

## The Muslim Body in the Baroque Jesuit Imagination<sup>1</sup>

### El cuerpo musulmán en el imaginario jesuita barroco

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Jesuits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—even those living relatively closely to Muslim lands—often had no personal knowledge of Muslims, and yet the figure of the Muslim loomed large in the baroque Jesuit imagination. Because Jesuit formation involves the visualization of events and persons never seen, Jesuits of this period were in a special position to construct an imaginary Muslim, which they derived from translations of the *Qur'an*, from artworks, including book illustrations, and from the patterns and symbolism of Jesuit emblematics. This essay explores how baroque Jesuit visualization of the Muslim body was shaped by these factors, and also by other Europe-wide phenomena such as *turcica* literature.

*Key words:* Jesuits; Baroque; imagination; Turkish literature.

Los jesuitas de los siglos XVII y XVIII, incluso los que vivían relativamente cerca a tierras islámicas, no tenían a menudo un conocimiento personal de los musulmanes. Sin embargo, la figura del musulmán fue cobrando mucha importancia en el imaginario jesuita del Barroco. Puesto que la formación jesuita consistía en la visualización de los eventos y las personas, aunque sin haber sido vistas, los jesuitas de este período se encontraban en una situación muy especial para la construcción de un Musulmán imaginario, tomado de las traducciones del Corán, de obras de arte, incluyendo ilustraciones de libros, y de los patrones y símbolos de los emblemas jesuitas. Este ensayo explora cómo la visualización del cuerpo del musulmán en el barroco jesuita fue influida por estos factores, y también por otros fenómenos surgidos del ámbito europeo, como la literatura turca.

*Palabras clave:* Jesuitas; Barroco; Imaginería; Literatura turca.

The composition will be to see with the sight of imagination the corporeal place where the thing is found which I want to contemplate.—Ignatius of Loyola<sup>2</sup>  
Insana Machometis daeleria—Anonymous Jesuit chronicler, 1687<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ignatius of Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, First Exercise, First Prelude.

<sup>3</sup> *Lit. Ann. Prov. Aust.* 1687, f. 24v, *Austria 147-148*, ARSI.

One might legitimately ask whether there is or ever was such a thing as “the Jesuit imagination.” Individual Jesuits imagine things; these imaginings might be able to be grouped by their common characteristics. Could these imaginings be collectively identified as being distinctively “Jesuit”? We can speak of a “Jesuit imagination” even while acknowledging the phenomenological problem of correlating the subjective experiences of innumerable Jesuits who have lived during the past 450 years.<sup>4</sup> We can take a step towards doing this by concentrating on the creative output of Jesuits and of those in their employ or under their direction during a particular period and within a specific time-frame. In this way we can examine some of the expressions of the inner visions that Jesuits experienced, and then compare, categorize and locate these visions within a larger cultural context, even if we cannot see these visions ourselves. This essay will focus on late baroque products of Jesuit culture originating in the encounter between the Ottoman and Catholic worlds and which set forth images of Muslims in images or words. I shall argue that these images owe as much to the interior life of Jesuits as they do to the empirical observations for which the Society was renowned.

There is uniquely important avenue of approach to how these Jesuits imagined the world. This is via the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola. A great deal has been written about the role of the *Exercises* in the formation of Jesuits and in the development of a collective identity for the Society of Jesus. But the *Exercises*, which every Jesuit must undertake yearly, are also a key to understanding expressions of Jesuit imagination in the arts and in other fields. The retreatant undertaking the *Exercises* is called upon to visualize, first, events from the life and Passion of Christ, and then, more imaginary scenes that have not yet taken place, culminating with the Meditation on The Two Standards, a visualization of the climactic battle between Christ’s hosts and the forces of the Deceiver. These two exercises in

<sup>4</sup> Jesuit imagination could extend to the development of the Scholastic concept of *spatium imaginarium* to address problems in Aristotle’s concept of the “ultimate sphere of heaven.” Leijenhorst, “Jesuit Concepts,” pp. 367ff. Representation through the intermediary of the senses, hope through the expressive powers of language: comparison of centuries and people as a heuristic principle, and the pleasures of discourse as a condition of effective action and shared speech: three aspects of the Jesuit imagination. Bernier, Donato, and Lüsebrink, “Introduction.”

visualization require the retreatant to do two quite different things. In the earlier visualizations, including those of Christ's Passion, the retreatant's own recalled sensory experiences are almost exclusively the sources of the new visions. The identification with and internalization of events taken from the New Testament draw upon memory more than upon anything else.

The Meditation on the Two Standards however requires imagination.<sup>5</sup> Even someone who may have been present at a real-life battle must still reach beyond her or his recollections of the event to visualize a confrontation between the Savior of Humankind and the Devil. The exalted and supernatural characteristics of this conflict must be imagined, even if some of the more mundane details might come from memory (and this memory may be of works of art as well as of actual events). And while the Devil should not be equated with the various more worldly Others that populate baroque Jesuit literature, the setting forth of this supreme Other provided a precedent from which later foils to Jesuit undertakings might be described and imagined.

