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Introduction

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“Who calls Michelangelo a male artist, or the scholastics male philosophers?” asked the early modern historian Merry Wiesner in an article about journeymen, first published in 1991.¹ “Who calls Ignatius Loyola a male Jesuit?” we might add. Historians attempting to engage with questions of masculinity have sometimes commented on the invisibility of gender in accounts of men throughout the ages. And yet if the maleness of the Jesuits has not invited much historical scrutiny nor has it been hidden from view. Indeed, virility is key to the image of the Jesuits.

A good place to start pursuing that image is Francis Parkman’s classic 1867 account of the Jesuit mission in New France.² Fortitude, courage, heroism: these are the qualities that characterize Parkman’s Jesuits, as they face the most appalling hardships and suffering. Prudence and wisdom are also on display in the delicate negotiations and tactical decisions that steer the mission. And then the quality that underpins the Jesuits’ extraordinary displays of bravery: stoicism. Jean de Brébeuf, the founder of the Huron mission, who arrived in Quebec in 1625 and was martyred in 1649, “would not flinch” as he first was “baptized” in boiling water, and then had strips of flesh cut from his limbs, which the Indians devoured before his eyes. His tortures lasted nearly seventeen hours. Parkman observes that while Brébeuf “came of a noble race,—the same, it is said, from which sprang the English Earls of Arundel, [...] never had the mailed barons of his line confronted a fate so appalling, with so prodigious a constancy.”³ Brébeuf’s fighting inheritance is by no means incidental. At the start of the book, he is described as “a tall strong man, with features that

1 Merry Wiesner, “*Wandervogels and Women: Journeymen’s Concepts of Masculinity in Early Modern Germany*,” *Journal of Social History* 24 (1991): 767–82, here 769.

2 Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997; first published 1867).

3 For an account of Brébeuf’s martyrdom, see Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, 490–93.

seemed carved by Nature for a soldier.”⁴ Parkman later celebrates his “manly proportions, his strength, and his endurance.”⁵ In his courage and militancy, he is seen to follow the prototype of Ignatius: “a proud noble, an aspiring soldier, a graceful courtier, an ardent and daring gallant.”⁶ Parkman—himself the son of a Unitarian minister from Boston—had a particular admiration for the Jesuits, which did not extend to the religious orders in general. He contrasts the activism of the Society of Jesus with the passivity of the contemplative orders: Ignatius “did not aim to build up barren communities of secluded monks, aspiring to heaven through prayer, penance, and meditation, but to subdue the world to the dominion of the dogmas which had subdued him.” Parkman concludes: “The Jesuit is no dreamer: he is emphatically a man of action; action is the end of his existence.”⁷

These “men of action” were heroes for Parkman’s time. But, although historians are now primed to treat gender as a cultural construct that is highly variable in its historical manifestations, this account of Jesuit masculinity remains resonant as it is reported to us across the centuries. We need to be wary of such apparent familiarity—the instinct to remark “plus ça change”—but also to be alert to long-range continuities in the historical record. Some of the challenges we face become clear when we turn from Parkman to a less mediated source belonging to a very different historical context, the so-called *litterae indipetae*. These were letters of petition written by Jesuits who wished to be sent to the Indies (a term that could be applied to most parts of the world which were ripe for mission, but was used in the earliest phase especially to refer to Asia).⁸ The letters are interspersed with reports regarding certain candidates sent by

4 Ibid., 92.

5 Ibid., 492.

6 Ibid., 95.

7 Ibid., 96.

8 On the *indipetae*, see Aliocha Maldavsky, “Pedir las Indias. Las cartas *indipetae* de los jesuitas europeos, siglos xvi–xviii, ensayo historiográfico,” *Relaciones* 132 (2012), 147–81; Camilla Russell, “Imagining the ‘Indies’: Italian Jesuit Petitions for the Overseas Missions at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century,” in *L’Europa divisa e i Nuovi Mondi. Per Adriano Prosperi*, ed. Massimo Donattini, Giuseppe Marcocci, and Stefania Pastore (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011), 2:179–89 (for discussion of the “Indies”, see 179); Russell, “Vocation to the East: Italian Candidates for the Jesuit China Mission at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century,” in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, ed. Machtelt Israëls and Louis Waldman (Florence: Villa I Tatti, the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2013), 2:313–27 and Alessandro Guerra, “Per un’archeologia della strategia missionaria dei gesuiti: le *Indipetae* e il sacrificio nella ‘vigna del Signore,’” *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 13 (1996): 109–91.

