, oh Zion; for he has fortified the locks of your gates, he has blessed your children within you and has made peace on your borders [...]'.⁵⁶

The Trinity—another doctrine amply discussed in the *City of God*, bk. XI—appears repeatedly in the *Oficio*. The hymn of Lauds declares that 'The impious man denies the Trinity of Persons', while the hymn of Matins affirms that the Christian Monarchs conquered Granada precisely because of their faith in the Trinity: 'Let us remember this day on which the fortified city was seized from their grasp by our harsh lance, and given to princes who worshipped the Triune God in orthodox belief'. An especially significant text occurs in the ninth Reading, which prays that all Muslims be converted at the End of Days and insists once more that their eyes must be opened to this dogma above all, that of the 'living God both Three and One' of our opening ballad:

53 Martínez Medina – Biersack, *Fray Hernando de Talavera* 336.

54 *Ibidem*, 126.

55 *Ibidem*, 341.

56 Augustine, *The City of God*, bk. XXII, ch. 3, *apud* Martínez Medina – Biersack, *Fray Hernando de Talavera* 341.

And let us pray with all our hearts to Our Lord God, beloved brothers and sisters, that at the end of time He may convert to Himself the whole tribe of Hagar, those who live in any of the lands beyond the sea, half-blind and errant, just as He has converted the inhabitants of this kingdom, and as He converted the Cretans and the Arabs in the earliest days of the Church. Let Him open their eyes so that they may know that Christians do not worship three gods, as they believe in their error. Rather there is One true God, One in substance and Three in persons, the same that the great Abraham, father of our faith, worshipped and adored; and they boast that he is their father as well. Abraham saw the Three and worshipped only the One. Let them understand and see that it is neither impossible nor absurd, but rather consistent with reason and belief, that Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary in His humanity, should be the true and consubstantial Son of God in His divinity. God and man, mediator between God and men. The man Jesus Christ, who through perfect love and greatest compassion died for our sins as a man and was born again to save us as men and was born again to save us as the divinity. And He ascended into heaven, as they also allow. Let them believe sincerely what we believe and live piously as we live, that they may be made together with ourselves into a single, true people of God.⁵⁷

Again, in the words of the ballad, so that all may be 'as one'.

The *Oficio's* text emphasizes the points of dogma that divide Islam from Catholicism: the Trinity, the divine nature of Christ, and Christ's role as the Redeemer by virtue of his crucifixion. It ends by exhorting Muslims to 'believe [...] what we believe' and by praying that they be 'made together with ourselves into a single, true people of God'. This passage, taken in isolation, seems to belong in a polemical tract and requires us to ask about the intended audience for this text. Certainly it was meant for Christians, to strengthen them in their faith and to draw a sharp distinction between Catholicism and Islam. But was it also directed to Muslims or to the newly converted? It appears so, but how could they have understood a text that was in Latin? What would its impact have been when, year after year, it was repeated in a scene of solemn ritual to the accompaniment of music and hymns? One indication that it was meant for Muslims (or for them as well as for Christians) is the 'Prayer for the Hour of Sext': 'You will not be ashamed, nor will you need to humble yourself: for you will retain no memory of the error of your youth, nor will you remember the scorn heaped upon your widowhood. For your master shall be

57 Ibidem, 338.

that Lord who created you'. This passage seems to be persuading Muslims, or Christians of Muslim origin, to abandon their memory of the past and of the religion that was 'the error of [their] youth'; or perhaps it is describing a new state of affairs in which no memory of that error will remain. It assumes that 'knowledge [...] will be lost', just as Núñez Muley had feared, and it seeks to disrupt an emotional state that might create links to the past and stand in the way of conversion.

It is hard for us now to comprehend the importance, for the faithful of that time, of this liturgy, celebrated with solemn regularity on each anniversary of the conquest. Drawing on the cultural and social conditions of Granada, it gave official voice to the new visions and aspirations of its Christians conquerors. It seems to have derived from an apocalyptic ideology of the Second Coming that appears not only in chroniclers like Bermúdez de Pedraza and all the official historiography of the sixteenth century, but also in popular expressions like our opening ballad, which can be read as a simplified and popularized version of the text of the *Oficio*.

Conclusion

In the present contribution we have followed the different stages by which Granada was converted from a Muslim capital into a Christian city with a Christian population; and we have seen how this process was shaped by a messianic ideology that identified Granada with a New Jerusalem, with Augustine's 'City of God'. Although the capitulations signed after the conquest officially recognized the existence of Islam, different pressures were exerted upon its Muslim population: conversion, and the means of conversion, became an important piece in a bigger game which included two different ways of considering the relationship of the Church with the new Hispanic Monarchy: either as *instrumentum regni* subordinated to the kings or as a strong entity dependent only on Rome. Thus, depending on which faction one represented, the pace of conversion must be either gradual, slow, and realized by evangelical persuasion (as Talavera proposed) or enforced and to be achieved as soon as possible (as Cisneros wanted). Either way, there was agreement in the construction of an ideology which converted Granada into a Promised Land, restored to Christianity by the hand of a new chosen people, the Spanish Christians.

The text with which we opened, a popular ballad, and the one with which we closed, a liturgical office in Latin, stand as evidence of a project, extensive in both breadth and depth, that contains and far outstrips the differences between the personalities and methods of Talavera and Cisneros. This project

was an extraordinarily ‘modern’ one. Stéphane Mosès has recalled for us what Franz Rosenzweig said in *L'Étoile de la rédemption* (1921) about modern nations: ‘Every people is a chosen people, and every modern war is a holy war [. . .]. Nationalism, the modern form of belief in the Elect, has resulted in the total Christianization of the concept of a people.’⁵⁸

Selective Bibliography

- Aldea Q., “Hernando de Talavera, su testamento y su biblioteca”, in *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel*, 2 vols. (Silos: 1976–1977), vol. I, 513–547.
- Andrés Díaz R. de, “Fiestas y espectáculos en las ‘Relaciones Góticas del siglo XVI’”, *En la España Medieval* 14 (1991) 307–336.
- Barrios Rozúa J.M., *Granada, historia urbana* (Granada: 2002).
- Bermúdez de Pedraza Francisco, *Historia eclesiástica de Granada* (Granada, Andrés de Santiago: 1638, reprint, Granada: 1989).
- Cañete Toribio J., *Granada, de la Madina nazarí a la ciudad cristiana* (Granada: 2006).
- Caro Baroja J., *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada: Ensayo de historia social* (Madrid: 1957)
- Carrasco García G., “Huellas de la sociedad musulmana granadina: La conversión del Albaycín (1499–1500)”, *En la España medieval* 30 (2007) 335–380.
- Domínguez Bordona J., “Instrucción de Fr. Hernando de Talavera para el régimen interior de su Palacio”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 96 (1939) 785–835.
- Echevarría A., *Caballeros de la frontera: La guardia morisca de los Reyes de Castilla, 1410–1467* (Madrid: 2006).
- Galán Sánchez Á., “Las conversiones al cristianismo de los musulmanes de la Corona de Castilla: Una visión teológico-política”, in *De mudéjares a moriscos: Una conversión forzada: Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 2 vols. (Teruel: 2002), vol. II, 617–660.
- Galán Sánchez Á., “*Fuqaha*’ y musulmanes vencidos en el Reino de Granada (1485–1520)”, in Echevarría A. (ed.), *Biografías mudéjares o la experiencia de ser minoría: Biografías islámicas en la España cristiana* (Madrid: 2008) 329–384.
- Galán Sánchez Á., *Una sociedad en transición: Los granadinos de mudéjares a moriscos* (Granada: 2010).
- Gallego y Burín A. – Gámir Sandoval A., *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada según el Sínodo de Guadix de 1554* (Granada: 1968; reprint, Granada: 1996).
- García-Arenal M., *Los moriscos* (Madrid: 1975).

58 Mosès S., *Franz Rosenzweig: Sous l'étoile* (Paris: 2009) 220–222, cited by Valensi L., *Ces étrangers familiers: Musulmans en Europe, XVI–XVIII siècles* (Paris: 2012) 246.

- García-Arenal M. – Rodríguez Mediano F., *Un Oriente español: Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: 2010); English trans. *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden – Boston: 2013).
- Garrido Aranda A., “Papel de la Iglesia de Granada en la asimilación de la sociedad morisca”, *Anuario de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea* 2–3 (1975–1976) 69–104.
- Garrido Atienza M., *Las capitulaciones para la toma de Granada* (Granada: 1910; reprint: Granada, 1992).
- Ianuzzi I., *El poder de la palabra en el siglo xv: Fray Hernando de Talavera* (Valladolid: 2009);
- Ladero Quesada M.Á., *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I* (Valladolid: 1969).
- Ladero Quesada M.Á., “Datos demográficos sobre los musulmanes de Granada y Castilla en el siglo xv”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 8 (1972) 481–490.
- Ladero Quesada M.Á., “Los bautismos de los musulmanes granadinos en 1500”, in *De mudéjares a moriscos, una conversión forzada: Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo* (Teruel: 2002), vol. 1, 481–542.
- Lynch J., *New Worlds: A Religious History of Latin America* (New Haven: 2012).
- Mármol Carvajal Luis del, *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los Moriscos del reyno de Granada* (Málaga, Juan René: 1600; reprint, Málaga: 1991).
- Martínez Medina F.J. – Biersack M., *Fray Hernando de Talavera: Primer arzobispo de Granada: Hombre de iglesia, estado y letras* (Granada: 2011).
- Münzer Hieronymus, *Viajes por España y Portugal: Reino de Granada (1494–1495)*, ed. F Camacho (Granada: 1987).
- Nieto Soria J.M., *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla, siglos XIII–XVI* (Madrid: 1988).
- Pastore S., *Il Vangelo e la spada: L’Inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici, 1460–1598* (Rome: 2003).
- Pereda F., *Las imágenes de la discordia: Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del Cuatrocientos* (Madrid: 2006).
- Pérez García R. – Fernández Chaves M., “La infancia morisca, entre la educación y la explotación”, in Núñez Roldán F. (ed.), *La infancia en España y Portugal: Siglos XVI–XVII* (Madrid: 2010) 149–186.
- Prosperi A., *Il seme dell’intolleranza: Ebrei, eretici, selvaggi: Granada 1492* (Rome: 2011).
- Santa Cruz Alonso de, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. Juan de la Mata Carriazo, 2 vols. (Seville: 1951).
- Spivakovsky E., *Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504–1575* (Austin – London: 1970).
- Suberbiola Martínez J., *Real Patronato de Granada: El arzobispo Talavera, la Iglesia y el Estado Moderno (1486–1516): Estudio y documentos* (Granada: 1985).
- Szmolka Clares J., *El Conde de Tendilla: Primer capitán general de Granada* (Granada: 2011).

Talavera Hernando de, *Católica impugnación: Del heretic libelo maldito y descomulgado, que el año pasado del nacimiento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo de mil y cuatrocientos y ochenta años fué divulgado en la ciudad de Sevilla*, ed. F. Márquez Villanueva (Córdoba: 2012).

Textes (Les) de Pedro de Alcalá: Édition critique, ed. A. Lonnet (Paris – Louvain: 2002).

Urvoy D., “L'idée de ‘christianus arabicus’”, *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994) 497–507.

Vallejo Juan de, *Memorial de la vida de fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, ed. A. de la Torre (Madrid: 1913).

Vega M.J., *Fray Hernando de Talavera y Granada* (Granada: 2007).

Vincent B., “De la Granada mudéjar a la Granada europea”, in Ladero Quesada M.Á. (ed.), *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla: Actas del Symposium Conmemorativo del Quinto Centenario* (Granada: 1993) 307–319.

Conversion on the Scaffold: Italian Practices in European Context

Adriano Prosperi

Rome 1581: Montaigne and the Execution of the Bandit Catena

11 January 1581 was a fine day in Rome. That morning, Michel de Montaigne, recently arrived in the city, had gone out on horseback when he encountered a procession accompanying a condemned man to execution. Montaigne stopped to watch the sight.¹ It was Catena, a bandit notorious for the number of murders to his name: as many as 54, according to the *Avvisi di Roma* ('News from Rome') printed a few days later. In his *Journal*, the travel diary that Montaigne's secretary kept on his behalf, every detail of the scene that morning was carefully described. France too had its own public executions at the time, but they were different. And it was the differences that Montaigne noted down: what struck him, in comparison with French customs, was the display of piety in the Roman ritual, which transformed the city into a scene of conversion.

At the head of the procession was a large crucifix draped in a black cloth, and the condemned man was surrounded and followed by a good number of men dressed in a cowl, their eyes covered by a hood of the same fabric. Montaigne was told they were gentlemen and persons of standing. They were members of a confraternity that accompanied criminals along the route to the scaffold and buried their bodies. Two of them were next to Catena on the cart taking him to the place of execution. The others followed on foot. Catena was a swarthy man around thirty years old, a gang leader notorious throughout Italy for his crimes, which, it was said, included killing two Capuchin friars after forcing them to deny God.² All this seemed hard to imagine from his present appearance, concentrated on prayer and with a devout and contrite demeanour. He enjoyed

1 'Il s'arreta pour voir ce spectacle', Montaigne's secretary wrote. Montaigne M. de, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. A. Thibaudet – M. Rat (Paris: 1962) 1210; English translation in idem, *The Complete Works: Essays, Travel Journal, Letters*, trans. D. Frame (New York: 2003) 1148.

2 Thus read the *Avvisi di Roma* dated January 11, quoted in D'Ancona A. (ed.), *L'Italia alla fine del secolo XVI: Giornale di viaggio di Michele di Montaigne in Italia nel 1580 e 1581* (Città di Castello: 1889) 232. According to the *Avvisi* dated January 14, there were more than 30,000 spectators.

a protected status in the streets set aside for the ritual. The onlookers could not see his face, because the two members of the confraternity concealed him from them behind an image of Christ: they let him kiss it continually while they spoke to him of holy matters. And they held it up in front of him right up to the moment, when, before the Sant'Angelo Bridge—the place set aside for executions—the executioner let him drop from the scaffold and hanged him. There was nothing remarkable about his death: he made no movement and said nothing. Immediately afterwards, his body was taken and quartered. Once the sentence had been carried out, one or two Jesuits or other members of religious orders clambered onto some makeshift pulpits and began preaching, inviting the large crowd in attendance to meditate on the example of the religious death they had just witnessed.

Montaigne observed that the death penalty was 'simple' in Rome (he may have been thinking of the crueller scenes in France) and that the 'rudesse' came after the execution. The violence of the Italian executioner was unleashed after death on the condemned man's body, and those present, who had watched the hanging in silence, cried out feelingly each time the axe cut into the corpse. He underlined this observation when he described the incident again in chapter 11 of Book II of the *Essais* for the 1582 edition, and drew from it some reflections on the death penalty to which we shall return. Here it is worth noting that Montaigne did not dwell on the issue of religious comfort. As a recent scholar has astutely pointed out, 'one of the most striking aspects of Montaigne's engagement with pain is its almost complete lack of a religious dimension'.³

But, meanwhile, the travel notes collected in his *Journal* provide an opportunity for seeing through a curious traveller's eyes a scene that was common in Rome and other Italian cities: that of executions and their close connection with conversion. At the time of this document confraternities of devout laymen, which had their own churches and chaplains, organized the executions in Italian cities. They had to prepare the condemned man for his fate, staying with him the night before and offering religious consolation, persuading him to accept the death penalty as a penance for his sins and as a decree of divine providence that offered him the chance of dying forgiven and ready to rise to heavenly bliss.

In the case of the lowest criminals and murderers, it was an itinerary that was made to coincide with a conversion. If the comforters' arguments had an effect, then the priest would come forward to hear the penitent's confession

3 Van Dijkhuizen J.F., *Pain and Compassion in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: 2012) 216. I thank Prof. Wietse de Boer for calling my attention to this work.

and administer communion to him. This part of the work took place at night. In the morning the tolling of the bell of justice indicated the hour of execution. Then the public ritual began, with the procession of the brothers walking behind the great crucifix and accompanying the condemned man to the scaffold without leaving his side for a moment, reciting prayers, singing litanies and psalms, and holding a sacred image before his face throughout. Montaigne observed that this was done to prevent the crowd from seeing the criminal's face. But the real aim was to create a barrier to isolate the condemned man, preventing any communication between him and the crowd: he was not to see or be seen, or to talk or listen; he was to see only the religious image painted on the board held by his comforter; he was to hear only the exhortations of his two attendants; he was to open his mouth only to repeat the pious prayers suggested to him. He was not even left alone on the scaffold: he died saying nothing apart from the few, simple, pious formulas to be repeated till the end, in the hope that, if he died with Jesus' name on his lips, his soul would be received into Paradise.

The French ritual in such cases was completely different.⁴ There the sacraments were not allowed and the confession of the condemned man was an *amende honorable*, a declaration spoken aloud and publicly before the stone cross that indicated the place of execution. This final speech was expected to reveal the final truth as to his crimes and accomplices, the truth that had been hidden or altered during the judge's torture and interrogations. And there was a fundamental difference in the treatment of the body: in France the hanged man remained dangling from the gallows for a very long time. The appeal of François Villon's *Ballade des pendus* to the 'frères humains qui après nous vivez' describes bodies dried by the wind and lashed by the rain,⁵ while in Italy the body was taken down on the evening of the execution, the quarters removed from the pikes and recomposed by members of the confraternities and taken for ritual burial in land blessed by their church after a mass for his soul.

In Rome the duties relating to the process of conversion before execution were handled by the Company of San Giovanni Decollato, known as the company 'of the Florentines' as it had been set up around 1488 at the prompting of the Florentine colony in Rome; it continued to count a notable number of Florentine noblemen in its ranks. It was also the most important of those

4 Bastien P., *Une histoire de la peine de mort: Bourreaux et supplices, 1500–1800* (Paris: 2011).

5 Villon F., *Lais, testament, poésies diverses; Avec ballades en jargon*, ed. J.-C. Mühlethaler – E. Hicks (Paris: 2004) 300; English translation in *The Poems of François Villon*, trans. G. Kinnell, new ed. (Hanover: 1982) 208–209.

operating in Italy. The papacy had granted it special privileges. Its members were allowed many indulgences for the work they did, and their confraternity was also given a most special power: that of choosing each year a condemned criminal for whom pardon could be asked of the pope. These privileges could be extended to all the confraternities of the same kind that asked for them, by virtue of the invisible but powerful network of spiritual communication between the Christian fraternities. In this way an association of confraternities had been set up with branches in all the main cities and in many smaller centres on the mainland and in Sicily, under the spiritual rule of the Roman archconfraternity.⁶

And so the sight that Montaigne had seen was the highest model for all gallows rituals throughout the country. It might be described as an embryonic expression of national unity that embraced all Italians, as the most strongly symbolic moment of justice—the administration of the death penalty—had the same forms throughout Italy. We have many descriptions of how the ritual was to be performed in the chapters of the statutes and instruction manuals for the members of the confraternities—a literary genre that in the late sixteenth century had taken the place of the ‘arts of dying’ that were widespread in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁷

The case of Catena can be seen as typical of the repetitive form of preparation for death on the scaffold. His death was properly registered in the Roman Company’s *Libri del Provveditore* (‘Books of the Superintendent’) and is reported as follows:

On Tuesday, January 10, as Wednesday was approaching at two in the morning, it was intimated to our Company that the following morning justice was to be carried out, for which purpose the comforters were to meet in St. Ursula at 9 o’clock and go to Torre di Nona where was consigned to us to be put to death by the hand of justice Bartolomeo Vallante [elsewhere written Valente] known as Catena.

The latter, having confessed and being contrite, said he wanted to die a good Christian and in remission of his sins asked mercy of Our Lord, forgave all those who had offended him just as he asked forgiveness with all his heart of all those who had been offended by him, and acknowledged

6 Terpstra N. (ed.), *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy* (Kirkville, MO: 2008).

7 Prospero A. (ed.), *Misericordie: Conversioni sotto il patibolo tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Pisa: 2007).

his death to be just. He said there was nothing else to have set down. Present on this occasion were Ulisse our chaplain, Vincentio Cenciolini, Alessandro Vecchiani, Averardo Serristori, Francesco Scarfantone [and] Girolamo Romoli comforters, Carlo Strozzi superintendent, sacristan and steward.

In the morning at dawn the Holy Mass was spoken, and he took communion most devoutly. Then at 4 of the afternoon he was led through Rome on a cart and in various places tormented with pincers, and then led to the Bridge, where he was hanged and quartered.

In the evening at 10 o'clock the quarters were taken and brought by our Company for burial in our church, and the head of the above-mentioned by order of the Governor of Rome was consigned to the Master of Justice.⁸

Catena's name can also be found in the *Libro dei testamenti* ('Book of testaments'): the companies of justice had the privilege of collecting the last wishes of the condemned and registering their wills with instructions on the allocation of their goods and the restoration of their ill-gotten gains. It was a special prerogative that suspended the general regulation by which those condemned to death lost all rights. In Catena's case, his words at dawn on the day of execution were put on record in the testaments. This is the text, which partly repeats the previous account:

8 Archivio di Stato di Roma [henceforth ASR], Archivio di San Giovanni Decollato, busta 6, registro 11, fol. 2r ('Martedì adì 10 di Gennaio venendo il mercoledì a dua hore di notte fu intimato alla nostra Compagnia come la mattina seguente s'haveva a fare giustitia, per la qual cosa radunati e' confortatori in Sant'Orsola alle 9 hore s'andò a Torre di Nona dove ci fu consegnato per dover morire per mano di giustitia Bartolomeo Vallante /altrove corretto in Valente/ detto il Catena. Il quale confessato et contrito disse voler morire da buon christiano et in remissione de' suoi peccati domandando misericordia a N. S. et perdonando a tutti quelli che lo havessero offeso sì come di core chiede perdono a tutti quelli che sono stati offesi da lui confessando morir giustamente. Altro disse non haver da far scrivere. A questo si ritrovò presente ms. Ulisse nostro Cappellano ms. Vincentio Cenciolini ms. Alessandro Vecchiani ms. Averardo Serristori ms. Francesco Scarfantone Girolamo Romoli Confortatori Carlo Strozzi provveditore sagrestano et fattore. La mattina all'alba si disse la Santa Messa, et egli si comunicò con molta devotione. Poi alle 16 hore fu sopra una carretta condotto per Roma et in varii luoghi attanagliato, et poi menato in Ponte, quivi fu impiccato et squartato. La sera alle 22 hore furono levati e quarti et portati dalla nostra Compagnia a sotterrare alla nostra Chiesa, et la testa del sopradetto d'ordine del Governatore di Roma fu consegnata al maestro della giustitia').

Bartolomeo Valente known as Catena

On the 11th day of January, 1581.

Deposition in prison in Torre di Nona. Bartolomeo Valente known as Catena who having confessed and being contrite said he wanted to die a good Christian, and in remission of his sins asked pity of Our Lord God and forgave all those who had offended him as he heartily asked forgiveness of all those who had been offended by him, and acknowledged his death to be just. He said there was nothing else to have set down.

Then the Holy Mass was celebrated and he communicated most devoutly. Then in the morning he was set on a cart and led through Rome and in various places tormented with pincers and then taken to the Bridge where he was hanged and then quartered.⁹

Catena's case was not exceptional, apart from his criminal stature, which was well known to Romans of the period, but which was downplayed in the spectacle organized by the Company of San Giovanni Decollato. The man who was presented on the stage of the streets of Rome and in front of the Sant'Angelo Bridge appeared as a penitent Christian, ready to die with the devotion of a martyr, convinced in this way of being able to aspire to the glory of Paradise. Looking through the register, which opens with his case, we come across hundreds of names of condemned men from the most various social categories, responsible for all manner of offences—from theft, which was always the principal reason for death on the scaffold, to murder, from heresy to apostasy. But their personal identities are lost and the biographical facts disappear behind a formula of redemption and conversion that, with few exceptions, is constant: that with which the condemned man accepts his punishment and recognizes that it is right that he should die, asks forgiveness and forgives, and declares his desire 'to die a good Christian'.

9 ASR, Archivio di San Giovanni Decollato, Libri dei testamenti, registro 17, fasc. 34, fol. 88r–v ('Bartolomeo Valente detto il Catena. Adì 11 di gen.ro 1581. Costituito in carcere in Torre di Nona. Bartolomeo Valente detto il Catena il quale confessato et contrito disse voler morire da buon christiano et in remissione de suoi pechati domandando misericordia a N. S. Dio et perdonando a tutti quelli che l'havessero offeso si come di cuore chiede perdono a tutti quelli che sono stati offesi da lui confessando morir giustamente. Altro disse non haver da far scrivere. Poi si celebrò la santa Messa et egli si comunicò con molta divotione. Poi la mattina fu posto sopra una carretta condotto per Roma et in varii luoghi atenagliato et poi menato in Ponte quivi fu inpichato et poi squartato'). Among the witnesses to the act were Averardo Serristori and Carlo Strozzi, both members of noble Florentine families. At that time Amerigo Strozzi was governor of the Company.

The words of devotion and forgiveness attributed to Catena are practically identical to those uttered by almost all the others: they resemble those of a doctor from Bevagna, Alfonso Ceccarello, and of Giovan Battista and Gabriele Venessi, two Piedmontese brothers who were wine merchants in Naples. A certain Prospero d'Imperatore, known as 'the African' (probably from Morocco), condemned to the stake by the Inquisition along with a Domenico Danzerello, declared his desire 'to die a good Christian', adding: 'And I thank God to die a son of the Holy Church', a declaration of conversion and loyalty to the Church that would strengthen the faith of those present.¹⁰

The Ritual of Conversion

In the short period between sentence and execution, spent between the closed space of the prison and the open space of the scaffold, this mechanism transformed murderers, thieves and heretics into devout penitents and obedient sons of the Church, all ready to declare that their sentence was just. It was thus a short, intense and extraordinarily effective path of conversion: its public moment was the devout procession towards the scaffold and a death that was greeted by the surrounding preachers as the salvation of a soul. In the rare cases in which the condemned man refused to repent and convert, his story was presented as a victory of the devil and the eternal damnation of a soul, arousing waves of devout horror.

Rituals of this kind were repeated for centuries in Italian cities. The most solemn and long-lasting tradition was in Rome. The Roman Company of San Giovanni Decollato operated from 1488 until 1870, when the troops of the Kingdom of Italy entered the breach at Porta Pia to end the temporal power of the popes. An extraordinarily efficient organization had for centuries guaranteed the provision of religious comfort to those condemned to death, noted the details of their behaviour, and carried out their last wishes. The Company's archives, which are now divided between the State Archives in Rome and the original premises, have come down to us minus significant parts of the huge store of documents in the collection. But we can count on many collateral sources: for example, we have a partial list of those condemned, drawn up by the abbot Placido Eustachio Ghezzi, a member of the Confraternity of the Dying (one of the many devout associations that collaborated with the

10 Act dated 18 February 1583, in ASR, Archivio di San Giovanni Decollato, busta 6, registro 11, fol. 91v ('... voler morire da buon christiano. Et ringratia Dio di morire figliuolo della Santa Chiesa').

Archconfraternity of San Giovanni), which refers in detail to the behaviour of the crowd and the individual profiles of the condemned.¹¹

The organization of the routes and the advice for the members of the confraternity fill pages and pages of a fat seventeenth-century vernacular treatise, which survives in manuscript, written by one of the members of the company, Pompeo Serni, and distributed to the most important companies of justice in Italy.¹² We can learn much from these sources about the methods, powers and successes of the work of religious comfort for condemned men in the capital of the Catholic world. Many confraternities of the same kind—some much older than the Roman one—imitated this model, which gave a unity to the most violent moment in the penal system. The moment was experienced as act of supreme pity and Christian brotherhood. The prevailing theme was expressed in one word: forgiveness.

The condemned man forgave the person who killed him and asked forgiveness for his crimes: the executioner too forgave and asked forgiveness. And this was the formula, taken from the Lord's Prayer, that guaranteed the man facing death that God would forgive him and receive him into heaven; but it was also the key word that allowed the onlookers to transform the bandit, the murderer or the thief from an execrated, accursed being into a benevolent, guardian spirit. In medieval folklore the shade of the hanged man was part of the raging hosts, a malign, vengeful spirit who wandered restlessly in the dark spaces of the night, but these conversions and public rituals promoted him to the ranks of blessed souls. Devotion to the 'executed blessed souls' became so popular that Emperor Joseph II of Habsburg (1765–1790) decided to put an end to the activities of the Milanese Company of San Giovanni alle Case Rotte. In fact, the ritual of comfort was a mainstay of the death penalty, which was turned into a street spectacle of brotherhood and pity, in which the killing of a human being simultaneously created a soul in Paradise.

Very little of these fundamental features of the death penalty in Italy has emerged in the work of historians. The dominant paradigm is that of Michel Foucault: a scene of execution made up of bodies tormented with extreme,

11 Placido Eustachio Ghezzi's diary is published in Ademollo A., "Le Giustizie a Roma dal 1674 al 1739 e dal 1796 al 1840", *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia patria* 4 (1880) 429–534; 5 (1882) 305–364.

12 *Memorie a' fratelli della venerabile confraternita di S. Giovanni Decollato detta della Misericordia della nazione fiorentina per la solita funzione di aiutare a ben morire i condannati a morte fatte da Pompeo Serni fratello di detta compagnia* (the text, extant in multiple copies in Italian libraries and archives, as well as the Vatican Library, is here cited from the copy preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Accademia dei Lincei, ms. 285).

sophisticated cruelty, the death penalty as the outcome of the war between power and subjects. In the ‘spectacle of the scaffold’—to use Foucault’s famous term—those bodies were the message of the sovereign power to the people, so that they might see its vengeance at work and obey in fear. If the authorities saw every violation of the law as an implicit desire to rebel and every crime as *lèse majesté*, the people who thronged around the scaffold saw the condemned man as embodying rebellion: ‘The public execution’, writes Foucault, ‘allowed the luxury of these momentary saturnalia, when nothing remained to prohibit or to punish. Under the protection of imminent death, the criminal could say everything and the crowd cheered’. And here Foucault mentions the opinion of Antoine-Gaspard Boucher d’Argis, who collaborated on Diderot’s and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie*: if, he claimed, the last words of the tortured were truthfully reported, it would be seen ‘that no one who had died on the wheel did not accuse heaven for the misery that brought him to the crime, reproach his judges for their barbarity, curse the minister of the altars who accompanies them and blaspheme against the God whose organ he is’.¹³

There is nothing like this in the rituals surrounding executions that were held for centuries in Italian squares. Of course, as in France, here too the condemned man’s limbs were tortured and disfigured, but only after their death: in Montaigne’s diary his secretary noted that on 14 January he had seen how the bodies of two brothers, condemned for the murder of the secretary of the pope’s son, Jacopo Boncompagni, were treated. But in this case, too, the ritual followed its usual devout, restrained course. The Roman tradition, and the Italian tradition in general, maintained the fundamental element of religious conversion in public executions. There is generally no sign of that carnival atmosphere ‘in which rules were inverted, authority mocked and criminals transformed into heroes’, nor of a celebration of the condemned man’s courage, which Foucault found in the sources of English history.¹⁴ The crowd watched in contrition the public spectacle of a devout death, was moved by the request for forgiveness, prayed for the condemned man’s soul, did not allow the executioner to let him suffer, and wept and groaned when they heard the strokes of the axe quartering the body after the execution. Even if, for the sake of argument, we were to imagine a systematic falsification of reality by the compilers of the books of the confraternities, there is no reason to doubt the testimony of Michel de Montaigne. Significantly, he underlined there that

13 Foucault M., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan, 2nd ed. (New York: 1995) 60.

14 The quoted source related to England is the famous *Inquiry* by Henry Fielding (ibidem, 61).

there was something that went beyond ‘the formalities of France’ ([o]utre la forme de France’) in the devout compunction of the behaviour, and that Catena had had ‘an ordinary death, without movement or word’ (‘une mort commune, sans mouvemant et sans parole’).¹⁵

This is just one episode in a more general Italian history in which the differences from the French and English models were so deep and persistent as to require at least a qualification of Foucault’s paradigm, which has so long dominated historical studies. It is already clear from the titles of many of them what a deep influence the representation of the death penalty as a ‘spectacle of suffering’, ‘theatre of terror’, and so on, has had.¹⁶ In fact, even those in Italy who have been influenced by Foucault’s work have had to distance themselves more or less openly from it when dealing with the historical sources relating to the administration of the death penalty. One might mention the case of a scrupulous scholar of the rituals of Sicilian justice who accepted Foucault’s paradigm, but had to pretty well set it aside in her analysis of the work of the comforters active on the island.¹⁷

Something similar to the centuries-old ritual that unfolded along the way to the scaffold in Italian cities, however, has emerged from studies on Germany in the modern age. Richard J. Evans’ vast documentation rightly speaks of ‘rituals’ and ‘retribution’.¹⁸ What emerges most clearly from his research is a religious rituality. What was organized so carefully in German cities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were rites of retributive justice, in which death came at the end of a complex itinerary in which each stage was laden with moral and religious meaning: here the condemned man was presented as a poor sinner (*arme Sünder*) and was assisted by a Catholic priest or Lutheran pastor throughout the period between the communication of the sentence and its execution. The turning point that brought this religious dimension to the rite of the scaffold was determined by the sixteenth-century religious crisis and, through the work of the Jesuits, the strong influence of the Italian model on seventeenth-century Germany: it is no accident that it very much resembles that of the Roman case of 1581 which we have discussed.

15 Montaigne M. de, *Œuvres complètes* 1210; English translation in idem, *The Complete Works* 1148.

16 Spierenburg P., *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression* (Cambridge: 1984) and Van Dülmen R., *Theater des Schreckens: Gerichtspraxis und Strafrituale in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: 1985).

17 Di Bella M.P., *Essai sur les supplices: L’état de victime* (Paris: 2011).

18 Evans R.J., *Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany, 1600–1987* (Oxford – New York: 1996).

Beyond the many differences in ritual, punishment, and length of the assistance and the itinerary to the scaffold, all these cases share a common feature: the relation between space and conversion. There is an enclosed space where, in the dark of night, that part of the procedure unfolds that is dedicated to saving the soul of the condemned; and there is the public space where, in the light of day, the judicial process that brings the condemned to the scaffold turns into a religious drama aimed at converting the onlookers. In the first part of the ritual the comforter, whether lay or religious, seeks to persuade the condemned that his sentence is the just punishment for his sins and a chance divine mercy offers him to repent and prepare himself for God's judgment. In the Italian states all this is usually completed within the span of one night, whereas in Germany and in the Spanish Monarchy it takes at least three days. In the second part, the condemned is displayed to the crowd as the model of a repentant sinner: his devout comportment, the prayers he utters, his devotions vis-à-vis the crucifix demonstrate that he has become like the good thief in Christ's Passion. Often he turns to the crowd with words of repentance and a plea for forgiveness. The direction of the spectacle is in the hands of the comforters, who transform the ritual of justice into a mission of conversion. The Roman episode described in Montaigne's journal and discussed in his *Essais* concludes with a sermon to the public to convert the sinners; the same happens later, between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in Lutheran and pietist Germany.

Devout Cruelty: The Ancients, Galileo and Montaigne's Censors

To conclude, some further remarks on Montaigne's testimony. What most struck him in that Roman scene was, as we have seen, the behaviour of the crowd, who, far from applauding the (non-existent) acts and words of rebellion by the criminal, expressed feelings of pity with moans and entreaties when the executioner quartered the corpse. It was almost as if each axe blow fell on a still living being.

The scene remained in Montaigne's mind, and he included the memory of it in his reworking for the 1582 edition of the short but dense chapter 11 of Book II of the *Essais* on the subject of cruelty.¹⁹ It begins with a eulogy of the moral virtues, particularly of the firmness and constancy that the great men of antiquity, from Socrates to Cato, had shown in facing death: he recalls the virtue of

19 Montaigne M. de, *Les Essais*, ed. P. Villey, 3rd ed. (Paris: 1978) 432; English translation in idem, *The Complete Works* 382.

Epicurus and Stoic morals, he speaks of death, suffering and tears, he compares the cannibalism of the American 'savages' with the torments of the rituals of justice. This is the heart of Montaigne's argument, and here the material dealt with in the chapter *Des coches* returns, with its comparison between the cannibalism of the Brazilian savages and the violence of the religious conflicts in France, closing with the famous relativizing of the concept of 'barbarity', which very probably owes something to his reading of Sébastien Castellion.²⁰

What Montaigne sees is a ritualized death that has become a spectacle. It is not the cannibal who roasts and eats the bodies of the dead that offends his senses and moves him to tears, but the cruelty that is exercised on the living in Christian Europe. And this time the comparison between different cultures is restricted to the highest examples from European history: it is a comparison between the practice of death on the scaffold in Christian Rome and pagan cultures. Montaigne compares the cruelties of present times with the practices of the ancient world; he suggests that we might imitate the Egyptians and the Persians, for example, punishing not the living body, but the clothing or the headpieces of the persons to be punished.

Anything in the execution that goes beyond putting the condemned man to death seems to him mere cruelty: the more so, he observes, as we should be concerned to guarantee that souls can leave this world in a good state, and not oblige them to leave the world in despair, deranged by unbearable torments. Montaigne neither condemns nor approves explicitly the recourse to capital punishment; what concerns him seems rather to be the excess of additional torments with which it was administered. He observes that these torments were so unbearable that some even tried to kill themselves at the very idea of them. He tells the story of a soldier imprisoned in a tower not long before, who, on seeing the carpenters at work, imagined they were preparing his execution and tried to kill himself with a rusty nail: he did not die and was able to hear the sentence read that condemned him to be beheaded, which left him 'infinitely delighted' ('infiniement resjoui'), so much so that he thanked the judges for the unexpected mildness of the punishment.²¹

Montaigne's observation recognizes a well-known fact: the terror of the torments that sometimes preceded the actual execution also dominated people's minds in Italy and could take on the form of an obsession. Montaigne could not know of an episode in Florence in that period, which was witnessed by Galileo. It involved Giovambattista di Bindaccio Ricasoli Baroni, who had

20 See my foreword to Panichi N. – Ragghianti R. – Savorelli A. (eds.), *Montaigne contemporaneo: Atti del Convegno* (Pisa: 2011) 3–5.

21 Montaigne, *Les Essais* 431; English translation in idem, *The Complete Works* 381–382.

fallen into a profound depression (or ‘melancholy’, as it was known then) that had taken the form of a terror of being imprisoned and sentenced to death. Galileo was his friend, was close to him, and helped him so far as he could until Giovambattista died. He left a long account of this story, which has been preserved among the papers of a Florentine court. It was certainly a case of madness, of ‘bizarre mental infirmity’, but there was method in that madness: there were the ingredients of a culture where the Christian religion and pagan models were fighting it out among themselves.

Galileo recounted to the judges that Giovambattista was obsessed with the thought of how he should behave in the closed space of prison: he wondered, for example, ‘if it were better, when he was taken to prison, to deny and endure the pains, or to confess everything or deny some of it. And in that period this Giovambattista passed his time in reading examples of men who were strong in the face of death, he spent much of the evening praying to God, and desired law books to study his case’. He had ‘often thought of killing himself, either by throwing himself from some high place, or killing himself with a knife; but, he added, he had been held back by the Christian religion’²²—the same blend of ancient models and Christian precepts that Montaigne tried to analyse.

Now, in the Roman case, the execution of the bandit Catena had been a simple putting to death, which also exuded piety. But the devotion that was exhibited, required and inculcated in the condemned man and the crowd—Montaigne observes in another passage of the *Essais* (bk. III, ch. 4), which may be linked with the Roman case (although it was already in the 1580 edition)—was just a way of dulling the senses of the condemned and distracting them from the ordeal that was awaiting them. The condemned man who kept his eyes fixed on the image of Christ, with hands raised to heaven, who used his voice in prayer, his hearing in following the instructions of the comforter, suggested to Montaigne a flight from the struggle, a way of distracting him from the death that was approaching. It was like trying to distract a small child with games and amusements when a surgeon approaches him with a

22 *Le opere di Galileo Galilei*, 20 vols. (Florence: 1890–1909, repr. Florence 1968), vol. XIX, 49 (‘... se fussi meglio, quando e’ fussi stato condotto in prigione, il negare et sopportare i tormenti, o pur confessare il tutto o pure negarne parte. Et in questi tempi attendeva esso Giovambattista a leggere esempi d’huomini forti contro la morte, s’occupava gran parte della sera in oratione a Dio, et harebbe volsuto libri di legge per studiare i suoi casi. [He had been] molte volte in pensiero d’uccidersi da se stesso, o con il gettarsi da qualche luogo alto, o uccidersi con ferro; ma soggiungeva, essere da ciò ritenuto dalla religione cristiana’).

lancet.²³ Religious devotion made it more difficult to demonstrate that constancy that the ancients had regarded as the virtue *par excellence*. It was a way of distracting them from what ought to be their strongest and most immediate thought, that of the death they were about to face. It is here that in chapter 11 of Book II the memory of the Roman crowd's behaviour during the execution of Catena recurs to suggest a thought: why not limit cruelty to the dead bodies of criminals? Seeing them deprived of burial, boiled or quartered might strike the crowd as much as the suffering inflicted on them alive: and this might provide the necessary rigour to keep the people in check without having to make living beings suffer.

In this way he returns to the central point, the question whether killing can be an act of justice. It was somewhat dangerous to deny it explicitly. But the examples Montaigne draws from the repertoire of humanist culture express a fairly evident judgement. And the judgement on the present that emerges from the comparison is particularly severe and direct. For example, if the ancient Egyptians, a people so devout ('si devotieux') satisfied divine justice by offering the gods a painted pig, what are we to say of these times in which human bodies are hacked to pieces by axes and 'tourmens inusitez et des morts nouvelles' are invented, not out of personal hatred or for gain, but only to enjoy the sight of the distress and laments of the dying?

This is the most extreme form of cruelty: that a man kills not out of rage or fear, but simply to enjoy the sight of the dying man's suffering and distress. 'That man should kill man not in anger, not in fear, but only to watch the sight': the words are Seneca's (*Ep.*, 90).²⁴ His phrase now set its seal forcibly on a damning condemnation of the reality and spectacle of capital punishment. Nor did Montaigne stop here, though his argument was already taking a dangerous turn: he went on to make some remarks that extended the idea of pity for the living beyond the human species. Animals, first of all: why kill them? They were placed by the same master in the building in which we are all tenants, remarked Montaigne. Theology tells us this. And historical experience tells us that the ancient Romans caught the habit of making a spectacle

23 Montaigne, *Les Essais* 833; English translation in idem, *The Complete Works* 767 ('Ces pauvres gens qu'on void sur un eschafaut, remplis d'une ardente devotion, y occupant tous leurs sens autant qu'ils peuvent, les oreilles aux instructions qu'on leur donne, les yeux et les mains tendues au ciel, la voix à des prières hautes [...] On les doit louer de religion, mais non proprement de constance').

24 Idem, *Les Essais* 432; English translation in idem, *The Complete Works* 383 ('Ut homo hominem, non iratus, non timens, tantum spectaturus, occidat').

out of death in the circus, starting by killing animals, and proceeding to kill men and women. It is an extraordinary passage. Our kinship ('cousinage') with animals derives, for Montaigne, from a feeling of respect for nature, for trees and plants. And the chapter on cruelty ends by taking a leaf out of the book of antiquity, suggesting that dogs, horses, birds and other animals have a right to honourable burial, in memory of their help to adults and their company to children in their games.²⁵

What was the source of such a radical critique of the extreme violence of public justice transformed into a factory of converts, a bloody discipline and a pious spectacle for the people? Montaigne's extraordinarily rich humanist learning provided him with famous models. Erasmus' teaching, with its evangelical Christianity so hostile to the use of violence, had led to a current of thought that was critical of the death penalty. It had been expressed in a work that had at once become famous on its first publication in 1516: Thomas More's *Utopia*. Here 'extreme justice' was defined as 'extreme injury', taking over Cicero's expression *summum ius, summa iniuria*. And he appealed to the divine commandment, contrasting it with current practice: 'God has forbidden us to kill anyone; shall we kill so readily for the theft of a bit of small change?'²⁶ More considered the possibility that one might get around the divine prohibition with an agreement that exempted executioners from the biblical precept, but he at once showed that carefully targeted exemptions from divine decrees would lead to men establishing unlimited exemptions of the same kind in every field for their own convenience.

That page of the *Essais*, so mild and so radical, did not pass unnoticed by the authorities in Rome—that city of devout deaths on the scaffold. In the spring of 1581, Montaigne was called on to justify himself before the supreme ecclesiastical authority for the censorship of books, the Master of the Sacred Palace Sisto Fabbri.²⁷ He was an Italian Dominican—Montaigne tells us—who did not understand French, but had received a report from a French friar who had indicated various dubious points. And there is no doubt that the text seems capable of offending the suspicious orthodoxy of the Counter-Reformation on major questions. But those indicated by the friar concerned almost none of the topics that we might expect to have jarred Tridentine ears. The phrase that was found objectionable, Montaigne tells us, was the one that defined as cruelty

25 Idem, *Les Essais* 432–434; English translation in idem, *The Complete Works* 384–386.

26 More T., *Utopia*, ed. G.M. Logan – R.M. Adams (Cambridge: 2002) 21.

27 Godman P., *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine between Inquisition and Index* (Leiden – Boston: 2000) 45–48, 339–342.

whatever in executions went beyond a 'simple' death.²⁸ It shows a remarkable sensitivity in a reader who had found nothing to object to in the eulogy of Epicurus, the remarks on metempsychosis and the burial of animals, but had become suspicious at the criticism of current practices (especially in France) that sadistically added pain and torture to the death penalty.

Selective Bibliography

- Ademollo A., "Le Giustizie a Roma dal 1674 al 1739 e dal 1796 al 1840", *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia patria* 4 (1880) 429–534; 5 (1882) 305–364.
- Bastien P., *Une histoire de la peine de mort: Bourreaux et supplices, 1500–1800* (Paris: 2011).
- D'Ancona A. (ed.), *L'Italia alla fine del secolo XVI: Giornale di viaggio di Michele di Montaigne in Italia nel 1580 e 1581* (Città di Castello: 1889).
- Di Bella M.P., *Essai sur les supplices: L'état de victime* (Paris: 2011).
- Evans R.J., *Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany, 1600–1987* (Oxford – New York: 1996).
- Foucault M., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan, 2nd ed. (New York: 1995).
- Godman P., *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine between Inquisition and Index* (Leiden – Boston: 2000).
- Montaigne M. de, *Les Essais*, ed. P. Villey, 3rd ed. (Paris: 1978).
- Montaigne M. de, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. A. Thibaudet – M. Rat (Paris: 1962).
- Montaigne M. de, *The Complete Works: Essays, Travel Journal, Letters*, trans. D. Frame (New York: 2003).
- More T., *Utopia*, ed. G.M. Logan – R.M. Adams (Cambridge: 2002).
- Prosperi A. (ed.), *Misericordie: Conversioni sotto il patibolo tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Pisa: 2007).
- Spierenburg P., *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression* (Cambridge: 1984).
- Terpstra N. (ed.), *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy* (Kirkville, MO: 2008).

28 Montaigne, *Œuvres complètes* 1228–1229; English translation in idem, *The Complete Works* 1166. Actually, the document stored in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is more detailed than the verbal account given to Montaigne, including the reference to an opinion that condemned the execution: 'allega un fundamento dell'opinione di quei qui damnant punitione capitali ha <...>' (Godman, *The Saint as Censor* 341).

Van Dijkhuizen J.F., *Pain and Compassion in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: 2012).

Van Dülmen R., *Theater des Schreckens: Gerichtspraxis und Strafrituale in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: 1985).

The Incas of Cuzco and the Transformation of Sacred Space under Spanish Colonial Rule

Gabriela Ramos

The historical study of the intersection between space and religious conversion requires dissociating the concept of the sacred from the idea of immutability. In his *History of the New World* (1653) the Jesuit Bernabé Cobo provided a description of Cuzco's numerous *ceques* (shrines).¹ Cobo's account suggests that the sacred configuration of the city and its surroundings was formed and consolidated through continuous apparitions of persons and other non-human characters that, after accomplishing certain tasks, turned into stones, springs, mountains, temples, and a myriad of sacred sites. These materializations of the sacred distinguished themselves because of their appearance, their qualities and powers, their number, or the history they represented. Cuzco's sacred sites, spread over a wide-ranging territory, were under the care of Andean kin groups responsible for performing rituals commemorating them. Because of the ties linking sacred places to human groups, the way in which the city of Cuzco was arranged expressed the intense life and history of its dwellers.²

The Spanish invasion elicited a number of radical changes that transformed the city's configuration and the activities of its residents. The first group of Spanish conquistadors to arrive in Cuzco pillaged the temples, destroyed many sacred sites, and then occupied the former temples as well as elite residences. These buildings often became the property of the conquistadors and the religious orders. Yet, as John Rowe rightly asserted in his study of Cuzco's

* I am grateful to the editors for their suggestions and to Anne Pushkal for translating this chapter from the Spanish.

1 Cobo Bernabé, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1956); Rowe J.H., "Una relación de los adoratorios del antiguo Cuzco", *Histórica* 5 (1981) 209–261.

2 Idem, "La arqueología del Cuzco como historia cultural", in Ravines R. (ed.), *100 años de arqueología en el Perú* (Lima: 1970); Bauer B., *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: 2004); Protzen J.-P. – Rowe J.H., "Hawkaypata: The Terrace of Leisure", in Çelik Z. – Favro D. – Ingersoll R. (eds.), *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: 1994) 235–246.

archaeology as cultural history, in spite of the violence and destruction that characterized this period, Inca culture did not vanish. A complex and protracted process of adaptation to the new circumstances began with the very first years of the Spanish occupation of the city.

This paper studies the transformation of Cuzco's sacred spaces from the Spanish conquest (1530s) to the mid-seventeenth century, focusing on the role the descendants of the Inca rulers took in the process. I argue that along with Spanish attempts to violently suppress the traditional places of worship and eradicate Inca religious practices, negotiations between Spanish and Andeans over the use of sacred space also played an important part in the transformation. While occupation, looting and repression were manifestations of the conquest as well as signs of a militant, Catholic approach to a non-Christian culture, the Spanish simultaneously practiced negotiation to facilitate governing the city and its surroundings, and to promote conversion to Christianity among the indigenous population.

To demonstrate this hypothesis, I will first examine how convents and parishes were established and how they were related to the city's ancient sacred places. I use Spanish chronicles of the conquest and early colonization, minutes of the city council, city annals, and archaeological and historical studies to document this first part. Second, using information drawn from Cuzco's colonial notary records, I will examine the ties woven between the descendants of Inca rulers and the religious orders, the parishes, and religious confraternities. Despite the destruction and displacement of the main Inca sacred places, Cuzco city dwellers, whether elite or commoners, accepted and even appropriated the new Christian sacred sites that were built to replace them. In this study I aim to elucidate why this was so, and I will argue that tombs, especially those of the Incas, played a key role in this transformation.

The Residents of Cuzco and the Religious Orders

The religious orders benefited considerably from the Spanish conquistadors' drive to seize the most noted sites in the city of Cuzco. Dominicans, Franciscans, and the friars of Our Lady of Mercy (the religious orders that arrived first, together with the conquistadors, or shortly thereafter) soon took possession of former Inca temples, residences, and enclosures, which they received as gifts. On these sites the friars built their first residences and churches, from whence they began their proselytizing activities. For example, Coricancha, dedicated to the cult of the sun and the most prestigious Inca temple, became the property

of the Dominicans [Fig. 3.1].³ Coricancha's location (at the very centre of the city, thus ceremonies presided over by the Inca sovereign had often taken place within it) and meaning (the Incas identified the cult of the sun with themselves and elevated it to the rank of state cult) were both crucial to the Dominican missionary strategy, as we will see below. As for the Franciscans, they occupied two different sites before they settled in the place where their convent stands today. The first was in Tococachi, today the neighbourhood of San Blas. The Franciscans remained there for a few years but, concerned for their safety, they left, as Tococachi was too distant from the area where most of the Spanish lived. Their new abode was the palace known as Cassana, formerly a residence belonging to Inca Huayna Capac, which they received as a bequest from a Spanish conquistador.⁴ It is believed that Cassana had housed a set of shrines dedicated to the wind.⁵ Given its prestige and good location, it is unclear why the Franciscans abandoned Cassana only a few years later. Franciscan historian Antonine Tibesar has suggested that the turmoil caused by the civil wars that erupted shortly after the conquest led the Franciscans to move yet again to a safer place.⁶ Some years later, as the Spanish population grew in number and complexity, Cassana was torn down, and stores and houses for the use of colonial officials were built on the site.⁷ These changes notwithstanding, the Franciscans were able to capitalize on Cassana's symbolic significance, as I will discuss later.

Although the Augustinians arrived in Cuzco in 1559, more than twenty years after the conquest, they, too, had access to privileged sites of the former Inca capital. The buildings in which they settled had also originally been seized by the first Spanish conquistadors. They belonged to the Incas of 'royal blood', or Capac Ayllu, elite kin groups claiming direct descent from the Inca rulers.⁸ The Augustinian friars seem not to have noted anything remarkable about these buildings: neither the colonial chronicler of the order, fray Antonio de la Calancha, nor the modern Augustinian historian Avencio Villarejo comment

3 Vega Garcilaso de la, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, ed. A. Rosenblat, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: 1945); Esquivel y Navia D., *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco*, ed. F. Denegri, 2 vols. (Lima: 1980); Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*.

4 Idem, *El espacio sagrado de los incas: El sistema de ceques del Cuzco* (Cuzco: 2000) 70–71.

5 Protzen – Rowe, "Hawkaypata".

6 Tibesar A., *Franciscan Beginnings in Colonial Peru* (Washington: 1953).

7 Bauer, *El espacio sagrado*; Vega, *Comentarios*; Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias*.

8 Vega, *Comentarios*; Covey A., *How the Incas Built their Heartland: State Formation and the Innovation of Imperial Strategies in the Sacred Valley, Peru* (Ann Arbor: 2006).



FIGURE 3.1 *Temple dedicated to the Sun in Coricancha, the most important Inca sacred site. The Dominicans received the Coricancha as a donation from a Spanish conquistador and built their church on top. This is a view from the back of the Dominican church. Photo © Gabriela Ramos.*

on their pre-Hispanic antecedents.⁹ The Augustinians established their convent and church on the site, and soon erected an altar dedicated to Our Lady of Copacabana, a Marian devotion whose original shrine, also under the care of the Augustinians, was located near Lake Titicaca. One of the earliest Catholic cults to take root in the southern Andes, the Copacabana shrine was closely associated with the Incas. In their Cuzco convent church, the Augustinians promoted the cult by setting up the altar and organizing confraternities devoted to it.¹⁰

The Amarucancha palace, a property of Inca Huayna Capac, became the site where the Jesuits built their church and convent.¹¹ The early history of this

9 Calancha Antonio de la, *Corónica moralizada del orden de San Agustín*, 6 vols. (Lima: 1974); Villarejo A., *Los agustinos en el Perú y Bolivia, 1548–1965* (Lima: 1965).

10 For a contemporary history of this Marian devotion, see Ramos Gavilán A., *Historia del santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (Lima: 1988).

11 Vega, *Comentarios*, pt. 2, bk. 1, ch. 32.

Jesuit church is also coloured by Inca associations. In a letter the famed José de Acosta wrote in 1579 to Everardo Mercuriano, general of the Society of Jesus in Rome, he narrated how the Jesuit church and convent were built on the foundations of an ancient Inca building. Acosta was pleased to inform Mercuriano that descendants of the former Cuzco rulers carried stones taken from former Inca buildings as they sang and danced in what seemed part of an old Inca ritual:

They bring these stones from the ancient buildings that existed in Cuzco at the time of the Incas, very sumptuous buildings indeed; some of these stones are astonishingly large. They [the elite Incas] gather according to their *ayllus* or kin groups and bring the stones to our house. They sport their finest attire and feather adornments, as though attending a festive occasion; they all march through the city, singing and reciting things in their language [...].¹²

This account of the construction of the early Jesuit church suggests that the Incas who participated in the ceremony were performing a ritual customarily practiced before the Spanish conquest to mark their presence in a special place.¹³ This they did by moving stones cut and polished in their characteristic style to set up new temples, some of which were situated at great distances from Cuzco.¹⁴ The case of the Jesuit church does not seem to be the only one of its kind. It could be argued that the ritual movement of Inca stones implied more than a simple acceptance of the new Christianized sacred site: it was simultaneously a gesture of appropriation of the newly built Christian temple.

In the years between the arrival of the Spanish in Cuzco and the establishment of the first parishes, almost all missionary activity was under the control of the religious orders.¹⁵ Because the Christian buildings were erected upon

12 Egaña de A. – Fernández E. (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, 8 vols. (Rome: 1954–1986), vol. 11, 612–613 (“Traen esta piedra de edificios antiguos que en el Cuzco los avía en el tiempo de los Ingas, muy bravos, y son algunas piedras de estraña grandeza. Júntanse por sus aillos, o parentelas, a traer la piedra a nuestra casa, y vestidos como de fiesta, y con sus plumajes y galas vienen todos cantando por medio de la ciudad y diciendo cosas en su lengua [...]).

13 This is not the building that stands today in Cuzco’s main plaza.

14 Ogburn D., “Power in Stone: The Long-distance Movement of Building Blocks in the Inca Empire”, *Ethnohistory* 51 (2004) 101–135; idem, “Dynamic Display, Propaganda, and the Reinforcement of Provincial Power in the Inca Empire”, *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 14 (2004) 225–239.

15 Julien C., “La organización parroquial del Cuzco y la ciudad incaica”, *Tawantinsuyu* 5 (1998) 82–96.

ancient Inca temples they attracted the city's native population. This made it much easier for the friars to persuade the people of Cuzco to attend religious instruction and ceremonies. Before discussing this hypothesis, I will explore in more detail the establishment of the Cuzco parishes and their relation to the ancient sacred places.

Cuzco Catholic Parishes and Inca Sacred Places

In 1559, the viceroy of Peru, Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, charged Polo de Ondegardo, *corregidor* (magistrate) of Cuzco, with relocating the indigenous population of the city and organizing the first parishes. Polo de Ondegardo was the official most qualified to carry out these tasks, not only because he was the highest colonial officer in the city, but also because of the quantity of information he had thus far collected about Inca religion, politics and administration. The investigations Ondegardo conducted to understand the allocation of resources destined for the state cult and establish how taxation had been organized under the Incas led to the discovery of multiple shrines spread throughout the city of Cuzco and its surroundings. These sacred sites (also known as *ceques*), many of which had not been visible to the Spanish eye, provided clues that led to the discovery of the mummies of some Inca rulers.

We do not know to what extent Ondegardo used the information he had gathered about the sacred spaces of the city of Cuzco to select the sites where the first parish churches were to be erected. However, it does seem that the links between sacred sites, *barrios* (neighbourhoods), kin groups, and social hierarchies served as the foundation upon which the parishes were created [Fig. 3.2]. Despite the hostile words Ondegardo had for Inca religion in the reports he wrote about his findings, the plan he devised for setting up the parishes does not appear to be aimed at suppressing the ancient sacred sites completely, nor at cutting the ties linking them to specific kin groups. Nevertheless, Ondegardo's plan does not seem to make the new parishes correspond perfectly to the ancient Inca sacred sites. Catherine Julien studied the relationships between the parishes and the kin groups or Cuzco *ayllus*, while Brian Bauer, using the information provided by Cobo on the *ceques*, identified the position of a number of these sacred sites. The studies by these two scholars allow us to see the possible connections between ancient Inca and colonial Christian sacred sites, and from the studies we can infer that each parish was linked to a sacred site or to a complex of shrines. However, it is not possible to assert that there was a direct relationship between the significance or rank

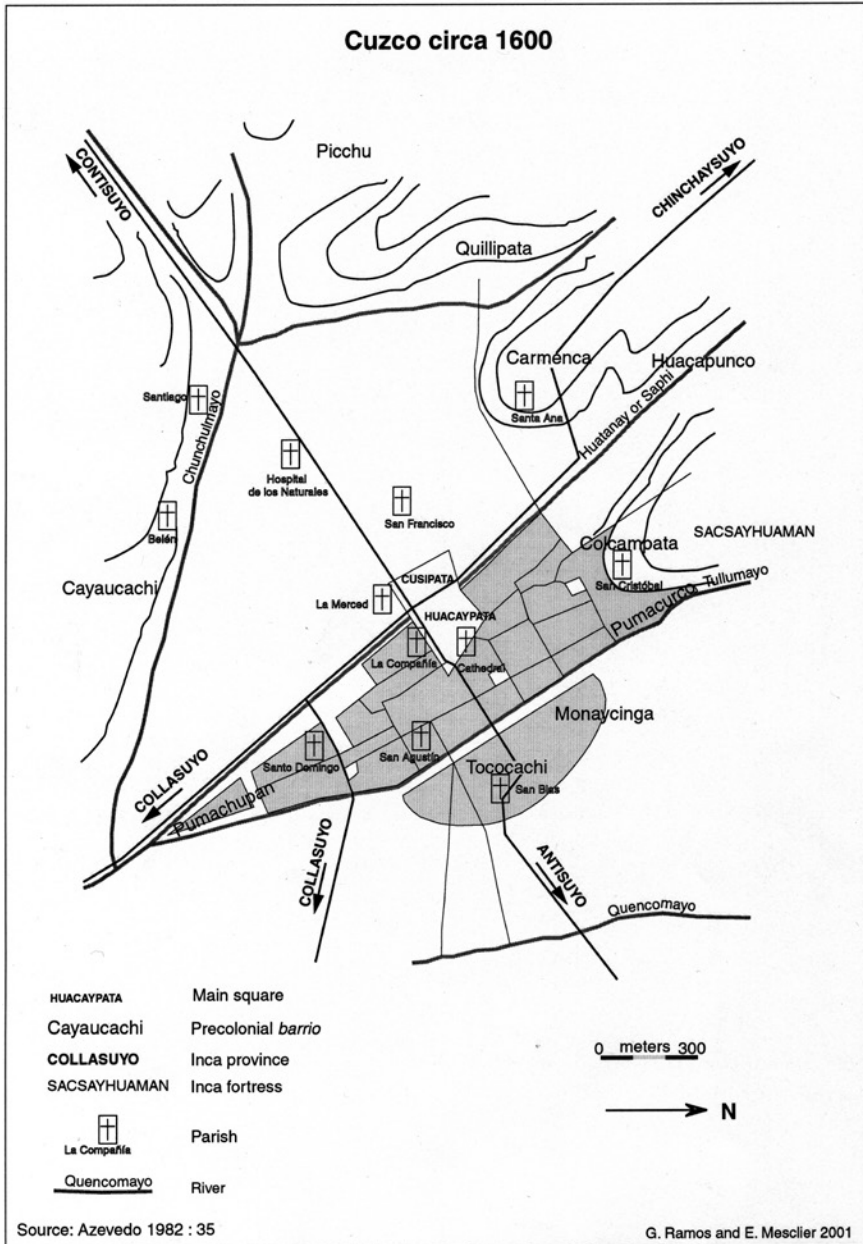


FIGURE 3.2 Map showing the location of Cuzco parishes ca. 1600. Map © Évelyne Mesclier.

of an Inca shrine and that of the new parish associated with it, or vice versa. To assume that such a connection existed would imply a mechanical understanding of how Cuzco's sacred space was Christianized. Such an understanding breaks down when we take into account that the parish system instituted by the Spanish was inspired by the principle that urban centres and neighbourhoods were organized around a centre that contained the sacred and represented a community of believers, in which and from whence a number of religious activities were organized. This is very different from the principle (if there was one) that animated the *ceque* system, which was based on the idea that the sacred had multiple materializations disseminated throughout a wide-ranging space. Thus, for example, in the area where the Santa Ana parish was founded, there was a shrine consisting of 'a group of round stones' called Marcatampu.¹⁶ Cayaocache or Cayocachi, the place where the parish of Belén was built, was linked to at least eight shrines.¹⁷

The establishment of convents, new residences, and shops, and the laying out of new streets, plazas, and parishes were aimed at remaking Cuzco as a Spanish city, thus facilitating its occupation and government. These changes led to the displacement of its original elite to less prestigious areas, modifying the social relations among the culturally diverse groups living in the city. The city council minutes demonstrate that these transformations were neither easy nor swift. Indeed, the Spanish postponed the occupation of the main residences and buildings in an effort to avert the protests of the local population.¹⁸ It is worth asking whether the displacement of the original inhabitants of Cuzco's city centre involved the marginalization of the Inca elite and their severance from the (now Christianized) main sacred sites of the city, as some scholars have suggested.¹⁹ To examine this question and to propose a different interpretation of these processes of displacement and accommodation, I turn now to the second part of this inquiry, in which I will analyse the ties that both elite and non-elite indigenous Cuzco dwellers established and maintained to the Christian sacred sites.

16 Bauer, *El espacio sagrado* 73.

17 Ibidem, 142–143.

18 Rivera Serna R. (ed.), *Libro primero de cabildos de la ciudad del Cuzco* (Lima: 1965).

19 Julien, "La organización" 93: 'El nuevo orden mantiene intacto [*sic*] la organización social de la ciudad incaica mientras que rompe con el pasado de una manera definitiva. Logra disociar los grupos sociales de la geografía sagrada de su ciudad, disgregando la unión entre seres y tierra que formaba el núcleo del poder imperial. Al mismo tiempo consigue apartar y marginalizar [*sic*] la elite incaica, desplazándola a las afueras de su ciudad'.

The Incas and the Sacred Space of Colonial Cuzco

Most accounts of Inca conversion to Christianity do not mention the names of the protagonists.²⁰ My concern in identifying specific individuals and kin groups is not inspired by an interest in resurrecting a perspective that exalts the power of great men to make history. Rather, individual stories furnish significant clues that can help us describe and understand the transformations colonial society underwent. For example, determining which individuals or families established ties to which religious orders, parishes, or confraternities can help us figure out the role they played in the shaping of Andean colonial society. Knowing the places where these groups were settled and understanding the social and religious significance of these sites is crucial to this study.

This investigation has encountered several hurdles because of the dearth of sources informing us about key aspects of the story. For example, there is very little written evidence to explain the rationale behind the distribution of the indigenous population of Cuzco among the religious orders indoctrinating them. Proximity between the Cuzco neighbourhoods (*barrios*) and the convents could have been a reason, but we are not certain about this. Clearly following a strategy that had been employed in Europe, the friars placed special emphasis upon approaching the powerful, the wealthy, and the politically influential, in the belief that their religious conversion would have a multiplying effect among the subordinate sectors of the population. Therefore, the religious orders in Cuzco must have approached several families and visited more than one area of the city. Another challenge is to ascertain the standing and affiliations of individuals. In several cases archival documents give us a hint of a person's social rank, but it is not always possible to know to which family or kin group he or she belonged. These difficulties notwithstanding, this inquiry allows us to outline the part Inca descendants had in the new configuration of the sacred space of colonial Cuzco.

Both friars and secular clergy endeavoured to weave ties with Cuzco's native elite, as they perceived such relations were crucial for the government of the territory. Grave failures, like the Augustinian mission to the Vilcabamba

20 The conversion of Paullo Inca, a son of Inca Huayna Capac, is an important exception. Father Luis de Morales, who governed the Cuzco diocese during the early and decisive years of Spanish presence, wrote a few letters relating the details of Paullo's indoctrination and conversion. See Lissón Chávez E., *La iglesia de España en el Perú: Colección de documentos para la historia de la iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols. (Seville: 1943–1956), vol. III, 80–81.

mountains—a bastion of Inca resistance—to persuade the leaders to surrender to the Spanish,²¹ or remarkable achievements, like that of fray Juan de Vivero, prior of the Augustine convent in Cuzco, who baptized Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui, are undoubtedly memorable, extraordinary stories.²² However, the attention these episodes have received has made us historians lose sight of the ongoing and consistent process which was occurring simultaneously in the city of Cuzco, where a number of men and women, both elites and commoners, took heed of the missionaries and converted to Christianity.

Perhaps—instead of assuming an orderly distribution of Cuzco's indigenous people among the religious orders for their indoctrination—we should envisage the manner in which missionaries approached them as complex and even chaotic, with the friars competing against each other to gain influence over Andeans, especially the more powerful and wealthy among them.²³ We can imagine, too, that perhaps the men and women of Cuzco were able to weigh the relative advantages of establishing friendly relations with the Jesuits rather than with the Dominicans or the friars of Our Lady of Mercy. With this in mind, I will now turn my attention to these relations, focusing on tombs in the churches.

Discussing the significance of the tombs of the Inca elite requires that we keep in mind that the Christian custom of interring the corpses of the deceased in the churches was founded on the idea that the bodies of the dead should be placed in locations that would facilitate the salvation of their souls. The souls of the dead benefited from church burials because of the proximity these gave their remains to sacred images and to the tombs and relics of the saints, and because churches were where Mass was celebrated and the prayers of the faithful were regularly conducted. To this end, the care provided by the living was essential. Any person who had been baptized had to be buried in a church since it was not only a right of the deceased, but an obligation on the part of the living. In the Andes, because the customs and ideas surrounding the disposal of the bodies of the dead were very different from those accepted by Christians, funeral practices were central to the religious conversion of the indigenous population. In contrast to the Christian tradition, which prescribed that all interments be in a single place (the church or the adjacent cemetery),

21 This mission ended in the harrowing death of fray Diego Ortiz, the first Augustinian martyr in the Andes. See Calancha, *Corónica moralizada*, vol. v, bk. 4, chs. 5 and 6.

22 Ibidem, vol. III, 1036.

23 Friction and disputes between the religious orders over the control of the privileged sites of the city were inevitable. See for example the letter that a Diego de Robles wrote in 1572 to King Philip II. See Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. I, 516–517.

Andean custom permitted placing the remains of dead in a variety of places. Among the Incas, this diversity existed as well.

The variety of ways of disposing of the remains of the dead in the pre-Columbian Andes was such that it is not possible to describe them here in detail. However, we can very succinctly say that in some regions people placed the bodies of their dead close to the sites where their ancestors had originated or, more precisely, emerged into the world.²⁴ Others interred their dead in temples, residences, and pyramids built for that purpose above or below ground. Where the dead were placed also varied according to their rank within a kin group.

Regarding Inca funeral customs, sixteenth-century writers like Juan de Betanzos suggest that there was no standard practice, and even the integrity of the individual body was not a given. For example, the remains of an Inca ruler and his relatives could be placed in more than one location, for instance in the family house in the city, while a likeness of the deceased containing parts of his body would be put in another site built especially for that purpose.²⁵

Conversion to Christianity in the Andes involved demanding that the indigenous population renounce using the places that had formerly served as tombs and accept the churches as the only places suitable for interring the remains of their dead. This entailed considerable sacrifice, since it meant severing the ties Andeans maintained with the places they traditionally considered sacred. Complying with the mandate of using the Christian churches as tombs implied their disengagement from the remains of their ancestors. This change further involved the Andeans' agreeing to perform the rituals dedicated to the dead in the churches, often under the missionaries' surveillance. To achieve these aims, both church and colonial officials made use of repression and violence, but they also resorted to persuasion and negotiation. Much has been written about the former strategy.²⁶ In what follows, I analyse cases exemplifying the latter approach. The examples I will discuss focus on the religious orders of St. Dominic (Santo Domingo) and St. Francis (San Francisco) and their respective churches. I also use examples from the parish known today as San Pedro,

24 On Andean ideas about the origin of the world and humankind, Taylor G., *Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarochirí y Yauyos* (Lima: 2000); Ramos G., *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco 1532–1670* (Notre Dame, IN: 2010) 9–33.

25 Betanzos Juan de, *Suma y narración de los incas* (Madrid: 2004) ch. 39.

26 Duviols P., *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial: L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie entre 1532 et 1660* (Lima: 1971); Mills K., *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton: 1997).

which during the colonial period was known as the ‘Indian hospital parish’ of Our Lady of Remedies (*Remedios*).²⁷

In the years following the conquest, the Dominican friars cultivated a special relationship with noted members of the Cuzco native elite. Among these were two descendants of Incas Huayna Capac and Atahualpa,²⁸ don Francisco Hilaquita Ynga and doña Ana Quispe Asarpay Coya.²⁹ How the links between Hilaquita and the Dominicans were forged is unclear. Perhaps they were initiated during the conquest and developed over the following years. Because the Dominicans had arrived in the Andes with the conquistadors they enjoyed a leading position in the city of Cuzco. As stated above, they built their convent and church literally upon the Coricancha, the main Inca temple. It is possible that the head of the Hilaquita family accepted baptism because the Dominicans offered him and his descendants a place in the prestigious temple for their indoctrination where they would be allowed to build their funeral chapel. The relations the Dominican friars maintained with Francisco Hilaquita and especially with doña Ana Quispe Asarpay Coya were more complex, as suggested by the fact that Asarpay married don Jerónimo Paucaruinche, a *curaca* (chief) of Papres, a town in the environs of Cuzco that was under the care of the Dominicans.³⁰ Perhaps the friars had had a hand in the negotiations leading to the wedding between the Cuzqueño elite Inca woman and the

27 This parish was originally dedicated to Our Lady of Remedies. See Esquivel y Navia, *Noticias cronológicas*, vol. 1, 180.

28 At the time of the Spanish invasion in 1532 there was a war between Inca leaders Atahualpa and Huascar, who were competing to succeed their father, Huayna Capac. Atahualpa and Huascar belonged to different lineages since –according to Inca custom—Huayna Capac had fathered them by different women. Huayna Capac appears to have died unexpectedly of a disease—probably smallpox—brought by the Europeans to the New World, leaving the question of his succession unresolved.

29 Historian Donato Amado has identified Francisco Hilaquita as a descendant of Huayna Capac. See Amado D., “El alférez real de los incas: Resistencia cambios, y continuidad de la identidad indígena”, in Decoster J.-J. (ed.), *Incás e indios cristianos: Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales* (Cuzco: 2002) 221–249. In his last will and testament, Hilaquita does not mention Atahualpa as his ancestor (Archivo Histórico del Cuzco [henceforth AHC], Protocolos Notariales, Francisco Hurtado 118, fol. 1559r); however, his sister, doña Ana Quispe Asarpay Coya, does (AHC, Protocolos Notariales, Francisco de la Fuente 107, fol. 152r). Both Hilaquita and Asarpay stated in their wills that their father’s name was don Diego Hilaquita.

30 Meléndez Juan de, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Yndias en la historia de la gran Provincia de San Juan Bautista del Peru de el Orden de Predicadores*, 3 vols. (Rome, Nicolas Angel Tinassio: 1681), vol. 1, 605.

provincial chief, and had officiated at the Christian ceremony.³¹ In any case, it is worth noting as evidence of the close relationship between this family and the Dominicans that Hilaquita and Asarpay stated in their wills and final testaments that they wished to be buried in the church of Santo Domingo, their bodies shrouded in Dominican habits. Through doña Ana's intercession, the privilege of access to a burial site in so prestigious a sacred place was also extended to Paucaruinche and his children from a previous union. Thus one of the most shocking events of the conquest—the dispossession of the Incas of their paramount temple—was to an important extent reversed, as the placement of the tombs of their descendants in the church of Santo Domingo represented a way of regaining this sacred site.

The Franciscan order likewise allied itself with a group of descendants of Inca Huayna Cápac. In this case the family claimed descent from Paullo Inca, a high-ranking figure, who had cooperated with the Spaniards almost since their arrival in Cuzco. His funeral took place in 1550, drawing the attention of the entire population of Cuzco and causing controversy among the Spanish. This was because, although Paullo had converted to Christianity, adopting the name don Cristóbal Paullo, a year after his death his relatives and followers publicly performed the Inca funeral ritual of *purucaya* in his honour.³²

Possibly because of Paullo's shifting religious loyalties, the whereabouts of his body are not documented. Historians and archaeologists have recently set out to find it, but this study does not share that concern.³³ For the purposes of my argument it is more important to elucidate where Paullo's descendants, the Franciscans, and the people of Cuzco *believed* his remains were located. Many were certain that Paullo's body rested in the Franciscan church beneath an altar dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe. It would be pointless to attempt

31 In the period before the Spanish conquest the Incas gained allies and secured their conquests by intermarrying with leading provincial families. See Rostworowski M., *Estructuras andinas del poder: Ideología religiosa y política* (Lima: 1983).

32 The *purucaya* consisted of a series of rites directed toward enhancing the memory of the Inca ruler. To convey its meaning to their European readers, Spanish chroniclers like Betanzos called it 'canonization'. See Betanzos, *Suma y narración* 183 (ch. 31); Cieza de León Pedro, *Crónica del Perú: Segunda Parte* (Lima: 1986) 98–99, 178 (ch. 32).

33 The search for Paullo's body in the Cuzco parish of San Cristóbal has been much publicized in the Peruvian and Spanish press. See for example, "Buscan los restos de uno de los últimos hijos de Huayna Capac", *El Comercio* (Lima), September 11, 2007; "Aquí yace un príncipe inca y cristiano", *El País* (Madrid), September 14, 2007; "Restos óseos en San Cristóbal son de Paullo Inca", *La República* (Lima), September 14, 2007. In spite of the latter headline, no DNA test results were released, and the identity of the human remains that were found was never revealed.

to demonstrate the veracity of this idea, since today it is no longer possible to put the pieces of the puzzle together. In any case, the sources suggest that more than one idea circulated about the place where Paullo's remains rested. In colonial Cuzco, the descendants of Inca Huayna Capac recognized more than one Christianized space as representative of their lineage. As we will see, the shifts in these stories about Paullo Inca's body are explained by the transformations that the city of Cuzco and its indigenous elite went through in the years immediately following the Spanish conquest, and by the political circumstances that influenced the relations between Cuzco's Spanish elite and the families claiming descent from the Inca rulers.

The precise date when the Franciscans moved to the area where their church and convent stands today is not known. Some sources suggest that the transfer took place in 1549 while others state that it was not until 1555 that the Franciscans acquired the site.³⁴ Remember, though, that before moving the Franciscans had occupied Cassana, the house that had belonged to Inca Huayna Capac. Could this be why they claimed that Paullo's body rested in their church? Even if at the time of Paullo's death his body had been taken to the Christian shrine he allegedly built in Colcampata (the site on which nine years later Polo de Ondegardo chose to found the San Cristóbal parish church [Figs. 3.3 and 3.4]), the Franciscans must have had a compelling reason to adduce that they had custody of Paullo's body and that, in any case, his descendants had the right to be interred in the Franciscan church. Several documents found in Cuzco notary records dated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show that men and women claiming descent from Inca Huayna Capac and Paullo Inca requested burial in San Francisco: such was the case of don Cristóbal Concha Auqui Ynga, who issued his testament in 1569.³⁵ In 1586, doña Gerónima Tocto, a native of Huaroc, in the Yucay Valley, asserted in her will that she, like all of Paullo's legitimate descendants, had the right to be buried in San Francisco, in the chapel that Paullo himself had founded.³⁶ Sixty years later, in 1646, we find this tradition firmly in place among the Inca elite. Don Fernando Ynga, *alcalde mayor* (chief or district mayor)³⁷ of the eight Cuzco parishes, also claimed his right as a descendant of Huayna Capac to be

34 Tibesar, *Franciscan Beginnings*; Chara Zereceda O. – Caparó Gil V., *Iglesias del Cuzco: Historia y arquitectura* (Cuzco: 1998).

35 Don Cristóbal described himself as the brother of a noted son of Paullo Inca. See AHC, *Protocolos Notariales*, Antonio Sánchez 17, fol. 908r.