Likewise when Ignatius summons the retreatant to hover high above the earth with the Holy Spirit and to look down upon the people of the world, "some being born, some dying,"<sup>6</sup> the details come perhaps from remembered or related experience, but the cosmic frame of reference can only be imagined. These imagined points of view, moreover, are intended to be the most emotionally compelling parts of the *Exercises* and play a significant role in Jesuit formation. Baroque Jesuits negotiated several intersecting ideas and traditions regarding the body. On one level the Jesuit body, once overcome, might be a source of pleasure or at least satisfaction.<sup>7</sup> According to Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), the *anima rationalis* masters the body.<sup>8</sup> Simultaneously the bodies of martyrs, a topic that engaged the Jesuit Bollandists, were objects of devotion.<sup>9</sup> The observable body was also an essential aspect of Jesuit drama and dance.<sup>10</sup> The notion of "bodily being in the world" associated with

<sup>5</sup> *Spiritual Exercises*, Second Week, Fourth Day.

<sup>6</sup> *Spiritual Exercises*, Second Week, First Day, First Point.

<sup>7</sup> Bjelic, *Galileo's Pendulum*, p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> Cited in Paramore, *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Magill, "Reviving Martyrdom," p. 113.

<sup>10</sup> Zampelli, "*Lascivi Spettacoli*," p. 558. Jesuit performances of ballet were intended to "form the body to noble action and decorum." Judith Rock, "Taproots." See also Judith Rock, *Terpsichore*, and Franko, *Dance as Text*.

the new Catholic Europe promoted by the Council of Trent.<sup>11</sup> The body could provide evidences of moral and theological deviance: Martin del Rio (1558-1608) claimed to be able to document *physical* damage that could be inflicted by witches.<sup>12</sup> By the seventeenth century the roots of an evolving Jesuit “theology of the body” with emphasis on the capacity to imagine the suffering of others were appearing.<sup>13</sup> At least one Jesuit, the Spaniard Gabriel de Henao (1612-1704), foresaw a heaven in which sensual appetites will be restored, but without the burden of sin.<sup>14</sup>

Yet at the same time Jesuits studied the writings of Ignatius, which asserted that the body of a Jesuit ought to be like a “lifeless stick” and who imagined the souls of the damned as “bodies of fire.”<sup>15</sup> The piety of Ignatius has been described as possessing a significant physicality that expressed itself in a devotion to the bodies of both Jesus and Mary, and which was replicated by his successors.<sup>16</sup> The dangers of bodily pleasures, even within marriage, were stressed by many Jesuit preachers, most famously by Paolo Segneri (1624-1694).<sup>17</sup> Another aspect of the baroque Catholic preoccupation with the body manifested itself in the renewed interest in bleeding and corruption, which may be understood as a reaction against modernity and new scientific discoveries.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Philip A. Mellor and Chris Shilling, *Re-Forming the Body: Religion, Community and Modernity* (London: Sage: 1997), pp. 132-133. Restraint and celibacy received renewed emphasis at the Council of Trent: “Canon 10. If anyone says that the married state excels the state of virginity or celibacy, and that it is better and happier to be united in matrimony than to remain in virginity or celibacy,[15] let him be anathema.” The Council of Trent Session XXIV - which is the eighth under the Supreme Pontiff, Pius IV, celebrated on the eleventh day of November, 1563. <[https://www.google.com/search?sourceid=nav-client&ie=UTF-8&rlz=1T4AVNB\\_enUS634US636&q=%22THE+COUNCIL+OF+TRENT+Session+XXIV+-+which+is+the+eighth+under+the+Supreme+PoIf+anyone+says+that+the+married+state+excels+the+state+of+virginity+or+celibacy%2C+and+that+it+is+better+and+happier+to+be+united+in+matrimony+&gws\\_rd=ssl](https://www.google.com/search?sourceid=nav-client&ie=UTF-8&rlz=1T4AVNB_enUS634US636&q=%22THE+COUNCIL+OF+TRENT+Session+XXIV+-+which+is+the+eighth+under+the+Supreme+PoIf+anyone+says+that+the+married+state+excels+the+state+of+virginity+or+celibacy%2C+and+that+it+is+better+and+happier+to+be+united+in+matrimony+&gws_rd=ssl)> consulted 17 April 2015.

<sup>12</sup> Roper, *Witch Craze*, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Shore, ““In carcere; ad supplicium”” p. 187ff.

<sup>14</sup> Hart and Stevenson, *Heaven and the Flesh*, p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque*, 8; cited in Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, p. 35.

Ebook: <<https://books.google.com/books?id=RddIBAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=intitle:Accounts+intitle:of+intitle:the+intitle:Colonial+intitle:Americas&hl=en&sa=X&ei=rfwVVeHqHcqrogT49IHwDg&ved=0CCcQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>> consulted 16 April 2015.

<sup>16</sup> Boyle, *Loyola's Acts*, p. 92.

<sup>17</sup> Weinstein, *Juvenile Sexuality*, pp. 187-88.

<sup>18</sup> Conrod, *Loyola's Greater Narrative*, pp. 6-7.