senior colleagues.⁹ By looking carefully at both kinds of document, we gain a sense of the qualities to which Jesuits aspired and of the gendered nature of their identity. Over 14,000 letters exist from the late sixteenth century until the suppression of the Jesuits in the late eighteenth century; many more were written after the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814, and well into the twentieth century.¹⁰ I shall quote from just a few of the many letters sent by Italian Jesuits at the end of the sixteenth century. Here is the very first entry in the Italian file, sent from Naples in 1589:

Ottavio Lombardo of the Society of Jesus greatly desires to go to the Indies. He is finishing his philosophy course and is a robust young man, virtuous, of good religion, and cheerful complexion.¹¹

Ottavio was thus deemed to be at once physically and spiritually fit for mission; his “cheerful complexion” suggested health and vitality.¹² Contrast the case of Francesco Pavone, another Neapolitan, who (we are told) had desired to go to China or Japan since he was a young novice in Nola, and was now further inspired by Michele Ruggieri—the Jesuit who had worked alongside Matteo Ricci in China and who had recently returned to Italy. For all his fervor, Pavone was found wanting. Well-versed in the humanities, Greek and physics, he was said to be very devout and virtuous; but he was “of small and minute stature, such that he appears very much a boy, and he lacks complexion.”¹³ Pietro Martini was also ruled out on the grounds that he was “insufficiently mature for such a mission.”¹⁴ Meanwhile, Tadeo Giorgio from Padua was judged to be “a beardless youth, lacking in force and of delicate constitution.”¹⁵

The formulaic nature of the *indipetae* helps to draw attention to the conceptual framework underpinning Jesuit gender. A run of reports sent from Naples

9 On the reports, see the forthcoming work by Camilla Russell, whose comments on this introduction I gratefully acknowledge.

10 Russell, “Imagining the ‘Indies,’” 180; Emanuele Colombo and Marina Massimi, *In viaggio: Gesuiti italiani candidati alle missioni tra Antica e Nuova Compagnia* (Milan: Il Sole 24 Ore, 2014).

11 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [hereafter ARSI], FG 733, f. 1.

12 On the importance of cheerfulness or *allegrezza* to health, see Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 184–85, 193–208. Thanks to Tessa Storey for her guidance on the humors and gender.

13 ARSI, FG 733, f. 12.

14 *Ibid.*, f. 17.

15 *Ibid.*, f. 25. See Will Fisher, “The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001), 155–87.

in April 1592 proceeds in response to a clearly-defined set of questions. Stefano di Maio, aged thirty-eight, “is of middling intelligence, but good judgment and prudence, and has middling experience of things. He is of middling strength and health [...] of choleric and melancholic complexion.”¹⁶ Francesco Albertino, from Catanzano, aged forty, “is of very good intelligence and is sharp-witted, of middling judgment and prudence and does not have much experience of things. His powers are weak and he is of middling health. He is of choleric and melancholic complexion.”¹⁷ Giovanni Matteo Longo, aged twenty-eight, “is of middling intelligence, but great judgment and prudence [...]. He has little strength and often falls ill, he suffers from a weak head and from stomach ache [...]. He is of sanguine and cheerful complexion.”¹⁸