36 AHC, *Protocolos Notariales*, Pedro de la Carrera Ron 4, fol. 663r.

37 The post involved representing the Incas on public occasions and collecting tribute and alms from the indigenous population of the city.



FIGURE 3.3 *The 'temple' or 'palace' of Colcampata stands next to San Cristóbal parish church in Cuzco. Colcampata 'belonged' to don Cristóbal Paullo Inca. Photo © Gabriela Ramos.*



FIGURE 3.4 *Built next to the 'palace' of Colcampata, the church of San Cristóbal, in Cuzco, stands in the place where it was originally founded. Excavations to locate don Cristóbal Paullo Inca's tomb were conducted here. Photo © Gabriela Ramos.*



FIGURE 3.5 *Lateral entrance to the church and convent of San Francisco, in Cuzco. The original convent was located a few blocks south from here. Photo © Gabriela Ramos.*

entombed in San Francisco [Fig. 3.5].³⁸ Not only the indigenous descendants of Huayna Capac sought to be buried in Paulo's funeral chapel, but mestizo progeny claimed this right as well, as for example in the will of Bernardino de Mesa, a descendant of a noted Spanish conquistador and an elite Inca woman.³⁹

The third and final case I will discuss concerns the parish of the Indian hospital, known today as San Pedro [Fig. 3.6]. It allows us to see that the secular clergy who were in charge of its administration followed strategies similar to those of the religious orders in their dealings with the indigenous families that boasted a close connection to the Inca. Here the tombs also played a pivotal role in joining the newly converted Indians to the recently established parishes. The curate Pedro Arias assured the men who had been appointed leaders of the parish in writing that they would receive funeral rites that would reflect their high social standing. Such was the point made by don Juan Gualpa Sucso

38 AHC, Protocolos Notariales, Juan Flores de Bastidas 91, fol. 908r.

39 Mesa issued his will in 1627. See AHC, Protocolos Notariales, Luis Diez de Morales 71, fol. 579r.



FIGURE 3.6 *San Pedro, in Cuzco, formerly Nuestra Señora de los Remedios or Parish of the Hospital de Naturales. Although the church stands in the place where it was founded, this temple was built in the seventeenth century, most likely after the 1650 earthquake. Photo © Gabriela Ramos.*

Ynga, a descendant of Viracocha Inca and a member of a family that had been in charge of governing the Antisuyo province of the Inca empire.⁴⁰ Here, the benefits of a burial place in the church were also extended to at least some non-elite Indians: cases of commoners who requested burial in this church are also documented. Their reasons for demanding a grave site in the hospital parish were related not to lustre or nobility, but to their interest in reuniting with members of their kin or confraternity and maintaining the ties they had had in life beyond death. Such was the case of a man named Joan Guamani, who in 1586 asked to be interred in the hospital parish 'next to the seat of the Indians of don Francisco Morocho, *cacique* [chief], the place where they

40 The Inca empire was divided into four provinces, and the Antisuyo province was situated east of the city of Cuzco. See Don Juan Gualpa Sucso's testament is in AHC, *Protocolos Notariales*, Pedro de la Carrera Ron 4, fol. 874v.

currently sit to listen to the doctrine every Sunday'.⁴¹ People belonging to *ayllus* or indigenous kin groups also made similar requests.

The historical study of the remarkable transformations that Cuzco's sacred spaces underwent throughout the colonial period shows that the power of the sacred lies in its capacity to change. While we tend to interpret this capacity as an inner force that allows the sacred to persist independent of human agency, religious conversion projects a light on these processes that calls their autonomy into question. The changes to the former Inca capital and especially to its sacred spaces, induced by the Spanish conquest and subsequent reorganization of the city according to European criteria, were so extreme that anyone might think that its past had been obliterated to the point of rendering the city unrecognizable to its indigenous inhabitants. They could have thought that Cuzco was no longer their city. The founding of convents and parishes meant dispossession and displacement for many, and desecrated a multitude of places of great significance for the people of Cuzco. However, these transformations cannot be read in one sense only. If the new churches were to come alive and effectively become Christian sacred places, it was necessary not only that the living attend them, but also that they house the remains of the dead. As places where the past was invoked, the tombs in the churches were among the most meaningful sites for individuals and families to gather and commemorate their history. Knowing that they were close to their ancestors and near to their ancient sacred sites, the descendants of the Inca and other indigenous people of Cuzco became central agents of yet another reshaping of the city's sacred space.

Selective Bibliography

- Amado D., "El alférez real de los incas: Resistencia, cambios y continuidad de la identidad indígena", in Decoster J.-J. (ed.), *Incas e indios cristianos: Elites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales* (Cuzco: 2002).
- Bauer B., *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: 2004).
- Bauer B., *El espacio sagrado de los incas: El sistema de ceques del Cuzco* (Cuzco: 2000).
- Betanzos Juan de, *Suma y narración de los incas* (Madrid: 2004).
- Calancha Antonio de la, *Corónica moralizada del orden de San Agustín*, 6 vols. (Lima: 1974).

41 AHC, Protocolos Notariales, Pedro de la Carrera Ron 4, fol. 668v.

- Cieza de León Pedro, *Crónica del Perú: Segunda Parte* (Lima: 1986).
- Cobo Bernabé, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: 1956).
- Covey A., *How the Incas Built their Heartland: State Formation and the Innovation of Imperial Strategies in the Sacred Valley, Peru* (Ann Arbor: 2006).
- Duviols P., *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial: L'extirpation de l'idolâtrie entre 1532 et 1660* (Lima: 1971).
- Egaña de A. – Fernández E. (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, 8 vols. (Rome: 1954–1986).
- Esquivel y Navia D., *Noticias cronológicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco*, ed. F. Denegri Luna, 2 vols. (Lima: 1980).
- Julien C., “La organización parroquial del Cuzco y la ciudad incaica”, *Tawantinsuyu* 5 (1998) 82–96.
- Lissón y Chávez E., *La iglesia de España en el Perú: Colección de documentos para la historia de la iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols (Seville: 1943–1956).
- Meléndez Juan de, *Tesoros verdaderos de las Yndias en la historia de la gran provincia de San Juan Bautista del Peru de el Orden de Predicadores*, 3 vols. (Rome, Nicolas Angel Tinassio: 1681).
- Mills K., *Idolâtry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton: 1997).
- Ogburn D., “Power in Stone: The Long-Distance Movement of Building Blocks in the Inca Empire”, *Ethnohistory* 51 (2004) 101–135.
- Ogburn D., “Dynamic Display, Propaganda, and the Reinforcement of Provincial Power in the Inca Empire”, *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 14 (2004) 225–239.
- Protzen J.-P. – Rowe J.H., “Hawkaypata: The Terrace of Leisure”, in Çelik Z. – Favro D. – Ingersoll R. (eds.), *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: 1994).
- Ramos Gavilán A., *Historia del santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (Lima: 1988).
- Ramos G., *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco 1532–1670* (Notre Dame, IN: 2010).
- Rivera Serna R., *Libro primero de cabildos de la ciudad del Cuzco* (Lima: 1965).
- Rostworowski M., *Estructuras andinas del poder: Ideología religiosa y política* (Lima: 1983).
- Rowe J.H., “La arqueología del Cuzco como historia cultural”, in Ravines R. (ed.), *100 años de arqueología en el Perú* (Lima: 1970).
- Rowe J.H., “Una relación de los adoratorios del antiguo Cuzco”, *Histórica* 5, 2 (1981) 209–261.
- Taylor G., *Camac, camay y camasca y otros ensayos sobre Huarochirí y Yauyos* (Lima: 2000).

Tibesar A., *Franciscan Beginnings in Colonial Peru* (Washington: 1953).

Vega Garcilaso de la, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, ed. A. Rosenblat, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: 1945).

Villarejo A., *Los agustinos en el Perú y Bolivia, 1548–1965* (Lima: 1965).

The Spread of Catholicism in Seventeenth-Century Palestinian Villages

Felicita Tramontana

On 31 August 1694 a bundle of documents was presented to the Roman Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*. From 1622 onwards this congregation had the authority to oversee mission activity where no established Church hierarchy existed, as was the case in the Middle East. Among these documents were letters written by the Guardian of the Custody of the Holy Land of Jerusalem in 1692–1693.¹ In them, the Father Guardian proudly described the tireless proselytizing of the monks in the Ottoman district of Jerusalem and extolled their achievements. After listing the Catholics who lived in Bethlehem he described the spread of Catholicism in the villages nearby. He wrote that from 1676 to 1692 in the village of Bayt Jālā ('Botticella') forty-five Greeks converted to Catholicism.² He added that in Bayt Saḥūr ('Villaggio delli pastori di Betelemme') between 1691 and 1692, ten families converted, raising the number of the small Catholic community to sixty 'souls'.³

The spread of the Catholic faith in the Middle East started in the seventeenth century thanks to the Franciscans of the Custody of the Holy Land and to the missionaries who since the 1620s had arrived in the area.⁴ According to Lucette Valensi, the rate of conversion to Catholicism grew steadily, reaching a peak in the final decades of the seventeenth century and in the

1 The Franciscans of the Custody of the Holy Land presented the four letters and a summary at the General Congregation held on 31 August 1694. In these letters the guardian of the Custody described the activities pursued by the Franciscans and listed the Catholics that inhabited the Holy Land and the sacraments administered by the monks in the places where they had parishes. See Archivio della Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli *De Propaganda Fide*, Rome, Scritture originali riferite ai congressi generali [henceforth SOCG] 518, fols. 345–356.

2 SOCG 518, fol. 345r.

3 Ibidem.

4 Heyberger B., *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique: Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles* (Rome: 1994) 275.

early eighteenth century.⁵ Because Islamic law prohibited proselytising among Muslims, those who embraced Catholicism were mostly members of non-Muslim minorities, mainly Eastern Christians who lived in Ottoman territories. When Jerusalem was conquered by the Ottoman sultan Selim (1517) the majority of the population of the region was already Muslim. Since the start of Islamic rule in Palestine, the life of Jewish and Christian minorities had been regulated by the *dhimma* system. The *dhimma* was a sort of contract which stated that non-Muslims were to be accorded hospitality and security of life and property on condition that they pay the poll tax, the *jizya*,⁶ and acknowledge the superiority of Islam. They were allowed to practice their religion, but its display—for example, the performing of ceremonies in public—was prohibited.⁷ The Christian population in Palestine and, more generally, in the Middle East was not a united community, either politically or theologically. The pre-eminent group in the seventeenth century was the Greek one, alongside which there was a range of Oriental Churches, each with its own rituals and liturgical languages, most of them dating back to the fifth century.⁸ This is the case, for example, with the Coptic Church and the Nestorians, who were followers of a theological tradition anathematized by the Orthodox mainstream in 431. There were also the Armenians, whose presence in Jerusalem dates back to the fourth century.

Conversion to Catholicism in the Middle East has been treated in many scholarly works, yet the district of Jerusalem has never been the subject of specific studies. According to the Ottoman administrative division, the district of Jerusalem was part of the province of Damascus; its size changed during the centuries of Ottoman rule. In the seventeenth century it extended from

5 Valensi L., "Relations intercommunautaires et changements d'affiliation religieuse au Moyen-Orient", in García-Arenal M. (ed.), *Conversions islamiques: Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen* (Paris: 2001) 227–245, at 230.

6 On the *jizya* see Cahen C. – Īnalçık H. – Hardy P., "Djizya", in Gib H.A.R. et al. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 11 vols. (Leiden – Boston: 1954–2009), vol. II, 559–567. On the payment of the *jizya* in sixteenth-century Palestine see Cohen A., *Jewish Life under Islam* (Cambridge, MA: 1984) 20; for the fiscal division of Palestinian territory with regard specifically to the payment of the *jizya*, see idem, *Palestine in the 18th Century* (Jerusalem: 1973) 249.

7 Peri O., "Ottoman Rule, Islam and Christian Cult in Seventeenth-Century Jerusalem", *Archiv Orientalní* 8 (1998) 299–304.

8 Joseph J., *Muslim-Christians Relations and Inter-Christian Rivalries in the Middle East* (Albany: 1983) 1–10; Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient* 13–18.

Ramallah in the north, to Hebron in the south, and to Jericho in the east.⁹ Politically, the first half of that century witnessed the rise of local dynasties in the Arab provinces: in many of these, power was *de facto* assumed by local governing families.¹⁰ In Palestine the Riḍwāns took control of the district of Gaza and the Ṭurabāys of Lajjun. Fakhr al-dīn governed Safed, together with Mount Lebanon, while the Farrūkh family ruled the district of Jerusalem.¹¹ This state of affairs slowly changed in the second half of the century; from 1656 the newly appointed vezirs Koprülü launched their campaign to regain control of the Palestinian districts.¹² The rule of the Farrūkh family in Jerusalem ended in 1671 when ‘Assāf Farrūkh was assassinated.

Catholicism spread in this district thanks to the efforts of the Franciscans of the Custody of the Holy Land, whose presence in Jerusalem dates back to the Middle Ages.¹³ The Franciscans—mostly Italian and Spanish—were headed by a guardian or custodian, usually Italian, who was in charge for three years, and they were sustained by the alms that arrived from ‘Christendom’. In the seventeenth century, the friars maintained houses in places outside Jerusalem that were important for the Christian tradition, such as Bethlehem, or where many Christian merchants resided, such as Aleppo and Sidon. Aside from the pastoral care of Christian foreigners, the Franciscans’ main duties consisted of guarding and maintaining the Holy Sites and offering hospitality to pilgrims.

9 In the seventeenth century, the Syro-Palestinian region, *Bilād al-Shām*, was divided into three *vilayet* (*vilayet* or *eyalet* in Turkish, *wilāya* in Arabic): Damascus, Aleppo and Tripoli. The *vilayet* of Sidon was created in 1660. Each of these territories was composed of districts (*sancak* in Turkish, *sanjaq* in Arabic), which were further divided into sub-districts. Masters B., “Ottoman Policies toward Syria in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”, in Phillipp T. (ed.), *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Stuttgart: 1992) 11–26, at 11–13; Rafeq A.K., *The Province of Damascus 1723–1783* (Beirut: 1966); idem, “The Political History of Ottoman Jerusalem”, in Auld S. – Hillenbrand R. (eds.), *Ottoman Jerusalem (1517–1917)* (London: 2000) 25–36; Ze’evi D., *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (Albany: 1996) 35–39; Bakhit M.A., *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the 16th Century* (Beirut: 1982).

10 Ze’evi, *An Ottoman Century* 35.

11 Ibidem, 39, 43–45. On the Farrūkh family see also, Mannā’ ‘Adil, *Mishpahat Farrūkh, shil-tone u-fo’ola* [*The Farrūkh family, its rule and deeds*], unpublished M.A. thesis (Hebrew University: 1978).

12 İnalçık H. (ed.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: 1994) 419; Ze’evi, *An Ottoman Century* 35–40, 56–57; Rafeq, “The Political History of Ottoman Jerusalem”.

13 Frazee C.A., *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923* (Cambridge: 1983) 59–60.

They were also active in converting renegades and taking care of Christian slaves. Franciscans from the Custody of the Holy Land had already started their missionary activity among the Eastern Christians before the foundation of the *Propaganda Fide*. However, they redoubled their efforts during the 1620s and 1630s, taking their cue from the Guardian elected in 1628.

Such initiatives directed toward the Eastern Christians had attracted more attention in Rome after the Council of Trent. The spread of the Reformation and the loss of territories in Northern Europe pushed the Catholic Church to try to gain new ground in the East. In the last decades of the sixteenth century Gregory XIII (1572–1585) sent envoys to the Eastern Christians with the aim of promoting their adhesion to Rome and their acceptance of the Council of Trent.¹⁴ From the 1620s Jesuits and Capuchins arrived in the Middle East.¹⁵ The legal pretext under which Latin clergymen entered the Ottoman territories was provided by the Capitulations signed between France and the Porte. These allowed religious orders to enter Ottoman territories in order to take care of Christian merchants. Even while missionaries in the Middle East pursued the conversion of individuals, their hope was the reunification of the oriental churches with Rome. Many of them optimistically thought that once a patriarch had accepted Catholicism, the faithful under his authority would shortly follow his example. However, this was almost never the case.¹⁶ In contrast to the conversion of Muslims and Jews, which was considered a new birth, the so-called ‘reconciliation’ of Eastern Christians to Roman Catholicism was centred on the rejection of the dogmas of the Eastern Churches. After abjuring their former faith and accepting Roman Catholicism, new converts received the sacraments of confession and communion.

When other religious orders arrived in the Middle East, the Holy Congregation granted the Franciscans special privileges. It decreed that all religious in Egypt, Syria and Palestine were obliged to recognise the ordinary jurisdiction of the custodian of the Holy Land and that the Friars Minor had parish rights in all places where they maintained houses. The Congregation likewise stipulated that only the Friars Minor were allowed to take up permanent residence in Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Nazareth. Religious from other orders might go to these places but only as visitors.¹⁷ This is the reason why during the

14 Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient* 232

15 Ibidem, 275; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans* 73.

16 Ibidem, 87.

17 Decree of 25 September 1628. See Pandžić B., “L’interesse della Sacra Congregazione per la Terra Santa”, in Metzler J. (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum: 350 anni a servizio delle missioni*, 3 vols. (Rome: 1971–1975), vol. II, 413–423, at 416.

seventeenth century missionary activity in Jerusalem was the exclusive preserve of the Franciscans. Thanks to their efforts Catholicism slowly spread in many parts of that district. In the city of Jerusalem there is evidence of conversions from the sixteenth century onwards. Those who became Catholic were both locals—Christians and Jews—and foreigners, renegades and Protestant travellers who visited the Holy City. In the villages of the district, conversion to Catholicism involved almost exclusively the local Christian population, since there were scarcely any foreigners there, while the Jewish population was concentrated in Jerusalem. And whereas, up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, Jerusalem was the only place with a Catholic community, by the end of the century a Catholic presence is attested in the villages of Bethlehem, Bayt Jālā, Bayt Saḥūr and Ayn Karim. In Bethlehem and Bayt Jālā, the largest villages of the district, a majority of the inhabitants were Christians. These two villages, along with Bayt Saḥūr, constituted one of the Christian concentration clusters of the district—the other being north of Ramallah; all three were located south of Jerusalem, in close proximity to each other. Bethlehem was eight kilometres away from Jerusalem, whereas Bayt Jālā and Bayt Saḥūr were two kilometres west and east of Bethlehem. Conversely, Ayn Karim was located west of Jerusalem, seven kilometres from the city. Why did Catholicism spread in these villages rather than others, and what patterns did the spread of Catholicism follow in the district?

Scholarly studies have correctly emphasized the importance of missionary activity in the spread of Catholicism in the Middle East and described its general characteristics.¹⁸ Missionaries visited villages and the countryside around the towns and the cities where they were settled, familiarising local populations with Catholic doctrine.¹⁹ According to Bernard Heyberger, the missionaries' medical expertise boosted their popularity and lent credence to their evangelization activity among locals.²⁰ Heyberger has likewise remarked upon the importance of the links between the missionaries and local notables, which helped the former to open new houses in villages and towns.²¹

18 Valensi, "Relations intercommunautaires" 227–245; Haddad R.M., "Conversion of the Eastern Orthodox Christians to the Unia in the 17th and 18th century", in Gervers M. – Bikhazi R.J. (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto: 1990) 449–459; Heyberger B., *Frontières confessionnelles et conversions chez les chrétiens orientaux (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, in García-Arenal (ed.), *Conversions islamiques* 245–258.

19 Idem, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient* 347.

20 Ibidem, 351.

21 Ibidem, 281.

Previous research has also comprehensively investigated the incentives that facilitated conversion to Catholicism, such as potential economic aid from the missionaries and, for merchants, the advantages of French protection.²² With regard specifically to the results of the missionary activity and the diffusion of Catholicism in the seventeenth-century Middle East, Valensi has noted the low number of conversions and the difficulties with which the new faith spread.²³ In addition to this, Heyberger has shown that the development of a Catholic identity was a complex process that lasted until the nineteenth century.²⁴

In spite of this abundance of research, studies on conversion to Catholicism in the Middle East have rarely, if ever, focussed on how the new faith spread in a given area, how geography might have influenced this process, and more broadly what factors shaped the diffusion of Catholicism both within a religious community and between villages of a given area. My research tries to fill these gaps by analysing the spread of Catholicism in a small area, the district of Jerusalem, through the model of the diffusion of innovation, which has already proved to be useful to understand the spread of Islam in the medieval Middle East.²⁵

Geographers, who have long been interested in the diffusion of innovation—such as new industrial and agricultural technologies—have largely been concerned with the principles underlying the diffusion of a religion.²⁶ Like any other set of ideas, religion, too, spreads among and between groups. According to the theory of innovation there are two main types of diffusion process, namely, diffusion by relocation and diffusion by expansion.²⁷ In the case of relocation, an initial group of carriers move and, in relocating, will bring about the diffusion of an innovation or a religion in a new area. Two classical instances are migration and missionary activity. In the case of expansion, the number of people who adopt the innovation grows by direct contact. Diffusion by expansion can be further divided into two sub-categories: contagion diffusion—or diffusion by direct contact—and hierarchical diffusion,

22 Masters B., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: 2001) 82; Haddad, “Conversion of the Eastern Orthodox Christians” 454–457.

23 Valensi, “Relations intercommunautaires” 231–233.

24 Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient* 385–403.

25 Bulliet R., *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, MA: 1979).

26 Park C.C., *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion* (London: 1994); Knot K., “Geography, Space and the Sacred”, in Hinnells J.R. (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion* (London: 2010) 476–491.

27 Park, *Sacred Worlds* 138–139, 142–143.

whereby the innovation is implanted at the summit of a society and adopted from the top of the hierarchy down. These modes of diffusion are not mutually exclusive, and may in fact operate at one and the same time. This is what occurred, according to Hanneman, in the spread of Lutheranism in southwest Germany.²⁸ The principle of the diffusion of religion has been applied to many different geographical and historical contexts.²⁹ According to Richard Bulliet, for example, Islam spread in medieval cities through social ties, following the model of contagion diffusion.³⁰

This chapter focuses specifically on the villages of the district of Jerusalem in the seventeenth century. It begins by analysing the spread of Catholicism within a single village, Bethlehem, and then, enlarging its focus, discusses the process more broadly in the villages of the district. The sources this research relies upon consist of a range of documents drafted by the Franciscans: the Chronicles written by the friars,³¹ the correspondence between the Franciscans and *Propaganda Fide* and data drawn from Jerusalem's parish books—*Liber defunctorum* and *Liber baptizatorum*³²—and from registers of conversions.³³

The chapter argues that within any given village, the diffusion of Catholicism is best understood in terms of the model of diffusion by hierarchical expansion, by virtue of monastic initiative, and additionally in terms of the model of diffusion by contagion, according to which the spread of the new religion is influenced by social ties and contacts between those who have already adopted the new faith and those who as yet have not. Enlarging the focus of the study to the whole district, the chapter argues that the spread of Catholicism in the area follows the model of relocation diffusion with the Franciscans acting as carriers. The birth of the Catholic communities in the villages of the district is then due both to conversion and to migration. Indeed while in some villages the arrival of the friars precipitated a process of conversion of the local population, in others it encouraged Catholics from other places to move there. The location of the villages plays a major role in determining in which of them

28 Hanneman M., *The Diffusion of the Reformation in Southwestern Germany, 1518–1534* (Chicago: 1975).

29 Park, *Sacred Worlds* 117–123.

30 Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam* 30.

31 Verniero da Montepeloso P., “Croniche o Annali di Terra Santa”, in Golubovich G. (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'ordine francescano: Nuova serie—Documenti*, vol. VI–X (Florence: 1929–1936), vol. I–II.

32 Kept in the archive of the Latin Parish of Jerusalem, Jerusalem.

33 “Libro delle conversioni e delle riconciliazioni”. I use the edition drafted in 1853 by Giuseppe del Tellaro and kept in the Archive of the St. Saviour Monastery (Fondo Parrocchie), Jerusalem.

Catholicism would flourish, since the spread of the new faith depended on the presence of the friars or of Holy Sites and on the proximity of the villages to a monastery.

The Spread of Catholicism in Bethlehem: The Contacts with the Friars

Besides the Holy City, Bethlehem was the first place in the district in which Catholicism spread. In fact, it is the only village in the area in which conversions to Catholicism are attested during the first half of the seventeenth century. By 1690 the Christian inhabitants of Bethlehem—one of the largest and most important villages of the whole district—were 650 in number.³⁴ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, many Christian denominations coexisted in Bethlehem. In addition to the Greek Orthodox, who were the most numerous community, there were also Syrians and Armenians. However, during the course of the century, their presence slowly declined, to judge by the registers of the poll tax payers of Bethlehem for the year 1690–1691, which do not mention any other denomination but the Greek Orthodox.³⁵

The Franciscan presence in Bethlehem dates back to the Middle Ages. The Franciscans took possession of the Grotto of the Nativity in 1346.³⁶ According to Ottoman surveys there were three monks in the Monastery of Bethlehem in 932/1525–1526, and four in 970/1562–1563. These small numbers were probably due to the decline of the site in that period.³⁷ They rose again in the following century. A document written by the Guardian in 1717 states that there were usually twenty Franciscans in Bethlehem but that year there were only nineteen.³⁸

Both Christian and Ottoman sources recount the spread of Catholicism in Bethlehem. As far as the latter are concerned, there are many firmans (decrees issued by the sultans) that prohibited conversion between different Christian denominations.³⁹ These documents were issued at the behest of the Greek and

34 Peri O., "The Christian Population of Jerusalem in the Late Seventeenth Century: Aspects of Demography, Economy and Society", *The Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 4 (1996) 398–421, at 404.

35 Ibidem, 407.

36 Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans* 59.

37 Cohen A. – Lewis B., *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton: 1978) 88, 90.

38 Lemmens L., *Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide pro Terra Sancta: Parte Prima, 1622–1720* (Florence: 1921) 393.

39 Peri, "The Christian Population of Jerusalem" 410, n. 20.

the Armenian communities, concerned about the loss of followers. Franciscan sources, too, attest to the growing numbers of Catholics among the Greek population of Bethlehem. The first recorded conversions date back to 1627, and the process continued throughout the century. Initially, there were approximately two new converts per year. According to the register of conversion, between 1631 and 1674 seventy-eight people—mostly Greek Orthodox—became Catholic, almost 10% of the total Christian population. Franciscan documents also furnish important clues as to the way Catholicism spread within the village, indicating familial ties and ties with the friars as crucial factors.

Monasteries have always had a prominent role in religious diffusion, interacting with the surrounding areas in different ways, for example, by offering schooling or supplying produce for sale.⁴⁰ Charitable and pastoral work amongst the local population also provided channels for the diffusion of the new faith among the population of the villages. Barkan draws a detailed picture of the role that dervish monasteries played in the conversion to Islam of Christians and Jews in the Balkans in the early phases of territorial incorporation.⁴¹ In his view, dervishes with their pious devotion conquered the infidels spiritually even before the arrival of the conquering army. Barkan pointed out that most of those who converted were the servants of the dervish lodges. Monks played an important role also in the spread of Christianity in Europe. This is the case with Benedictine monasteries that were active between Cluny and Burgundy during the sixth and the seventh centuries.⁴² According to Chris Park, monastic initiatives exemplify an indirect form of expansion diffusion. In some sense, though, they also represent a form of hierarchical expansion diffusion, since the monasteries formed the nuclei from which the new faith trickled down through an area.⁴³ This is precisely what occurred in Bethlehem.

In fact, the convents of the Franciscans Minor of the Custody of the Holy Land were cloistered monasteries. Many hours of the day were spent in prayer. In the early years of the seventeenth century there is no evidence of any pastoral activity, and interaction with the local population was limited to meeting the daily needs of the friars. Nonetheless the latter, and the very existence of the monastery in Bethlehem, together with all the activities connected to it, are clearly the main agents for the diffusion of Catholicism in the village.

40 Park, *Sacred Worlds* 139–141, 143.

41 Barkan Ö.L., “Les fondations pieuses comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation: Les derviches colonisateurs de l’époque des invasions et les couvents (saviyé)”, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942) 59–65 (French section).

42 Park, *Sacred Worlds* 108.

43 Ibidem, 143.

This is borne out by the fact that conversions started among those with close links to the Franciscans. In 1628, for example, a man named ‘Salem’ took the decision to convert.⁴⁴ The document explains the decision as follows: ‘since he frequented the monks and was sometimes dispatched by them as a courier, [he] received good examples and readings about the true faith from them.’⁴⁵

The relationship with the friars likewise played a major role in the spread of Catholicism in Jerusalem. Reporting the conversion of ‘Isa’, Verniero states that he ‘frequented the monastery of the Franciscans.’⁴⁶ Given the small number of Catholics in Palestine in the sixteenth century, especially at its dawn, the Franciscans were probably compelled to hire eastern Christians as dragomans, who afterwards chose to become Catholic. Conversely, conversion to Catholicism might also have helped a candidate to secure a desirable position as dragoman of the convent. Thus in 1617, ‘Andrea’, an Armenian Christian, converted to Catholicism and then became a dragoman.⁴⁷

Whilst it is possible that the dragomans were under some pressure from the monks to convert, there is no doubt that conversion brought them many advantages. The dragomans of Bethlehem were apparently the fortunate recipients of charity from the Franciscans, a fact borne out by the lists of alms given yearly up to 1636.⁴⁸ Generally speaking, becoming Catholic in Bethlehem, as in the other parts of Palestine, entailed constantly receiving help from the Franciscans. A letter sent to the *Propaganda Fide* in 1660 states that the monks ‘maintain [the Catholics who lived in Jerusalem and Bethlehem] with love and charity’. It further indicates that many of their number are poor and that the friars ‘give them economic assistance so as to prevent them from begging.’⁴⁹ Sometimes the list of the recipients of charity specifies that the monies were given in order to preempt their conversion to Islam or to pay for the burial of a

44 The converts mentioned were all former Greeks Orthodox unless otherwise specified.

45 Verniero da Montepeloso, “Croniche o Annali della Terra Santa”, vol. II, 158 (‘Praticando con li frati con l’occasione d’andare alcuna volta per corriero in diverse parti e ricevendo da loro buoni esempi e documenti’).

46 Ibidem, vol. II, 272.

47 Ibidem, vol. I, 316; *Registro delle conversioni e delle riconciliazioni* [henceforth *Registro*] 1.

48 Verniero da Montepeloso, “Croniche o annali della Terra Santa”, vol. I, 167–182.

49 Archivio della Congregazione per l’Evangelizzazione dei Popoli *De Propaganda Fide*, Rome, Scritture riferite ai congressi [henceforth *sc*], Terra Santa e Cipro, vol. I, fol. 336v. Previous scholarship has already described in detail the incentives underlying conversion to Catholicism in the Middle East. See Haddad, “Conversion of the Eastern Orthodox Christians” 449, 454–457, 553, 557; Heyberger, “Frontières” 250, 257; idem, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient* 257.

child.⁵⁰ In many cases we simply learn that the beneficiaries were poor. Finally, the Franciscans also helped local Catholics to pay the poll tax.⁵¹

Contagion Diffusion: Familial Bonds and Marriage

The hierarchical expansion diffusion based on monastic initiative is not sufficient to explain the spread of Catholicism in Bethlehem. Indeed, once planted in the villages, the new religion spread still further through contagion diffusion—thanks to direct contacts between people who had already adopted the new faith from their relatives and their neighbours—a process that resulted in a snowball effect. The role played by familial ties, particularly those established by marriage, can be clearly reconstructed from the Franciscan sources.

Conversion in the context of a mixed marriage was common in the Middle East. Indeed, the conversion of Christian wives married to Muslims was one of the ways in which Islam spread in the Balkans and Asia Minor.⁵² Islamic law permitted marriages between Muslim men and non-Muslim women; and even though the wives were not obliged to change faith they often became Muslim. This is suggested by legal opinions, issued by leading Muslim religious authorities, in which female converts are always described as wives.⁵³ As far as Christians are concerned, in the Middle East marriages between men and women of different denominations had always been common. In the seventeenth century, when Catholicism began to spread among the local population, it became a common occurrence also among new Catholics, in spite of prohibitions issued by the missionaries. Marriages of new converts have always been one of the main concerns of both missionaries and Roman authorities.⁵⁴ This holds true also for the Middle East, where marriages between Catholics and Eastern Christians were forbidden by both the missionaries and the religious

50 Verniero da Montepeloso, "Croniche o annali della Terra Santa", vol. 1, 167–182.

51 Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient* 48.

52 Inalcık H., *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: 1998) 237; Minkov A., *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kısve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670–1730* (Leiden – Boston: 2004) 90–91.

53 Baer M.D., "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul", *Gender and History* 16 (2004) 439.

54 See Castelnau-L'Estoile C. de, "Le mariage des infidèles au XVI^e siècle: Doutes missionnaires et autorité pontificale" and Scaramella P., "I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio e la questione dei matrimoni misti nella casistica delle congregazioni romane (secc. XVI–XVIII)", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 121 (2009) 95–121 and 75–94, respectively.

authorities of the Eastern Churches. In 1637, for example, the custodian of the Holy Land, Andrea d'Arco, forbade marriages between Catholics and 'Greeks Armenians and other heretical and schismatic persons'.⁵⁵ When Coptic clergymen in Egypt spoke of marriages between Catholics and Copts in their sermons, they condemned the separation of husbands and wives who prayed in different churches.⁵⁶ Such prohibitions, however, had little impact, and in the century under consideration Catholic clergy, constituted for the most part by religious from the Eastern Churches who had converted to Catholicism, were even willing to baptise children of mixed marriages and to bless the marriages of mixed couples.⁵⁷

With regard specifically to Bethlehem, marriages between new Catholics and Greek women were motivated by dearth of Catholic women in the village, as we learn from a letter written in 1633 by the father guardian, Vincenzo Gallicano, to the *Propaganda Fide*.⁵⁸ Many of these women became Catholic. For example, conversion was widespread among the wives of the dragomans of the monastery; indeed, the very first instances in Bethlehem recorded in the register of conversions were those of 'Stella' and 'Selha', the wives of the dragomans 'Elia' and 'Catasso'; they took place on 27 December 1627.⁵⁹ One year later, two other wives of dragomans—'Maria', wife of 'Francesco', and 'Ghazale', wife of 'Giorgio'—recognised their errors under pressure from their husbands.⁶⁰ In 1632 the wives of the dragomans 'Nazareth' and 'Tomaso' converted.⁶¹ Sometimes spouses converted together, as was the case with 'Elia' and his wife, who converted in 1627,⁶² or else one (generally the wife) followed the other in quick succession. The conversion of 'Rabbia' is swiftly followed by that of his wife.⁶³

Besides conversion involving the relationship between spouses, sources clearly attest that familial bonds played a major role in the spread of Catholicism. Firstly, to judge by the annotations of the friars, conversions to Catholicism usually involved the family in its entirety, including parents

55 Verniero di Montepeloso, "Croniche o annali della Terra Santa", vol. I, 19.

56 Armanios F., *Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt* (Oxford: 2011) 137–138.

57 See for example Serino F. da, "Croniche o Annali di Terra Santa", ed. T. Cavallon, in Golubovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica di Terra Santa*, vol. II, 183. See also Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient* 77, 79, 386.

58 SOCG 104, fol. 118v.

59 *Registro* 4; Verniero da Montepeloso, "Croniche o Annali della Terra Santa", vol. II, 133.

60 *Registro* 5; Verniero da Montepeloso, "Croniche o Annali della Terra Santa", vol. II, 158.

61 *Ibidem*, vol. II, 273; *Registro* 10.

62 Verniero di Montepeloso, "Croniche o annali della Terra Santa", vol. II, 133.

63 *Ibidem*, vol. I, 316, and vol. II, 182; *Registro* 1.

and children with their own families. In 1631 'Abramo' converted together with his children 'Ibrahim' and 'Elia' and the son of the latter.⁶⁴ In 1651 'Aziza', wife of 'Michele' (who was probably already a Catholic), converted along with her two daughters.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Catholicism spread between siblings and their families. In 1670 two brothers, 'Isacco' and 'Nemi', adopted the Roman faith.⁶⁶ Familial ties played the same role in the spread of Catholicism in Jerusalem, where 'Simone', brother of the dragoman of St. Saviour monastery, converted together with his wife and their child.⁶⁷

The way Catholicism spread in Bethlehem, specifically the role played by ties with the friars and by familial bonds, suggests that, as in Bulliet's model, 'access to information' was a prerequisite for conversion also in the case of Bethlehem.⁶⁸ Only those who had heard of the possibility of becoming Catholic would do so. This information passed first through those who had contacts with the friars and spread from them through familial bonds and social relationships. Consistent with the idea that conversion spread from those who had already accepted the new faith to their relatives until a snowball effect was achieved, in Bethlehem the number of the converts grew as the century advanced, reaching its peak during the 1670s.

According to the friars, the spread of Catholicism in Bethlehem was slowed down by 'persecutions' at the hands of former co-religionists, such suffering inhibiting further conversion to Catholicism.⁶⁹ Scholars have described at length the hostility of the Eastern Christians' religious authorities towards conversion to Catholicism and the different tactics employed to prevent it.⁷⁰ By and large, in the Middle East conversions were resisted by the leaders of all religious communities, who did their utmost to prevent them. To lose followers was to lose power, and by the same token a source of income, since members of religious minorities paid taxes to their own religious leaders. Nonetheless, where conversion to Islam was concerned, all they could do to prevent it was to rely on their moral authority and to threaten those who changed their religion with banishment. In the case of conversion to Catholicism, the Christian

64 *Registro* 9.

65 *Ibidem*, 16.

66 *Ibidem*, 20.

67 Verniero da Montepeloso, "Croniche o annali della Terra Santa", vol. 1, 316, according to whom the conversions occurred in 1617; in *Registro* 2, the conversions date back to 1621.

68 Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam* 31.

69 Verniero da Montepeloso, "Croniche o annali della Terra Santa", vol. 11, 157.

70 Armanios, *Coptic Christianity, passim*; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans* 92; Hamilton A., *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church* (Oxford: 2006) 88; Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient, passim*.

religious authorities likewise excommunicated those who became Catholic, but they could also involve the Ottoman authorities.⁷¹ According to the friars' testimony, the clergymen of the other denominations would even go so far as to summon new converts to appear before the courts. In Jerusalem, for example, according to Verniero, the Armenian bishop Gregorio summoned three members of his flock to face the Ottoman justice: 'Andrea', his brother 'Simone' and his son 'Giacob', who had converted to Catholicism.⁷² The doggedness with which conversions to Catholicism were resisted in the district of Jerusalem, as in the whole of the Middle East, was due to the fact that even though conversion between Christian denominations was not uncommon, the number of those who became Catholic was greater than had been the case with earlier, interdenominational Christian conversions. Consequently conversion to Catholicism struck the other denominations as a graver threat.

Complaints about the hostility of Greek clergymen are a leitmotif in Franciscan chronicles.⁷³ This is true especially with regard to Bethlehem. Indeed, in the villages these conflicts would seem to have been particularly bitter, a point also borne out by the fact that during the seventeenth century many firmans were issued banning interdenominational Christian conversions in Bethlehem.⁷⁴ But to what extent did the hostility of the former co-religionists actually prevent the spread of Catholicism among the Christians of Bethlehem? Is it plausible to consider them as a barrier to the spread of Catholicism in the village, as suggested by Franciscan sources?⁷⁵ It is hard to say, but there is no doubt that tensions with the former community drove many people to migrate to the more anonymous Jerusalem and to convert secretly to Catholicism. Secret conversions were common throughout the Middle East. In Egypt, for example, many Coptic clergymen secretly professed their allegiance to Rome but publicly continued to serve their old congregation.⁷⁶ So far as the district of Jerusalem is concerned, the phenomenon is amply attested.⁷⁷ A letter sent in 1664 by Guardian Isidoro Oggiorno, listing the Catholics of Bethlehem, makes a distinction between those who were officially Catholic

71 Armanios, *Coptic Christianity* 123.

72 Verniero da Montepeloso, "Croniche o annali della Terra Santa", vol. I, 316.

73 SC, Terra Santa e Cipro, vol. I, fol. 245r; SOCG 242, fol. 80v.

74 Peri, "The Christian Population of Jerusalem" 410, n. 20.

75 Abler R. – Adams J.S. – Gould P., *Spatial Organization: The Geographer's View of the World* (London: 1972) 389.

76 Armanios, *Coptic Christianity* 123.

77 SOCG 59, fol. 67v.

(‘cattolici pubblici’) and those who secretly attended confession and took communion (‘cattolici nascosti’).⁷⁸

The Spread of Catholicism: From Bethlehem to Bayt Jālā and Bayt Shaḥūr

In the second half of the seventeenth century Catholic communities are attested in other villages of the district, namely Bayt Jālā, Bayt Saḥūr and Ayn Karim. To explain their existence several factors need to be taken into account. First of all, since in the Ottoman Middle East Catholic missionary activity was directed at Eastern Christians, whereas conversion of Muslims was extremely rare, most of the villages where Catholicism spread were inhabited by Eastern Christians, mostly Greeks. This said, Bethlehem, Bayt Saḥūr and Bayt Jālā were not the only villages of the district of Jerusalem where a Christian community existed. Indeed, in the seventeenth century there were also Christians in Ṭayyibat al Ism, Jifnā al-Naṣārā, Rāmallāh—on the road to Nāblus, to the north of the Holy City—İrtās, and Taqū‘—to the south of Bayt Laḥm—Naḥḥālīn, Dayr Abān and Şübā. In Ayn Karim, moreover, where the existence of a Catholic community is attested in the second half of the century, there may have been no Christians in the previous century, since Ottoman fiscal surveys list only Muslims in the village. All these data suggest that the presence of a Christian community is not sufficient to explain the spread of Catholicism. In short, other factors must be taken into account, specifically the location of the villages and their proximity to the holy sites or to a Franciscan monastery.

Generally speaking, the spread of Catholicism in the Middle East is strictly dependent on missionary activity, especially in the seventeenth century. Conversions occurred where the missionaries settled and mainly thanks to their activity. The district of Jerusalem is no exception in this regard. The previous section highlighted the essential role the monastery and the friars played in the spread of Catholicism within the Greek community of Bethlehem. Throughout Palestine the first conversions to Catholicism are attested in those places where the Franciscans had houses, that is, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth. What about Bayt Jālā and Bayt Saḥūr? How and why did the Catholic faith arrive in these villages in the second half of the seventeenth century? In fact, there was no monastery in either place when the first conversion took place; nonetheless, these villages were in the vicinity of Bethlehem. The monastery of Bethlehem was the starting point from which Catholicism spread to

78 SOCG 242, fol. 63v.

the surrounding area, since the friars moved from there to the neighbouring villages, or else information about the advantages to be derived from conversion to Catholicism spread through the contacts between villages. In the cases of Bayt Jālā and Bayt Saḥūr the location of the village and more specifically the proximity to Bethlehem is a key factor in the spread of Catholicism.

The propagation of Catholicism in these two villages can be seen as a further repercussion of the spread of Catholicism in Bethlehem, and with the same nuclei as its point of departure: the monastery and the Franciscan community in the village. This also explains why it was only after a Catholic presence had been consolidated in Bethlehem that Catholicism began to be diffused in Bayt Jālā and Bayt Saḥūr. The arrival of the friars of Bethlehem in Bayt Jālā and Bayt Saḥūr probably dates from the second half of the century, when the conversions likewise started. Indeed, the earliest archival evidence that I have found on the subject dates back to 1692.⁷⁹ According to this documentation the spread of Catholicism started in Bayt Jālā in 1677 and in Bayt Saḥūr in 1691. It is reasonable to suppose that there had been no Catholic community in those places before, since previous documents listing all Catholics in the district never mention the two villages. In 1664, responding to an enquiry from the Holy Congregation, the Father Guardian named all Catholics living in the district, plus those in Nazareth and Rama. Neither Bayt Saḥūr, nor Bayt Jālā feature in his list.⁸⁰ Another letter, dated 1666, mentions only Catholics in Jerusalem and in Bethlehem.⁸¹ Conversely, from 1692 onwards records issued by the Franciscans frequently refer to the Catholic communities of the two villages. A document that dates back to 1692, for instance, relates that the entire community of Bayt Saḥūr numbers no more than sixty souls. One written by the parish priest of Bethlehem and attached to a letter sent to the *Propaganda Fide* in 1693 mentions a couple of new converts from Bayt Jālā.⁸² The document lists also the names of the Catholics of Bayt Shahur who by that time were twenty-eight, namely three families plus a single woman and a single man.

The hypothesis that in Bayt Jālā and Bayt Saḥūr Catholicism spread from the monastery of Bethlehem is further corroborated by the fact that administratively the two villages were attached to the parish of Bethlehem, as is proven by the documents drafted by the Franciscans. Indeed, the correspondence with the *Propaganda Fide* shows clearly that the data on the conversions in the two villages were first sent to the monastery of Bethlehem. Moreover, the

79 SOCG 518, fols. 345r–356r.

80 SOCG 242, fol. 62v.

81 Ibidem, fol. 80v.

82 SC, Terra Santa, vol. III, fol. 215v.

baptisms of Catholic new-born children that were administered in Bayt Saḥūr were recorded in the baptismal register of Bethlehem.⁸³

The importance of missionary activity and of proximity to a village where the missionaries had houses is linked to the role played in the diffusion of Catholicism by the potential converts' 'access to information'. The previous section already mentioned it as a key factor in the diffusion of Catholicism within the Greek community of Bethlehem. No less important is the role it played in the Christian communities scattered across the villages of the district. It can be assumed that those Christians who lived in isolated areas, far from the missionaries, did not have the option to convert to Catholicism since they were not aware of this possibility and of the economic advantages linked to conversion to Catholicism. This is borne out by the fact that in the period under consideration conversion occurred only in villages that were not far from the place where missionaries lived.

The Birth of the Catholic Community of Ayn Karim: Conversion or Migration?

The presence of the Franciscans in Ayn Karim dates back to 1676. Indeed, already around 1620 the father guardian, Tommaso Obicini da Novara, had purchased the building that according to Christian tradition was the house of John the Baptist from the Maghribis.⁸⁴ The contract, however, was never enforced and it was only in 1676 that the Franciscans finally acquired the place thanks to the intervention of Louis XIV.⁸⁵ The crystallization of a local Catholic community began after this date. According to a letter sent to the *Propaganda Fide* in 1698, by that year there were twenty Catholics in Ayn Karim.⁸⁶ A document written on 30 August 1702 by the town's parish priest, Dioniso di Curi, and attached to a letter sent to the *Propaganda*, indicates that at that time the local Catholic community boasted some fifty members.⁸⁷ However, Franciscan documents leave many questions on the development of the Catholic community unanswered, since they do not mention any conversion to Catholicism

83 Archive of St. Saviour Monastery, Jerusalem, Fondo Parrocchie, 87 T, *Liber baptizatorum* (1669–1720) of the Parish of Bethlehem.

84 The Maghribis were a community of North African origin. See Cohen – Lewis, *Population and Revenue* 34–35, 82–83.

85 Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient* 221.

86 SC, Terra Santa, vol. III, fol. 393v.

87 SOCG 542, fol. 502r.

among the local population. They also add that there were no new converts in the villages, but only old Catholic families.⁸⁸ Another question is whether in the seventeenth century Ayn Karim had a Christian Greek community within which Catholicism might have spread. In the previous century, according to Ottoman fiscal surveys, only Muslims had inhabited the village. The data from the sixteenth-century surveys, however, are not wholly reliable, and scholars have suggested that the Christian presence in some villages during that period was not listed.⁸⁹

In Ayn Karim, as in Bayt Jālā and Bayt Saḥūr, the development of the local Catholic community is undoubtedly linked to the arrival of the monks. However, and contrary to the developments in Bayt Jālā and Bayt Saḥūr, it seems that the arrival of the Franciscans in Ayn Karim did not precipitate a process of conversion among the local Christian population. Indeed, the birth of a Catholic community in the village may have resulted from the migration of Catholics from other places. It is possible that the friars who arrived there from other monasteries not only brought dragomans with them, but also promoted the migration of Catholics from outside the village. Research has already shown that Catholics in the Middle East were particularly open to migration. Heyberger has argued that Catholics moved to Palestine from Damascus or from Lebanon.⁹⁰ This suggestion is confirmed by an analysis of the *Liber defunctorum* drafted by the Franciscans in Jerusalem.⁹¹ The book mentions the death of Catholics who had come to Jerusalem from different parts of the Middle East. 'Maria' from Tripoli died in 1684.⁹² 'Ibrahim' and 'Ana', who died in 1697 and 1699 respectively, were both originally from Lebanon.⁹³ In 1698 the son of a man from Aleppo died.⁹⁴ Still greater numbers of Catholics moved within the borders of the district. Indeed, Ottoman registers attest a movement of Christians from Bethlehem and Bayt Jālā to Jerusalem during the sixteenth century.⁹⁵ During the following century migration of Catholics from Bethlehem to Jerusalem is evidenced by the *Liber defunctorum* of the Latin

88 Ibidem.

89 Ellenblum R., *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge – New York: 1998) *passim*.

90 Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient* 275.

91 Archive of the Latin Parish of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, *Liber defunctorum* (1669–1747).

92 Ibidem, 14.

93 Ibidem, 32.

94 Ibidem, 33.

95 Cohen – Lewis, *Population and Revenue* 90.

parish of Jerusalem: it records the death of Catholics who died in Jerusalem but were from Bethlehem. Under 1674, we learn of the death of an eight-month-old girl, 'Catarina', whose father was from Nazareth and whose mother hailed from Bethlehem.⁹⁶ In the same year another baby girl, whose parents were originally from Bethlehem, likewise died.⁹⁷ Yet other children, 'Elias' and 'Hana', whose parents were also from Bethlehem, died in 1680 and 1681.⁹⁸ In 1698 the death of 'Clara' daughter of 'Elias' and 'Maddalena', both from Bethlehem, was recorded.⁹⁹ These data are confirmed by the *Liber baptizatorum*, which mentions the christening of babies whose parents were originally from Bethlehem: on 1676, for example, the book registered the baptism of 'Maria', daughter of 'Elias' from Bethlehem, and 'Catherina', daughter of 'Simone' from Bethlehem.¹⁰⁰ From the data furnished by these documents it is not possible to determine whether the parents of these children converted before or after their arrival in Jerusalem. However, it is likely that at least a number of them migrated to the Holy City after becoming Catholic. This is also suggested by the chronicles, according to which those who converted to Catholicism in Bethlehem at the beginning of seventeenth century often migrated to the more anonymous Jerusalem in order to avoid persecution at the hands of their former co-religionists. Generally speaking, movements of Christians in the Middle East were often dictated by economic factors, in other words, by the wish to better their lives. Where Catholics in particular are concerned, we should also take into account the desire to escape conflicts with former co-religionists.

Franciscan documents point out the role that migration, together with conversion, had in the development of Catholic communities in Palestine. This was the case not only in Ayn Karim, but also in other towns, like Jerusalem, where it increased the number of Catholics in the city.

Conclusion

Franciscan documents shed light on how Catholicism spread in the district of Jerusalem during the seventeenth century and on the dynamics underlying this process. The places where a Catholic community developed were mostly

96 Archive of the Latin Parish of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, *Liber defunctorum* (1669–1747), 6.

97 Ibidem.

98 Ibidem, 9–10.

99 Ibidem, 32.

100 Archive of the Latin Parish of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, *Liber baptizatorum* (1669–1717), 10.

but not exclusively those that had been inhabited by Christians well before the friars started their missionary activity. At first conversion occurred in the places where Franciscans had houses, usually in the vicinity of the Holy Sites. This is the case in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. In the second half of the century the presence of a Catholic community is attested also in Bayt Jālā, Bayt Saḥūr and Ayn Karim. Generally speaking, the diffusion of Catholicism in the villages of the district follows the model of relocation diffusion, with the Franciscans acting as carriers and spreading the new religion. Location—and, more specifically, proximity to the Holy Sites or to a Franciscan monastery—explains why Catholicism spread in certain villages rather than in others. In Bayt Saḥūr and Bayt Jālā a key factor in the spread of Catholicism is the proximity to Bethlehem, since conversions in these villages resulted from the activity of the friars of the monastery of Bethlehem, who, after a community had consolidated in that town, embarked upon missionary activities in the neighbouring area as well. The last village to which Catholicism spread in the seventeenth century was Ayn Karim. As in the case of Bayt Jālā and Bayt Saḥūr, here, too, the Franciscans were the main agents for the spread of Catholicism: it was their arrival in the village that occasioned the birth of the Catholic community. The case of Ayn Karim, however, also points to the role of migration in the spread of Catholicism. In contrast to other places, it is likely that here the arrival of the missionaries did not initiate a process of conversion of the local Christian population but instead encouraged migration of Catholics from other parts of the district.

Whether the development of a new community resulted from conversion or migration, the key factor in the spread of Catholicism was the presence of the Franciscans. Just as the model of hierarchical expansion diffusion suggests, the friars' monasteries were the nuclei from which the new faith spread. This is borne out by the manner in which Catholicism spread within religious communities. In Bethlehem and Jerusalem, in fact, the diffusion of Catholicism started among those who had contacts with the friars. In Palestinian villages the new faith spread also through contagion diffusion, through familial and social ties linking those who had already embraced it to those who had not yet done so. This mechanism, along with contact with the missionaries, highlights the importance that 'access to information' had in the spread of Catholicism during the seventeenth century. Indeed, such access to information was a prerequisite for conversion to Catholicism both inside a particular community and in the district as a whole. In the village as in the district at large, only those who had heard about the Franciscans were in a position to convert.

Selective Bibliography

- Abler R. – Adams J.S. – Gould P., *Spatial Organization: The Geographer's View of the World* (London: 1972).
- Armanios F., *Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt* (Oxford: 2011).
- Bakhit M.A., *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the 16th century* (Beirut: 1982).
- Barkan Ö.L., “Les fondations pieuses comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation: Les derviches colonisateurs de l'époque des invasions et les couvents (saviyé)”, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942) 59–65 (French section).
- Bulliet R., *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, MA: 1978).
- Cohen A. – Lewis B., *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton: 1978).
- Frazer C.A., *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923* (Cambridge: 1983).
- Haddad R.M., “Conversion of the Eastern Orthodox Christians to the Unia in the 17th and 18th century”, in Gervers M. – Bikhazi R.J. (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto: 1990) 449–459.
- Heyberger B., *Frontières confessionnelles et conversions chez les chrétiens orientaux (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, in García-Arenal (ed.), *Conversions islamiques: Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen* (Paris: 2001) 245–258.
- Heyberger B., *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique: Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles* (Rome: 1994).
- Joseph J., *Muslim-Christians Relations and Inter-Christian Rivalries in the Middle East* (Albany: 1983).
- Knot K., “Geography, Space and the Sacred”, in Hinnells J.R. (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion* (London: 2010) 476–491.
- Lemmens L., *Acta Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide pro Terra Sancta: Parte Prima, 1622–1720* (Florence: 1921).
- Masters B., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: 2001).
- Pandžić B., “L'interesse della Sacra Congregazione per la Terra Santa”, in Metzler J. (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum: 350 anni a servizio delle missioni*, 3 vols. (Rome: 1971–1975), vol. II, 413–423.
- Park C.C., *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion* (London: 1994).
- Peri O., “The Christian Population of Jerusalem in the Late Seventeenth Century: Aspects of Demography, Economy and Society”, *The Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 4 (1996) 398–421.

- Peri O., "Ottoman Rule, Islam and Christian Cult in Seventeenth-Century Jerusalem", *Archív Orientální* 8 (1998) 299–304.
- Valensi L., "Relations intercommunautaires et changements d'affiliation religieuse au Moyen-Orient", in García-Arenal M. (ed.), *Conversions islamiques: Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen* (Paris: 2001) 227–245.
- Verniero da Montepeloso P., "Croniche o Annali di Terra Santa", in Golubovich G. (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'ordine francescano: Nuova serie – Documenti*, vol. VI–X (Florence: 1929–1936), vol. I–II.
- Ze'evi D., *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (Albany: 1996).

Christian Missionaries and Jewish Spaces: British Missions in the Kingdom of Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

Agnieszka Jagodzińska

While historically the theme of ‘time’ has been more prevalent in Jewish Studies than that of ‘space’, recent publications demonstrate that the latter has begun to attract scholarly attention.¹ In the last decade or two, various aspects of the ‘spatial turn’ have attracted a growing interest of Jewish Studies scholars; they have subsequently rediscovered or redefined Jewish geography and topography, bringing new perspectives to the field.² The studies of Jewish places and spaces reach far beyond the physical dimension to include symbolic, mythical or imagined spaces of Jewish culture and society.³ Moreover, scholars have demonstrated that although the geography and topography of Jews—who have been labelled a ‘trans-geographical’ or even a ‘placeless’ people—are considered atypical, they encourage questions regarding other

* I would like to thank Dana Herman, Lidia Jerkiewicz, Artur Markowski and Marcin Wodziński for their comments on an earlier version of this chapter. I am also grateful to the Church’s Ministry among Jewish People for granting me permission to use their archive deposited at the Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, and to publish images from this collection.

- 1 ‘The spatial turn that surfaced in the humanities and social sciences beginning in the 1980s reached Jewish studies, as other turns before it, with a sound delay’, in Lipphardt A. – Brauch J. – Nocke A., “Exploring Jewish Space: An Approach”, in Brauch J. – Lipphardt A. – Nocke A. (eds.), *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place* (Aldershot – Burlington, VT: 2008) 1. For a general introduction to selected aspects of the Jewish notion of place and space see Mann B.E., *Space and Place in Jewish Studies* (New Brunswick, NJ: 2012).
- 2 See the special issue of *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 17/1 (1998) devoted to studies in Jewish geography; Brauch – Lipphardt – Nocke (eds.), *Jewish Topographies*; Rosman M., “Jewish History Across Borders”, in Cohen R. – Rosman M. (eds.), *Rethinking European Jewish History* (Oxford – Portland, OR: 2009) 15–29.
- 3 The best example of such discussions is a growing body of publications devoted to the historical and literary notion of the *shtetl*—see the literature quoted below.

peoples' sacred spaces or geography.⁴ The aim of this chapter is to contribute to a broader definition of the relationships among conversion (understood as a change of one's religion), Christian (Protestant) missions and space, both in its physical and symbolic dimensions.

To analyse these relations I will use the case of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews and its missions to the Jews living in the Kingdom of Poland in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵ My discussion will be complemented by testimonies of agents associated with other British societies seeking 'evangelization' of this part of Europe, including its Jews. In particular, I will examine three aspects of the connection between space and conversion. First, I compare and contrast the missionary activity carried out in two modes: one stationary and the other mobile. I will argue that although missionary expeditions were important means of reaching potential converts, it was the missionary stations that were expected to play a crucial role not only in the process of Jews' religious conversion but also in their social transformation. In cities and towns with missionary stations, the agents of the Society were hoping to create institutions and the framework needed for providing, on a regular basis, religious guidance and social support to converts. While discussing this issue, I will pay special attention to the institutions established in Warsaw and answer the question of how successful the Society was in creating a religious and social space for its converts. Second, I explain what constituted a traditional space in a *shtetl* (a small town) in the Kingdom of Poland, and why the missions can be perceived as a transgression of the inner space of Jewish culture and religion. Third, I will explore how crossing geographical borders by missionaries translated into expanding horizons for British missionary societies. I am particularly interested in considering whether first-hand missionary reports challenged the stereotypical image of the east-European Jewry prevailing among their supporters. Finally, I shall conclude by summarizing the outcome of the London Society's missions to Polish Jews in the first half of the nineteenth century.

4 Sometimes these inspirations could be surprisingly far-reaching. See, for example, Jones L., "Jewish Place and Placelessness: Historical and Academic Challenges (or 'What the Study of Jewish Space and Place Suggests to Me about the Aztecs')", *Shofar* 17 (1998) 36–48.

5 The reader should be aware, however, that the phenomenon of Jewish conversion in the Kingdom of Poland goes well beyond the case of British missions to the Polish Jews which is discussed here. For a brief summary of the current state of research on this wider phenomenon, see Jagodzińska A., "W poszukiwaniu doskonałego rozumienia konwersji. Wprowadzenie" ["In Search of a Perfect Understanding of Conversion"], in Jagodzińska A. (ed.), *W poszukiwaniu religii doskonałej? Konwersja a Żydzi* [*In Search of a Perfect Religion? Conversion and Jews*] (Wrocław: 2012) 7–18.

The London Society and Its Stations in the Kingdom of Poland

The London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews was established in 1809 in England under the influence of the Evangelical Revival and millennial expectations.⁶ The Society's missionaries soon crossed English borders and reached Jewish communities in various lands both within and outside the British Empire.⁷ Partitioned Poland became a natural destination for the London Society, especially when the history of Jews in that country was considered. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not only the biggest country in early modern Europe but it was also home to one of the most important and vibrant Jewish communities in the world. Moshe Rosman describes their status as follows:

Jews in Poland enjoyed extensive autonomy and collective economic prosperity, while developing sophisticated institutions of communal governance. Their rich cultural life included a complex infrastructure of religious and educational institutions, a wealth of significant additions to the Jewish library, and the cultivation and elaboration of received Ashkenazic and other traditions.⁸

One is accustomed to think about Jewish population of the Commonwealth in terms of a minority living within the majority society, but this is an incorrect notion:

Even in the eighteenth century, ethnic Poles were not a majority in Poland-Lithuania. In addition to autochthonous Lithuanian, Ukrainians, and Belorussians, as well as Tatars and Romany, many of the cities and towns were distinguished by ethnic and religious diversity: their inhabitants included Germans, Italians, Scots, Armenians, and Greeks. Therefore Jews cannot be seen as a minority group when less than 20 percent of the

6 For the significance of Jewish conversion in British religious thought, see Scult M., *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties: A Study of the Efforts to Convert the Jews in Britain, up to the Mid Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: 1979).

7 See, for example, the following study of the activities of the London Society directed to the Jews in Palestine: Perry Y., *British Mission to the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Palestine* (London – Portland, OR: 2003).

8 Rosman M., "Poland: Poland before 1795", in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2011) http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Poland/Poland_before_1795 (accessed 21 March 2013).

population of the country was urban, and only 40 to 60 percent was ethnically Polish.⁹

At the end of the eighteenth century, due to the partitions of the Commonwealth, this vast Jewish population became divided by political borders but stayed culturally and religiously interconnected.

For foreign missionaries the number of Jews in this territory was overwhelming. Ebenezer Henderson, an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, noted while travelling through Eastern Europe: 'In the Kingdom of Poland they [Jews] are to be seen swarming in every direction [...]. You cannot enter a town or village, how small soever its size, where you are not met by them'.¹⁰ The London Society took a special interest in the Polish lands, not only because of the size of their Jewish population but also because of their significance for the Society's missionary purpose. Thus it stated as its opinion that '[n]o country presents a more interesting field of labour for a Missionary to the Jews than this'.¹¹ Also, '[a]s we approach the question of the evangelization of the large numbers of Jews in Central Europe, within the limits of the ancient Kingdom of Poland before its partition, we enter upon a subject of the utmost importance to all who are engaged in missions to Jews'.¹² The complex situation of Polish lands in the nineteenth century, however, forced the Society to undertake special measures in order to establish a missionary framework in this region.¹³

The Society established its missionary stations in the Kingdom of Poland quite early—first in Warsaw, in 1821, and later in other cities. The missionaries stayed in Poland till the Crimean War (1853–1856), when the political conflict

9 Hundert G.D., *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity* (Berkeley, CA: 2004) 21. The author emphasizes further that Jews constituted about half of the urban population in the Commonwealth, while in towns they could even form a majority.

10 Henderson E., *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia* (London: 1826) 221.

11 Papers of the Church's Ministry among the Jews deposited at Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford [henceforth Dep. CMJ] e. 24: *Jewish Records*, 40 (1829) 1.

12 Gidney W.Th., *At Home and Abroad: A Description of English and Continental Missions of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (London: 1900) 94.

13 Mahler R., "Ha-medinyiut klapei ha-misionerim be-Polin ha-kongresait bi-tekufat 'haberit ha-kedosha'" ["The Policy towards Missionaries in the Congress Poland in the period of the 'Holy Alliance'"], in Handel M. (ed.), *Sefer Shiloh [The Book of Shiloh]* (Tel Aviv: 1960) 169–181. See also: Jagodzińska A., "The London Society and its Missions to the Polish Jews, 1814–1855: The Gospel and Politics", in Jenz F. – Acke H. (eds.), *Missions and Media: The Politics of Missionary Periodicals in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Stuttgart: 2013) 151–165.

between Russia and Great Britain forced them out (1855). The missions reopened some twenty years later; from that time their activities continued—with minor interruptions—until the Holocaust. In this chapter I will focus on the first period of activity of the London Society in the Kingdom of Poland (until 1855). As mentioned above, the London Society functioned within the Kingdom of Poland by using two main methods of missionizing—stationary and mobile [Fig. 5.1]. Stations were opened in various cities and towns in Poland, including Warsaw, Lublin, Piotrków Radom, and Suwałki.¹⁴ Missionaries undertook expeditions outside their stations a few times a year. The Society expected them to visit places inhabited by Jews and engage in preaching and religious disputes while circulating missionary literature. The main missionary effort was thus directed towards small towns where the agents of the Society expected to reach potential converts. However, in order to finalize the conversion process, ‘inquirers’ were usually expected to contact a missionary station, where they received final instructions and were baptized. Cities, particularly Warsaw, offered the convert anonymity as well as a space to redefine his or her status and a new place of social belonging. The conditions in *shtetls*, identified as the ‘space of Jewish tradition’,¹⁵ differed significantly from those in cities, as will be discussed below.

14 In order to avoid confusion, the Polish term *miasto* (‘a city’ or ‘a town’) needs to be properly defined and contextualized. Theoretically, a city is an urban settlement that receives municipal privileges and maintains specific social and professional structures for its population, which should occupy itself with merchandise, services and crafts, but not with farming, which was delegated to villages. In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, due to the economic decline caused by political and social conditions, Polish cities underwent a process of *agraryzacja*, thereby losing their urban character. Thus, by the nineteenth century, the urban socio-professional structure of Polish cities had been seriously weakened. It is interesting to note that in the first part of the nineteenth century, following the partitions of the Polish lands, there was only one big city left within the borders of the Kingdom of Poland, namely Warsaw, which served as the missionaries’ headquarters in Poland. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion I will use the term ‘city’ to denote a city *de facto*—a settlement that preserved its urban character—while ‘towns’ will refer to former cities or cities only *de iure* that had lost this character. On Polish cities in the nineteenth century, see further Kaczyńska E., *Pejzaż miejski z zaściankiem w tle* [*The Urban Landscape with ‘Zaścianek’ in the Background*] (Warsaw: 1999).

15 One has to remember, however, that strictly speaking such a perception of the *shtetl* developed mostly in the later period, when the processes of modernization, urbanization and secularization were on the rise, and when the *shtetl* started to epitomize a ‘space of tradition’, somewhat naively perceived as an unchanged and unchanging construct that preserved all Jewish traditions intact. See Sokolova A., “The Spaces of Jewish Tradition:

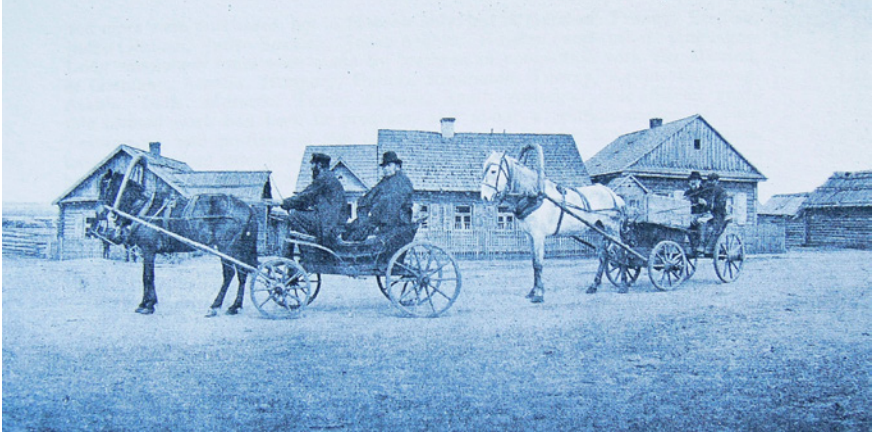


FIGURE 5.1 *British missionaries on tour in Eastern Europe, 1901. Photograph in Samuel Wilkinson, Prisoners of Hope (n.p., n.d.), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ d.51/1, before p. 15. Image © The University of Oxford.*

In the places where they settled, agents of the Society applied missionary strategies similar to those used during their journeys across the country, namely by meeting Jews in public and private spaces. However, in contrast to their missionary travels, they could also use facilities provided by their missionary stations. The most developed infrastructure was found in Warsaw, which was the main station in Poland (opened in 1821). From the very beginning, missionaries in the city fought for the right to organize a space for their own religious expression. These efforts were hampered, however, by the Evangelical Consistory—a body which the government had entrusted with the supervision of the London Society’s activities in Poland.¹⁶ The Consistory was afraid that missionaries would interfere with the local Evangelical congregation and ‘sow the seeds of separatism’ as local Christians occasionally attended religious services organized by missionaries for Jews and Jewish converts.¹⁷

Sacred and Profane Places”, in Avrutin E. et al. (eds.), *Photographing the Jewish Nation: Pictures from S. An-sky’s Ethnographic Expeditions* (Waltham, MA – Hanover, NH: 2009) 133.

16 The Evangelical Consistory treated missionaries as the cuckoo’s egg in the nest of the Protestant community in the Kingdom of Poland. In its correspondence with the government, it repeatedly suggested that they be expelled from Poland. See, for example, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Centralne Władze Wyznaniowe [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Central Religious Authorities, henceforth AGAD, CWW] 1456, 593.

17 AGAD, CWW 1456, 54.

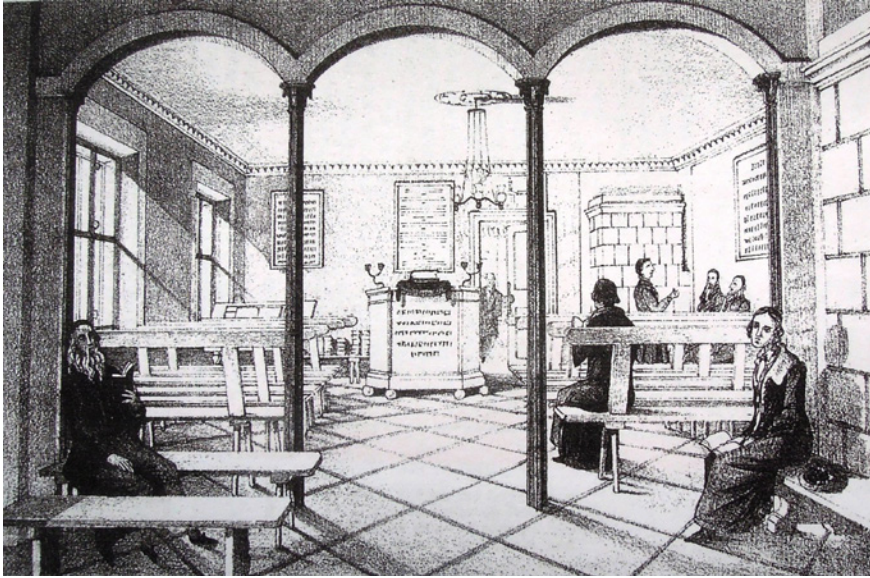


FIGURE 5.2 *Chapel of the Institute for Jewish converts at Warsaw. Photograph in Jewish Intelligence 2 (1846), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ e. 44, before p. 33. Image © The University of Oxford.*

In search of their own space for worship, missionaries wandered from Protestant churches and prayer halls to private flats. In 1823 they started a Church of England service in Warsaw, and they later held services in many languages: English, German, Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish.¹⁸ A domestic chapel opened in the Operative Jewish Converts' Institution became the mission's own place of worship in Warsaw [Fig. 5.2].¹⁹

The Operative Jewish Converts' Institution, also called the Industrial House, was established in Warsaw in 1826. Its purpose was to employ Jewish converts and catechumens who, after their decision to convert, could not support themselves. In this way the Society intended to create a space in which converts, detached from their former community as apostates and barely accepted into the wider ranks of (mostly Catholic) Polish society, could function. In the Operative Institution, they bound books that would later be distributed by the missionaries; and when a printing press and types were purchased, they

18 Gidney W.Th., *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews: From 1809 to 1908* (London: 1908) 97, 100.

19 *Jewish Intelligence and Monthly Account of the Proceedings of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* 12 (February 1846) 33–35.

worked as printers.²⁰ According to the archival data, there were twelve such people in 1827 and eighteen in 1841.²¹ This place was important not only in terms of supporting converts and catechumens, but also—and even more so—as the institution representing the particular religious and social niche that the London Society established for its converts in the Kingdom of Poland. The chapel and the house visibly represented a community that was still under construction and tiny in number, and thus contributed to the psychological empowerment of both missionaries and ‘Hebrew Christians’.²²

Another institution founded by the Society in Warsaw was a free school for Jewish girls. In 1841, between fifteen and eighteen girls were educated there.²³ However, it is interesting to note that none of them were Jewish by religion; they were children born either to Christians or to Jewish parents who had since converted to Christianity. Jews did not send their daughters to the missionary school out of fear that they, too, might be led out of Judaism. It shows quite clearly that instead of promoting conversion, this institution limited its role to attending to the needs of Christians and ‘Hebrew Christians’ in Warsaw. The same was true for the Industrial House, which focused its work on supporting catechumens and converts; only its chapel remained a space open to catechumens, converts and to any interested members of the Jewish or Christian public.

Missionary Encounters in *Shtetls*

The stations provided the necessary infrastructure for the realization of the final missionary purpose, namely religious instruction for ‘inquirers’, their baptism, and their envisioned social and professional adjustment to society. However, in order to propagate their message, the agents of the Society had to reach Jewish communities beyond the missionary stations. In the first part of the nineteenth century, the majority of the Jewish population in the Kingdom of Poland lived in *shtetls*, which became the main destination of missionary

20 Ibidem.

21 AGAD, CWW 1456, 50.

22 Raphael Mahler claims that the Operative Institution was inspired by the example of the Society for Israelite Christians established in Russia in 1817 by Tsar Alexander I; see Mahler, “Ha-medinyiut klapei ha-misionerim” 169. More on this Society in Schainker E., *Imperial Hybrids: Russian-Jewish Converts in the Nineteenth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Pennsylvania: 2010) 20–24.

23 AGAD, CWW 1456, 50.



FIGURE 5.3 *In a Jewish town in the Eastern Europe (ca. 1900). Photograph in Samuel Wilkinson, Prisoners of Hope (n.p., n.d.), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ d.51/1, title page. Image © The University of Oxford.*

expeditions [Fig. 5.3]. The notion of *shtetl* is a good example of how Jews and Christians occupying the same space not only referred to it using different terms but also understood its nature differently.

What exactly was a *shtetl*? Although numerous scholars have studied its character, composition and structure, the notion of *shtetl* escapes a precise definition. Moreover, the diversity of defining elements results in a multitude of definitions.²⁴ One of the reasons for this is that a *shtetl* was not only a settlement occupying a physical space but also (or rather?) a cultural and social construct. Samuel Kassow, for example, describes it as ‘a compact Jewish population distinguished from [its] mostly gentile peasant neighbors by religion, occupation, language, and culture’ that was ‘defined by interlocking networks

24 Markowski A., “The *Shtetl* Space in the 19th Century: A Sociological Approach”, in Šiaučiūnaite-Verbickienė J. – Lempertienė L. (eds.), *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History* (Newcastle: 2007) 51–52.

of economic and social relationships'.²⁵ But historical understanding mixes with the perception of a *shtetl* as 'a "state of mind", an idyll, an exercise in nostalgia, or an artistic construct'.²⁶ Moreover, definitions became blurred due to the fate of Jewish towns wiped out during the Holocaust, and later preserved only in Jewish collective memory or in literary narratives.²⁷ Among hundreds of *shtetls*, no two were alike, and there never was a 'typical' *shtetl*.²⁸ The historian John Klier compared its definitions to 'Hamlet's discussion with Polonius on the shape of a cloud in the sky: now a camel, now a weasel, now a whale'.²⁹ What remains clear amongst the various (and sometimes contradictory) perceptions of the *shtetl* is the fact that it was the Jewish community that determined 'the shtetlness' of a given town.³⁰

One of the characteristics of Jewish life in a *shtetl* was its intimate and face-to-face character. As Samuel Kassow explains, 'it was small enough for almost everyone to be known by name and nickname'.³¹ This specific quality unquestionably influenced missionary activity in *shtetls*. Missionaries often complained that such an atmosphere impeded their efforts to engage in conversations with Jews. Even if they did manage to come in contact with certain individuals, the Jewish community watched them closely and could prevent

25 Kassow S., "Shtetl", in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2010), <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Shtetl> (accessed October 1, 2012).

26 Klier J., "What Exactly Was a Shtetl?", in Estraiikh G. – Krutikov M. (eds.) *The Shtetl: Image and Reality: Papers of the Second Mendel Friedman International Conference on Yiddish* (Oxford: 2000) 23.

27 On the process of nostalgic transformation of historic Jewish towns into mythical constructs, see Bartal I., "Imagined Geography: The Shtetl, Myth and Reality", in Katz S.E. (ed.), *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: 2007) 188–189.

28 Kassow S., "Introduction", in Katz, *The Shtetl* 1; Klier, "What Exactly Was a Shtetl?" 28.

29 Ibidem, 27.

30 After the Holocaust, the towns once inhabited by Jews were repopulated with non-Jews. But although they were reborn in demographic terms, they could never be called *shtetls*, as the communities for whom a 'town' was a 'shtetl' were no more. Since then *shtetls* existed only in the common memory of the emigrants or survivors and thus became a mythical construct: 'the Holocaust destroyed the originals once and for all, sanctifying the shtetl with an aura of martyrdom' (Ibidem, 33). Analysis of Jewish narratives on *shtetls* suggested also that such post-Holocaust mythologizing changed the way in which the Jewish and non-Jewish presence within *shtetls* was remembered. See Goldberg-Mulkiewicz O., "Księga pamięci a mit żydowskiego miasteczka" ["Memorial Book and Myth of a Jewish Town"], *Etnografia Polska* 35, 2 (1991) 187–198. On the *shtetl* as an imagined construct, see further Roskies D., "The Shtetl as Imagined Community", in Estraiikh – Krutikov (eds.), *The Shtetl* 4–22.

31 Kassow, "Introduction" 7.



FIGURE 5.4 'A secret inquirer'—a Jew reading a Christian tract watched by two missionaries. Photograph in *Jewish Records*, Oct. (1878), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ e. 24, 37. Image © The University of Oxford.

interested Jews from contacting missionaries again. As a consequence of the *shtetl's* dense population, hardly anything escaped the attention of neighbours or passers-by. From missionary reports, we learn that Jews who were interested in reading missionary literature sometimes had to go outside their *shtetl* (for example, to the fields surrounding it) in order to escape the scrutiny of their community [Fig. 5.4].³² Other missionary narratives report that Jews, in order not to cause any suspicion in their own *shtetl*, would publicly refuse to talk to missionaries or accept their pamphlets, but would behave more freely when they convened outside their own *shtetl*, in a place where nobody knew them.³³ Urban areas offered an even greater possibility of escaping the control of one's own community. In this respect, a popular saying—'the urban air makes a man free'³⁴—proved to be true for Jews and Christians alike.