In the broader post-Tridentine culture three sacraments dominated the lives of the baroque Catholic faithful, Baptism, Penance and the Eucharist, all of which are closely tied the Incarnation.<sup>19</sup> An additional strand of Catholic somatic experience derived from penance and possession. The *devot* sought more control over her or his body and penance provided the means.<sup>20</sup> Another expression of this drive towards control is illustrated by the case of Juana Inés de la Cruz (ca. 1648-1695), cutting off her hair as a “punishment” for not learning enough Latin.<sup>21</sup> Although the Jesuit remained an all-male order, they had extensive dealings with women and female experience of the body must be considered when considering Jesuit approaches to physicality. Religious ecstasy, particularly in a baroque Catholic context, when experienced by women, pointed away from the body while simultaneously being centered in the body.<sup>22</sup>

Most seventeenth-century European Jesuits and even probably a majority of the members of the Society’s Austrian Province (which extended to the Ottoman frontier), would never have seen a Muslim.<sup>23</sup> What would have been familiar to all were visual representations of archetypal Muslims, deriving from several sources, some generated by the Society. One of the most ubiquitous of these was the severed head of a Turk or Tatar which figures prominently in the heraldic devices of noble Hungarian clans, among them the famed Csákys and the Abaffys.<sup>24</sup> Turbaned figures suggesting Turks or Tatars also appear on

<sup>19</sup> Parish, *Catholic Particularity*, pp. 56-57. Specifically the Incarnation, as Maurice Merleau-Ponty put it, “changes everything.” (L’Incarnation change tout). Saint Aubert, “‘L’Incarnation change tout’.”

<sup>20</sup> Shore, *Jesuits and the Politics of Religious Pluralism*, p. 148.

<sup>21</sup> Cited in Alves and Blakney, “Baroque Consilience.”

<sup>22</sup> Greenberg, *Baroque Bodies*, pp. 163ff. A discussion of baroque interiority and its relation to the somatic is found in Dimit, “Divine Grace.”

<sup>23</sup> The original intention of Ignatius and the Companions to go to the Holy Land to convert Muslims is detailed in O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 25ff. Interactions between Jesuits and Muslims have been explored in Colombo, *Convertire i musulmani*. Emanuele Colombo’s article “Jesuits and Islam in Seventeenth-Century Europe: War, Preaching and Conversions,” sets forth the various polemical devices the Society, noting that as long as Islam was regarded as “pagan” rather than “heretical,” it could be approached. For accounts of pre-suppression Jesuit missionary activity and martyrdom in the Philippines see O’Shaughnessy, “Philippine Islam and the Society of Jesus,” pp. 217-230. At least one account of Islam was written by a Jesuit who probably never entered Muslim territory: Stephanus Szántó (Arator), S. J., *Confutatio Alcorani (1611)*.

<sup>24</sup> Woodcock and Robinson. *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, pp. 28-32.

altarpieces throughout Europe depicting Biblical scenes or the martyrdom of saints of the primitive Church.<sup>25</sup> In the first instance the severed body part testifies to the defeat, dehumanizing, and dismemberment of the Other; in the second the connection between the tormentors of Christ or the saints and contemporaneous Ottomans is reinforced. Both of these associations were important in the Jesuit imagining of the Muslim body.

More widely distributed than heraldic or religious motifs referencing Turks was a genre of printed literature known as *turcica*, popular in German-speaking lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>26</sup> Often provided with large illustrations, *turcica* literature focuses on the abuses allegedly perpetrated on Christians by Ottomans. These abuses are physical, and in many cases explicitly sexual. Ottomans are portrayed as violators who use their bodies to injure the bodies of others. This violation had both physical and religious aspects, for as Lyndal Roper points out, in the early modern period, “religious conflict became dramatized in the body itself.”<sup>27</sup> The Turk is frequently described in *turcica* literature as well as from the pulpits of baroque Hungary as a sodomite, and sodomy was even presented in contemporary discourses as a boundary between Christian and Muslim.<sup>28</sup> The Muslim’s crime is therefore not only a violation of Levitical law, but also an affront to God Himself, since man is made in God’s image. Reinforcing the image of the Muslim as sacrilegious violator was a misrepresentation of the *Qur’an* made by Christophorus Peichich, a Bulgarian Catholic whose *Mahometanus dogmaticae, et catechetice in lege Christi alcorano suffragante* was produced in 1717 by a Jesuit press that dominated book culture in much of Hungary.<sup>29</sup> According to Peichich, the *Qur’an* legitimates unnatural relations between a man

<sup>25</sup> The Decapitation of St. James on the St James altarpiece in the parish church of Levoča, Slovakia shows a turbaned executioner wielding a sword. Kirschbaum, *Historical Dictionary of Slovakia*, p. 200.

<sup>26</sup> Falkner, “Having it off.”

<sup>27</sup> Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, p. 172.

<sup>28</sup> Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p. 113. In 1663 the archbishop of Esztergom wrote, regarding a Turkish attack, “Et utinam citaretur Christianitas; quoniam maledictus valde vigilat et nocturnus Sodomita.” Katona, *Historia Critica Tomul. 33 Stirpis Austriae*, p. 398.