In appraising the merits of themselves and each other, the Jesuits employed a particular set of criteria, grounded in classical learning, scientific knowledge of the body, and contemporary understandings of manhood.¹⁹ They looked for the Roman virtues of *ingenium*, *judicium*, and *prudentia*. They were profoundly concerned with measuring a man’s strength—his “forze.”²⁰ Maturity was a necessary condition for missionary work, and this was not a quality that could be attested by age alone: Francesco Pavone was twenty or twenty-one years old but appeared like a boy; Pietro Martini was twenty-seven but immature.²¹ Size also mattered, and of course good health was crucial. But perhaps the most striking aspect of the Jesuit profiling that we see in this source is the preoccupation with humoral make-up. Gail Kern Paster has pointed to the importance of humoral theory as a source for early modern ideologies of gender. The rationality of men was deemed to result from their hotter, drier natures. Womanhood was associated with cold moistness; manhood with hot dryness. The temperaments were mapped onto the predominant humoral characteristics—sanguine, melancholic, choleric, and phlegmatic. Men were ideally supposed to exhibit sanguine and choleric characteristics, whereas

16 ARSI, FG 733, f. 27.

17 Ibid., ff. 27–28.

18 Ibid., ff. 28–29.

19 For a discussion of a similar set of values in a comparable source, the “triennial personnel catalogues,” see Liam Brockey, “*A Vinha do Senhor: The Portuguese Jesuits in China*,” *Portuguese Studies* 16 (2000): 125–47, here 133–34.

20 Emanuel Buttigieg, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c. 1580–1700* (London: Continuum, 2011), 17, emphasizes that the celibate religious life was not incompatible with the masculine ideals of physical and military prowess.

21 On the importance of age to male gender, see Alexandra Shepard, *The Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), especially 21–46 and 54–8.

women had melancholic and phlegmatic complexions.²² According to the Dutch physician, Levinus Lemnius, whose *Touchstone of Complexions* was published in its English version in 1576, the sanguine complexion was “the princeliest and best of all.”²³ Crucially, neither sex had a monopoly on a particular humoral make-up; men and women could manifest the qualities associated with the other sex or they could manifest an excess of those qualities associated with their own sex. Each man evaluated in this source would have been appraised according to a complex set of assumptions and beliefs—a process which often resulted in rejection.

The *indipetae* point to the centrality of gender in the evaluation of would-be missionaries. The Jesuit authorities who scrutinized this information were engaged in a process of winnowing. Taking into account a whole range of considerations, they would separate the wheat from the chaff, the men from the boys. This was masculinity in formation, as the relatively new Society sought to fashion a new kind of man, fit for the mission field. There are certainly some echoes between the masculine ideals presented in the *indipetae* and those celebrated by Parkman (who after all based his account on seventeenth-century documents): prudence, strength, and ingenuity are conspicuous in both. However, this brief perusal of the *indipetae* reminds us of the unfamiliarity of gender in past contexts.

The *indipetae* are just one of many kinds of source generated by the Jesuits—those renowned record-keepers—in which we can study conceptions, representations, and experiences of gender.²⁴ Constitutions, curricula, correspondence, reports, histories, ethnographies, biographies, plays, paintings, and prints offer historians an embarrassment of riches; and yet their potential as records relating to gender has scarcely been tapped. This perplexing lack of attention to gender in the recent historiography of the Jesuits is the motivation for the current special issue.²⁵ There is no doubt that the history of the Society of Jesus is

22 Gail Kern Paster, “The Unbearable Coldness of Being: Women’s Imperfection and the Humoral Economy,” *English Literary Renaissance* 28 (1998): 416–40; Shepard, *The Meanings of Manhood*, 51–3 and 58–64.

23 On characteristics of the sanguine complexion, see Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 60.

24 On the prodigious record-keeping of the Jesuits, see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Century of Discovery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 314–29.