The *shtetl*, as mentioned above, was a space marked by Jewish tradition. Not only time was measured there according to the weekly rhythm of Sabbaths and

32 AGAD, CWW 1455, 483; and 1457, 76.

33 AGAD, CWW 1455, 75.

34 The saying is quoted in Chwalba A., *Historia Polski 1795–1918* [*History of Poland 1795–1918*] (Kraków: 2001) 86.

other Jewish holidays, but even the landscape reflected them.³⁵ In entering *shtetls*, one entered a physical space marked by Jewish religion and customs. As Scottish missionaries who travelled through this part of Europe reported, Jewish settlements were easily recognized by such space markers as temporary booths erected in early autumn for the celebration of *Sukkot* (the Feast of Tabernacles) or the permanent construction of an *eruv*, which enabled Jewish mobility—otherwise restricted—during the shabbat.³⁶ As Joachim Schlör has noted, the *eruv* was a space ‘which during the week has the same appearance and the same function for Jews and non-Jews, [while] on the Sabbath [it] changes its meaning for the Jews because of the Jewish law, whereas for their non-Jewish neighbours it does not.’³⁷ In the case of British and German missionaries, who sometimes lacked precise information on the ethnic composition of towns and villages in the Kingdom of Poland, these elements of the landscape allowed them to identify unequivocally the space as Jewish and classify it as a missionary target. Additionally, missionaries could recognize Jewish houses by *mezuzot* nailed to the doorposts.³⁸ All such markers of space that signalled a Jewish presence and had specific religious functions within the

35 Among older studies on the life of the *shtetl*, see Zborowski M. – Herzog E., *Life Is with People: The Culture of the Shtetl* (New York: 1962).

36 Bonar A.A. – M'Cheyne R.M., *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: 1842), vol. II, 242–243. On the meaning of *sukkah*, or booth, see Lipis M., “A Hybrid Place of Belonging: Constructing and Sitting the Sukkah”, in Lipphardt – Brauch – Nocke (eds.), *Jewish Topographies* 27–41. See also Wodziński M., *Hasidism and Politics: The Kingdom of Poland, 1815–1864* (Oxford – Portland, OR: 2013) 180: Jewish law forbids the carrying of objects between private and public domains, or between two private domains, on the sabbath. To circumvent this, however, individual private domains or private and public domain may be united as a single domain by establishing an *eruv* (pl. *eruvim*) around the area. This is done by demarcating a halakhic boundary using string, rope, or wires to supplement existing boundary markers and permitted natural features to create a continuous area: once the area is halakhically a single domain, objects can be carried within the designated area without violation of the sabbath laws'. On the *eruv* in Poland see further Bergman E., “The ‘rewir’ or Jewish District and the ‘eyruv’”, *Studia Judaica* 5 (2002) 85–97. For introductory information on the shabbat celebration in the Eastern Europe see Horowitz E., “Sabbath”, in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2010), <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Sabbath> (accessed October 1, 2012).

37 Schlör J., “Introduction: Jewish Forms of Settlement and Their Meaning”, in Šiaučiuonaite-Verbickiene-Lempertiene, *Jewish Space* 2.

38 A *mezuzah* (pl. *mezuzot*) is a piece of parchment with selected verses from the Torah, affixed to the doorpost of Jewish houses.



FIGURE 5.5 *Scene at the Polish railway station. Photograph in Jewish Records (Oct. 1877), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ e. 24, 37. Image © The University of Oxford.*

Jewish world also provided foreign Christian missionaries with direct information to identify and access Jewish communities.

Thus the agents of the London Society reached not only into profane spaces of Jewish towns like shops, inns or private houses but extended their activities also to the sphere of Jewish religion. They disputed with Jews in places like the *heder* and *bet-midrash* (places of traditional religious education and study), commented on Jews using the *mikve* (a ritual bath), and even entered Jewish places of worship, preaching in synagogues.³⁹ Such violations of the inner spaces of Jewish towns caused a great deal of controversy among Polish Jews. Even in non-Jewish spaces, missionaries were often a cause of public unrest [Fig. 5.5]. It comes as no surprise, then, that the English ‘conversion project’ met with a generally negative response from the Jewish side, taking the form of spontaneous or organized Jewish self-defence against those whom Jews considered to be threatening trespassers.

39 For examples see AGAD, CWW 1454, 530 (on missionaries visiting the *bet-midrash*), CWW 1457, 145–146 (on missionaries visiting the synagogue), and CWW 1454, 339 (on missionaries in the market square asking Jews about the ritual bath).

Missions as Transgression of Jewish Space

The transgression of Jewish space should not be understood only in the sense of missionaries trespassing on physical Jewish places but also invading Jewish cultural and religious spheres. This problem is connected to one of the main missionary strategies of the Society. In order to facilitate making contacts with the target group, the Society would turn some of its Jewish converts into missionaries and send them to preach among their former brethren, or educate its gentile agents in Jewish languages and religious texts. Encounters with missionaries trained in this way caused confusion among Jews who could not identify them unequivocally.

The use of Jewish languages by missionaries was particularly misleading. This is evidenced by an 1825 missionary report written by Ferdinand Becker and John C. Reichardt, who were approached in Brześć by Jews wishing 'not so much to dispute, as to inquire into the real object of our going to such great expense in travelling from place to place; and to ascertain whether we were real Jews or baptized Jews, knowing their language as we do, or whether we were Christians'.⁴⁰ In Eastern Europe at this time, 'Jewish languages' could be either Hebrew or Yiddish. Hebrew was still the language of the educated male elite used for special purposes, while Yiddish was widely used in everyday life. As Kassow points out:

In Germany or Spain, Jews basically spoke the same language as their neighbors, albeit with Hebrew expressions and idiomatic and syntactical peculiarities. But in Eastern Europe, the Yiddish speech of the shtetl was markedly different from the languages used by mostly Slavic peasantry [. . .]. To see the shtetl as entirely Jewish is wrong [. . .]. Nonetheless, Yiddish strengthened the Jews' convictions that they were profoundly different from their neighbors.⁴¹

In this context Christian missionaries speaking Jewish languages—especially Yiddish, an 'inner' Jewish language that automatically identified the speaker as Jewish—fuelled confusion and controversy in the *shtetls* they visited.

The research of Aya Elyada helps us to understand why the missionaries posed such a threat to Jewish communities. Analysing early-modern German Pietist missions from Halle, she argued that Yiddish was 'a language that could lend the foreign and intimidating Christian teachings a friendly and even intimate Jewish touch'; German missionaries, by using it, 'hoped to blur the lines

⁴⁰ *Jewish Expositor and Friend of Israel* 10 (1825) 275.

⁴¹ Kassow, "Introduction" 2.

between themselves and the Jews, and thus gain access to the closed Jewish world, a necessary prerequisite for a successful mission.⁴² The same is true for the London Society's agents who made use of the status of Yiddish, which Elyada characterizes in the following way:

Yiddish enjoyed a high degree of intimacy and casualness, and drew a distinct line between Jews and non-Jews, effectively functioning as a means of inclusion and exclusion. On the one hand, Yiddish served to create a special bonding and solidarity among the Jews, a kind of members-only club, to which those who did not speak Yiddish did not have access. On the other hand, because non-use of Yiddish was such a straightforward identifier of non-Jews, the unique language of the Jewish minority served to protect it from outside influences, first and foremost from the influence of Christian mission.⁴³

Thus missionaries using the Jewish vernacular were breaching the walls protecting the safe Jewish-only space, and accessing the Jewish community from its most vulnerable side.

In a similar way, missionary texts penetrated the sphere of Jewish religious culture. One of the most important missionary strategies was the publication and circulation of pamphlets and Bibles in Hebrew, in Yiddish (both Western and Eastern) and in other languages. In the case of pamphlets, a very common strategy—adopted already by the early-modern Protestant 'Jewish mission'⁴⁴—was a surreptitious introduction of the Christian message under the guise of a Jewish form. Publications of the Society addressed to Jewish readers very often used elements of their religious or cultural codes. The titles, and even the very structure, of these pamphlets were supposed to suggest works or concepts with which Jews were already acquainted and thus remove any possible suspicions, e.g. *Ir ha-miklat* [*The City of Refuge*] (London: 1826) [Fig. 5.6], *Kol kore li-vnei Yisrael* [*An Appeal to Israelites*] or *Kriyah le-chol zerah Yaakov* [*An Appeal to the Seed of Jacob*] (both London: 1820).⁴⁵ In the later period, missionaries also used popular secular titles or motifs taken from modern Jewish culture. For example, the Barbican Mission, another British mission to the Jews, founded in 1879,⁴⁶ 'craftily disguised hymns with Christian content by setting them to

42 Elyada A., "Yiddish—Language of Conversion? Linguistic Adaptation and its Limits in Early Modern *Judenmission*", *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 53 (2008) 1–29, at 12.

43 *Ibidem*, 11.

44 *Ibidem*.

45 All these pamphlets can be found in Dep. CMJ 61.

46 Thompson A.E., *A Century of Jewish Mission* (London – Edinburgh: 1902) 110–111.

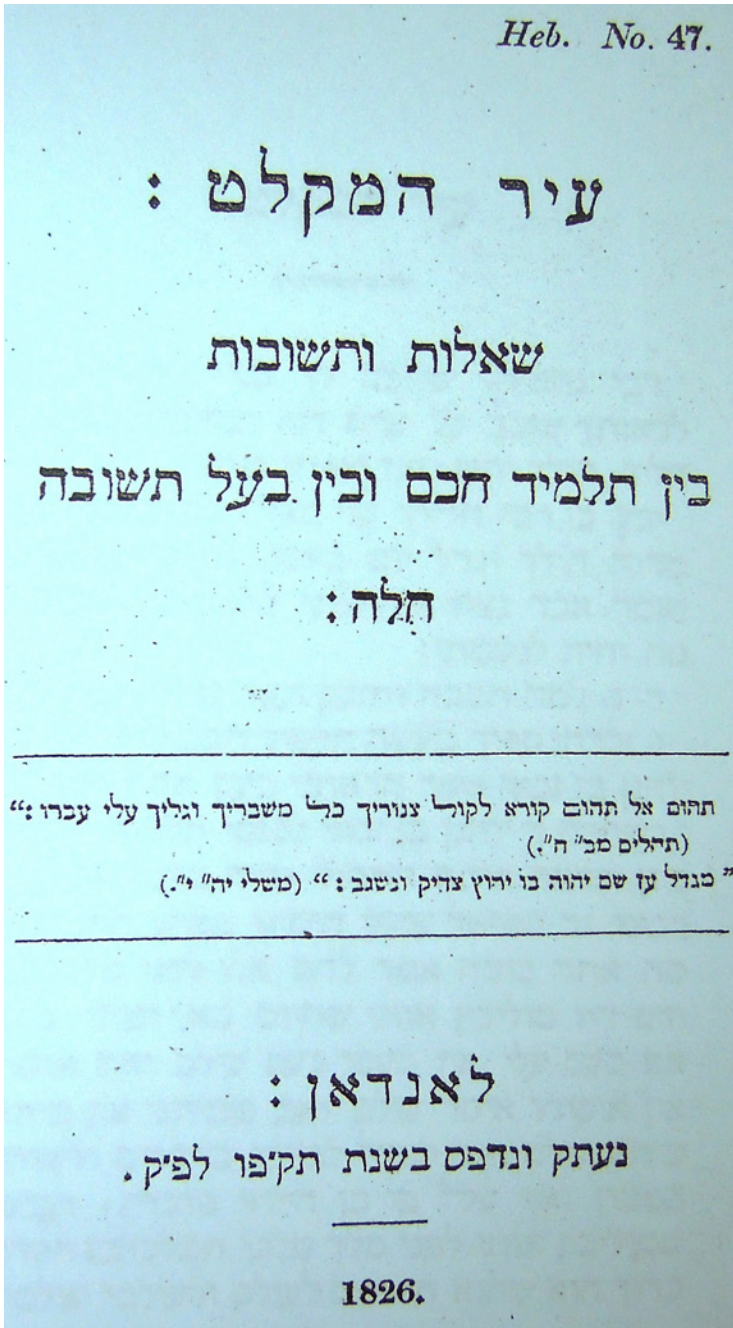


FIGURE 5.6 *A missionary tract in Hebrew. Ir ha-miklat [The City of Refuge] (1826), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. CMJ e. 61, title page. Image © The University of Oxford.*

traditional Hebrew or Yiddish songs familiar to the Jews, a practice that the missionaries found “touches Jewish emotions”.⁴⁷ To reach those whom they regarded their most fanatic opponents, namely the Hasidim,⁴⁸ the London missionaries did not hesitate to learn and then perform some popular Hasidic hymns or even employ Hasidic methods of exegesis.⁴⁹

Crossing Borders, Expanding Horizons?

Missionaries of the Society who were trained in Jewish exegesis and who knew Jewish languages and culture entered the Jewish world in a way that other non-Jews could or did not. In its periodicals and other publications, the London Society published reports concerning the life and customs of Jewish communities visited by its missionaries in British colonial spaces and beyond. Many of the portrayals presented Jews, especially those from Asia and Africa, as a distant, ‘exotic’ people. It is noteworthy that Polish Jews (as opposed, for example, to German Jews) were described according to the same conventional narrative: for the London Society the cultural Orient began already in Poland. In *Historical Notices* we encounter such a description of Polish Jewry:

The Polish Jews have maintained most firmly their isolated character, and exhibited the deepest feeling and regard for their national rites and ceremonies. Here they have stood out longest and strongest against the introduction of modern customs [...]. Their Oriental dress [...] made them a mark for contempt and curses, completely separated them from Christians, and has thus in a great measure been the cause of their being kept in ignorance of the doctrines of Christianity, and looking upon all Christians as idolaters.⁵⁰

47 Ross E., “Playing Deaf: Jewish Women at the Medical Missions of East London, 1880–1920s”, 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 13 (2011) <http://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/index.php/19/article/view/622/744> (accessed 23 March 2013).

48 Hasidism was a mass religious movement originating with a mystical trend among the Jews of the Commonwealth in the mid-eighteenth century. For an introduction to its history see “Hasidism”, in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2010), <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Hasidism> (accessed 23 March 2013).

49 Wodziński M., *Haskalah and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict* (Oxford – Portland, OR: 2005) 98.

50 *Historical Notices of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews* (London: 1850) 51.

Moreover, despite the Society's declared 'love of the poor Jews', Jews (not only Polish ones) were patronized and still viewed through the prism of the earlier religious bias.

One might expect that such perceptions of Jews, based on theological and ethnic stereotypes, might have been challenged by, and checked against, the reports of the missionaries who worked among Polish Jews. But did their outreach to Jewish communities in the Kingdom indeed lead them not only to cross geographical borders but also to transcend these popular stereotypes? On the one hand, missionaries belonged to the few Christian groups that at this time were interested in the situation of Polish Jewry, but probably were also the only Christians who actually met them in their own 'Jewish' space, talked to them, and got to know them. Therefore, their reports offer insight into the life of Jewish communities in various regions in Poland and may be considered to have ethnographic value.⁵¹ They testify to the diversity of Polish Jewry, show the spreading of various cultural, social and religious trends in certain regions, record customs and traditions, report local calamities and altogether enrich our knowledge of the life of the Jewish communities in Poland. They also continued the tradition of early-modern 'polemical ethnographies' which combined an apologetic approach to the Jews with ethnographic descriptions.⁵²

On the other hand, missionaries' encounters with Jews did not always result in a redefining of—mostly religiously motivated—stereotypes concerning the Jews and the Jewish world. Both the image of the Jews in texts produced by the London Society and its attitude towards them were ambiguous. They depended mostly on a theological view of the Jews as 'God's wonderful people' of the past or the 'children of Israel' restored to their former glory in the messianic (Christian) future, while it simultaneously criticised them for being 'blind' to the present-day Christian message. I would claim that this theological ambiguity projected itself onto the 'ethnographic' description of contemporary Jewish life presented in missionary reports. From countless publications of missionary societies, British supporters of missions to the Jews could learn more about them, but this did not mean that they understood them better.⁵³

51 I discuss both the ethnographic potential and limitation of this type of sources in Jagodzińska A., "English Missionaries' Look at Polish Jews: The Value and Limitations of Missionary Reports as Source Material", in Dynner G. – Polonsky A. – Wodziński M. (eds.), *Jews in the Kingdom of Poland, 1815–1914*. Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry, vol. XXVII (forthcoming, Oxford: 2014).

52 More on such 'polemical ethnographies', see Deutsch Y., *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Early Modern Description of Jews and Judaism* (Oxford – New York: 2012).

53 On functions and audiences of missionary periodicals of the London Society see Jagodzińska A., "For Zion's Sake I Will Not Rest: The London Society for Promoting



FIGURE 5.7 *Polish Jews as imagined in the missionary press. Image in Children's Jewish Advocate (January 1876), Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Dep. cmJ f. 34, before title page. Image © The University of Oxford.*

In addition, woodcut print illustrations in missionary publications, particularly in missionary periodicals, presented a rather tendentious image of Jews and their encounters with missionaries [Fig. 5.7].

Christianity among the Jews and its Nineteenth-Century Periodicals", *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 82, 2 (2013), 381–387.

The inability of the British press to move beyond popular social or ethnic stereotypes as it shaped public opinion was not limited to the Jews. A similar situation occurred, for example, in the case of Japan, which was constantly being described as ‘the singular country’. Although in the second half of the nineteenth century more and more information on Japanese life and culture was reaching England, Victorian journalists tended to perpetuate stereotypical images of Japanese people and their culture.⁵⁴ In this respect, crossing geographical borders did not always mean re-evaluating ‘the pictures in our heads’.⁵⁵

Conclusion

The conversion project of the London Society carried out in Polish lands in the first half of nineteenth century proved to be a failure, since in the predominantly Catholic Kingdom of Poland the Society was turning members of one confessional minority into members of another: converts exchanged their Jewish adherence for an Evangelical (Lutheran, Calvinist, or Anglican) one.⁵⁶ Yet after their baptism they were practically left in a social and religious vacuum. Having received religious instruction mostly in Jewish languages or in German, and in many cases not knowing Polish sufficiently, they had a problem fitting into the ranks of Polish society, let alone fully integrating into it. Moreover, the Poles certainly did not share the enthusiasm of English ‘conversion mania’, but were quite biased against Jewish converts. Their conversion pattern did not follow the model of the middle- and upper-class Jews seeking social acceptance and professional advancement through a change of confession. The London Society’s converts in Poland were recruited from the lower strata of the Jewish community, as was also the case for the Society’s other domestic and foreign missions.⁵⁷ For many Jewish catechumens from the Kingdom’s small towns, whom the missionaries attracted to the cities, conversion meant no real social or economic improvement, and for some it represented a social demotion.

54 Yokoyama T., *Japan in the Victorian Mind: A Study of Stereotyped Images of a Nation, 1850–80* (London: 1987).

55 Lippmann W., *Public Opinion* (New York: 1922).

56 On what it meant for Polish Jews to embrace a Protestant confession instead of Catholicism, and on the reasons for this preference in nineteenth-century Warsaw, see Endelman T., ‘Jewish Converts in Nineteenth Century Warsaw: A Quantitative Analysis’, *Jewish Social Studies* 4 (1997) 46–48.

57 *Ibidem*, 32–33.

In the first twenty years of the Society's missions in Poland, it converted 153 Jews. The statistics show that the majority of them were baptized in Warsaw (115) and the rest in other cities: 33 in Lublin, and five in Radom, Kielce and Piotrków.⁵⁸ This confirms the crucial role that cities with missionary stations played in the final stage of the conversion process. The leading role of Warsaw, which had the most developed missionary infrastructure, is evident. The overall number of converts for the first period of the London missions in Poland, 1821–1854, reached 361. A similar number of baptized Jews was recorded in Warsaw after the missionaries were re-admitted to the Kingdom—354 converts for the period 1874–1898.⁵⁹ According to another estimate, Dr. Octavius James Ellis, the head of the Warsaw station, is claimed to have baptized 500 Jews in Warsaw between 1877–1909.⁶⁰ The tiny number of converts and the unstable religious and social space that the Society created for them in Warsaw prevented them from forming a community and from developing a distinct communal identity. Missionaries reported that a number of their converts left the Kingdom of Poland and emigrated to Prussia or to England, while some others found the new situation unbearable and returned to their Jewish communities. Those who continued living as Christians and remained in the Kingdom of Poland did not constitute a distinct group but rather tried to integrate within the ranks of the local Christian society.

The factor of space applied to the study of British missions to Polish Jews introduces new perspectives on the main topic of this volume. First of all, it suggests that missions carried out abroad required their own space in order to function. This space was not limited to physical components (such as the buildings of missionary stations, schools, and chapels), but also included religious, social, cultural and political conditions that determined the character of the missions in a given territory. In the case of the London Society's missions, the space that the Society was striving to create both for its missionary infrastructure and its converts in the Kingdom of Poland turned out to be unstable. This missionary experiment—with its undefined religious, social and legal status—carried on outside the political network of the British Empire, did not result in creating a desired space for the converts: they either had to seek it abroad or try to negotiate a place within the local society. In this chapter I have argued that the same space inhabited by the members of two distinct religious,

58 AGAD, CWW 1456, 50.

59 Dep. CMJ d. 51/2.

60 Dep. CMJ d. 51/5. The actual number of Jews who converted to Christianity due to the missions of the Society may be higher than stated above; the number given there does not include Jews 'converted' by missionaries but baptized in other churches. See Endelman, "Jewish Converts" 32.

ethnic, and social groups can have an entirely different meaning for each of the groups, as was explained in the case of the *shtetl*. Moreover, my analysis has shown that missions can be interpreted not only as a transgression of the physical space of a given people but also as a symbolic violation of the cultural and religious borders that defined their inner 'safe' space. On the other hand, missions could cross geographical borders without necessarily diminishing the distance—cultural, religious, and intellectual—to the visited people and places. First-hand reports sent to England did not have much effect in altering stereotypical images of East-European Jews in the Victorian mind.

Selective Bibliography

- Bartal I., "Imagined Geography: The Shtetl, Myth and Reality", in Katz S.E. (ed.), *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: 2007) 179–192.
- Bergman E., "The 'rewir' or Jewish District and the 'eyruv'", *Studia Judaica* 5, 1 (2002) 85–97.
- Bonar A.A., M'Cheyne R.M., *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: 1842).
- Chwalba A., *Historia Polski 1795–1918* (Kraków: 2001).
- Deutsch Y., *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Early Modern Description of Jews and Judaism* (Oxford – New York: 2012).
- Elyada A., "Yiddish—Language of Conversion? Linguistic Adaptation and its Limits in Early Modern Judednmission", *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 53 (2008) 3–29.
- Endelman T., "Jewish Converts in Nineteenth Century Warsaw: A Quantitative Analysis", *Jewish Social Studies* 4, 1 (1997) 28–59.
- Gidney W.Th., *At Home and Abroad: A Description of English and Continental Missions of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (London: 1900).
- Goldberg-Mulkiewicz O., "Księga pamięci a mit żydowskiego miasteczka" [*Memorial Book and Myth of a Jewish Town*], *Etnografia Polska* 35/2 (1991) 187–198.
- Henderson E., *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia* (London: 1826).
- Horowitz E., "Sabbath", in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2010) <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Sabbath>.
- Jagodzińska A., "English Missionaries' Look at Polish Jews: The Value and Limitations of Missionary Reports as Source Material", in Dynner G. – Polonsky A. – Wodziński M. (eds.), *Jews in the Kingdom of Poland, 1815–1914*. Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry, vol. XXVII (forthcoming, Oxford: 2014).
- Jagodzińska A., "The London Society and its Missions to the Polish Jews, 1814–1855: The Gospel and Politics", in Jensch F. – Acke H. (eds.), *Missions and Media: The Politics of Missionary Periodicals in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Stuttgart: 2013) 151–165.

- Jagodzińska A., "W poszukiwaniu doskonałego rozumienia konwersji. Wprowadzenie" ["In Search of a Perfect Understanding of Conversion"], in Jagodzińska A. (ed.), *W poszukiwaniu religii doskonałej. Konwersja a Żydzi [In Search of a Perfect Religion? Conversion and Jews]* (Wrocław: 2012) 7–18.
- Jones L., "Jewish Place and Placelessness: Historical and Academic Challenges (or 'What the Study of Jewish Space and Place Suggests to Me about the Aztecs')", *Shofar* 17, 1 (1998): 36–48.
- Kaczyńska E., *Pejzaż miejski z zaściankiem w tle [The Urban Landscape with 'Zaścianek' in the Background]* (Warsaw: 1999).
- Kassow S., "Introduction", in Katz S.E. (ed.), *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: 2007) 1–28.
- Kassow S., "Shtetl", in *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (2010) <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Shtetl>.
- Klier J., "What Exactly Was a Shtetl?", in Estraiikh G., Krutikov M. (eds.) *The Shtetl: Image and Reality: Papers of the Second Mendel Friedman International Conference on Yiddish* (Oxford: 2000)
- Lipis M., "A Hybrid Place of Belonging: Constructing and Sitting the Sukkah", in Brauch J. – Lipphardt A. – Nocke A. (eds.), *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place* (Aldershot-Burlington, VT: 2008) 27–41.
- Lipphardt A. – Brauch J. – Nocke A., "Exploring Jewish Space. An Approach", in Brauch J. – Lipphardt A. – Nocke A. (eds.), *Jewish Topographies: Visions of Space, Traditions of Place* (Aldershot-Burlington, VT: 2008) 1–23.
- Lippmann W., *Public Opinion* (New York: 1922).
- Mahler R., "Ha-medinyiut klapei ha-misionerim be-Polin ha-kongresait bi-tekufat 'haberit ha-kedosha'" ["The Policy towards Missionaries in the Congress Poland in the period of the 'Holy Alliance'"], in Handel M. (ed.), *Sefer shiloh [The Book of Shiloh]* (Tel Aviv: 1960) 169–181.
- Mann B.E., *Space and place in Jewish Studies* (New Brunswick, NJ: 2012).
- Markowski A., "The Shtetl Space in the 19th Century: A Sociological Approach", in Šiaučiunaite-Verbickiene J. – Lempertiene L. (eds.), *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History* (Newcastle: 2007) 51–65.
- Roskies D., "The Shtetl as Imagined Community", in Estraiikh G. – Krutikov M. (eds.) *The Shtetl: Image and Reality: Papers of the Second Mendel Friedman International Conference on Yiddish* (Oxford: 2000) 4–22.
- Rosman M., "Jewish History Across Borders", in Cohen R., Rosman M. (eds.), *Rethinking European Jewish History* (Oxford – Portland, OR: 2009) 15–29.
- Schinker E., *Imperial Hybrids: Russian-Jewish Converts in the Nineteenth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Pennsylvania: 2010).
- Schlör J., "Introduction: Jewish Forms of Settlement and Their Meaning", in Šiaučiunaite-Verbickiene J. – Lempertiene L. (eds.), *Jewish Space in Central and Eastern Europe: Day-to-Day History* (Newcastle: 2007) 1–6.

- Sokolova A., "The Spaces of Jewish Tradition: Sacred and Profane Places", in Avrutin E. et al. (eds.) *Photographing the Jewish Nation: Pictures from S. An-sky's Ethnographic Expeditions* (Waltham, MA – Hanover, NH: 2009) 131–144.
- Wodziński M., *Hasidism and Politics: The Kingdom of Poland, 1815–1864* (Oxford – Portland, OR: 2013).
- Wodziński M., *Haskalah and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict* (Oxford – Portland, OR: 2005).
- Yokoyama T., *Japan in the Victorian Mind: A Study of Stereotyped Images of a Nation, 1850–80* (London: 1987).

PART 2

Segregation and Permeability



The Citadel of the Lost Souls: Spaces of Orthodoxy and Penance in Sixteenth-Century Lisbon

Susana Bastos Mateus

A Captive City: The Creation of a New Penitential Geography

In 1538 the Inquisition of Lisbon filed a denunciation against the *desembargador régio* (royal judge) Gil Vaz Bugalho, accused, among other crimes, of having translated some parts of the Old Testament, of being close to New-Christian social circles and of having made an attempt to recuperate some Hebrew books previously confiscated by the Holy Office. The gravity of the affair was related to the Old-Christian origin of the defendant and by his proximity to the court and to King John III himself.¹ The case eventually gained an international dimension with significant diplomatic exchanges between the Holy See and the Portuguese Crown. The trial of the unfortunate judge lasted for many years, with advances and setbacks, and was marked by continual interventions by the Roman Curia and the Portuguese monarch. Despite all intercessions on his behalf, Bugalho was condemned and burned at the stake in Évora in the *auto-da-fé* of December 1551, about thirteen years after his initial arrest.

In his inquisitorial trial, ten years into his confinement, Bugalho presented a very dramatic narrative of his grueling experiences in several inquisitorial dungeons, located in different urban areas. Almost blind, of advanced age, and weakened as a result of so many years of imprisonment, he wrote pleading for swift justice,

at your earliest convenience and taking into account that I am very old, ill, and blind and, for the longest time, have been put in a pit in the earth where they give me food through an aperture as if I were a lion.²

1 Marcocci G., “Bugalho, Gil Vaz”, in Proserpi A. (ed.), in collaboration with V. Lavenia and J. Tedeschi, *Dizionario storico dell’Inquisizione*, 4 vols. (Pisa: 2010), vol. I, 233–235.

2 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon [henceforth ANTT], *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 8760, fol. 59r: ‘com brevidade e aja respeito a ser muito velho doente e cego e estar metido a tanto tempo em huma cova onde me dão de comer per hum buraco como ha hum lião’.

In his testimonies and confessions, Bugalho mentioned a wide network of prison buildings scattered around the city. During the first decades of inquisitorial activity these buildings served as a support structure for the tribunal's still limited presence in the urban space. Bugalho suggested as much in the following statement to the inquisitors:

Afterwards the Inquisitor sent him [the defendant] to the *cadeia da Inquisição* [prison of the Inquisition] where Diogo Ribeiro was the jailer and, after him, Inácio Nunes. Then he was sent to the *cadeia da cidade* [prison of the City], where he stayed for eight months, more or less, then he returned to the *cárcere da Inquisição*, where Inácio Nunes was in charge; later the cardinal [Prince Henry, Inquisitor general] sent him to the *cárcere dos Estaos* [prison of the Estaos].³

Thus Bugalho's judicial experience, begun only two years after the establishment of the Holy Office in Portugal (1536), indicates that the introduction of the Inquisition marked the creation of a new penitential and punitive topography in Lisbon, once the institution established a network of prisons designed to detain the accused during and after the trials. As we have seen, the deposition of Bugalho listed some of these spaces, which consisted not only of buildings belonging directly to the Holy Office, but also of buildings that performed other functions. That was the case, for example, of the *cárcere dos Estaos*, a prison located inside a palace in an important square of the city (the *Rossio*), which had different functions during the sixteenth century; it was used, for instance, as a residence for foreign ambassadors.⁴ The reorganization of all these spaces created a new equilibrium in the city's penal environment.

Recent historiography has shown that with the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal in 1536, new social realities emerged. Some of the latest contributions have paid special attention to the relations between the Holy Office and previously existing powers charged with the fight against heresy; and they have also examined the new balance of power that resulted, affecting

3 ANTT, *Inquisição de Évora*, proc. 8760, fols. 724v–725r ('Depois o mandou o Inquisidor para a cadeia da Inquisição onde estava Diogo Ribeiro por carcereiro e depois dele Inácio Nunes. Depois foi mandado à cadeia da cidade, onde esteve oito meses, pouco mais ou menos, então foi tornado ao cárcere da Inquisição onde estava Inácio Nunes e depois foi mandado pelo cardeal para o cárcere dos estaos').

4 On this palace see Pinto M.C. Teixeira, "Um palácio no Rossio: ciclos de vida (séculos xv a xix)", in *I Colóquio temático: O Município de Lisboa e a dinâmica urbana (séculos XVI–XIX): Actas das Sessões* (Lisbon: 1995) 163–175.

all spheres of Portuguese society.⁵ It is clear that the Holy Office represented some kind of continuity with earlier institutions that had had the task of prosecuting and condemning all sorts of heretical behaviour.⁶ Yet in other ways it constituted a completely new institution, one that had different methods and objectives or, at least, more specific and narrow goals.⁷ This dialectical relationship between new and old clearly marked the connections of the Inquisition with city life.

During the period under consideration here, the sixteenth century, the city of Lisbon underwent considerable changes in its social geography. The town was visibly transformed from the principal urban space of the kingdom to the capital, not only of Portugal but also of a vast overseas empire.⁸ Thus, Lisbon emerged as a city that opened to the world, but which simultaneously began to develop within itself progressively well-defined spaces to allow for punishment and discipline of a complex and fairly new social category: the New Christians—that is, the thousands of Jews who had been forcibly converted in 1497.⁹ The phenomenon of the General Conversion and all subsequent debates around the theological validity of the forced baptism of the Jews turned the question of conversion into a central issue within sixteenth-century Portuguese society.

The urban space was thus characterized, we might say, by the dichotomy between the evidence—including smells, colours and flavours—of imports from distant parts of the globe and the appearance of a ‘captive city’ (to quote

5 See the remarks presented in the first survey of the history of the Portuguese Inquisition: Marcocci G. – Paiva J.P., *História da Inquisição Portuguesa, 1536–1821* (Lisbon: 2013) 11–19 and 49–76.

6 Paiva J.P., *Baluartes da fé e da disciplina: O enlace entre Inquisição e os bispos em Portugal, 1536–1750* (Coimbra: 2011) 33–45. See also Borromeo A., “Contributo allo studio dell’Inquisizione e dei suoi rapporti con il potere episcopale nell’Italia Spagnola del Cinquecento”, in *Annuario dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per l’Età Moderna e Contemporanea* 29–30 (1977–1978) 219–276.

7 Marcocci G., “A fundação da Inquisição em Portugal: Um novo olhar”, *Lusitania Sacra* 2 s., 23 (2011) 17–40; idem, *I custodi dell’ortodossia: Inquisizione e Chiesa nel Portogallo del Cinquecento* (Rome: 2004) 59–86.

8 Magalhães J. Romero de, “A construção da capital”, in Mattoso J. (ed.), *História de Portugal*, 8 vols. (Lisbon: 1992–1994), vol. III, 50–59.

9 On the situation created by the conversion of the New Christians, and especially the complex issues and polemics related to forced baptism, see Marcocci G., “... *Per capillos adductos ad pillam*. Il dibattito cinquecentesco sulla validità del battesimo forzato degli ebrei in Portogallo (1496–1497)”, in Prospero A. (ed.), *Salvezza delle anime disciplina dei corpi. Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo* (Pisa: 2006) 339–423, esp. 339–363.

a term recently used by José Miguel G. Cortés).¹⁰ In this incarnation, Lisbon had the imprint, physical and mental, of isolated areas reserved for people subject to punishment or re-education, always accompanied by their supervisors and under strict surveillance of their spiritual directors. This chapter will focus on one such isolation zone designed to shelter convicted heretics after completion of their inquisitorial trials. Usually they were New Christians sentenced to spiritual penances and penitence by the Holy Office.¹¹

With the creation of the Inquisition a new and powerful weapon arose, purpose-built to defend and disseminate religious orthodoxy. It is not correct to say that the Holy Office totally changed the 'religious field' in Portugal because the Inquisition used some previous religious and civil structures to support its first decades of activity.¹² It is certain, however, that its introduction represented a fresh attempt at greater cohesion: the new initiatives it took were intended to assemble around the Inquisition different religious institutions engaged in the defense of the faith. Thus the geography of penance was affected by the court's use of civil and episcopal prisons to guard its prisoners. Similarly important was the decision, made in the wake of the General Conversion, to create a trustworthy institution to detain those sentenced by the Inquisition, yet who had not been definitively expelled from the Catholic Church (or, at worst, handed over to the secular arm for execution). These convicts were to be readmitted into the Church upon completion of a doctrinal program intended to instil or re-instil in them the fundamental precepts of the faith: the process was like a second conversion, and often a first catechization.

Therefore, the need for a penitential geography arose as a clear consequence of inquisitorial activity. Our analysis will be centred on the creation of this system and will follow the main dynamics of its functioning until the late

10 Cortés J.M.G., *La ciudad cautiva: Orden y vigilancia en el espacio urbano* (Madrid: 2010). The concepts used in this book, as well as in the present text, are indebted to Foucault M., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan, 2nd ed. (New York: 1995). For a critical appraisal of Foucault's approach see Spierenburg P., *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: 2007).

11 For the importance of the notion of penitence within Portuguese society in the early modern period see Bethencourt F., "Penitência", in Azevedo C. Moreira (ed.), *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: 2000–2001), vol. III, 426–429.

12 An expression coined by Pierre Bourdieu, 'religious field' has frequently been used in recent Portuguese historiography: Bourdieu P., "Génese et structure du champ religieux", *Revue Française de Sociologie* 12 (1971) 295–334. For its application to the Portuguese case see, for instance, Bethencourt F., "Campo religioso e Inquisição em Portugal no século XVI", *Estudos Contemporâneos* 6 (1984) 43–60.

sixteenth century. As the trial against the judge Gil Vaz Bugalho has already suggested, the establishment of the Holy Office in Lisbon was followed by a reconfiguration of the pre-existent punitive geography, but also, clearly, by the creation of a new one designed to deal with the *converso* problem, a matter of extreme importance to the religious institutions of the time.

Within this penitential geography, and perfectly integrated in the inquisitorial apparatus, Lisbon had besides the inquisitorial prisons also an institution dedicated exclusively to the re-education in the Catholic faith of those condemned by the Holy Office. The College for the Doctrine of the Faith (*Colégio da doutrina da fé*), and the adjacent penitential neighbourhood, was a penitential complex that played a fundamental role in the effort of the Holy Office to fully convert the neophytes. The originality of this institution within the panorama of urban institutions linked to inquisitorial activities justifies the central place it has in this chapter.

To complete the description of Lisbon's complex universe of religious conversion, we must mention another institution which, from the 1580s onwards, assumed a crucial role in the conversion and indoctrination of Jews and Muslims: the House of the Catechumens.¹³ It seems plausible that this institution was modelled after the Roman College of Catechumens established by Ignatius of Loyola in 1543.¹⁴ It was founded by the Cardinal Henry, now king, in 1579 and transferred to the Society of Jesus in 1584. Its functions were of signal importance: it was charged with the baptism of non-Christian individuals who appeared in Lisbon and voluntarily presented themselves at the House of Catechumens; in less serious cases, the school pursued the indoctrination of its charges in Catholic orthodoxy.¹⁵ The College followed many of

13 Stuczynski C.B., "Subsídios para dois modelos paralelos de 'catequização' dos 'judeus' em Portugal", in Falbel N. – Milgram A. – Dines A. (eds.), *Em nome da fé: Estudos in memoriam de Elías Lipiner* (São Paulo: 1999) 173–201; idem, "Apóstatas marroquês de origen judío en Portugal en los siglos XVI–XVII: Entre la mission y la Inquisición", in García-Arenal M. (ed.), *Entre el Islam y Occidente: Los judíos magrebíes en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: 2003) 125–152; Tavim J.A. Rodrigues da Silva, "Educating the Infidels Within: Some Remarks on the College of the Catechumens of Lisbon (XVI–XVII Centuries)", *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 5 s., 1 (2009) 445–472.

14 On the Roman College see Caffiero M., "La caccia agli ebrei: Inquisizione, casa dei catechumeni e battesimi forzati nella Roma moderna", in *Le Inquisizioni cristiane e gli ebrei* (Rome: 2000) 503–537; eadem, *Battesimi forzati: Storie di ebrei, cristiani e convertiti nella Roma dei papi* (Rome: 2004); English translation *Forced Baptisms: Histories of Jews, Christians, and Converts in Papal Rome*, trans. L.G. Cochrane (Berkeley: 2012).

15 See the description offered by Brockey L.M., "Jesuit Pastoral Theater on an Urban Stage: Lisbon, 1588–1593", *Journal of Early Modern History* 9, 1 (2005) 1–50, at 41–44.

the principles that were to guide the Jesuits later in their worldwide missions.¹⁶ The institution worked together with the Inquisition to assure and sustain orthodoxy among the Catholic faithful.¹⁷ According to Jesuit chroniclers like Father Baltasar Teles, the College of the Catechumens was created at the initiative of King Henry, its main objective being the instruction of fourteen Moors from North Africa who asked to be baptized.¹⁸ Recent historiography suggests that the catechumens who converted in Lisbon were generally Muslims and Jews from Islamic lands in North Africa or the Ottoman empire.¹⁹ The strategy of Jesuit institutions in the city was very clear. As the documentation produced by members of the Society (especially the annual letters) suggests, they tried to create spaces through which the neophytes could gradually enter Lisbon's daily life.²⁰

Having seen the background of the new penitential geography of Lisbon which arose during the first decades of the sixteenth century, we now proceed with a more detailed analysis of the College of the Doctrine of the Faith and the surrounding neighbourhood.

Foundation and Regulations of the College of the Doctrine of Faith

Documentary references from the beginning of the Inquisition's activity at Lisbon attest to the existence of a penitential institution called the College of the Doctrine of the Faith. This penitential complex, which was at the service of the Holy Office, was established within an area previously occupied by the University of Lisbon. Due to its move from Lisbon to Coimbra, the University vacated its premises in 1537, and thus allowed the re-use of the space by the Inquisition of Lisbon.²¹ The former University building appeared to be a good

16 For an overview of the first steps of the Society of Jesus in Portugal see Alden D., *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford: 1996) 28ff.

17 Tavim, "Educating the Infidels Within" 445.

18 Teles Baltasar, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus, na Provincia de Portugal; e do que fizeram, nas Conquistas d'este Reyno, que na mesma Provincia entràram, nos annos em que viveo S. Ignacio de Loyola, nosso fundador*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, Paulo Craesbeeck: 1645–1647), vol. II, 183.

19 See the remarks made by Tavim, "Educating the Infidels Within" 449–450.

20 For an example of the importance of these documents see Brockey L.M., "O Alcázar do Ceo: The Professed House at Lisbon in 1588", in *Archivium Societatis Iesu* 75, 149 (2006) 89–135.

21 Pereira I. da Rosa, *Documentos para a História da Inquisição em Portugal, século XVI* (Lisbon: 1987) 135.

choice for the new institution. It was a large complex that included small buildings, such as a hospital, as well as residences located in the surrounding area, the so-called 'Students' neighbourhood' ('Bairro dos Escolares', sometimes called 'Bairro de Santa Marinha' [Fig. 6.3]).²²

Speaking of this complex, the chronicler Damião de Góis mentions that King Emmanuel I:

moved the *Escolas Gerais* [the University] of Lisbon, which used to be above the Church of São Tomé alongside an old wall, and relocated them below Santa Marinha, where the palace of Prince Henry, his uncle, used to be. This school is now used as a shelter for persons convicted by the Inquisition in order to carry out their penance there, where they preach to them and teach them until such time as they feel comfortable in the doctrine of the Catholic faith; then they are released.²³

We can describe this complex as consisting of three distinct but interconnected areas. The central nucleus was the College building, which contained several cells, a chapel, and a small hospital. The second area included small residences for those penitents who were authorized to leave the cells of the College building. Designated with the generic name of 'Neighbourhood' ('Bairro'), it was located on the outskirts of Alfama and corresponded to the old residential zones for University students and professors surrounding the College building [Fig. 6.2]. The last area, although not directly belonging to the College, was composed of a significant number of churches and small chapels—among which the sources highlight the church of the Saviour (Salvador) [Fig. 6.4] and the monastery of Nossa Senhora da Graça—which were fundamental resources for the 'good' catechization of the penitents, as it was prescribed in the inquisitorial sentences [Fig. 6.1].

The importance of the College for the inquisitorial strategy to address the New-Christian problem is readily evident in the primary sources. As the documents show, the Holy Office used the College from the early stages of its

22 Scattered references to this space and to the continued use (until the eighteenth century) of the designation *Bairro dos Escolares* can be found in Oliveira E. Freire de, *Elementos para a História do Município de Lisboa*, 17 vols. (Lisbon: 1892–1911), vol. XI, 493n and 494n.

23 Góis Damião de, *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel: Quarta e ultima parte* (Lisbon, Francisco Correia: 1567) fol. 109 ('mudou as scholas géraes de Lisboa, que stavão açima da Igreja de sam Thome contra ho muro velho, & has fez de novo abaixo de sancta marinha, onde eram hos Paços do Infante dô Henrique seu tio, has quaes scholas servem agora de recolhimento condenados da Inquisição pera fazerem penitência naquelle lugar, onde lhes prégão, & hos ensinam atte que sentem nelles starem confirmados na doutrina da Fé catholica, & entam hos deixam hir').

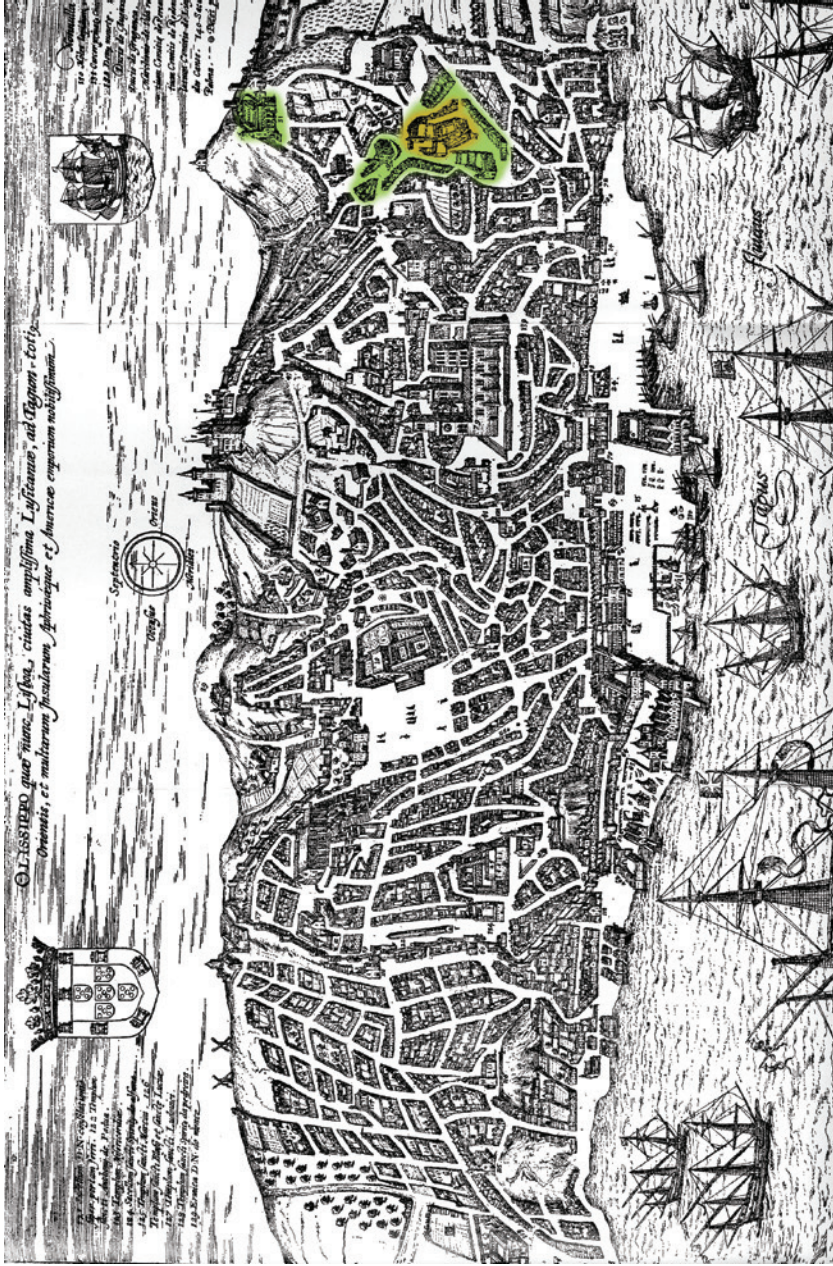


FIGURE 6.1 Limits of the penitential area connected to the College for the Doctrine of the Faith. Reworked version of an engraving of Lisbon by Georg Braun in Civitates Orbium Terrarum, vol. v (1598). Image © Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon.

establishment in Lisbon. It seems clear that in the first decades the inquisitors felt the need to regulate the functioning of this institution, showing that the good treatment of the penitents was a major concern.²⁴ In time, the inquisitorial administration became more efficient and orderly, and the functions of the College were defined more clearly. To prove this we may refer to the mid-sixteenth century creation of a normative text—the ‘Regulations of the College’ (‘Regimento do Colégio’)—that stipulated the basic guidelines for running the institution.²⁵

A general search in the inquisitorial files reveals the extensive uses to which the College of the Doctrine of the Faith and the surrounding area were put. For instance, between 1599 and 1600, the Coimbra inquisitors used the neighbourhood of the *Escolas Gerais* in Lisbon as a space of exile for New Christian Judaizers condemned in their court to this type of penance.²⁶ This fact can be understood as a reflection of the typology and ambience of this particular neighbourhood; we can define it as an area of confinement within the city. Here—as we emphasize the crucial role the College played in inquisitorial justice—we must remember that we are not speaking merely of a building, but of a true neighbourhood, in which different institutions performed complementary religious functions. This penitential environment linked the central College with the other buildings, including the Church of Nossa Senhora da Graça, a privileged space where inquisitorial penitents made their the obligatory appearance at the Eucharistic ceremonies.

Although inquisitorial references to this space of repentance and full conversion appear already in the earliest trial records, from the end of the 1530s, only in the 1550s was special attention given to the organization of the College of the Doctrine of the Faith. This occurred as part of efforts by Cardinal Prince Henry, the Inquisitor General, to regulate the Holy Office. Thus, as noted previously, in 1552 the first general regulations of the Portuguese Inquisition appeared (going beyond earlier, partial attempts at codification); the same year further instructions were issued in the ‘Regulations for the person who is in charge of the College of the Doctrine of the Faith’ (‘Regimento da pessoa que tiver o cargo do Colégio da Doutrina da Fé’). This source shows the main rules for the operation

24 The importance of the mechanisms of penitence have been demonstrated for the medieval and early modern periods by Brambilla E., *Alle origini del Sant’Uffizio: Penitenza, confessione e giustizia spirituale dal medioevo al XVI secolo* (Bologna: 2000) 63–88.

25 “Regimento da pessoa que tiver o cargo do Colégio da Doutrina da Fé”, in Pereira I. da Rosa (ed.), *Documentos para a História da Inquisição em Portugal* (Porto: 1984) 77–79.

26 For instance, see ANTT, *Inquisição de Coimbra*, proc. 7925 (Maria de Castro), proc. 7945 (Brites Cardoso), and proc. 10079 (Isabel Álvares).

of the College, but also describes the principal spaces that constituted it, as well as sketching some day-to-day activities of those who were detained there.

Since it was a space conceived in the first place for bringing back heretics to the Catholic faith, one of its guiding principles was related to devotional practice. Thus, it is not surprising that the opening passage of the document refers to the attendance by the penitent convicts at religious services:

Early in the morning the doors of the houses shall be opened so that the men, as well as the women, can go to their balconies, if they so wish, and from there they will go to the chapel to hear Mass and recommend themselves to Our Lord; and as soon as they have heard Mass they shall return to their quarters.²⁷

In other words, the detention period in the College had the objective of renewing their participation in Catholic religious life, a process that was very similar to the path of catechization and conversion. Great emphasis was further placed on intimate worship, while those reconciled to the Church also had to live in a healthy environment:

The inmates may—at least in winter—go to the courtyard to relax in the sun, namely the women at one appointed time and the men at another. This will be regulated in the best and the most decently possible way.²⁸

Moreover, it was required that they live in great isolation:

Only clerics and honourable persons shall enter the prison. Not many persons shall enter at one time nor shall they be accompanied by servants or youths [...] when such persons do enter, all penitents shall be behind the grating.²⁹

27 “Regimento da pessoa que tiver o cargo do Colégio da Doutrina da Fé” 77 (‘Logo pela manhã serão abertas as portas das casas para assim os homens como mulheres poderem vir para as varandas que têm, se quiserem, e daí virão à capela ouvir missa e encomendar-se a Nosso Senhor, e tanto que ouvirem missa se tornarão a seus aposentos’).

28 *Ibidem* (‘Os presos poderão vir, ao menos no Inverno, ao pátio tomar sol para seu refrigério, convém a saber as mulheres algumas vezes e os homens outras. E isto se ordenará o melhor e mais honestamente que for possível’).

29 *Ibidem* (‘Não entrarão dentro do cárcere senão religiosos e pessoas honradas, e não irá muita gente junta, nem com as ditas pessoas entrarão nem moços [...] e quando entrarem semelhantes pessoas estarão todos penitentes recolhidos das grades para dentro’).

The main principle that guided the College is articulated clearly in the 'Regulations'. The institution was to achieve the penitent's 'docile conversion' in a modest, sheltered environment. Aid and succour as well as the comfort of the penitents were among the central goals to be pursued by officials of the College, who '[w]hen seeing someone upset and unwell, [...] will immediately provide that he will receive some consolation'.³⁰ Thus, those in charge of the penitents needed to use 'much circumspection, so as to treat the inmates with much love and desire for their salvation'.³¹

One must never lose sight, however, of the institution's overarching goal. Thus the people named in the sources as bearing responsibility for the College,

must very carefully keep watch over the penitents and use much caution and heed in order to know their comportment and how they spend their time and the subjects of their conversations and the profit they are deriving from these, because this is most important; and they shall report on all this to the inquisitors in order to provide in the way that seems best in the service of Our Lord.³²

Thus, similarly to what occurred in inquisitorial Jails, College personnel were to pay close attention to communication between the inmates. In the same way they had to fight any attempts at corrupting inquisitorial officials in the service of the College. For example,

the person in charge of the jail or any of his dependents or the prison guard may under no circumstances have any inmates under their control or jurisdiction carry out any work for their persons or their dwellings, even though they would pay for this work; by the same token they are not to buy any object from the inmates, or sell it to them; instead they will try diligently and with all solicitude to seek the help of people from outside to honestly sustain and maintain themselves.³³

30 Ibidem ('Como sentir alguma pessoa agastada ou mal disposta, logo trabalhará por lhe darem alguma consolação').

31 Ibidem ('terá muito tento que trate as pessoas com muito amor e desejo de sua salvação').

32 Ibidem ('E terá muito tento e aviso de saber como vivem e de seus propósitos e do fruto que fazem e da maneira que conversam, porque isto importa muito, e de tudo dará relação aos inquisidores para proverem como lhe parecer mais serviço de Noso Senhor').

33 Ibidem ('A pessoa que tiver cargo do cárcere nem coisa sua nem o guarda são ousados de mandar fazer alguma obra para suas pessoas nem para suas casas aos presos que estiverem debaixo de seu poder ou jurisdição, posto que lhes queiram pagar seu trabalho, nem isso mesmo comprarão nem venderão coisa alguma aos presos antes trabalharão

The concern about the exchange of information between inmates was a constant feature of the inquisitorial apparatus from its very beginning.³⁴ Thus, the ‘Regulations for the Jailer of the Holy Inquisition’ (‘Regimento do Carcereiro da Cadeia da Santa Inquisição’), a normative text dated 1540, prescribed, *inter alia*:

you shall have no communication with those incarcerated, nor with the father, mother or siblings of the inmates; much less may they be loose once they have been arrested. All prison inmates shall at least be kept in leg irons, except those who may be excused from this for a legitimate reason, such as being ill or very old.³⁵

Nevertheless, inmates used a great number of expedients to circulate notes inside and outside the jails, including ingenious devices involving food, animals and, sometimes, corrupted Inquisition officers.³⁶

Having thus provided an overview of the regulations that structured the College, and the problems these tried to address, we now proceed to the study of the effective uses of the spaces of the College.

Penitence and Isolation: The Uses of Space

In the late eighteenth century, the Portuguese doctor António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, made famous by his travels through Europe and by his role as physician of important figures such as the Russian tsars, wrote a very acute paper

com toda a diligência e cuidado de serem ajudados de fora para se poderem sustentar e manter fielmente’).

34 For some aspects of the daily life inside the prisons of the Inquisition, see Cunha de Azevedo M.E., “O cotidiano entre as grades do Santo Ofício”, in Falbel – Milgram – Dines (eds.), *Em nome da fé* 131–144.

35 “Regimento do Carcereiro da Cadeia da Santa Inquisição”, in Pereira (ed.), *Documentos* 79 (‘não teréis comunicação com as pessoas que forem presas, nem com o pai e mãe e irmãos dos que estiverem presos, nem menos que soltos sejam se já estiverem presos. E todos os presos da cadeia estarão ao menos com farropeias, salvo aqueles que com justa causa se puderem disso escusar como são enfermos ou muito velhos’).

36 For a recent analysis of this mechanisms see Silva M.A. Nunes da, “*Nos cárceres não há segredo nenhum e que se falam mui livremente como se estivessem em suas casas*: O cotidiano dos cárceres inquisitoriais”, in Gandra E. – Possamai P. (eds.), *Estudos de História do Cotidiano* (Pelotas: 2011) 37–70.

about the categories of New Christians and Old Christians in Portuguese society. Among other important reflections, he expressed his opinion about the aims of the College of the Doctrine of the Faith regarding its penitents. Ribeiro Sanches made a noteworthy comparison between these penitents and Africans recently converted to the Catholic faith, thus reinforcing the idea that the College was used to perform a true process of (re)conversion of the penitents' souls.

When the penitents leave the Inquisition, they are detained in the Schools (*Escolas*) in order to be instructed in Christian doctrine, as if they were ignorant Negroes converted and baptized a few days before.³⁷

After this brief incursion in the eighteenth century, I want to centre my analysis in the uses of this space during the sixteenth century. At the beginning, the College served several purposes, including as an inquisitorial prison. Right from the start it became clear that the Inquisition in its struggle against heresy was acting in concert with other powers, such as bishops and religious orders. In 1540 the Jesuits, recently arrived in Portugal, played a fundamental role, as their correspondence shows.³⁸ The Jesuits Simão Rodrigues and Francis Xavier, in letters addressed to Loyola in October of that year, referred to the request made by Inquisitor General Henry for them to attend to those sentenced to death before and during the public ritual of the auto-da-fé, but also to those condemned to be detained inside the inquisitorial jails, where confessions were to be heard by the Jesuits. Rodrigues wrote:

[...] and one, who is chief inquisitor, charged us with the inquisition in order to confess and assist them in matters of faith. A day or so ago I outfitted a dozen of them in sanbenitos and they garroted and burnt two of them whom the Prince Inquisitor General ordered us to accompany, and we stayed with them until they expired. Others were given sentences of life imprisonment, so that, what with our duties in the inquisitorial

37 Sanches António Nunes Ribeiro, *Cristãos Novos e Cristãos Velhos em Portugal (1748)*, ed. R. Rego (Lisbon: 1956) 72 ('Quando os penitentes saem da Inquisição, ficam detidos nas Escolas dela, para serem instruídos na doutrina cristã, como se fossem negros buções convertidos e baptizados há poucos dias').

38 Marocchi G., "La salvezza dei condannati a morte: Giustizia, conversioni e sacramenti in Portogallo e nel suo impero, 1450–1700 ca.", in Prosperi A. (ed.), *Misericordie: Conversioni sotto il patibolo tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna* (Pisa: 2007) 189–255.

prison and the hearing of nobles' confessions (over a hundred of them) every Friday, we could not attend to many of these people.³⁹

The Jesuits further mentioned communications with the inmates of the inquisitorial prisons, especially to discuss the devotional practices intended to obtain the 'salvation of their souls'.⁴⁰ It was a spiritual itinerary to reach a true conversion. In his letters, Xavier also commented on the religious routine that these inmates should follow on Fridays, as well as their daily spiritual exercises:

Prince Henry, Inquisitor General of this realm, the King's brother, charged us many a time with looking after the inquisitorial inmates; thus we visit them every day and help them to recognize the mercy which Our Lord extends to them in detaining them there. To all of them assembled we preach a brief homily every day and quite a few are profiting from the exercises of the first week. Many of them tell us that God Our Saviour has granted great mercy to them by teaching them many things needed for the salvation of their souls.⁴¹

In order to understand the different uses of the prison space in the College, I will now focus our attention on some examples of penitents who were confined there. Let us take the case of Eva Fernandes, a New Christian resi-

39 Schurhammer G. – Wicki J. (eds.), *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1944–1945), vol. I, 62 ('y uno que es imquisido[r] mayor nos dió cargo de la Imquisitió[n] pera los confessar y ajudar en las cosas de la fe, y un día de los pasados vestí una donzena dellos con sanbenitos, y dos quemaran, con los quales nos mandó el Ifante imquisidor mayor que fuésemos, y fuymos asta la morte. A otros dieron cárcel perpetuo, de manera que con el cárcer de la sancta Inquisición y con el cargo de los cavalleros que confesa[mos to]das las sestas feiras, que serán passados de ciento, no podemos suplir con much[a]s personas de suerte').

40 For an example of the collaboration between Jesuits and Inquisition, we may consider the case of Sevilla, in the late 1550s, where the Jesuits worked with prisoners of the Inquisition in the jail of Triana: see Pastore S., "Esercizi di carità, esercizi di Inquisizione: Siviglia, 1558–1564", *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 37 (2001) 231–259, esp. 240–241.

41 Schurhammer – Wicki (eds.), *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, vol. I, 67 ('El infante Don Enrique, inquisidor maior deste reyno, hermano del rey, nos a encomendado por muchas vezes que mirássemos por los pressos de la Inquisición, e assi los visitamos todos los días y los ayudamos a conoscer la merced que n. S les haze en detenerlos allá, y a todos juntos le hazemos una plática todos los días, y en los exercycyos de la primera semana no poco se ban aprovechando. Dízen-nos muchos dellos que Dios n. S. les ha hecho mucha merced en traerlos en conoscymiento de muchas cossas necessarias para salbatío[n] de sus ánimas').

dent of Lisbon in the *Calçada Velho*, accused of the crime of Judaism. She was sentenced to perpetual confinement and wearing of the penitential habit, and she appeared at the public auto-da-fé, which took place in October 1544. In a first petition that she presented to the Inquisitors, Eva Fernandes mentioned that she was very ill; her petition consisted of begging to be transferred from the College to the Neighbourhood, where she would continue to carry out her sentence, but living in better conditions, and where she could have her illness treated. This request seems to show that within the College those sentenced to ‘perpetual imprisonment’⁴² were subject to the same bad conditions that are associated with imprisonment in general, and that even though the *Bairro* constituted a more or less closed environment, it appeared to offer more liberty of movement and better living conditions than the College.

To confirm the veracity of her claim that she was ill a doctor named Francisco Giralte was summoned. He spoke with witnesses and observed the inmate, verifying that ‘her urine was black’ and that she had very hot kidneys; ‘from this ensued a part of her ailments and the suffocations of the uterus with very dry melancholia, which causes her headaches and fainting spells and these are dangerous dispositions, difficult to cure.’⁴³ In consideration of the medical report the inquisitorial decision was favourable and the convict was able to leave the College and live in a house in the Neighbourhood.

Some three years later, calling herself ‘a penitent in the *Bairro* of this city’, Eva Fernandes appealed again to the inquisitors, mentioning that after having left the College, she continued to fulfil her penitence in the Neighbourhood. She had already been living there fifteen months, in her own words ‘with great remorse for her errors and sins, and she [was] sufficiently instructed and indoctrinated in the faith of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for the salvation of her soul’. She therefore begged to be released from further penitence, if this seemed best to the authorities. Inquisitor João de Melo e Castro’s resolution was unequivocal: he requested a report to inform him on the extent to which Eva Fernandes had satisfied her penance. Four witnesses were called in. Two of them, Maria Dias and Catarina Gonçalves, were neighbours of the penitent. They declared that they had seen her in the churches of São Tomé and Nossa Senhora da Graça wearing the penitential habit—the *sanbenitos*—under her

42 Despite the name, this incarceration was not in fact perpetual. In general the imprisonment was of three to five years. See Lipiner E., “Cárcere e hábito penitencial perpétuo”, in idem, *Terror e Linguagem: Um dicionário da Santa Inquisição* (Lisbon: 1999) 51.

43 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4176, fol. 10v (‘vi as agoas que eram negras’; ‘dali procedem parte dos acidentes e as suffocacoes da madre da melancholia muito adusta, que lhe faz as dores de cabeça e desmaios. E sam estas disposições perigosas e de ma cura’).

mantle. Catarina Gonçalves stated that she had seen Eva Fernandes at the door of her house wearing the habit and also at the Sunday Mass in São Tomé and ‘once in Salvador during the sermon’.⁴⁴ A third witness, João Gago, confirmed the earlier testimonies, while Francisco Delgado, chaplain of the College of the Doctrine of the Faith, reported that he had seen Eva Fernandes on Sundays and feast days on the way to the College for indoctrination sessions, always wearing her sanbenito. These descriptions reveal a daily existence dominated by religious concerns, obligatory Mass, preaching and indoctrination, as well as by the penitent convict’s ever-present stigma: the penitential habit. In view of these declarations, and also considering the time during which she had carried out her penance, the inquisitors decided that the suppliant was well indoctrinated. Thus, in virtue of her poverty and the necessity of reconciliation with the Church, they issued a document dated 28 May 1547 that freed her from the Neighbourhood.⁴⁵

A later case, from the beginning of the 1580s, shows the same kind of concerns expressed in a petition presented by a penitent convict. The case of the New Christian Isabel Nunes is, in this respect, a classic example. She endured several years of incarceration awaiting her appearance at an auto-da-fé, which finally took place. She stated that since then she had been imprisoned eight months in the College and begged the inquisitors to allow her to carry out her penance outside the *Escolas* and attend the Church of Nossa Senhora da Graça, completing the path to conversion from her apostasy to Judaism.⁴⁶ Therefore, if we were to establish a scale of severity of the penances meted out in this world of penitence and re-education, the hardest moments would be those spent in the jails of the College. This is confirmed by the considerable number of petitions requesting that the Inquisitors take convicts out of the jails and authorize them to live in the Students’ Neighbourhood. Nevertheless, even though this was a penance of a lighter nature, there is no doubt that living in the *Bairro*—a closed zone where free circulation was not permitted—continued to be a life separated from the world of ordinary day-to-day activities.

Thus it is not surprising that nearly as many convicts’ petitions requested permission to leave the Neighbourhood altogether; to be granted this favour the prisoners had to prove their by now perfect indoctrination in the Catholic faith. Sources such as these suggest that the social fracture created by this space was nearly absolute: it was an area considered altogether autonomous and separate from the remaining urban space. The New Christian Catarina

44 Ibidem, fol. 14r (‘huma vez ha vyo no Salvador ha pregaçam’).

45 Ibidem.

46 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4630, fol. 45r.

Fernandes, tried for the crime of Judaism in 1541, mentioned in a petition to the Inquisitors General that she was 'a widow whom Your Highness freed and ordered to live in the penitential neighbourhood'. Yet 'she is alone and has no one to take care of her except God and Your Highness and, moreover, she is ill'.⁴⁷ For these reasons the inquisitors gave her permission, in a decision dated 23 November 1543, to leave the *Bairro* once a week 'to go into the city', an expression that clearly confirms that the Neighbourhood was considered a separate space.⁴⁸

Another significant function the College of the Doctrine of the Faith had during the first years was that of preparing the conversion of Jews and Muslims who voluntarily applied to become Catholic (later, as we have shown, this function was moved to the jurisdiction of the College of the Catechumens). This function is reported in the above-mentioned correspondence of the Jesuit Simão Rodrigues, dated October 1540, and confirms the College's true nature as a space of conversion: 'Two Jews from Africa came here to become Christian; and the king put them into our charge and we keep them [here]: one of them is very learned and an expert in Hebrew and Aramaic'.⁴⁹ The College seems to have played a central role in these procedures, also when following the conversion questions arose concerning the good faith of some neophytes who had presented themselves voluntarily for conversion. That seems to have been the case for the New Christian Mor Álvares, as suggested by the legal proceedings which the Inquisition of Lisbon brought against her in 1537. Accused of being a Judaizer, she was condemned to public abjuration and required to comply with a course of instruction in Catholic doctrine. However, since she showed clear signs of remorse, the Inquisitors handled her case with a certain benevolence.⁵⁰

After viewing the different uses of the College and the perception that the inmates had of the distinct areas in which they were secluded, we will now focus on the levels of isolation of this space and its relation with the rest of the city.

47 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 8499, fol. 101r ('Molher veuva que V. A. remjo e lhe mandou que vivese no bairro que poe que ella he soo que nam tem quem que por ella olhe senam deus e V. A. e asy he emfferma').

48 Ibidem.

49 Schurhammer – Wicki (eds.), *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii*, vol. 1, 62 ('Aqui vinieron dos judíos d'Africa a hazerse chrystianos, y el Rey nos los dió en cargo, y los tenemos, y el uno es muy docto, y grande abraico y caldaico').

50 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 2154, fols. 45r–48r.

A Porous Space

After this first survey of the manner in which the College of the Doctrine of the Faith functioned, it will be of interest to dwell in greater detail on the lifestyle of the inmates themselves, their day-to-day existence and the contentious barrier between the Neighbourhood and the rest of the urban space. The Neighbourhood was clearly a space of isolation. Situated in a somewhat secluded zone, bordering the Alfama district and girdled by several churches, it was a separate area that fulfilled a specific mission. As we have already seen, the inquisitorial officials were charged with maintaining the convicts' isolation, controlling their movements and, above all, curbing their contacts with the outside world. The reality, however, was not nearly as clear-cut as this might suggest. Typical problems of officialdom and problematic supervision practices are evident, for example, in the trial record of António Ribeiro, an inquisitorial guard at the *Escolas Gerais*, arrested on 4 October 1589 and accused of hindering the 'righteous functioning of the Holy Office', that is abusing his office in a way that intimidated the inmates.⁵¹ He acted at the request of a certain Bento Fernandes Pinto, a 'doctor who served in the *Escolas Gerais*' ('físico que curava nas Escolas Gerais'). Ribeiro alleged he was transmitting orders from the inquisitors in order to coerce the victims. He was present at the private auto-da-fé which took place on 19 June 1590 and was barred for life from exercising the office of jailer of the prisons of the *Escolas Gerais*; furthermore, he was condemned to a year of banishment in Castro Marim. This trial, and others like it, demonstrate abusive actions on the part of officials on behalf (or to the detriment) of the prisoners, or corruption of the officials themselves.

Confined to this space, the convicts were to be indoctrinated in the Catholic faith and to confess their alleged sins several times. Here, also, they were comforted by their confessors, until such time as the latter declared them apt to be reintegrated into society at large. At that stage—as we can see in the trial record of Duarte Rodrigues, a New-Christian tailor from Lisbon who was accused of being a Judaizer in 1544—the legal documents usually present a sentence like this: 'The suppliant attended the sessions of indoctrination wearing his penitential habit and already knows how one is taught in this College of the Doctrine of the Faith'.⁵²

51 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 5554.

52 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 12761, fol. 33v ('ho suplicante vay a doutrina com seu habito penitencial e ja sabe como se ensina neste colegio da doutrina da fee). This sentence was issued on 10 August 1546.

From another perspective, the visual representation of this space would be very impressive, especially if we consider the fact that most of the penitent convicts were obliged to use the sanbenito over their regular clothing on all occasions involving public display. Such a closed neighbourhood, with its profoundly devotional routine, froze, as it were, the lives of those who were subject to the fulfilment of their penitential itinerary and ritual over an indeterminate stretch of time. Thus, throughout the thousands of folios making up the inquisitorial trials, in a large number of cases the final pages reveal the cries and laments of those who, for various reasons, implored the Inquisitors' benevolence and forgiveness. In their petitions they most commonly requested that their penance in the Neighbourhood be commuted and the obligation to wear the sanbenito be ended. These materials, small fragments and clues to a vital cycle whose 'natural' order had been broken, show us some aspects and dimensions of the penitent convicts' daily lives. We clearly sense the urgency these individuals felt to return to a normal life outside the limits of the *Bairro* and the strict control of the Inquisition. The declared motivations provided to justify the petitions run the gamut from various sicknesses to the inability to earn one's keep, quite often attributed to a spouse's death.

One other aspect that challenged the effective possibility of completely isolating this area was the subsistence of the inmates. Given the limitations inherent in the configuration of the Neighbourhood, maintaining the basic needs of its inhabitants was a very difficult problem to solve. On the one hand, the inquisitorial authorities favoured isolation and confinement in order successfully to promote the Catholic re-education of the convicts; on the other hand, they were also aware and concerned about the good nutrition and proper health conditions of the prisoners. A charter of Cardinal Prince Henry, dated 13 April 1546, expressed these concerns and indicated, as a solution, that the penitents who resided in the neighbourhood might go to the city in order to get their supplies: 'The penitent and reconciled convicts who reside in the Neighbourhood [*Bairro*] of Lisbon, upon issuing from the College of the Doctrine of the Faith, may go to the city on weekdays to fetch what is needed for their sustenance, wearing their penitential habits'.⁵³

In 1563, a provision by Henry also opened the possibility that those who were convicted of the crime of heresy and apostasy, might return home after proper instruction in the College; their home would serve as the prison where they would complete their penance. The connection to their former space of

53 Pereira, *Documentos* 20–21 ('os penitenciados e reconciliados que andarem no Bairro de Lisboa, depois de sairem fora do Colégio da Doutrina da Fé, possam ir à cidade nos dias da semana a buscar o necessário para sua sustentação, com seus hábitos penitenciais').

penance did not end here, however, because they must continue to attend Mass and preaching in their parishes on Sundays and feast days—always wearing the sanbenito—but also go ‘to the said College on days when preaching takes place there, in order to satisfactorily carry out their instruction and edification in matters of faith.’⁵⁴

In the inquisitorial documentation it is not easy to perceive the level of porosity that characterized the borders of the quarter of the *Escolas Gerais*. By analysing different kinds of sources we can verify that there were properties on the outskirts that were held by people from outside this penitential space. For instance, the *Livro de Lançamento e Serviço*⁵⁵ of 1565 refers to a house, located in a street near the Neighbourhood, that was owned by a certain Pedro Paulo Marchionni; he was possibly the son of the well-known Florentine merchant Bartolomeo Marchionni, who lived in Lisbon in the early sixteenth century.⁵⁶ Other materials refer to lesser-known individuals who seemed to made their living right next to the College building.⁵⁷ Did the existence of these houses represent a flaw in the mechanisms of isolation designed by the Inquisition? We do not have good answers but it is easy to think that this presence would facilitate the communication between the Neighbourhood and the outside world, thus diminishing to some degree the level of isolation intended by the inquisitorial authorities.

Conclusion

To conclude, from the moment that the Inquisition was installed in Portugal and, in the cases considered here, in the urban space of Lisbon, the inquisitorial authorities showed a clear concern to deal with those reconciled to the faith efficiently and in a way that followed the court’s procedures. In the early years of its functioning, then, the Holy Office took advantage of pre-existing structures. This is even more evident when we consider that the choice of a

54 Ibidem, 41 (‘ao dito Colégio todos os dias que nele houver pregação, por assim cumprir para sua boa instrução e edificação nas cousas da fé’).

55 This book contained a list of inhabitants of the city, divided by small districts and streets and presented the amount of tax money they must pay regarding to their personal wealth.

56 The reference mentions ‘cassas dos erdeyros de Pedro Paulo Marchone’ located in a small way called ‘das casas de Manoel de Andrade ate o Colegio on beco’: *Livro do lançamento e serviço que a cidade de Lisboa fez a El Rei Nosso Senhor no ano de 1565: Documentos para a história da cidade de Lisboa*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: 1947), vol. IV, 188.

57 ANTT, *Colegiada de São Tomé, Lisboa*, maço 1, doc. 52.

location for the College of the Doctrine of the Faith had a certain originality: it created a well-defined physical space with peculiar characteristics. A school in a neighbourhood within the limits of the city, in an area of relative calm and distance, set the tone for the period of penance and re-education imposed by the Holy Office, culminating in the ultimate 'reconciliation' of the accused to the Catholic Church, corresponding in the case of the New Christian Judaizers to an assumed true conversion. As is shown by various sources, including the regulations of the College, one of the principal inquisitorial concerns was to avoid communication between penitent convicts—whether among themselves or with the outside world—thus creating a clearly isolated environment.

In fact, we can affirm that day-to-day life in the Neighbourhood was filled with devotional practices and marked by a certain level of seclusion. The practices were considered necessary for a sincere and interiorized 'reconciliation', a new pathway in the process of conversion. It is noteworthy that there were various churches in the surroundings of the College, some of which had undeniable importance in the religious life of Lisbon.⁵⁸ As we can see on a map (see Fig. 6.1, above), the Neighbourhood was surrounded not only by churches but also by small devotional chapels: Santa Marinha, São Tomé, Santo Estevão, Salvador.⁵⁹ Therefore, when the inquisitors attenuated the penances imposed on the convicts, it still remained possible for them to circumscribe their day-to-day life and, above all, their everyday devotional activities within the areas around the College. The penitents circulated in this closed space subjected to severe controls and vigilance. The punishments that could be meted out here were akin to those imposed in the uninhabited fortresses of the African territories and, within Portugal itself, in the Algarve, in the locality of Castro Marim, which was used as a space of banishment (*degredo*).⁶⁰ The inmates generally circulated wearing their penitential habits, the symbol *in extremis* of their social condition as convicted heretics, the wayward sons of the Church headed for their ultimate reconciliation.

Knowledge of this space is fundamental if we are to understand the place of New Christians in the complex human geography of Lisbon that emerged at

58 For example, that is the case of Nossa Senhora da Graça, a crucial religious space in public ceremonies of the Catholic Church, such as processions and preaching. See *História dos Mosteiros, Conventos e Casas Religiosas de Lisboa na qual se dá notícia da fundação e fundadores das instituições religiosas, igrejas, capelas e irmandades desta cidade*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: 1950), vol. I, 109–143.

59 Oliveira Cristóvão Rodrigues de, *Sumário em que brevemente se contém algumas cousas assim eclesiásticas como seculares que há na cidade de Lisboa (1551)* (Lisbon: 1987) 66.

60 Azevedo J.L. de, *História dos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon: 1921) 145.



FIGURE 6.2 *Current view of the ancient penitential neighbourhood Lisbon. Photo © Susana Bastos Mateus.*



FIGURE 6.3 *Current view of the Rua das Escolas Gerais and the entry to the neighbourhood of Santa Marinha, Lisbon. Photo © Susana Bastos Mateus.*



FIGURE 6.4 *Current view of the Rua do Salvador in Lisbon, which ended at the church of the Salvador. Photo © Susana Bastos Mateus.*

the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁶¹ It consisted of three prongs, which crossed over each other and, at times, collided. First there was a geography of sociability—the spaces where converted Jews reconstructed their day-to-day lives and their daily experiences in the aftermath of the General Conversion of 1497. Second, on a sometimes coinciding level, there were crypto-Jewish spaces or, more correctly, spaces to be associated with secret and clandestine Jewish practices. The third prong was that of the penitent convicts and their punishment, which underwent a profound transformation after 1536, following the arrival of the Inquisition. On this level the College of the Doctrine of the Faith and its buildings played a fundamental role in the configuration of a penitential geography—directly linked to conversion—that was well defined and identified in the urban space of early modern Lisbon.