<sup>29</sup> Peichich, *Mahometanus dogmaticae, et catechetice*. A few years earlier the press published an account of Stephen Tomašević, king of Bosnia, who was defeated by the Ottomans and beheaded in 1463; Ritter, *Bosna captiva*.

and his wife. Michael Nau, a Jesuit who had travelled in the Levant and who had considerable knowledge of Arabic, translated a passage from the *Qur'an* ("cap. De Mensa") into Latin: "At Mahometanorum cum Christianis Faeminis conuiba vult esse licita,"<sup>30</sup> the message once again being that at least in certain circumstances, the lust of Muslim male is tolerated. The critique presented here is confined to the licence accorded to the male body; no direct criticism is made of the treatment of the woman, nor to her desires.

Nau make clear that he does not regard the Muslim misuse of the body as solely the result of *Qur'anic* teaching, since this misuse (in Nau's view) predates the creation of the *Qur'an* as a text teaching moral conduct. He relates the story of how the Prophet compelled Zaidus to give up a manumitted slave girl he had to Zaidus so that he might have her himself. The cause of this violation is not *Qur'anic* teaching but lust.<sup>31</sup> Such a conclusion is not surprising given the Jesuit search for equivalencies<sup>32</sup> among cultures and the Society's tendency to take a universalist view of human experience and potential morality. Nau himself was willing to concede that there were a few honorable Muslim men and women.<sup>33</sup> Jesuits contemplating the conversion of Muslims may also have been exposed to such writers as Leo Africanus, who asserted that Islam loosened the bridle of the flesh, "something acceptable to the greatest part of men."<sup>34</sup> The bodily indulgence of baser instincts allegedly allowed by the *Qur'an* had other consequences. The manners of Muslims were sometimes described by Jesuit writers as hateful and repulsive; the historian Ladislaus Turóczi writes of how Georgius Martinuzzi, also known as Frater György, grew disgusted with the company of the Turks ("societatem Turcarum exosus"), with whom he had been negotiating.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Michael Nau, *Religio Christiana contra alcoranum*, p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> Nau, *Religio*, p. 53. But see the roughly contemporaneous observation of the Jesuit Louis LeComte (1655–1728), who asserted that human actions considered in themselves are neutral and their particular moral content is the outcome of the "arbitrariousness of races." *Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine*, cited in Kontler, "The conservative Enlightenment," p. 116. The personality and foibles of the Prophet were staples of Jesuit presentations of Islam.

<sup>32</sup> Davidson, *The Universal Baroque*, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> "J'avouë qu'on voit des Mahometans gens d'honneur, & qui ont beaucoup de vertus morales, mais le nombre n'en est pas grande." Nau, *L'état présent*, p. iii.

<sup>34</sup> Cited in a translation by John Prory in Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism," p. 224.

<sup>35</sup> Turóczi, *Ungaria suis cum regionibus*, p. 418.

Jesuit teachings concerning free will and predestination are also germane here. While the Society clashed with Jansenists and Calvinists over these points,<sup>36</sup> there remained a powerful current in baroque Jesuit thought that endeavored to combine the ideas of free will and predestination. The Jesuit theologian Luis de Molina (1535-1600) taught that while an individual might exercise her or his free will, God already knew the outcomes of these efforts, which then gave such outcomes the quality of inevitability.<sup>37</sup> Applied to the Muslim body, the choices that a Muslim man might make, and the influence of *Qur'anic* teaching on his decisions likewise acquired this inevitability. This attempt at the reconciliation of opposites was not universally enlisted in Jesuit proselytizing efforts, but Molina's construction did allow Jesuits to retain the idea of the inherent and inescapable lust of the Muslim male, turned loose by *Qur'anic* teaching, even as Jesuit missionaries endeavored to turn him from this path.

But this path is not one of a soul that has been irrefutably perverted by Islam, only of one granted license to revert to an appetite-driven state. The distinction is crucial because of what it implies about the potential existing in every body. Framing this view of the Islam and human potentiality was the Jesuit interpretation of Eastern Mediterranean cultures (or cultures possessing some of their characteristics) that could be called "orientalist" although its scope is wider than this term usually implies. Ignatius moreover presented Jesuits with an alternative model to that of the violent conqueror in their relations with Muslims. This model reflects an understanding of maleness that stresses control of passions that might be regarded as characteristically masculine.<sup>38</sup>

Steeped in Biblical and classical lore, Jesuit writers likened a woman who tried (unsuccessfully) to seduce a Jesuit brother to Potiphar's wife,<sup>39</sup> and called the North American wilderness in which they labored "Egypt."<sup>40</sup> The east, whether explicitly Muslim or not, was seen as a place of despotisms where fleshly appetites were indulged<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 166; van den Berg, *Religious Currents and Cross-Currents*, pp. 1-5.

<sup>37</sup> McCann, "The Free Will Defence," p. 252.

<sup>38</sup> Strasser, "The First Form and Grace," pp. 60-61.

<sup>39</sup> *Elogia Defunctorum VI*, Ms. I, p. 423, Ab 142, ARSI.