25 Some pioneering publications on the Jesuits and gender have been produced by contributors to this issue: Ulrike Strasser, “‘The First Form and Grace’: Ignatius Loyola and the Reformation of Masculinity,” in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*, ed. Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008), 45–70; Timothy Verhoeven, “Neither Male nor Female: the Jesuit as Androgyne 1843–1870,”

thriving and has been receptive to new trends and developments in scholarship (for example in the history of science, the history of emotions, and above all the history of cultural encounter). Nevertheless, it is striking that Jesuit history has been so little touched by developments in understandings of gender—especially when one reflects on the wealth of recent work on masculinity, on female religious orders and on the importance of gender to religious reform. The current volume therefore seeks to bring the history of the Jesuits into dialogue with the history of gender. To introduce the essays, I shall point to four overarching themes: the fashioning of masculinity; the relationality of gender; the working of gender as discourse; and the interplay between gender, subjectivity, and the emotions.

The idea that gender is in part a conscious creation of those who inhabit it has been supported by recent research on clothing and the body.²⁶ Ulrike Strasser touches on the question of Jesuit dress and engages productively with

Modern & Contemporary France 16 (2008): 37–49; Michelle Molina and Ulrike Strasser, “The Global Currency of Female Sanctity: A Seventeenth-century Mexican Mystic and her Jesuit Biographers from the Spanish and German Empires,” in *Women, Religion and the Atlantic World, 1600–1800*, ed. Daniella J. Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 156–79; Mary Laven, “Jesuits and Eunuchs: Representing Masculinity in Late Ming China,” *History and Anthropology* 23 (2012): 199–214; Silvia Mostaccio, *Early Modern Jesuits between Obedience and Conscience during the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), especially 83–154, on “gendered obedience.” Other key contributions to this emerging field include Carolyn Valone, “Piety and Patronage: Women and the early Jesuits,” in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, ed. E. Ann Matter and John W. Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 157–65; Olwen Hufton, “Altruism and Reciprocity: The Early Jesuits and their Female Patrons,” *Renaissance Studies* 15 (2001): 328–53; Juan M. Marin, “A Jesuit Mystic’s Feminine Melancholia: Jean-Joseph Surin, SJ (1600–1665),” *Journal of Men, Masculinities and Spirituality* 1 (2007): 65–76; Gemma Simmonds, “Women Jesuits?,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 120–35.

- 26 See for example, Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), especially 33–79 and Will Fisher, “‘Had it a cod-piece, ‘twere a man indeed’: The Codpiece as Constitutive Accessory in Early Modern English Culture,” in *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories*, ed. Bella Mirabella (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 102–29. Such historical work is influenced by the theoretical writings of Judith Butler, who insists on the performative nature of gender; see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990). For some reflections on the relevance of Jesuit dress to Jesuit identity, see Evonne Levy, “Jesuit Identity, Identifiable Jesuits? Jesuit Dress in Theory and in Image,” in *Le monde est une peinture: Jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder*, ed. Elisabeth Oy-Marra and Volker R. Remmert (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 127–52.

early modern ideas about the body. But Strasser focuses on an altogether more extreme form of self-fashioning, indeed one that superficially appears to result in the annihilation of the self: martyrdom. A willingness to embrace martyrdom was one of the defining characteristics of the Society. According to the 1558 Constitutions, professed members of the order “should hold it a great privilege—as indeed it is—to pour out their blood, along with this momentary life, so that they might rejoice forever in immortality.”²⁷ As the Society aged and grew, martyrdom became a reality for many Jesuits, and was celebrated in paintings, prints, and martyrologies. Strasser’s interest is in the way martyrdom was replicated as one Jesuit sought to fashion himself in the image of another. Her study of the Bohemian Jesuit Augustin Strobach, who arrived as a missionary in the Marianas Islands in 1681, shows how he modeled himself on the Spanish Jesuit, Diego Luis de Sanvitores, who had founded the mission in 1668 and was killed by islanders in 1672. The two missionaries in turn shaped their lives and deaths in explicit emulation of Francis Xavier. This was self-fashioning at its most conscious and deliberate. According to his biographer, García, Sanvitores “tried to be Xavier in his actions and his sayings.” To this end, not only did he constantly petition the saint with prayers, but he read daily from Xavier’s life and letters. The result was remarkably effective: “to read the *Vida* of Saint Francis Xavier, it seems, is to read the life of Father Sanvitores.” Such a successful transformation was self-fulfilling. The Society’s propaganda machine, which churned out accounts of heroic missionary endeavors overseas (of which García’s biography was but one instance), played a key role in the construction of the ideal Jesuit. Print enabled what Strasser calls “mimetic reproduction and multiplication.” Readers across the globe could imagine themselves as following in the footsteps of Sanvitores and Xavier and could strive to imitate them in their martyrdom. Hundreds of Jesuits from the German-speaking lands petitioned to go to the Marianas; Strobach was one such.