Selective Bibliography

- Azevedo J.L. de, *História dos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon: 1921).
- Bethencourt F., “Campo religioso e Inquisição em Portugal no século XVI”, *Estudos Contemporâneos* 6 (1984) 43–60.
- Brockey L.M., “Jesuit Pastoral Theater on an Urban Stage: Lisbon, 1588–1593”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 9, 1 (2005) 1–50.
- Brockey L.M., “O Alcázar do Ceo: The Professed House at Lisbon in 1588”, in *Archivium Societatis Iesu* 75, 149 (2006) 89–135.
- Cortés J.M.G., *La ciudad cautiva: Orden y vigilancia en el espacio urbano* (Madrid: 2010).
- Foucault M., *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan, 2nd ed. (New York: 1995).
- Magalhães J. Romero de, “A construção da capital”, in Mattoso J. (ed.), *História de Portugal*, 8 vols. (Lisbon: 1992–1994), vol. III, 50–59.
- Marcocci G., “A fundação da Inquisição em Portugal: Um novo olhar”, *Lusitania Sacra* 2 s., 23 (2011) 17–40.
- Marcocci G., *I custodi dell'ortodossia: Inquisizione e Chiesa nel Portogallo del Cinquecento* (Rome: 2004).
- Marcocci G., “La salvezza dei condannati a morte: Giustizia, conversioni e sacramenti in Portogallo e nel suo impero, 1450–1700 ca.”, in Prospero A. (ed.), *Misericordie: Conversioni sotto il patibolo tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Pisa: 2007) 189–255.

61 Mateus S. Bastos, “Los orígenes inciertos de la Inquisición en Lisboa (1536–1548): Geografía penitencial y estrategias de defensa de los *Cristãos-Novos*”, *Tiempos Modernos* 20 (2010/1), online publication: <http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/view/212/277>.

- Marcocci G., "...*Per capillos adductos ad pillam*. Il dibattito cinquecentesco sulla validità del battesimo forzato degli ebrei in Portogallo (1496–1497)", in Prosperi A. (ed.), *Salvezza delle anime disciplina dei corpi: Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo* (Pisa: 2006) 339–423.
- Marcocci G. – Paiva J.P., *História da Inquisição Portuguesa, 1536–1821* (Lisbon: 2013).
- Mea E. Cunha de Azevedo, "O cotidiano entre as grades do Santo Ofício", in Falbel N. – Milgram A. – Dines A. (eds.), *Em nome da fé: Estudos in memoriam de Elias Lipiner* (São Paulo: 1999) 131–144.
- Paiva J.P., *Baluartes da Fé e da disciplina: O enlace entre inquisição e os bispos em Portugal, 1536–1750* (Coimbra: 2011).
- Pastore S., "Esercizi di carità, esercizi di Inquisizione: Siviglia, 1558–1564", *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 37 (2001) 231–259.
- Pereira I. da Rosa, *Documentos para a História da Inquisição em Portugal, século XVI* (Lisbon: 1987).
- Pereira I. da Rosa (ed.), *Documentos para a História da Inquisição em Portugal* (Porto: 1984).
- Pinto M.C. Teixeira, "Um palácio no Rossio: ciclos de vida (séculos XV a XIX)", in *I Colóquio temático: O Município de Lisboa e a dinâmica urbana (séculos XVI–XIX): Actas das Sessões* (Lisbon: 1995) 163–175.
- Silva M.A. Nunes da, "Nos cárceres não há segredo nenhum e que se falam mui livremente como se estivessem em suas casas: O cotidiano dos cárceres inquisitoriais", in Gandra E. – Possamai P. (eds.), *Estudos de História do Cotidiano* (Pelotas: 2011) 37–70.
- Stuczynski C.B., "Apóstatas marroquíes de origen judío en Portugal en los siglos XVI–XVII: Entre la mission y la Inquisición", in García-Arenal M. (ed.), *Entre el Islam y Occidente: Los judíos magrebíes en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: 2003) 125–152.
- Stuczynski C.B., "Subsídios para dois modelos paralelos de 'catequizaçãõ' dos 'judeus' em Portugal", in Falbel N. – Milgram A. – Dines A. (eds.), *Em nome da fé: Estudos in memoriam de Elias Lipiner* (São Paulo: 1999) 173–201.
- Tavim J.A. Rodrigues da Silva, "Educating the Infidels Within: Some Remarks on the College of the Catechumens of Lisbon (XVI–XVII Centuries)", *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 5 s., 1 (2009) 445–472.

The Hospital as a Space of Conversion: Roman Examples from the Seventeenth Century

Irene Fosi

In a pamphlet against papal conversion politics, Francis Broccard wrote that many ‘apostates and spies’ forced foreigners to accept the Catholic religion during their stay in Roman pilgrim houses and hospitals. Prominent in this strategy were famous physicians like Johannes Faber, a German convert who worked ‘at the Hospital of the Holy Ghost’.¹ In early modern Rome, hospitals were places of communication and exchange, a kind of ‘liminal space’, where religious identity could be modified under different conditions and used by the authorities as symbolic discourse and propaganda. Sick foreigners received not only medical assistance, they were also intensively observed by physicians and forced to hide their faith by dissimulation, according to Nicodemite strategy. In the multi-faceted context of Roman society, ‘national’ institutions and their hospitals had a different role: here belonging to the same ‘nation’ was more significant than religious identity. This chapter focuses on seventeenth-century Roman hospitals and ‘national’ institutions—such as the Santo Spirito, the Consolazione and the Venerable English College—with the intent of bringing to light the different conversion strategies used to convert heretical foreigners, from merchants to soldiers, to artisans and artists, as well as ordinary people.

A vast body of compelling documentation deals with the conversion of foreign ‘heretics’—i.e., foreigners of other Christian faiths—who visited Rome in the early modern period, particularly between the late sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. These foreigners were people with a different social identity, who sometimes were dragged before the Inquisition and forced to renounce their faith, or else presented themselves voluntarily to the tribunal of faith in order to avoid the penalties and strict rules applied

1 Broccard Francis, *His Alarm to All Protestant Princes: With a Discovery of Papish Plot and Conspirancies, after His Conversion from Popery to Protestant Religion* (London, Printed by T.S. for William Rogers: 1679). This pamphlet was composed at the beginning of the seventeenth century by a Catholic ‘secretary’ of Pope Clement VIII, who later in life converted to Protestantism.

to foreign heretics in Italy. Many sources confirm that not all of these heretics ended up before the Inquisition. There were actually a number of ways to avoid the Inquisition and its dungeons, or at least to prevent this fate initially. First of all, hospitals should be considered spaces of conversion not only in terms of a change of faith. The sacramental process imposed by the Church, the practice of 'dying well', also led to conversion.² My aim is to examine the purpose of Roman hospitals as spaces of conversion; and I will start to correlate this subject with the problems presented by the sources. Several historians of medicine in the Middle Ages have emphasized the role of hospitals as places where exchanges occurred, both in terms of medical knowledge and as favoured meeting places, where even people of different religions were treated and healed, regardless of their religious beliefs.³ However, as a result of the break-up of religious unity in the early modern age, the role of hospitals as places where exchanges occurred freely, unaffected by the barriers of religion, acquired negative and dangerous connotations. Hospitals, which at that time were established urban institutions, started to close in on themselves, held in the rigid control of local authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical. Caring for the sick became closely connected with the ministry, and healing of body was linked with spiritual salvation.

What happened in Roman hospitals, which had always been a meeting place for pilgrims and foreign travellers, Roman patients and sick people from various parts of Italy, after the religious schism occurred? Foreigners were treated suspiciously as possible enemies of the 'true faith', who came to the papal city as spies, to mock Rome's devotions and ceremonies, and to spread a negative image of the city in their native country. To what extent could a foreigner, who was sick, wounded or dying, conceal his religious identity within the hospital space? How did the doctors behave in light of Pius V's Constitution *Super gregem dominicum* (8 March 1566), which required that they cease treating anyone who refused to go to confession for more than three days?⁴

2 Fundamental works have already been published on these topics. See, for instance, Prosperi A. (ed.), *Misericordie: Conversioni sotto il patibolo tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Pisa: 2007).

3 Ziegler J., *Medicine and Religion: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford: 1998); idem, "Bodies, Diseases, and the Preservation of Health as Foci of Inter-Religious Encounters in the Middle Ages", in Donato M.P. – Berlivet L. – Cabibbo S. – Michetti R. – Nicoud M. (eds.), *Médecine et religion: Compétitions, collaborations, conflits* (Rome: 2013) 35–57.

4 *Bullarum, diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis editio*, 25 vols. (Turin: 1857–1872), vol. VII, 430–431.

Rome and Its Hospitals

Ever since the Middle Ages, Rome was a city full of hospitals.⁵ They ranged from shelters for pilgrims, who visited the tombs of the apostles on their way to Jerusalem, to large hospitals, such as Santo Spirito in Saxia. The latter combined a function as ‘pilgrim shelter’ with other more specific and prestigious medical functions. This was partly due to the presence of foreign doctors, who worked in some of the large hospitals, where they shared their medical knowledge and experience with more personal relationships. Also, the studies in anatomy and experimental therapies that occurred in these hospitals contributed to their prestige. A ‘network system’ already existed in Roman hospitals at that time, which involved the Archiospedale of Santo Spirito in Saxia,⁶ the Ospedale della Consolazione, the hospitals of San Salvatore in Laterano and San Giacomo in Augusta.⁷ The richness and variety of Roman hospitals produced a remarkable quantity of archival documents, which mostly deal with finances or with the demography of patients and employees. These sources show, for example, that most of the patients who used the different hospital structures came from the various Italian states, with the exception of a few foreigners. One can in fact speak of an ‘Italianization’ of hospitals in Rome during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁸ Why did this happen? Hospitals were dangerous places for foreign heretics, who did their best to avoid them, except in cases of extreme need or because they were brought there by others, for instance by ministers of justice, after duels or others crimes. Patients in hospitals usually belonged to the lower classes—wealthy people and nobles

5 Piccialuti M. (ed.), “La sanità a Roma in età moderna”, *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 13, 1 (2005); De Renzi S., “‘A Fountain for the Thirsty’ and a Bank for the Pope: Charity, Conflicts, and Medical Careers at the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Seventeenth-Century Rome”, in Grell O.P. – Cunningham A. – Arrizabalaga J. (eds.), *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe* (London – New York: 1999) 102–131; Siraisi N.G., *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor: 2007).

6 The most famous Roman hospital was founded in 1174 by Guy de Montpellier. See De Angelis P., *L'Ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1960–1962).

7 It is today’s San Giacomo degli Incurabili, between the Corso and via Ripetta, which during the sixteenth century specialized in treating syphilis. See idem, *L’Arcispedale di S. Giacomo in Augusta* (Rome: 1955).

8 This aspect has not been studied specifically, but certain sources, such as the bequests of sick people in Roman hospitals, suggest a very strong predominance of patients from the Italian states.

preferred to be cured at home—and that Jews were not admitted.⁹ These limitations affect research on hospitals as spaces of conversion. However, many sources testify that numerous foreign doctors, servants and chaplains were in service in Roman hospitals, and that foreign patients went there to be healed and even converted, if it was found out that they were non-Catholic [Figs. 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3].¹⁰

Should the predominance of lower-class patients and of Italians be seen as a result of the closure and repressive measures introduced by the Counter-Reformation against foreigners who came from countries ‘infected’ by heresy? Possibly. However, we must also consider that, along with the numerous Roman hospitals, some ‘national’ hospitals also existed, which would undoubtedly have attracted the sick foreigners who came to Rome from their *nationes*. Patients of ‘national’ hospitals also belonged to the lower classes. They were attracted by the possibility of communicating in their own language and by the opportunity of meeting their fellow countrymen. In many cases, ‘national’ solidarity was not immediately related to religious confession. Foreign heretics (especially those of noble birth) could stay in their ‘national’ institutions without being forced to convert. But the poor or sick among them were in a different position: when they sought refuge in their national colleges or hospices, their illness was seen as the ideal condition for healing their soul from heresy.

The English Hospice, for example, might initially treat English heretics, who eventually were converted.¹¹ They would complete the process begun during their illness under the direction of Jesuits: for the members of the Society of Jesus promoting conversions within the English College was useful training for their later missionary work in England or elsewhere. The College collaborated with Roman hospitals, where many sick Englishmen were sent in order to be better treated. For instance, an entry in the *Pilgrim Book* dated 28 August 1610 records that Edward Robinson, who hailed from Yorkshire,

9 In Rome's Jewish Ghetto medical assistance for sick Jews was provided by two confraternities. See *Le confraternite ebraiche: Talmud Torà e Ghemilut Chasadim: Premesse storiche e attività agli inizi dell'età contemporanea* (Rome: 2011).

10 For example, Archivio di Stato di Roma [henceforth ASR], *Ospedale della Consolazione*, bb. 290–562 and 835: ‘Don Antonio franzese entra a servire per cappellano in luogo di don Cosimo a ragione di lire dua al mese’ (Fr. Anthony, a French priest, becomes the new chaplain of the Consolazione on 1 January 1602); ‘Francesco da Lorena entra per servire per servitore all’Infermi a ragione di lire 25 al mese’ (Francis from Lorraine becomes a servant for the sick on 1 January 1602). See also ASR, *Ospedale di S. Giacomo*, bb. 418, 425 and 529.

11 Williams M.E., *The Venerable English College Rome*, 2nd ed. (Gateshead: 2008); Fosi I., *Convertire lo straniero: Forestieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna* (Rome: 2011) 43–51.



FIGURE 7.1 *Giovanni Battista Falda*, Church and Hospital of San Giacomo in Augusta (San Giacomo degli Incurabili), Rome (1665).



FIGURE 7.2 *Camillo Acquisti*, The Hospital of Santa Maria della Consolazione, Rome (1814).

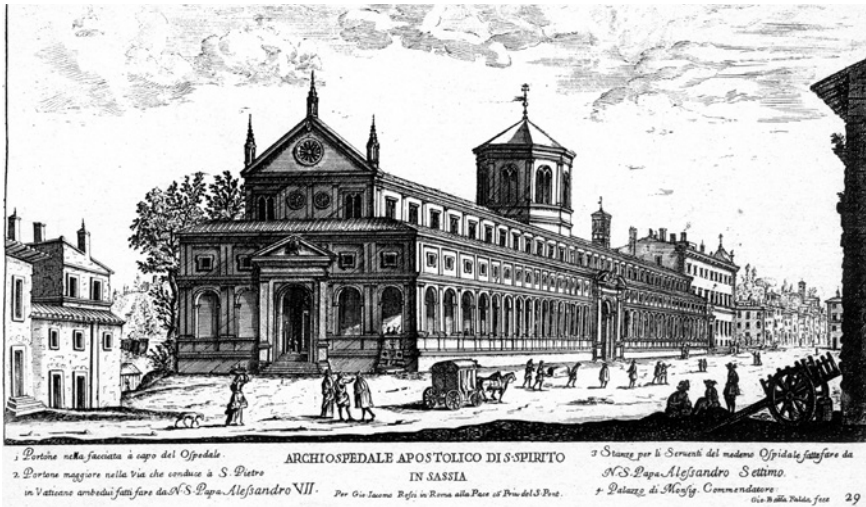


FIGURE 7.3 Giovanni Battista Falda, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia (Hospital of the Holy Ghost), Rome (1665).*

was converted to the faith and reconciled to the Church by the confessor of the College. He was afterwards seized with fever, and he went to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost to recover his health. He was then received into the hospice.¹²

The College provided for the material needs of some English patients living in the Santo Spirito, such as Francis Piquerin of Lancashire. In 1607, '[h]e had been in the Hospital of the ss. Trinity for three days previously and he received his food from this hospice', as recorded in the *Pilgrim Book*.¹³ The College was also an attractive meeting place, where it was possible to receive charitable hospitality and health care, starting a journey of conversion and consequent redefinition of identity for anyone who agreed to become a Catholic. Just the variety of visitors, Catholics and non-Catholics, who knocked on the door of

12 Foley H. (ed.), *Records of the English Province of The Society of Jesus*, 7 vols. (London: 1875–1883), vol. VI, *The English College in Rome* 588. On 20 June 1611 the record states that 'Henry Elms was servant in the English College and after a mounth fell ill and he died in the hospital of Holy Gost' (ibidem, 589); and on 26 January 1603: 'Porter Thomas from Somesetshire admitted for dinner only. On the octave day he fell sick and was sent to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost. He remained there for some days, and he was admitted to the English College Hospice for four days and he received an alms of five gulei [giuli]' (ibidem, 576).

13 Ibidem, 582.

the English College and remained within its walls, is a reflection of how mobile and varied the foreign presence in Rome was, and how it affected the overall appearance of the city. The sources prove that within the national enclaves present in Rome, open hospitality and charity overcame religious barriers. On 24 January 1625, the *Pilgrim Book* records that

Mr. Dantis [...] received an alms, though he was not a Catholic. He lived in the Hospice until March 1 following, on account of sickness both of body and soul. Father Minister then procured an alms for him from the Pope's almoner; also from Father Rector.¹⁴

This mixture of people, which often did not please the rectors of the College, was a source of concern for the Curia and the Inquisition. During the first half of the seventeenth century, members of the Inquisition and of the Curia felt threatened by the English College's openness to 'heretical' compatriots, seeing it as proof that the internal life of the institution was hard to control, and that these national 'islands' within the city were not cooperative. In the 1645 visitation of the College by Cardinal Bernardino Spada, the Rector was advised to be more prudent when receiving pilgrims and the sick, to find out about their past and about their religious identity.¹⁵ In short, although these 'national' institutions were supervised by the Roman authorities, they also could act in relative autonomy when dealing with sick guests. The interaction between the English College and the greatest and most famous Roman hospital—the Santo Spirito (the 'Holy Ghost', as it is named in the English sources)—is demonstrated also by the activities in the hospital of some English servants, after their conversion to Catholicism. For instance, 'an English youth arrived and after some days, having been converted to the faith, was placed in service at the Hospital of the Holy Ghost'.¹⁶ Their presence there must have been very important to monitor the bodies and souls of his compatriots. The conversion of a pilgrim, or a sick person cared for in the English Hospice, was carefully recorded in the pilgrim books as the success of a process of conversion, which providentially

14 Ibidem, 601. See also *ibidem*, 619: 'Bohun, John, Mr. Notts, He was privately received to the Catholic faith, and very frequently dined in private at the College. Being sick, he was placed in the Hospital of Santo Spirito. Alms were procured for him, and he very frequently supped at our College' (1 October 1639).

15 Archivio del Venerabile Collegio Inglese, Rome, *Visite* (1645).

16 Foley, *Records*, vol. VI, 635.

was stronger than the disease and had led to the definitive restoration of body and soul [Figs. 7.4 and 7.5].¹⁷

However, the profuse documentation of Roman hospitals provides very little information about conversions that took place within their walls. There are exceptions of course, limited to certain periods or extraordinary circumstances, such as instances of plague, and to certain places. Hospitals that mostly treated pilgrims—such as the Ospedale della Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti—do include numerous tales of the conversion of heretics in their accounts of Holy Year activities.¹⁸ These tales portray Rome as a significant space of conversion for pilgrims, travellers and ‘heretics’, and charitable institutions (hospices, confraternities and hospitals) became the designated spaces where people were scrutinized, where their faith was tested, and where conversions occurred. In a volume of memoirs of the Holy Year 1600 (*Memorie dell’Anno Santo 1600*) the author wrote that ‘many heretics’ had come to Rome at that time with the intention of spying on the Catholic Church and ridiculing it. But the many charitable works that they witnessed eventually converted them to the Catholic faith [Fig. 7.6].¹⁹ This memoir also tells the story of four young Germans who came to Rome on pilgrimage. Three were Catholic and one was a ‘heretic’. The Catholics had been trying for a long time to convert their fellow countryman, but they were completely unsuccessful until they arrived in Rome. Here the ‘heretic’ witnessed so much unity among Catholics and so much charity towards poor pilgrims, that he was converted to Catholicism.²⁰

Sometime these tales of conversion are more detailed, citing names, origin and other personal information. One story relates how a crippled German gentleman from Bratislava called Balthasar Veilandt came to Rome with two servants in a horse-drawn carriage. The carriage fell into a river, and Veilandt, who was unable to move, stayed in the Santa Casa (that is, the Trinità dei Pellegrini) for two months along with his servants. He was so well treated that he eventually converted.²¹ A diary of the 1600 Holy Year recounts that seven Scottish heretics were converted when the bishop of Umbriatico charitably

17 Ibidem, 613: ‘Cunningham James, Dom., Scotch, tutor of the illustrious Dom. Macdonnell, having recovered from a very dangerous illness and been received into the Church by the assistance of our Fathers, very frequently dined with us this month’ (1636).

18 Garofalo F., *L’Ospedale della SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini e dei Convalescenti* (Rome: 1950); Pupillo M., *La ss. Trinità dei Pellegrini* (Rome: 2001).

19 ASR, *Trinità dei Pellegrini, Anni santi*, vol. 371, fol. 16r.

20 Ibidem, fol. 16v.

21 Ibidem, fol. 35v.



FIGURE 7.4 The English Hospice, Rome (ca. 1580). Woodcut. Image © Archivio del Venerabile Collegio Inglese, Rome.



FIGURE 7.5 Plan of the Venerable English College, Rome (ca. 1575). Image © Archivio del Venerabile Collegio Inglese, Rome.

washed their feet.²² It would take too long to list all the cases of conversions among both famous and anonymous people, who came to Rome from 'heretical' countries, often in disguise, infiltrating groups of 'real' pilgrims to spy on the papal ceremonies and ridicule them. They would arrive in Rome after long

22 Ibidem, vol. 372 (*Diario delle cose occorse l'anno santo 1600*), fol. 36r.



FIGURE 7.6 Giuseppe Vasi, Church and Hospice of ss. Trinità dei Pellegrini, Rome (1756).

journeys and various mishaps, and would be charitably housed, cared for, fed, and clothed. Many records of the Trinità dei Pellegrini Hospice include detailed list of converts, citing their name and origin, and sometimes telling their personal stories in order to strengthen the experience of faith within the defined space of the Hospice. All the persuasive powers of good works, service and charity were used to convince the heretic to abandon his mistaken faith. These narratives represent the triumph and the revaluation of the saving power of good works, which had been disowned by heretical theology. The ritual foot-washing practiced by the 'brothers' of the Trinità dei Pellegrini on the feet of heretical foreigners had a cathartic quality: it purified them from error and fortified converts and neo-Catholics headed back home, away from Rome, the place of their conversion, where they had acquired a new status as Catholics. This ritual was a medicine, a *medicamentum*. The converted would take with them a powerful message that was intended to dispute the negative image of the pope's city and of the Catholic Church, which was being spread by Reformation propaganda. These stories of exemplary conversions are repeated in diaries and chronicles, in manuscript and print form, and are recycled until the nineteenth century in the histories of the Holy Year jubilees.²³

23 Visceglia M.A. – Nanni S. (eds.), "La città del perdono. Pellegrinaggi e anni santi a Roma in età moderna 1550–1750", *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 5/2–3 (1997).

Roman Hospitals and the Saints

Other contemporary and later sources have proved disappointing for our research, particularly the biographies of certain saints who dedicated their lives to charity and to caring for patients in Roman hospitals. The biographies of St. Philip Neri, for example, only describe a limited number of famous conversion episodes, such as the conversion of the stubborn heretic Giacomo Massilara, called 'il Paleologo', who was condemned to death.²⁴ Massilara's conversion did not occur within some institutional space, such as a prison or a hospital; it occurred outside, in the 'open' space of the city and its streets, as the heretic was led to the gallows, which was the favourite backdrop for St. Philip's work.²⁵ The documents for Philip Neri's beatification clearly show that converting heretics and Jews was not an important part of his pastoral work. However, the same documents tell us that Philip

practiced acts of charity, not only in the spiritual needs of the soul, but also in the bodily necessities, as he showed by frequently going to hospitals in Rome, taking with him some of his spiritual children, who helped him feed the sick, and also bringing them objects that would comfort and refresh them, and providing for their other needs, according to the necessity of each.²⁶

-
- 24 See the testimony of Alessandro Alluminati, herbalist, in Incisa della Rocchetta G. (ed.), *Il primo processo per san Filippo Neri*, 4 vols. (Vatican City: 1957–1963), vol. I, 380 (23 November 1595).
- 25 Giacomo Massilara, called 'il Paleologo', was led to the gallows for the first time on 19 February 1583 and along the way met St. Philip Neri, who 'lo fermò in una bottega, et fece soprassedere la giustitia, et, retornando nella prigione, dove stette il detto Paleologo circa due anni, dopo questo fatto' (ibidem, 380). Philip continued to look after him until Massilara was decapitated in the courtyard of the Tor di Nona prison on 23 March 1583; his truncated body was taken to Campo de' Fiori to be burned. Witnesses of the beatification process stress that 'quella fu una conversione, che al padre non li piacque mai: pure, quando morse, fece protesta di morir catholico' (ibidem, 380). See also the chapter by Prospero A., "Conversion on the Scaffold: Italian Practices in European Context", published elsewhere in this volume.
- 26 Testimony of Germanico Fedeli, ibidem, vol. III, 262–263 ('essercitava atti di charità, non solo nelli bisogni spirituali dell'anime, ma anco nelli bisogni et necessità corporali, come mostrò nell'andare spesso all'hospedali di Roma, menando seco alcuni suoi figlioli spirituali, insieme con li quali dava a mangiare a quelli infermi, portandogli anco, alcuna cosa di conforto et di ristoro et servendogli altre necessità, secondo il bisogno'). See also Marciano Giovanni, *Memorie storiche della Congregazione dell'Oratorio* (Naples, Per il De Bonis stampatore arcivescovile: 1693) 525.

This source also states that among the many 'hard tasks and troubles, which he had in going to the Inquisition, when there was some famous heretic who remained obstinate, he obtained some fruit helping them to die Catholic.'²⁷ Records of this type therefore do not tell us what methods St. Philip Neri would have used to convert the foreign heretics he might have met on his visits to hospitals. He certainly would have based such techniques or strategies on the Word of God, on persuasion, and on examples, which was not unlike the system that he used outside, in the streets of Rome, and in San Girolamo della Carità. We can probably assume that, unlike his contemporaries of the secular clergy and the religious orders, he was less inclined to use the coercive force of 'the pedagogy of fear'.²⁸

In the sources directly related to St. Camillus de Lellis' activities in Roman hospitals, which he started in San Giacomo in 1575 and in Santo Spirito in 1584, there is no evidence of conversions. According to Camillus and his followers, conversion was generally achieved by exemplary behaviour: 'infidels, heretics and pagans must be converted simply by observing our charitable works'.²⁹ Proselytism through verbal persuasion and rhetoric was not part of his mission. On the other hand, various hagiographies of St. Camillus and of his followers include stories about changes of faith that occurred both in Roman hospitals and in other areas of Italy where the order founded by the saint had spread.³⁰ The conversions of Turks are described in detail, using conventional rhetoric that emphasizes how the stubborn Muslim would be converted from his 'mistaken' faith after a long battle, won over by the charity shown by the 'Ministers of the Sick' [Fig. 7.7].³¹

The stories of hospital conversions are often linked to extraordinary events, such as a plague epidemic, and the chronicles (both in manuscript and printed form) tell us that conversions of heretics and infidels could be achieved

27 Testimony of Germanico Fedeli, in Incisa della Rocchetta (ed.), *Il primo processo*, vol. III, 253–254 ('fatiche, che durava, nell'andare all'Inquisitione, quando v'era alcun heretico famoso, che stesse ostinato, con li quali fece qualche frutto, aiutandoli a morire cattolici').

28 Bennassar B., "L'Inquisition ou la pédagogie de la peur", in Bennassar B. et al., *L'Inquisition espagnole, XV^e–XIX^e siècles* (Paris: 1979) 101–138.

29 Vanti M., *San Camillo de Lellis, 1550–1614* (Turin: 1929) 207 ('Infedeli, eretici e pagani devono convertirsi soltanto a vedere le nostre opere di carità').

30 Ibidem.

31 Lenzi Cosma, *Annalium Religiosorum Clericorum Regularium Ministrantium Infirmis* (Naples, Secondino Roncagliolo: 1641) *ad indicem*; Regi Domenico, *Memorie Historiche del Venerabile P. Camillo de Lellis* (Naples, Giacinto Passaro: 1676) 212–213; Del Giudice Bartolomeo, *Compendio storico della religione de' Chierici regolari Ministri degl'Infermi* (Mondovì, Vincenzo and Giovanni Battista de Rossi: 1689) 210–211.



FIGURE 7.7 St. Camillus de' Lellis helping the sick during the plague, *Church of Santa Maria Maddalena*. Photo © Ordine dei Ministri degli Infermi, Rome.

through their providential illnesses. These chronicles also give examples of Turks converted during Holy Years. One account relates how some Turks from Constantinople came to Rome during a Holy Year, and had their feet washed at the Trinità dei Pellegrini. This gesture amazed them, and they decided to convert to Catholicism, telling their interpreter that they thanked God that they had been 'freed' from their previous, mistaken beliefs.³² These chronicles, however, also honour the charity and dedication of individuals instrumental in the conversions, some of whom eventually were beatified, and who were often members of religious orders. Some hagiographies give examples of famous people who did charitable work in Roman hospitals, such as Pietro da Cortona, who volunteered in the Roman Hospital of San Salvatore.³³ These stories

32 ASR, *Trinità dei Pellegrini*, vol. 371, fol. 32r.

33 Memmi Giovanni Battista, *Notizie istoriche dell'origine, e progressi dell'Oratorio, della ss. Comunione generale, e degli uomini illustri, che in esso fiorirono* (Rome, Stamperia del Bernabò: 1730) 28 (conversion of a 'foreign knight'); on Pietro da Cortona's experience in the Hospital of San Salvatore, see *ibidem*, 36–37.



FIGURE 7.8 *Giuseppe Vasi, The Hospital of San Salvatore (San Giovanni in Laterano), Rome (1756).*

frequently have an apodictic quality, sometimes lacking a sense of space and time and repeating purely rhetorical information. Although these conversions do not tell us very much, since they were exceptional events used for propaganda purposes (both in contemporary and later narratives), they do however provide some details that characterize hospitals as places of conversion, not just in the early modern age and not solely in Rome [Fig. 7.8].

Languages and Rituals of Healing

In spite of the restrictions and checks the papal authorities imposed in Italy and even in Rome during the seventeenth century in order to keep heretical foreigners out of Catholic territories,³⁴ hospitals continued to be a space where encounters and exchanges occurred, a place for communication and observation, a crossroads for transit and transition. This is true in a real sense, but also symbolically and metaphorically.³⁵ From the moment of their arrival, the sick

34 See Gregory's xv Constitution *Romani Pontificis* (2 July 1622), in *Bullarum*, vol. XII, 708–709.

35 The polysemic meaning of 'space' in the context of medicine is underlined by Cavallo S. – Gentilcore D. (eds.), *Spaces, Objects and Identities in Early Modern Medicine* (Oxford: 2008);

(whether local people or foreigners) received necessary assistance and valuable information, which made it possible for them to create more or less direct relationships with important members of society and of the Curia. Doctors often directly helped their patients with these contacts. Hospitals are a place of disease, of disorders that consume the body, but also of restored health, balance, and order. It is common knowledge that physical disease was in many cases thought to be the consequence of sin.³⁶ For example, the rituals that preceded and accompanied the sacrament of extreme unction strongly emphasized the connection between sickness and sin, which was not a new concept, but was once again taken up and discussed at the Council of Trent.

In fact, during several sessions of the Council the whole sacramental process is defined as *medicamentum* and an essential prerequisite for extreme unction. This process was entrusted to priests, especially to parish priests, who had the essential duty of visiting the sick. Many medical treatises published in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially those printed in Rome and elsewhere in Italy, make a connection between bodily illness and spiritual illness. It does not seem necessary here to recall what is already known about ritualized strategies of persuasion (or terrorizing), which brought a patient to the point of accepting confession, communion, and extreme unction. Pope Paul v's *Rituale Romanum* (1614) systematically compiled all the previous apostolic constitutions on conversion. These included the already mentioned directive by Pius v, which itself followed up on Innocent III's guidelines established at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): hereby doctors were forbidden to treat a sick patient for more than three days, if the latter was unwilling to accept confession. The 1614 *Rituale* also refers to other previous papal dispositions carefully listed by Cardinal Giulio Santoro,³⁷ and the rules on conversion attentively defined and implemented by Carlo Borromeo, who had himself quoted Pius v's Constitution.³⁸

What can we deduce from these sources, beyond the fact that assistance to the sick was ritualized and regulated? We are certainly not told very much—at least in explicit terms—about conversions: the sources take for granted,

Baker P.A. – Nijdam H. – Van't Land K. (eds.), *Medicine and Space: Body, Surroundings and Borders in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Leiden – Boston: 2012).

36 *Super gregem dominicum*, § 1, 430: 'cum infirmitas corporalis nonnunquam ex peccato proveniat'.

37 *Rituale Romanum ex veteri restitutum usu ecclesiae* (Rome: 1584).

38 *Cohortationes et monita ad aegrotos, De Confessione, De Communionem*, in *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis ab eius initiis usque ad nostram aetatem*, ed. A. Ratti, 3 vols. (Milan: 1890), vol. II, 1347–1361.

or almost, that the patient is already abiding by the true faith, and wants to die 'as a Catholic'. A history of the order of the *Ministri degli Infermi* reveals an eloquent detail: in 1585 assistance to the dying in the Hospital of Santo Spirito was entrusted to a single priest, who had been sent there by the Holy Office.³⁹ Other sources give us an idea of the possible strategies adopted by sick, heretical foreigners who were hospitalized in Rome. In their attempt to hide their religious identity, they would possibly adopt resistance, rejection or 'Nicodemite' strategies, trying to ease the pressure on their suffering, wounded, weakened body, a pressure that required them to examine their religious faith and save their soul. The stranger admitted to the hospital was carefully scrutinized by those around him: his gestures and his words (even if they were uttered in a delirium of fever) were studied to reveal his faith. His clothes were carefully sifted through, his pockets were emptied to find 'signs' of Catholicism: a rosary, images of saints and the Virgin, prayer books, possibly in understandable languages. In order to monitor suspected heretics, foreign members of religious orders such as the Jesuits operated in Roman hospitals. A leading role was played by doctors, and especially by foreign doctors. According to the papal constitutions, they were obliged to denounce heretical patients to the Holy Office. But did they really do this? As the *Decreta* of the Holy Office prove, the watchful eye of the Inquisition did monitor them. Their activity was not limited to hospitals, but they acted more generally as go-betweens between Roman society and the papal Curia. Just to recall a significant example, Johannes Faber, the most famous German doctor in Rome, asked the tribunal of faith for permission to visit the 'sick heretics' ('hereticos infirmos') in the prisons of the Roman Inquisition more than three times. He was allowed to do it, but the pope ordered him to report any sick prisoners who refused the sacraments.⁴⁰ Should we suppose that Faber sometimes did not observe the papal orders regarding doctors' obligations? Officials of the Inquisition considered his profession and knowledge of languages to be useful instruments for spying on heretical prisoners, on foreign patients who were suspected of heresy, and on converts. Faber's contemporaries, especially in Germany, thought that his character and work were controversial. Some of his German correspondents actually accused him of duplicity and stated that, while he cured his countrymen in the Hospital of Santo Spirito, he also reported them to the Holy Office if they were heretics.⁴¹

39 Vanti, *San Camillo de Lellis* 223.

40 Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede [henceforth ACDF], *Decreta S.O.* 1671, fol. 504r.

41 Fosi, *Convertire lo straniero* 123–125.

A parallel case may suggest the problems of implementation facing such orders. If a foreigner fell sick in a private home or hotel, the local parish priest had to be immediately informed of his illness. The provisions of the Cardinal Vicar—the pope's second-in-command in the Roman diocese—are particularly indicative: they reveal that private individuals and hoteliers were reluctant to denounce heretical foreigners because they did not want to lose an opportunity for making money.⁴² The provisions also remind parish priests not to 'harass' the infirm with rough attempts at conversion, using brutal words and terrifying images. In fact, letters and petitions sent to the Inquisition frequently contain complaints about the brutality of parish priests, who were often ill-suited and poorly prepared to carry out this delicate task. By the end of the sixteenth century, it became obvious that works of conversion could not be limited to the hospital space, since foreign heretics kept away from hospitals in order to avoid their inquisitorial network.

It is a well-known fact that instructions in the so-called apodemic literature of the period advised travellers from European countries who planned to visit Italy and Rome to carry with them objects of Catholic devotion—rosaries, images of saints and of the Virgin—in order to safeguard themselves against inquisitorial investigation.⁴³ The 'healthy' foreigner was in command of his actions, gestures and words (apart from the frequent condition of drunkenness or all-too-common fights with anyone who provoked him). But sickness prostrated him, casting him into a condition of fragility, which was difficult to control. He could be blackmailed into succumbing to the pressure exerted by priests, and in order to continue being treated by doctors he might convert and go to confession. If a foreigner died without being converted, or if the clues for deciphering his religious confession were not sufficient to establish that he was a Catholic, he was interred shamefully along the Muro Torto in Rome, where prostitutes were buried. The rules were clear, and any doctor who did not fulfil the obligation to denounce patients who would not go to confession was seriously risking his honour and professional status. But in actual fact, other sources, particularly documents of the Inquisition, show that the tribunal was hindered by a whole series of obstacles, including resistance, reluctance, friendship and solidarity with other compatriots who were also hospital patients. Money and corruption fuelled agreements, especially with the lower ranks of hospital employees; but priests, too, would often agree to

⁴² Ibidem, 31–37.

⁴³ Maurer M., "Reisen interdisziplinär: Ein Forschungsbericht in kulturgeschichtlicher Perspektive", in Maurer M. (ed.), *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung* (Berlin: 1999) 287–410.

bury a foreigner in their church, even though there might be doubts about his religious identity, as long as he was noble or rich.

Conclusion

After the Reformation broke up Christian unity and the papacy established strict rules to prevent foreign heretics from entering Catholic territories, hospitals in Italian cities, including the Roman hospitals considered here, started to change in nature. They became more closed, losing their characteristic function as places where interaction and communication were possible, as they had been throughout the Middle Ages. However, neither papal rules nor inquisitorial restraints could stop mobility or reduce the presence of 'heretical' strangers in Italian cities. During the Holy Years in Rome, a broad network existed to receive and assist foreign heretics, including hospitals and hospices. Their conversion in these institutions was seen as the culmination of a comprehensive process of salvation, which had the purpose of celebrating and spreading the image of Rome as a welcoming, maternal environment. It was also a common theme in hagiographies of saints who assisted the sick in hospitals. A dense stream of foreign visitors continued to flow into Rome throughout the early modern age, and the large hospitals could become dangerous places of conversion for foreign heretics who fell ill. Many refused to be taken to a hospital, and instead sought refuge in their national institutions, where even non-Catholics could often be treated without being forced to convert. Their eventual conversion to Catholicism occurred subsequently, fostered by the shared language within these institutions and the work of certain religious orders, as evidenced by the activities of the Jesuits in the English College. Other religious orders used different strategies in hospitals, which became the preferred place for achieving conversions. Often these strategies were aggressive and violent. Saving the soul of a sick heretic became a top priority for both doctors and members of the Church, more important than healing the heretic's body.

The examples and the sources examined here to study the theme of conversion in Roman hospitals are limited to the early modern period. They evidence the close, virtually indissoluble, age-old bond between doctor and confessor, substantiated by the dualistic association between illness and heresy, as well as healing and conversion. Even towards the end of papal rule, when Rome was increasingly the chosen destination of non-Catholic foreigners, hospitals and prisons continued to be spaces of conversion. They were places where various institutions and people interacted, trying to save souls in the often-brief period before death, overcoming procedural impediments and sacramental qualms.

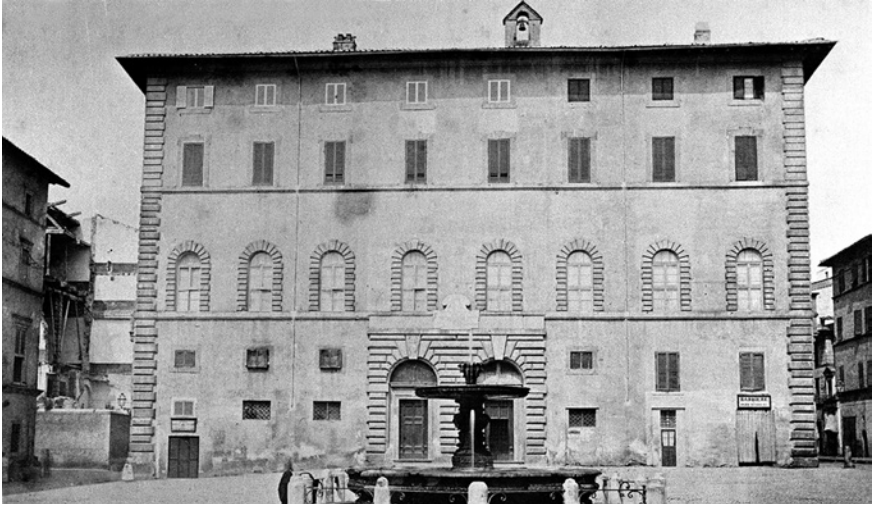


FIGURE 7.9 The Hospice of the Convertendi, Rome. Photograph, ca. 1930. © Museo di Roma, Archivio Fotografico, Rome.

In a petition dated 19 August 1850, Fr. Peter Dahmer asked the Holy Office to give him permission to assist and convert a dying Englishman, and to re-baptize him conditionally (*sub conditione*). He wrote that ‘[i]n the Venerable Archhospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili there is an English Protestant who is gravely ill, with no hope of recovery, who wants to die a Catholic. Therefore Peter Dahmer, the priest called to assist him, entreats your Eminences to grant the necessary and apposite faculties to receive his abjuration and absolve him from any censure incurred through his errors and disbelief, and to re-baptize him on the condition, as we do with all British Protestants, that he convert to our Holy Religion’ [Fig. 7.9].⁴⁴ Thus, even as we move outside the chronological framework examined here, the issue of conversion remains topical, up to the present day. Hospitals have been, and may continue to be, places that

44 ACDF, DB (1850), N. 11 (‘Nel Venerabile Archiospedale di S. Giacomo degli Incurabili esiste un Inglese protestante aggravato e senza speranza di guarigione, il quale vuole morire cattolico. Quindi il sacerdote Pietro Dahmer, chiamato per assisterlo, supplica le Eminenze V.re E.me delle necessarie ed opportune facultà tanto di ricevere la di lui abiura ed assolverlo dalle censure incorse per qualunque errore, anche di miscredenza, che di ribattezzarlo sotto condizione, come si pratica generalmente con tutti li Protestanti Inglesi, che si convertono alla Nostra Santa Religione’). Peter Dahmer was an instructor at the Ospizio dei Convertendi, which was founded in 1673 with the specific purpose of instructing whoever wished to become a Catholic. For the Ospizio dei Convertendi see Matheus R., *Konversionen in Rom in der Frühen Neuzeit: Das “Ospizio dei Convertendi”, 1673–1750* (Berlin – New York: 2012).

are conducive to conversion. The weakness of a sick, wounded body offered opportunities for influencing a person's conscience and choices, even in terms of faith, and continues to do so even in secular times.

Selective Bibliography

- Baker P.A. – Nijdam H. – Van't Land K. (eds.), *Medicine and Space: Body, Surrounding and Borders in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Leiden – Boston: 2012).
- Broccard Francis, *His Alarm to All Protestant Princes: With a Discovery of Popish Plot and Conspirancies, after His Conversion from Popery to Protestant Religion* (London, Printed by T.S. for William Rogers: 1679).
- Cavallo S. – Gentilcore D. (eds.), *Spaces, Objects and Identities in Early Modern Medicine* (Oxford: 2008).
- De Angelis P., *L'Archiospedale di S. Giacomo in Augusta* (Rome: 1955).
- De Angelis P., *L'Ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1960–1962).
- Del Giudice Bartolomeo, *Compendio storico della religione de' Chierici regolari Ministri degl'Infermi* (Mondovì, Vincenzo and Giovanni Battista de Rossi: 1689).
- De Renzi S., “‘A Fountain for the Thirsty’ and a Bank for the Pope: Charity, Conflicts, and Medica Careers at the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Seventeenth-Century Rome”, in Grell O.P. – Cunningham A. – Arrizabalaga J. (eds.), *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe* (London – New York: 1999) 102–131.
- Foley H. (ed.), *Records of the English Province of The Society of Jesus*, 7 vols. (London: 1875–1883), vol. VI, *The English College in Rome*.
- Fosi I., *Convertire lo straniero: Forestieri e Inquisizione a Roma in età moderna* (Rome: 2011).
- Garofalo F., *L'Ospedale della SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini e dei Convalescenti* (Rome: 1950).
- Incisa della Rocchetta G. (ed.), *Il primo processo per san Filippo Neri*, 4 vols. (Vatican City: 1957–1963).
- Le confraternite ebraiche Talmud Torà e Ghemilut Chasadim: Premesse storiche e attività agli inizi dell'età contemporanea* (Rome: 2011).
- Lenzi Cosma, *Annalium Religiosorum Clericorum Regularium Ministrantium Infirmis* (Naples, Secondino Roncagliolo: 1641).
- Marciano Giovanni, *Memorie storiche della Congregazione dell'Oratorio* (Naples, Per il De Bonis stampatore arcivescovile: 1693).
- Matheus R., *Konversionen in Rom in der Frühen Neuzeit: Das “Ospizio dei Convertendi” 1673–1750* (Berlin – New York: 2012).
- Maurer M., “Reisen interdisziplinär: Ein Forschungsbericht in kulturgeschichtlicher Perspektive”, in Maurer M. (ed.), *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung* (Berlin: 1999) 287–410.

- Memmi Giovanni Battista, *Notizie istoriche dell'origine, e progressi dell'Oratorio, della ss. Communione generale, e degli uomini illustri, che in esso fiorirono* (Rome, Stamperia del Bernabò: 1730).
- Piccialuti M. (ed.), "La sanità a Roma in età moderna", *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 13, 1 (2005).
- Prosperi A. (ed.), *Misericordie: Conversioni sotto il patibolo tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Pisa: 2007).
- Pupillo M., *La ss. Trinità dei Pellegrini* (Rome: 2001).
- Regi Domenico, *Memorie Historiche del Venerabile P. Camillo de Lellis* (Naples, Giacinto Passaro: 1676).
- Siraisi N.G., *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor: 2007).
- Vanti M., *San Camillo de' Lellis, 1550-1614* (Turin: 1929).
- Visceglia M.A. – Nanni S. (eds.), "La città del perdono: Pellegrinaggi e anni santi a Roma in età moderna 1550-1750", *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 5/2-3 (1997).
- Williams M.E., *The Venerable English College Rome*, 2nd ed. (Gateshead: 2008).
- Ziegler J., *Medicine and Religion: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford: 1998).
- Ziegler J., "Bodies, Diseases, and the Preservation of Health as Foci of Inter-Religious Encounters in the Middle Ages", in Donato M.P. – Berlivet L. – Cabibbo S. – Michetti R. – Nicoud M. (eds.), *Médecine et religion: Compétitions, collaborations, conflits* (Rome: 2013) 35-57.

The Political Dimension of Space-Time Categories in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay (Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries)

Guillermo Wilde

From both a material and a symbolic point of view, space was a central dimension in the process of conversion of the indigenous peoples of the South American lowlands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Spanish monarchy's policy of gathering natives into mission towns (*reducciones*) aimed to impose a new civil spatial order that would efficiently convey the very principles of Christianity. In this period the Jesuits built up more than fifty mission towns in the South American jungle, seeking to impose a new idea of society on the natives. The Jesuits started their program by relocating indigenous populations scattered throughout the rainforest in new villages, where they would be spatially segregated and 'protected' from the abuses of colonizers and enslavers. In order to make preaching more efficient, general indigenous languages (Guarani, Mojo, Chiquitano) were created and standardized through vocabularies, grammars, and catechisms. Believing that the Indians should have their own government and laws, the Jesuits facilitated the formation of an autonomous and centralized indigenous political organization. In the region of Paraguay, mission towns sheltered more than 140,000 Indians in the first half of the eighteenth century [Fig. 8.1].

Mission towns gathered indigenous populations from many different and diverse geographical, cultural and linguistic origins that had to adapt themselves to the same socio-political structure. Most inhabitants of the seventeenth-century Jesuit missions had been forced to move from their original regions to the new settlements, which entailed an accelerated process of demographic and territorial disintegration, as well as the reconfiguration of cultural, political and economic practices. The formation of new space and time categories and practices was an essential part of this process. These

* This research was made possible by the support of the Argentinean National Scientific Council, UNSAM, and CONICET.

categories and practices played a fundamental role in configuring a 'mission culture' with two contradictory sides: one, associated with the imposition of a colonial regime based on the homogenization of daily practices (especially the rationalization of space and the regimentation of time); and another related to the different ways natives reacted toward such impositions (from rejection to appropriation). It is difficult to separate these two sides in terms of domination and resistance, since the process rather refers to the gradual and complex formation of a 'middle ground', in which new senses of belonging were created.¹

Common sense has led many scholars to assume that missions were enclosed, homogenous, and ordered spaces from the physical point of view. Following that line of reasoning, the existing historical literature has paid special attention to the architecture and urban design of Jesuit mission towns, focusing on material and stylistic aspects and their evolution over time. By studying the surviving material structures, especially churches, scholars have identified styles and defined artistic periods. However, this historiography has neglected at least two important issues about mission space: first, the symbolic and political dimension of mission space construction, which implied internal complexities and differentiations; second, the significance of the periphery—that is, of the outskirts—in the configuration of the social life and urban structure of missions.

I define mission space as a symbolic and social process, involving several levels or scales of organization, representation, and performance. These levels or scales are connected in a network of links and activity-places, where particular agents operate.² In this sense, mission space cannot be reduced to the urban or architectural stylistic structure or even the physical territory of a mission town. It is rather the symbolic construction that organizes daily life and bodily practices.³ Moreover, mission space defines what could be opera-

1 White R., *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: 1991); Block D., *Mission Culture on the Upper Amazon: Native Tradition, Jesuit Enterprise, & Secular Policy in Moxos, 1660–1880* (Lincoln: 1994); Radding C., *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic* (Durham, NC: 2005); Wilde G., *Religión y Poder en las Misiones de Guaraníes* (Buenos Aires: 2009).

2 Massey D.B., *For Space* (London – Thousand Oaks, CA: 2005).

3 For a theoretical perspective on the concepts of space, landscape and place it is worth considering the important production of British human geography over the last thirty years. See especially Cosgrove D.E., *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: 1998); Harvey D., *Spaces of Hope* (Berkeley: 2000); Massey, *For Space*. For an anthropological perspective see Hirsch E. – O'Hanlon M. (eds.), *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space* (Oxford – New York: 1995).

tionally described as a ‘visual regime’ (or a ‘regime of perception’) in which both Jesuit priests and indigenous actors actively participated. I argue that this specific regime is intrinsically linked to the symbolic process of spatial formation as a socio-cultural and historical process.⁴ It is worthwhile to analyse the complex and contradictory mechanisms involved in the differentiation, hierarchization, and connection of activity-places, paying attention to the role social actors played in their construction and representation. Such analysis requires considering how power influences spatial (and visual) ordering. I also argue that the dimension of space overlaps with the dimension of time; if we seek an understanding of a long-term cultural (or trans-cultural) process of identity formation, the two dimensions cannot be completely separated.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first describes space-time ordering in daily mission life according to Jesuit descriptions, focusing on how the urban organization of mission towns was efficiently oriented for discipline and social control. The second part analyses evidence about indigenous reactions to Jesuit impositions, emphasizing the way natives appropriated some impositions and contributed to the formation of mission space patterns. In its third section, the chapter explores visual-spatial developments that resulted from negotiations and adaptations between Jesuits and indigenous actors.

Space, Civil Order, and Discipline

According to most Jesuit official records of the eighteenth century, the world was organized in terms of dichotomies that radically opposed ‘Christian civility’ to ‘gentile chaos’. The importance of space and time categories is evident in the construction of these dichotomies:

4 I take the definition of ‘visual regime’ from Meneses U. Toledo Bezerra de, “Fontes visuais, cultura visual, história visual: Balanço provisório, propostas cautelares”, *Revista Brasileira de História* 23 (2003) 11–36. See also Marquese R., “O Vale do Paraíba cafeeiro e o regime visual da segunda escravidão: O caso da fazenda Resgate”, *Anais do Museu Paulista* 18 (2010) 83–128, at 86. The recommendation of understanding space ‘in more than simply visual or physical dimensions’ provides some elements for the reconstruction of a mission soundscape. We can even go further considering ‘the other senses, including the smells and tangibility or intangibility of holy places, which must have had a profound impact on the emotional reception of religion’, Coster W. – Spicer A., “Introduction: The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe”, in Coster W. – Spicer A. (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2005) 1–16, at 14.

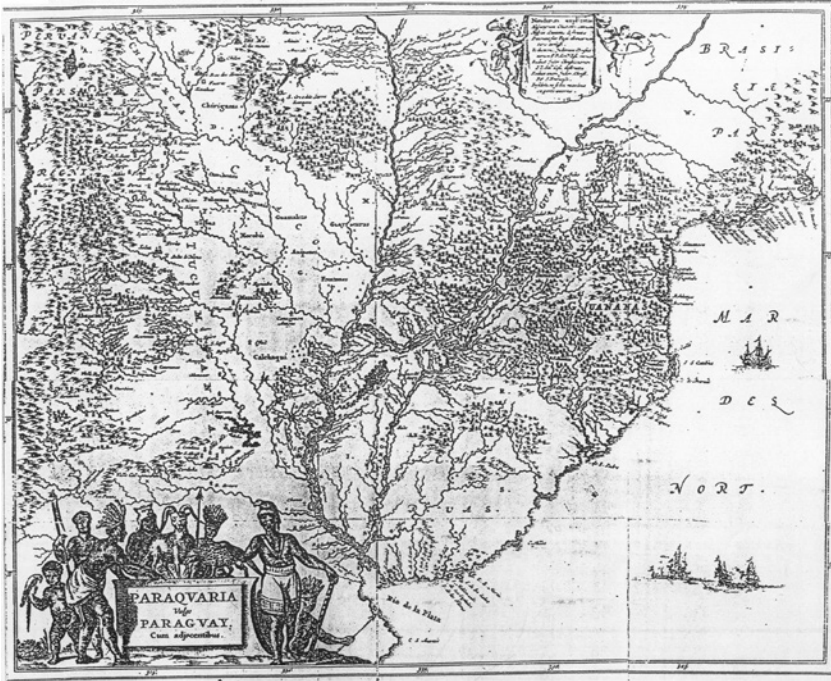


FIGURE 8.1 Johannes Blaeuw, Paraquaria Vulgo Paraguay cum adjacentibus (1667).
 Source: Furlong G., *Cartografia jesuitica del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: 1936),
 as reproduced in Barcelos A., *O Mergulho no Seculum: Exploração, conquista e
 organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*, Ph.D. dissertation
 (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul: 2006).

Mission town	Rainforest
Inner space	Outer Space
New time of Christianity	Ancient time of pagan ancestors
Eternal/Spiritual	Temporal
Heaven	Hell
Solemn	Profane
Rational natural order	Chaos
Kingdom of God	Realm of demons and the devil
Proper civil life	Savage/Barbarian/Pagan life
Lambs	Lions, tigers, serpents
Saints, virtuous congregants	Sorcerers, old evil women
Christian liturgy	Dancing and drinking festivals
Peace	War and cannibalism
Self	Other

As the table above summarizes, Jesuits constructed a radical opposition between the inner and the outer space of the mission town from both a material and a symbolic point of view. Jesuits regarded this series of overlapping dichotomies as an expression of the rational and natural ordering of the world. The rainforest, in the official discourse, was related not only to the infidels dwelling in it but also to the indigenous ancestors and memories that could always threaten the mission's stability.⁵ Mission history, as recounted by important seventeenth-century Jesuit chroniclers, was the story of an irreversible transformation in space-time categories. It was conceived as the gradual inscription of the marks of Christianity on 'infidel' soil, the 'domestication' of the 'savage' mind, and the transformation of 'lions' into 'lambs'.⁶ Jesuits conceived of themselves as the vehicles of this radical transformation and they frequently portrayed themselves as apostles continuing the pilgrimage that St. Thomas had begun on South American soil. The legend of St. Thomas's pilgrimage in the Americas before the Jesuits' arrival was widely disseminated among the first Jesuits that came to Brazil and Paraguay. According to Manuel da Nobrega's and José Anchieta's letters and Antonio Ruiz de Montoya's *Spiritual Conquest*, the apostle Thomas was supposed to have left his footprints in the jungle, along with a prophetic message to the Indians announcing that his brothers (the Jesuits) would come in a near future.⁷ This set of narratives and gestures about Christianity would qualify as a 'naming that marks a beginning in time and an origin in space'.⁸

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Jesuit Anton Sepp presented a detailed description of the construction of a mission town. He paid special

5 Wilde G., "Prestigio indígena y nobleza peninsular: La invención de linajes guaraníes en las Misiones del Paraguay", *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 43 (2006) 119–145.

6 In many pages of his account, Ruiz de Montoya Antonio, *La Conquista espiritual del Paraguay* [1640] (Rosario: 1989) related the way Indians continued with their traditional funerary practices in the rainforest even after having accepted Christian life. It was difficult for him to understand why the Indians maintained that duplicity. On the idea of 'natives' openness to the other' during the first phases of evangelization, see Viveiros de Castro E., *A inconstância da alma selvagem* (São Paulo: 2002), and Fausto C., "Se Deus fosse jaguar: Canibalismo e cristianismo entre os guarani (séculos XVI–XX)", *Mana: Estudos de Antropologia Social* 11 (2005) 385–418.

7 Gandia E. de, *Historia crítica de los mitos de la Conquista americana* (Buenos Aires: 1929). On the diffusion of the legend of St. Thomas's pilgrimage in the Andean region see Bouysse-Cassagne T., "De Empédocles a Tunupa: Evangelización, hagiografía y mitos", in Bouysse-Cassagne T. (ed.), *Saberes y memorias en los Andes: In memoriam Thierry Saignes* (Paris – Lima: 1997) 157–212.

8 Short J.R., *Cartographic Encounters: Indigenous Peoples and the Exploration of the New World* (London: 2009) 12.

attention to the way Jesuits negotiated with indigenous leaders (known as *caciques*) in order to convince them to move their families into new settlements. He did not hesitate to compare those Indians with the Jewish tribes of Israel in their pilgrimage to new lands. In Sepp's opinion the creation of a mission entailed seizing control over the chaos of the rainforest. In 1701 he stated: 'So many thousands of years after its creation, this semi-deserted jungle, inhabited only by pagan barbarians, was destined to become a village of Catholic Paracuarians'.⁹ As in many other regions of the early modern world, to impose the new religion was to print its marks over the previous beliefs. And this began with the simple act of naming and 'taking possession' of territory.¹⁰

'We erected', Sepp wrote, 'the glorious banner and trophy of the Holy Cross as a sign and proof of our taking possession of this region with all its forests, rivers, and fields'. This act was the cornerstone of the future mission town, but more importantly, the 'symbol of Christianity's victory and of the expulsion of hellish demons from the vast countryside and shadowy jungles, which they had owned for so many thousands of years, adored as idols by the infidels Paracuarians'. That day, fields and forests would be consecrated 'with the sign of the Holy Cross as the ground for the construction of Christian houses'.¹¹ Sepp pointed out that once the infidel Indians got to know the Christian festivals, they noticed their beauty and concluded that they were much more wonderful than their ancient costumes and feasts. Therefore, the Indians rapidly abandoned their shadowy forests and caves since it was clear for them that the place for their new life was the Christian village.¹²

9 Sepp Anton, *Continuación de las labores apostólicas. Edición crítica de las obras*, ed. W. Hoffmann (Buenos Aires: 1971) 194 ('Cuando los dos Padres y yo vimos tantos dones de la generosa naturaleza acumulados en un lugar, consultamos con los caciques y llegamos a la conclusión de que Dios nos había predestinado desde la eternidad, para que lo ocupáramos y habitáramos. Tantos miles de años después de su creación, debía convertirse de una jungla semidesierta, poblada sólo de bárbaros paganos, en una aldea o reducción de paracuarios católicos. Y en este mismo día empezaría a cumplirse su voluntad').

10 Seed P., *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: 1995). On the ritualization of space see the classic works by Gennep A. van, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. M.B. Vizedom and G.L. Caffee, introd. S.T. Kimball (Chicago: 1960), and Turner V., *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: 1995).

11 Sepp, *Continuación de las labores*, 195 ('[...] erigimos el glorioso estandarte y trofeo de la Santa Cruz como signo y comprobación de nuestra toma de posesión de esta comarca con todos sus bosques, ríos y campos. Y esto sucedió en el mismo día en el cual la Iglesia Católica celebra gloriosamente la Exaltación de la cruz').

12 *Ibidem*, 263.

In late Jesuit writings the idea of Christian life as a life in the polis (whether the city, the village, or the mission town) is even clearer.¹³ As the Jesuit José Manuel Peramás would point out in a remarkable work meaningfully entitled *The Guarani and Plato's Republic*, conversion of the indigenous populations began when they were convinced to leave their isolated huts. By order of their chiefs, they grouped themselves in common settlements, thus founding 'cit[ies]' in which they could help each other, 'consolidating their ideas and efforts'. Urban organization, with its regular and harmonious distribution of streets and buildings, was the physical manifestation of a utopia, a 'happy Christian [community]'.¹⁴ Peramás mentioned 'moderation' and 'prudence' as being among the principal qualities of civility. Following Plato, he highlighted the importance of the 'moderate man' who controls his appetites for fear of the law and guided by his reason. As a result, Peramás commended the values of frugality and sobriety manifest in the public meals the Guarani held to mark certain solemn occasions: 'All was done there with moderation'.¹⁵ Like Plato, Peramás also underscored the importance of music, dance, and the arts for reinforcing civic virtues and contributing to the education and control of a citizenry's body and soul—or, to put it another way, for controlling the passions.

-
- 13 The terms *reducción*, *misión* and *doctrina* were considered synonyms in common usage, although in the strict sense *reducción* or *misión* alluded to villages formed with an indigenous population in the process of conversion to Christianity. Once they had reached stability these became *doctrinas* or *parroquias de indios*. On the difference see Mörner M., *La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios de América* (Madrid: 1999). In the discussion of previous urban models in the formation of the missions the case of the Jesuit missions of Juli has played an important role: Gutiérrez R., *Evolución urbanística y arquitectónica del Paraguay, 1537–1911* (Resistencia: 1978). Much has been written on the links between classical utopias: Alvarez Kern A., *Misoes, una utopía política* (Porto Alegre: 1982); Cro S. "Empirical and Practical Utopia in Paraguay", *Dieciocho* 15 (1992) 171–184.
- 14 Peramás José Manuel, *La república de Platón y los guaraníes* [1793] (Buenos Aires: 1946) 121 ('Cuando pareció llegado el tiempo oportuno, se hizo recaer la conversación sobre las grandes comodidades que obtendrían si, en vez de habitar en chozas aisladas, se agrupasen los diversos caciques y emigrasen con sus gentes a un común asiento, fundasen una ciudad y se ayudasen mutuamente, mancomunando sus ideas y esfuerzos').
- 15 *Ibidem*, 100 ('Las comidas públicas no se celebraban sino en ciertas ocasiones más solemnes del año. Entonces se colocaban mesas en la plaza, sobre las cuales se disponía todo aquello que los jefes de familia aportaban de sus casas. Y para que la comida fuese más espléndida se distribuían entre las diversas tribus algunos víveres procedentes del fondo común. Dispuestos ya ordenadamente los distintos manjares, se pedía la venia al Párroco, el cual pronunciaba la Bendición, que era contestada por un coro de músicos. Estos proseguían luego, durante la comida, ejecutando aires festivos con sus instrumentos [...] Todo se hacía allí con moderación').

From Plato, Peramás took the idea that music was a '[...] natural instinct that has universal characteristics; there is no nation, however barbarous and lacking in culture, that in weddings, banquets and public games does not make use of music'.¹⁶ In relation to the Guarani he wrote: '[...] they sang daily during the Mass, accompanied by the organ and the other instruments. In the afternoon, after the rosary, they intoned a brief motet in honour of the Holy Sacrament and of Mary, Mother of God, to which the whole village responded. Finally the Act of Contrition was prayed'.¹⁷

It was important for Jesuit writers to establish a strong contrast between Christian life and what they considered to be the pre-Hispanic indigenous way of life. The latter was characterized by excesses, sexual promiscuity, war, cannibalism, and drinking festivals. Sometimes Jesuits would emphasize the fact that those Indians did not even have 'idols' or a proper religion, but only superstitions and sorcerers who pushed them to drink and dance. They were societies with 'no king, no faith, and no law', and their life, in contrast to the Christian life, epitomized the misuse of space and time. Jesuit depictions of the indigenous economy clearly illustrate this aspect. Chroniclers such as José Guevara and José Cardiel emphasized that Indians were inconstant and unordered by nature, did not have a permanent address or possessions, and constantly migrated from one place to another. That was why they were not used to regular work in their fields and displayed little providence. On the contrary, they were permanently wasting their time and food in festivals and dances during which they got drunk [Fig. 8.2].¹⁸ These descriptions became a common

16 Ibidem, 79 ('Hay en ello cierto instinto natural que revista caracteres de universalidad: pues no hay nación, por bárbara e inculta que sea, que en las bodas, en los banquetes y en los juegos públicos no haga uso de la Música').

17 Ibidem, 82 ('Los guaraníes cantaban diariamente durante la Misa, acompañados del órgano y de los demás instrumentos. Por la tarde, después del Rosario, se entonaba un breve motete en honor del Santísimo Sacramento y de María, la Madre de Dios, al cual respondía todo el pueblo. Al final se rezaba el Acto de contrición').

18 The Jesuit Guevara writes: 'La segunda casta o generación era de gentes vagamundas, que se mantenían de la pesca y caza, mudando habitación cuando lo uno y lo otro escaseaba, por haberlo consumido. Éstos propiamente carecían en este mundo de domicilio permanente, porque el que tenían era portátil, y mudable a diligencias y esfuerzos de las mujeres, que son las transportadoras de las casas, y del ajuar doméstico de ollas, menaje de cocina, estacas y esteras de la casa. Como estas pobres tienen la incumbencia de conducir el equipaje doméstico, gozan en las transmigraciones el privilegio de arreglar las marchas, y medir las jornadas', Guevara José, "Historia del Paraguay, Río de la Plata y Tucumán (1764)", in De Angelis P., *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las Provincias del Río de la Plata*, 4 vols. (Buenos Aires: 1836–1837, repr. 1969–1972), vol. I, 539. The Jesuit Cardiel describes the Indians' laziness as follows: 'Ni basta el hacerle coger toda su cosecha. Lo más que cogerá un indio ordinario es tres ó cuatro faenas de maíz.

way of representing indigenous populations on the fringes of Ibero-American empires, as described in early writings and images of the conquest.¹⁹

In spite of their stereotyped descriptions, Jesuit documents also intended accurately to inform readers about the way Indians used to live before the Jesuits' arrival. A seventeenth-century document containing declarations of missionaries who had contacted indigenous groups in the jungle provides details about indigenous spatial organization. Most of the testimonies stress the importance of the 'big house', which they sometimes identify with 'little villages' due to the large number of people they were able to shelter. One account states that the natives lived in big houses recognizing the authority of their 'caciques, whom they called *Abarubicha*'.²⁰ The Jesuit Juan de Salas reported that some leaders had such an extensive house that they would call it 'village'.²¹

Jesuits also emphasized the problem of household dispersion and instability, which made the task of evangelization more difficult. One source explains:

I have reached them and I have seen them with my own eyes. I have registered more than four hundred families of infidels, and all of them I found in little settlements (*aldeitas*) of three or four houses together, with others a league away and others further away, and I observed that in each little town (*poblado*) like this they respected their *cacique*, who was the lord of all the Indians. And I saw in all these little towns that they had

Bien pudiera coger veinte, si quisiera. Si esto lo tiene en su casa, desperdicia mucho, y lo gasta luego, ya comiendo sin regla, ya dándolo de valde, ya vendiéndolo por una bagatela, lo que vale diez por lo que vale uno. Por esto se le obliga á traerlo á los graneros comunes, cada saco con su nombre: y se le deja uno solo en su casa, y se le va dando conforme se le va acabando. Toda esta diligencia es necesaria para su desidia', Cardiel José, "Breve Relación de las Misiones del Paraguay" [1771], in Hernández P., *Organización social de las doctrinas guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús* (Barcelona: 1913) 542.

19 We find one of the first systematic classifications of the native peoples of the Americas in the important work of the Jesuit José de Acosta. In 1590 Acosta proposed a classification of three types of societies: empires such as those of the Incas and the Aztecs; *behetrias*, or middle-range groups with certain kinds of political leadership; barbarians, living with no rule at the confines of the world. Although he was inspired by previous ideas and classifications such as those of Bartolomé de las Casas, Acosta was one of the first authors to translate descriptions into practical methods of missionizing, which were applied in several regions of the Americas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Acosta José de, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (México: 1979). See also Pagden A., *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: 1982).

20 Díaz Taño Francisco, "Informaciones a favor de los caciques de la nación Guaraní en que se prueba haber habido siempre caciques", 28 March 1678, in Archivo General de la Nación [henceforth AGN], Buenos Aires, IX.6.9.3, fol. 612r.

21 *Ibidem*, fol. 624r.



FIGURE 8.2 *Tupinamba Indians of the Brazilian Coast.*
 Source: Staden Hans, *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen* (1557).

sown corn, sweet potato, cassava, and other root crops, and in some I found that they had run out, and in this way, this nation was different from many others that exist in these regions.²²

Several decades earlier, a Jesuit account describes the characteristics of traditional indigenous houses:

They live in solid houses made of wooden posts with thatch on top. Some have eight or ten wooden posts and others more or less according to the number of vassals the cacique has, because they live all together in the same house. There is no division in the house, and everything can be seen from the beginning to the end. Between two wooden posts live two families sharing one stove in the middle. During the night they sleep in nets that the Spanish call hammocks, which they tie to sticks specially made for that purpose. They are so close to one another that they seem to be woven together and it is impossible to walk through the house.²³

The mission towns kept this structure in the first phases of evangelization, as can be inferred from the annual letter of 1626–1627. The letter tells that in the mission town of Nuestra Señora de Concepción, the house where the cacique lived with his entire group of vassals or *mboyas*, was comprised of 20, 30, 40 or even more families according to his prestige. The house did not have any

22 Ibidem, fol. 618v ('Y yo los vi con mis propios ojos por haber llegado a ellos y haber matriculado mas de cuatrocientas familias de infieles, y todas ellas las halle en sus aldeitas de tres o cuatro casas juntas y otras apartadas una legua y otras a mas distancia, y adverti que en cada pobladito de estos respetaban a su cacique, que era el señor de todos los demas indios, y en todos estos pobladito vi que tenían sementeras de maiz, batata, mandioca, y otras raices comestibles, y en algunos hallé que tenían agotado, y en esto se diferenciaba esta nación de otras muchas que hay por estas Provincias').

23 *Manuscritos de la Coleção De Angelis*, ed. J. Cortesão – H. Vianna, 7 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: 1951–1970), vol. 1, 166–167 ('Habitan en casas bien hechas armadas en çima de buenos horcones cubiertas de paja, algunas tienen ocho y diez horcones y otras mas o menos conforme el cazique tiene los basallos porque todos suelen vivir en una casa. no tiene division alguna toda la casa, esta esenta [*sic*] de manera que desde el principio se vee el fin: de horcon a horcon es un rancho y en casa uno habitan dos familias una a una banda y otra a otra y el fuego de estambos [*sic*] esta en medio: duermen en unas redes que los españoles llaman hamacas las quales atan en unos palos que quando hacen las casas dejan a proposito y estan tan juntas y entre tejidas las hamacas de noche que en ninguna manera se puede andar por la casa').

division or separation, save for some pillars located along the building that supported the roof. The term 'house' referred to the 'space between pillars'.²⁴

It is clear that the natives' previous way of life and spatial ordering prevented the effective development of missionary activities. Before the Jesuits' arrival the population of each big house under the rule of one or a few caciques could range from 150 to 300 people. Households used to be separated from one another by many kilometres, thus ensuring the political, social, and economic autonomy of each *cacique* and his close relatives. In a provocative essay Pierre Clastres has defined these caciques as 'leaders without power', since they were subjected in one way or another to the will of the group; they served an 'egalitarian' society 'against the state'.²⁵ The Jesuits would radically transform this traditional way of life by fragmenting the family groups in pieces, which the Jesuits called *cacicazgos* or *parcialidades*. These groups were all gathered together in single mission towns where they shared common places. Traditional indigenous authorities quickly lost their autonomy and, although they preserved some prestige, caciques became part of a centralized political organization controlled by the Jesuits. The homogenization pursued by Jesuit mission policy was frequently limited by the fact that some indigenous groups rejected such forms of mixture and the consequent loss of autonomy. Some evidence indicates that indigenous populations coming from different regions were kept separated in different neighbourhoods (*barrios*) within the same mission town to prevent any kind of mixture or conflict.²⁶

24 *Cartas Anuas de la Provincia del Paraguay, Chile y Tucumán, de la Compañía de Jesús (1615–1637)*, ed. C. Leonhardt (Buenos Aires: 1929) 362–363.

25 Clastres P., *La société contre l'État* (Paris: 1974).

26 The characteristics of missions' urban organization are not well known until the eighteenth century. A document from 1657 reports on the distribution of *cacicazgos* in *barrios* (neighbourhoods), suggesting that this trait was introduced early on in the missions' urban organization. The document is a certification of the Jesuit Pedro Comental to the *Oidor* Juan Antonio Blázquez de Valverde that lists the names of various caciques of the mission town of Loreto, indicating their distribution according to 'barrios'. Thus, see for instance, Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires, Argentina), Legajo IX.6.9.3, Comental Pedro, "Certificación firmada por la que hace manifestación al Gobernador del Paraguay Don Juan Blazquez de Valverde, de todos los Indios del Pueblo de su cargo, que son verdaderos caciques, y descendientes de tales", Pueblo de la Encarnación de Itapúa, 3 September 1657: 'Del barrio de los del Pirapó parte principal del pueblo de Loreto'; 'Del Barrio de los pueblos de los Angeles provincia del Tayaoba y [...]'; 'Del Barrio de los del Pueblo de la Encarnacion del Nuatynguy'; 'Del Barrio de los del pueblo de San Xavier del ñupabay, y del ñbÿzy [...]'. It seems that the caciques of each *barrio* along with their population come from the regions specified. I would like to thank Kazuhiza Takeda for referring me to this document.

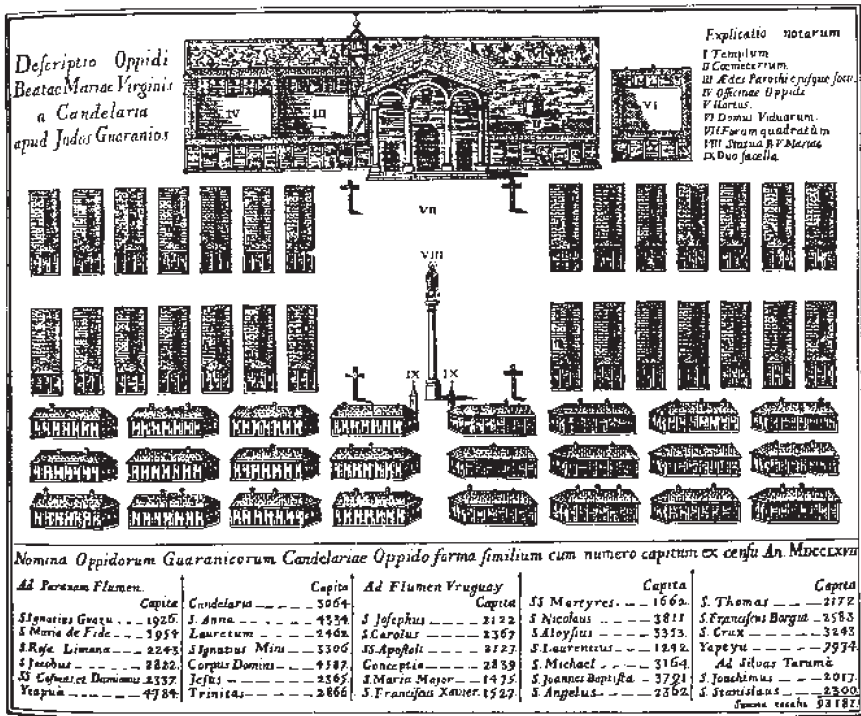


FIGURE 8.3 Plan of mission town of Candelaria.

Source: Peramás José Manuel, *La república de Platón y los guaraníes* [1793] (Buenos Aires: 1946).

The characteristics of missions' urban organization during the seventeenth century are almost unknown. In any case, their aim was gradually to impose a new conception of society, based on the principles of rationality and hierarchy. Based on later visual sources the public centre of the mission has usually been described as a theatre stage. The church, the cemetery, the school, and the workshops of the Indian craftsmen, were located on the main side of the huge plaza, together constituting the dominant axis of ritual life. This axis was associated with the authority of the Jesuits and the indigenous leaders. The Indians' houses surrounded the plaza, forming rows of equal proportions [Fig. 8.3].²⁷

This regular urban design was gradually introduced as a control device to organize indigenous populations and impose social discipline. Close to the church, there were two jails, one for men located in the corner of the plaza, and

27 Gutiérrez, *Evolución urbanística*, and Gutiérrez R. – Maeder E.J.A., *Atlas Histórico del Nordeste Argentino* (Resistencia: 1995).

one for women, a separated house called '*cotiguazù*'. Around 1770 the Jesuit Cardiel explained that women living in the *cotiguazu* were not strictly imprisoned but as free as the so-called 'beatas'. This curious comparison suggests that Cardiel attributed to the Indians living in the *cotiguazu* a similar liminal status as laywomen not completely subjected to the family, mainly widows, orphans or singles. In the following paragraph Cardiel referred to the way physical punishment was imposed on those who had committed crimes. He emphasized the place of public humiliation:

They never leave except all together as a group accompanied by their guardian. Also [at the *cotiguazú*] delinquents are kept locked up or free. [...] in such a growing crowd sins are not lacking. Those like crimes of children, are punished with lashings, jail, and the stocks. But when they are serious, [time in] jail and the stocks is prolonged, and they are whipped many times, leaving some days in between. Males are whipped on their buttocks, in the middle of the plaza, when it is convenient as a lesson; women on their backs, in secret inside the prison, by the female guardian or another woman.²⁸

Space in its different levels of organization, distribution, and hierarchization produced devices of social control and, in some cases, ways of punishment. The urban design and the bodily practices can be seen as two levels of the same process of space construction: the mission town, with its roads and buildings, reproduced at the macro level what the body represented at the micro level. As Michel Foucault pointed out, both levels refer to the government of the population and the state. Self-government and the government of the family, goods, property and, finally, the state, are elements of a chain in the evolution of social control and disciplinary devices that culminates in the society of the *Ancien Régime*. This also has consequences for the organization of gender relations.²⁹

28 Cardiel, "Breve relación" 543 ('Nunca salen sino en comunidad y con su Directora. Allí se ponen también las delinquentes en prisión o libres. [...] en tan crecida muchedumbre no faltan pecados, los cuales como delitos de niños, se castigan con azotes, cárcel y cepo. Mas cuando son graves, la cárcel y el cepo se alargan, y se les dan azotes varias veces, dejando pasar un intermedio de algunos días. Los varones son azotados en las nalgas, y en medio de la plaza cuando conviene para escarmientos; las mujeres en las espaldas, y en secreto dentro de la cárcel, por mano de la directora o de alguna otra mujer').