<sup>40</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, p. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Even cannibalism was attributed to the inhabitants of the Middle East by the seventeenth-century Jesuit François Garasset. Tilton, *The Quest for the Phoenix*, p. 147.

and the sort of self-discipline in which Jesuits prided themselves was granted no recognition. In the triumphalist narratives of the Habsburg conquest of formerly Ottoman-ruled territories, the consequence of this unleashing of carnal appetites is made clear: semi-naked, top-knotted bodies of Ottoman soldiers are trampled underfoot or led away as prisoners by victorious Christians.

By situating the force unleashing carnal depravity in *Qur'anic* teaching rather than in the Muslim body itself Jesuits accomplished two things. First, they could now continue to imagine this body as part of a cosmos that declares God's goodness.<sup>42</sup> They were even free to react to a Muslim body in a positive way, as we shall shortly see. Secondly, the separation of the body from the "false" teachings that had allowed it to indulge in sin has implications for other, non-Muslim bodies, including those of wayward Christians whom Jesuits labored to bring back into the fold. The encounter with the Muslim male was of course not the origin of the Jesuit visualization of the separation of body from belief, but the relative proximity to Christian Europe of examples of Muslim "misuse" of the body—in contrast to, for instance, general ignorance about the practices of Confucians or of North American Aborigines—kept the Muslim male a vivid figure in the imagination of all Europeans. And if such an example of unguided bodily desires could be converted to the True Faith, that much greater a victory would be won for the Church.

Jesuits learned—and taught—about bodies though the medium of the emblem.<sup>43</sup> A distinctly baroque art form, the emblem contains an image representing a relationship that is a metaphor for an unseen relationship. The moral message regarding this second relationship is explicated in an epigraph and perhaps also in an accompanying text. Although they were not an exclusively Jesuit product, emblem books became a specialty of the Society and were among the most widely distributed of Jesuit publications. These volumes were populated with animals, real and mythical, with putti, and frequently with everyday people. These persons were never identifiable individuals, but rather types not unlike the stock characters of Jesuit school plays,<sup>44</sup> and were creations of the Jesuit imagination. While emblematics has recently re-

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of this vision the perspective of the visual arts, see Smith, *Sensuous Worship*, p. 30.

<sup>43</sup> Dimler, *Studies in the Jesuit Emblem*.

<sup>44</sup> Shore, "Baroque Drama."

ceived much scholarly attention, the depictions of identifiable ethnic or confessional groups in the emblem books of the Society has not.

On occasion Jesuit emblems included figures representing Muslims. A manuscript in a Budapest library by the Jesuit Franciscus Partinger, contains several such figures.<sup>45</sup> Created during the first decade of the eighteenth century, *Ratio Status Animae* seems to be the product of direct observation (Partinger worked in Braşov, Transylvania, a trade crossroads close to the Ottoman frontier), imagination, and earlier emblematic models. The result is a more nuanced rendering of the Muslim body, one that contains no suggestions of threat, but is instead focused on more or less routine activities, one that Christians performed in much the same way. In one illustration a turbaned man appears to be drawing a series of circles, perhaps a very rare baroque Catholic acknowledgement of the Muslim contribution to mathematics, although it may instead be a symbolic reference to pointless activity or to the misdirection of human desire to material objects.<sup>46</sup>

Racial categories, as understood since the nineteenth century, did not exist for baroque Jesuits, but this is not to say that physical appearance went unnoticed. Records from Hungary generally describe Muslims as “Turcae,” a term applied more broadly to Muslims.<sup>47</sup> Records from Hungary and Spain also refer to “Mauri Mahometani,” a designation that may have to do with a North African origin but may also derive from a perceived darker complexion.<sup>48</sup> Such differences in skin color, while not seen as indicators of inferiority, were however one more thing that marked a dark-complected Muslim as the Other.

Much more significant to Christian observers of Ottoman Muslims than physical characteristics were dress and grooming. The turban was

<sup>45</sup> *Ratio status animae immortalis symbolice, ascetice et polemice expressa, quatuor in principatu Transylvaniae receptorum religionum aeternae saluti accomodata ab infinita societatis Jesu, Coronensi missione.* Ms A 155, ELTEK composed by Franciscus Partinger between 1710 and 1715. A printed version later appeared without illustrations.

<sup>46</sup> Partinger, *Ratio status animae*, plate 2. Plate 19 shows booted musicians and a dancing bear; the former may also be Roma Muslims.

<sup>47</sup> E. g., Nilles, *Symbolae*, p. 510, citing Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensis 12180, undated. While the term *turca* might accurately be applied to any subject of the Ottoman Empire, no Jesuit records have been identified that unambiguously identify a non-Muslim as a *turca*, and the word seems to have been functionally synonymous with Muslim.