Self-fashioning is a useful concept in considering the shaping of the Society and of its personnel, but was this process gendered? Strasser gives clear evidence that it was. This is in part because she lays stress on post-Tridentine understandings of martyrdom as a quintessentially male death. But she also makes a compelling argument for the conception of the martyr as being linked—through a heady mix of biological and theological ideas—to the male’s generative function. If early modern medical theory decreed that the body concocted semen from blood, then celibate clerics—like sexually active

27 *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), xix.

men—could “prove their manhood” by transforming their blood into the “semen Christianorum.” Jesuits could not sire children but they could deploy their blood in spawning new believers. Strasser’s article gives us a fascinating insight into the ways in which understandings of biological sex played a part in determining Jesuit masculinity.

Gender is critical to selfhood; it is also fundamental to relationships. Since Natalie Zemon Davis first exhorted us to consider the history of men alongside the history of women, most historians of gender have come to understand that the sexes cannot be studied in isolation.²⁸ But we have also become increasingly wary of dichotomized, binary models of male and female. Alexandra Shepard has argued that early modern manhood was “constructed on the basis of differences not just between men and women but also between men themselves.”²⁹ It is clear enough that manhood took many forms (as indicated by the range of male characteristics cited in the *indipetae*), and that a beardless man was identified as such in relation to a bearded man, or a short man in relation to a tall one. It is equally clear that the variety of gender models available differs according to period and cultural context. One opportunity presented to historians of the Jesuits is to consider the way in which definitions of gender were challenged when missionaries entered new worlds with alternative values.³⁰

The essays that follow include much new evidence on the nature of Jesuits’ gendered relationships: on relationships of emulation, love, and friendship (as well as hints of competition) between themselves; on interactions between Jesuits and their targets (or adversaries) in the mission field; on relations of counsel between spiritual guides and their advisees; and on client-patron relations between Jesuits and their supporters. It is this last aspect of relational gender that I shall consider here, since this volume presents striking evidence of the importance of elite women as patrons of the Jesuits.³¹ The patrons

28 Natalie Zemon Davis, “Women’s History’ in Transition: the European Case,” *Feminist Studies* 3 (1976): 83–103, here 90.

29 Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 64.

30 See, for example, Jesuit discussions of celibacy in China and Japan: Mary Laven, *Mission to China: Matteo Ricci and the Encounter with the East* (London: Faber, 2011), 184–9, 190–91 and Joan-Pau Rubiés, “Real and Imaginary Dialogues in the Jesuit Mission of Sixteenth-century Japan,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2012), 447–94, here 481–2.

31 For previous work on this subject, see Valone, “Piety and Patronage”; Hufton, “Altruism and reciprocity”; Gabriella Zarri, “Il carteggio tra Don Leone Bartolini e un gruppo di gentildonne bolognesi negli anni del Concilio di Trento 1543–1563,” *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 7 (1986): 1–550; Maria Ann Conelli, “A Typical Patron of Extraordinary

discussed include Ursula Fugger, a member of the Augsburg urban elite and a convert to Catholicism following her marriage in 1542; women at the French court during the period from the 1560s to the end of the 1580s; and Catherine de Francheville (1620–1689), a wealthy aristocrat from Brittany, committed to fostering piety in the region. Perhaps the best summary of the female contribution to the Jesuit enterprise comes from Susan Broomhall: “women engaged with the Jesuits, or did not, as it suited them personally, politically, and spiritually, in highly individual ways.”