29 Foucault M., *Société, territoire, population: Cours au Collège de France, 1977–1978* (Paris: 2004) 97.

Cardiel exhaustively describes how Jesuits used to strictly separate men and women both in public and private places. On Sundays the population gathered in the *plaza* and after the church was opened, men and women entered through separate doors. Once inside, the males and females remained separated during the service, and were strictly controlled by their respective guardians. In his description of the Easter celebration, Cardiel noted:

Once the priest had finished incensing the statues, the congregants joined in a procession around the plaza; on one side, the men and the missionary, carrying the Resurrected, and, on the other side, the women, carrying the Holy Mother [...] all the while the bugles and the shawms were played with such skill it was as though they were being made to speak.³⁰

It is reasonable to think that the final shape of missions' urban organization is related to the progressive consolidation of political, social, and demographic stability. As explained by a Spanish official who visited the missions shortly after the Jesuits expulsion, urban organization served to politically hierarchize the indigenous population. According to Francisco Bruno de Zavala, the Indians were distributed in houses on the basis of their belonging to *caciczgos*, which constituted the group of relatives of the *cacique* or indigenous leader. The people of each *caciczgo* lived in houses or rows of houses of the same size and proportions. One or more houses were given to each *caciczgo* depending on the number of its members. Zavala stated:

30 Cardiel, as cited by Nawrot P. (ed.), *Indigenas y cultura musical de las reducciones jesuíticas* (Cochabamba: 2000) 25. According to some accounts, sexual relations were monitored and, eventually, overseen by the priests, with the aim of maintaining monogamous marriages, demographic growth, and proper sexual customs. An interesting excerpt, written by a Spanish official some years after the expulsion of the Jesuits, illustrates the extent to which Indians' sexual life was controlled. See Doblas Gonzalo de, *Memoria histórica, geográfica, política y económica sobre la Provincia de Misiones de indios guaranis* [1785] (Buenos Aires: 1836) 50: 'Having noticed that the drums were played at various points during the night, and particularly at dawn, curiosity moved me to inquire as to what purpose the drumbeat served. [The Indians] told me that the Jesuits, familiar with the lazy temperament of the Indians who, exhausted after working all day [...], arrive home, eat dinner, and then sleep until morning, made them arise at dawn to go to church, and from there, go on to work. Because of this, the husbands were not spending much time with their wives, and the population was diminishing. And so, they decided that, at certain hours of the night, they would remind them, so that they would fulfill their obligations as married people.'

The method of government and police of the Guarani, and of the Tape Indians inhabiting those villages, consists in recognizing their caciques; each Cacicazgo lives in those towns in houses (*galpones*) or rows of houses of the same size and proportions, covered by tiles, with corridors in the sides for transit. Separated by equal distances, these *galpones* compose the streets and form the Plaza; each *galpon* is divided into various small sleeping-rooms, each of which is occupied by one family belonging to the *cacicazgo*: according to its number of people, it has more, or fewer *galpones*. When the cacique is asked how many *mboyas* [vassals] he has, he answers: 'I have X number of houses, or *galpones*', so that one can have an idea of the number [...].³¹

As mentioned, Jesuits rigidly controlled the form and proportions each building should have, and the activities that could take place inside. It is worth considering an internal source from the Society of Jesus to understand how far the order could reach in its efforts to supervise daily mission life. Books of precepts were documents containing a list of orders from the superior priests to missionaries: they regulated every activity. One of those books, found at the National Archive in Buenos Aires, specifically indicates how to construct and use certain buildings. The book provides specific measures for both Jesuits' and Indians' houses.³² Priests were not allowed to have boys sleeping in their house

31 Zavala Francisco Bruno de, "Oficio a Don Francisco de Paula Sanz" [1784], in Gonzalez J.C., "Un Informe del gobernador de Misiones, don Francisco Bruno de Zavala, sobre el estado de los treinta pueblos", *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* 25 (1941) 159–187, at 162 ('El método de Gobierno, y policia, que tienen entre si los Indios Guaranis, y Tapes havitadores de aquellos Pueblos consiste en Reconocer a sus caziques; cada Cazicasgo havita en los pueblos en unos Galpones o filas de casas de igual medida y proporcion, cubiertos de texa, con corredores por todos costados que sirven de transito: Estos galpones separados con igual distancia componen las calles, y forman la Plaza; cada Galpon se divide en varios pequeños aposentos, cada uno de los cuales ocupa una familia de las pertenecientes a aquel Cazicasgo, y segun lo numeroso de el, asi tiene mas, o menos Galpones, el Cazique cuando se le pregunta, que Mboyas tiene, Responde tengo tantas filas de casas, o Galones para que se conceptue su numero').

32 AGN, Colección Biblioteca Nacional, Leg. 140, "Libro de preceptos. Gobierno de los jesuitas en los pueblos de misiones. Preceptos de nuestros Padres Generales y Provinciales que tocan inmediatamente a los PP que viven en las Doctrinas en varias materias con sus declaraciones": '2º Que en nuestras casas que de nuevo se hubiesen de edificar, se siga la planta, que dejé en mi segunda visita de 22 de enero de 1713. En lo substancial de sus medidas, de suerte, que no pase el primer patio de nuestra vivienda de 180 pies geométricos, contando de pared a pared y no pase de largo el segundo grado: 240, pies geométricos, y de ancho 150 pies de pared a pared y nuestros aposentos de 22 pies de largo, 21 de ancho:

and all the young men serving them should be married.³³ Priests should keep their distance from women, avoiding any direct contact with them. Jesuits were not even allowed to speak or see them without the presence of another priest or two reliable Indians.³⁴

A series of precepts regulated the use of doors and locks, especially those of the church and the missionaries' houses. The book of precepts reads: 'Do not open the door of the church until daylight comes, and persons can be recognized'. During praying hours only certain persons, such as the cook, sextons, and healers, were authorized to enter. Any view of the Jesuits' dormitories, whether from the church or the street, should be strictly blocked. Another order forbids speaking at the common dining room (*refectorio*) except on certain specific days such as the feast of St. Ignatius, the Jesuits' patron saint. On those days only the reading of saints' lives was allowed during dinner, and in general silence should be kept. Some orders in the book forbid the display of paintings on the walls of dormitories, dining rooms, or corridors, with the exception of paintings of saints that might inspire devotion, and modest maps or stamps.

There is no question that ritual life was concentrated in the church and the plaza. These were places associated, respectively, with the main solemn

el refectorio 31 pies de largo, 21 de ancho: las huertas de largo deben tener lo que hay desde la esquina del segundo patio hasta el estero de la iglesia y de ancho 200 pies geométricos. 16 de marzo de 1713' (my italics).

33 AGN, Colección Biblioteca Nacional, Leg. 140: '[...] que ningún muchacho duerma en nuestra casa y que los que cuidan, y sirven a los padres han de ser casados. / En el refectorio los que sirven han de ser casados y no muchachos: a las oraciones se han de enviar a los muchachos a sus casas, fuera del lector de la mesa [...] No duerman grandes con chicos ni estén despacio en nuestros aposentos./11 ni en ocasión de fiestas, ni en otras de entre año, duerman los indios grandes con los chicos ni estén despacio en nuestros aposentos, con que se excusarán hurtillos. Nuestra Orden'.

34 AGN, Colección Biblioteca Nacional, Leg. 140: '6º Clausura./Cuídese mucho de la clausura de nuestras casas de suerte que se eche de ver, que son de la Compañía, y no entre mujer ninguna de la puerta adentro, ni se les de a besar la mano, ni nadie castigue por su propia mano, ni asista ocularmente a castigo de mujer, ni en lugar a donde se hace el castigo por la indecencia, dándose a venerar, y respetar, como dice su regla: *omnice gravitatis et modisti exemplum preveant*. Ord. Com 37. [7º Hablar a mujeres] Nunca se hable a mujer ninguna sin que esté delante uno de los nuestros, o dos indios de toda confianza. Ord. Com 3º. / 8º Salir a enfermos de día y noche *como peccato con el otro sexo*. / Ninguno saldrá de noche sin linterna encendida, y acompañado de algún enfermero, y otros dos indios de satisfacción: y de día llevará el mismo acompañamiento y a los indios industrieseles, que siempre estén a la vista del padre. [fj. 9] y si el rancho estuviere oscuro, se encenderá la candela, que para esto se lleva, siempre prevenida. Ord. Com. 3º' (my italics).

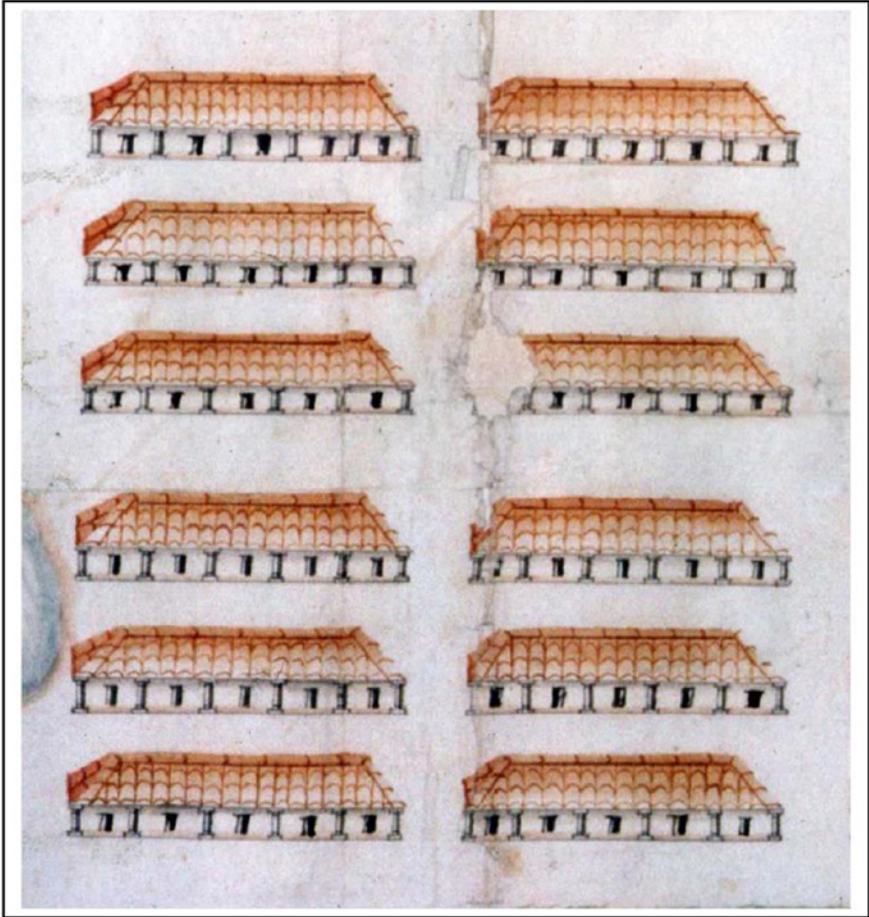


FIGURE 8.4 *Plan of the mission town of San Juan Bautista (1750s): detail of Indian houses.*
 Source: Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid, as reproduced in Barcelos A., *O Mergulho no Seculum: Exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*, Ph.D. dissertation (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul: 2006).

and festive, or profane, activities.³⁵ In the church interior the most important visual representations of Christianity were concentrated, some of them

35 From an empirical point of view, the distinction 'solemn-profane' is more operative for my analysis than that of 'sacred-profane'. In fact, that is the distinction that generally appears in Jesuit discourse, along with that between temporal and eternal. From a theoretical point of view, other overlapping distinctions, like urban-rural and public-private, also remain to be studied to fully understand the 'topography of holiness'. See Coster – Spicer, "Introduction".

particularly meaningful for each mission town. Most paintings could only be exhibited there. The Jesuit Sepp describes the inside of the mission town of San Juan Bautista [Fig. 8.4] as follows:

They painted the altarpieces; the one at the main altar represents the patron of the town, St. John the Baptist, at the instant he baptizes Our Lord Jesus Christ in the Jordan. Above is visible the Saintly prince of heaven, Archangel Michael, patron of the old village, as he expels Lucifer from heaven; to the side, the saint apostles Peter and Paul; below, St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, together with the patron. One of the lateral altars is dedicated to the three holy persons, Jesus, Mary and Joseph, the other to my saint, the miraculous St. Anthony of Padua [...].³⁶

This quotation not only presents a visual depiction of Christian cosmology and its hierarchy of heroes but it also recounts the history of the mission town where the images were shown. In fact, the village of San Juan Bautista was a new colony created with the population coming from another village, San Miguel ('the old village'), with which San Juan Bautista would sustain long-term relationships. The populations of both mission towns would maintain kinship ties and political and economic exchanges, even decades after the Jesuits' expulsion at the end of the eighteenth century. In this sense, the interior of San Juan Bautista's church produces a visual discourse in which Christian mythology overlaps with the mission town's history.

Spatial ordering overlapped time ordering in the regimentation of daily economic and religious practices.³⁷ Daily and weekly celebrations were a

36 Sepp, *Continuación de las labores* 257 ('[...] ya se pintaron los retablos; el del altar mayor representa al patrono del pueblo, San Juan Bautista, en momentos que bautiza a Nuestro Señor Jesucristo en el Jordán. Algo arriba se ve el santo príncipe del cielo, arcángel Miguel, patrono del viejo pueblo, cuando arroja al orgulloso Lucifer hacia el abismo del cielo; al costado a los santos apóstoles Pedro y Pablo; abajo, junto al patrono, a San Ignacio y Francisco Javier. Uno de los altares laterales está dedicado a las tres santísimas personas, Jesús, María y José, el otro a mi santo, al milagroso San Antonio de Padua, que no se pintó con colores sin vida sino que se talló y será dorado más tarde').

37 Genealogies were another form of production of time and social memory in the missions that also reveals a strong link with missions' political organization. I already mentioned how the *cacicazgo* used to have an inscription in space. The authorities of every village were supposed to conduct a periodic census of their inhabitants. Some of these censuses or *padrones* were organized by *cacicazgos*. The *padrones* mentioned the names of each cacique, after which all family members and close relatives were included. It is possible to verify the persistence of caciques' names over a period of two hundred years. These *cacicazgos* were usually related to the particular history of conversion or the creation of a

fundamental organizing factor of social life. They marked the rhythm of routines dividing every day into economic and religious activities, work and leisure time. Each was performed in a specific place. A description by Cardiel makes clear how the ritual was organized according to the alternation of work activities and the celebration of daily mass. He stated that the Guaraní called the days of the week 'working days'; for instance, Monday was called *mbae apoipi*, 'first work'; Tuesday, *mbae apomocoi*, 'second work'; Thursday *trique*, 'entrance'—the latter because in the beginning they not only entered the church for Catechism on Sunday, but also on Thursday. And Saturday was known as the 'vespers of Feast'.³⁸ In the same paragraph, Cardiel said that the elders prayed in the temple, while the children, both boys and girls, prayed on the patio and at the cemetery. In these descriptions we can see an interesting overlapping of space and time categories in the missions' daily life.³⁹

The alternation of daily masses and labour was designed to eliminate the irregular handling of productive activities characteristic of the previous 'pagan' life. Moreover, the rational use of space corresponded to the rational use of time. Early accounts, such as the 1637–1639 annual reports, noted that the Indians attended mass every morning, and afterwards they devoted themselves to agriculture. Once the mass had ended, some of them confessed. Catechism was explained on feast days and on Thursdays before lunch as well. Toward sunset the Indians prayed the rosary in the church when they had returned from their work assignments.⁴⁰ Many years after the expulsion of the Jesuits, we find a very similar description, written by Zavala. He explained that

specific village. The Jesuits were particularly interested in maintaining the continuity of *cacicazgos* after many generations. To that end, they not only kept the *padrones* but they also wrote genealogies to fix the descent of the *cacique* from one generation to another through the father's line. See Wilde, "Prestigio indígena".

38 Cardiel José, "Costumbres de los Guaraníes" [1747], in Muriel D., *Historia del Paraguay desde 1747 a 1767*, trans. P. Hernández (Madrid: 1918) 531.

39 We have some other curious examples, such as *Ara Poru aguyyey haba . . . or El buen uso del tiempo* ('The Good Use of Time'), a book of Christian devotion by the Paraguayan Jesuit José Insaurrealde, printed in Madrid in 1759 and 1760. See Meliá B., *La lengua guaraní en el Paraguay colonial: La creación de un lenguaje cristiano en las reducciones de los guaraníes en el Paraguay* (Asunción: 2003). Insaurrealde's book proposed to organize the mission's daily routine according to the regular alternation between collective work and liturgical activities.

40 *Cartas Anuas de la provincia del Paraguay 1637–1639*, ed. E. Maeder (Buenos Aires: 1984) 84: 'Asisten los indios todas las mañanas a la santa misa, y después de ella se dedican a sus faenas agrícolas. Después de la misa siempre hay algunos que se quieren confesar [...] el catecismo se explica no sólo los días festivos, sino los jueves de cada semana antes del almuerzo. Al anochecer se reza el Santo Rosario en la iglesia, a la cual acuden los indios al volver de sus trabajos campestres'.

the Priests and Partners (*compañeros*) celebrated Mass on working days at dawn so that the Indians could attend and then go to work. After the mass they used to go to the patio, receive their assignments from the priest, and their portion of *yerba mate* [Paraguayan tea]. Afterwards they would go to work, and when finished they would attend to the rosary, and return to the patio. The foremen (*mayordomos*) used to make a report to the priest on how much canvas each *maestro* had woven, and what had been made in the workshops (*talleres*). They were reprimanded or corrected, [and] they took another portion of *yerba*, or if it was during the day they took a portion of meat.⁴¹

The sound of bells and drums were often used to guide the movements of the indigenous populations through the various daily activities and rituals. The Jesuit Cardiel notes in his *Declaración de la verdad* ('Declaration of Truth') that all villages possessed a sundial and that a bell was rung to mark parts of the hour. After meals, there was conversation around the table until the bell was sounded again, signalling that it was time to gather at the church for the Holy Sacrament. In the afternoon 'Vespers and Compline are rung, and at their times Matins and Lauds, and we go to confession'. At four, a large bell in the mission tower was rung, calling the priests and people to gather together for catechism and subsequently the rosary. The Jesuit adds that in each tower there were between six and eight large and small bells.⁴² Mission villages also made use of the sound of drums to call the boys and girls under the age of seventeen to catechism.⁴³

The previous descriptions show that the new political and economic organization had required the introduction of new notions of space and time. In other words, space-time categories and practices were central dimensions in the production of power relations. They established what could be defined as 'protocols' for visual and sonic perception: they produced schemes and rules for the circulation of people inside the mission town, and they coordinated the

41 Zavala, "Oficio" 174 ('Los Curas y Compañeros decían misa, los días de trabajo al romper del día, para que los Indios asistiesen a ella, y pudiesen ir temprano a los trabajos; despues de la misa salian al Patio, tomaban las ordenes del Cura, se les daba su racion de Yerba y salian para ir a los trabajos y demas faenas, asistian al Rosario, y despues de el volvían al Patio, los Mayordomos daban Cuenta al Cura de las varas de Lienzo que cada Maestro habia tejido, y lo que se habia obrado en las demas Oficinas de adentro de la Casa pral, se reprendia o corregia, lo que avisaban defectuosos, tomaban otra racion de yerba, y si era día de Carne iban a tomar su racion').

42 Cardiel José, *Misiones del Paraguay: Declaración de la verdad* (Buenos Aires: 1900) 247–252.

43 Furlong G., *Juan Escandón y su carta a Burriel* (1760) (Buenos Aires: 1965) 88.

uses of the landscape and the processes of work and liturgical activities.⁴⁴ The homogenous labour defining the new economy was translated into a homogenous time that could be controlled, measured, and regularized. This rational and continuous temporality tended to undermine the traditional ways of life based on discontinuity and the uneven use of time. The schedule regimented every aspect of social life, not only labour but also the distribution of food, sexual relations, language, punishment, occupation, age and gender. But it was not all about social control. Indigenous actors participated in the formation of mission space in different ways. This is the topic of the second part of this chapter.

Indigenous Appropriations

In 1736, the Jesuit Bernardo Nusdorffer wrote about the foundation of a village of fugitive Indians from the missions in the region of Iberá. He noted:

2° This population has twenty-three rows of houses. San Carlos, one row. San José, one. Apóstoles, two. Candelaria, one. San Cosme, one. Santa Ana, one. Loreto, two. San Ignacio-miní, one. Corpus, one. Santo Martires, one. Concepción, one. Santo Tomé, three. Santa María, two. Cruz, four. Trinidad, one.

3° They have their *cabildo* in good order, the captain of everyone is an Indian from La Cruz named Diego Chaupai, who dresses in the Spanish way with a hat and stockings, but without shoes.

4° In the morning, instead of mass, they pray the litanies of Our Lady: the *Preste* is an Indian from the village of Apóstoles named Miguel, who was procurer in his town.

5° In the afternoon women and rabble (*chusma*) meet for the rosary.⁴⁵

44 Marquese, "O Vale do Paraíba".

45 Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro, Colección De Angelis, 1-29-4-59: Nusdorffer Bernardo, "Noticias que se confirman de todas partes, y de averiguaciones hechas de varios Indios de varios pueblos del Pueblo nuevo de los Indios fugitivos de las doctrinas entre el Ibera, Miriñay y Rio Corrientes" [1736] ('2° Tiene la población veinte y tres hileras de casas. San Carlos, una hilera. San José, una. Apóstoles, dos. Candelaria, una. San Cosme, una. Santa Ana, una. Loreto, dos. San Ignacio-miní, una. Corpus, una. Santo Martires, una. Concepción, una. Santo Tomé, tres. Santa María, dos. Cruz, cuatro. Trinidad, una./ 3° Tienen su cabildo en forma, el capitán de todos es un Indio de la Cruz llamado Diego Chaupai, que se viste a modo de Español, con sombrero y medias, pero sin Zapatos. // 4° Por la mañana, en lugar de misa, se reza la Letania de Nuestra Señora: el Preste es un Indio

Although they came from many different missions, the fugitive Indians of this village rigorously preserved the urban organization of their mission towns in rows of houses, in this case distributing them according to the different origins of its members. They had a *cabildo* (local council) for government and they celebrated daily mass.

But there are two striking details in the description of this village. One is that evidently it had no priests. It was the leader Diego Chaupai who celebrated the daily litanies and gave blessings to the population, dressed in Spanish clothes, with a hat and socks, 'but without shoes'. The other detail is that the Indians of this village were polygamous. In spite of being married, each man could have many women because the female population was more numerous than the male. And if they wanted more women than were available, the men would go to the trails outside the village and kidnap wanderers' wives. Nusdorffer was not a direct witness of the formation of this village but received the news from unknown informants, and the Jesuits did not take any action against the village.

This extraordinary case clearly shows how Indians could paradoxically adopt hegemonic spatial and temporal practices to fight against the Jesuits. They did not simply accept the impositions, but they implemented them in their favour. They also took autonomous decisions regarding the spatial and political organization of their villages, contributing to the construction of hybrid or, so to speak, 'heterodox' spaces. As I will try to show, the confrontation between Jesuits and Indians was not all about domination or resistance in the formation of mission space. A mission town was neither a Foucauldian Panopticon nor a free 'land without evil', but rather the result of a tense process in which both Jesuits and Indians, as non-homogeneous actors, took part. It is important to remember that the Indians also participated in the construction of mission power. In this sense, they had personal ambitions and actually had conflicts among themselves. Mission space had its internal differentiations, which allowed the Indians, at certain moments, a certain degree of autonomy.

Mainstream mission historiography and architectural studies have not sufficiently considered the fact that mission space used to extend beyond the urban area, to the so-called 'periphery', nor the fact that that space had internal differentiations and complexities. Inside the mission there were less-controlled places, where the Indians had a relative degree of autonomy and freedom. Among these places were houses, orchards, and ranches, where the Indians spent a significant part of their daily routine. Generally, economic activities

Apostólico llamado Miguel, que fue Procurador en su pueblo. / 5° A la tarde se juntan las mujeres y chusma al Rosario').

were organized in two alternating phases corresponding to the use of two different places-spaces. The first, called *tupambaé* or 'land of God', involved the community's productive, commercially oriented activities in the collective lands of the mission town. The second, *abambaé* or 'land of men', was reserved for the subsistence of the cacique, his family, or the members of his *cacicazgo*. Surrounding the mission town were huge expanses of land for cultivation and livestock, the *chacras* and *estancias* (ranches), and also unexplored areas of rainforest where the Indians used to collect foodstuffs and other natural products. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Jesuit Juan Escandón writes that each cacique and his followers had lands distributed around the village according to the size of his group, where they could plant corn, sweet potatoes, cassava, legumes, and other products for subsistence. These labour lands belonged to the commons of each mission town, and no individual could own them.⁴⁶

This distinction in productive spaces may also point to the boundaries between artistic experiences related to religious worship and the profane expressions of daily life. In fact, there was in mission towns a clear split between canonical forms of the 'official Baroque', the aesthetic program of the Church, and a set of 'marginal' cultural manifestations that expressed a certain degree of freedom among the Indians. In his descriptions, the Jesuit Peramás gives an idea of how different musical performances were associated with certain places:

In general one can say about the music of the Guarani that in the temple it was devout and solemn, and disdained profane theatrical cadences or melodies (which many profane and incapable musicians have tried to introduce—shamefully—into the holy precinct); and in homes and in the country it was decent and dignified, without allowing anything that could corrupt manners.⁴⁷

46 Furlong, *Juan Escandón* 108.

47 Peramás, *La república de Platón* 82 ('En general, de la música de los guaraníes puede decirse que en el templo era devota y solemne, distando mucho de profanarlo con cadencias o melodías teatrales (que muchos músicos profanos e incapaces han intentado introducir, ¡oh vergüenza!, en el recinto sagrado); y en los hogares y en el campo era honesta y digna, sin admitir nada que pudiese corromper las costumbres'). This could also be associated with what Coster and Spicer call 'gradations of holiness within sacred sites', referring to internal differentiations or hierarchies in physical space that are associated with the use of certain objects, places or buildings. See Coster – Spicer, "Introduction" 9: '[...] the church within the churchyard, the chapel within the church, the altar within the chapel'.

The mission town's surroundings were less controlled than the central zones of activity and therefore they allowed a relatively free circulation of people and information. How Indians used these 'peripheral' or 'displaced' places and how they represented them remains a research topic to be addressed.

Cartography provides us with some evidence for a first analysis of indigenous understanding of mission space. Indians were able to produce maps in which they visually represented the way they used missions' surroundings, associating places and paths with specific activities. One remarkable example is a map from 1784, fifteen years after the Jesuits' expulsion, produced as evidence in a legal dispute in which indigenous officials (*cabildantes*) of the mission town of Santo Tomé denounced colonizers' abuses of their lands [Fig. 8.5]. By contrast with other examples of the same time, this map cannot be easily recognized as a realistic visual representation of the land: it draws attention to a distorted representation of hydrography and a general horizontal orientation that locates the Paraná River below and the Uruguay River with several streams in the centre, without indicating latitude or longitude. Rivers and streams are clearly marked in the map as veins traversing the land. We know that the Indians resorted to river navigation in their long distance trips to cities or other mission towns. A series of dotted lines on the map signal trails or pathways, and little houses with crosses on one of their sides seem to indicate chapels and posts of ranches (San Marcos, San Gabriel, San Antonio, San Pedro, etc.). The mission towns are represented by icons of churches, which are specific to each mission (Santo Tomé, San Francisco de Borja, La Cruz). The cloud-shaped icons positioned at the end of the largest streams probably pointed to water sources. Names of places are in the Guaraní language. One of the signatories is apparently the Spanish administrator of the town, which would indicate that he also intervened in the making of the map.⁴⁸

The map gives us clues about the ways mission inhabitants conceived of the outskirts of their mission towns. They represent these areas as a network of lines, connecting points of circulation and activity. This representation suggests that the outer space was a horizon of knowledge, a set of fluid

48 Below the map we read: 'Plano o Mapa del Pueblo de la Real Corona, Nombrado Santo Thomé, Nos el Corredor Cavildo, y Administrador remitimos el Plano de las Tierras que contiene nuestra Jurisdicción según y conforme manifiesta el original que para en nuestra Casa de Cabildo. Toco con sus nombres, y distancias de leguas según señala dichas copias sin haber mas papeles ni documentos que los que remitimos, y para que conste su verdad lo firmamos en nueve de Septiembre de mil setecientos ochenta y cuatro, Francisco [Varui], Apolonio [Aguí], Guillermo Pobal, Por mi y por los demás capitanes Yo Joseph Saaviliano [...]'; Furlong G., *Cartografía jesuitica del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: 1936) 122.

constitutes an important area for research. According to the Jesuit Peramás, the absence of geographic references used to be very common in the indigenous representations of space. In one of his works, Peramás refers to an Indian called Melchor, author of a history of the mission town of Corpus Christi, who 'had enriched his work with a map made by himself, on which he did not write down the degrees of longitude and latitude, because he was unaware of them. But he did very clearly and correctly record the mountains, streams, and rivers contained within the limits of the town'.⁵⁰

We find another interesting example of map-making in 1773, when central authorities filed a lawsuit against a private rancher who was profiting from *yerba mate* lands of the mission town of Loreto. Attached to this document [Fig. 8.6], whose author is not specified, is a beautiful map in colour, which records the ancient use the Indians made of those lands. In one of the corners of the map we can read a caption mentioning the names of thirteen *caciques* who used to live in those lands, clearly pointing to the places where they extracted *yerba mate*. The text adds a curious clarification: 'It should be known that these *caciques* were not from Loreto but from Corpus, and they come from the village of Acaray that was founded at the same time as Corpus, and these missions together with Itapúa'.⁵¹

This phrase is a bit confusing, but in a few words it basically sums up the history of migrations made by indigenous populations since the first half of the seventeenth century. As noted earlier, most of the mission towns in that region had been formed by populations coming from other regions in the seventeenth century. The mission town of Loreto, in the region of the Parana River, had been founded in 1632 by a population that migrated from the Guayra region, and relocated again in 1647–1649 and 1686. According to the litigation, the mentioned *caciques* were not native to Loreto but from Corpus, a neighbouring mission town, which was in turn the result of the migration of peoples from another village, Nuestra Señora de la Natividad del Acaray, destroyed and abandoned in 1633. The population of Acaray had been redistributed in Corpus and Itapúa, in the Parana region.

What is important about this case is that, in spite of the demographic and territorial decomposition the mission towns suffered over more than a century, they preserved a record, or rather 'a memory', of their geographical origins and

50 Quoted in Barcelos A., *O Mergulho no Seculum: Exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*, Ph.D. dissertation (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul: 2006) 369.

51 AGN IX.40.2.5, Tribunales, leg. 12, exp. 33: "El Administrador General de los Pueblos de Misiones Don Juan Angel Lazcano contra Don Josef de Velasco por haber beneficiado porción de hierba en los hierbales del pueblo de Loreto" [1773].



FIGURE 8.6 Map produced in connection with the litigation of 1773. Image © National Archive, Buenos Aires, AGN IX.40.2.5.

the use they made of their lands over the long term. It is reasonable to think that in spite of the Jesuits' effort to make a clear distinction between the inside and the outside of a mission town, Indians understood the frontier between the two spaces as a permeable line. In certain cases, they could even maintain different kinds of interactions with their 'infidel' neighbours involving a varied repertoire of strategies, from the exchange of goods to the creation of kinship relations.⁵² We can conclude that Indians did not ignore Jesuits' radical

52 A sensitive article on indigenous cartography in North America identifies a series of traits that can easily be compared to Guaraní cartographic representations: 1) irregular linear features; 2) networks; 3) discrete enclosed spaces; 4) caricaturisation and exaggeration; 5) discontinuities of style. See Lewis G.M., "Indicators of Unacknowledged Assimilations from Amerindian Maps on Euro-American Maps of North America: Some General Principles Arising from the Study of La Verendrye's Composite Map 1728–29", *Imago Mundi* 38 (1986) 9–34. On indigenous cartography see also Short, *Cartographic Encounters*; Montes de Oca Vega M. – Salvador Reyes Equiguas D.R. – Sellen A., *Cartografía de tradición hispanoindígena: Mapas de mercedes de tierra, siglos XVI y XVII*, 2 vols. (México: 2003); Russo A., *El realismo circular: Tierras, espacios y paisajes de la cartografía indígena novohispana siglos XVI y XVII* (México, DF: 2005); Barcelos A., "El saber cartográfico

dichotomies; nevertheless they interpreted them differently, clearly not as opposite poles. Evidence indicates that the Indians conceived of their mission towns as integrated in the immediately surrounding region; for them the interior and exterior of their mission towns were not mutually exclusive spatial dimensions but complementary ones. Moreover, they could alternate different types of belongings and even use different cultural codes in order to exchange information and supplies with other indigenous and non-indigenous actors living outside of the missions. For the Indians, the outskirts were a horizon of knowledge of fluid connections with their mission towns, whose elements were incorporated, when possible, through personal interactions. Being 'out of town' or 'fleeing to the jungle' may have implied for the Indians restoring or actualizing a relationship with the old ways of being, or maintaining an advantageous duplicity that allowed them to access new knowledge and information, which could even increase their prestige.⁵³

Spatial and Visual Developments

As previously noted, existing typologies of mission art and architecture emphasizes an aesthetic perspective based on the evolution of styles in which the definition of a 'mission Baroque' style is at stake. In general this literature also highlights the hegemonic visual discourse brought by European priests in successive periods. More recent approaches have emphasized the *sui generis* character of mission art, which tended to adapt to local instances of interaction.

It is likely that the Jesuits realized the importance of interactions and thus made an effort to codify a visual and plastic discourse that could express the permeability and interconnectedness of mission space. The most common procedure deployed was to incorporate local motives into the hegemonic representations of Christianity, conveying a certain idea of continuity (and harmony) between nature and civility, between rainforest and mission town, and between Christian and pagan worlds. In most representations, the outer space (and the ancient time) was depicted as having been absorbed and domesticated by a mission style or a Christian mind.

indígena entre los guaraníes de las misiones jesuíticas", in Wilde (ed.), *Saberes de la conversión* 191–204.

53 Idem, "Orden y ambigüedad en la formación territorial del Río de la Plata a fines del siglo XVIII", *Horizontes Antropológicos* 19 (2003) 105–135.

An example of this is the decoration of temples characterized by abundant native zoological and botanic motifs along with walls and columns. Even though the function of these motifs has been traditionally reduced to a merely ornamental one, they may have been designed deliberately to present temples, inner spaces *par excellence*, in spatial continuity with the surrounding rainforest, inhabited by untamed beasts and ruthless barbarians. Local elements can also be found both in important ceremonies of the liturgical calendar and in books for preaching. During the celebration of Corpus Christi, flowers, tree branches, birds of all colours tied by the feet, tigers on chains, and fish in vessels of water were exhibited to the public. The sounds and colours of these animals and plants were mixed up in the ceremony with those of Indian garments, orchestras, and singers.⁵⁴

Juan Eusebio Nieremberg y Otín's book *De la Diferencia entre lo Temporal y lo Eterno*, printed in Guarani on the mission's printing press in 1705, featured a series of engravings made by Indians [Figs. 8.7 and 8.8]. Some of the pictures incorporate local elements combined with visual metaphors and complex allegories. Recent study has demonstrated that the images in the Guarani version of the book were far from being a mere reproduction of the original European engravings by Gaspar Bouttats. In fact, the Guarani imprint adds many new pictures to the original. Some animals and plants that appear in the original were replaced by others common to the region, such as the jaguar and the serpent. To visually illustrate passages of the text, the author (or the authors) specially designed new images that would have local value, guided by a plastic rather than an allegorical or narrative criterion.⁵⁵ This aspect raises the question of whether the text was used not only by priests but also by Indians to preach in the missions.

The Guarani re-elaboration adopts diverse adaptive procedures in its way of organizing scenes, which seem to correspond to an indigenous way of seeing. In some cases the Guarani version reproduces the original composition. In others it inverts the copy, or it modifies it partially, broadens it, or adds new autonomous frames to it. It also applies modifications from the visual point of view. Significantly, perspective is modified to favour a more planimetric and symmetric conception. Some elements lose scale in relation to the total space and others are simplified, emphasizing frontality.⁵⁶ Did Jesuits, in promoting

54 Charlevoix Pierre-François-Xavier, *Historia del Paraguay* [1757], 6 vols. (Madrid: 1915), vol. II, 88.

55 González R., "Textos e imágenes para la salvación: La edición misionera de la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno", *ArtCultura, Uberlândia* 11, 18 (2009) 137–158.

56 *Ibidem*. On the appropriation and transformations of the 'mission baroque' see Pla J., *Las imágenes peregrinas (Las migajas de una herencia): Barroco en el Paraguay* (Asunción:



FIGURES 8.7–8.8 *Images from the Guarani imprint of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg y Otín's De la Diferencia entre lo Temporal y lo Eterno (1705).*

these modifications, intend to translate Christian sacrality into native ways of understanding space, real or virtual? How did indigenous populations participate in the definition of this message and how did they read and interpret its meaning? Were local motifs intended to transmit the idea of continuity that Christian images were unable to transmit?

In some cases, visual figurations expressed the clear intent of Jesuit priests to make the biblical message understandable and appealing to the Indians. In other cases, they codified in a more subtle way indigenous representations of space and contact. There remain some examples of mission visual representation that have not been studied in depth to date. I will mention two remarkable ones. The first is a series of graffiti engraved on the floor and walls of a church in the mission town of Santísima Trinidad [Figs. 8.9, 8.10 and 8.11]. The series presents zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, phytomorphic, geometric, and

1975); Escobar T., "El Barroco misionero: Lo propio y lo ajeno", in *El Barroco en el mundo guaraní: Colección Latourrette Bo* (Asunción: 2004).

architectonic designs, among others. Feet, hands, and objects like crosses and medals can be identified, as well as footprints of various species of animals. The graffiti also include signatures, letters, numbers and phrases, which not only reveal an intention of representation but a certain degree of schooling on the part of the native authors. These designs seem to have been made spontaneously, as a form of play, and probably during pauses in daily activities.⁵⁷

The second example also comes from Trinidad [Fig. 8.12]. The interior of the town's enormous church has a frieze that shows a series of angels playing musical instruments. Four of them hold curious spherical instruments that look like indigenous maracas. Their body language and the pleats in their clothing suggest the movements of a dance. These figures, carved a few years before the expulsion of the Jesuits, point to priests' efforts to incorporate meaningful elements of traditional Guaraní religion into a style and a space dominated by Christian symbols. The Jesuits' motives for this appear reasonable. They made it possible for indigenous religious values to be co-opted and reassigned with Christian meanings. In any case a certain degree of ambiguity will remain associated with these figures.⁵⁸

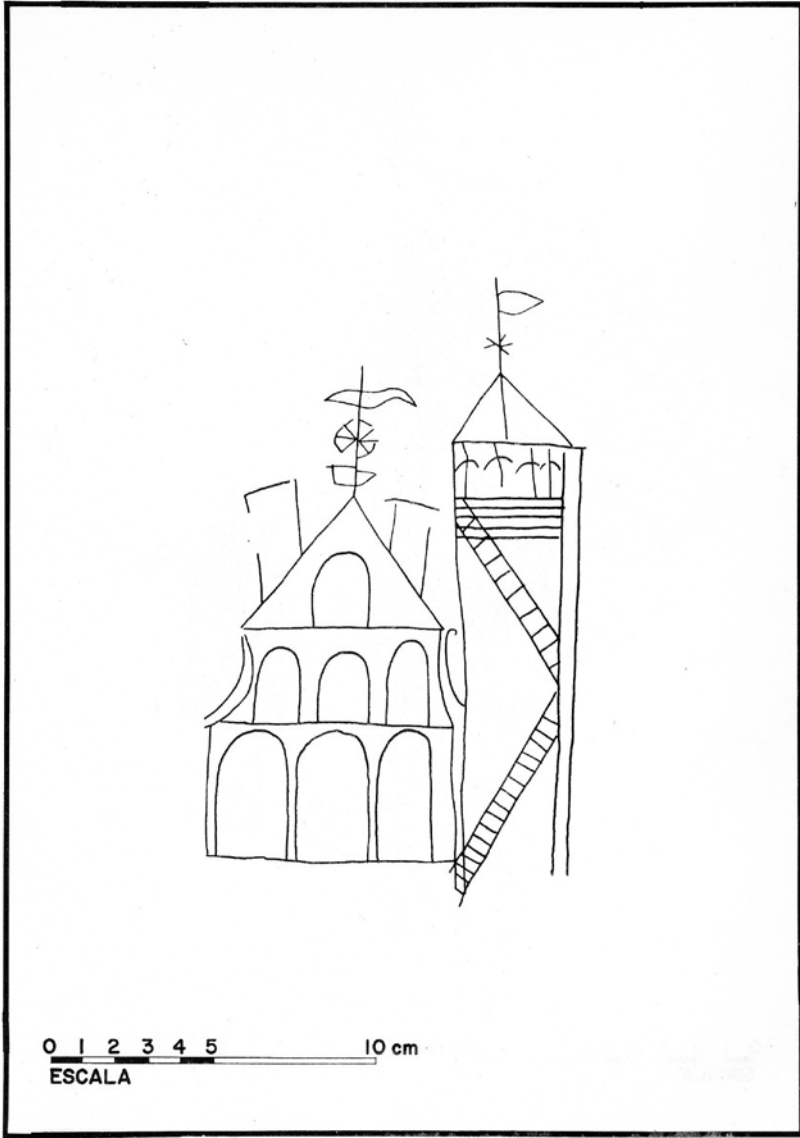
Concluding Remarks

Mission space was far from being closed and homogenous, as it has usually been described. Several overlapping levels of meaning can be associated with it. I have focused on the meaning constructed in practice both by Jesuits and Indians. While Jesuits tended to produce a radical separation between inner and outer space, at least in their official records and iconographies, Indians experienced space as a permeable reality in which the inside and the outside were connected; Indians represented the mission town as a place belonging to a network of places.

I suggest that the indigenous role in the production of a spatial structure can be explored at least in three senses: first, the study of the use and representation of the periphery and its relation with the inner mission space; second, the

57 Perasso J.A., *El Paraguay del siglo XVIII en tres memorias* (Asunción: 1986) 59.

58 On the use of maraca in ancient Guaraní musical traditions, and its association with resistance, see Wilde G., "El enigma sonoro de Trinidad: Ensayo de etnomusicología histórica", *Revista Resonancias* 23 (2008) 41–66; on the contrast between traditional sounds and new sounds in the process of conversion, see idem, "The Sounds of Indigenous Ancestors: Music, Corporality and Memory in the Jesuit Missions of Colonial South America", in Hall P. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Censorship* (New York: in press).



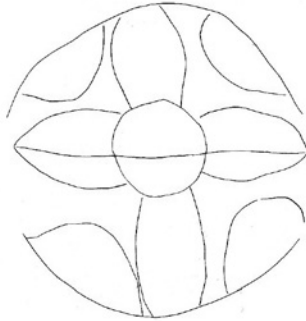
FIGURES 8.9–8.11 *Engravings of the mission town of Santísima Trinidad.*
Source: Perasso J.A., *El Paraguay del siglo XVIII en tres memorias*
(Asunción: 1986).



0 1 2 3 4 5 10 cm
ESCALA



0 1 2 3 4 5 10 cm
ESCALA



0 1 2 3 4 5 10 cm
ESCALA

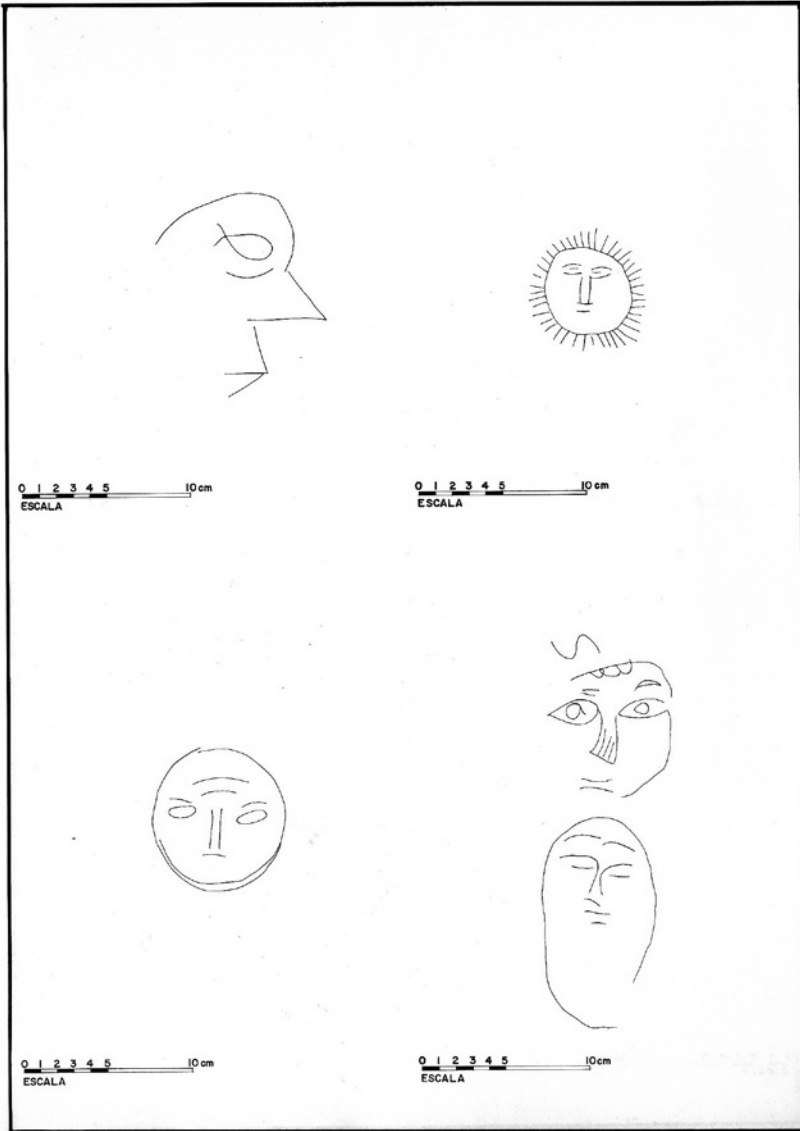




FIGURE 8.12 *Angel musician holding maraca in the mission town of Santísima Trinidad.*
 Photo © Bozidar Darko Sustersic.

production of internal differentiations and the preservation of an autonomous political space inside the missions; third, the elaboration of hybrid spaces as a result of indigenous appropriations and missionaries adaptations. Moreover, as I have attempted to demonstrate, the production of mission space was associated with particular ways of seeing and perceiving.

In closing, indigenous conceptions of mission space should not be understood as a symbol of 'ethnic purity', for they only make sense in the context of the mission formation process. It was in this context that Indians learned and developed technologies of representation. What may be recognized as 'indigenous creativity' is not an isolated given to be evaluated exclusively from an aesthetic point of view, but an element belonging to a specific network of social and political relations. It was in the mission as a socio-historical formation that the instrumental or aesthetic need for spatial representation was born.

Selective Bibliography

- Acosta José de, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* [1590] (México: 1979).
- Alvarez Kern A., *Missões, uma utopia política* (Porto Alegre: 1982).
- Barcelos A., “El saber cartográfico indígena entre los guaraníes de las misiones jesuíticas”, in Wilde G. (ed.), *Saberes de la conversión: Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires: 2011) 191–204.
- Barcelos A., *O Mergulho no Seculum: Exploração, conquista e organização espacial jesuítica na América espanhola colonial*, Ph.D. dissertation (Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul: 2006).
- Block D., *Mission Culture on the Upper Amazon: Native Tradition, Jesuit Enterprise, & Secular Policy in Moxos, 1660–1880* (Lincoln: 1994).
- Bouysse-Cassagne T., “De Empédocles a Tunupa: Evangelización, hagiografía y mitos”, in Bouysse-Cassagne T. (ed.), *Saberes y memorias en los Andes: In memoriam Thierry Saignes* (Paris – Lima: 1997) 157–212.
- Cardiel José, “Breve relación de las Misiones del Paraguay” [1771], in Hernández P., *Organización social de las doctrinas guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: 1913), vol. II, 514–614.
- Cardiel José, “Costumbres de los Guaraníes” [1747], in Muriel D., *Historia del Paraguay desde 1747 a 1767*, trans. P. Hernández (Madrid: 1918) 463–544.
- Cardiel José, *Misiones del Paraguay: Declaración de la verdad* (Buenos Aires: 1900).
- Cartas Anuas de la provincia del Paraguay 1637–1639*, ed. E. Maeder (Buenos Aires: 1984).
- Cartas Anuas de la Provincia del Paraguay, Chile y Tucumán, de la Compañía de Jesús (1615–1637)*, ed. C. Leonhardt (Buenos Aires: 1929).
- Charlevoix Pierre-François-Xavier, *Historia del Paraguay* [1757], 6 vols. (Madrid: 1915).
- Cro S., “Empirical and Practical Utopia in Paraguay”, *Dieciocho* 15 (1992) 171–184.
- Doblas G. de, *Memoria histórica, geográfica, política y económica sobre la Provincia de Misiones de indios guaranis* [1785] (Buenos Aires: 1836).
- Escobar T., “El Barroco misionero: Lo propio y lo ajeno”, in *El Barroco en el mundo guaraní: Colección Latourrette Bo* (Asunción: 2004).
- Fausto C., “Se Deus fosse jaguar: Canibalismo e cristianismo entre os guarani (séculos XVI–XX)”, *Mana: Estudos de Antropologia Social* 11 (2005) 385–418.
- Furlong G., *Cartografía jesuítica del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires: 1936).
- Furlong G., *Juan Escandón y su carta a Burriel (1760)* (Buenos Aires: 1965).
- Gandia E. de, *Historia crítica de los mitos de la Conquista americana* (Buenos Aires: 1929).
- González R., “Textos e imágenes para la salvación: La edición misionera de la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno”, *ArtCultura, Uberlândia* 11, 18 (2009) 137–158.
- Guevara José, “Historia del Paraguay, Río de la Plata y Tucumán (1764)”, in De Angelis P., *Colección de obras y documentos relativos a la historia antigua y moderna de las Provincias del Río de la Plata*, 4 vols. (Buenos Aires: 1836–1837, repr. 1969–1972), vol. I.

- Gutiérrez R., *Evolución urbanística y arquitectónica del Paraguay, 1537–1911* (Resistencia: 1978).
- Lewis G.M., “Indicators of Unacknowledged Assimilations from Amerindian Maps on Euro-American Maps of North America: Some General Principles Arising from the Study of La Verendrye’s Composite Map 1728–29”, *Imago Mundi* 38 (1986) 9–34.
- Manuscritos de la Coleção De Angelis*, ed. J. Cortesão – H. Vianna, 7 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: 1951–1970).
- Meliá B., *La lengua guaraní en el Paraguay colonial: La creación de un lenguaje cristiano en las reducciones de los guaraníes en el Paraguay* (Asunción: 2003).
- Montes de Oca Vega M. – Salvador Reyes Equiguas D.R. – Sellen A., *Cartografía de tradición hispanoindígena: Mapas de mercedes de tierra, siglos XVI y XVII*, 2 vols. (México: 2003).
- Mörner M., *La corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios de América* (Madrid: 1999).
- Nawrot P. (ed.), *Indígenas y cultura musical de las reducciones jesuíticas* (Cochabamba: 2000).
- Neumann E., “Razón gráfica y escritura indígena en las reducciones guaraníes”, in Wilde G. (ed.), *Saberes de la conversión: Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires: 2011) 99–130.
- Pagden A., *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: 1982).
- Peramás José Manuel, *La república de Platón y los guaraníes* [1793] (Buenos Aires: 1946).
- Perasso J.A., *El Paraguay del siglo XVIII en tres memorias* (Asunción: 1986).
- Pla J., *Las imágenes peregrinas (Las migajas de una herencia): Barroco en el Paraguay* (Asunción: 1975).
- Radding C., *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic* (Durham, NC: 2005).
- Ruiz de Montoya Antonio, *La Conquista espiritual del Paraguay* [1640] (Rosario: 1989).
- Russo A., *El realismo circular: Tierras, espacios y paisajes de la cartografía indígena novohispana siglos XVI y XVII* (México, DF: 2005).
- Sepp Anton, *Continuación de las labores apostólicas: Edición crítica de las obras*, ed. W. Hoffmann (Buenos Aires: 1971).
- Short J.R., *Cartographic Encounters: Indigenous Peoples and the Exploration of the New World* (London: 2009).
- Turner V., *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: 1995).
- Viveiros de Castro E., *A inconstância da alma selvagem* (São Paulo: 2002).
- Wilde G., “El enigma sonoro de Trinidad: Ensayo de Etnomusicología Histórica”, *Revista Resonancias* 23 (2008) 41–66.
- Wilde G., “Orden y ambigüedad en la formación territorial del Río de la Plata a fines del siglo XVIII”, *Horizontes Antropológicos* 19 (2003) 105–135.

- Wilde G., "Prestigio indígena y nobleza peninsular: La invención de linajes guaraníes en las Misiones del Paraguay", *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 43 (2006) 119–145.
- Wilde G., *Religión y Poder en las Misiones de Guaraníes* (Buenos Aires: 2009).
- Wilde G., "The Sounds of Indigenous Ancestors: Music, Corporality and Memory in the Jesuit Missions of Colonial South America", in Hall P. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Music Censorship* (New York: in press).
- Zavala Francisco Bruno de, "Oficio a Don Francisco de Paula Sanz" [1784], in Gonzalez J.C., "Un Informe del gobernador de Misiones, don Francisco Bruno de Zavala, sobre el estado de los treinta pueblos", *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* 25 (1941) 159–187.

The Social and Physical Spaces of the Malabar Rites Controversy

Paolo Aranha

Introduction

During the last decades, categories such as ‘Hinduism’ and ‘caste’ have been strongly criticized as by-products of the British colonial enterprise in India. It is argued that these classification instruments served to discipline and control the Indian subjects by manipulating and reifying fluid religious and social dynamics.¹ Although necessary, such a critique finds a specific limit in its almost exclusive focus on the British colonial period, ignoring the role played by Catholic missionaries, particularly during the early modern age.

A fundamental moment in the production of Catholic orientalist representations of India was the Malabar Rites controversy, a wide and violent clash over the missionary method followed by the Jesuits in the missions of Madurai, Mysore and the Carnatic during the first half of the eighteenth century. The scholarly literature on the Malabar Rites controversy is extremely limited, primarily due to the great abundance and geographic dispersion of the archival and manuscripts sources essential for its reconstruction. Moreover, old and new hagiographical strategies have made it even more difficult to understand the effective meaning of the controversy. The latter has usually been understood as a conflict over an alleged ‘inculturation’ of Tridentine Catholicism within South India: the *accomodatio* (‘adaptation’) proposed by the Italian Jesuit Roberto Nobili (1577–1656) in the Madurai mission at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and enforced by his successors until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in the following century, was thus seen merely as an attempt to adapt Christianity to a non-European culture.² As I will argue, the

1 Pennington B.K., *Was Hinduism Invented? Britons, Indians, and Colonial Construction of Religion* (New York: 2005).

2 This can still be seen in recent scholarly works, such as Collins P.M., “The Praxis of Inculturation from Mission: Roberto de Nobili’s Example and Legacy”, *Ecclesiology* 3 (2007) 323–342; Pavone S., “Tra Roma e il Malabar: Il dibattito intorno all’amministrazione dei sacramenti ai paria (secc. XVII–XVIII)”, *Cristianesimo nella storia* 31 (2010) 647–680; eadem,

anachronistic projection of categories proper to contemporary Catholicism has led observers to underestimate the relevance of power relations in the construction of a religious community staffed by European missionaries (mostly Portuguese and Italians) but not subject to a European political power. As a result of this neglect, scholars have ignored that the Malabar Rites were primarily Christianized Hindu *saṃskāras* (i.e., ‘sacramental’ rituals) functional to the reproduction and distinction of caste hierarchies, rather than mere cultural traits that should be accepted in order to make Christianity more palatable to non-European peoples.³ Far from being an enlightened experiment of early modern missionaries, the Malabar Rites were primarily an expression of the prevailing agency of the leading native converts. On the other hand, the Jesuit tolerance of caste structures was combined with a clear rejection of Hindu religious practices, so that it is to be ruled out that the missionaries ever had a ‘syncretic’ intentionality.

This chapter uses a visual source in order to explore the connection between physical, social and religious spaces in the early-modern ‘adaptationist’ Jesuit missions of South India. The document we consider here is a multi-view orthographic projection of a typical church in the Madurai mission, presented by the Jesuit Procurator Broglia Antonio Brandolini to the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office in 1725. The purpose of the image was to show how the ‘noble’ castes and the untouchable *paraīyār* (i.e., ‘pariahs’ or ‘untouchables’, as they were called during the British Raj) could participate in the same Mass while avoiding all physical contacts. The image integrates—and acts as an interpretative key to understand—the abundant textual sources on the discussions about the segregation of the *paraīyār* held during the eighteenth-century Malabar Rites controversy. In my interpretation, a careful analysis of the image can ascertain a clear directionality from left to right in the allocation of spaces within the church complex to the missionary, the higher castes and the *paraīyār*, as well as to the women of both caste groups. Particularly relevant was also the proportion of space granted to each community. Notwithstanding their numerical strength, the *paraīyār* were segregated in a mere one-third of the entire church complex. They were not allowed either to get in touch with the ‘noble’ Christians, or to have direct contact with the missionary, whose residence was placed in the high-caste sector. In addition to the left-right

“Inquisizione romana e riti malabarici: Una controversia”, in *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: Storia e archivi dell'Inquisizione* (Rome: 2011) 137–153.

3 Aranha P., “Sacramenti o saṃskārāḥ? L'illusione dell'*accomodatio* nella controversia dei riti malabarici”, *Cristianesimo nella storia* 31 (2010) 621–646.

direction, a contextual reading of the image also makes it possible to discover a geographic orientation in which, contrary to usual Christian assumptions, the vector of sacral and social power proceeds from the West to the East. In conclusion, the analysis of this specific visual source shows how the sacramental discrimination of the *paṛaiyār* was located at the crossroads between a specific European hierarchical culture and the dynamics of social conflict that characterized early modern South India. It is also an example of the potentialities that space-based analyses can have in the interpretation of the early modern history of conversions and missions.

The Malabar Rites Controversy and the Critique of Orientalism

The critique of Orientalism, undertaken particularly in the wake of the influential and controversial contribution by Edward Said, has greatly affected the studies on Indian colonial history.⁴ Categories such as ‘Hinduism’ and ‘caste’, crucial in the epistemological regime of the British Raj, have been denounced by scholars as essentialist reifications functional to the colonial control of Indian subjects. The rise of fundamentalist political forces such as the Bharatiya Janata Party or the Shiv Sena, as well as the ever more effective and pervasive exercise of violence by militant organizations such as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, have made particularly urgent the study of the modern systematization of the category of ‘Hinduism’, undertaken first within a colonial context and then assumed by nationalist movements, inspired also by the Italian fascist model, so as to create an hegemonic, homogeneous identity.⁵

Some scholars have claimed that ‘the notion of “Hinduism” is itself a Western-inspired abstraction, which until the nineteenth century bore little or no resemblance to the diversity of Indian religious belief and practice’.⁶ Such a critical stance, however, should not be pushed to the extreme conclusion that Hinduism was ‘invented’ by the Britons.⁷ A religious awareness that was specifically Hindu and not merely ‘sectarian’ (such as in the case of

4 Said E.W., *Orientalism* (London: 1978).

5 Thapar R., “Imagined Religious Communities? Ancient History and the Modern Search for a Hindu Identity”, *Modern Asian Studies* 23 (1989) 209–231; Jaffrelot C., *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics* (New York: 1996); Casolari M., “Hindutva’s Foreign Tie-up in the 1930’s: Archival Evidence”, *Economic and Political Weekly* 35/4 (2000) 218–228.

6 King R., *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and the “Mystic East”* (London: 1999) 98.

7 Pennington, *Was Hinduism Invented?*

more limited Śaivite or Vaiṣṇava identities) had already taken shape during the Indian Middle Ages as a consequence of the contact with Islam.⁸ Today's system of caste hierarchies, far from being considered any more as a sort of natural and perennial characteristic of Indian society, has been analysed by recent studies as a modern artefact, whose purpose was to simplify and rationalize an infinitely more complex and articulated web of social relations, to the apparent advantage of the colonial regime. If it is true that even castes, as much as Hinduism, were not a mere and straightforward British construction, it is nonetheless clear that it was colonialism that consolidated and elevated them to primary factors of the political, economic and social life of India, for instance as essential criteria for party belonging and allegiance.⁹

Such a critique of Orientalism has indeed the merit of having demonstrated that certain fundamental characters of modern India achieved their current configuration during the colonial age; and it contradicts the stereotype, neither innocent nor candid, of a land beyond history, constantly equal to itself. However, the role played by early-modern Catholic Orientalism in the construction of a European understanding of India is still insufficiently known.¹⁰ A fundamental moment in this process was represented by the Malabar Rites controversy. The controversy is often defined as 'famous', although the scholarly literature that has dealt with it is extremely limited.¹¹ Its hagiographic and

8 Lorenzen D.N., *Who Invented Hinduism? Essays on Religion in History* (New Delhi: 2005).

9 For caste and colonialism see Dirks N., *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: 2001); for the caste system's repercussions on Indian democracy see Shah G. (ed.), *Caste and Democratic Politics in India* (New Delhi: 2002).

10 Murr S., *L'Inde philosophique entre Bossuet et Voltaire*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1987); Županov I.G., *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (New Delhi: 1999); eadem, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India, 16th–17th Centuries* (Ann Arbor: 2005); Sweetman W., *Mapping Hinduism: 'Hinduism' and the Study of Indian Religions* (Halle: 2003). Further research is provided by recent dissertations: Gelders R., *Ascetics and Crafty Priests: Orientalism and the European Representations of India*, Ph.D. dissertation (Universiteit Gent: 2009); Trento M., *Semantiche della conversione: Traduzioni e traslazioni di linguaggi nell'opera del missionario gesuita Roberto Nobili*, M.A. thesis (Università degli Studi di Torino: 2010); Ventura R. Nunes Jesus, *Conversão e conversabilidade: Discursos da missão e do gentio na documentação do Padroado Português do Oriente (séculos XVI e XVII)*, Ph.D. dissertation (Universidade de Lisboa: 2011); Chakravarty A., *The Empire of Apostles: Jesuits in Brazil and India, 16th–17th c.*, Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Chicago: 2012). But see now Xavier Â. Barreto – Županov I.G., *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge, 16th–18th c.* (New Delhi: 2014).

11 It is defined as 'famous', for instance, in Smith S.F., *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus*, 2nd ed. (Leominster: 2004) 301; Melo C. Mercês, *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India (16th–19th Century): An Historico-Canonical Study* (Lisbon: 1955)

anachronistic character does not allow one to make sense of the relevance of power relations within the missions of Madurai, Mysore and the Carnatic: a major effect of *accomodatio* in South India was indeed the official recognition of caste hierarchies within the newly established Catholic community. As we mentioned above, the Malabar Rites were primarily Christianized Hindu *saṃskāras* and the Jesuit defence of them definitely did not anticipated the contemporary theological notion of inculturation. If the missions of Madurai, Mysore and the Carnatic were torn apart by a furious, decades-long controversy, it was definitely because the very material constitution of the local societies was contested. While cultural differences indeed played a major role, the three missions were ravaged by such a fierce conflict because the adoption of native social hierarchies had been the main condition that the missionaries had negotiated with the local elites in order to 'open the door' to Christianity, just to use an image that was typical of Nobili's rhetoric:

As I reached this city, where the devil had locked the door to the Gospel, in such a way that nothing could be achieved, although a residence had been established there fifteen years ago and the Fathers residing there had rare virtue and sanctity, eventually Our Lord began to open this door.¹²

Such a new understanding of the Malabar Rites controversy is part of a more general trend that can be seen in recent and ongoing studies on the early modern history of Christianity in India, which pay greater attention to different forms of local agency.¹³ Therefore, only an aprioristic faith in an alleged overwhelming and irresistible European agency or in a super-human Jesuitical shrewdness could lead us to see the endeavours of the Society of Jesus in

49; Dirks, *Castes of Mind* 25; Forrester D.B., "Hierarchy, Equality and Religion", in idem, *Christian Ethics and Practical Theology: Collected Writings on Christianity, India, and the Social Order* (Farnham, Surrey: 2010) 43. Incidentally it should be noticed that the very expression 'Malabar Rites' was not employed during the seventeenth century and was never used in the controversy directly concerning Roberto Nobili. For a critical overview see Aranha P., "Malabar Rites: Towards a History of the Early Modern Controversies on *Accomodatio* in the Jesuit Missions of South India", in Fabre P.-A. – Županov, I.G. (eds.), *The Rites Controversy in the Early Modern World* (Leiden – Boston: forthcoming).

12 Letter from Madurai to the Jesuit Fabio de Fabiis dated 8 October 1609, in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Goa 51, fol. 13v ('Arrivato che fui a esta cita nella quale il Demonio haveva serrata la porta de maniera al S.to Evangelio che ha già da 15 anni che ca stando residentia non si potette far niente essendo li P.ri che qua residivano di singolar vertu he santidade. Comincio adesso N. S. a aprir questa porta').

13 Chakravarti, *The Empire of Apostles* 248–319.

Madurai, Mysore and the Carnatic as inspired by some sort of 'syncretic missionary approach'.¹⁴ Such an interpretation would conclude that, if the three South Indian missions displayed phenomena of Hindu-Catholic religious synthesis, this could happen only because the Jesuits had deliberately and consciously planned to mix Christianity and the Indian 'heathenism'. In fact, it is essential to differentiate Jesuit intentionality, informing a specific missionary approach, from concrete outcomes of religious interactions, as Rosalind Shaw and Charles Stewart have suggested precisely in relation to the modern concept of inculturation.¹⁵ If Catholic hierarchies stress today that the inculturation they are promoting has nothing to do with 'syncretism', such a differentiation would have been even more sharp in the age of the Counter-Reformation.

Inculturation and *accomodatio* are indeed different, particularly in the South Indian context, inasmuch as the former has a post-colonial drive and the latter is primarily related to a typically early-modern concern for maintaining and enforcing social hierarchies as castes in so-called 'holistic societies'.¹⁶ However, it is clear that both inculturation and *accomodatio* do express an effort to localize Christianity in non-European contexts.¹⁷ Both missionary

-
- 14 Pavone S., "Propaganda, diffamazione e opinione pubblica: I gesuiti e la *querelle* sui riti malabarici", in *Per Adriano Prosperi*, 3 vols. (Pisa: 2011), vol. 11, Donattini M. – Marcocci G. – Pastore S. (eds.), *L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi*, 203–216, at 204.
- 15 Shaw R. – Stewart C., "Introduction: Problematizing Syncretism", in Shaw R. – Stewart C. (eds.), *Syncretism / Anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* (London – New York: 1994) 1–26, at 11: 'As anthropologists we would probably label many instances of inculturation 'syncretism' in so far as they involve the combination of diverse traditions in the area of religion. Representatives of the Catholic Church would immediately dispute this usage, however, and reserve 'syncretism' for a narrower (and altogether negative) subset of such syntheses where they perceive that the Truth of the Christian message is distorted or lost'.
- 16 Louis Dumont has argued that the modern ideal of equality emerged in the West in the eighteenth century, in the context of an individualist society. However, the French anthropologist claimed that far more widespread, both geographically and chronologically, were the holistic societies in which the individual was considered inferior to the social totality. See Dumont L., *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*, trans. M. Sainsbury, L. Dumont, B. Gulati, 2nd rev. ed. (Chicago: 1980).
- 17 The localization we can detect in both *accomodatio* and inculturation is of a different nature and more radical in comparison with the 'local religion' considered by Christian W.A., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: 1981). Another type of localization can be found in Menegon E., *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: 2009). Differently from local transformations of Christianity in Fujian, following 'practices and beliefs of diverse local religious expressions, frequently heterodox and heteroprax in state and elite opinions' (*ibidem*, 3), the localization expressed in India was concerned both with Brahmanical

strategies may lead to compromise solutions, but neither of them is based on a relativist and conciliatory approach theorized and consciously enacted by the missionaries. The complex dynamic of the Jesuit adaptationist strategy is explained in an exemplary way by David Mosse, as he considers specifically the Tamil region both at the time of the Malabar Rites controversy and after the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus:

The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Jesuits' tolerance of Indian cultural traditions, including those of caste, contrasts sharply with their strong rejection of what was understood as Hindu *religion*. Fundamental to salvation was the rejection of Hindu religious practices, and the diaries of Jesuit parish priests indicate severe sanctions imposed upon those who 'attend pagan worship and secure the things offered to the devil'. Ironically, it was precisely this intolerance of Hindu 'religion' which actually encouraged the incorporation of Hindu ritual forms (and no doubt with them Hindu conceptions) into Catholic contexts.

As counterintuitive as it may appear, both today and at the time of the Malabar Rites controversy, the Jesuit tolerance of caste structures was combined with a clear 'rejection of Hindu religious practices': the strategy of *acomodatio*, implying 'the incorporation of Hindu ritual forms (and no doubt with them Hindu conceptions)', was deployed by the missionaries of the Society of Jesus precisely to fight Hinduism.¹⁸

While the adversaries of the Jesuit missionaries tried to portray them, at least in the most venomous polemical writings, as supporters of paganism, it is impossible to find a single hint suggesting that the Jesuits had ever conceived their apostolate as an effort to mix Christianity and other local religions. On the contrary, their task was precisely the 'spiritual conquest of the East', imposing Christianity over the native belief system.¹⁹ In order to pursue that goal it

Hinduism (partially similar, in terms of official status, to Confucianism in China) and with popular Hinduism, in relation to the European version of Christianity brought by missionaries.

- 18 Mosse D., "The Politics of Religious Synthesis: Roman Catholicism and Hindu Village Society in Tamil Nadu, India", in Shaw – Stewart (eds.), *Syncretism /Anti-syncretism* 85–107, at 91.
- 19 The notion of a 'spiritual conquest of the East' was used as title of a famous history of the Franciscan missions in Portuguese Asia, composed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but printed only half a century ago, namely Trindade Paulo da, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente em que se dá relação de algumas cousas mais notáveis que fizeram os Frades Menores da Santa Província de S. Tomé da India Oriental em a pregação da fé e*

could result expedient to adapt Christianity to social structures and customs very different from the European ones. In India this could imply accepting caste distinctions and even tolerating the segregation of the most humble social groups by means of practices of ‘untouchability’, as the case-study I am going to present will show.²⁰

Liturgy and Untouchability: Social and Physical Spaces of the Malabar Rites Controversy

The image reproduced below [Fig. 9.1] is taken from an apologetic work published anonymously in 1729 by Fr. Broglia Antonio Brandolini (1677–1747), Procurator of the Jesuit missions of Madurai, Mysore and the Carnatic to the Roman Curia in the controversy on the Malabar Rites.²¹ As the author specified, he had submitted this architectural representation—a multi-view orthographic projection showing a church of the ‘nobles’ and ‘Parreas’, as well as houses of the missionaries—to Pope Benedict XIII and to the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office in 1725, in an attempt to obtain a repeal or at least a moderation of the decree *Inter graviores*, published in 1704 by Carlo Tomaso Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch and Papal Legate to China and East Indies, while sojourning in the South Indian harbour of Pondichéry. The various customs and practices described in the decree are those Malabar Rites that led to a fierce controversy, which was to last for forty years.²²

conversão dos inféis, em mais de trinta reinos, do Cabo de Boa Esperança até às remotíssimas Ilhas do Japão, ed. F.F. Lopes, 3 vols. (Lisbon: 1962).

- 20 Sekine Y., *Anthropology of Untouchability: ‘Impurity’ and ‘Pollution’ in a South Indian Society* (Osaka: 2002). See also Mosse D., *The Saint in the Banyan Tree: Christianity and Caste Society in India* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 2012).
- 21 “Disegno della Chiesa de’ Nobili, e Parreas, entro lo stesso recinto di muro esteriore, e della casa del Missionario”, in Brandolini Broglia Antonio, *Risposta alle accuse date al praticato sin’ora da’ Religiosi della Compagnia di Giesù, nelle Missioni del Madurey, Mayssur, e Carnate, in due libri diversi dal reverendissimo Padre Fra Luigi Maria Lucino del Venerabil’ Ordine de’ Predicatori, Maestro di Sacra Teologia, e Commissario Generale del Santo Ufizio in Roma. Opera d’un Professore della medesima Sacra Teologia*, 3 vols. (Cologne, [s.n.]: 1729), vol. II, pt. 2, between 600 and 601. A printed copy of the same map can be found in Archivio della Congregazione per l’Evangelizzazione dei Popoli de *Propaganda Fide*, Rome, Scritture riferite ai congressi, Indie Orientali e Cina, Miscellanea 14, fols. 316r–334v, at 325r.
- 22 The text of the decree, issued on 23 June 1704 and published on the following 8 July, can be found in De Martinis R. (ed.), *Juris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide Pars Prima complectens*

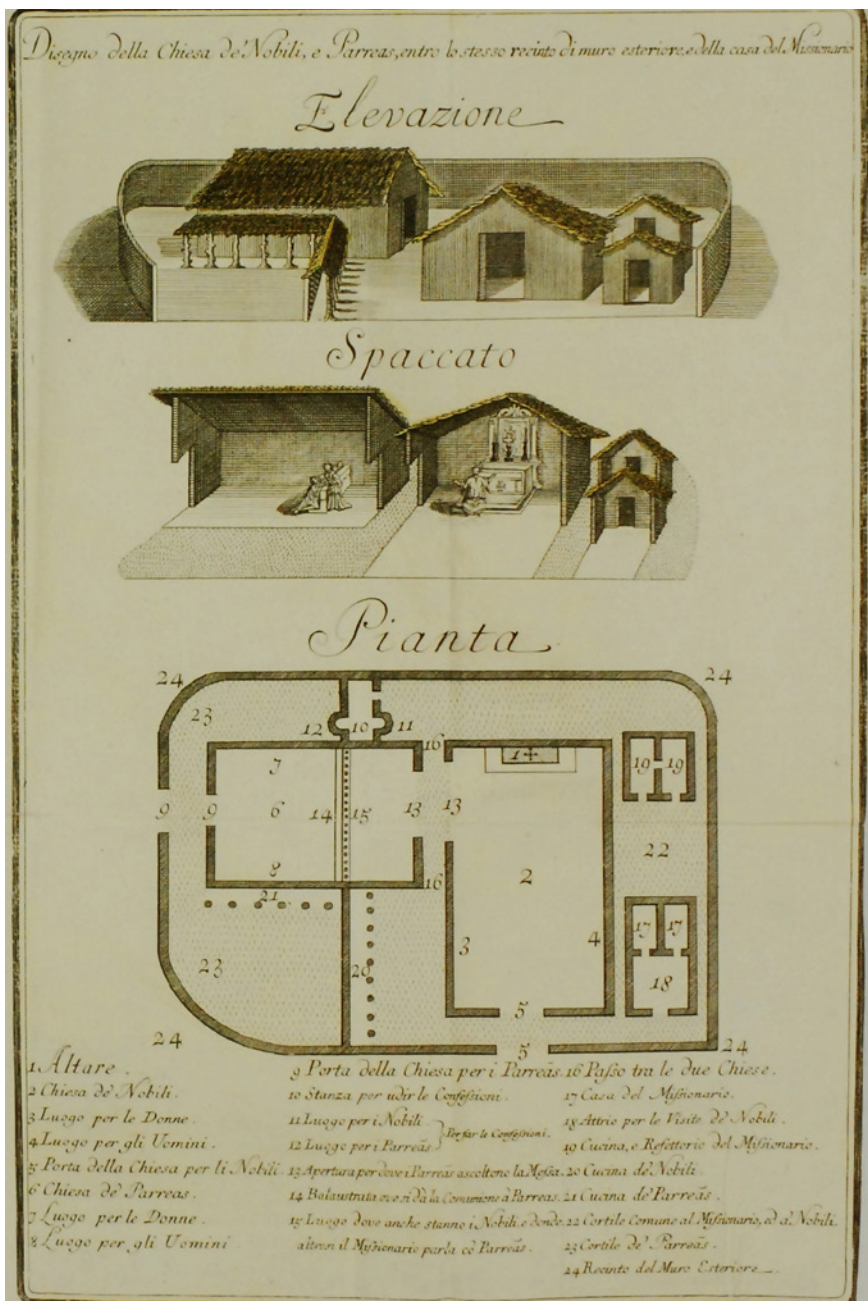


FIGURE 9.1 *Disegno della Chiesa de' Nobili, e Parreas, entro lo stesso recinto di muro esteriore, e della casa del Missionario.*

Source: Brandolini Broglia Antonio, *Risposta alle accuse date al praticato sin'ora da' Religiosi della Compagnia di Giesù, nelle Missioni del Madurey, Mayssur, e Carnate* (1729).

These 'Parreas' were actually the *paṛaiyār*, a specific *jāti* (caste as a professional group) of South India. By metonymy their name was often used to indicate all the numerous castes that were subject to untouchability.²³ As for the 'nobles', the castes specifically concerned were—in terms of *varṇa* (caste as a ritual group)—mere *śūdras*, placed at the bottom of the ideal fourfold social scheme devised in the *puruṣasūkta* hymn of the *R̥gveda* (10. 90) and including above them the *brāhmaṇas*, the *kṣatriyas* (warriors) and the *vaiśyas* (merchants, farmers, cattle-herders and artisans). However,

there are two facts about the Sudras [*sic*]. First, some powerful communities were counted in the caste hierarchies as Sudras, but they enjoyed the highest social prestige. The Reddys [Reḍḍis] of Andhra, the Vellalas [Veḷḷālas] of Tamil Nadu, and the Nayars [Nāyars] of Malabar never accepted the four-fold division though the Brahmins described them as Sudras. Also, they enjoyed as communities social power similar to that claimed by the Kshatriyas [*sic*]. Secondly, 'the Sudras seem to have produced an unusually large number of royal families even in more recent times'.²⁴

In the Tamil context, namely in the cultural region within which the Madurai mission was placed, the roles belonging theoretically to the *kṣatriyas* and the *vaiśyas* were fulfilled by a number of different castes, all together labelled by the missionaries as 'nobles'. Even more strikingly, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries the Tamil country was ruled by the *Nāyakas*, kings of Śūdra origin whose legitimacy and ritual purity was affirmed by court poets with elegant subversions of the *varṇa* model.²⁵

The visual document provided by Brandolini did not concern a particular point of the decree *Inter graviores*, as the latter did not contain any specific provision concerning the way churches should be built in the three Jesuit missions. However, Brandolini presented the illustration to the Holy Office in order to explain better the condition of the 'Parreas', about whom Tournon

Bullas, Brevia, Acta S.S. a Congregationis institutione ad praesens iuxta temporis seriem disposita, 7 vols. (Rome: 1890), vol. III, 166–182.

23 Turston E. – Rangachari K., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 7 vols. (Madras: 1909), vol. VI, 77–139.

24 Krishnan-Kuty G., *Peasantry in India* (New Delhi: 1986) 10.

25 Narayana Rao V. – Shulman D. – Subhramanyam S., *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu* (Delhi: 1992) 72–76.

had decreed that their alleged ‘untouchability’ should not prevent priests from entering their miserable huts to provide them the viaticum and the last rites.