<sup>48</sup> *Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis* Ms II, 1, Ab 90, f. 2r, ELTEK; *Annuae Literae Societatis Jesu anni M. D. C. L. II.*, p. 54. King Sebastian of Portugal’s ill-fated expedition of 1580 is described as being “contra Mauros” in a contemporary Jesuit history. Argentus, *De Rebus Societatis Iesu*, p. 102.

universally recognized as the symbol of the Turk, appearing as we have seen in Christian artwork and coats of arms. Turbans also identify armed Muslims (seen only from the back) threatening Hungarian patron saints in an altarpiece painted for a Jesuit church in Győr, Hungary in the late seventeenth century, when the city was a garrison on the Ottoman frontier.<sup>49</sup>

The assumption (not always correct) that Turkish men shaved their heads while letting their beards grow—the approximate inverse of the late seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Christian gentleman—was another identifying feature. Tunics, lightweight shoes and baggy, brightly colored trousers worn by both Turks and Tatars further marked these men as different and possibly as effeminate or sexually ambiguous as well. Differences in posture are also noted; the custom, practiced by some Turks, of sitting cross-legged on the ground is noted in a Jesuit report.<sup>50</sup> Jesuits shared all of these associations with their European contemporaries, and added to them the importance the Society attached to the salvable soul as something distinct from the body and its actions. This emphasis cut two ways: on the one hand it allowed Jesuits to overlook, at least in theory, the objectionable physical characteristics of non-Christians they encountered, although it did not override the requirement that Jesuits themselves be without significant physical blemishes.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand the stress on the soul rendered those features of Muslim cultures that evinced more concern for the body, such as public baths, or a highly developed knowledge of pharmacy and medicine, less important. The positive side of this view was that once conversion took place and the behavior was altered, the alleged sexual deviations that had alarmed Nau ceased to be barriers to admission into Christian fellowship.

But the Muslim body, as long as it remained Muslim, was potentially dangerous to others and also to itself.<sup>52</sup> The danger it presented

<sup>49</sup> *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Hungary*, p. 81.

<sup>50</sup> "...contractis turcico more pedib'" *Lit. An. Prov. Austria 147*, f. 24v, ARSI.

<sup>51</sup> The *Constitutions* of the Society make clear that physical integrity was a requirement for admission. "... ne quis in Societatem admittatur... in exterior homine, defectus in integritate corporis, morbis, debilitas, vel notabilis deformitas." *Constitutiones Societatis Iesv anno 1558*, Pars Prima, Cap. II.

<sup>52</sup> At the seventeenth century French court, costuming oneself as a Moor or Turk in burlesque ballet might be an expression of dissent from or critique of the monarchy. Franko, *Dance as Text*, p. 189.

to itself originated in the same place as its violent threats to others, for despite the prohibitions on physical indulgence found in the *Qur'an*, the Jesuit image of the Muslim body was that of a cluster of unrestrained appetites. A Jesuit textbook points out that Sultan Ibrahim (ruled 1640-1648) “intra gynecaei delicitas delitenscens... conjuratione strangulatus.”<sup>53</sup> However, this image of unrestrained indulgence is restricted to the male body; female Muslim appetites are never mentioned in Jesuit discourse.

The Muslim body thus played several roles in the Jesuit writing and visual art. It was, first and perhaps most importantly, a physical manifestation of the indispensable Other in narratives of Jesuit history and in the Society's self-representation. In this role the Muslim body shared characteristics with other foils to Jesuit virtue and action, such as sadistic Japanese executioners<sup>54</sup> or “savage” Huron warriors, but with some important differences. As instruments capable of working violence on Jesuit bodies, Japanese or North American Aboriginals nonetheless posed no immediate threat to Christians living in Europe. Nor did a history exist of these more distant and therefore “exotic” peoples enslaving the bodies of Europeans, as was the case with North African and Turkish Muslims. Jesuit records from seventeenth-century Hungary show that capture by and redemption from the Ottomans was no abstraction. Father Dominicus Langó was even carried as a captive to Constantinople from when he was later liberated.<sup>55</sup> Such occurrences functioned in the Society's writings as opportunities to exercise *immobilitas*<sup>56</sup> and *tolerantia*<sup>57</sup> that would stand in contrast to the undisciplined male physicality of the Muslim. In a Catholic baroque culture that placed special emphasis on the incorruptibility of the bodies of martyred saints, the violence and disorder of the male Muslim body provided a chiaroscuro contrast to the stable and controlled Jesuit body that neither Jewish nor Roma bodies could provide. The imagining of the actions of the Muslim captor or executioner also links Jesuit expe-

<sup>53</sup> [Wagner], *Introductio in Universalem Historiam*, p. 135.

<sup>54</sup> Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan*, pp. 36-38.

<sup>55</sup> *Elogia Defunctorum IV*, Ms. I, Ab 140, p. 94, ELTEK.

<sup>56</sup> In the sense of being unperturbed by troubling or harsh circumstances, e. g., as in the fortitude of a Jesuit martyred in Nagasaki. Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem*, p. 422.