Broomhall’s own essay provides powerful evidence of the varied nature of female support for the Jesuits. On the one hand, there were women who were bowled over by the “musicality” of the preaching of Émond Auger, such as the Spanish noblewoman Magdalene Pallarés y Ros, who exhibited an “ardent” attention to and “fervent love” of his words. On the other, there are the more calculated responses of Catherine de Medici in relation to the same charismatic preacher, as she weighed up the risks and benefits of his presence at court to her political interests. Meanwhile, other women at the French court were attracted to the penitential practices promoted by Jesuit priests. And then there were others still for whom the patronage of Jesuit projects represented a highly public espousal of Catholic renewal in France—something they believed was best embraced in unity by husbands *and* wives.

Although painted on a smaller canvas, Simone Laqua’s account of Ursula Fugger’s interactions with her spiritual guide, Peter Canisius, provides a parallel story of female agency. Here, the tensions in the relationship between Ursula and the Jesuits related to family fortunes rather than to dynasty and state. But just as Catherine de Medici was concerned by Auger’s inflammatory sermons as she tried to broker peace with the Huguenots, so Ursula—a member of one of the most successful commercial families in Europe—was worried about Canisius’s preaching on usury. In both instances, the women wielded power over the Jesuits. Catherine would ultimately dismiss Auger from court; Ursula elicited at least partial reassurance from the Jesuits regarding the honesty and legitimacy of her family’s profits. Yet Ursula also gained status and credibility from her patronage of the Jesuits. When Francisco de Borja, the superior general of the Society from 1565, wrote to her, it was fitting for him to display respect and gratitude. The Jesuits were conscious not only of the value of her financial support but also of her power within the local community, as a female role model for conversion to Catholicism within the biconfessional city.

Means: Isabella Feltria della Rovere and the Society of Jesus,” *Renaissance Studies* 18, no. 3 (2004): 412–36; Haruko Nawata Ward, *Women Religious Leaders in Japan’s Christian Century, 1549–1650* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

In reading the records of this close relationship, Ursula's power is often visible. So too is the intermittent powerlessness of her spiritual mentors. Her decision in 1569 to take her maidservant Susanna to Rome to be exorcised infuriated Canisius. And there was nothing that Canisius could do when, in the end, Ursula and her husband Georg gave up on the battle to persuade their son Octavian to enter the Society. On the other hand, Ursula was thwarted by her own family in her desire to leave all her jewelry to the Jesuits. Within the tangle of hierarchies, the authority of the family seemed to trump that of the priest.

At one level, Catherine de Francheville, discussed by Silvia Mostaccio, fits the model of the female patron of the Jesuits very well. Her resources contributed significantly to the development of the Society in Brittany and, following her death, local Jesuits ensured that her heart was buried in the college at Vannes that she had helped to finance. However, Catherine's distinction was to use her wealth and her local status in order to promote Ignatian piety among local women. To this end, in 1665 she founded a female retreat house to mirror the one that the Jesuits had founded for men in Vannes two years earlier; here women of all social classes would be encouraged to come for a week to be instructed by "demoiselles" in the *Spiritual Exercises*. Catherine's commitment to the retreat house in turn enabled other local women, of far lowlier status, to fulfill their vocations: thus, for example, an illiterate peasant woman might play a role in catechizing her female neighbors. The establishment of the women's retreat house was achieved by Catherine in clear defiance of the Society's leaders in Rome and in collaboration with local Jesuit priests. After her death, her contribution to the Vannes mission was celebrated by the Jesuit Pierre Champion, who published in 1698 a three-part biography of the founders of the two retreat houses, including Mademoiselle de Francheville alongside two male priests. We have clearly come a long way from the aristocratic patrons described by Olwen Hufton in her seminal article of 2001, patrons upon whom the first Jesuits relied for crucial support, but whose generosity was unflaunted. Hufton's conclusion that—after the first stages of development in the 1540s and 1550s—the Society would cease to draw on the support of female patrons no longer appears tenable.³²