Brandolini included this multi-view projection in his book without any particular explanation—as if the image could ‘speak’ for itself—at the end of a section concerning the administration of the viaticum to the ‘Parreas’. Its inclusion in the book, as well as its previous presentation in manuscript form to the Roman authorities in 1725, can only be interpreted as evidence of the alleged good will of the Jesuits towards the converted ‘Parreas’. If the missionaries of the Society claimed that they could not enter the huts of this despised caste, lest they would be considered impure and would not be allowed to have contacts with the faithful of noble birth, through this image Brandolini wanted to demonstrate how the Jesuits did not actually discriminate against the Christian ‘Parreas’ in their access to the sacraments, inasmuch as direct physical contact was not required.

As we try to understand the spatial dimension of conversion processes, it is necessary to consider in detail the message that Brandolini conveys through this projection. First of all, let us examine the title: “Plan of the Church of the Nobles, and the Parreas, within the same external wall, and of the house of the Missionary”. The crucial element is the point that the church of the ‘nobles’ and that of the ‘Parreas’ were included within a same external wall. The title was phrased ambiguously, inasmuch as the expression ‘Church of the Nobles and the Parreas’ could be interpreted in Italian as hinting either at one single church shared by both communities or at two different churches. It was the reference to a ‘common external wall’ that suggested the latter interpretation. As an island dispersed into an ocean of ‘heathenism’, or as a fortress in a ‘pagan wilderness’, the space enclosed by this wall was an outpost of the true faith *in partibus infidelium*.

Brandolini made it clear that the Jesuits did not promote a social schism within the communities of the Indian neophytes. From the elevated vantage point we can see that the wall was not merely a symbolic fence but a barrier higher than a man’s height. Brandolini implied with such a wall that osmotic movements between the Christian and the non-Christian spaces were not allowed: the only access to the realm of the faithful was through two gates specifically designed for this purpose. The distinction between these two openings was social: a side entrance, on the shorter side of the quasi-rectangular space described by the wall, was reserved for the ‘Parreas’, whereas the gate leading to the church of the ‘nobles’ was placed on one of the two longer sides. An internal wall divided the global space of the Christian ‘fortress’ into two impermeable parts, allocated respectively to the ‘nobles’ and the ‘Parreas’. However, these two parts were not two halves: the space of the ‘nobles’ was

more than two thirds of the total area, considering also that a curve deprived the section of the 'Parreas' of the space that would otherwise allow them to claim at least a third of the total Catholic space. If there was a single Christian community facing the 'pagan otherness', within the external wall we find two distinct churches. That of the 'Parreas' was not even an entire building: one third of it (marked in the map with the number 15) belonged to the space of the 'noble' Christians. This way the church of the 'Parreas' properly defined was, as noted, circa one third the size of the church of the 'nobles'.

A trait common to both the 'noble' and 'Parrea' spaces was the presence of kitchens (numbers 20 and 21), suggesting the recurrence of communal meals held according to the principle of caste commensality, but also hinting at the fact—analysed, for instance, by a classic and widely debated author such as Louis Dumont with respect to the North Indian context—that while the transfer of raw food from an inferior caste to a superior one is always possible (for example as a gift to a *brāhmaṇa* after he has performed a ritual service), that of cooked food is far more difficult, although not totally impossible.²⁶

The disparity between the 'noble' and 'Parrea' spaces can be detected by observing that the church of the 'untouchables' was not actually an independent place of worship, but rather a 'theatre' where an audience gathered to gaze at a religious performance taking place on a separate stage, namely in the church of the 'nobles'. As is clear particularly in the middle picture of the illustration, titled 'section' ('spaccato'), the 'Parreas' were able to see the priest celebrating the eucharist in front of the altar, placed only in the church of the 'nobles', but the opening of the church of the 'Parreas' was not large enough to allow them to see the altar per se. It is possible that the priest would allow also the 'Parreas' to enjoy the auspicious vision of the divine presence in the eucharist during the rite of the *Ecce Agnus Dei*, just before the distribution of the communion towards the end of the Mass. It should be noted that such a vision of the divine under the name of *darśana* is essential also to Hindu piety.²⁷ However, the extension of such a display also to the 'Parrea' converts can only be guessed, as the image offered by Brandolini does not clarify the point. On the contrary, the association of the missionary with the 'nobles' is obvious:

26 Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus* 142. It should be noted, however, that in our case we are dealing with relations between 'untouchable' castes and higher castes, which are a specific case in comparison with the general issue of inter-caste relations.

27 I explored this connection in the unpublished paper "A Catholic *Darśana*: Eucharistic Adorations and Processions in Early-Modern Portuguese India", presented on 30 June 2011 at the conference of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies held at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais in Lisbon.

his house, as well as his kitchen, are represented on the side of the church of the 'nobles', which is at the farthest end from the 'Parrea' section. There was a single confessional for the faithful of all castes; however, the priest accessed it from the side of the 'nobles'.²⁸ If we consider that the 'Parreas' are located on the left side of Brandolini's plan, the 'nobles' in the central part, and the house of the missionary on the farthest right side of the picture, we can easily identify a hierarchical direction moving from right to left. The prominence of the right over the left side in Christianity and many other religious and cultural traditions is a fact both empirically ascertained and theoretically engaging.²⁹ In the context of early modern South India such a spatial divide assumed a new meaning in the conflict between the *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* groups, namely 'right hand' against 'left hand' castes:

In a general sense, the right-hand division included groups traditionally involved in agriculture or the production of agricultural or rural commodities, though it also had associations with military service. Communities belonging to the left-hand division were primarily non-agricultural, and included merchant and artisan groups.³⁰

In this case the right-left dichotomy did not have a clear hierarchical sense, as 'the Valaṅgai [*sic*] or Right Hand faction included the more respectable castes together with the Parayer [*sic*].'³¹ It seems therefore that the right-left direction visible in Brandolini projection corresponded more to a Christian symbolism (not surprising, considering also his intended audience) than to the South Indian conflict between *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* divisions.

In Brandolini's multi-view orthographic projection we find a further confirmation of this hierarchical orientation in the fact that, within the church of the 'nobles', women are on the left side and men on the right. A crucial piece of information, however, is not provided. Nowhere, neither in explicit nor implicit form (for instance by means of a particular position of the sun and of the shadows projected by the buildings), can we ascertain the position

28 In the image the confessional (number 10) is defined as 'room for hearing confessions' ('Stanza per udir le confessioni'). Separate places were allocated to the 'nobles' and the 'Parreas' to make their confessions. Such an arrangement leads to the conclusion that the missionary heard the confession through windows and grilles, facing respectively the 'noble' and 'Parreas' sections of the compound.

29 McManus C., *Right Hand, Left Hand: The Origins of Asymmetry in Brains, Bodies, Atoms, and Cultures* (Cambridge, MA: 2002) 29–30.

30 Sinopoli C.M., *The Political Economy of Craft Production: Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350–1650* (New York: 2003) 102.

31 Rajayyan K.N., *Administration and Society in the Carnatic, 1701–1801* (Tirupati: 1966) 119.

of the cardinal directions. It could be imagined that the altar was facing east, following an ancient Christian tradition.³² In any case, the Jesuit Francisco Laynez had already observed in his *Defensio Indicarum Missionum*, a fundamental book in the Malabar Rites controversy published in 1707, that the settlements of the *paraīyār* (known in Tamil as *cheris*, although the Jesuit does not mention this expression)³³ used to be placed on the eastern side of the South Indian villages. The axis northeast–southwest should also be considered here in order to assess what Laynez wrote on the spatial orientation of the Tamil settlements. He gave two reasons for this specific orientation. First of all, the ‘nobles’—affected by a true *nobilitatis furor*—did not want that their settlements might be contaminated even by the shadows of the *paraīyār*. By being placed on the west side, the ‘nobles’ would indeed be tainted by impure shadows in the morning, but would then be purified in the evening by the sunset beams. Secondly, Laynez observed that in South India winds often blew from the west: if the *paraīyār* had lived in the western parts of the villages, then their impurity—understood in very graphic terms as an unbearable stench—would be carried up to the quarters inhabited by the ‘noble’ castes.³⁴

On the basis of this evidence, admitted by the very Jesuits who supported *accomodatio* and favoured the separation of the *paraīyār* from the ‘noble’ castes, it could be argued that the church of the *paraīyār* in Brandolini’s projection was actually oriented towards the east. This would imply that the altar would face south and the entrance to the space of the ‘nobles’ would be from the north. Very significantly, the position of the missionary’s house would then be on the extreme western side of the Christian complex. It would indeed be a fascinating temptation (but definitely further research is required) to see Brandolini’s illustration, read within the inter-textual context of the Malabar Rites controversy, as a demonstration of a new spatial and theological axiom, such as *ex Occidente salus* (‘salvation from the West’). Is it too much to argue that the image condensed in itself both the spatial fixation of caste hierarchies and the direction of Christianization as a conversion process moving from the West to the East?

32 Lang U.M., *Turning toward the Lord: Orientation in Liturgical Prayer* (San Francisco: 2004) 35–60.

33 Tirumaavalavan, *Talisman: Extreme Emotions of Dalit Liberation*, trans. M. Kandasamy (Kolkata: 2003) 7, fn. 3.

34 Laynez Francisco, *Defensio Indicarum missionum Madurensis nempe Maysurensis & Carnatensis edita, occasione decreti ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omino] Patriarcha Antiocheno D[omino] Carolo Maillard de Tournon visitatore apostolico in Indiis Orientalibus lati* (Rome, Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae: 1707) 32.

Conclusion

The assimilation of Christianity to the local social structures allowed a steady growth of the missions in South India, placed beyond the control of any Catholic power and subject to Hindu or Muslim rulers. However, it also caused the emergence of a spatial tension that is at the very heart of the Malabar Rites controversy. Theoretically, the neophytes belonged all to one and the same community: they attended the same Mass and all had equal access to the divine energy provided by the sacraments. In practice, the uniform space of faith had to cope with a fragmented social space. The low-caste *paraīyār* Christians were segregated in their *cheris*, at a safe distance from the centre of each South Indian village. In order to avoid social defilement the high caste Christians refused to attend the Mass under the same roof. The Jesuits missionaries, vocally represented in Rome particularly by their Procurator Brandolini, devised convoluted architectural solutions meant to allow the 'plebeians' to be separated from the 'noble' Christians during the Mass, even while making it possible for them to attend the sacred functions and receive Holy Communion. The liturgical segregation of the *paraīyār* could remind the Roman authorities of the walls and grilles separating cloistered nuns from the laity in conventual churches; however, while those nuns held a high religious status, the segregation of the *paraīyār* was due to their social stigma. Particularly difficult was the problem of providing the viaticum to the moribund 'untouchables'. The missionaries were not allowed to enter the huts of the low caste neophytes, lest they should be considered contaminated by the upper-caste faithful, who would not recognize them anymore as their own priests. On the other hand, the option of carrying moribund persons to the nearest church could easily cause death without the last rites.³⁵

The controversy about the missions of Madurai, Mysore and the Carnatic highlighted less a contradiction between the European and Indian ways of life than a more general early-modern tension between a certain Christian egalitarian space and one of social separation. As the Jesuits argued, the unity of the Church did not imply the abolition of social distinctions. Brandolini claimed

35 It is noteworthy that the image is placed just towards the end of the book section that Brandolini devotes to the administration of the viaticum to the 'Parreas'. The author states that the image is placed there 'for greater clarity of the whole controversy' ('per maggiore chiarezza di tutta la controversia'), even though—as we observed before—this image hints at a problem—the spatial discrimination of the 'Parreas' in the church compound—that is not actually developed in the whole book. See Brandolini, *Risposta alle accuse*, vol. II, 601 (§ 263).

even that a 'ordered charity' ('ordinata carità') could not go against the principle of prominence of the public over the private good. The distinction of an 'ordered' from a 'disordered' charity emerged within a context of involuntary irony, as it is highlighted in one of the various manuscript memoranda that Brandolini submitted to the Roman Inquisition.³⁶ Brandolini claimed that the problem of providing the last sacraments to the moribund 'Parreas' in their huts was similar to the situation of a moribund (male) infant whose parents would not accept his baptism. On the basis of classical theological authors who had objected against forced baptisms, Brandolini concluded that even the provision of sacraments to the 'Parreas' in their huts should be ruled out, inasmuch as the public good should be preferred to the private one.³⁷ As the forced baptism of an infant could cause perturbation to his parents, so the violation of the untouchability of the 'Parreas'—argued Brandolini—could cause commotion among the community of the 'noble' Christians and subject it to a difficult trial. The conclusion of the analogy went so far that the Jesuit claimed that the forced baptism of an infant was as sinful as the provision of sacraments to the 'Parreas' in their miserable dwellings.

An enthusiastic love of paradox probably led Brandolini to justify the discrimination of the 'Parreas' even in the conferment of the last sacraments, on the basis of the obligation that the 'plebeians' had of honouring the 'nobles', even if the latter were wicked or non-Christian people: it was not the specific virtue of a single individual that should be honoured, but a superior quality that could be seen reflected in a person, even if only in a figurative or symbolic way.³⁸ Brandolini implicitly suggested to the prelates of the Holy Office in charge of evaluating the Malabar Rites that the hierarchical principles debated in the South Indian missions were finally not so different from the ones invoked in Europe to justify the power of the aristocracy over the other social groups,

36 Brandolini Broglia Antonio, *Aggiunta 2.^a alla Clausola toccante l'amministrazione de' Sacramenti à Parreas nelle lor Case, comandata dal Sig[no]r Card[ina]l di Tournon nel suo Decreto al § Ferre pariter etc.*, in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1014, fols. 20r–30r, esp. 25v–26r.

37 This is how Brandolini refers to the theological doctrine in favour of the forced baptism of a moribund infant: 'So Castropalao in the above-mentioned point [= *De Ordine Charitatis*] n.º 5, Coninck disp. 25 dub. 7 n.º 88, and the common opinion of the theologians expressly teach' ('Così insegnano espressamente Castropalao al luogo sopraccitato n.º 5, Coninck disp. 25 dub. 7 n.º 88 col comun de Teologi'), *Aggiunta 2.^a*, fol. 25v.

38 Brandolini Broglia Antonio, "Informazione di Fato sopra varij dubbij toccanti le Clausele de' Parreas, e delle Ceneri, ed altri segni", in Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Rome, St. St., QQ 1–i, fols. 152r–161v and 163–219v, esp. 6r–v.

irrespective of the intrinsic merits or vices that each single European nobleman could have.

The rigorous spatial separation displayed by Brandolini's multi-view projection could then appear as a consistent understanding of a necessary and universal hierarchical organization of any given society. In this perspective it seems difficult to imagine that the acceptance by certain Catholic missionaries of Indian structures of hierarchical subjugation may be understood primarily as an effort to dialogue with a non-European culture or that the endorsement of caste segregation may have anticipated the ideas of inculturation elaborated during the twentieth century. Even more puzzling would be an interpretation according to which 'the choice made by the Jesuits of keeping the neophytes' community within the dynamics of Indian society, avoiding therefore the risk of triggering among the converts a sense of estrangement towards their common culture, made it possible to keep open important communication channels for the future'.³⁹

The analysis of a specific visual source has shown us, on the contrary, that the sacramental discrimination of the *paraīyār* was located at the crossroads between a specific European hierarchical culture and the dynamic of social conflict that characterized early modern South India. The clumsy and paradoxical arguments of Brandolini, which should not be considered representative of a unanimous position among the missionaries of the Society of Jesus in South India, provided easy ammunition to anti-Jesuit critics. At the very end of the Malabar Rites controversy, the sacramental discrimination of the *paraīyār* was described by Abbé Jean-Baptiste Gaultier (1685–1755), a Jansenist theologian, as a fundamental religious flaw: 'Il n'y a ni Dieu ni Religion où il n'y a point de charité'.⁴⁰ As students of history we should probably refrain from easy projections of the past into the present. However, if the expression of a moral protest is not in conflict with scholarly rigour, then it would be very difficult not to see in the *paraīyār*, segregated in less than one third of the social space, an emblem of the radical inequalities that characterize our own world.

39 Pavone, "Tra Roma e il Malabar" 679 ('[...] la scelta dei gesuiti di mantenere la comunità di neofiti all'interno delle dinamiche della società indiana, evitando così di suscitare nei convertiti un senso di estraneità rispetto a una cultura comune, consentì di tenere aperti importanti canali di comunicazione per il futuro').

40 *Les Jesuites convaincus d'obstination a permettre l'idolâtrie dans la Chine: Lettres de l'abbé J.-B. Gaultier* (1744) 100. This anonymous libel was already attributed to Gaultier by Moréri L., *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique, ou le Mélange curieux de l'Histoire Sacrée et Profane . . . Nouvelle édition dans laquelle on a refondu les Suppléments de M. l'abbé Goujet, le tout revu, corrigé et augmenté par M. Drouet*, 10 vols. (Paris, Chez les Libraires Associés: 1759), vol. v, 103.

Selective Bibliography

- Aranha P., “Sacramenti o saṃskārāḥ? L'illusione dell'*accomodatio* nella controversia dei riti malabarici”, *Cristianesimo nella storia* 31 (2010) 621–646.
- Aranha P., “Malabar Rites: Towards a History of the Early Modern Controversies on *Accomodatio* in the Jesuit Missions of South India”, in Fabre P.-A. – Županov, I. G. (eds.), *The Rites Controversy in the Early Modern World* (Leiden – Boston: forthcoming).
- Brandolini Broglia Antonio, *Risposta alle accuse date al praticato sin'ora da' Religiosi della Compagnia di Giesù, nelle Missioni del Madurey, Mayssur, e Carnate, in due libri diversi dal reverendissimo Padre Fra Luigi Maria Lucino del Venerabil' Ordine de' Predicatori, Maestro di Sacra Teologia, e Commissario Generale del Santo Ufizio in Roma. Opera d'un Professore della medesima Sacra Teologia*, 3 vols. (Cologne, [n.p.]: 1729).
- Chakravarty A., *The Empire of Apostles: Jesuits in Brazil and India, 16th–17th c.*, Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Chicago: 2012).
- Collins P.M., “The Praxis of Inculturation from Mission: Roberto de Nobili's Example and Legacy”, *Ecclesiology* 3 (2007) 323–342.
- Dirks N., *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: 2001).
- Dumont L., *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications*, trans. M. Sainsbury, L. Dumont, B. Gulati, 2nd rev. ed. (Chicago: 1980).
- Gelders R., *Ascetics and Crafty Priests: Orientalism and the European Representations of India*, Ph.D. dissertation (Universiteit Gent: 2009).
- King R., *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and the “Mystic East”* (London: 1999).
- Krishnan-Kuty G., *Peasantry in India* (New Delhi: 1986).
- Layne Francisco, *Defensio Indicarum missionum Madurensis nempe Maysurensis & Carnatensis edita, occasione decreti ab Ill[ustrissi]mo D[omino] Patriarcha Antiocheno D[omino] Carolo Maillard de Tournon visitatore apostolico in Indiis Orientalibus lati* (Rome, Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae: 1707).
- Lorenzen D.N., *Who Invented Hinduism? Essays on Religion in History* (New Delhi: 2005).
- Mosse D., *The Saint in the Banyan Tree: Christianity and Caste Society in India* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 2012).
- Murr S., *L'Inde philosophique entre Bossuet et Voltaire*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1987).
- Narayana Rao V. – Shulman D. – Subhramanyam S., *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu* (Delhi: 1992).
- Pavone S., “Tra Roma e il Malabar: Il dibattito intorno all'amministrazione dei sacramenti ai paria (secc. XVII–XVIII)”, *Cristianesimo nella storia* 31 (2010) 647–680.
- Pavone S., “Inquisizione romana e riti malabarici: Una controversia”, in *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: Storia e archivi dell'Inquisizione* (Rome: 2011) 137–153.

- Pavone S., "Propaganda, diffamazione e opinione pubblica: I gesuiti e la *querelle* sui riti malabarici", in *Per Adriano Prosperi*, 3 vols. (Pisa: 2011), vol. 11, Donattini M. – Marcocci G. – Pastore S. (eds.), *L'Europa divisa e i nuovi mondi*, 203–216.
- Pennington B.K., *Was Hinduism Invented? Britons, Indians, and Colonial Construction of Religion* (New York: 2005).
- Rajayyan K.N., *Administration and Society in the Carnatic, 1701–1801* (Tirupati: 1966).
- Said E.W., *Orientalism* (London: 1978).
- Sekine Y., *Anthropology of Untouchability: 'Impurity' and 'Pollution' in a South Indian Society* (Osaka: 2002).
- Shah G. (ed.), *Caste and Democratic Politics in India* (New Delhi: 2002).
- Sinopoli C.M., *The Political Economy of Craft Production: Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350–1650* (New York: 2003).
- Sweetman W., *Mapping Hinduism: 'Hinduism' and the Study of Indian Religions* (Halle: 2003).
- Trento M., *Semantiche della conversione: Traduzioni e traslazioni di linguaggi nell'opera del missionario gesuita Roberto Nobili*, M.A. thesis (Università degli Studi di Torino: 2010).
- Turston E. – Rangachari K., *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, 7 vols. (Madras: 1909).
- Ventura R. Nunes Jesus, *Conversão e conversabilidade: Discursos da missão e do gentio na documentação do Padroado Português do Oriente (séculos XVI e XVII)*, Ph.D. dissertation (Universidade de Lisboa: 2011).
- Xavier Â. Barreto – Županov I.G., *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge, 16th–18th c.* (New Delhi: 2014).
- Županov I.G., *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (New Delhi: 1999).
- Županov I.G., *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India, 16th–17th Centuries* (Ann Arbor: 2005).

PART 3

Distance and Mobility



Saltwater Conversion: Trans-Oceanic Sailing and Religious Transformation in the Iberian World

Giuseppe Marcocci

Surely all the old ties were immaterial now that the sea had washed away their past?

AMITAV GHOSH, *Sea of Poppies* (2008)

The place of the sea in history changed deeply during the early modern period, largely due to exploration and transformation of the oceans into a space that connected worlds, cultures and religion on a global scale. A long tradition of scholarship, less and less restricted to the unilateral image of European expansion, has stressed the importance of sea-routes for the development of long-distance trade and, above all, for the gradual process of global economic integration.¹ However, there is a lack of studies on other aspects, such as the perception of the seas, particularly the oceans. Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, they established themselves not only as an immense expanse of water linking lands and peoples very distant one from another, but also as a new physical dimension to be identified and mastered, one that was daily sailed by thousands of ships with a variety of crews.² Because of the European inclination to overseas imperialism, the shift in the relationship with the unknown space of the oceans seriously affected the geopolitical, legal and military sphere, as well as one that might be called emotional and spiritual.

-
- 1 Atlantic studies have considerably renewed the tradition of maritime history. For an overview and introduction see Bailyn B., *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2005); Klooster W. – Padula A. (eds.), *The Atlantic World: Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: 2005). New perspectives on the Indian Ocean in Malekandathil P., *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean* (Delhi: 2010); Gupta P. – Hofmeyr I. – Pearson M. (eds.), *Eyes Across the Water: Navigating the Indian Ocean* (Pretoria: 2010). For interesting general remarks on recent historiography about seas see Subrahmanyam S., “Afterthoughts: Histories in Bottles”, in Miller P.N. (ed.), *The Sea: Thalassography and Historiography* (Ann Arbor: 2013) 277–284.
 - 2 Corbin A., “Introduction”, in Corbin A. – Richard H. (eds.), *La mer: Terreur et fascination* (Paris: 2004) 7–16, esp. 13–14.

Of course, the sea had always marked the culture of coastal regions, but the new relationship with trans-oceanic sailing, which became intense during the fifteenth century, was a global turning-point, with various local repercussions. If the decision to discontinue the expeditions of the Chinese admiral Zheng He's great fleet in the Indian Ocean (1433) contributed to the long-lasting closure of the Central Kingdom to the outside, the ever more committed involvement of European powers in Atlantic explorations had the opposite effect. For example, it fostered cultural interests that might explain the increasing presence of maritime iconographic references and themes in some of the major painters of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. This presence reflected a shifting attitude, generally connected to a religious context, as the *Madonna del Mare* (c. 1480), attributed to Sandro Botticelli [Fig. 10.1], or the flying fish in the main panel of Hieronymus Bosch's triptych of *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (ca. 1550) show [Fig. 10.2]. At the same time, it might not be accidental that one of the most famous converts of the Renaissance, Hasan al-Wazzan al-Gharnati al-Fasi (also known as Leo Africanus), who was captured while travelling across the Mediterranean, used the image of an amphibious bird to describe that category of men who had learnt to move from one religion to another, in a world that was in a state of 'contained conflict'.³

Scholars have already investigated the links between Christian devotion and the sea in the Mediterranean and the Western European context.⁴ This chapter will move from this delimited space, marked by corsair wars, redemptions and escapes of prisoners who often renounced their faith during extended stays in foreign lands.⁵ It will be devoted to the less explored sphere of trans-oceanic

3 Davis N.Z., *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: 2006) 110–113. For a critical rectification of Davis' approach see Subrahmanyam S., *Three Ways to Be Alien: Travails and Encounters in the Early Modern World* (Waltham, MA: 2011) 138.

4 Cabantous A. – Hildesheimer F. (eds.), *Foi chrétienne et milieux maritimes (xv^e–xx^e siècles): Actes du colloque* (Paris: 1989); Cabantous A., *Le ciel dans la mer: Christianisme et civilisation maritime (xv^e–xix^e siècle)* (Paris: 1990); Manodori A. (ed.), *La preghiera del marinaio: La fede e il mare nei segni della Chiesa e delle tradizioni marinare* (Rome: 1992); Vergé-Franceschi M. (ed.), *Mer et religion: Neuvièmes journées universitaires de Bonifacio* (Ajaccio: 2008). See also the chapter by Colombo E. – Sacconaghi R., "Telling the Untellable: The Geography of Conversion of a Muslim Jesuit", published elsewhere in this volume.

5 Recent works in the field are Kaiser W., *Le commerce des captifs: Les intermédiaires dans l'échange et le rachat des prisonniers en la Méditerranée, xv^e–xviii^e siècle* (Rome: 2008); Fiume G., *Schiavitù mediterranea: Corsari, rinnegati e santi di età moderna* (Milan: 2009); Davis R.C., *Holy War and Human Bondage: Tales of Christian-Muslim Slavery in the Early-Modern Mediterranean* (Santa Barbara, CA: 2009); Tinniswood A., *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean* (London: 2010); Weiss G.L.,



FIGURE 10.1 *Sandro Botticelli (attributed), Madonna del Mare (second half of the fifteenth century). Image © Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence.*



FIGURE 10.2 *Hieronymus Bosch, The Temptation of St. Anthony (early sixteenth century).*
Image © Museu Nacional da Arte Antiga, Lisbon.

sailing as a space of personal transformation. Travels across oceans that separated European kingdoms from their distant overseas possessions often involved religious changes as well, inasmuch as navigation became one of the most common metaphors for the ideal of a life that, after many tempests, happily attained the safe port of Salvation. Based on Iberian and other sources, this chapter will first retrace the peculiar features of the religious dimension that early modern Europeans entered when sailing across the seas of the world; it will then examine the relationship between oceans and evangelization; finally, it will analyse the strange features of the baptism administered to traded slaves. The picture that emerges shows that the oceans, the ships that navigated them, and the ports from and to which they travelled were not the least among the spaces of conversion studied in this volume.

The Sea and Religious Emotions in the Age of Exploration

In the Age of Exploration, Europeans broke with the medieval perception of the sea as largely confined to coastal waters and an attendant sense of

Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean (Stanford, CA: 2011).

unfamiliarity with the open sea. Indeed, only in the early modern period did the oceans and the mysterious universe they contained become a constant source of inspiration for literature and political thought, from the whale-island in Ariosto's *Cinque canti* (IV, 13:5–8; 14:1–4) to Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*. A similar change was also evident in the religious sphere, which had had a role in establishing the legal foundations of the emerging overseas empires since the mid-fifteenth century.⁶

Pope Nicholas V's bull *Romanus Pontifex* (1455) was a turning point.⁷ It put an end to the uncertainty in medieval law about sovereignty (*dominium*) over open seas and oceans. The bull granted this sovereignty perpetually to the Portuguese kings as 'true lords' ('veri domini'), in exchange for their duty to convert people during the Atlantic exploration, starting with those black Africans whose enslavement the pope authorized.⁸ Even at the court of Portugal, some time elapsed before fear and perplexity over the effects of such an unprecedented power dissolved, as an advice to the king written by the Infante John around 1460 shows: in it, he recalled that 'according to the ancients, [only] God and Neptune can rule' over the seas.⁹

In the following half-century, the achievement of Iberian expansion across the oceans of the world overcame these positions and modified the concept of the balance between land and sea. It injected churchmen with enthusiasm, too, as was the case with the Dominican Isidoro Isolani. In a treatise printed in 1516, he interpreted the overseas advances of the European powers as a widening of the jurisdiction of 'Church empire' ('imperium Ecclesiae'), which extended over the oceans and was apparently next to encompass 'all the world and the islands of the sea'.¹⁰ Even though it was not isolated, Isolani's position was doomed to clash with the Reformation refutation of papal power, but above all with the claim to sovereignty by the Iberian Crowns. Once more, religion was the main issue. Before piracy and maritime rivalry among European powers of different confessions led to a division of the oceans in regions corresponding to 'legal spaces of empire',¹¹ there were clear attempts to base seaborne imperial

6 Armitage D., "The Elephant and the Whale: Empires of Land and Sea", *Journal for Maritime Research* 9 (2007) 23–36.

7 *Monumenta Henricina*, ed. A.J. Dias Dinis, 15 vols. (Lisbon: 1960–1974), vol. XII, doc. 36.

8 Marcocci G., *A consciência de um império: Portugal e o seu mundo, sécs. XV–XVII* (Coimbra: 2012) 41–71.

9 *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. XIII, doc. 183 ('Deos e Neptuno, segundo opinião dos antigos, poodem senhorear').

10 Isolani Isidoro, *In hoc volumine hec continentur: De imperio militantis Ecclesiae libri quatuor* (Milan, Gottardo da Ponte: 1516) b iiv.

11 Benton L., "Legal Spaces of Empire: Piracy and the Origins of Ocean Regionalism", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47 (2005) 700–724.

power on the conversion of the oceans into Christian spaces. In the first book of his *Décadas da Ásia* (1552), the chronicler João de Barros interpreted the title 'Lord of Navigation', which was attributed to the king of Portugal, as follows: the appearance of the Portuguese fleets in the Indian Ocean had put an end to the right of free circulation of local ships, since thereafter the theory of the sea as a 'thing belonging to everybody' ('res omnium'), established by *ius commune*, was limited to Christians; others were permitted to sail only if they were in possession of a safe-conduct called *cartaz*.¹² In any case, such a monopoly was fragile, since it was based on a legal principle that was not applicable to the Atlantic Ocean, where the sovereignty shared between the Iberian Crowns was already contested by other European monarchies. Moreover, in the Indian Ocean Asian powers soon threatened it as well.¹³ But before Hugo Grotius' polemics in support of a 'free sea' (1609) unmasked its foundations, the argument of conversion had kept alive the Catholic Monarchy's aspiration to universal sovereignty, reinforced by the dynastic union of Spain and Portugal (1580–1581).

The projection of Catholic sovereignty over the seas was connected with the marked increase of devotions aimed at protecting sailors and passengers from storms and shipwrecks, a maritime religiosity that became ever more a part of the emotional atmosphere of the port neighbourhoods of the cities overlooking the oceans, just as it was reflected in the names given to the ships, which were usually dedicated to the Virgin Mary.¹⁴ At a time when a friar like the Italian Franciscan Eleuterio Albergoni published a sermon under the title of *Mare Theologico* (1600), or when it was common to portray the Church as a ship—as is shown, among other examples, in the fifth plate of Melchor Prieto's *Psalmodia Eucharistica* (1622), executed by the Flemish engraver Alardo de Popma [Fig. 10.3] and modelled on an engraving commissioned in 1610 by the Mercedarians of Valladolid—post-Tridentine synods and provincial councils decreed that spiritual preparation was required before travelling across oceans.¹⁵

12 Barros João, *Ásia... Dos feitos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, ed. H. Cidade – M. Múrias, 3 vols. (Lisbon: 1988), vol. I, 229.

13 Casale G., *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford – New York: 2010).

14 This specific religious dimension of port neighbourhoods has been neglected in two recent and interesting books: see Brockey L.M. (ed.), *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot-Burlington, VT: 2008); O'Flanagan P., *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500–1900* (Aldershot-Burlington, VT: 2009).

15 Albergoni Eleuterio, *Mare Theologico: Al Serenissimo Ranutio Farnese duca di Parma e Piacenza: Predica sopra l'Evangelio di S. Gio. Della Domenica in Albis recitata in Ferrara nel Capitolo Provinciale de Padri Convent. di S. Francesco* (Milan, Stampa del quondam



FIGURE 10.3 *Alardo de Popma, La nave de la Iglesia.*
 Source: Melchor Preto, *Psalmodia Eucharistica* (1622).

Bishops were driven, on the one hand, by the desire to make the men who put out to sea aware of the risks awaiting them and ready to face with proper spiritual preparedness a long voyage on the ocean routes along which the Catholic faith spread, and, on the other hand, by the concern that they might not observe their duty before God when beyond the control of the land-based clergy. This was urgent, especially during Lent, when ‘all people travel across the sea by ship’ (‘la gente toda anda d’armada por mar’), as Francis Xavier wrote to Ignatius of Loyola in 1542, soon after his arrival in Goa; to get around the problem, he pointed out, the governor of India, Martim Afonso de Sousa, had tried to obtain a plenary indulgence for those who confessed and received

Pacifico Pontio: 1600); Prieto Melchor, *Psalmodia eucharistica* (Madrid, Luis Sánchez: 1622). See also Vetter E.M., *Die Kupferstiche zur Psalmodia Eucaristica des Melchor Prieto von 1622* (Münster: 1972); Zuriaga Senent V.F., “La Navis Institoris de Pedro Perret en la formación de la imagen de La Merced”, in Bernat Vistarini A.P. – Cull J.T. (eds.), *Los días del alción: Emblemas, literatura y arte del Siglo de Oro* (Palma de Mallorca: 2002) 611–622.

communion on the day of St. Thomas the Apostle (21 December).¹⁶ For this reason, the archdiocese of Braga determined in 1567 that anyone who was going to navigate before Lent was obliged to fulfil the precept of annual confession and communion in the parish church before his departure; any offender would be excluded from his ecclesiastical community upon his return, until he had made amends for his sin through the penitence the archbishop imposed.¹⁷ One century later, in the Anglican context, similar religious concerns led to the spread of guides for the spiritual education of sailors, inaugurated by John Durant, a puritan preacher and Navy chaplain.¹⁸

While travelling across the sea, people went into what the treatises of theology called a ‘state of necessity’—a situation of exceptional danger analogous to that of a dying person close to coming before God. Therefore, respect for the obligation of confession was fundamental, partly because emergency absolutions given on board were suspect. The famous canon lawyer Martín de Azpilcueta thought attempts to administer the sacrament of penance at sea in extreme conditions were ‘half-done’ (‘dimidiati’), and therefore invalid.¹⁹ A vivid example is provided by the scene of a night storm, described in a report of the shipwreck of the *Santiago*. The ship left Lisbon for India in April 1585, with so many religious men on board that ‘the sailors said they had never seen such numerous and solemn divine offices in a ship during the India run (*Carreira*) in the past fifteen or twenty years’. In a general atmosphere of panic, among ‘tears and groans’, the search for fathers became so hard ‘that all wished to confess together, and with such loud voice, that they heard one another’. There was a man—the report continues—who,

since he was not able to wait, started to ask one of the religious men to hear him in confession and, without waiting, told him his serious and enormous sins aloud, [to the point] that it was necessary for the religious man to close [the penitent’s] mouth with his hand, screaming to him to be quiet, and that soon after he would hear him in confession; and after

16 *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, ed. G. Schurhammer – J. Wicki, 2 vols. (Rome: 1996), vol. I, doc. 17.

17 *Concilium Provinciale Braccaren. IIII* (Braga, António de Mariz: 1567) 108r.

18 Durant John, *The Spiritual Sea-man: or, A Manual for Mariners* (London, L. Chapman: 1655 [1654]). For its context see Capp B., *Cromwell’s Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution, 1648–1660* (Oxford – New York: 1989) 298–328.

19 Azpilcueta Martín de, *Consiliorum seu Responsorum in quinque libros [...] distributorum*, 2 vols. (Venice, Giunta: 1621), vol. II, 464. In 1583 some Jesuit fathers of the College of Évora criticized Azpilcueta’s position: *Sententiae circa resolutionum aliquorum casuum, qui in Brasilia frequenter occurrunt*, in Biblioteca Pública de Évora, CXVI/1–33, fols. 109r–130r, esp. 112v, 115v–117r, 125r.

confession this man screamed from a distance, asking the father whether he had absolved him, so out of his wits was he at the prospect of death.²⁰

With respect to those ‘who embark for India and other distant places’ (‘que se embarção pera a India & outras partes remotas’), the extravagant constitutions of the archdiocese of Lisbon, issued in 1569, stressed the ‘danger to life for those who sail to such distant parts, and how they must travel with the spiritual remedies that are necessary in case of shipwrecks and storms at sea’. Consequently, they established the obligation of confession and communion within fifteen days before departure (in whatever period of the year). The consecration of the eucharist ‘n’est pas permis sur la mer’, the Breton merchant François Pyrard de Laval remarked, while sailing on Portuguese ships across the Indian Ocean.²¹ Only the possession of a certificate from the parish priest allowed people to be inscribed in the register filled by the scribe of the *Casa da Índia* (i.e., the imperial department concerning Asia), which was an inescapable requirement for being admitted on board. The secular authorities were fully involved in this process, due to a recent royal law. A careful examination of the ‘priests who will have to serve as chaplains on the ships’ (‘sacerdotes que ouverem de ir por capellães das nãos’) was also prescribed, a delicate responsibility that included the administration of the sacraments in conditions of extreme difficulty, as was confirmed by the fact they were supplied with the ‘holy oil of the sick, so that they could administer the sacrament of [extreme]

20 “Relação do Naufragio da Nao Santiago no Anno de 1585. E Itinerario da gentequedelle se salvou”, in Brito Bernardo Gomes de (ed.), *Historia Tragico-Maritima em que se escrevem chronologicamente os Naufragios que tiveraõ as Naos de Portugal, depois que se poz em exercicio a Navegação da India*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, Congregação do Oratorio: 1735–1736), vol. II, 63–152, at 67 and 78–79 (‘Dizião os marinheiros de quinze e vinte annos desta Carreira que nunca virão em nao haver tantos e taõ solemnes officios divinos (...). Toda a gente naõ trattando já mais que da salvaçaõ das almas, por quaõ desenganada se vio da dos corpos, pediaõ confissaõ aos Religiosos, que na Nao hiaõ, com muitas lagrimas e gemidos, com taõ pouco tino e ordem, que todos se queriaõ confessar juntamente, e em voz taõ alta, que se ouvia huns aos outros, excepto homens fidalgos, e outra gente nobre, que se confessavaõ em segredo. Era a pressa tanta nas confissoens, que hum homem naõ podendo esperar começou a hum dos religiosos que o ouvisse de confissaõ, e sem mais aguardar dizia suas culpas em vôz alta, taõ graves e enormes, que foy necessario hir lhe o religioso com a mão à bocca, gritandolhe que se calasse, que logo o ouviria de confissaõ; o qual homem depois de confessado, gritava de longe, perguntand oao padre se o absolvera? Taõ alienado andava com o accidente da morte’).

21 *Voyage de Pyrard de Laval aux Indes orientales (1610–1611)*, ed. Xavier de Castro (Paris: 1998) 697.

unction to ailing persons, as well as with the books and vestments required for the divine offices, which are customary and must be done in these ships'.²²

The care of both the ecclesiastical and secular authorities for the religious dimension of trans-oceanic sailing was aimed at containing the ancestral fear of the sea, which was still great in early-modern Iberian maritime culture.²³ As the former Dominican Fernando Oliveira noted, in a treatise devoted to naval warfare, oceans and winds were 'fickle elements, of little constancy [and] not to be trusted'.²⁴ In the end, it was impossible to allay the concern that, instead of an opportunity of new life, the journey became an occasion of death. There are many signs of it in the sources of the time. In 1567, a peasant from the little coastal village of Raposeira (Algarve), Pedro Dias, made a public abjuration in an auto-da-fé in Lisbon for saying that God was not able to resuscitate the bodies devoured by the fish in the sea and that their souls would be resurrected on Doomsday, but 'the bones that were already consumed could not be reunited with them'.²⁵ The idea of dying in the abyss was a source of anguish and a trial of faith that terrorized even religious persons, as the sentiments felt in 1630 by Sister Cécile Sainte-Croix show: 'La seule crainte de mourir dans la mer me saisit'.²⁶

Oceans of Salvation: Shipwreck, Mission and Inquisition

The men who formed the *mestizo* crews of the European ships that crossed the oceans in the early modern period were of different social, cultural and geographical origins, but they shared a sense of fear and uncertainty, which might be given various responses. They trusted God, in a mixture of providentialism

22 *Constituições extravagantes do arcebispado de Lisboa* (Lisbon, António Gonçalves: 1569) fols. 3r–v ('perigo da vida, em que vão os que navegam pera partes tam remotas, & como devem ir apercebidos de remedios spirituaes & neessarios pera os perigos dos naufragios & tempestades do mar'; 'sancto oleo dos enfermos, pera poderem ministrar o sacramento da Unção aos doentes, & os livros & ornamentos neessarios pera os officios divinos, que nas ditas naos se costumão & devem fazer').

23 Pérez Mallaína P.E., *El hombre frente al mar: Naufragios en la Carrera de Indias durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (Sevilla: 1996); Tempère D., *Vivre et mourir sur les navires du Siècle d'Or* (Paris: 2009).

24 Oliveira Fernando, *Arte da guerra do mar* (Coimbra, João Álvares: 1555) 69v ('elementos caducos e de pouca constancia, mal dinos pera nelles confiar').

25 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon [henceforth ANTT], *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 10937, fol. 6r ('os ossos que estavam ja gastados não se podião ajuntar').

26 Quoted in Cabantous A., "Fortunes de mer", in Corbin – Richard (eds.), *La mer* 127–143, at 127.

and superstition.²⁷ To beseech a fortunate ending to a long voyage, processions were held in the harbours of final destination. For example, the young fellows (*meninos*) of the Jesuit College in Goa used to begin such processions during the month of September, the period of the year in which the *Armada da Índia* was expected to arrive from Portugal. It was often a moment of strong tensions: in 1593, Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque ordered his corps to interrupt a procession, perhaps because he considered it 'was still early' ('*ainda era cedo*'), as a witness declared before the local Inquisition, stressing that, in any case, the ships landed 'that very evening' ('*aquella mesma noute*').²⁸

The rhythms of religious life on board were marked by blessings, psalms and prayers, which were important regardless of the attention the sailors actually paid them. The main liturgical holidays were celebrated, with special care for Holy Week, when different ships of a fleet could perform joint rites, as a Spanish source related to Maundy Thursday shows: 'each ship decked itself out with silks and other things that had been brought along in the manner of a monument, displaying images and crosses, and on many ships there were a large number of penitents attending to the persons who carried the images.'²⁹ On the *Santiago*, in the middle of a rough sea and with enemy ships around, everybody had a negative presentiment when the liturgy of the Passion began:

On the morning of Thursday there was Mass, in the afternoon a function in which Father Pedro Martins of the Society of Jesus preached, and in the evening a sermon of the Passion that Father João Gonçalves preached; and on the morning of Friday an office with the adoration of the Cross; but the seas were still so rough and the oscillations of the ships were so many that in place of the deacon and sub-deacon there were two men at the altar who held up the father who performed the office so that he did not fall.³⁰

27 In any case, we should attenuate the interpretation according to which the beliefs of the seamen were limited to a faith of a magical sort, as was maintained by Thomas K., *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: 1971) 43. On this issue, see Pérez-Mallaina P.E., *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. C.R. Phillips (Baltimore: 1998) 237–245.

28 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4941, fol. 16r.

29 Quoted in Phillips C.R., *Six Galleons for the Kings of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore – London: 1986) 161 (I have slightly modified the translation).

30 "Relação do Naufragio" 65–66 ('A quinta feira de manhã houve missa e de tarde mandato, que pregou o padre Pedro Martins da Companhia de Jesus, e de noite procissão com sermão da Paixão, que pregou o padre Joaõ Gonçalves; e à sexta feira pela manhã officio

On the occasion of tempests or assaults that put a ship at risk, passengers not only searched frantically for a confessor, but also invoked God's assistance by reciting prayers and litanies. In the imminent danger of death, even the worst sinner among the sailors, while listening to the preaching of religious men, felt violent emotions, which drove him to a rediscovery of his soul, a sudden interior transformation that was comparable to a real conversion. Those who had fulfilled the ecclesiastical precepts without thinking ended up praying with an intensity never experienced before and taking vows, by which they would be bound if they came to land again, as happened to the survivors of the *Santo António*, owned by Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, which foundered during the journey from Brazil to Portugal in 1565.³¹

When the tempest beat down on the *Santo António*, the usual expedient was to drop a cord into the sea with some relics as a protection for the ship:

Jorge de Albuquerque, on the advice of some of his companions, ordered to be thrown into the sea a cross of gold, in which was inserted a fragment of the Holy Wood of the True Cross and many other relics, the said cross being tied with a twist of green silk to a very strong cord, with a large nail as weight, the end of this cord being tied to the ship's poop.³²

The religious emotion with which people tried to exorcize the risks of transoceanic sailing had a profane obverse in a ceremony that was practiced on sailors and passengers who crossed the equatorial line for the first time, or at other highly symbolical points. Called, significantly, 'baptism', this maritime rite, not lacking in sarcasm and reeking of liquor, kept the memory of remote fear, but also reflected the transformation experienced by those who found

com adoração da Cruz; mas eraõ ainda tamanhos os mares e balanços que a nao dava que em lugar de diacono e subdiacono estavaõ dous homens ao altar pegados no padre que fazia o officio, para que não cahisse'.

31 Pinto Bento Teixeira, "Naufragio que passou Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho vindo do Brazil para este Reyno no anno de 1565," in Brito (ed.), *Historia Tragico-Maritima*, vol. II, 1–59, at 55.

32 Ibidem 35 ('mandou Jorge de Albuquerque por conselho de alguns companheiros lançar no mar huma cruz de ouro, em que trazia huma particula do Santo Lenho da Vera Cruz, e outras muitas reliquias, amarrando a dita cruz com um cordaõ de retroz verde a huma corda muito forte, com hum prego grande por chumbada, e o cabo e ponta desta corda ataraõ à popa da nao'). English translation: *Further Selections from the Tragic History of the Sea 1559–1565: Narratives of the Shipwreck of the Portuguese East Indiamen Agüia and Garça (1559) São Paulo (1561) and the misadventures of the Brazil-ship Santo António (1565)*, trans. and ed. C.R. Boxer (Cambridge: 1968) 137.

themselves in the uncertain world of the open sea; the rite spread, albeit with variations, among Catholic and Protestant seamen, and it was still common in the nineteenth century.³³ The French barber and surgeon Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin (also known as John Esquemeling), a Huguenot, described it in his account of the vicissitudes of the buccaneers headed by Henry Morgan in the Spanish Caribbean, adventures in which he took part between 1668 and 1674. It was published first in Dutch in 1678 and then translated (in a modified form) into other languages, among others in English in 1684. At the time of his first journey to the Americas in 1666 as an employee of the French West India Company, Exquemelin had received the 'baptism' a little while after setting out from Le Havre, at the time of passing the dangerous strait of Pointe du Raz:

Here I shall not omit to mention the ceremony which at this passage, and some other places, is used by the mariners, and by them called Baptism, although it may seem either little to our purpose or of no use. The Master's Mate clothed himself with a ridiculous sort of garment that reached to his feet, and on his head he put a suitable cap, which was made very burlesque. In his right hand he placed a naked wooden sword, and in his left a pot full of ink. His face was horribly blacked with soot, and his neck adorned with a collar of many pieces of wood. Being thus apparelled, he commanded to be called before him every one of them who never had passed that dangerous place before. And then causing them to kneel down in his presence, he made the sign of the Cross upon their foreheads with ink, and gave each one a stroke on the shoulders with his wooden sword. Meanwhile the standers-by cast a bucket of water upon every man's head; and this was the conclusion of the ceremony.

According to this 'custom of the sea', 'every one of the baptized is obliged to give a bottle of brandy for his offering, placing it near the main-mast, and without speaking a word'. Exquemelin continued by describing the 'quite distinct' rite performed by the Dutch, for instance, at Pointe du Raz, or close to the little Berlengas Islands, before the Atlantic coast of Portugal:

He, therefore, that is to be baptized is fastened, and hoisted up three times at the main-yard's end, as if he were a criminal. If he be hoisted the fourth time, in the name of the Prince of Orange or of the Captain of the vessel, his honour is more than ordinary. Thus they are dipped, every

33 Rodrigues J., "Cultura marítima: Marinheiros e escravos no tráfico negreiro para o Brasil (sécs. XVIII e XIX)", *Revista Brasileira de História* 19/38 (1999) 15–53, at 44–46.

one, several times into the main ocean. But he that is the first dipped has the honour of being saluted with a gun. Such as are not willing to fall are bound to pay twelve pence for their ransom; if he be an officer in the ship, two shillings; and if a passenger, according to his pleasure. [...] All the profit which accrues by this ceremony is kept by the Master's Mate, who after reaching their port usually lays it out in wine, which is drunk amongst the ancient seamen. Some say this ceremony was instituted by the Emperor Charles the Fifth [...].³⁴

It is difficult to imagine how priests and religious men tolerated similar episodes in the circumscribed space of the ship, where difficulties were abundant. The Catholic missionaries, called on to propagate the faith across the globe, certainly considered the oceans above all as a channel towards the lands to convert. Not only that, but several letters they wrote about their travels to the Americas or Asia show to what extent long-distance navigation had a strong spiritual impact on them. Their ministry had already begun during the journey, but they still had time to consult with themselves about their vocation, the 'desire of the Indies'. A great painting of Lisbon, with the River Tagus crossed by tens of carracks, galleons and little ships, all surmounted by Francis Xavier paying homage to King John III before leaving for the East [Fig. 10.4], reveals how, in the first half of the eighteenth century, voyaging across the seas of the world towards regions to evangelize was still a central iconographic subject for the Society of Jesus.

On board, besides attending the divine offices and taking care of the dying in the last moments of their lives, which were decisive to obtain salvation, the missionaries even took part in the defence of the fleet against external assaults, especially if made by North-European vessels. In this case, the protection of the ships was associated with the struggle for the orthodoxy of the oceans, which were infested with heretics. How far the Jesuits might go is demonstrated by letters like those of Pedro Fernández in 1564: this Jesuit reported that, during a British attack in the open Atlantic Ocean against the fleet that carried Viceroy Antão de Noronha to India, he and a brother of his had encouraged the soldiers in their fight, flanking them in the battle with crucifix in hand.³⁵

34 Esquemeling John (Exquemelin Alexandre Olivier), *The Buccaneers of America: A True Account of the Most Remarkable Assaults Committed of Late Years Upon Coasts of the West Indies by the Buccaneers of Jamaica and Tortuga*, ed. H. Powell (London, William Crooke: 1684; reprint, New York: 2010) 2–4.

35 *Documenta Indica*, ed. J. Wicki – J. Gomes, 18 vols. (Rome: 1948–1988), vol. VI, doc. 43. On the presence of Jesuits in the fleet of the India run see Brockey L.M., "Jesuit Missionaries



FIGURE 10.4 *Unknown author, St. Francis Xavier's Departure from Lisbon to India (ca. 1730). Image © Lisbon, Museu Nacional da Arte Antiga.*

The missionaries contributed to the Catholic project to transform the oceans into a space of salvation, free from the traps set by the vessels of heretics and non-Christians. Indeed, the seas, immense and difficult to control, provided ways of escape and opportunities for redemption. So it was for the Portuguese New Christians, descendants of the Jews who had been forcibly converted in the late fifteenth century: many of them ran away from Portugal and inquisitorial persecutions, setting sail under false pretences from the harbours of the kingdom, before making the Atlantic the operational base of a vast merchant network, which earned them the definition of a 'nation upon the ocean sea'.³⁶ However, the *Inquisición de la mar* ('Inquisition of the sea') was not created in order to give pursuit to the 'Judaizers'. Instead, it arose at the time of the Battle of Lepanto (1571) and had jurisdiction over all members of the Spanish Armada: its aim was to strengthen religious cohesion on board by controlling the ideas and behaviour of the sailors, who were usually in contact with people of other beliefs. This court survived, with changing fortunes, until 1624, and put on trial, especially, renegades and blasphemers.³⁷ It was an extreme form of fear of the sea that drove the Inquisition to organize constant inspections of the boxes on the ships after entering the harbours on the shores of the Iberian-Atlantic World, searching for forbidden books, generally placed there by North European travellers in a kind of trans-oceanic book trade.³⁸

A harbour could also be a space of activity for the missionaries, if not of collaboration with the inquisitors. It was these men that heretics captured on board ships on the high seas would have to face: once on land, the suspects were often mistreated and put in jail. In such a case, the Jesuits in particular went into action in the hope of transforming the unhappy fate of a prisoner into an opportunity for his soul. In 1552, while on a mission in the Algarve with Father André Frutuoso, Gonçalo Vaz de Melo visited a French Huguenot,

on the *Carreira da Índia* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Selection of Contemporary Sources", *Itinerario* 31 (2007) 111–132.

- 36 Studincki-Gizbert D., *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492–1640* (Oxford: 2008). See also Kagan R.L. – Morgan P.D. (eds.), *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500–1800* (Baltimore: 2009).
- 37 Civalè, G., "Inquisizione del Mare", in Prospero A. (ed.) in collaboration with Lavenia V. and Tedeschi J., *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, 4 vols. (Pisa: 2010), vol. II, 808–809.
- 38 Austin M.M., "Heretical Plagues' and Censorship Cordons: Colonial Mexico and the Transatlantic Book Trade", *The American Society of Church History* 75 (2006) 1–37; González Sánchez C.A. – Rueda Ramírez P., "Con recato y sin estruendo: Puertos atlánticos y visita inquisitorial de navios", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* s. 5, 1 (2009) 472–506.

whom nobody would approach because of a contagious wound, and was able to convert him before his death.³⁹ Ten years later, in a Seville perturbed by the Inquisition, which had repressed the circulation of Protestant ideas in the city by condemning many people to the stake, the Jesuits took care of the Flemish ‘galley slaves’ (‘remeros forzados’) who had escaped from the shipwreck of the fleet of the Marquis of Santa Cruz. Many of them were victims of epidemics. But this time the exercise of charity became an exercise of inquisition: the inquisitors entrusted the fathers with questioning the prisoners, who confirmed the existence of a dense heretical network that linked Antwerp and Seville.⁴⁰

Rough Water Baptisms: Conversion and the Slave Trade

Among those who crossed the seas of the world in the early modern age, there was one category that, despite itself, was both symbol and contradiction of the new religious value conferred on the oceans, at least by the Catholics: the slaves. Much discussed, but rarely disputed, the right to their possession derived, above all in the case of black Africans, from the promise of baptizing them. But, actually, both the traders and the owners neglected their spiritual life, and in this they were often imitated by the clergy too. Although the slaves’ conversion was envisaged or, at least, hoped for, once they had fallen into Christian hands, their baptism was certainly not delayed by the need of imparting some rudiments of the catechism to them. Still less was it impeded by suspicions of the sacrament’s darker meaning harboured by non-European populations, who, from Japan to West Africa, associated baptisms on the sea-shore with the Europeans’ alleged cannibalism. This is attested by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jesuit sources, including a treatise in favour of the conversion of black Africans by Alonso de Sandoval, a missionary at Cartagena de Indias.⁴¹

39 *Chronica dos PP. Jezuitas em Portugal*, in Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, cod. 162 (764), 440.

40 Pastore S., “Esercizi di carità, esercizi di Inquisizione: Siviglia (1558–1564)”, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 37 (2001) 231–258, esp. 243–248.

41 Pinto A. Fernandes – Pires S. Remédio, “The ‘Resposta que alguns padres de Japão mandaram perguntar’: A Clash of Strategies?”, *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 10–11 (2005) 9–60, at 48–49; Sandoval Alonso de, *Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana: costumbres i ritos, disciplina i catechismo avangelico de todos etiopes* (Seville, Francisco de Lira: 1627) 244r.

Sandoval's work has left us some astounding case histories of baptisms *manqués* or badly performed on African slaves at the moment of weighing anchor from the ports of the Gulf of Guinea, Angola and Cape Verde. While ecclesiastical and civil legislation during the sixteenth century had gradually imposed the duty of converting those men, it had certainly left wide margins of discretion, insisting that in 'case of necessity, this sacrament may be administered anywhere and by anybody'.⁴² The reason for this lenience was above all the reduction of slaves to goods, and the general lack of interest on the part of the Europeans residing in the ports of the slave trade. Thus the voyage in rough seas, rather than freeing the slaves' souls from religious ignorance and beliefs that needed rooting out, proved to be both a physical and spiritual trap for these men and women, thousands of whom lost their lives without even the benefit of the promised faith, whose meaning they would, in any case, have been unable to understand, but which would have saved them for eternity—at least according to the few clergy who went through the motions of a sermon before sailing, in a language that was mysterious to the slaves.

The Spanish Dominican Tomás de Mercado, a theologian of Seville who had spent time in Mexico, denounced the terrible conditions of the Atlantic crossing, the 'middle passage', just as the numbers of those involved were starting to increase, around 1570:

They think they save them by keeping them naked, letting them die from thirst and starving them, and clearly they trick themselves, since, on the contrary, they lose them. They embark on one ship, which sometimes is not a carrack, four hundred and five hundred of them. So, the smell itself is enough to kill them, as indeed many die. It is surprising if they are not reduced by twenty-five per cent. And lest anybody thinks I exaggerate, less than four months ago two port of call merchants carried five hundred of them in a ship from Cape Verde to New Spain, and after one night woke up with one hundred and twenty dead men. Because they keep them like pigs and, even worse, all below deck, so their breath and stench (which was enough to infect all the air and to take their lives) killed them. And it was a just punishment by God that the beastly men who transported them also died. The thing did not stop and by the time of their arrival in Mexico almost three hundred had died.

⁴² *Constituições do Arcebispado de Goa, aprovadas pello primeiro côcilio prouincial* (Goa, João de Endem: 1568) 4v ('caso de necessidade, este sacramento pode ser administrado em qualquer lugar, & por qualquer pessoa').

It was the result of 'extraordinary barbarism' ('barbaridad grandissima'), as was already clear from the treatment received by the slaves when 'they baptize them all together with a single twig of hyssop on the shore, while embarking' ('en la ribera al tiempo de embarcarlos los baptizan a todos juntos con un hisopo').⁴³ As early as 1513, for fear that the African slaves might not receive even the rather dubious form of collective baptism, the vicar of the church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Lisbon, which was situated in the vibrant heart of the harbour area, had been granted the faculty of conferring the sacrament on the slaves as soon as they disembarked from the ships. The papal bull authorizing this also allowed for baptism to be given 'to black Moors themselves when they are gathered in the ships and other boats or craft, also before arriving in the harbour and in case of necessity or danger of death, by their masters or the pilots of the ships or boats'.⁴⁴

The admissibility of celebrating baptisms at sea, even in extreme conditions, might recall the gospel tradition of the sacrament imparted with seawater on the early Christians (Mark 1:9; Acts 8:36), but that power was actually a response to the need to remedy the shortcomings of the missionaries posted to the localities of the slave trade. In these cases, the enclosed space of the ship became a genuine space of conversion, although historians can find few references to it in the sources, as shipwrecks cancelled their traces, or because, if a slave reached dry land, those extreme conversions were followed by a second baptism *sub conditione* (i.e., considered valid only if not already administered before), once the subject had been catechized. In rare cases, rather than an

43 Mercado Tomás de, *Summa de ratos y contratos . . . Diuidida en seys libros. Añadidas a la primera addicion muchas nuevas resoluciones y dos libros enteros* (Seville, Hernando Díaz: 1571) 109r–v ('Piensan que ahorran trayendolos desnudos, matandolos de sed, y hambre, y cierto se engañan, que antes pierden. Embarcan en una nao, que a las vezes no escaraca, quatrocientos y quinientos dellos, do el mesmo olor basta a matarlos mas, como en efecto muchos mueren. Que maravilla es non mermar a veynte por ciento. Y porque nadie piense digo exagerationes, no ha quatro meses que dos mercaderes de gradas sacaron para Nueva España de Cabo Verde en una nao quinientos, y en una sola noche amansieron muertos ciento y veynte. Porque los metieron como a lechones, y aun peor debaxo de la cubierta a todos, do su mesmo huelgo y hedionez (que bastava a corromper cien ayres y sacarlos a todos de la vida) los mato. Y fuera justo castigo de Dios, murieran juntamente aquellos hombres bestiales que los llevavan a cargo, y no paro en esto el negocio que antes de llegar à Mexico murieron quasi trezientos').

44 *Monumenta Missionaria Africana: África Occidental*, ed. A. Brásio, 15 vols. (Lisbon: 1952–1988), vol. I, doc. 74 ('mauris nigris ipsis cum ipsi in nauibus et alis fustis seu nauigijis recipiuntur, etiam antequam ad portum veniant et casus necessitatis seu mortis periculum immineat, per patronos seu magistratos navium seu fustarum').

occasion for conversion, a dangerous storm turned into an unexpected chance of escape for those who had lost their freedom, as, once again, is shown by an episode that took place on board the *Santiago*:

Faced with these calamities a young *cativo* of the passenger Manoel Rodrigues started to display great happiness, rejoicing and eating some of the numerous sweetmeats, and jumped with glee into the water within a tank that was on board. And while swimming, he splashed in it, mocking the people and saying that he was already freed and did not owe anything to anybody, so sure of himself, without fear, as if he were swimming in the river of Lisbon.⁴⁵

But ships like the *Santiago*, which had many slaves among the crew, could not be compared with the slave ships. And so, opportunities like the one that had opened up to the young *cativo* were unlikely to be offered to black Africans, with their many individual histories and cultures transformed into a common destiny, while, crammed in the hold, they experienced a strange intimacy, surrounded by the ‘unnatural society of the slave ship’ and the ‘terror of the open sea’, which was seen as a sacred space controlled by powerful but unpredictable divinities.⁴⁶ The forms of ill-treatment denounced by the Jesuit Sandoval, who cited missionary reports and official certificates, did not include baptisms in open sea; and it is suggestive that, as late as 1684, the Portuguese Crown insisted on the presence of a priest on board slave ships, on pain of a fine twice the value of the cargo of slaves.⁴⁷ Usually, the slaves went through that rite of passage a few moments before leaving, sometimes when they were already packed together on board, as happened in the early sixteenth century on the island of São Tomé, according to one of Sandoval’s witnesses:

a man reported to me and gravely asserted that [...] the priest had gone to the ship, taken the water in the palm of his hand from a tray and

45 “Relação do Naufragio” 91 (‘À vista destas calamidades hum moço cativo de Manoel Rodrigues passageiro, começou a fazer muita festa, alegrandose, e comendo dos doces que não faltavaõ, saltou com muito contentamento na agoa dentro no tanque, que a nao em si recolheo, ondenando dava muitos mergulhos, zombando dos mais, e dizendo que já era forro, que não devia nada a ninguem: taõ seguro, sem medo, como se nadara no rio de Lisboa’).

46 Smallwood S.E., *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2007) 101–152; quotations at 120 and 121.

47 Rodrigues, “Cultura marítima” 39–40.

thrown it onto their heads, which had not been washed or shaved beforehand, with the clear risk that the water might not pass through their hair, because generally they have it so dense, greasy and filthy. And he assured me that so many people were baptized on that day that, since the father who baptized them grew tired of standing, he sat, and as he went on, his arms grew tired of baptizing. And he [the man reporting the case] started helping him in this way (these are his words that I will neither exaggerate nor minimize): ‘The black man went to the father and kneeled before the tray, or pot, and I held him by the neck and plunged him into the pot, and when he got up again, the father laid his hand on him. And I remained with a great scruple, because some passed hastily, whose head did not get touched by the father, and I could not recognize them now, nor know what remedy they will have.’⁴⁸

Decades later, in Brazil, we encounter the same problem that bothered Sandoval at Cartagena de Indias in the 1620s—the impossibility, that is, of determining whether black African slaves, who were utterly incapable of answering the questions on the faith that were put to them, had been baptized or not. Towards the end of the century, in fact, King Peter II of Portugal informed Archbishop João Franco de Oliveira of Bahia by letter that he had given orders that, ‘in whatever harbour slaves may arrive or stay, every moral diligence be used to instruct them, if time allows, without detriment to navigation and also avoiding that they be invalidly or unfruitfully baptized; and if there are churchmen, that they go to every ship, both to teach them during the journey and to baptize them if their lives are in danger’. The king also required that the state of the soul of each slave transported by ship be certified, so that it might be made

48 Sandoval, *Natureza* 249 (‘me refirió, y gravemente certificó un hombre que [...] avia ydo el Sacerdote al navio, y que cogia de una batea el agua que cabia en la palma de la mano, y se la echava en lascabeças, sin aver precedido el lavarles, o quitarles el cabello, con manifesto peligro de no passar al casco, por tener lo ordinario el cabello todos tan tupido, tan grasiento e immundo. Y certifico me, que era tanta la gente que se baptizó este día, que aviendose cansado el padre que los baptizava, de estar en pie, se sentò, y proseguiendo sentado se le cansaron también los braços de baptizar, y que le fue a ayudar el desta manera (Palabras son suyas, no les añadiré, ni dellas quitaré.) “El negro venia [al] padre, y se arrodillava a la batea, o caldera, y yo le cogia por el pescueço, y le sambullia en la caldera, y levantandose, le ponía el padre la mano encima. Y á me quedado un grave escrupolo, que se passaron algunos con la priessa, que aun no alcançaron les tocasse el padre las cabeças, los quales no podrè en ninguna manera conocer agora, ni sé que remedio tendran”).

known at once to the prelate of the city where he finally disembarked.⁴⁹ But these instructions were often ignored, and so in 1719 the Portuguese sovereign John V passed a law to the effect that, as the clergy in Angola did nothing to ensure that ‘the slaves who must sail to Brazil are first instructed in Christian doctrine and baptized in order to avoid the danger of death during the voyage with the irreparable loss of their salvation’, the archbishop of Bahia, ‘as soon as the ships with the slaves arrive in this harbour, should inquire about those who are sick, and command to take care promptly of those who are not baptized so that they do not die without baptism, and advise the parish priests of his diocese that they examine the slaves of every resident [to determine] if there is anybody to be baptized and catechized’.⁵⁰

This measure was added to what was already laid down in the first synodal constitutions of Brazil, published that very year. The latter also transcribed a list of the questions that should be directed, through an interpreter, to the ‘brute and *bozal* slaves, who speak an unknown language, like those who come from Elmina and also many from Angola’, in the simplified ritual of a baptism that was often celebrated as soon as they disembarked, *sub conditione*, before they died of the terrible consequences of the voyage:

Do you want to cleanse your soul with the holy water?
 Do you want to eat the salt of God?
 Do you cast out your sins from your soul?
 Will you cease to commit sins?
 Do you want to be a son of God?
 Do you cast out the demon from your soul?⁵¹

49 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon [henceforth AHU], Registro de Cartas Régias, cod. 246, fol. 42r–v (‘em qualquer porto que os ditos escravos fizerem alguma assistência ou demora, se aplique toda a diligência moral para serem instruídos, quanto o tempo der lugar, sempre juízo da navegação, para que estando capazes se possam baptizar, e sem que também se exponham serem ou nulamente ou infrutuosamente baptizados e que, havendo clérigos, vá um em cada navio, assim para os ir ensinando na viagem, como para os baptizar se estiverem em perigo de vida’).

50 AHU, Registro de Cartas Régias, cod. 247, fol. 181v (‘os escravos que se hão de embarcar para o Brasil sejam primeiro instruídos na doutrina cristã e baptizados para se evitar o perigo de poderem morrer na viagem com a perda infalível da sua salvação[...]; tanto que chegarem navios com escravos a esse porto, mande saber os que vêm doentes e faça com que se lhe acuda prontamente aos que não vierem baptizados para que não faleçam sem baptismo e que recomende aos párocos das freguesias da sua diocese examinem os escravos que têm cada um dos moradores se alguns estão por baptizar e catequizar’).

51 *Constituições primeyras do Arcebispado da Bahia, feytas & ordenadas pello Illustrissimo, e Reverendissimo Senhor D. Sebastião Monteyro da Vide, Arcebispo do dito Arcebispado [...]*

If, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the oceans were thus spaces of violence and injustice, and, essentially, of failure in the promised conversion of thousands of men reduced to slavery, they could also, paradoxically, become the scene of a campaign against Dutch traffickers for the sake of baptizing black Africans. Thus, in 1682, the Inquisition of Lisbon called on the Dutch Consul to ensure that the ships under the command of captains of his country were not transporting slaves if they left Portuguese ports.⁵²

Measures like these were based on fears about the heretical influence of a crew of Calvinists on newly-baptized Christians, which might turn a slave ship into a scene of apostasy. But what might happen during the Atlantic crossing had already been summed up by the singular case of an African slave, belonging to an English sailor, who had been seized aboard a ship travelling between Tangiers and England. In 1671 this slave was brought before the inquisitors of Lisbon, who discovered that 'he had followed the sect of Calvin, without being baptized' ('sem ser bautizado seguira a seita de Calvino'). After commenting that 'there can be no captives in England; on the contrary, the laws of that kingdom establish that those who are carried there become free, especially if they belong to any sect of theirs [i.e., the English]'; the Holy Office set him on a path of religious instruction so that he might receive baptism.⁵³ For the Catholic authorities, in the contested space of the oceans, the link between conversion and slavery was to remain an open problem for a long time to come.

Selective Bibliography

- Armitage D., "The Elephant and the Whale: Empires of Land and Sea", *Journal for Maritime Research* 9 (2007) 23–36.
- Bailyn B., *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2005).
- Benton L., "Legal Spaces of Empire: Piracy and the Origins of Ocean Regionalism", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47 (2005) 700–724.
- Brito Bernardo Gomes de (ed.), *Historia Tragico-Maritima em que se escrevem chronologicamente os Naufragios que tiverão as Naos de Portugal, depois que se poz em*

(Lisbon, Pascoal da Silva: 1719) 23 ('escravos brutos, & buçaes, & de lingua não sabida, como são os que vem da Mina, & muytos tambem de Angola [...]; Queres lavar a tua alma com a agua santa? / Queres comer o sal de Deos? / Botas fora da tua alma todos os teus peccados? / Não has de fazer mais peccados? / Queres ser filho de Deos? / Botas fora da tua alma o demonio?').

52 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Livro 153, fol. 61r.

53 *Ibidem*, fol. 55r ('em Inglaterra não pode haver cativos, antes, pelas leis daquele reino fica livre qualquer que he levado a ele, principalmente seguindo alguma seita deles').

- exercício a Navegação da Índia*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, Officina da Congregação do Oratorio: 1735–1736).
- Brockey L.M., “Jesuit Missionaries on the *Carreira da Índia* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Selection of Contemporary Sources”, *Itinerario* 31 (2007) 111–132.
- Brockey L.M. (ed.), *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot-Burlington, VT: 2008).
- Cabantous A. – Hildesheimer F. (eds.), *Foi chrétienne et milieux maritimes (XV^e–XX^e siècles): Actes du colloque* (Paris: 1989).
- Cabantous A., *Le ciel dans la mer: Christianisme et civilisation maritime (XV^e–XIX^e siècle)* (Paris: 1990).
- Capp B., *Cromwell’s Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution, 1648–1660* (Oxford – New York: 1989).
- Civale, G., “Inquisizione del Mare”, in Prosperi A. (ed.) in collaboration with Lavenia V. and Tedeschi J., *Dizionario storico dell’Inquisizione* (Pisa: 2010) 808–809.
- Corbin A. – Richard H. (eds.), *La mer: Terreur et fascination* (Paris: 2004).
- Davis R.C., *Holy War and Human Bondage: Tales of Christian-Muslim Slavery in the Early-Modern Mediterranean* (Santa Barbara, CA: 2009).
- Durant John, *The Spiritual Sea-man: or, A Manual for Mariners* (London, L. Chapman: 1655 [1654]).
- Esquemeling John (Exquemelin Alexandre Olivier), *The Buccaneers of America: A True Account of the Most Remarkable Assaults Committed of Late Years Upon Coasts of the West Indies by the Buccaneers of Jamaica and Tortuga*, ed. H. Powell (London, William Crooke: 1684; reprint, New York: 2010).
- Fiume G., *Schiavitù mediterranee: Corsari, rinnegati e santi di età moderna* (Milan: 2009).
- Gupta P. – Hofmeyr I. – Pearson M. (eds.), *Eyes Across the Water: Navigating the Indian Ocean* (Pretoria: 2010).
- Kagan R.L. – Morgan P.D. (eds.), *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500–1800* (Baltimore: 2009).
- Kaiser W., *Le commerce des captifs: Les intermédiaires dans l’échange et le rachat des prisonniers en la Méditerranée, XV^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Rome: 2008).
- Klooster W. – Padula A. (eds.), *The Atlantic World: Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: 2005).
- Malekandathil P., *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean* (Delhi: 2010).
- Manodori A. (ed.), *La preghiera del marinaio: La fede e il mare nei segni della Chiesa e delle tradizioni marinare* (Rome: 1992).
- Mercado Tomás de, *Summa de ratos y contratos... Diuidida en seys libros. Añadidas a la primera addicion muchas nuevas resoluciones y dos libros enteros* (Seville, Hernando Díaz: 1571).

- O'Flanagan P., *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500–1900* (Aldershot – Burlington, VT: 2009).
- Pastore S., “Esercizi di carità, esercizi di Inquisizione: Siviglia (1558–1564)”, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 37 (2001) 231–258.
- Pérez-Mallaina P.E., *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. C.R. Phillips (Baltimore: 1998).
- Phillips C.R., *Six Galleons for the Kings of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore – London: 1986).
- Rodrigues J., “Cultura marítima: Marinheiros e escravos no tráfico negreiro para o Brasil (sécs. XVIII e XIX)”, *Revista Brasileira de História* 19/38 (1999) 15–53.
- Sandoval Alonso de, *Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana: costumbres i ritos, disciplina i catechismo avangelico de todos etiopes* (Seville, Francisco de Lira: 1627).
- Smallwood S.E., *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA – London: 2007).
- Studincki-Gizbert D., *A Nation Upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the Crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492–1640* (Oxford: 2008).
- Subrahmanyam S., “Afterthoughts: Histories in Bottles”, in Miller P.N. (ed.), *The Sea: Thalassography and Historiography* (Ann Arbor: 2013) 277–284.
- Tempère D., *Vivre et mourir sur les navires du Siècle d'Or* (Paris: 2009).
- Tinniswood A., *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean* (London: 2010).
- Vergé-Franceschi M. (ed.), *Mer et religion: Neuvièmes journées universitaires de Bonifacio* (Ajaccio: 2008).
- Weiss G.L., *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford CA: 2011).

Giving for the Mission: The *Encomenderos* and Christian Space in the Late Sixteenth-Century Andes

Aliocha Maldavsky

During the 1570s, the Society of Jesus established itself in the Andes with the foundation of Jesuit colleges, financially supported by the *encomenderos*—former conquistadors who had become wealthy settlers by extracting tribute and work from a specific group of natives. Their generous donations and bequests reveal the consideration the population of the colonial cities had for the freshly arrived Jesuit priests in the American territories of Philip II. The Jesuits represented the revival of the Catholic faith and emphasized local commitment to the evangelization and conversion of the native populations. However, becoming a founder or a benefactor of the Society of Jesus by offering financial support was not just a means of spiritual salvation but also a way of seeing one's memory perpetuated amongst the living.¹ The sponsorship of the *encomenderos*—who are the sole donors studied here—deserves more than just a cursory glance and should be set in the context of the struggle for social status within the new-born Andean colonial society, at a time when the privileges of the *encomenderos* were being challenged.

Throughout the last third of the sixteenth century, the Church established, through several provincial councils and for many decades, a colonial orthodoxy that justified the Spanish presence and dominion in the area by considering the American Indians as needful of Catholic salvation.² At a time when in Castile the nature of nobility was being redefined by new urban institutions, it was the *encomenderos* who continued to define the still tentative Spanish-American aristocracy in the Andes. They were the founding members of the American *cabildos* and formed the elite of the local Spanish population, and even held a status close to that of feudal lord. The very feats of the Conquest, an unflinching loyalty towards the Crown and a due respect for the duties they

1 Rodríguez D., *Por un lugar en el cielo: Juan Martínez Rengifo y su legado a los jesuitas, 1560–1592* (Lima: 2005).

2 Estenssoro Fuchs J.-C., *Del paganismo a la santidad: La incorporación de los Indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532–1750* (Lima: 2003).

had been entrusted with concerning the evangelization of the indigenous populations, legitimized their superior social status.³ The New Laws of 1542, however, promulgated by Charles V to protect the native population, increased the control of the Spanish Crown over its American territories, at the expense of the *encomenderos*. By denying them full jurisdiction over the Indians of their *encomiendas*, the monarchy obviously no longer wished to perpetuate the *encomienda* system.⁴

Modern historians have concluded that the *encomenderos* in the end were an obstacle to evangelization, as they were involved in civil warfare and because they exploited the native populations. Yet, at the time, the conversion to Christianity of the Indians was part and parcel of the duties of the *encomenderos*. They were the delegates of the Crown's patronage of the Church, therefore they felt that their patronage was the same as that of any European noble over his land. Indeed, according to royal legislation and as confirmed by the grants assigning the individual *encomiendas*, a commitment to evangelization conditioned their possession.⁵ Encouraged, however, by Bartolomé de las Casas and the Dominicans of Peru, who already regarded the *encomienda* system as an obstacle to the conversion of the Indians, many were the former conquistadors who, in the 1550s and 1560s, proceeded to the restitution of property to the natives for moral reasons, intimately linked to the conditions of the Conquest.⁶ The careful analysis of documents of restitution shows, however, that beyond the fear of hell or compliance with the demands of Las Casas, the *encomenderos* were also intent on the defence of the Catholic faith as this strengthened their dominion over the Indians. Through charity, they could justify their continuing conquest, in accordance with a bygone medieval

3 Zuñiga J.-P., *Espagnols d'outre-mer: Emigration, métissage et reproduction sociale à Santiago du Chili au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: 2002) 149–168; Moore J.P., *The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs* (Durham: 1954); De la Puente Brunke J., *Encomienda y encomenderos en el Perú: Estudio social y político de una institución* (Sevilla: 1992) 258.

4 Hampe Martínez T., “La encomienda en el Perú en el siglo XVI: Ensayo bibliográfico”, *Histórica* 6 (1982) 173–216; Goldwert M., “La lucha por la perpetuidad de las encomiendas en el Perú virreinal, 1550–1600”, *Revista Histórica* 22 (1955–1956) 336–360; 23 (1957–1958) 207–245.

5 *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid, Julián de Paredes, 1681) bk. 6, tit. 9, law 3.