<sup>57</sup> Frequently mentioned in Jesuit obituaries, *alienorum tolerantia* was evidence of personal self-discipline, e. g., *Annae Literae Societatis Iesv anni M. DC. LIII.*, p. 90.

rience with the martyrdom narratives of the early Church. In a related vein the Muslim body might, in a Jesuit narrative, be the recipient of Divine justice, as when a Turk shooting at a statute in the captured Hungarian town of Veszprém was killed when the bullet ricocheted and hit his horse, causing him to fall and die.<sup>58</sup>

While it may be going too far to claim that the Jesuit preoccupation with real or imagined Muslim sexual practices was the direct result of Jesuits' own anxieties about their own sexualities, several points are worth consideration. Luke Closey has pointed to concern over one's own soul and salvation as major motivators in the vocations of a sample of Polish Jesuits and letters from Jesuits bound for "the Indies" make clear that carnal temptations, leavened by remote and exotic settings, were on their minds.<sup>59</sup> Destined for the Antilles, French Jesuit Bernard Layrac, reflecting on the naked women he felt sure he would soon see, wrote "meum videlicet salacitas vitium est, et lubrica fuit adolescentia."<sup>60</sup> Accusations of moral laxity by its opponents notwithstanding, the Society was committed to the promotion of a social order that placed strict boundaries on the sexual conduct of all individuals. In their pursuit of this goal, Jesuits praised women who seemed especially modest and intervened when Christians' bodies were placed in compromising situations—even (or perhaps especially) when these situations included contact with *succubi* and *incubi*.<sup>61</sup> In the latter instance Jesuits themselves were in a potentially scandalous situation and yet did not avoid such duties. These and countless other occasions when Jesuits placed themselves in positions of confidence and intimacy of laymen and women heightened Jesuits' awareness of their own bodies. Accounts in obituaries of Jesuits describing escapes from carnal temptation furnish additional evidence of this awareness. The all-male nature of the Society likewise fostered an emphasis, albeit in an unspoken way, on maleness (although with a nod to classical iconography, the apotheosis of the baroque Society was often rendered as a woman) and thus on questions of how males should guide their bodies.

<sup>58</sup> Turóczi, *Ungaria suis cum regionibus*, p. 21.

<sup>59</sup> Closey, *Salvation and Globalization*, pp. 119-122.

<sup>60</sup> Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Le choix indifférent," p. 886.

<sup>61</sup> Ostling, *Between the Devil and the Host*, pp. 25-26; 229. An incubus is a demon in male form who lies upon sleepers, especially women, in order to engage in sexual relations with them. A succubus is the female equivalent of an incubus, who seeks to seduce men into sexual activity.

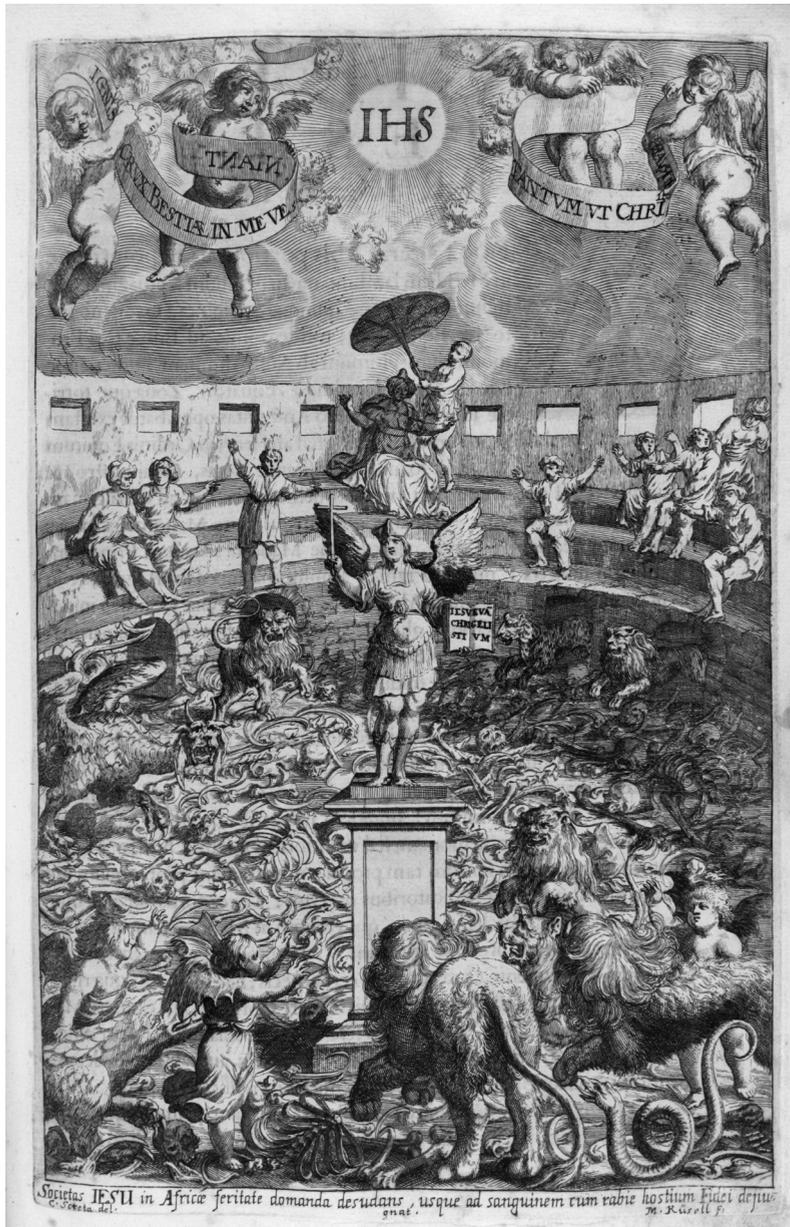


Figure 1. Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis profusionem...* (Prague: 1675), p. 151. Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections.