Readers will encounter many gendered discourses in the pages that follow: discourses spun by Jesuits and discourses of which the Jesuits are the object. As Joan Scott taught us almost thirty years ago, gender is "a primary way of signifying relationships of power" and "a key to the coded language of political theory or propaganda."³³ We therefore need to take into account the Jesuits' deployment of gendered language (for example, the feminization of the

32 Hufton, "Altruism and reciprocity."

33 Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 1053–75.

Marianas Islands, discussed by Strasser) or gendered images (for the male and female retreat houses in Vannes) and the way in which the Jesuits were themselves perceived and represented in gendered terms (including the humoral terminology of the *indipetae* or the heroic masculinity in which Parkman cloaked his Jesuit protagonists). Timothy Verhoeven's article engages expressly with the question of discourse. His research is focused on the middle of the nineteenth century, when popular anti-Jesuit sentiment reached a high point in France, England, and the Americas. Through careful unpicking of contemporary fiction, he demonstrates how contempt for the Jesuits combined with misogyny resulted in the terrifying specter of the Jesuitess—a generic monster who might appear in the form of a crypto-Catholic maidservant, a cross-dressing spy, or an overbearing female teacher or nurse (whose active vocation and independence were sufficient to make her an object of suspicion). In turn, these fictional characters mirrored perceptions of the Jesuits themselves, whose “hyper-masculinity,” as evoked by the likes of Parkman, could easily be flipped to show an effeminate side. The unquestioning obedience of the Jesuits—one of the perceived trademarks of the Society—was deemed by opponents to be emasculating.

This brings us to the last theme that I wish to draw out from the essays that follow: subjectivities and emotions. For one of the objections that has been leveled against Scottian analysis of gender is that its exclusive emphasis on discourse and language may lead us to adopt an approach that over-externalizes gender. As John Tosh, historian of nineteenth-century Britain, puts it: “Masculinity is more than social construction. It demands to be considered also as a subjective identity, usually the most deeply experienced that men have.” Tosh proposes an approach to gender that takes in both its psychic and its social dimensions.³⁴ Meanwhile, Lyndal Roper has made a powerful plea for historians of gender to re-engage with the body as well as the psyche.³⁵ This is not an invitation to return to the body as the locus of unchanging, essential gender but as the infinitely various and ever-changing site of all human experience. In the words of the medievalist Caroline Bynum: “All evidence for the doing of history opens out beyond itself to an intractable physicality [...]. What we study—what we can study—is culturally constructed. But we know that we are more than culture. We are body. And as body we die.”³⁶

34 John Tosh, “What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain,” *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994): 179–202.

35 Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (Routledge: London, 1994), 3–4, 17–18, and 20–27.

36 Caroline Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 19–20.

Of particular relevance here is Michelle Molina's article, which focuses on the conversion of a young Lutheran—a merchant from Sweden named Lars Birger Thjülen—while on board a boat from Cádiz to Corsica in 1768. The journey took five months and, during that time, Thjülen co-habited with two hundred Jesuit exiles, who were making their way to Rome, following their recent expulsion from Mexico. This improbable conversion by a Protestant who was intoxicated with Voltaire and who found rituals such as the rosary distasteful Molina attributes above all to the close spiritual friendship that he conceived with the Jesuit Manuel Iturriaga. The Mexican priest was "ardent" in his desire for the Swede's conversion and, as Thjülen would later recount, "he often invited me to join in their chocolate break, and gave me, from time to time, little gifts." For Molina, the relationship between Thjülen and Iturriaga is "intersubjective." Its emotional intensity is to be found not in the individuals' psyches but in the dynamic of their religious friendship. Using Spinoza's concept of *conatus* (meaning "endeavor," the impulse to persist), Molina perceives the two bodies as "striving together" to move as one. Despite the challenges of cultural and linguistic difference, such is the strength of Iturriaga's *conatus* that Thjülen "moves toward and with the stronger body"; hence his transition to Catholicism and his corresponding separation from his mother and sister, and the Protestant community in which he had grown up.