6 Lohmann Villena G., “La restitución por conquistadores y encomenderos: Un aspecto de la incidencia lascasiana en el Perú”, *Anuario de Estudios americanos*, 23 (1966) 21–89; idem, “El encomendero indiano, cooperador de la evangelización”, in *Homenaje al profesor Alfonso García Gallo*, 5 vols. (Madrid: 1996), vol. V, 113–136; Del Río M. “Riquezas y poder: las restituciones a los indios del repartimiento de Paria”, in Bouysse-Cassagne T. (ed.), *Saberes y memorias en los Andes: In memoriam Thierry Saignes* (Paris – Lima: 1997) 261–278.

model, while simultaneously obeying the Crown's New Laws.⁷ From the 1570s, donations to the Jesuit order and the foundation of educational institutions for the Spaniards were a means of demonstrating their dedication to the evangelization of the Indians, while at the same time reasserting their aristocratic status within the new Andean society. Thus, even though they were deprived of full territorial lordship and even though religious patronage was largely limited by royal and ecclesiastical law—namely by the Council of Trent's decrees—, by partnering with those whose aim was to build a missionary space, the *encomenderos* of the 1570s asserted a *de facto* religious patronage over the lands of their *encomiendas*.

To show the full implications of the donations of the *encomenderos*, I will begin by presenting three examples of pious bequests to the Society of Jesus made by wealthy *encomenderos* of La Paz and Arequipa between the 1570s and 1580s. These were a form of secular patronage of the Church but also an affirmation of a typically Hispano-American form of noble identity. Indeed, evangelical charity through the Jesuits added to the reformulation of lordly dominion over the Indians of the *encomiendas* and also over the lands they occupied.

Andean Jesuit Colleges Financed by the *Encomenderos*

At a time when the Council of Trent encouraged charity, there were many donations and bequests by wealthy Spaniards supporting the evangelization of the native Indians in the Andean area. A large body of notarial acts detailing the motivations, circumstances and content of these donations has survived. This study focuses on three main donations to the Jesuits of Peru established between the 1570s and the 1580s.

The first concerns Juan de Ribas. He was a rich *encomendero*, the founder of the city of La Paz and an active member of its town council (*cabildo*).⁸ In September 1572, just four years after the Jesuits first landed in Peru, Juan de Ribas promised to support the foundation of a Jesuit college in La Paz and to provide an annuity of 3,000 pesos for the fathers to 'take care of the ministries

7 Maldovsky A., "Les *encomenderos* et l'évangélisation des Indiens dans le Pérou colonial: 'Noblesse' et propagation de la foi au XVI^e siècle", in Boltanski A. – Mercier F. (eds.), *Le salut par les armes: Noblesse et défense de l'orthodoxie, XIII^e – XVII^e s.* (Rennes: 2011) 239–250.

8 He was named Public Prosecutor of the City on the day of its foundation. See Crespo A.R., *El corregimiento de La Paz, 1548–1600* (La Paz: 1972) 77.

of the Society'.⁹ Besides an *obraje* (textile fabric) in La Paz, Juan de Ribas owned the *repartimiento* of Viacha, situated 30 kilometres away on the road to Potosí,¹⁰ and the *encomienda* of Pucara, which belonged to Mencia de Vargas, the daughter from a previous marriage of his wife, Lucrecia de Sanzoles.¹¹ To justify his bequest, Ribas mentioned the spiritual benefit that both the local Indians and the Spaniards would reap from the education offered by the Jesuits.¹² The Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, however, refused to authorize the immediate foundation of the College of La Paz, as Juan de Ribas also had outstanding debts, which he needed to reimburse first.¹³ It therefore took a full decade for Philip II to authorize the foundation of the College in 1578 and for Juan de Ribas to confirm his donation in 1583, through a bequest made in his will. The donation was finalized with his death in 1584.¹⁴

Antonio de Llanos belonged to an altogether different category of *encomenderos*. He was a merchant in Arequipa and a benefactor of the Jesuit College of the city, to the point of entering the Society of Jesus as a temporal coadjutor after the death of his wife in 1587. Signing a first bequest dated 17 February 1579, Antonio de Llanos donated to the Society of Jesus an annuity of 1,500 pesos, on the condition that the Jesuits say masses for the salvation of his soul and that of his wife, María Cermeño, and allow them to rest upon their death in the main chapel of their church. A written donation signed by both spouses was registered on 28 May 1582.¹⁵ It announced that the promised annuity would begin as of June 1582 and that an extra 500 pesos would be given for the purchase of ornaments for the church and for the reconstruction of the college damaged by an earthquake in January of that year. The bequest also included a *hacienda*

9 Egaña de A. – Fernández E. (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, 8 vols. (Rome: 1954–1986), vol. 1, 481–487. Juan de Ribas' donation is summarized in Mateos F. (ed.), *Historia general de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Perú*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1944), vol. II, 258; Rodríguez, *Por un lugar*, 111–112.

10 Jiménez de la Espada M., *Relaciones geográficas de Indias: Perú*, ed. J.U. Martínez Carreras, 3 vols. (Madrid: 1965), vol. II, 57; López Beltrán C., *Alianzas familiares: Elite, género y negocios en La Paz. s. XVII* (Lima: 1998) 32. According to Crespo, *El corregimiento* 77, he also owned a *hacienda* and an *estancia*, coca plantations and 13,000 heads of cattle.

11 *Ibidem*, 54.

12 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. I, 730; Archivo General de Indias [henceforth AGI], Patronato, 113, R.9, fols. 2r and 13r.

13 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. II, 147–149.

14 *Ibidem*, vols. II, 329, and III, 116–124, 318–328, 329–330.

15 *Ibidem*, vol. II, 591–592, 806 and 809. The donation is summarized in Mateos (ed.), *Historia general*, vol. II, 195.

and its cattle, to be given to the Jesuits upon the death of the donors.¹⁶ The donation was confirmed in 1587 by Antonio de Llanos following the death of his wife, María Cermeño.¹⁷

According to this later document, María Cermeño was the widow of an *encomendero* and had inherited the *encomienda* from her first husband, Thomas Farel. It was therefore through her that Antonio de Llanos, a simple merchant, had been able to attain the most admired status in sixteenth-century Peruvian society. Of English descent, Farel had sailed to Peru in 1540 with María Cermeño, with his sisters-in-law, Ana and Catalina Cermeño, and with his mother-in-law, Leonor López, whose husband, a gunpowder supplier of the *Casa de la Contratación*, had died before they all took ship.¹⁸

When in Peru, the Cermeño daughters met their two brothers, Cristóbal, a conquistador of Cuzco, and Pedro, a leader of Gonzalo Pizarro's musketeers. Given their father's occupation, the Cermeños were neither of noble descent nor of particularly humble origin.¹⁹ Yet in Cajamarca, they quickly became the allies of one of the local conquistadors, Martín Pizarro. James Lockhart has classified the latter (no relative of Francisco and Gonzalo Pizarro) among the plebeians of Cajamarca, for he belonged to a family of artisans and was illiterate. The alliance between Antonio de Llanos and a family related to the Conquest was a huge social promotion for this merchant, who had arrived in Peru as a simple representative of a company established in Seville in 1546.²⁰

Active in the region of Arequipa as from the 1550s, specializing in the trade of wine, sugar and the goods given in tribute by the Indians, Llanos wholesaled imported goods and exported products from his *encomienda* and was one of the initiators of the textile industry in Peru. He had met Farel in the course of marketing the wool produced by the Indians of Farel's *encomienda*.²¹ Llanos ceased his commercial activities after his marriage to Farel's widow, purchased more land thanks to his position as the royal treasurer of Arequipa, and became one of the most prominent *vecinos* of the 1570s.²² Indeed, he became a member of the *cabildo* of Arequipa, and appears in the minutes of its deliberations

16 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. 111, 162–175.

17 María Cermeño's will dated 4 July 1587 can be found among the documents concerning the will and succession of her husband, Archivo General de la Nación del Perú [henceforth AGNP], Papeles de jesuitas 44/61, fols. 13r–17r.

18 AGI, Pasajeros, L.3, E.1258, 24/02/1540.

19 Lockhart J., *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin: 1972) 418–419; Del Busto Duthurburu J.-A., "El conquistador Martín Pizarro", *Mercurio Peruano* 44 (1963) 111–125.

20 De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 270.

21 *Ibidem*, 270–271.

22 Davies K.A., *Landowners in colonial Peru* (Austin: 1984) 73.

as of July 1557.²³ It is this network of social relations that clarifies the donation to the Jesuits. In 1589, in a report to the Superior General in Rome, Claudio Acquaviva, the Jesuit Father Provincial, Juan de Atienza, confirmed the details of the donation and wrote that Antonio de Llanos had already donated to the college 6,000 of the 14,000 pesos needed to establish the annuity promised after the death of the couple.²⁴ This donation and the entry of Llanos into the Society of Jesus were also largely achieved thanks to family ties between Maria Cermeño and the Jesuit Martín Pizarro, the son of her sister Catalina.²⁵

The third and far more prestigious figure is Francisco Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica. He was a conquistador who had arrived in Peru with Pedro de Alvarado in 1534. He was the founder of Arequipa and *encomendero* of Camaná and died in 1547 amongst the royal troops at the Battle of Guarina against Gonzalo Pizarro. On 26 May 1582, his legitimate son, Antonio Gómez de Butrón, donated to the Society of Jesus a plot of land adjacent to the college. According to his father's will, registered posthumously on 10 June 1548, the donation was for a pious purpose.²⁶ Francisco Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica had previously ordered that houses be built on a plot of land owned in Arequipa, so that their lease should pay a priest to teach Christian doctrine to the Indians of his *encomienda* of Camaná. In his posthumous will of 1548, prepared on the basis of his memoirs left before his death and cited in the 1582 donation papers, he wrote, however, of his bad conscience for having done nothing for his Indians in terms of teaching them the Catholic faith, contrary to his duties as *encomendero*.²⁷

The heir of Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica justified the full donation of the land to the Jesuits with the drastic reduction of the population of the *encomienda* of Camaná. Antonio Gómez de Butrón claimed that there remained no more than twenty Indians on the land. He added that it was impossible to receive enough rent from the stores that had been built because the buildings themselves had been largely destroyed by the earthquake of January 1582. Being therefore unable to respect his father's last wishes, but fully aware of the moral responsibility that came with the legacy of his father's pious will, Antonio Gómez de Butrón decided to transform his father's chaplaincy into a donation of land to the Jesuits, as their zeal for the conversion of the Indians

23 Barriga V.M., *Documentos para la historia de Arequipa, 1534–1558*, 3 vols. (Arequipa: 1939), vol. I, 372, 374, 375, 378, 405.

24 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. III, 467.

25 *Ibidem*, 530–531. Llanos appears as the temporal coadjutor of the College of Arequipa in the short index of 1591 (*ibidem*, vol. IV, 668).

26 *Ibidem*, vol. III, 147–162.

27 *Ibidem*, 149.

seemed able to replace the financing of a specific priest.²⁸ Through José de Acosta, the Jesuits thus asked Gregory XIII for the authorization of such a modification, which finally came into effect on 15 March 1583.²⁹

The transformation of a chaplaincy into a pious bequest, however, raised legal issues. Indeed, there was a jurisdictional dispute with the secular priests, to whom the chaplaincy had initially been assigned.³⁰ Moreover, in 1585 the Jesuits asked the general of the order to alter the papal document, which assessed the value of the land at half its true worth. This could have given the secular clergy even more reason for complaint.³¹ As early as June 1582, the Jesuits had begun to present witnesses attesting to Francisco's intent to finance a chaplaincy that had never been established by the secular clergy. Among them, Antonio Gómez de Butrón, Gonzalo Gómez de Butrón, the brother of the donor, but also Alonso de Luque, the *regidor* of Arequipa, all confirmed Francisco Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica's thirty-year-old desire to found a chaplaincy, but indicated that no building capable of producing any kind of annuity had ever been built.³² One of the witnesses even declared that the present owner, Antonio Gómez de Butrón, was too poor to finance such a construction.³³

These three examples, quickly summarized here, reveal the complexity of the situation underlying the donations to the Society of Jesus by the *encomenderos* of La Paz and of Arequipa. It appears, however, that one aim was to show a religious behaviour comparable to that of the devout Castilian nobility of the day. Through pious legacies, the rich settlers, regardless of their social origins, could demonstrate their membership of the elite of Spanish America, as the status of founder and benefactor of the Jesuits proved to be useful markers of aristocratic status.

Pious Bequests and the Identity of Hispanic Nobility

The conditions attached to the Peruvian donations are typical of the attitudes the sixteenth-century Spanish nobility had about death; and they show that the wealthy settlers adopted, in the American context, the same standards that pre-

28 Ibidem, 153.

29 Ibidem, 262–264.

30 Ibidem, 331.

31 Ibidem, 725.

32 Ibidem, 175–184.

33 Ibidem, 180.

veiled in feudal Spain. Speaking of Chile, Jean-Paul Zuñiga refers to a 'society haunted by a mirage of nobility, the ideation of Castilian aristocracy'.³⁴

By defining honour as one of the 'axes of traditional society', José Antonio Maravall has explained that distinctions within a society of orders, such as that existing in Europe's *Ancien Régime*, were above all differences in status. Status depended on 'differences in social esteem, prestige, dignity, honour, rank, between individuals and groups and on the mutual recognition of these differences'.³⁵ Economic and political power was used merely to strengthen and actively participate in revealing such distinctions. Despite the impression of rigidity such societies appear to have had, recent research undertaken on Iberian societies has shown the importance of mobility and that of the Crown in the definition and legitimization of the role of each and every individual within the social game.³⁶ In America, the same values underpinning society in the peninsula were renewed by the prospects of increased mobility through the conquest and exploitation of new territories, and by a king who played a fundamental role in the definition of the elites, by controlling both access to land and honours.

The conditions attached to the donations made to the Society of Jesus in Arequipa and La Paz were modelled on the practices of the Castilian nobles, which consolidated family lineages through religious patronage. As Adolfo Carrasco Martínez has written, 'the foundation of convents, churches and chapels, the efforts to obtain spectacular sepulchres in sacred locations, the profusion of family heraldic insignia in temples, the financial donations, the objects of worship and ornamental items; in short, the concentration of symbols and religious locations offered visible signs of individual and family reputations in the eyes of the faithful and built a link between the prestige of the nobility and the truths of faith'.³⁷ Such a staging of aristocratic prestige through the strategic use of religious spaces and funerary rituals had been customary in Castile since medieval times. These practices were a conscious means of sustainably occupying public space, by generating links between families and religious orders. The dukes of Infantado nurtured in this way an enduring relationship with the Franciscan convent in Guadalajara, which had been funded by the family and was used as the family sepulchre from the late fourteenth to the

34 Zuñiga, *Espagnols d'Outre-mer* 149.

35 Maravall J.-A., *Poder, honor y élites en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: 1989) 15 and 44.

36 Vincent B. – Ruiz Ibáñez J.J., *Los siglos XVI y XVII: Política y sociedad* (Madrid: 2007) 75–77.

37 Carrasco Martínez A., *El poder de la sangre: Los duques del Infantado* (Madrid: 2010) 211, confirmed by Atienza A., *Tiempos de conventos: Una historia social de las fundaciones en la España moderna* (Madrid: 2008) 151–232.

nineteenth century.³⁸ The same attitude was adopted by the Valdés de Gijón, a noble family from Asturias, the Fernández de Córdoba, and by the noble lineages of Navarre.³⁹

In America, one of the outward signs of nobility widely used in religious matters was the foundation of chaplaincies, through which a testator offered an annuity to finance a chaplain, often a family member, and required him to say masses for the salvation of the souls of the founder and of his descendants. The advantage of these chaplaincies was that they supported an ecclesiastical parent, maintained economic assets within a lineage and preserved the family history.⁴⁰

The foundation of a convent or of a Jesuit college was, however, an even more elaborate form of secular patronage of religious institutions as this not only followed the model drawn by the aristocratic families of the peninsula to preserve the memory of their lineages but also represented patronage of the Church. The language and expectations of the Spanish donators in the Andes, when deciding on a burial place for their families, clearly show that they wished to be honoured as founders and remembered as patrons.

Indeed, Teresa Ordoñez, a rich *encomendera* in Cuzco, in exchange for a donation of 20,000 pesos towards the financing the Jesuit college of the ancient capital of the Incas, asked that she and her late husband, Diego de Silva, be considered 'founders and patrons' of the college and that they be buried in the main chapel. She required that the remains of Diego de Silva be transferred there and that in the chapel should equally be laid to rest, when the time came, the remains of her son 'don Tristán de Silva', his three daughters Paula, Feliciano and Florencia, and their spouses and respective heirs, be they born or yet to come. Repeating with each paragraph of the donation the term 'founders and patrons' to describe her and her husband, Teresa Ordoñez

38 Carrasco Martínez, *El poder de la sangre* 210–244; Jara Fuente J.-A., "Muerte, ceremonial y ritual funerario: Procesos de cohesión intraestamental y de control social en la alta aristocracia del antiguo régimen (Corona de Castilla, siglos XV–XVIII)", *Hispania* 56 (1996) 861–883.

39 Fernández Secades L., *Los Valdés: Una casa nobiliaria en el Gijón de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Oviedo: 2009); Molina Recio R., *Los señores de la Casa del Bailío* (Córdoba: 2002); Orduña Portús P. M., *Honor y cultura nobiliaria en la Navarra moderna (siglos XVI–XVIII)* (Pamplona: 2009).

40 Wobeser G. von, *Vida eterna y preocupaciones terrenales: Las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España, 1600–1821* (Mexico: 2005); idem, "La función social y económica de las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España en el siglo XVIII", *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 16 (1996) 119–138. On the chaplaincies in seventeenth-century Chili, see Zuñaiga, *Espagnols d'Oltre-mer* 163–165.

stipulated that masses should be said by the Jesuits for the salvation of her soul and for that of Diego de Silva. These, she added, were to be said under the family coat of arms while a wax candle was lit. The candle was then to be given to her legitimate son, whom she designated as the heir to the 'patronage' she was establishing, detailing, like for a chaplaincy, the succession of her heirs in case of death. She also required the eternal presence of her family's coat of arms in the church and in the Jesuit college in Cuzco and designated a specific date for the annual celebration of a mass for her soul and for that of her husband.⁴¹

In Arequipa in 1582, Antonio de Llanos and Maria Cermeño had similar requirements for their sepulchre: they stipulated that their parents be laid to rest with them in the main chapel of the Jesuit church, to the right of the altar, thereby appropriating a sacred space for their family lineage. Moreover, beyond these remains, the Jesuits were required to receive those of Francisco Yeres, Llanos' father, and of Alonço Pizarro, Maria Cermeño's nephew, and to further transfer the dead body of Francisca Pizarro, one of the donor's nieces. The latter's daughter, Gerónima Pizarro, was also to be buried alongside her mother and her aunt, as she and her heirs were to succeed the initial donors as the founders of the college. The arms of the donors were to be ostensibly displayed on the occasion of their burial above the ornaments they promised to offer the Jesuits.⁴² The same year, Antonio Gómez de Butrón more modestly required that he and his father be considered 'benefactors' of the college.⁴³ Far less demanding than de Llanos or Ordoñez, Juan de Ribas requested only to be considered the 'founder' of the college of La Paz.

It is quite significant that Teresa Ordoñez used the terms 'patronage' and 'patron' when claiming founder status for herself, her husband and their legitimate descendants, as the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus indicate that a mass must be said, every week and until the end of time, in each college, for founders and benefactors, both living and dead. At the beginning of every month, all the priests of a college were also required, until the end of time, to celebrate a mass for these same founders and benefactors. Every year, too, on the anniversary of the establishment of a college, a 'solemn' mass, attended by all the resident priests, was to be said for all founders and benefactors. On the anniversary day of a foundation, the founder, or his closest parent, or someone designated by the founder, was also offered, in the name of the Lord, 'a wax candle' with the coat of arms or symbols corresponding to his devotions

41 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. II, 187–201 (conditions are on pages 192–197).

42 *Ibidem*, vol. III, 166.

43 *Ibidem*, 156.

'as a sign of gratitude'.⁴⁴ The *Constitutions* nuance the meaning of these ceremonies, by making clear that 'this candle signifies the gratitude due to the founders, not any right of patronage or any claim belonging to them or their successors against the College or its temporal goods, for none such will exist'.⁴⁵

In a letter to José de Acosta, dated 27 November 1581, General Acquaviva warned of the claims of certain donors and asked that the term 'patron' should be omitted when drawing up the legal texts of a foundation. Those of 'founder' or successor of the founder were to be preferred, since the term 'patron' implied specific legal rights. He also requested that founders make no specific requests concerning masses or ministries, beyond what was provided by the *Constitutions* of the Order, and that sponsors trust the Society of Jesus in the same manner as had the pope and the emperor when they participated in the foundation of a Jesuit college.⁴⁶

The donors and benefactors seem to have used the reputation of the Jesuits to anchor their cultural and ethical pretensions as members of the Spanish nobility. Their claims of patron status and the specific conditions they attached to their donations had precise implications in terms of social status. Indeed, the ideal representation of the Spanish nobleman implied being a patron. In the new American society, however, aristocracy entailed first and foremost being of conquistador lineage, being entrusted with an *encomienda* and yielding urban power, since it appears that the *encomenderos* were not all members of Spain's nobility. Only a quarter of the first conquerors of Cajamarca may have belonged to the more modest fringe of peninsular nobility.⁴⁷ Yet most of those who settled obtained an *encomienda* and adopted the lifestyles of lords constantly seeking further respectability and responsibilities. The efforts of the Spaniards in America to enter the Spanish military orders during the seventeenth century seem finally to point to the fact that the *encomenderos* generally lacked legitimacy.⁴⁸ As Jean-Paul Zuñiga has shown in the case of Chile,⁴⁹ in the absence of a clear legal distinction between those paying taxes and those who had the privilege of not paying, it appears that the mere fact of

44 Loyola Ignatius de, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms* (St. Louis: 1996), 314–317, § 309–312.

45 Ibidem, 134, §314.

46 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. III, 80–82.

47 Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca* 32.

48 Ibidem, 52. Guillermo Lohmann Villena claims without proof that there were more *hidalgos* in America than is generally thought. See Lohmann Villena G., *Los Americanos en las órdenes nobiliarias* (Madrid: 1993).

49 Zuñiga, *Espagnols d'Outremer* 159–163.

belonging to the *encomendero* elite and being able to prove a family tie with a conquistador was what established 'nobility' locally. The importance of lineage in the definition of an individual's status therefore meant that it was necessary to uphold by all means a noble-like lifestyle. Bearing the status of founder or benefactor of a Jesuit school was one of those means.

Lay Patronage and the Duty to Evangelize

Though the *encomenderos* did adopt the attitudes and behaviours typical of nobility in Spain, as their donations and bequests to the Jesuits show, they did not forget their duties concerning the evangelization of the native populations. In their wills written during the 1550s and 1560s, sparked by accusations made against them or a desire to make amends to the Indians, the founders of the Jesuit colleges often wrote of their bad conscience concerning the neglect of their duty of evangelization. It is thus that, in 1587, Antonio Llanos declared in the will he wrote for his wife, María Cermeño:

that my wife, Maria Cermeño and I have often pondered upon the perishable nature of this world, on the salvation of our souls and on a means of alleviating the burden of our consciences. She would say that we had occupied these lands and had profited from the Indians, from their tribute as well as their labour, at the time of her husband Thomas Farel, with whom she first landed and became one of the first settlers, and again later after her marriage to me. Because of the burden of these thoughts and in order to ease her conscience, we have decided to use our wealth to become the founders in this town of a college of the Society of Jesus.⁵⁰

50 AGNP, Papeles de jesuitas 44/61, fol. 16 ('Ytem digo y declaro que entre mi y la dicha Maria Cermeño mi muger difunta muchas y diversas vezes se trato y comunico sobre las cosas precederas de este mundo, y lo que ella pretendia para lo que tocava a la salvacion de nuestras animas y descargos de nuestras consciencias y del mucho tiempo que avia que estavamos en este Reyno, y aver gozado de Yndios, tributos, y servicios personales dellos, assi en vida de Thomas Farel su marido con quien ella passo a este Reyno que fue uno de los primeros pobladores del, y despues destar casada conmigo y sobre estas cosas que agravavan su consciencia y que para satisfaction desta y de otras cosas acordamos de que de la hazienda de ambos a dos fuessemos fundadores del collegio de la compañia del nombre de Jhs desta ciudad').

These same arguments also figured in the will of Francisco Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica, quoted in the donation of his son to the Jesuit college of Arequipa in 1582. In 1548 the father had written:

I owe my Indians the money that they have given to me though I have done nothing to teach them doctrine nor done anything to light their paths towards the Catholic faith.⁵¹

Indeed, the duties linked to the *encomienda* were closely related to the Crown's patronage of the American Church and were a delegation of this patronage to the *encomenderos*. The latter were responsible for collecting the royal tribute and, in exchange, were to guarantee the evangelization and conversion of the Indians, to pay the priests and the expenses of worship, including the purchase of all church ornaments. This duty towards evangelization and conversion was stipulated in the *encomienda* concession documents from the time of Francisco Pizarro to the late sixteenth-century viceroys, and the law regularly provided to strip the *encomenderos* of their privileges if they did not ensure the evangelization of the Indians.⁵² Most documents, however, show that the *encomenderos* took their duty of evangelization rather lightly. The seventeenth-century Augustinian chronicler Antonio de la Calancha even wrote that the *encomenderos* 'did not even try to make them learn their prayers, either because they considered that this made a lord of vassals look like a sexton, or because they were too busy with civil warfare'.⁵³

Relieving a moral burden was thus one motivation behind the restitution of wealth to the Indians and the establishment of pious foundations for their evangelization, but the duty of evangelization should not be analysed simply in terms of individual morality. It is also necessary to consider the religious domination of the *encomenderos* over the Indians as a means of controlling the Indian parishes (*doctrinas*) then being established in Peru, a domination that was gradually being reclaimed by the Crown and the bishoprics.

51 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. III, 149 ('Soy en cargo a mis indios de muchos dineros que me an dado y ningún fruto e hecho en ellos en los doctrinar y alunbrar en las cosas de nuestra santa fe católica').

52 De la Puente Brunke J., "Encomenderos y doctrineros: Notas sobre encomienda y evangelización en el siglo XVI", *Revista peruana de historia eclesiástica* 2 (1992) 259–269.

53 Calancha Antonio de la, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Agustín en el Peru, con sucesos egenplares vistos en esta monarquía...* (Barcelona, Pedro Lacavalleria: 1639) 345 ('no trataron de siquiera rezarles las oraciones, o porque les parecía que un señor de vasallos perdería Sacristan, o porque todos andavan en guerras civiles').

In theory, the *encomienda* was not a feudal system as the Indians were not formally the vassals of the *encomenderos*. The Spaniards exploited their manpower and collected their tribute to the monarchy, but they had no judicial power over them, even if they designated themselves as lords when they used terms such as *vecino feudatario* or 'my Indians'.⁵⁴ If the *encomenderos* considered themselves as lords because they dominated the Indians and because they believed in their own merits and in those of their ancestors at the time of the conquest, it was the religious duty bound to the royal concession which was mainly at the root of the confusion between *encomienda* and fiefdom.

Indeed, in his chronicle, Antonio de la Calancha wrote that the *encomenderos* were given to appointing secular priests in their *encomiendas*.⁵⁵ They exerted a *de facto* patronage, just like the secular European lords, who owned the places of worship, bore the right to present and appoint priests, and collected the revenue of their churches.⁵⁶ According to canon law, the *jus patronatus* was the privilege granted to the patron of a church, a chapel or a benefice. Among the prerogatives of the patron was that of being able to propose a candidate for an ecclesiastical office. This right was a legacy of Carolingian times, during which many parish churches had been privately built, owned and financed. The Gregorian reform limited this secular influence on the parishes by codifying more precisely the *jus patronatus*. It gave the bishops the privilege of appointing a benefice-holder, but still left the donor the right to present the candidate. Moreover, patronage had a patrimonial value as it could be inherited or given as a fee.⁵⁷ Patronage also had other benefits such as priority to seating in the church, the right to a sepulchre or the right to blazon a coat of arms in a place of worship.⁵⁸

The Jesuits' distrust of the term 'patron' derived from the decisions of the thirteenth-century Fourth Lateran Council and of the Council of Trent. By reaffirming the role of bishops, these councils limited, but also clearly defined, the rights of the patron.⁵⁹ In Spain, these efforts to limit the rights of secular patrons went hand in hand with those of the monarch who had simultaneously

54 Vincent – Ruiz Ibañez, *Los siglos XVI y XVII* 82; Zuñiga, *Espagnols d'Outremer* 159–163 and 244–252.

55 Calancha, *Coronica* 346.

56 Larrea Beobide Á., *El Patronato laico vizcaíno en el Antiguo Régimen* (Bilbao: 2000) 13–14.

57 Aubrun M., *La paroisse en France des origines au XV^e siècle* (Paris: 2008) 36; Gaudemet J., *Le gouvernement de l'Église à l'époque classique* (Paris: 1979) 112; Thomas P., *Le droit de propriété des laïques sur les églises et le patronage laïque au moyen âge* (Paris: 1906) 217–218.

58 Larrea Beobide, *El Patronato laico*.

59 *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo et al. (Bologna: 1991) 249–250 (Fourth Lateran Council, constitution 32) and 789–791 (Council of Trent, Session xxv, "Decretum

regulated and consolidated the system by the end of the fifteenth century by scrutinizing the rights and duties of each and every noble. During the sixteenth century, the Crown also renegotiated with Rome its patronage of the Church in Spain and in Latin America.⁶⁰ In Spain, a secular feudal patronage coexisted with the sovereign's right of patronage over the Church, within the limits of the Crown's *Realengo*, and when it came to the appointment of prelates in the most prestigious ecclesiastical benefices.

In America, on the other hand, there was no secular seigniorial right of patronage similar to that exercised in the peninsula by certain lords. The *encomenderos*, however, were the king's delegates and were responsible for the evangelization and conversion of the Crown's Indian subjects. They were thus in a position to choose the priests of their *encomiendas* and to collect from the Indians the king's tribute in order to finance local worship.⁶¹ The *encomenderos* exercised this right of patronage over the churches of their *encomienda* by choosing priests who were friends or relatives in a way that strengthened their power over the Indians. This complicity between the *encomenderos* and the priests in matters concerning the exploitation of the Indians was immediately denounced.⁶²

To remedy the situation, the American bishops did their best to impose their power of jurisdiction, in accordance with the Council of Trent, while the Crown established more directly its royal patronage over the American Church. Indeed, a royal decree of 1552 gave the bishops the sole responsibility of appointing the pastors of the *doctrinas*.⁶³ Later, in 1567, Philip II confirmed

de reformatione generali", cap. IX). For a recent edition, see *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta: Editio Critica*, 3 vols. (Turnhout: 2006–2013).

60 Larrea Beobide, *El Patronato laico* 17–20.

61 Matienzo Juan de, *Gobierno del Perú* [1567], ed. G. Lohmann Villena (Paris – Lima: 1967) 37, 123–125; Vargas Ugarte R., *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols. (Lima – Burgos: 1953–1962), vol. I, 1511–1568, 125–126.

62 Letter of Domingo de Santo Tomás to Philip II, dated 10 December 1563, published by Lisson Chaves E., *La Iglesia de España en el Perú: Colección de documentos para la historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols. (Seville: 1943–1947), vol. II, 252–253. See also Hampe Martínez T., "Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás y la encomienda de indios en el Perú (1540–1570)", in Barrado J. (ed.), *Los dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo* (Salamanca: 1990) 354–379.

63 Armas Medina F. de, "Evolución histórica de las doctrinas de indios", *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 9 (1952) 101–129; idem, *Cristianización del Perú, 1532–1600* (Sevilla: 1953) 125–126. As early as 1551, legislation provided that the *encomenderos* should ask the prelates for priests and should provide their wages. There is no mention of any authorization to present priests for benefices. See *Recopilacion de leyes*, bk. 6, tit. 9, law 3.

his monopoly to present candidates for ecclesiastical benefices before the episcopal collation, a system which was later confirmed by the Decree of Royal Patronage of 1574.⁶⁴ The laws of the second and third Councils of Lima, of 1567 and 1582–1583, also emphasized the exclusive privilege of prelates in the appointment of priests for the *doctrinas*, echoing the royal legislation, which reduced the power of the *encomenderos* and strengthened the role of the royal officials in the choice of the parish priests.⁶⁵

These developments went hand in hand with the opposition of part of the clergy to the continued existence of the *encomiendas*, which King Philip II, for a fee, was systematically tempted to concede. Despite very heated debate both in the Council of the Indies and in Peru during the 1550s and 1560, no firm decision was taken in this matter during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁶ At the same time, however, the Crown imposed certain restrictions on the power of the *encomenderos*, such as the repeated prohibition for them to reside among the Indians or to benefit from indigenous labour, reducing the status of the *encomenderos* to that of annuitants receiving a tribute calculated exclusively by royal officials.⁶⁷

Thus, while the *encomenderos*, by appointing priests, had assumed a form of secular patronage over the church of their *encomiendas*, throughout the last third of the sixteenth century their power was largely limited to financing the Church and deducting these monies from the tribute taken from the Indians, as these did not pay tithes.⁶⁸ Under such conditions, donations to religious orders appear to have been an alternative means of preserving their feudal power within their *encomiendas*, which explains the use of the term ‘patron’ by some donors and their specific requirements concerning the evangelization of the Indians.

64 Lisson Chaves, *La Iglesia*, vol. II, 370–371; Padden R.C., “The Ordenanza del Patronazgo, 1574: An Interpretative Essay”, *The Americas* 12 (1956) 333–354.

65 Calancha, *Coronica* 347; Tineo P., *Los concilios limenses en la evangelización latinoamericana* (Pamplona: 1990) 479, 539.

66 Goldwert M., “La lucha por la perpetuidad de las encomiendas en el Perú virreinal, 1550–1600”, *Revista Histórica* 22 (1955–1956) 336–360; 23 (1957–1958) 207–245.

67 Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* 174–177; De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 169–224.

68 Several texts insist on this obligation to finance, stating that even if the rent collected by the *encomenderos* is insufficient to cover the costs of evangelization, this has priority over the income of the *encomenderos*. See for instance, *Recopilacion de leyes*, bk. 6, tit. 8, law 24; De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 58–61.

Charitable Support of Evangelization and Feudal Strategy

In 1575, for the foundation of the college of La Paz, Juan de Ribas required the Society of Jesus occasionally to call upon the Indians of his *encomienda* and his stepdaughter's, and eventually to become the designated priests of the Indians of his *encomienda*. This last donation clause was considered contrary to the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus,⁶⁹ but Ribas and his wife had already settled such matters with the Augustinian order, when they had contributed to the foundation of a convent in La Paz in 1563. By 'giving' the responsibility of the souls of their *encomienda* of Anco Anco to the Augustinians, they had clearly become lay patrons.⁷⁰

In the same way, in 1582, Antonio de Llanos and María Cermeño asked the Jesuits in Arequipa,

that when the priests of the above-mentioned College go on missions beyond the above-mentioned city, as the above-mentioned Society usually does, they take particular care and remember the Indians of our *repartimiento*, which is in the Condesuyo called Chilpacas, Salamanca and Chichas, and take care of the Canchi Indians who live in Characato.⁷¹

Antonio Gómez de Butron made a similar demand, around the same time, when he wrote:

I, the above-mentioned Antonio Gomez de Buitron, recommend and ask and pray the above-mentioned Society of Jesus and its priests that when its fathers leave the city on missions, they remember in particular to instruct and teach the Indians and natives present in the above-mentioned valley of Camaná all the holy things of the Holy Catholic faith for the benefit of their conversion and salvation.⁷²

69 Maldavsky A., *Vocaciones inciertas: Misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid – Lima: 2012) 39–40.

70 Calancha, *Coronica* 511.

71 Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. I, 166–167 ('que cuando el dicho colegio de la dicha Compañía desta ciudad tuviere Padres para inbiar fuera desta dicha ciudad a las misiones [*sic*] que la dicha Compañía suele hazer, los tales padres tengan especial cuidado y memoria de los indios de nuestro repartimiento ques en Condesuyo, que se llama, los Chilpacas y Salamanca y Chichas, y en esta dicha ciudad los canchis que residen en Characato').

72 *Ibidem*, 156 ('Iten encargo y pido y ruego yo, el dicho Antonio Gomez de Buitron, a la dicha Compañía de Jesus y religiosos della, que quando algunos Padres religiosos salieren

As General Claudio Acquaviva wrote in a letter to José de Acosta dated 27 November 1581, the Jesuits were not favourable towards such clauses, because even though preaching and teaching Christian doctrine were the main activities defined by the *Constitutions*, the Society was wary of contractual obligations linked to donations signed before notaries.⁷³ The demands of the donors, however, must have been sufficiently pressing, as these clauses were finally noted in the donation documents, and should be considered in the context of a weakening of the position of the *encomenderos*.

Indeed, it is not a coincidence that the Jesuits were receiving donations from the *encomenderos* at a time when the Crown was trying to weaken their position. In February 1580, Juan de Ribas asked the Council of the Indies an extension of his *encomienda* for an extra lifetime. He explained that his wealth would be used to found a college in La Paz, so that the resident Jesuits could preach to the Indians of the region. He also mentioned his role in the foundation of the convent of nuns of the Very Holy Trinity in Lima, of which his wife and daughter were the founders, but which had also cost him dearly.⁷⁴ In September 1581, the Gómez de Butrón brothers, Antonio and Gonzalo, presented a *Relación de méritos y servicios* concerning their father, Francisco Gómez de León Butrón y Mújica, in order to obtain royal favours. The fourteenth question submitted to the witnesses present during the investigation emphasized Antonio's poverty, which, it was said, did not allow him to live according to the quality of his person.⁷⁵

desta dicha ciudad a misiones, que se acuerden en particular de industriar y enseñar a los indios y naturales que ubiere en el dicho valle de Camaná en las cosas que para su salvacion convenga y en las cosas de la santa fe católica y su conversion').

73 Ibidem, vol. III, 80.

74 AGI, Patronato, 113, R.9, fols. 2r–v and 53r. The request for an extension was made through a petition accompanying the copy of the *Relación de méritos y servicios* dated 1565. It was denied on 23 April 1583. The *Relación de méritos y servicios* was a common legal and bureaucratic Spanish document presented to the king in order to obtain favours. It was 'a written document consisting of the plaintiff's statement of his case, along with the testimony of friendly witnesses who corroborated his petition'. See Adorno R., 'History, Law, and the Eyewitness: Protocols of Authority in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*', in Greene R. – Fowler E. (eds.), *The Project of Prose in the Early Modern West* (Cambridge: 1997) 159; Folger R., *Writing as Poaching: Interpretation and Self-Fashioning in Colonial 'relaciones de méritos y servicios'* (Leiden – Boston: 2011) 29.

75 AGI, Lima, 249, N.12 (1), fol. 4v. This copy of the *Relación de méritos y servicios* of Gómez de León was included in the file of his great-grandson, Antonio de Butrón y Mújica, priest of the cathedral of Arequipa, who asked for a promotion in 1657.

For José de la Puente Brunke, the economic situation of the *encomenderos* had deteriorated during the second half of the sixteenth century because of the demographic decline in the native populations. This made the idea of an unlimited extension of an *encomienda* all the more urgent. The New Laws of 1542 limited its length to two life spans, but allowed further extensions depending on the good will of the king and his officials who examined each case individually.⁷⁶ This may explain the number of pleas for extensions, such as that of the Gómez de Butrón brothers. Yet an extension did not necessarily imply a significantly better income. It did, however, remain synonymous with prestige.⁷⁷ In the case of the Gómez de Butrón brothers, both the donation documents and the plea to obtain a royal favour mentioned the economic insecurity of the descendants of the conquistador. Francisco Gómez de León Butrón y Mújica, founder of the Villa de Camaná in 1539, had obtained from Francisco Pizarro the *encomienda* of Majes, Pampamico and Camaná for the span of his lifetime and for that of his legitimate son, Antonio. The enquiry summarized by José de la Puente Brunke brought to light, however, a significant drop in the number of Indians paying tribute on these lands. There were 174 in 1573 but only 53 in 1602, confirming the words of Antonio Gómez de Butrón and those bearing witness for the Jesuits in 1582,⁷⁸ and also supporting demographic studies, which show a drastic drop in the native population all along the southern coast of Peru.⁷⁹

Yet, even if the sources do not allow the conclusion that the descendants of Francisco Gómez de León Butrón y Mújica lived in comfort, it appears that in 1570 Antonio owned an *estancia* and agricultural property (*heredad*), and that in 1556, while he was still under age, he had obtained the *tambo* of Siguas, a wayside inn where the Indians of his *encomienda* served.⁸⁰ In the early 1570s Antonio Gómez de Butrón also owned a 'good sugar plantation' ('buen ingenio de azúcar') in the valley of Camaná,⁸¹ and he declared himself to be married to Doña Juana de Peralta Cabeza de Vaca, the legitimate daughter of the conquistador Diego Peralta Cabeza de Vaca, which ranked his heirs among the

76 De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 274–293.

77 Ibidem, 298.

78 Ibidem, 420; Málaga Medina A., *Reducciones toledanas en Arequipa: Pueblos tradicionales* (Arequipa: 1989) 91.

79 Cook N.D., *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620* (Cambridge – London – New York: 1981) 59–74.

80 Davies, *Landowners* 191–192; Barriga, *Documentos* 384–385.

81 "Descripción de la ciudad de La Plata, Cuzco y Guamanga, y otros pueblos del Perú", in Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones geográficas de Indias: Peru*, vol. II, 49–50.

most prominent families of Arequipa in the seventeenth century.⁸² This alliance also allowed him to ask his wife's brother, to whom he and his brother had given power of attorney, to carry out his father's *Relación de méritos y servicios* in 1581.⁸³ The vineyards in the region of Arequipa were also facing economic difficulties during the last third of the sixteenth century, due to the absence of manpower and falling prices. This situation benefited certain merchants but greatly reduced property values. The Gómez de Butrón brothers were not listed among the domain owners of the seventeenth century, which suggests that they may also have been affected by a production crisis.⁸⁴

The Gómez de Butrón plea of 1582 can further be linked to the general feeling among the conquistadors' descendants of having been declassed throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.⁸⁵ Because the battle for the perpetuity of the *encomiendas* was lost, and a true feudal system could not be established in the Indies,⁸⁶ the *encomenderos* and their descendants had had to turn, with more or less success, towards other, more lucrative economic activities, in the manner of Lucas Martínez Vegazo. Others relied on matrimonial alliances with officials of the Crown or on their management of royal concessions, to ensure the future of their social status.

Given the uncertainties of the day and the reduction of their religious role to that of simple fund-suppliers, the recourse to charity for evangelization, through the status of founder of a religious order, was one of the few ways for the *encomenderos* to establish a position independent from the king and the bishops which preserved their religious patronage over their *encomienda* Indians. No longer allowed to choose the priest of their *encomiendas*, uncertain of being able to transmit their privileges to their offspring, they used an intermediary means capable of undertaking the task of evangelization entrusted to them and of establishing a relationship with the natives that had no limit in time. The lasting nature of a religious foundation, when accompanied by demands for specific missions to a particular group of identifiable Indians, in a particular village, fulfilled their lordly role by offering them the status of

82 AGI, Lima, 249, N.12 (1), fol. 4v. She was one of the conquistador's eighteen children. See Davies, *Landowners* 105.

83 AGI, Lima, 249, N.12 (1), fol. 1r. The person in question is don Diego de Peralta Cabeza de Vaca, who later became *corregidor* of the valley of Colca (1596–1600), in the region of Arequipa. See Cook N.D., "The Corregidores of the Colca Valley, Peru: Imperial Administration in an Andean Region", *Anuario de estudios Americanos* 60 (2003) 428.

84 Davies, *Landowners* 84–98, 206.

85 Lavallé B., *Las promesas ambiguas: Criollismo colonial en los Andes* (Lima: 1993); Saint-Lu A., *Condition coloniale et conscience créole au Guatemala* (Paris: 1970).

86 De la Puente Brunke, *Encomienda* 300.

secular patron and strengthening their dominion over their *encomiendas* as Christian spaces they had helped create.

Conclusion

During the sixteenth century, the sponsorship of religious institutions furthered the Peruvian *encomenderos'* larger quest for social prestige, as it enabled them to adopt the typical behaviour of devout Spanish nobles. The memory of their patronage of the Jesuits and other religious orders was kept in seventeenth-century printed historical writings by religious chroniclers like the Augustinian Antonio de la Calancha. It contributed to their recognition as the local aristocracy, never really equal to the Spanish nobility and not powerful enough to oppose the Crown's claims of dominion. However, descendants of the Jesuit colleges' benefactors were keen on preserving the rights due to them as heirs.⁸⁷

At a time when the legal status of the *encomenderos* in the Andes was weakening, pious donations allowed them to proclaim their compliance with their royal duty of evangelization and to reinforce their dominion over the Indians of the territory of their *encomiendas*. The pious legacies helped strengthen the ties between a Spanish individual or lineage and Indian villages and territories—ties which could remain in people's minds many decades after the end of the legal link.⁸⁸ As the *encomenderos* sought religious control over the natives, their calls for missions amongst the Indians can be considered strategies of partnering with the Jesuits, since the missions were actually carried out by the fathers.⁸⁹ In return the *encomenderos* were taking part in the Jesuits' strategy of building a Christian missionary space around the Andean cities where they founded their colleges.⁹⁰

87 An example of this is the letter written by the heir of a 1591 benefactor of the Jesuit College of Cuzco, who wonders in 1652 about the fate of the chapel and the privileges belonging to his family after the building of a new Jesuit church. See Fernando de Cartagena's letter to Antonio Vázquez, 1655, Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Fondo Gesuitico 1407/7, fols. 27r–32r.

88 Mercedes del Río has studied the case of a pious legacy left in 1568 by Lorenzo de Aldana, *encomendero* of the native people of the region of Paria, in the southern highlands of the Andes. His testament was falsified a hundred years later and used by native authorities to prove their land claims. See Del Río, "Riquezas y poder" 269–276.

89 Annual Letter, 14 April 1585, in Egaña – Fernández (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, vol. III, 615–616.

90 Maldavsky, *Vocaciones inciertas* 125–206.

If it is still difficult to say whether the *encomenderos'* pursuit of territorial control through pious donations actually reinforced the dependence of the Indians within the *encomiendas*, it certainly had a symbolic outcome. At least it can be asserted that a devout self-fashioning, in part facilitated by the Andean people's conversion to Christianity, strengthened the process of legitimation of the *encomenderos'* power and status as the Catholic Reformation was arriving on the American stage. It thus contributed to a deepening of the religious distance between them and the indigenous neophytes.

(Translated from the French by Stephan Kraitsowits)

Selective Bibliography

- Adorno R., "History, Law, and the Eyewitness: Protocols of Authority in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*", in Greene R. – Fowler E. (eds.), *The Project of Prose in the Early Modern West* (Cambridge: 1997) 154–175.
- Armas Medina F. de, "Evolución histórica de las doctrinas de indios", *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 9 (1952) 101–129.
- Armas Medina F. de, *Cristianización del Perú, 1532–1600* (Seville: 1953).
- Atienza Á., *Tiempos de conventos: Una historia social de las fundaciones en la España moderna* (Madrid: 2008).
- Aubrun M., *La paroisse en France des origines au xv^e siècle* (Paris: 2008).
- Barriga V. M., *Documentos para la historia de Arequipa, 1534–1558*, 3 vols. (Arequipa: 1939).
- Calancha Antonio de la, *Coronica moralizada del orden de San Agustín en el Perú, con sucesos egenplares vistos en esta monarquía . . .* (Barcelona, Pedro Lacavalleria: 1639).
- Carrasco Martínez A., *Sangre, honor y privilegio: La nobleza española bajo los Austrias* (Barcelona: 2000).
- Carrasco Martínez A., *El poder de la sangre: Los duques del Infantado* (Madrid, 2010).
- Cook N.D., *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520–1620* (Cambridge – London – New York: 1981).
- Cook N.D., "The Corregidores of the Colca Valley, Peru: Imperial Administration in an Andean Region", *Anuario de estudios Americanos* 60 (2003) 413–439.
- Crespo A.R., *El corregimiento de La Paz, 1548–1600* (La Paz: 1972).
- Davies K.A. *Landowners in Colonial Peru* (Austin: 1984).
- De la Puente Brunke J., *Encomienda y encomenderos en el Perú: Estudio social y político de una institución* (Seville: 1992).
- De la Puente Brunke J., "Encomenderos y doctrineros: Notas sobre encomienda y evangelización en el siglo xvi", *Revista peruana de historia eclesiástica* 2 (1992) 259–269.

- Del Busto Duthurburu J.-A., "El conquistador Martín Pizarro", *Mercurio Peruano* 44 (1963) 111–125.
- Del Río M. "Riquezas y poder: Las restituciones a los indios del repartimiento de Paría", in Bouysse-Cassagne T. (ed.), *Saberes y memorias en los Andes: In memoriam Thierry Saignes* (Paris – Lima: 1997) 261–278.
- Egaña de A. – Fernández E. (eds.), *Monumenta Peruana*, 8 vols. (Rome: 1954–1986).
- Estenssoro Fuchs J.-C., *Del paganismo a la santidad: La incorporación de los Indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532–1750* (Lima: 2003).
- Fernández Secades L., *Los Valdés: Una casa nobiliaria en el Gijón de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Oviedo: 2009).
- Folger R., *Writing as Poaching: Interpretation and Self-Fashioning in Colonial 'relaciones de méritos y servicios'* (Leiden – Boston: 2011).
- Gaudemet J., *Le gouvernement de l'Église à l'époque classique* (Paris: 1979).
- Goldwert M., "La lucha por la perpetuidad de las encomiendas en el Perú virreinal, 1550–1600", *Revista Histórica* 22 (1955–1956) 336–360; 23 (1957–1958) 207–245.
- Hampe Martínez T., "La encomienda en el Perú en el siglo XVI: ensayo bibliográfico", *Histórica* 6 (1982) 173–216.
- Hampe Martínez T., "Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás y la encomienda de indios en el Perú (1540–1570)", in Barrado J. (ed.), *Los dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo* (Salamanca: 1990) 354–379.
- Hidalgo Nuchera P. – Muradás García F., *Bibliografía sobre la encomienda y su impacto sobre la realidad socio-económica del mundo indígena en América y Filipinas* (Madrid: 2001).
- Jara Fuente J.-A., "Muerte, ceremonial y ritual funerario: Procesos de cohesión intrastamental y de control social en la alta aristocracia del antiguo régimen (Corona de Castilla, siglos XV–XVIII)", *Hispania* 56 (1996) 861–883.
- Jiménez de la Espada M., *Relaciones geográficas de Indias: Perú*, ed. J.U. Martínez Carreras, 3 vols. (Madrid: 1965).
- Larrea Beobide Á., *El Patronato laico vizcaíno en el Antiguo Régimen* (Bilbao: 2000).
- Lavallé B., *Las promesas ambiguas: Criollismo colonial en los Andes* (Lima: 1993).
- Lisson Chaves E., *La Iglesia de España en el Perú: Colección de documentos para la historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols. (Seville: 1943–1947).
- Lockhart J., *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin: 1972).
- Lohmann Villena G., "La restitución por conquistadores y encomenderos: Un aspecto de la incidencia lascasiana en el Perú", *Anuario de Estudios americanos* 23 (1966) 21–89.
- Lohmann Villena G., "El encomendero indiano, cooperador de la evangelización", in *Homenaje al profesor Alfonso García Gallo*, 5 vols. (Madrid: 1996), vol. v, 113–136.

- Lohmann Villena G., *Los Americanos en las órdenes nobiliarias* (Madrid: 1993).
- Loyola Ignatius de, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms* (St. Louis: 1996).
- Málaga Medina A., *Reducciones toledanas en Arequipa: Pueblos tradicionales* (Arequipa: 1989).
- Maldavsky A., “Les *encomenderos* et l'évangélisation des Indiens dans le Pérou colonial: 'Noblesse' et propagation de la foi au XVI^e siècle”, in Boltanski A. – Mercier F. (eds.), *Le salut par les armes: Noblesse et défense de l'orthodoxie, XIII^e–XVII^e s.*, (Rennes: 2011) 239–250.
- Maldavsky A., *Vocaciones inciertas: Misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid – Lima: 2012).
- Maravall J.-A., *Poder, honor y élites en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: 1989).
- Mateos F. (ed.), *Historia general de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Peru*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1944).
- Matienco Juan de, *Gobierno del Perú, 1567*, ed. G. Lohmann Villena (Paris – Lima: 1967).
- Molina Recio R., *Los señores de la Casa del Bailío* (Cordoba: 2002).
- Moore J.P., *The Cabildo in Perú under the Hapsbourgs* (Durham: 1954).
- Orduna Portús P.M., *Honor y cultura nobiliaria en la Navarra moderna, siglos XVI–XVIII* (Pamplona: 2009).
- Ots Capdequi J.-M., *Manual de historia del derecho español en las Indias y del derecho propiamente indiano* (Buenos Aires: 1945).
- Padden R.C., “The Ordenanza del Patronazgo, 1574: An Interpretative Essay”, *The Americas* 12 (1956) 333–354.
- Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 4 vols. (Madrid, Julián de Paredes, 1681).
- Rodríguez D., *Por un lugar en el cielo: Juan Martínez Rengifo y su legado a los jesuitas, 1560–1592* (Lima: 2005).
- Saint-Lu A., *Condition coloniale et conscience créole au Guatemala* (Paris: 1970).
- Tineo P., *Los concilios limenses en la evangelización latinoamericana* (Pamplona: 1990).
- Thomas P., *Le droit de propriété des laïques sur les églises et le patronage laïque au moyen âge* (Paris: 1906).
- Vargas Ugarte R., *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 5 vols. (Lima – Burgos: 1953–1962).
- Trelles Arestegui E., *Lucas Martínez Vegazo: Funcionamiento de una encomienda peruana inicial* (Lima: 1991).
- Vincent B. – Ruiz Ibáñez J.J., *Los siglos XVI y XVII: Política y sociedad* (Madrid: 2007).
- Werckemeister J., *Petit dictionnaire de droit canonique* (Paris: 1993).
- Wobeser G. von, *Vida eterna y preocupaciones terrenales. Las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España, 1600–1821* (México: 2005).

Wobeser G. von, "La función social y económica de las capellanías de misas en la Nueva España en el siglo xviii", *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 16 (1996) 119–138.

Zavala S., *La encomienda indiana* (Madrid: 1935).

Zuñiga J.-P., *Espagnols d'outre-mer: Emigration, métissage et reproduction sociale à Santiago du Chili au xvii^e siècle* (Paris: 2002).

Telling the Untellable: The Geography of Conversion of a Muslim Jesuit

Emanuele Colombo and Rocco Sacconaghi

[...] the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and that, from port to port, from tack to tack, from brothel to brothel, it goes as far as the colonies in search of the most precious treasures they conceal in their gardens [...]. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates.¹

Ships, dreams, and seas—these are recurring motifs in the remarkable conversion story of Mohammed el-Attaz (1631–1667). Born in 1631 to the king of Fez of the Sa’adian dynasty, Mohammed grew up studying the Qur’an, and was married with three children before turning twenty, at which point he embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca without his father’s consent.² While sailing near Tunis,

-
- 1 Foucault M., “Des espaces autres”, *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (1984) 46–49; English translation by Miskowiec J., “Of Other Spaces”, *Diacritics* 16 (1986) 22–27, at 27.
 - 2 Given the political instability of the Maghreb, it is often difficult to identify Maghreb genealogies. According to the French historian Henri de Castries, el-Attaz was from a very influential family from the city of Dila. See De Castries H., *Les sources inédites de l’Histoire du Maroc*, 3 vols. (Paris: 1922), vol. 11/1, 203–240; idem, “Trois princes marocains convertis au christianisme”, in *Mémorial H. Basset. Nouvelles études nord-africaines et orientales* (Paris: 1928) 143–151. According to a study by the Spanish Jesuit Carlos García Goldáraz, who had access to the autograph documents by el-Attaz, he was the son of the king of Fez, of the Saa’dian dynasty. García Goldáraz C., *Un príncipe de Fez Jesuita: Scheih Muhammad Attazi, en religión P. Balthasar Diego Loyola de Mandes (1631–1667): Estudio sobre su ascendencia regia* (Burgos: 1944). See also Lebessou L., “La seconde vie d’un sultan du Maroc”, *Etudes* 123 (1910) 488–498; Charles L., *Les Jésuites dans les Etats Barbaresques* (Paris: 1920); Duclos P., “Baldassarre Loyola Mandes”, in O’Neill C.E. – Domínguez J.M. (eds.), *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático* (Rome – Madrid: 2001) 2428; “Mendez Balthasar Loyola”, in De Backer A. – Sommervogel C., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols. (Paris: 1890–1932), vol. v, 882–883; Blunt W., *Black Sunrise: The Life and Time of Mulai Ismail, Emperor of Morocco*,

his ship was intercepted by the Knights of St. John. Mohammed and his entourage were held ransom in Malta for the next five years. There, saddened by the ignorance of the local Muslims, Mohammed devoted himself to teaching and copying the Qur'an. His ransom was paid. His bags were packed. And just as he was about to leave, he received a vision that resulted in his decision to convert to Christianity. He was catechized and baptized, and chose for himself the name of the captain of the ship that had taken him prisoner five years before, adding the name 'Loyola' in honour of St. Ignatius, on whose feast day he was baptized. Mohammed, now known as Baldassarre Loyola,³ went to Palermo and Messina, where he came into contact with some local Jesuits and decided to join the Society. In 1661 he settled at the novitiate in Rome; he was ordained a priest two years later. For about three years (1664–1667) he devoted himself to the conversion of Muslims in the seaports of Genoa and Naples with considerable success. Even the Italian nobility and prominent churchmen took a liking to him. Yet his heart was elsewhere: he petitioned to be assigned to a Muslim territory, with the hope of receiving the gift of martyrdom. He was eventually permitted to go to the Mughal court, but he never arrived. In 1667 he died in Madrid after falling sick travelling to Lisbon, from where he was supposed to sail.

Baldassarre's story is not unique: in the early modern period several noblemen left the Maghreb to go to Italy or Iberia for political and economic reasons, and sometimes they converted.⁴ However, Baldassarre is the only Muslim prince who became a Jesuit, one of the few exceptions to the decree *De genere* (1593) that prevented New Christians from joining the Society.⁵ Additionally, while we usually have only formulaic accounts of most converted Muslim rulers, here we have access to a range of sources, including first-person accounts by Baldassarre himself: more than two hundred letters, an unpublished auto-

1646–1727 (London: 1951) 159–166; Colombo E., "Baldassarre Loyola de Mandes (1631–1667), Prince de Fez and Jésuite", in Vincent B. – Dakhlija J. (eds.), *Les Musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe*, vol. 1, *Une intégration invisible* (Paris: 2011) 159–193; idem, "A Muslim Turned Jesuit: Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631–1667)", *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013) 479–504.

3 We write the name as Baldassarre himself used to sign his letters after his conversion.

4 Alonso Acero B., *Sultanes de Berbería en tierras de la cristiandad: Exilio musulmán, conversión y asimilación en la monarquía hispánica (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Barcelona: 2006).

5 The Fifth General Congregation of the Order (1593) determined that the so-called New Christians (people of Jewish and Muslim ancestry) could not join the Society; the law was abrogated in 1946. See Padberg J.W. – O'Keefe M. – McCarthy J. (eds.), *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations: A Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees* (St. Louis: 1994).

biography, and a spiritual journal.⁶ In addition, we have the Jesuit view of the story in a long manuscript life written in 1692 by Baldassarre's spiritual director Domenico Brunacci, probably to support Baldassarre's canonization,⁷ and in several published biographies that circulated in Jesuit networks.⁸ Finally, we have the non-Jesuit external perspective of Calderón de la Barca, who in 1669 composed a sacred drama on Baldassarre's conversion.⁹ This impressive amount of source material allows us to compare different narratives of the same story.

The Ship

When he joined the Society of Jesus, Baldassarre was asked by his confessor to write an autobiography.¹⁰ In this text, written in a simple but intelligible Italian, Baldassarre details the events surrounding his conversion. He recalls that after he was released from captivity, he decided not to return home, but to finish the pilgrimage he had started five years earlier; he planned to embark for Tunis, and from there to Mecca. His departure was delayed because of

6 Archivio della Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Rome [henceforth APUG], 1060 1–11: *Notizie Spettanti alla vita del Padre Baldassar Loyola Mandes*.

7 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome [henceforth ARS1], *Vitae* 103–104; Brunacci D., *Vita del Ammirabile P. Baldassarre Loiola de Mandes della Compagnia di Gesù: Prodigio della Divina Grazia*; another copy in *Vitae* 105–106. Domenico Brunacci (1616–1695) was master of the novices, provincial in Rome, and director of the Collegium Romanum and Collegium Germanicum.

8 Aguilera Emanuele, *Provinciae Siculae Societatis Iesu ortus et res gestae ab anno 1612 ad annum 1672*, 2 vols. (Palermo, Angelo Felicella: 1737–1740), vol. II, 882–912; Cassani José, *Gloria del segundo siglo de la Compañía de Jesús . . .*, 3 vols. (Madrid, Manuel Fernandez: 1736), vol. III, 621–660.

9 Calderón de la Barca Pedro, *El Gran Príncipe de Fez don Balthasar de Loyola*, in *Cuarta parte de comedias nuevas de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid, José Fernández de Buendía: 1672) 227–282. See also Matthews D., *A Critical Edition of 'El Gran Príncipe De Fez' by Calderón De La Barca: Prepared for the Autograph Manuscript and with a Critical and Historical Study of the Play and Its Sources*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of London: 1968); Romanos M., "Teatro histórico y evangelización en el Gran Príncipe de Fez de Calderón de la Barca", in Strosetzki C. (ed.), *Actas del v Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro* (Madrid – Frankfurt: 2001) 1142–1150; Bunes Ibarra M.Á. de, "El Islam en los autos sacramentales de Pedro Calderon de la Barca", *Revista de literatura* 53 (1991) 63–83; Fradejas Lebrero J., "Musulmanes y Moriscos en el Teatro del Calderón", *Tamuda* 5 (1967) 185–228.

10 APUG, 1060 11/1, fol. 1r.

inclement weather, and, while resting in the house of the captain of the galleys of Malta, while in a state of drowsiness he received a vision, which he describes in this way:

I had a vision: I was in the middle of the sea; half of the sea was black, the other half was aflame; I was treading water in the black half, but I was pulled to the flames. When I was almost in the fire, I began to cry loudly: 'Help me, help me, Lord'. Then I saw a marvellous thing: a mountain in that immense sea and on it a man dressed in white, who stretched a hand towards me. He pulled me out, and I found myself out of danger. I asked him, 'for the love of God, who are you who freed me from this sea?' and he answered: 'I am Holy Baptism. Without me, neither your father nor your mother can save you from this sea. That's why God put so many obstacles in your way while you were in a Christian land, so that you were added to the number of Christians'. Having shaken myself out of the vision, I felt things were extremely simple: the desire to leave, to see my children, my wife, and all the others, was converted into an affection for Christ and the Holy Faith. I confessed out loud: 'I am a Christian; I do not want to visit the false prophet Mohammed. The true faith is the faith in Christ'.¹¹

Another account of his conversion can be found in the French Jesuit Pierre Courcier's *Negotium Saeculorum Maria*, a collection of events, festivities and miracles about the Virgin Mary.¹² Published in 1663, while Baldassarre was

11 APUG, 1060 I, fols. 24v-25r ('Viddi una visione essendo io a piedi, vidi che io era tra un mare, la metà di quello mare di acqua nera, e l'altra parte tutta di fuoco, et io natavo tra quella acqua negra e vicino per arrivare a quel fuoco gridavo forte O Signor Dio agiutatemi, agiutatemi, ecco una cosa meravigliosa, veddi una montagna tra quel mare altissimo, et una persona vestita di bianco su, che stendeva la sua mano, e mi tirò a sé, da quello mare, io all'hora mi ritrovai fori di tutti li perecoli, dicevo a quella persona per l'amore di Dio chi siete voi che mi havete liberato da questo Mare? Egli mi rispose, io sono il Santo Battesimo, se io vi mancassi né il vostro Padre né la vostra Madre possono salvarvi da questo mare, il Signore Dio vi ha fatto venire alla parte delli christiani, e metteva tutto questo impedimento, acciò che voi poteste farsi christiano. All'hora mi svegliai da questa visione tornavo in me stesso, mi ritrovavo con una simplicità grandiosa e tutti quelli pensieri che erano nella pertenza e con li miei figli, e moglie, e tutti quanti erano mutate in altro affetto verso Christo, e verso la Santa Fede, gridavo io sono christiano non voglio andare a visitare quello ingannatore di Mahometto falso Profeta, la vera fede è di Christo'). It is not clear in Baldassarre's account whether he was awake or asleep.

12 Bercé Y.-M., *Lorette aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles: Histoire du plus grand pèlerinage des temps modernes* (Paris: 2011).

in the novitiate in Rome, the book includes a description of a pilgrimage Baldassarre took to the Marian shrine in Loreto, an emblematic episode of a former Muslim prince walking to the quintessential anti-Islamic shrine. In this context, Courcier gives a brief account of the conversion of Mohammed-Baldassarre, and reports that, after the ransom had been paid in Malta,

[he] was planning to leave and was almost on the ship, when the Virgin Mary appeared and warned him. She showed him a sea burning with hellfire, and told him that he would have fallen into that sea if he had not converted to the faith in Christ.¹³

A third account of his conversion is given after Baldassarre's death in 1667 in the grand funeral sermon delivered in Madrid by the royal preacher Pedro Francisco Exquex, S.J. in the presence of the nobility, members of religious orders, and local church authorities. Jesuits who knew Baldassarre closely were in attendance.¹⁴ The sermon was later published and widely circulated.¹⁵ According to Esquex, after Baldassarre's ransom had been paid in Malta, he embarked on a ship and

[...] when he had not yet sailed three miles with a fair wind—unusual prodigy!—he saw the sea immediately filled with hellfire. It seemed that all of hell had moved into the sea. This horrible sight made him fall with greater violence than St. Paul had; at the same time, however, he saw amidst peaceful lights and delicate splendours the one who is the real Mother, Mary.¹⁶

13 Courcier Pierre, *Negotium Saeculorum Maria sive rerum ad Matrem Dei spectantium, cronologica epitome ab anno mundi primo, ad annum Christi millesimum sexcentisimum sexagesimum* (Dijon, widow of Philibert Chavance: 1661) 431–432 ('Dum iter continuare instituit, in ipso procintu, et in ipsa propemodum conscensione navis a Gloriosa Deipara ipsi apparente, et flammivomum inferorum mare eidem commonstrante, in quo brevi coniiiciendus esset, ni se ad Christi fidem reciperet, admonitus est').

14 Among them was his friend and companion Marc'Antonio Santucci.

15 Esquex Pedro Francisco, *Sermón fúnebre historial en las exequias que se celebraron en el Colegio Imperial de la Compañía de Jesús al Venerable P. Baltasar de Loyola Mandez* (Madrid, Bernardo de Villa-Diego: 1667).

16 *Ibidem*, 9 ('pero, o prodigio raro! no bien avia navegado con viento prospero tres millas, quando instantaneamente vio todo el mar convertido en llamas infernales, o le pareció que todo el infierno se avia translato al mar. Derribarale sin duda con no menos violencia que a Pablo esta horrorosa vista, si al mismo tiempo no viera entre apacibles resplandores, y amigas luzes a la que es Madre de ella, y su aurora, a Maria').

It is worth noting the different versions of the same story. First, we should consider Baldassarre's state of mind: in the autobiography, he has the vision in a state of drowsiness,¹⁷ while in the other accounts, he is fully awake.¹⁸ Second, we should consider who plays the role of the consoler: in Baldassarre's version, it is Baptism personified who consoles him; in the other versions, it is the Virgin Mary. Finally, we should consider how the setting changes: according to the autobiography, Baldassarre's conversion occurs on land while he was resting in a house; for Courcier, it occurs on land near a ship; and for Esquex, it happens on a ship at sea. These discrepancies bring us to the central problem of this essay: why is this conversion story told in different ways? In particular, the setting on the ship is intriguing since the ship at sea became a standard setting of Baldassarre's conversion: later it appears both in Calderón de la Barca's drama and in Baldassarre's iconography [Figs. 12.1 and 12.2].

Starting from this question, and using the rich documents available, we will inquire into the geographies of conversion of Mohammed-Baldassarre. We will extend the inquiry to his entire life, since Baldassarre described his whole existence as a long series of 'conversions'; additionally, we will consider the reports of the conversions Baldassarre brought about in his apostolate to Muslims. First, we will analyse the external space, namely the actual setting of Baldassarre's conversion. Then, we will describe his intimate perception of the space of conversion, his inner continent. Finally, we will concentrate on alien spaces, namely places visible and concrete but isolated from their external environment, places where, according to Baldassarre, conversions of Muslims were easier than elsewhere.

External Space

From his capture by the Knights of Malta (1651) to his death in Madrid (1667), Baldassarre lived in Catholic environments where he experienced different conversions: in Malta he converted to Catholicism after five years of captivity; in Sicily he decided to join the Society of Jesus; in Rome he expressed his desire to leave for the Indies; in Genoa and Naples he devoted himself to the apostolate with Muslim slaves; in Madrid he died in the odour of sanctity and was celebrated by the local nobility. Baldassarre was a man well integrated into the religious world of Christendom: he learned Latin and Italian, studied Christian

17 The same version can be found in Cassani, *Gloria del segundo siglo*.

18 The same version can be found in Brunacci, *Vita*; Aguilera, *Provinciae Siculae*.



FIGURE 12.1 *Engraving representing Baldassarre Loyola (n.d.). Image © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, Collezione Lamalle. On the left, note the scene of Baldassarre's vision of the Virgin Mary on the ship.*

doctrine with passion, was always obedient in the novitiate, promoted Marian devotions, and was an ardent pilgrim.¹⁹ Also, because of his status as a prince and a convert from Islam, Baldassarre became popular among prominent secular and religious authorities: he was in touch, for instance, with the cardinals Antonio Barberini and Benedetto Odescalchi (the future Pope Innocent XI), and with the distinguished Savoy, Medici, and Doria families. His popularity went beyond the borders of Italy: on his way to Lisbon, he walked through France and Spain and was continuously asked to preach and to meet local authorities. When he died in Madrid, Esquex's funeral sermon celebrated him as a new St. Paul, a former enemy of Christians who became a tireless missionary. The external space of the last fifteen years of Baldassarre's life was Christendom, where he seemed to be at home.

19 Baldassarre visited St. Rosalia in Palermo, St. Gennaro in Naples, the Shroud in Turin, the Madonna della Quercia in Viterbo, the Sacro Corporale in Orvieto, the wedding ring of the Virgin Mary in Perugia, and the shrine of Loreto. See APUG 1060 I–II.



FIGURE 12.2 Portrait of Baldassare Loyola, in Hamy A., *Galerie illustrée de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 8 vols. (Paris, Chez l'auteur: 1893), vol. v, n. 26. On the left, note the scene of Baldassare's vision of the Virgin Mary on the ship.

Inner Continent

A deeper reading of the documents shows the presence of another spatial level, an inner geography of Baldassarre's conversion: in fact, while living in a Christian environment, he often perceives and describes it as a Muslim space. Malta, in Baldassarre's view, is a Muslim environment; during his captivity he lived in a Muslim community, spoke Arabic with Muslims, taught Islamic law, and copied the Qur'an with his beautiful calligraphy. He never mentions any social pressures exerting an influence on him. To the contrary, Baldassarre tends to emphasize the absence of any cultural, religious, or social contact with the Maltese Catholic tradition. In Italy, Baldassarre was attracted to Muslims; as soon as he arrived in Sicily, he sought out Muslims to convert. In Genoa and Naples he put his linguistic skills and knowledge of the Qur'an to good use in the apostolate to Muslims. While stating that he had completely abandoned and forgotten his former identity, Baldassarre somehow preserved it; for instance, he negotiated with his superiors' permission to read the Qur'an and other Arabic books he wished to use for his apostolate.²⁰

Another example of Baldassarre's inner geography is his interpretation of pilgrimage. On the one hand, his special devotion to Catholic shrines and sanctuaries was an ostensible sign to himself and others that he belonged to a Catholic space; on the other hand, Baldassarre presents his pilgrimages as a mirror image of his pilgrimage to Mecca, a crucial event in his life he could never forget. Every time he visited a shrine, he reiterated in different ways the experience of his never-completed journey to Mecca. During a pilgrimage to Loreto, for instance, he asked permission to run the last two miles barefoot, imitating the Muslim gesture of taking off one's shoes for prayer²¹ and at other times he refused to travel on horseback, remembering his ancient passion for horses.²²

Again, a Muslim space emerges in Baldassarre's future plans to go to the Indies. According to the habit of most young early-modern Jesuits, Baldassarre wrote several *litterae indipetae*—petitions for overseas missions that Jesuits used to write to their superiors.²³ Though he mastered the standard literary

20 APUG, 1060 I, fol. 47r, Loyola to Brunacci, 12 October 1664.

21 Ibidem, fols. 19r–v.

22 The Jesuit literature too emphasizes Baldassarre's pilgrimage as a mirror of his journey to Mecca. See Esquex, *Sermón fúnebre* 5.

23 We found four letters by Baldassarre Loyola in ARSI, FG 747 and APUG, 1060 I. Other letters are mentioned and quoted by Brunacci. On the *Litterae Indipetarum* see Roscioni G.C., *Il desiderio delle Indie: Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani* (Turin: 2001).

form of the *indipetae*, his letters did not express a desire to do missions in some generic land overseas. He wanted to be sent to a specific Muslim country, the Mughal empire—an avant-garde mission of the Society in Northern India where the Jesuits had started a dialogue with the local court.²⁴ ‘With great charity God my Lord gave me the vocation to go to the Mughal empire’, he wrote in 1662, because ‘God wants to be served by me for the salvation of these people.’²⁵ In his letters, Baldassarre stated clearly that God was calling him for the salvation of Muslims.

Finally, the most vivid expressions of Baldassarre’s interior space are found in the recollections of his visions and dreams. After his conversion, and for the rest of his life, Baldassarre frequently experienced visions and dreams of Jesus, Mary, and the saints, which he studiously reported in his autograph notes. These reports show that integrating into the environment where Baldassarre lived was often a struggle for him. Jesus and the Virgin Mary frequently consoled Baldassarre, who was depressed by his lack of progress in learning languages, and was humbled by his performance of menial labour.

One day, my beloved Jesus Christ appeared to me and told me: ‘I will give you the grace to understand the reasons of faith’. I immediately answered: ‘Lord, how can I understand the reasons of faith? I can’t even understand Italian’.²⁶

One Saturday, while I was washing the dishes, as usual in silence [...] I saw the Queen of the Angels, full of joy, who told me: ‘Wash, wash, Baldassarre! I myself used to wash the dishes when I was on the earth, and Jesus helped me’.²⁷

24 On the Jesuits at the Mughal court see Camps A., *Jerome Xavier S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire: Controversial Works and Missionary Activity* (Fribourg: 1957); Alam M. – Subrahmanyam S., “Frank Disputations: Catholics and Muslims in the Court of Jahangir (1608–11)”, *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46 (2009) 457–511.

25 ARSI, FG 747, fol. 148r, Loyola to Goswin Nickel, Rome, 24 June 1662 (‘Il Signore Dio conforme la sua solita carità mi diede la vocazione di andare al Regno di Mogor [...]. Si che credo che il Signore Dio vuole esser da me servito per la salute di quella gente’).

26 APUG, 1060 11/2, fol. 2r (‘un’altra volta mi disse lo stesso Signore: io vi do questa gratia, che voi intendiate le ragioni, gli risposi io come o Signore, io possa intendere le ragioni, mentre non so ne anco parlare con lingua italiana’).

27 Ibidem, fol. 64r (‘Mentre stavo lavando un giorno di Sabbatho que’ santi piatti [...] mi apparve all’hora la Santissima Vergine tutta allegra, la quale mi disse così ridendo: lavate, lavate Baldassarre, anche io mentre stavo nel mondo ho lavato i piatti più volte e mi aiutava Gesù’).

Another consistent pattern in Baldassarre's reports about his visions is an intimate gravitation toward his birthplace. His homeland was often a focal point of Baldassarre's inner geography, both as the obsession for a place he wanted to forget, and as the attraction to a place he still loved.

One day—it was Friday—I was tempted while I was still in bed [...]. The devil told me: 'where are your palaces, your gardens, where are your wife, your children, your friends, and your relatives?' Meanwhile, all the things he was talking about were in front of my eyes, and I realized I was going to abandon the new path that I had undertaken.²⁸

During his stay at the novitiate, Baldassarre asked God to see heaven, a request that was granted that night in a prolonged vision. In the report he drafted about the vision the next morning, the doors of heaven resemble Arabic architecture and were probably similar to doors that Baldassarre saw in Fez.²⁹

Thus, although he often asserted that Christendom was his new country, and that his love for his wife and children had been converted into a love for Christ, Baldassarre could not erase his homeland from his memory. Since he could not forget his past, he reinterpreted some episodes of his childhood as prophecies of his conversion. He wrote in his autobiography that when he reached the age of five, he was assigned to some tutors to be instructed.

At that time, while I was learning the Qur'an, I often heard an internal voice in my heart that blamed Mohammed and his religion [...]. Once, when I was with my mother, these holy words came out of my mouth, 'Jesus and Mary': [...] my mother humiliated me, and told me: 'those words are words of Christians, do not pronounce them anymore.'³⁰

Baldassarre's inner space, his inner continent, was different from the external geography of his life. He lived in Christendom but looked for Muslim places.

28 Ibidem, fol. 12r ('Un giorno di venerdì mentre era ancora io nel letto [...] hebbi unaagliarda tentatione di tal maniera, mi diceva il diavolo internamente dove sono tanti palazzi, dove sono tanti giardini, dove la vostra sposa, dove sono li vostri figliuoli, dove sono l'amici, parenti et tutto questo mi lo presentò avanti l'occhi, acciò che io lasciassi la vita cominciata'). See also Brunacci, *Vita*, vol. 1, 67v–68r.

29 APUG, 1060 II/2, fols. 16r–21r.

30 Ibidem, fol. 5r ('In quel tempo che io imparavo l'Alcorano molte volte udeua una voce interna nel mio cuore, la quale biasimava Mahometto e la sua fede. (...) Un'altra volta essendo io con la mia madre [...] mi uscì dalla mia bocca [...] queste santissime parole: "Gesù Maria [...] e la mia madre mi mortificò assai con la sua lingua, mi disse: queste parole sono parole delli christiani, avertite non dite mai più"').

The plans for his future were set in a Muslim land. Finally, his visions and memories displayed an estrangement from the Christian environment where he was living and an irresistible attraction to his homeland.

Alien Spaces

In his missions with Muslims, Baldassarre brought about a plethora of conversions. In 1664, the superiors of the Society of Jesus sent him to Genoa and, two years later, to Naples to preach to Muslims before sending him to the Mughal empire. In both cities, and in particular in Naples, there was a long-standing tradition of Jesuit apostolate with Muslim slaves.³¹ Baldassarre tirelessly preached in churches, participated in the activities of local confraternities, had private discussions with Muslims he met in the street, and visited galleys and hospitals. He often involved local noblemen in his ministry; driven by curiosity, many of them attended his sermons and brought their slaves with them. The instruction of the neophytes usually took place in churches and colleges of the Society of Jesus, and baptisms were usually celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral of the city, in Jesuit churches, or in hospitals in the case of dying people.³² Thanks to his mastery of Arabic and to his knowledge of the Qur'an, Baldassarre had considerable success: from his precise and detailed records, we can count almost 800 conversions in about three years.³³

In his reports of the conversions of Muslim slaves, Baldassarre often used stereotyped formulas and rhetorical constructions found in many similar early-modern accounts. However, his reports are precious sources that reveal

31 On conversions of slaves in Genoa see Lucchini E., *La merce umana: Schiavitù e riscatto dei liguri nel Seicento* (Rome: 1990). On Naples see Selwyn J., *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Hants: 2004); Boccadamo G., *Napoli e l'Islam: Storie di musulmani, schiavi e rinnegati in età moderna* (Naples: 2010); Mazur P., "Combating 'Mohammedan Indecency': The Baptism of Muslims Slaves in Spanish Naples, 1563–1667", *Journal of Early Modern History* 13 (2009) 25–48; Nardi G., "Due opere per la conversione degli schiavi a Napoli", *Asprenas* 13 (1966) 170–205; idem, "Nuove ricerche sulle istituzioni napoletane a favore degli schiavi: La congregazione degli schiavi dei PP. Gesuiti", *Asprenas* 14 (1967) 294–313. For an overview of early modern slavery in Italy see Bono S., *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna: Galeotti, vu' cumpra', domestici* (Naples: 1999).

32 In Naples the baptisms of the 'infidels' were usually celebrated in the cathedral twice a year, but Baldassarre obtained permission from the archbishop to celebrate them in Jesuit churches. See APUG 1060 I, fol. 29r, Loyola to Brunacci, 26 February 1667.

33 Baldassarre updated his records on a weekly basis. See APUG, 1060 I.

intriguing details about the conversions he witnessed. For instance, while reporting conversion stories, Baldassarre ascribes special significance to those that occurred in three particular places: in hospitals for dying slaves, on galleys, and through letter writing.

Baldassarre often visited hospitals in order to comfort sick Muslims or to minister to slaves on their deathbed. During these visits, he noticed that as death drew nearer and nearer, the social and economic incentives accompanying conversion to Christianity had less and less influence on the slaves. Impending death did not encourage slaves to be open to Christianity. To the contrary, as death came near, the Muslim slaves clung even more to the teachings of Islam. In 1665 Baldassarre wrote:

Yesterday I was warned that there was a sick slave from a galley in the Hospice of Incurables. When I arrived there, I found a seventy-six-year-old man, who resembled a devil for how stubborn and violent he was in his opposition to Christianity. He said that he rather preferred hell over abandoning the Mohammedan sect.

After many attempts, the slave surprisingly changed his mind because 'God [...] meant that he convert to the Christian faith before he died'.³⁴ The sick slaves knew by word of mouth the identity of Baldassarre, and they often insulted him for his betrayal of Islam or accused him of 'confusing the brain to those who spoke with him'.³⁵ 'Are you the one from Fez?', asked one of the slaves sarcastically. 'I know very well the reason why you are coming, and I laugh at you. [...] Go away, I do not want to talk to you, I do not want to listen to your cackle (*ciarle*)'.³⁶ Another slave told him: 'How can you even imagine

34 Ibidem, fol. 23r, Loyola to Brunacci, Genoa, 14 November 1665 ('Hieri mattina ho avuto avviso dall'hospitaletto dove stanno l'incurabili che ivi si trovava uno schiavo vecchio di galera gravemente infermo; arrivato che fui ho trovato un vecchio di 76 anni che pareva un demonio in carne per la bruttezza, ostinatione, et aborrimiento che aveva verso la Fede Christiana, dicendo più tosto voler andare all'inferno mille volte, che cambiare la setta Mahomettana. (...) Sia benedetto quel Dio, che per sua mera pietà illuminò la mia, e la sua antica cecità').

35 Brunacci, *Vita*, vol. II, fol. 65v ('Nel passar un giorno due Turchi avanti la Chiesa del Collegio, disse uno di loro all'altro. O quante volte, e quanti de' suoi seguaci Maometto perdé in quella Chiesa. Qui non si vede mai altri che moltitudine di Turchi avanti un Papasso maledetto, il quale, non so come, subito fa' voltare il cervello a chi parla seco').

36 Ibidem, fol. 62v ('Voi sete quello di Fessa non è vero? So molto bene il fine della vostra venuta, ed io mi rido de' fatti vostri. [...] E però andate via, che io non voglio trattar con voi, non voglio sentire vostre ciarle').

that I would abandon the law in which I was born and in which I have been living for many years? As the oil will never be turned into vinegar, so I will never abandon the law of Mohammed'. After a few days both slaves converted, thanks to the intercession of God and the Virgin Mary.³⁷

Baldassarre was convinced that the deathbed was a place where God showed up to do the impossible. In a hospital in Genoa, a Franciscan who knew well the Turkish language had been trying to convert a sick Turk for hours, with no results. Baldassarre, without knowing that language, succeeded in a short time. He commented that God wanted to show him that man cannot do anything by himself.³⁸

The hospital was a fruitful place also for conversions of people who were not sick. In January 1665 a Muslim young woman, a slave in Genoa, 'did not want to enter churches because she greatly abhorred Christianity'. Baldassarre invited her to the hospital where, in the face of death and sorrow, she decided to convert.³⁹ Finally, even Baldassarre's own deathbed in Madrid was an occasion for the conversion of a slave, as his companion Marc'Antonio Santucci refers in a letter:

The day before his death one of the doctors brought to him a very stubborn Muslim, and the good father [Baldassarre], although he almost could not speak anymore, made the great effort of talking with him for forty-five minutes with such an ardour that the Muslim converted; people looking at this scene cried with tenderness.⁴⁰

The galleys were another privileged location for conversion. Docked in the ports of Genoa and Naples, they were places deeply alien from the mainland, where the social bonds shared among the Muslims slaves were so strong that they acted like some sort of invisible Islamic force field, preventing any persuasion

37 Ibidem, fol. 59v ('Vi date a credere che io debba lasciar mai la mia legge, nella quale sono nato, e vissuto tanti, e tanti anni? Via via Padre l'oglio non diverrà mai aceto. E così io non lascerò mai la mia legge del mio Santo Maometto').

38 Ibidem, fols. 56v–57r.

39 Ibidem, fols. 60v–61r ('per l'abborrimento grande che fomentava verso la Cristianità, non voleva entrar mai nelle Chiese de' i Cristiani').

40 APUG, 1060 I, fols. 194r–195r, Santucci to Brunacci, Madrid, 17 September 1667 ('Un giorno avanti che morisse gli fu guidato da uno dei medici un Turco ostinatissimo ed il buon Padre, benché fosse in tal stato che non poteva proferir più parola, discorse con gran sforzo tre quarti d'hora col Turco con tal ardore che lo lasciò quasi del tutto convertito, con ammirazione di molti cavalieri che stavano rimirando questa scena, e piangevano per tenerezza').

to conversion. Baldassarre was well aware that he lacked the spiritual tools to penetrate this armour. When some of these Muslim slaves did actually convert, he was convinced that his own feeble efforts were not the cause. Converting on the galley was only possible, he concluded, if God took the initiative to intervene. In February 1665, in Genoa, Baldassarre decided to go on a galley to try to convert 'the head of the slaves,' an extremely stubborn man. After a long and frank discussion, in which Baldassarre showed him the falsity of the Qur'an, 'God (...) enlightened him, and he immediately promised he would abandon his damned faith, and would start to follow the true faith in Christ'. On the same galley, Baldassarre met a Calvinist and obtained his conversion too.⁴¹

In Naples a 'Muslim priest' who had an excellent knowledge of the Qur'an, enraged by Baldassarre's success in converting his co-religionists, visited him in the Jesuit church and unsuccessfully tried to kill him with a poisoned bouquet of flowers.⁴² A few months later Baldassarre met the same Muslim sick on a galley and started a discussion with him. At the beginning the sick man answered with arrogance, almost laughing about Baldassarre's words. After a few hours the Muslim was enlightened by God, and admitted the falsity of the Muslim religion.⁴³ On a galley Baldassarre also met one of his former servants, who had recently been in Fez and informed Baldassarre about his family: his wife had died, and one of his sons was now the king of Fez. Baldassarre engaged him in a cordial conversation, and introduced him to the Christian faith; since the galley had to leave, Baldassarre continued his dialogue with the slave in the following months through letters.⁴⁴

The third favoured location for conversion was exactly the site of written correspondence, or letters. Through letters—travelling sheets of paper filled with Arabic scripts—Baldassarre tried to convert several Muslims. 'When I can't get somewhere with my feet', he wrote to his spiritual director, 'I'll get there with my hands, that is with a pen, because God called me for the salvation of souls'.⁴⁵ In June 1663, for instance, Baldassarre wrote a sprawling epistle to the son of the king of Morocco, who at that time was a slave in Portugal. Baldassarre told him his own conversion story, and invited the son of the king

41 Ibidem, fol. 42r, Loyola to Brunacci, Genoa, 7 February 1665 ('Iddio [...] lo illuminò e subito promise di abbandonar la sua maledetta legge per abbracciar la vera fede di Dio').

42 Ibidem, fol. 5r-v, Loyola to Claudio Damei, Genoa, 1 August 1665.

43 Brunacci, *Vita*, vol. II, fol. 69v.

44 APUG, 1060 I/4, fol. 29r.

45 APUG, 1060 I, fol. 32r, Loyola to Brunacci, 17 September 1666 ('dove non potrò arrivar con i piedi arriverò con le mani, cioè con la penna, perché quel Dio, che mi chiamò a sé e m'ellesse a tal fine della salute dell'anime').

to convert to Catholicism as well.⁴⁶ The following year, Baldassarre received a letter from a native of Fez who at that time was a slave in Livorno and doubted that Baldassarre's conversion was sincere. The slave hoped that his former prince had feigned conversion for political or monetary advantages.

For God's sake! I beg you my Lord, [...] write to me with your own hand [explaining] what your real situation is, and what faith you profess in your heart. Tell me if you really did abandon your true faith to embrace the Christian faith. [...] If you pretended to do so to gain something, I pray that God will help you succeed in your business. [...] It will never be true, that you, our prince, really converted in your heart, because I know well your origins, your homeland, I know what you owned and what you ruled in your land.⁴⁷

Baldassare carefully crafted a response, recounting his story, explaining the reasons of his conversion, and urging the slave to do the same.⁴⁸ While reading the letter, as the slave later confessed to Baldassarre, he was 'enlightened' by God and decided to convert to Catholicism, asked for baptism, and was instructed in the Christian faith.⁴⁹

Hospitals for dying people, galleys, and letters: we call these three sites of conversion 'alien spaces'; they are actual places, but are also isolated from their external environment, and thus alien. There are two common threads running through Baldassarre's narratives of alien spaces. First, what happened at hospitals for dying slaves, on galleys, and through letters would have been impossible elsewhere. Muslims who had been faithful to their religion for decades converted in hospitals when they were going to die and they would not have

46 APUG, 1060 II/1, fols. 53r–57r.

47 APUG, 1060 II/5, fols. 49r–52r ('E per tanto la supplico, o mio Signore, che si degni, per amor di quel Dio [...] di scrivermi col suo proprio benedetto carattere, quale sia il suo stato, e qual fede regni nell'interno del suo cuore, se veramente ha cambiato la sua vera Fede con la Christiana [...]? Se ha fatto questo solamente per scappar con qualche vittoria, secondo il suo disegno, prego l'onnipotente Dio, che l'aiuti e l'indirizzi a farlo [...]). Non sarà mai vero, ch'il nostro Padrone habbia fatto questo di cuore, mentre io conosce bene la sua nascita, Patria, e quanto possedeva, e dominava fra noi altri').

48 Ibidem, fols. 53r–92r.

49 Ibidem, fols. 92r–98r. Baldassarre's letters were not always successful, and the mention of failures in his reports makes them more reliable. For instance, he was not successful in his attempt to convert Don Felipe de Africa with a letter. See García Goldáraz, *Un príncipe de Fez Jesuita* 22–23.

any material advantage from their conversion. Slaves still became Catholic despite the social cohesion on the galleys. And if ever a space existed where a slave was free to question the sincerity of his former prince's conversion, even if that meant following his prince upon hearing that that story was true, that space was the alien space of letters. Second, these alien spaces somehow highlighted the efficacy of God's direct action on converts. In ordinary spaces an individual could be moved by beauty, coerced by power, persuaded by social perks, tantalized by exotic cultures, but in alien spaces conversion was, more vividly than everywhere else, clearly God's work.

Hospitals, ships, and letters are frequently the 'setting' of conversion in early modern narratives, both because conversion narratives were often shaped by stereotyped rhetorical conventions, and because actual conversions were more likely to occur in such places due to their inherent alterity and distance from the social environment. Conversion of sick and dying Muslims was a common practice of Catholic religious orders,⁵⁰ and the Spanish Jesuit Tirso González de Santalla, active in the apostolate with Muslim slaves in the late seventeenth century, considered deathbed conversions of Muslims as the most sincere ones.⁵¹ Ships and galleys were often considered an ambiguous channel both of connection and separation of the two sides of the Mediterranean and a favourable place for religious conversion.⁵² Finally, the power of letters as carriers of conversion was a topos among early modern Jesuits.⁵³

We can better grasp the meaning of alien spaces with the help of Michel Foucault's notion of heterotopia, which literally means 'other spaces.'⁵⁴

50 Bono, *Schiavi musulmani* 241–302. Boccardo, *Napoli e l'Islam*. See also the chapter by Fosi I., "The Hospital as a Space of Conversion: Roman Examples from the Seventeenth Century", published elsewhere in this volume.

51 González de Santalla Tirso, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum in duas partes divisa: In prima veritas religionis catholicae-romanae manifestis notis demonstratur. In secunda falsitas mahumetanae sectae convincitur*, 2 vols. (Madrid, Bernardo de Villadiego: 1687), vol. 11, 41. See Colombo E., *Even among Turks: Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705) and Islam* (St. Louis: 2012).

52 See Dursteler E., *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: 2011). See also the chapter by Marcocci G., "Saltwater Conversion: Trans-Oceanic Sailing and Religious Transformation in the Iberian World", published elsewhere in this volume.

53 Roscioni, *Il desiderio delle Indie*.

54 The 1967 lecture by Foucault on "heterotopia" was published in 1984: Foucault, "Of Other Spaces". Foucault also used the term "heterotopia" in the preface to *Les Mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: 1966); English trans.: *The Order of Things: An*

Foucault uses the term to draw attention to peculiar areas of discontinuity in inhabited spaces by creating a context where the normal logic of spatial (and sometimes temporal) experience is not valid any longer. As Foucault states, 'I am interested in certain [sites] that have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspend, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect'.⁵⁵ These spaces are not utopias or attempts to deny the real space.⁵⁶ They are existing spaces, visible and concrete, which nonetheless are able to suspend, by their very existence, all other existing sites. Foucault denies that there is a single universal form of heterotopia. For him, every culture shapes its own heterotopias. They are present in every society of every time. Cemeteries, gardens, prisons, rest homes, psychiatric hospitals, motel rooms, honeymoon hotels, boarding schools, theatres, movie screens, fairgrounds, vacation villages, brothels, and colonies are all examples of modern heterotopias. But 'the ship is the heterotopia par excellence'.⁵⁷ Baldassarre's hospitals for dying people, galleys, and letters are particular forms of heterotopia: they suspend normal spatial experience by freeing people from the cultural boundaries of Christendom. These are the spaces of conversion, where God's direct intervention was more visible than elsewhere.

Archaeology of the Human Sciences (London: 1970) xv–xix. On the double meaning of the concept of heterotopia in Foucault's thought and its applications in different fields, see Genocchio B., "Discourse, Discontinuity and Difference: The Question of 'Other' Spaces", in Watson S. – Gibson K. (eds.), *Postmodern Cities and Spaces* (Cambridge, MA: 1995) 35–46; Soja E.W., "Heterotopologies: A Remembrance of Other Spaces in the Citadel-LA", *ibidem*, 13–34; Saldanha A., "Heterotopia and Structuralism", *Environment and Planning* 40 (2008) 2080–2096. We will use this category as an 'operative concept', in order to make our specific topic clearer, and therefore in this context we will allow ourselves to abstract it from the whole of Foucaultian thought.

55 Foucault, "Of Other Spaces" 24.

56 *Ibidem* ("There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias').

57 *Ibidem*, 27.

Telling the Untellable

Recent biographies of early modern people living between two worlds have given us fresh ways to conceive the geography of the Mediterranean.⁵⁸ They suggest that the boundaries between the Maghreb and Christendom were more mobile, subtle, and porous than we had previously imagined.⁵⁹ This case study confirms this mobility by showing the ease with which a Muslim prince of an Islamic kingdom, married with children, converted, became a priest, entered the most influential Catholic religious order of the time, preached to Muslims in Italian port cities, and achieved renown throughout Europe. But when we consider the inner geography of Baldassarre and his perception of space, we realize that the Mediterranean produced ‘a unique geographical context of ‘relative proximity [...] but also clear separation’, what we might call ‘proximate separation.’⁶⁰ If the boundaries between the Maghreb and Christendom were subtle, those between a convert and the world in which he lived could be quite sharply drawn. Baldassarre perceived an intimate estrangement from the place where he lived and an irresistible gravitation toward the Muslim world. In Christendom, Baldassarre was constantly on the lookout for Muslim spaces. His letters reveal his deep longing to travel to Muslim lands; his visions disclose the abiding presence of his homeland in his interior life.

How could a conversion story be told, given this complex overlap of external and inner spaces? The tension between these two polarities is often present in early modern conversion narratives: on the one hand, conversion happens in an external, objective space; on the other hand, the source of conversion is not just the osmotic pressure of the surrounding environment. Setting conversions in alien spaces, Baldassarre highlighted both aspects: alien spaces are external, existing spaces, which also happen to be free from the influence of the external environment. What happens there is undoubtedly God’s work.

The recounting of conversions in the early modern period was an attempt to localize, to circumscribe, or—to use a nautical term—to circumnavigate

58 Davis N.Z., *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: 2006); García-Arenal M. – Wiegers G., *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: 2003); Fiume G., *Schiavitù mediterranea: Corsari, rinnegati e santi di età moderna* (Milan: 2009)

59 Dursteler, *Renegade Women* 108 (‘Where frontiers previously evoked visions of a binary space of cultural collision, more recent scholarship has emphasized them as sites of cultural contact, hybrid zones, middle-grounds, places of much greater complexity than simple confrontation, collision or, for that matter, assimilation or negotiation’).

60 *Ibidem*, 109.

something that happened in a space, but could not be spatially delimited. The experience of space as mere limit was not enough to describe the event of a religious conversion, since it required the alleged insertion of divine intervention beyond spatial limits. We can use the image of the Aleph, the mysterious object imagined by Jorge Luis Borges, through which one is able to see simultaneously every place of the entire world: 'What eternity is to time—Borges observes—the Aleph is to space'. When he tries to describe what he saw, Borges faces its ineffability: 'I arrive now at the ineffable core of my story. And here begins my despair as a writer. All language is a set of symbols whose use among its speakers assumes a shared past. How, then, can I translate into words the limitless Aleph, which my floundering mind can scarcely encompass?'⁶¹

Narrating conversions is an attempt to tell an untellable story. Different and even contradictory accounts of a single conversion are all efforts to attack the citadel that keeps a conversion's secret; every attempt is the expression of one of the citadel's sides.⁶² We can now deal with the problem raised at the beginning of this essay. Why did Courcier, Esquex, and Calderón give different versions of Baldassarre's conversion story? We can assume that they had the same purpose that Baldassarre had when writing about Muslim slaves, to show that conversion was a real event that happened in a real space, not a fruit of the imagination, as well as to reinforce what Baldassarre repeated his entire life, namely that his conversion had not originated from his stay in a Christian place and from his assimilation into the Catholic environment in Malta. The transformation of a vision had in a state of drowsiness (perhaps a dream) into a vision had while awake was a way to give more credibility to Baldassarre's account in a time of skepticism and prudence toward dreams:⁶³ Baldassarre's conversion was a fact, an actual event. The substitution of the unusual vision of the personification of Baptism with, instead, a vision of Mary was a way to reinforce Baldassarre's Marian devotion and to make the vision less peculiar.⁶⁴ Finally, setting the conversion on a ship, on a 'floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself', an apparent betrayal of Baldassarre's narrative, was, in truth, an attempt to tell the untellable story of Baldassarre's conversion, reinforcing his own view: at the origin of his conversion, there was nothing but God.

61 Borges J.L., *El Aleph* (Buenos Aires: 1952); English trans.: *The Aleph and Other Stories 1933–1969*, trans. N.T. Di Giovanni (New York: 1970) 13, 189.

62 Leone M., *Religious Conversion and Identity: The Semiotic Analysis of Texts* (London – New York: 2004)

63 Esquex, *Sermón fúnebre* 11–14.

64 Brunacci, *Vita*, vol. I, fol. 31v.

Selective Bibliography

- Abulafia D., *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: 2011).
- Alam M. – Subrahmanyam S., “Frank disputations: Catholics and Muslims in the court of Jahangir (1608–11)”, *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46 (2009) 457–511.
- Alonso Acero B., *Sultanes de Berbería en tierras de la cristiandad: Exilio musulmán, conversión y asimilación en la monarquía hispánica (siglos XVI y XVII)* (Barcelona: 2006).
- Bennassar B. – Sauzet R., *Chrétiens et musulmans à la Renaissance: Actes du 37^e colloque international du CESR* (Paris: 1998).
- Bennassar B. and L., *Les Chrétiens d'Allah: L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris: 1989).
- Bercé Y.-M., *Lorette aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles: Histoire du plus grand pèlerinage des temps modernes* (Paris: 2011).
- Blunt W., *Black Sunrise: The Life and Time of Mulai Ismail, Emperor of Morocco, 1646–1727* (London: 1951).
- Boccardamo G., *Napoli e l'Islam: Storie di musulmani, schiavi e rinnegati in età moderna* (Naples: 2010).
- Bono S., *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna: Galeotti, vu' cumpra', domestici* (Naples: 1999).
- Bulkeley K. – Adams K. – Devis P. (eds.), *Dreaming in Christianity and Islam: Culture, Conflict, and Creativity* (New Brunswick – New Jersey – London: 2009).
- Bunes Ibarra M.Á. de, “El Islam en los autos sacramentales de Pedro Calderón de la Barca”, *Revista de literatura* 53 (1991) 63–83.
- Calderón de la Barca Pedro, *El Gran Príncipe de Fez don Balthasar de Loyola*, in *Cuarta parte de comedias nuevas de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid, José Fernández de Buendía: 1672) 227–282.
- Camps A., *Jerome Xavier S. J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire: Controversial Works and Missionary Activity* (Fribourg: 1957).
- Cassani José, *Gloria del segundo siglo de la Compañía de Jesús ...*, 3 vols. (Madrid, Manuel Fernandez: 1736).
- Charles L., *Les Jésuits dans les Etats Barbaresques* (Paris: 1920).
- Colombo E., “A Muslim Turned Jesuit: Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631–1667)”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013) 479–504.
- Colombo E., “Baldassarre Loyola de Mandes (1631–1667), Prince de Fez and Jésuite”, in Vincent B. – Dakhlija J. (eds.), *Les Musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe*, vol. 1, *Une intégration invisible* (Paris: 2011) 159–193.
- Colombo E., *Convertire i musulmani: L'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo nel Seicento* (Milano: 2007).
- Colombo E., *Even among Turks: Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705) and Islam* (St. Louis: 2012).

- Davis N.Z., *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: 2006).
- De Backer A. – Sommervogel C., “Mendez Balthasar Loyola”, in *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris: 1890–1932), vol. 5, 882–883.
- De Castries H., *Les sources inédites de l’Histoire du Maroc: Archives et bibliothèques d’Espagne*, 3 vols. (Paris: 1921–).
- De Castries H., “Trois princes marocains convertis au christianisme”, in *Mémorial H. Basset: Nouvelles études nord-africaines et orientales* (Paris: 1928) 143–151.
- Duclos P., “Baldassarre Loyola Mandes”, in O’Neill C.E. – Domínguez J.M. (eds.) *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático* (Roma-Madrid: 2001) 2428.
- Esquex Pedro Francisco, *Sermón fúnebre historial en las exequias que se celebraron en el Colegio Imperial de la Compañía de Jesús al Venerable P. Baltasar de Loyola Mandez* (Madrid, Villa-Diego: 1667).
- Fiume G., *Schiavitù mediterranee: Corsari, rinnegati e santi di età moderna* (Milan: 2009).
- Fradejas Lebrero J., “Musulmanes y Moriscos en el Teatro del Calderón”, *Tamuda* 5 (1967) 185–228.
- García-Arenal M. – Wiegers G., *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: 2003).
- García Goldáraz C., *Un príncipe de Fez Jesuita: Scheih Muhammad Attasi, en religión P. Balthasar Diego Loyola de Mandes (1631–1667): Estudio sobre su ascendencia regia* (Burgos: 1944).
- Genocchio B., “Discourse, Discontinuity and Difference: The Question of ‘Other’ Spaces”, in Watson S. – Gibson K. (eds.), *Postmodern Cities and Spaces* (Cambridge, MA: 1995) 35–46.
- Kasparova J., “Descubrimiento de dos manuscritos, obras de Pedro Calderón (1600–1681)”, in Reichemberg K. and T. (eds.), *Calderón protagonista eminente del barroco europeo*, vol. 2 (Kassel: 2002) 21–28.
- Lazar L.G., *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy* (Toronto: 2005).
- Lebessou L., “La seconde vie d’un sultan du Maroc”, *Etudes* 123 (1910) 488–498.
- Leone M., *Religious Conversion and Identity: The Semiotic Analysis of Texts* (London – New York: 2004).
- Lucchini E., *La merce umana: Schiavitù e riscatto dei liguri nel Seicento* (Roma: 1990).
- Matthews D., *A Critical Edition of ‘El Gran Príncipe De Fez’ by Calderón De La Barca: Prepared for the Autograph Manuscript and with a Critical and Historical Study of the Play and Its Sources*, Ph.D. Dissertation (University of London: 1968).
- Mazur P., “Combating ‘Mohammedan Indecency’: The Baptism of Muslims Slaves in Spanish Naples, 1563–1667,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 13 (2009) 25–48.

- Padberg J.W – O’Keefe M. – McCarthy J. (eds.), *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations: A Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees* (St. Louis: 1994).
- Reyero E., *Misiones del P. Tirso Gonzalez de Santalla, XIII prepósito general de la Compañía de Jesús* (Santiago: 1913) 236–246.
- Romanos M., “Teatro histórico y evangelización en el Gran Príncipe de Fez de Calderón de la Barca,” in Strosetzki C. (ed.), *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro* (Madrid – Frankfurt: 2001) 1142–1150.
- Saldanha A., “Heterotopia and Structuralism”, in *Environment and Planning* 40 (2008) 2080–2096.
- Scaraffia L., *Rinnegati: Per una storia dell’identità occidentale* (Roma: 1991).
- Selwyn J., *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits’ Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Hants: 2004).
- Soja E.W., “Heterotologies: A Remembrance of Other Spaces in the Citadel-LA”, in Watson S. – Gibson K. (eds.), *Postmodern Cities and Spaces* (Cambridge MA: 1995) 13–34.

Confessional Rivals: Conversions and Apostasies in the Middle-Volga Region of the Russian Empire (Nineteenth Century)

Oxana Zemtsova

The Middle-Volga Region as a Disputed Space of Conversion

On 13 March 1826, the Kazan provincial authorities issued a resolution that allowed forty-four Orthodox Tatars of the Azeevo and Romashkino villages of the Kazan district to convert to Islam.¹ This resolution was unusual since conversions to Orthodoxy were irreversible and apostasy was a crime, at least until 1905, when Tsar Nicholas II issued the *Manifesto on the Improvement of the State Order*, promising, among other civil rights, freedom of conscience. In 1826, upon inspection, it was discovered that the aforementioned Tatars were only allegedly Orthodox, as the data about their supposed baptism could not be found anywhere in the church registers. An episode that, under different circumstances, could have passed unnoticed, gave many baptized Tatars a reason to believe that the authorities recognized their right to 'return to Islam' and triggered massive apostasies from Orthodoxy in the Middle-Volga region of the Russian empire.

The nineteenth-century Middle-Volga region was situated on the banks of the rivers Volga, Kama and Viatka [Fig. 13.1]. However, it was not an administrative unit in the east of the European part of the empire. It included the Kazan, Simbirsk, Penza and Samara provinces and those territories administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Kazan school district, the Kazan diocese and (for Muslims) the Orenburg muftiate. The non-Russian population of the region consisted of a variety of ethnic groups, namely the Tatars, Chuvash (of the Turkic language group), Mari, Udmurt and Mordva (of the Finno-Ugric language group). Besides, and more importantly in the context of nineteenth-century discourse, the region was a virtual crossroads of religions and beliefs, being populated by Orthodox Christians, Muslims, Old Believers

1 Iskhakov R., *Missionerstvo i musul'mane Volgo-Kam'ia* [*Missionary Work and the Muslims of the Volga-Kama Region*] (Kazan: 2011) 43.



FIGURE 13.1 *Map of the Volga Region.*

(i.e., schismatic Orthodox who had separated from the official Russian Orthodox Church after 1666 as a protest against church reforms introduced by Patriarch Nikon), pagans (polytheists who kept to animistic beliefs) and, in smaller numbers, Jews, Catholics and Lutherans. The Kazan and Simbirsk provinces were at the crossroads of the Russian, Finno-Ugric and Turkic worlds. Towns and villages became spaces of contested religious identity.

In the present chapter, the region’s villages are viewed as spaces of apostasy from Orthodoxy and conversion to Islam and paganism. In the nineteenth century, the phenomenon took on such massive proportions as to shake this part of the Russian empire. I will analyse the reasons for these apostasies and conversions among the non-Russian population in the Middle-Volga region between the 1820s and the 1860s, and the failure of Orthodox missionaries to

stem the tide. Missionaries had sought to integrate this population into the Orthodox community ever since it had come under Russian control in the sixteenth century, but their activities proved ineffective in the long run. Neither admonition and rewards nor force and coercion seemed to have had much effect on the nominally Orthodox non-Russians, who kept leaving Orthodoxy for paganism and Islam. In fact, following the resolution of 1826, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, 3,274 inhabitants of 139 villages of various Kazan and Orenburg dioceses claimed their right to convert to Islam in 1827.² From the moment they sent their petitions, the apostates refused to attend church services or even talk to Orthodox priests.³ They usually shaved their heads, immediately adopted Tatar names and did not react when addressed by their erstwhile Christian names.

The Church lacked effective methods to convince the apostates to return to Orthodoxy, for admonitions had no effect. The authorities and the police had to intervene to re-establish order in the region. Orthodox missionaries would usually come to villages accompanied by policemen who would make the apostates gather in front of the church in the presence of an interpreter, because very few of the missionaries at that time spoke the indigenous languages (Tatar, Mari or Chuvash). The missionaries announced that the petitions of the apostates were detestable, since the requests were against the will of God, and so there was no way they could be satisfied. Those who persisted in their desire to become Muslims were arrested; sometimes they also had their property confiscated and were exiled from their villages. Many Tatars had already changed their minds about apostasy by 1828, although the missionaries themselves understood that their 'return' to Orthodoxy was only nominal.

Cases of apostasy and a return to paganism constituted another wave that shook the non-Russian community of the Middle-Volga region in the 1820s. One of the most well-known gatherings, which came to be known as 'all-Mari prayers', took place on 20 November 1827 near the Varangushi village in the Tsarevokokshaiskii district.⁴ This gathering saw almost 5,000 baptized and

2 Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archives, henceforth RGIA], f. 797, op. 3, d. 12644, l. 159.

3 Natsional'nyi arkhiv Respubliki Tatarstan [National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, henceforth NART], f. 4, op. 59, d. 6, ll. 1–10b.

4 Ivanov A.G., "Vsemariiskoe iazycheskoe molenie 1827 goda i deistviia vlastei" ["All-Mari Pagan Prayer of 1827 and the Actions of the Authorities"], *Mariiskii arkheograficheskii vestnik* 8 (1998) 48–74, at 50. For a similar case of an 'all-Mari prayer' in the village of Kuprian-Sola of the Viatka province in 1828, see Nikanor (Kamenskii), "Cheremisy i iazycheskie verovaniia ikh" ["The Cheremis and Their Pagan Beliefs"], in *Ostatki iazycheskikh obriadov i religioznykh*

pagan Mari from the Viatka, Kazan and Ufa provinces come together in a sacred grove for the traditional pagan prayer and sacrifice. Before this time, missionary activity had remained relatively passive and was aimed at Orthodox Russians and baptized non-Russians, sustaining, rather than spreading, Christianity. It was in the 1830s, after Filaret Amfiteatrov became the new archbishop of Kazan and Simbirsk (1828–1836), that anti-pagan missions finally received official status. In theory, the missionary work consisted in travelling from village to village, helping the local clergy to strengthen the baptized in the Orthodox faith, making them denounce their pagan beliefs, and proposing baptism to the unconverted.

Missionary trips to pagan villages were considered successful if the parishioners signed written statements renouncing paganism, yet even the missionaries themselves had scant belief in the sincerity of such statements. As the priests' reports showed, as soon as the missionaries left, non-Russians returned to their animistic practices, remaining Orthodox only on paper. A famous Chuvash teacher, Ivan Iakovlev, in his memoirs about his childhood (1850s–1860s), said that the inhabitants of his village 'were considered to be Orthodox Christians though in fact they remained pure pagans'.⁵ Rather than fully converting the pagans to a monotheistic religion, baptism and admonitions only added new elements to their former religious practices. Paganism remained, for many, a religious cult, philosophy and art inherited from their ancestors. Masses of people continued to follow their traditions while attending an Orthodox church at the same time, but their animistic religions, polytheistic as they were, experienced transformations under the influence of monotheistic religions, Orthodoxy and Islam. On a purely material basis this would mean that they supported the clergy and also provided animals and goods for traditional pagan sacrifice.⁶ Formally, what we see are examples of double faith, manifesting itself in the appearance of mixed pagan-Orthodox prayers, which have survived until the present day, and in syncretic beliefs, in which paganism and Orthodoxy were not consciously distinguished, but merged into a hybrid form. Further on in this chapter we will see some examples of how paganism and Orthodoxy (and, sometimes, Islam) were interwoven in the practices of the ethnic groups of the region.

verovaniĭ u Chuvash [*Remains of Chuvash Pagan Rituals and Religious Beliefs*] (Kazan: 1910) 7–26.

5 Iakovlev I., *Moia zhizn': Vospominaniia* [*My Life: Memoirs*] (Moscow: 1997) 51.

6 Werth P.W., *At the Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance and Confessional Politics in Russia's Volga-Kama Region, 1827–1905* (Ithaca – London: 2001) 82.

The Mari, even those who were baptized, venerated Kugu Iumo, believed to be the supreme god, and although they would go to church now and then, the sacred for them was located in the physical world and could inhabit specific objects.⁷ They held their sacrifices in sacred groves; this was the case for a mass prayer conducted by a *kart*—usually the community’s most experienced and respected person, since the Mari had neither church nor church hierarchy. Some of these sacred groves were so famous that people even travelled from distant districts to perform their rituals there.⁸ A most interesting example of the incorporation of Orthodoxy into the life of the Mari is a phenomenon that came to be known as the Kugu Sorta (literally ‘Big Candle’). This ritual, which developed among the Mari population in the Viatka province, became the most vivid example of how an ethnic group was trying to achieve recognition not by blindly accepting the suggested set of beliefs and rituals, but instead by reforming their own pagan beliefs, which, as they saw it, should receive the status of an officially recognized religion on the same level with Islam and Orthodoxy.

This reform presupposed the adjustment of the basics of the religions of the book to the Mari’s animistic perceptions, the points of reference being the striving for monotheism, rejection of blood sacrifice (instead, they used bread and candles), and the appearance of the notion of sin and the afterlife. Paul Werth calls this ‘internal conversion’, an attempt to rationalize the religious system ‘not through the adoption of an external religious system, but through a fundamental reworking of one’s own religious beliefs.’⁹ The essence of this reform was the idea that the Mari had fallen into sin by adopting Orthodoxy and thus rejecting their own old rituals. It was implied that the Mari could not communicate with God through Christianity: they viewed their present economic and social misfortunes as the outcome of rejecting their indigenous beliefs and turning to Orthodoxy; and they insisted on the exclusive practice of paganism. However, since the petitioners were formally Orthodox Christians, their claims were recognized as a sign of apostasy and unconditionally rejected.

The religious practices of the Votyak were similar to those of the Mari, who lived in the neighbouring areas and with whom they had close economic and

7 Idem, “Big Candles and ‘Internal Conversion’: The Mari Animist Reformation and Its Russian Appropriations”, in Geraci R.P. – Khodarkovsky M. (eds.), *Of Religion and Empire: Mission, Conversion and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, NY – London: 2001) 144–173, at 147.

8 Idem, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy* 31.

9 Idem, “Big Candles” 145.

cultural contacts.¹⁰ Like them, this ethnic group observed the cult of keremet', common to Finno-Ugric and Turkic peoples of the region, along with the cult of land. Although keremet' is a nickname for 'devil' in modern Mari colloquial speech, originally he was considered to be a deity who required blood sacrifices and to whom people prayed for benefits like a good harvest, personal well-being, and good weather. It was in reference to Mari and Votiak that the priests would often complain: 'All our brethren in the faith are called Christians but they cannot pronounce the name of keremet' without horror; and they try to propitiate it with their offerings almost in every misfortune, every disease. These miserable Christians are trying to keep those who do not venerate keremet' from the true faith even by force.'¹¹

The close cohabitation of Votiak with Tatars in the Kazan province might suggest that becoming acquainted with the Muslim monotheistic faith would lead to the growth of an exclusive belief in the highest god, Inmar.¹² But despite the influence of monotheism, pagan deities were still kept alive. As the missionary efforts could not oust them completely, it was considered possible to equate Christian sacred images with the images of popular religion. Thus, Inmar, Kuldusin and Kvos'—venerated spirits—intermingled with God the Father, God the Son and the Holy Spirit.¹³ Vladimir Vladykin has argued that Inmar originally was a peer of the other gods, representing the upper sphere of the world, but subsequently evolved into a single, higher god under the influence of both Orthodoxy and Islam.¹⁴

The Mordva were generally considered the most Russified ethnic group, in the sense that almost the entire Mordva population was Orthodox.¹⁵ However, in the opinion of Nikolai Mokshin, who studied their religious history, this group cannot be called religiously homogenous since Christianity could not

10 Luppov P.N., *Materialy dlia istorii khristianstva u votiakov v pervoi polovine 19 veka* [*Materials for the History of Christianity of the Votiak in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*] (Viatka: 1911).

11 "Religioznoe sostoianie iazychestvuiushchikh inorodtsev Kazanskoï gubernii i otnoshenie k nemu inorodtsev kreshchenykh" ["Religious State of Pagan Non-Russians of the Kazan Province and the Attitude of Baptized Non-Russians to It"], *Missioner* 21 (1874) 202.

12 Taimasov L.A., *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' i khristianskoe prosveshchenie narodov Srednego Povolzh'ia vo vtoroi polovine 19–nachale 20 veka* [*The Orthodox Church and Christian Enlightenment of the Middle Volga Peoples in the Second Half of the 19th-Beginning of the 20th Century*] (Cheboksary: 2004).

13 Ibidem, 78.

14 Vladykin V., *Religiozno-mifologicheskaia kartina mira udmurtov* [*A Religious-Mythological Picture of Udmurt's Worldview*] (Izhevsk: 1994) 101–102.

15 Taimasov, *Pravoslavnaia tserkov'*.

completely eradicate traditional beliefs, but contributed to the formation of Orthodox-pagan religious hybridism.¹⁶ Indeed, for this group the celebration of Easter, contrary to the Orthodox idea, became a day to remember ancestors and to ask for such favours as a good harvest and personal well-being.

Given that the religious worldview of these pagan, or baptized but previously pagan, peoples remained unstable, under favourable conditions this worldview could become inclined towards Islam just as well as towards Orthodoxy. Thus, these two plausible alternatives competed with each other, both being religions of the book, having long histories, a certain religious hierarchy and centuries-long traditions of confessional schools. Islam contributed to the cultural distinctiveness of its numerous followers, who, besides a common language, had very close ties and relative self-sufficiency as a community. Given the ability of Muslims to proselytize and the fact that the generations of baptized non-Russians still remained unstable in their faith and therefore liable to apostasy, it is evident that Orthodox missionaries could not ignore the activities of Muslims, especially in villages with a mixed population, which became disputed spaces of conversion.

Why would non-Muslim non-Russians, especially those of non-Tatar origin, be attracted to Islam? The cases of conversion to Islam mostly took place in the villages where Chuvash, Mari and Votyak peoples lived together with Muslim Tatars. According to the data provided by Leonid Taimasov, Tatars lived in all provinces of the Middle-Volga region: in the Kazan province, for instance, they constituted the majority in the Mamadysh district (by the end of the nineteenth century, 69.41%); in the Tetiushi district, they made up about half of the population, while in the Sviazhsk, Tsarevokokshaisk, Laishevskii, Chistopol'skii and Spasskii districts, they constituted from 25% to 30%, the other major groups being Russians, Mordva, Mari, and Chuvash.¹⁷ Almost all pre-revolutionary missionary writers (Nickolai Il'minskii, Iakov Koblov, Evfimii Malov and Mikhail Mashanov) remarked upon the almost 'fanatical' devotion of the Muslim Tatars to their faith and their ability to defend its truth and divinity. One of the most important features in this respect was the spread of Muslim education in the Kazan region. In almost every village, mullahs taught the local children the basics of the Muslim faith in return for some parental donation. In cities and towns there were *mektebs* (Islamic schools), where young people received further education. While its quality was not very high, the number of educational institutions for Muslim Tatars was greater than those available

16 Mikshin N.F., *Religioznue verovaniia mordvy* [*Religious Beliefs of the Mordva*] (Saransk: 1968) 133.

17 Taimasov, *Pravoslavnaia tserkov'* 58.

for all other peoples of the Middle-Volga region, including Russian peasants. It was not infrequent, given the lack of any alternative, for non-Muslim non-Russians to send their children to a *mekteb*, thus taking the first step towards conversion to Islam. At *mektebs* the children would learn the basics of Islam, they would read the Qur'an and hadiths, but most importantly, surrounded by Muslim fellow-students and teachers, they would gradually acquire a Muslim lifestyle. Conversion, under these circumstances, was only a question of time.

Marriage could be another practical motive for conversion to Islam. In this case it is hard to say to what extent any personal choice was involved, for the conversion could be regarded first and foremost as submission to the rules of the new family. How could one proselytize more effectively than that? In order to avoid punishment for their prospective relatives—according to the Penal Code of 1845, 'a Muslim, a Jew or a pagan who, taking advantage of the ignorance and simplicity of the non-Russian, will bring him from one non-Christian faith to another by means of seduction, instigation or suggestion', was to be punished¹⁸—the future wives wrote explanatory notes like that of a twenty-year-old Votyak girl who married a Muslim Tatar:

I was a simple non-baptized Votyak girl when, at the age of twelve, I sincerely began to love Islam. Without being forced or seduced or promised money or being scared, but out of my own free will I later became a Muslim, accepted the religion of Islam and the duties that come with it [...]. I denounced all the beliefs contrary to Islam, hoping for God's mercy and grace, in order to avoid the tortures of hell and be resurrected with other Muslims [...]. Now, in the presence of witnesses, I pronounce the words of confession in which I sincerely believe and become a real Muslim.¹⁹

Cases of such mixed marriages and subsequent conversions were quite frequent. However, even as a result of simply living in the same village as Muslim Tatars or working for them, non-Muslims sometimes found their lifestyle more agreeable, and together with clothing and dietary habits, gradually began to follow their religious rituals. Many converted for economic reasons, in order to earn more money when working for a Muslim family, since Muslims in such cases were often more highly paid than their pagan counterparts. The majority

18 *Ulozhenie o nakazaniiaakh* [*Penal Code*] (St. Petersburg: 1845).

19 Il'minskii N.I., *Kazanskaia kreshcheno-tatarskaia shkola: Materialy dlia prosvescheniia kreshchenykh tatar* [*The Kazan School for Baptized Tatars: Materials for the Education of Baptized Tatars*] (Kazan: 1887) 5.

of the male population from baptized Tatar villages went to Muslim villages in search of work and remained there for the greater part of the year. Naturally, these male workers constituted a significant proportion of the apostates who troubled the rest of the population and encouraged their co-villagers to convert to Islam.

Nineteenth-Century Conversion to Islam: Cases from Tatar Villages

Yet the region's Tatar population was split into two parts, one Orthodox, the other Muslim. The stronger, Muslim part often pushed the indecisive Orthodox one to apostasy. However, it is important to remember that even the Orthodox Tatar population was not culturally homogeneous.²⁰ The Old Converts to Orthodoxy (baptized during the sixteenth century) came primarily from an animist background, while the New Converts (baptized during the eighteenth century) had originally been Muslims. The beliefs of the Old Converts were based on popular traditions and this brought them close to other groups of baptized non-Russians—Chuvash, Mari and Votiak—as they had the images of gods and spirits typical of the traditional beliefs of native peoples: patrons of the household, rivers, forests, and so forth. Stressing the animistic beliefs of this ethnic group, one scholar has plausibly argued that the group of Old Converts originated both from non-Islamized Tatars and from ‘Tatarized’ Chuvash, Mari and Votiak.²¹ Thus, although it is possible to understand the desire to return to Islam on the part of newly baptized Tatars by more or less natural attraction, I suggest that the cases of conversion to Islam of old Tatar converts, Chuvash and Votiak may be explained as a result of economic factors and cohabitation with Muslim Tatars. In such apostasies the officials saw an aggressive and dynamic Islam, and in their view it had to be blocked.

Cases of conversion to Islam and paganism occurred throughout the nineteenth century, but it was the ‘Great Apostasy’ of 1866 that caused special concern among the authorities and missionaries. This striking turn of events is referred to as the ‘Great Apostasy’ because of the enormous number of apostates—thousands of baptized Tatars as well as Orthodox non-Russians of animistic background who openly declared their wish to profess Islam. According to the data provided by the missionary Evfimii Malov, the number

20 Kefeli A., “The Role of Tatar and Kriashen Women in the Transmission of Islamic Knowledge, 1800–1870”, in Geraci – Khodarkovsky (eds.), *Of Religion and Empire* 250–274, at 255.

21 Taimasov, *Pravoslavnaia tserkov’*.

of apostates among Tatars reached 12,000 by the mid-1870s.²² Let us examine two examples of 1865, one in the village of Kibiak Kozi, in Laishev district, the other in Elyshevo, in Mamadysh district. The instigators of the apostasy were the baptized Tatar peasants Ivan Nikitin of Kibiak Kozi and Efrem Kirillov of Elyshevo. They were both arrested, but the investigator charged with the case did not want to proceed with it, so he released them. Seeing that his act of apostasy remained unpunished, on 2 April 1866 Nikitin announced that he had converted to Islam together with his family. Another arrest and another release followed. Soon afterwards all peasants of both villages announced their apostasy. Those who still wanted to remain Orthodox were forced to sign a petition to accept Islam. Thus, a peasant named Peter Ivanov in Elyshevo came into the house of Praskoviia Vasilieva when the latter's husband was out and, taking icons off the wall, forced her to convert to Islam. Kondratii Filippov, from the same village, who refused to give up Orthodoxy, was threatened with expulsion and confiscation of his land. Even his son, himself an apostate, refused to help him.²³ Such cases did not go unnoticed and the instigators were finally prosecuted.

When Kazan vice-governor Ivan Rozov visited these villages and explained to their inhabitants that their attempts were illegal and that they were therefore obliged to return to Orthodoxy, only nine families out of 103 agreed to do so. Yet they refused to sign any paper confirming the fact of their apostasy from Orthodoxy. Seeing that the situation was getting out of control, Rozov made the mullahs of the nearest Muslim Tatar villages sign a declaration stating that they would not admit the apostates to the mosques, nor teach them the basics of Islam or perform any rituals for them. Nevertheless, Rozov was not sure that any signed papers would keep the apostates in Orthodoxy. Indeed, he suspected that their number would grow quickly, and that the exodus would not only involve Tatars, but other non-Muslim non-Russians as well, unless the diocese found the means to strengthen their belief in the Christian faith.²⁴

Why did the mass apostasy occur at this time, after almost three hundred years of missionary work in the region? It was prompted by several factors. The research conducted by Michael Johnson convincingly argues that the number of petitions requesting permission to leave Orthodoxy for Islam in the nineteenth century grew during the periods of accession and coronation of each new emperor, since "Tatar leaders believed that at the beginning of his reign, the

22 Malov E.A., "Otpadenie kreschenykh tatar ot pravoslaviia" ["Apostasy of Baptized Tatars from Orthodoxy"], *Missioner* 2 (1874) 114–115.

23 Il'minskii, *Kazanskaia* 283.

24 *Ibidem*, 284.

new emperor would follow the tradition of issuing a series of manifestos and granting the formal requests of his subjects in an effort to gain their support'.²⁵ Thus, as Johnson demonstrated, petitions increased in 1802 (Alexander I), 1826–1827 (Nicholas I), 1856 (Alexander II), 1882–1883 (Alexander III) and 1896 (Nicholas II). The period under Alexander II was especially important since it bred many liberal ideas. The emancipation of serfs in 1861 and state peasants in 1866 brought much confusion, since for many Middle-Volga people it was a step towards obtaining other freedoms as well, including the freedom of religion, which Paul Werth claims, gave rise to the Great Apostasy of 1866.²⁶ Literate people in the local communities quickly grasped the import of these political advances and wrote numerous petitions for their co-religionists, making money from the fees they charged and often becoming leaders of apostasy movements.

Indeed, in 1863 a false manifesto 'signed' by Alexander II was circulated in the Volga region. It contained references to distributions of land to peasants, freedom of faith, abolishment of taxes and conscription:

[. . .] From now on, freedom of faith and observance of religious rituals will become the right of everyone. The inhabitants of every town and every city will elect four men [. . .]. The four deputies from every district, coming to the central city of a province, will elect the head of their province and other provincial authorities. Deputies from every province, coming to Moscow, will make up the State Council, which, with our help, will govern all Russia.²⁷

It is possible that this very manifesto was used first by the Old Believers, and then by Muslim Tatars, as proof that permission to change one's faith had been legally granted. A certain Andrei Petrov-Leshev, an inhabitant of the village of Tashevka (in the Sviazhsk district) and the leader of a group that had abandoned Orthodoxy for the Old Belief, persuaded his co-villagers that he possessed an official letter from the emperor that regarded their apostasy as a legal action. In Johnson's view, Muslim propagandists were using the edict of 1863 amongst the Tatars to encourage those who had stayed in Orthodoxy for

25 Johnson M.W., *Imperial Commission or Orthodox Mission: Nikolai Il'minskii's Work Among the Tatars of Kazan, 1862–1891*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Illinois at Chicago: 2005) 106.

26 Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy* 147–177.

27 Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii [State Archives of the Russian Federation, henceforth GARF] f. 39, op. 2, d. 43, l. 1.

fear of punishment openly to declare themselves Muslims.²⁸ In this attempt, Tatars looked towards Old Believers as role models, in the same way that many pagans had justified their wish to return to their old faith by pointing to the presumed success of the Old Believers returning to theirs (a success actually based on false rumours). However, the true cause of apostasy, especially that of newly baptized Tatars, should be sought in the conditions of their baptism in the eighteenth century. Conversion had seldom been voluntary, and was based not on the religiously motivated wish to renounce Islam and embrace Orthodoxy, but rather on the desire to obtain rewards or to escape punishment or economic hardship. The baptism of these Tatars and their reaction to the missionaries' activities are difficult to understand without being aware of the principle of *at-Takiia* (prudent concealment of one's faith), which was always present in Islam, rendering it possible to accept another faith in cases of mortal danger with a silent reservation. Faizulkhak Islaev supports this idea, arguing that in the eighteenth century Muslims could formally accept Orthodoxy while spiritually remaining adherents of Islam.²⁹ Community antagonism also contributed to apostasy, for the privileges enjoyed by the baptized annoyed the remaining Muslims, on whose shoulders the burden of taxes was placed. This contributed to negative attitudes towards the baptized, who were despised not only for being unfaithful to their religion, but also for enjoying privileges that they, according to the Muslim community, did not deserve.³⁰

Conversion to Islam of former pagans, with no Muslim background, became especially pronounced in areas where there were no schools except the *mektebs*, for non-Russians (as pointed out above) would send their children to Muslim schools in order to obtain at least some education. Thus Antonii II Amfiteatrov, archbishop of Kazan and Sviiazhska (1866–1879), in a letter of 1867 to the over-procurator of the Holy Synod, Dmitrii Tolstoi, noted the great number of mosques and mullahs amongst the conditions limiting the influence of the Church and Orthodox priests. Using the privilege of having a mosque for every two hundreds males in the community, the Muslims built more and

28 Johnson, *Imperial Commission* 131.

29 Islaev F.G., *Islam i pravoslavie v Rossii: ot konfrontatsii k veroterpimosti. Vek 18 [Islam and Orthodoxy in Russia: From Confrontation to Tolerance: The Eighteenth Century]* (Moscow: 2004).

30 Idem, "K voprosu ob istoricheskikh predposylkakh sistemy N.I. Il'minskogo" ["The Question of Historical Preconditions of the System of N.I. Il'minskii"], in Sinisalo-Katajisto P. (ed.), *Prerevolutionary Kazan: Missionary Education and Study of the Volga Native Peoples* (Helsinki: 2005) 51–59, at 56.

more mosques as soon as the population figures reached the required number.³¹ Moreover, Archbishop Antonii II reported, there was hardly a village with even a small number of Tatars without a mosque and a mullah, while the same could not be said about Orthodox villages, which were far apart from each other, were composed of mixed baptized and non-baptized populations, and by diocesan statute, introduced in 1846, had one priest for every 1,500 parishioners. Building new churches and organizing new parishes was obstructed by formalities and the poverty of the local population. At the same time, the small number of Muslim believers per mullah gave the latter the freedom and convenience not only to perform rituals, but also to teach children. Thus, every mosque had *mektebs* and madrasah, where mullahs gave lessons to the boys, while their wives taught the girls. For this reason, the level of literacy of Muslim Tatars was much higher than that of Russians and of Orthodox Christians in general. 'What makes things worse', the archbishop's letter went on to say, 'is that this literacy is non-Russian, which makes them [the non-Russians] more alienated from the Russian people and less receptive to the influence of the Church and Orthodox priests'.³²

Antonii II further accused the government of having contributed to the rise of literacy among the Tatars, since the printing house of Kazan University published many books, including the Qur'an in the Arabic language, and sold them at very low prices, while no Orthodox literature was printed for the Russian population. All this taken together, he assumed, testified not only to tolerance on the part of the government, but also to permissiveness: 'such concessions and extra privileges contribute to the appearance of "fanaticism" [among Muslims] [...] and keep up their distance from the Russian people'.³³

Missionary Self-Criticism: The Reasons for a Failure

Permissive or not, the attitude of imperial authorities towards apostates was certainly inconsistent. Severe penalties for abandoning Orthodoxy before 1856 were suspended and then reintroduced with greater force in 1861.³⁴ Still, any temporary relaxation of the measures against apostates was perceived as a sanction to embrace Islam. Such vacillations, together with the agitation of Muslim Tatar leaders in 1866, produced a time bomb effect. For instance, a

31 RGIA, f. 797, op. 37, otd. 2, st. 3, g. 1868, d. 215, ll. 1–2.

32 Ibidem, l. 3.

33 Ibidem.

34 RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 759, ll. 1–4.

certain Tatar called Gabdul Galim Samigulov was known to encourage Tatars of the Chistopol district to file petitions before the year 1866, since a rumour had been spread that after this date one would permanently remain Orthodox.³⁵ Another phenomenon that deserves attention is the collective consciousness of the apostates: rarely, if ever, did they get baptized or apostatize alone, which is perfectly comprehensible since their religion was the identity marker that sealed their right of belonging to a definite community. And the fact that community boundaries often coincided with village boundaries made them difficult to penetrate and complicated missionary work in the communities.

Even in the 1860s, the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church were complaining that more and more threats were emanating from the Muslims. They believed that the aim of the missionary activities—to promote Orthodoxy and to fight apostasy among the native population—was hard to achieve because of counter-projects led by Muslims, resistance among the apostates and the evident deficit of qualified missionaries. However, if Muslim proselytism was an easy scapegoat for the failure of Orthodox missionary activities, other factors were noted as well to explain the conversions to Islam among baptized Tatars. Representatives of the St. Gurii missionary brotherhood—founded in 1867 in the Kazan province to establish schools and churches for the non-Russian population and assist in the spread of Christianity in the region—noted that the baptized Tatars had not become accustomed to Orthodox Christian rituals. Some priests refused to talk to their Tatar parishioners since they did not know the language. Other missionaries, who, in contrast, knew the languages and came to the villages to address the parishes, had a rather unclear idea of the Muslim faith and spoke about it in an insulting way while giving no sound arguments against it.³⁶ This ignorance on the part of the missionaries was exactly one of the reasons that the baptized Tatars of the village of Aziakov gave for their apostasy. One of them, Terentii Vasil'ev, a self-appointed mullah, had made a mosque out of the rear section of his house. Together with other apostates, he claimed that the priests had not given them any religious instruction and only tried to persuade them that Muhammad was a false prophet. Their Russian co-villagers could hardly strengthen the Tatars in the Orthodox faith, since they proved to be ignorant of Christian doctrine.³⁷

This evidence suggests that Orthodox missionaries had made anti-Muslim propaganda an integral part of their activities. They sought to explain to

35 Quoted in Johnson, *Imperial Commission* 134.

36 Znamenskii P., *Na pamiat' o N.I. Il'minskoi: k 25-letiiu Bratstva sv. Guriia* [To the Memory of N.I. Il'minskii: For the 25th Anniversary of St. Gurii Brotherhood] (Kazan: 1892) 333.

37 *Missioner* 39 (1875) 313–316.

Muslims the falsity of their belief; by denouncing the prophet they hoped to ruin the basis of the religion he had founded.³⁸ The argument behind this approach was that Islam in itself had a lot of drawbacks and disadvantages; in the course of time, however, the religion had grown into a system that was not to be questioned and required unconditional acceptance on the part of the believers.³⁹ The missionaries admitted that the Muslim belief was so strong that the Tatars did not want to read anything other than their sacred Islamic books, so it was impossible to prove them wrong. However, Christian authorities soon understood that by anti-Muslim polemics alone the mission would get nowhere, since the parishes and apostates were many and the missionaries were few. A speech given once in a while did not have a great impact on the population, and did not make them abandon their beliefs: once the missionary left, the people would return to their earlier practices. Priests did nothing to remedy the situation. When a missionary arrived in a village, it was the local priest's duty to gather the parishioners to listen to him and, in theory, also to continue admonitions in order to maintain any missionary effect that had been produced. In reality, however, priests in the majority of parishes did not speak the native languages and had no desire to learn them.

The priests who tried to conduct the liturgy in native languages signalled its positive effect on the parishioners. Gavriil Iakovlev, for example, was a priest from the village of Un'zhi, in the Tsarevokokshaiskii district, whose parish consisted of Russians who secretly kept to the Old Belief and baptized Cheremis (a Finno-Ugric group, belonging to Mari people) who still performed pagan rituals in their sacred groves. Iakovlev reported:

When we sing the prayers in Russian, the Cheremis cross themselves a couple of times and stand still and listen; but when you conduct the sermon in Mari you see their lips move and it is clear that they repeat the words of the prayer.⁴⁰

Evgenii Bol'shakov, in agreement with Iakovlev, made the following observations:

I explain the absence of Cheremis in church on Sunday by nothing else but their misunderstanding of the church Mass in Slavonic. Church singing in Slavonic, which gives a Christian believer irreplaceable spiritual delight, means nothing to the Cheremis. As I strongly believe, the

38 Znamenskii, *Na pamiat'* 389.

39 Ibidem.

40 NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 168, l. 26.

Cheremis' language used in church would have the same impact on Cheremis as Slavonic had on Russians. That is why translation of the liturgy into Mari in the near future is desirable.⁴¹

Still, the introduction of native languages in church was easier said than done, since the parishes were often heterogeneous, and internal tensions and oppositions rendered the usage of native languages problematic. In Iakovlev's parish, Russian Old Believers were quite fastidious in relation to the Cheremis: they would not pray together with them and could not stand it when part of the sermon was read in Mari.⁴² Later, this parish was split in two, which in the priest's judgment was for the better. He even proposed having two priests who would divide their activities according to the previous religion of the parishioners: one would preach against the Old Belief, and the other against paganism.⁴³ The same issue was observed in the Chistopolskii district, where baptized Tatars went to church in the Russian village of Romanovka, to which they were assigned:

Baptized Tatars now go to our church in Romanovka; when they are numerous, we sing something in Tatar, which is quite pleasing for Tatars, but not at all for Russians. They would prefer a sermon in Russian.⁴⁴

It was then that the missionaries became aware of how little had actually been known about the Middle-Volga non-Russians, the languages they spoke, and the level of their knowledge of Russian. Upon his arrival at a Mari parish, the above-mentioned priest Bol'shakov wrote optimistically that males, beginning from the age of nine or ten, understood and spoke Russian. He concluded that 'lack of knowledge of Mari by the priests is not the cause of the population's ignorance of the faith',⁴⁵ and that estimations of the poor knowledge of Russian among Maris were incorrect: only women and girls could not speak Russian. But he himself later wrote, after having lived in the parish for some time, that

two or three of these Mari pagans became Orthodox per year, and that happens only when a pagan girl marries an Orthodox Mari. What do I do with these pagans? What can I do, especially without the knowledge of the language, to make the pagans convert more quickly? Especially, how

41 NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 89, l. 12.

42 NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 168, l. 42.

43 NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 16, l. 41.

44 NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 86, l. 17.

45 NART, f. 968, op. 1, d. 89, l. 4.

can I conduct missionary work without the knowledge of Mari? Although I wrote previously that the Mari understand and speak Russian, I suppose that when speaking of things like the faith the Russian language is not sufficient: either they will not understand it at all, or they will understand it in their own way.⁴⁶

It was clear that for the Orthodox Church in the region to succeed, the efforts had to be made by both parties: missionaries had to know the native languages, or at least to be able to read religious texts in them, and teachers, both Russian and non-Russian, had to gradually introduce non-Russians to the Russian language.

The conversion of this space thus entailed a complex cultural process. Yet Orthodox missions in the region were still badly organized and only a few of the missionaries were properly trained. Under these conditions, the Church administration did not have many methods at its disposal that would successfully stop apostasy. The apostasy movement itself underwent considerable changes. Having started as a spontaneous act of individuals at a time when administrative restrictions were weakened, it gradually acquired a mass character, involving entire villages and engaging even non-Tatar non-Muslim populations of the region. By the second half of the nineteenth century it had become clear that the old administrative measures were no longer effective and that coercive measures alone could not keep the baptized in Orthodoxy. Moreover, the Great Apostasy of 1866 proved not only the ineffectiveness of missionary work among the Middle-Volga non-Russians but also the failure of the state, at least thus far, to incorporate these subjects into the imperial system.

Selective Bibliography

- Iskhakov R., *Missionerstvo i musul'mane Volgo-Kam'ia* [*Missionary Work and the Muslims of the Volga-Kama Region*] (Kazan: 2011).
- Islaev F.G., *Islam i pravoslavie v Rossii: ot konfrontatsii k veroterpimosti: Vek 18* [*Islam and Orthodoxy in Russia: From Confrontation to Tolerance: The Eighteenth Century*] (Moscow: 2004).
- Islaev F.G., "K voprosu ob istoricheskikh predposylkakh sistemy N.I. Il'minskogo" ["The Question of Historical Preconditions of the System of N.I. Il'minskii"], in Sinisalo-Katajisto P. (ed.), *Prerevolutionary Kazan: Missionary Education and Study of the Volga Native Peoples* (Helsinki: 2005) 51–59.

46 Ibidem, l. 6.

- Ivanov A.G., "Vsemariiskoe iazycheskoe molenie 1827 goda i deistviia vlastei" ["All-Mari Pagan Prayer of 1827 and the Actions of the Authorities"], *Mariiskii arkhieograficheski vestnik* 8 (1998) 48–74.
- Johnson M.W., *Imperial Commission or Orthodox Mission: Nikolai Il'minskii's Work Among the Tatars of Kazan, 1862–1891*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Illinois at Chicago: 2005).
- Kefeli A., "The Role of Tatar and Kriashen Women in the Transmission of Islamic Knowledge, 1800–1870", in Geraci R.P. – Khodarkovsky M. (eds.), *Of Religion and Empire: Mission, Conversion and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca – London: 2001) 250–254.
- Luppov P.N., *Materialy dlia istorii khristianstva u votiakov v pervoi polovine 19 veka* [*Materials for the History of Christianity of the Votiak in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*] (Viatka: 1911).
- Mokshin N.F., *Religioznue verovaniia mordvy* [*Religious Beliefs of the Mordva*] (Saransk: 1968).
- Taimasov L.A., *Pravoslavnaia tserkov' i khristianskoe prosveshchenie narodov Srednego Povolzh'ia vo vtoroi polovine 19–nachale 20 veka* [*The Orthodox Church and Christian Enlightenment of the Middle Volga Peoples in the Second Half of the Nineteenth-Beginning of the Twentieth Century*] (Cheboksary: 2004).
- Vladykin V., *Religiozno-mifologicheskaia kartina mira udmurtov* [*A Religious-Mythological Picture of Udmurt's Worldview*] (Izhevsk: 1994) 101–102.
- Werth P.W., *At the Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance and Confessional Politics in Russia's Volga-Kama Region, 1827–1905* (Ithaca – London: 2001).
- Werth P.W., "Big Candles and 'Internal Conversion': The Mari Animist Reformation and Its Russian Appropriations", in Geraci R.P. – Khodarkovsky M. (eds.), *Of Religion and Empire: Mission, Conversion and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca – London: 2001) 144–173.

Index Nominum

- 'Assāf Farrūkh 83
Abenzelín 18
Abraham 39
Abramo 93
Acosta, José de 65, 183, 266, 270, 277
Acquaviva, Claudio 265, 270, 277
Albergoni, Eleuterio 240
Albuquerque, Matias de 245, 246
Alcalá, Pedro de 25
Alexander I Romanov (Tsar) 110, 318
Alexander II Romanov (Tsar) 318
Alexander III Romanov (Tsar) 318
Alvarado, Pedro de 265
Álvares, Isabel 137
Álvares, Mor 145
Álvarez de Toledo, Fernán 33
Amfiteatrov, Antonii II 319
Amfiteatrov, Filaret 311
Ana 98
Anchieta, José de 179
Andrea 90
Andrea (II) 94
Anghiera, Peter Martyr of (Pietro Martire d')
34, 35
Anthony of Padua (Saint) 193
Apolonio Aguiy 199
Arias, Pedro 76
Ariosto, Ludovico 239
Asarpay Coya, Ana 72, 73
Atahualpa 72
Atienza, Juan de 265
Augustine (Saint) 37, 38, 40
Aziza 93
Azor 38
Azpilcueta, Martín de 242

Barberini, Antonio 291
Barros, João de 240
Becker, Ferdinand 116
Benedict XIII (Pope) 221
Bermúdez de Pedraza, Francisco 40
Berrettini, Pietro: *see* Pietro da Cortona
Betanzos, Juan de 71
Blázquez de Valverde, Juan Antonio 186
Bol'shakov, Evgenii 322, 323
Boncompagni, Jacopo 52

Borromeo, Carlo (Saint) 168
Bosch, Hieronymus 236
Botticelli, Sandro 236
Boucher d'Argir, Antoine-Gaspard 52
Bouttats, Gaspar 204
Brandolini, Broglia Antonio 215, 221, 223,
224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230
Brunacci, Domenico 287, 293, 296, 297, 298,
299
Bugalho, Gil Vaz 129, 130, 133

Calancha, Antonio de la 63, 272, 273, 280
Calderón de la Barca, Pedro 287, 290
Cardiel, José 182, 188, 189, 194, 195
Cardoso, Brites 137
Casas, Bartolomé de las 183, 261
Castellion, Sébastien 55
Castro, João de Melo e 143
Castro, Maria de 137
Catasso 92
Catena: *see* Valente, Bartolomeo
Catherina 99
Cato, Marcus Porcius 54
Ceccarello, Alfonso 50
Cenciolini, Vincentio 48
Cermeño, Ana 264
Cermeño, Catalina 264, 265
Cermeño, Cristóbal 264
Cermeño, María 263, 264, 265, 269, 271, 276
Cermeño, Pedro 264
Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor and King of
Spain) 30, 248, 261
Cicero, Marcus Tullius 58
Clara 99
Cobo, Bernabé 61, 66
Coelho, Jorge de Albuquerque 246
Comental, Pedro 186
Concha Auqui Ynga, Cristóbal 74
Courcier, Pierre 288, 289, 290, 304
Cunningham, James 161

D'Arco, Andrea 92
D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste Le Rond 53
Dahmer, Pietro (Peter) 172
Danzerello, Domenico 68
De Lellis, Camillus (Saint) 165

- Delgado, Francisco 144
 Di Curi, Dioniso 97
 Dias, Maria 143
 Dias, Pedro 244
 Diderot, Denis 52
 Diego Chaupai 196, 197
 Duns Scotus, John 34
 Durant, John 242
- Eiximenis, Francesc 24
 El Zagal 18, 19
 El-Attaz, Mohammed: *see* Loyola, Baldassarre
 Elagabalus 38
 Elia 92
 Elia (II) 93
 Elias 99
 Elias (II) 99
 Elias (III) 99
 Ellis, Octavius James 123
 Emmanuel I of Avis (King of Portugal) 135
 Epicurus 55, 59
 Escandón, Juan 198
 Esquemeling, John: *see* Exquemelin,
 Alexandre Olivier 247
 Exquex, Pedro Francisco 289
- Fabbri, Sisto 58
 Faber, Johannes 154, 169
 Fabiis, Fabio de 218
 Fakhr al-dīn 83
 Farel, Thomas 264, 271
 Fedeli, Germanico 164, 165
 Ferdinand the Catholic (King of Aragon)
 20, 21, 22, 23, 32
 Fernandes, Catarina 144, 145
 Fernandes, Eva 142, 144
 Fernández, Pedro 248
 Fernando el Zaguer 36
 Fielding, Henry 52
 Filippov, Kondratii 317
 Francesco 92
 Francis Xavier (Saint) 141, 142, 193, 241, 248
 Francisco Varui 199
 Frutuoso, André 250
- Gago, João 144
 Galilei, Galileo 54, 55, 56
 Gallicano, Vincenzo 92
- Gaultier, Jean-Baptiste 230
 Ghazale 92
 Ghezzi, Placido Eustachio 50
 Giacob 94
 Giorgio 92
 Giralte, Francisco 143
 Góis, Damião de 135
 Gómez de Butrón, Antonio 266, 269, 276,
 277, 278, 279
 Gómez de Butrón, Gonzalo 266, 277
 Gómez de León y Butrón Mújica,
 Francisco 265, 266, 272, 277, 278, 279
 Gonçalves, Catarina 143, 144
 Gonçalves, João 245
 González de Mendoza, Pedro 23
 González de Santalla, Tirso 301
 Granada Venegas, Alfonso de (grandson of
 Sidi Yahya al-Najjar) 18
 Granada Venegas, Alfonso de (son of Sidi
 Yahya al-Najjar) 18
 Granada Venegas, Pedro de: *see* Sidi Yahya
 al-Najjar 18
 Gregorio (Armenian bishop) 94
 Gregory XIII (Pope) 84, 266
 Grotius, Hugo 240
 Gualpa Sucso Ynga, Juan 76
 Guamani, Juan 77
 Guevara, José 182
 Guillermo Pobal 199
- Hagar 38, 39
 Hana 99
 Hasan al-Wazzan al-Gharnati al-Fasi 236
 Henderson, Ebenezer 106
 Henry IV (King of Castile) 17
 Henry of Avis (Cardinal Prince, then King of
 Portugal) 133, 134, 135, 137, 141, 142, 147
 Hilaquita Ynga, Francisco 72, 73
 Hilaquita, don Diego 72
 Hobbes, Thomas 239
 Huascar 72
 Huayna Capac 63, 64, 72, 73, 74, 76
 Hurtado de Mendoza y Quiñones, Diego 23
 Hurtado de Mendoza, Andrés (Viceroy of
 Peru) 66
- Iakovlev, Gavriil 322, 323
 Iakovlev, Ivan 311

- Ibrahim 93
 Ibrahim (II) 98
 Ignatius of Loyola (Saint) 133, 191, 193, 241, 286
 Il'minskii, Nikolai 314
 Imperatore, Prospero d' 50
 Innocent VIII (Pope) 23, 168
 Innocent XI (Pope) 291
 Isabella of Portugal (Empress and Queen of Castile) 20, 21, 22, 27, 30, 33, 36
 Isacco 93
 Isidore of Seville (Saint) 37
 Isolani, Isidoro 239
 Ivanov, Peter 317

 Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco 15, 16, 20, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 40
 Joanna the Mad 30
 John (Infante of Portugal) 239
 John II (King of Castile) 17
 John III (King of Portugal) 248
 John V (King of Portugal) 256
 Joseph II of Habsburg (Emperor) 51
 Juan (Infante of Castile) 33

 Kirillov, Efrem 317
 Koblov, Iakov 314

 Laynez, Francisco 227
 Leo Africanus: *see* Hasan al-Wazzan al-Gharnati al-Fasi
 Llanos, Antonio de 263, 264, 265, 271, 276
 López de Carvajal, Bernardino 34
 López de Mendoza y Quiñones, Iñigo 23
 López, Leonor 264
 Louis XIV (King of France) 97
 Loyola, Baldassarre 9, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304
 Lull, Ramón 25
 Luque, Alonso de 266

 Macdonnel, Dom 161
 Maddalena 99
 Maillard de Tournon, Carlo Tomaso 221
 Malov, Evfimii 314, 316
 Marchionni, Bartolomeo 148
 Marchionni, Pedro Paulo 148

 Maria 92
 Maria (II) 98
 Maria (III) 99
 Mármol Carvajal, Luis del 16
 Martínez Vegazo, Lucas 279
 Martins, Pedro 245
 Mashanov, Mikhail 314
 Massilara, Giacomo (called il Paleologo) 164
 Melchor 201
 Melo, Gonçalo Vaz de 250
 Mercado, Tomás de 252
 Mercuriano, Everardo 65
 Mesa, Bernardino de 76
 Michele 93
 Moab 38
 Montaigne, Michel de 44, 45, 46, 47, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58
 More, Thomas 58
 Morgan, Henry 247
 Morocho, Francisco 77

 Nazareth 92
 Nemi 93
 Neri, Philip (Saint) 164, 165
 Nicholas I Romanov (Tsar) 318
 Nicholas II Romanov (Tsar) 308
 Nicholas V (Pope) 239
 Nieremberg y Otín, Juan Eusebio 204
 Nikitin, Ivan 317
 Nikon 309
 Nobili, Roberto 214
 Nóbrega, Manuel da 179
 Noronha, Antão de 248
 Nunes, Inácio 130
 Nunes, Isabel 144
 Núñez Muley, Fernando 35, 40
 Nuremberg, John of 24
 Nusdorffer, Bernardo 196, 197

 Obicini da Novara, Tommaso 97
 Odescalchi, Benedetto: *see* Innocent XI
 Oggiorno, Isidoro 94
 Oliveira, Fernando 244
 Oliveira, João Franco 255
 Ondegardo, Polo de 66, 74
 Ordoñez, Teresa 268, 269
 Ortiz, Diego 70

- Paucaruinche, don Jerónimo 72, 73
 Paul v (Pope) 168
 Paullo Inca, Cristóbal 73, 74, 76
 Peralta Cabeza de Vaca, Diego 278
 Peralta Cabeza de Vaca, Juana de 278
 Peramás, José Manuel 181, 182, 201
 Petrov-Leshev, Andrei 318
 Philip II (King of Spain) 70, 260, 263, 274,
 275
 Philip the Fair 30
 Pietro da Cortona 166
 Pinto, Bento Fernandes 146
 Piquerin, Francis 159
 Pius v (Pope) 155, 168
 Pizarro, Alonço 269
 Pizarro, Francisca 269
 Pizarro, Francisco 272, 278
 Pizarro, Gerónima 269
 Pizarro, Gonzalo 264, 265
 Pizarro, Martín 265
 Plato 182
 Popma, Alardo de 240
 Prieto Melchor 240
 Pyard de Laval, François 243
- Rabbia 92
 Reichardt, John C. 116
 Ribas, Juan de 262, 263, 269, 276, 277
 Ribeiro, António 141, 146
 Ribeiro, Diogo 130
 Ricasoli Baroni, Giovambattista di Bindaccio
 55
 Robinson, Edward 157
 Robles, Diego 70
 Rodrigo (King of the Visigoths) 37
 Rodrigues, Duarte 146
 Rodrigues, Manoel 254
 Rodrigues, Simão 141, 145
 Rodríguez de Lucero, Diego 32
 Romoli, Girolamo 48
 Rozov, Ivan 317
 Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio 179
- Saaviliano, Joseph: *see* Sevillano, José
 Sainte-Croix, Cécile 244
 Salas, Juan de 183
 Samigulov, Gabdul Galim 321
- Sanches, António Nunes Ribeiro 140
 Sandoval, Alonso de 251, 252, 254, 255
 Santoro, Giulio (Cardinal) 168
 Santucci, Marc'Antonio 298
 Sanzoles, Lucrecia de 263
 Scarfantone, Francesco 48
 Selha 92
 Selim I (Sultan of the Ottoman Empire) 82
 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus 57
 Sepp, Anton 179, 180, 193
 Serni, Pompeo 51
 Serristori, Averardo 48
 Sevillano, José 199
 Sidi Yahya al-Najjar 18
 Siloés, Diego de 30
 Silva, Diego de 268, 269
 Silva, Feliciana de 268
 Silva, Florencia de 268
 Silva, Paula de 268
 Silva, Tristán de 268
 Simone 93
 Simone (II) 94
 Simone (III) 99
 Socrates 54
 Sousa, Martim Afonso de 241
 Stella 92
 Strozzi, Amerigo 49
 Strozzi, Carlo 48
- Talavera, Hernando de 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27,
 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40
 Teles, Baltasar 134
 Tocto, doña Gerónima 74
 Toledo, Francisco de 263
 Tolstoi, Dmitrii 319
 Tomaso 92
- Ulisse (chaplain) 48
 Ungut, Meinhard 24
- Valente, Bartolomeo 47, 49
 Van den Wyngaerde, Anton 28
 Vargas, Mencia de 263
 Vasil'ev, Terentii 321
 Vecchiani, Alessandro 48
 Veilandt, Balthasar 161
 Venessi, Gabriele 50

- Venessi, Giovan Battista 50
Verniero da Montepeloso, Pietro 90, 94
Villon, François 46
Viracocha 77
Vivero, Juan de 70
- Yeres, Francisco 269
Ynga, Fernando 72
Yupanqui, Titu Cusi 70
- Zavala, Francisco Bruno de 189, 194
Zheng He 236