There are of course other ways of conceptualizing the many intense male friendships that are recorded in Jesuit records. Patrick Collinson's reflections on relationships "not sexual in the ordinary sense" are suggestive, although his focus is on the intimacies developed between devout Protestant men and their female followers. In a letter of 1556, John Knox wrote to his friend Anne Locke of "the thirst and langoure whilk I haif had for your presence."³⁷ The letters between Jesuits in the East and their colleagues in Europe are similarly heavy with the language of desire. A year before Xavier's death, he wrote to Loyola: "Your Holy Charity has written to me that you have a great desire to see me before you leave this life. God our Lord knows what an impression these words of great love made upon my soul, and how many tears they have cost whenever I recall them." Xavier breathlessly rehearsed back to Ignatius the words with which he had signed his last letter ("Entirely yours, without my being able to forget you at any time, Ignatius").³⁸ For Collinson, the heterosexual dynamic

37 Patrick Collinson, "Not sexual in the ordinary sense': Women, Men and Religious Transactions," in *Elizabethan Essays*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 119–50, here 122.

38 Francis Xavier, *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier* (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), 343–44. On the language of Matteo Ricci's loving missives, see Laven, *Mission to China*, 120–23.

was important to the relationships he studied. In the case of the Jesuits, there is overwhelming evidence of the power of homosocial bonds. It is striking how rarely these male-male relationships appear to have crossed the boundary into the territory of the scandalous (“sexual in the ordinary sense”). When, in 1590, the young Austrian astronomer Christoph Grienberger wrote to Christopher Clavius, professor of mathematics at the Collegio Romano, “Why should I not love my teacher? [...] for almost the four years for which I have known you, you have hardly ever placed a foot outside my bedroom,” the young man was not referring to anything improper. In fact, the two men had not yet met each other. As Michael Gorman puts it, Christoph was “co-habiting” with his mentor’s “textual body” in the form of Clavius’s edition of *Euclid’s Elements* and his commentaries on the *Sphere of Sacrobosco*.³⁹

While Michelle Molina eschews ill-defined “emotions” in favor of more specific notions of “affect,” I would like to close this introduction by arguing that there remains value in a more open and capacious approach to the emotional lives of the Jesuits and to the key role played by gender in them.⁴⁰ I began by warning against the temptation to over-familiarize the gender of Jesuits. But there is also a risk of over-distancing our subjects, of imposing detachment between them and ourselves.⁴¹ In the essays that follow, you will encounter fear, pain, loving, longing and grief, the thrills of success and the frustrations of failure, disgust and admiration, security and insecurity, comfort and pleasure. These emotions, as we have seen, are often expressed and experienced with reference to gender. From sleeping with Euclid to drinking hot chocolate in an over-crowded cabin, we see glimpses of the emotional needs and responses of Jesuits: a group that—for all our fascination with the “Jesuit style” or the “Jesuit way”—cannot be treated homogeneously. By letting subjectivities into the picture, we shall achieve an understanding of the Jesuits and gender that is at once more nuanced and more acute.

39 Michael Gorman, “Mathematics and Modesty in the Society of Jesus: The Problems of Christoph Grienberger,” in *The New Science and Jesuit Science: Seventeenth-century Perspectives*, ed. M. Feingold (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 1–120.

40 Of great significance here is the work being undertaken by the Jesuit Emotions project as part of the Australian Research Council Centre for Excellence for the History of the Emotions. See *Changing Hearts: Performing Jesuit Emotions between Europe, Asia, and the Americas*, ed. Yasmin Haskell and Raphaelae Garrod (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

41 Michael Roper, “Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History,” *History Workshop Journal* 59 (2005): 57–72, here 61–2.