Images of Muslim cruelty could be fused with those deriving from the history of the early Church, giving strength to the Society's self-representation. In Mathias Tanner's *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans*, the sacrifices of the Society in Africa are symbolically rendered in a Roman amphitheatre thickly strewn with human bones upon which lions and more mythical beasts prance (Figure 1). But shaded beneath an oriental parasol is no ancient Caesar but a turbaned despot, flanked by other figures in turbans whose aggressive gesticulations leave no doubt that they seek the blood of Christians.

Yet the Muslim world might also be embodied in a far more positive fashion. Asia, including the portion closest to Europe, which was predominantly Muslim, is portrayed as modestly clothed (in a vaguely Muslim fashion) as is her European sister, in contrast to the semi-naked apotheoses of Africa and America, in this impressive engraving that is the frontispiece of Daniello Bartoli, *Della vita e dell'istituto di S. Ignatio* (Figure 2).

The points of reference for the Jesuit imagining of the Muslim body were therefore disparate. As a source of pain the Muslim body could be readily correlated with the physical discipline voluntarily undertaken by Jesuit, and as such, might be welcomed as a test of *fortitudo* and *immobilitas*. As an instrument inflicting pain and death this body might be imagined through the reading of martyrdom narratives and the contemplation of visual art or drama recounting the suffering of other Jesuits. Yet this process of imagining was complicated by the baroque Jesuit's understanding of his own body. For discipline of the Jesuit's body did not imply its destruction or disgrace, but rather its strengthening on several levels. Ignatius himself, early in his spiritual journey, had flirted with extreme bodily austerities only to draw back and set limits on physical discipline that subsequently became part of the Society's polices.<sup>62</sup> The Society's *Constitution* made clear, "greater goods" were more important than physical discipline.<sup>63</sup>

Thus while the breaking of a Jesuit's body "ex odio fidei" by Muslims or anyone else was a powerful witness of faith and something to which many Jesuits aspired, the value still placed on the physical world and on the use of the body in interactions with and around other bodies

<sup>62</sup> Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>63</sup> "Corporis castigatio immoderata esse non debet, nec indiscreta in vigiliis et abstinentiis, et aliis poenitentiis ac laboribus externis; quae et nocumentum afferre, et majora bona impedire solent." *Constitutiones*, Pars Tertia, Cap. 31.



Figure 2. Daniello Bartoli, *Della vita e dell'istituto di S. Ignazio*, frontispice  
 Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections.

in that world created a tension within Jesuit culture. Returning to Tanner's work we find scores of engravings by the Augsburg artist Melchior Küsell depicting the martyrdom of Jesuits throughout the world. Widely distributed and later translated into German,<sup>64</sup> Tanner's *Societas*... was both a product of and an impetus to the Jesuit imagination. Many of the Jesuits depicted suffered martyrdom at the hands of Muslims. Here is the martyrdom of Father Alfonso de Castro, who died in the Moluccas in 1558 (Figure 3).

The first thing striking the viewer is the obvious resemblance to pictures of the Crucifixion, which even if it is not consciously intentional, cannot be coincidental. The presence of Islam is also immediately apparent, with a minaret surmounted by crescent, and turbaned figures torturing the unfortunate Jesuit in the background – and in their postures calling to mind the Roman soldiers who gambled for Christ's robe. Contrasted with the suffering Jesuit, his Muslim tormentors seem reduced as human figures, with indistinguishable and indistinct features, and lacking all emotion.

Vincentius Alvaro was martyred in 1606 (Figure 4).

Again we see the scimitar, and again the mood and personality of the turbaned figure, who in this instance deals the death blow, are concealed.

But the Muslim was not always hidden from sight in these engravings. Here (Figure 5) identifiable by his biretta, Father Ignatius Fialho preaches as a hostile crowd threatens him.

There are three scimitars—symbols of the “Turk”—in this illustration, and in addition the rage and bestiality of the Muslims is conveyed through their open mouths and contorted expressions. The costumes of the Muslims, here from the “Regno Mogorum” or the Mughal Empire, are exotic without being appealing, perhaps suggested by the traditional dress of Albanian or Bosniak Muslims, pictures of whom Küsell may have seen. Dangerous and ungainly, these Muslims nonetheless seem rooted to the ground.

Turning to Mazua, an island in the Red Sea, here (Figure 6) is one last rendering of a Muslim with scimitar, who prepares to slay Abraham George, a Jesuit of Maronite background, as he kneels, in the year 1595.

<sup>64</sup> Tanner, *Der in Europa arbeitenden Gesellschaft Jesu*.

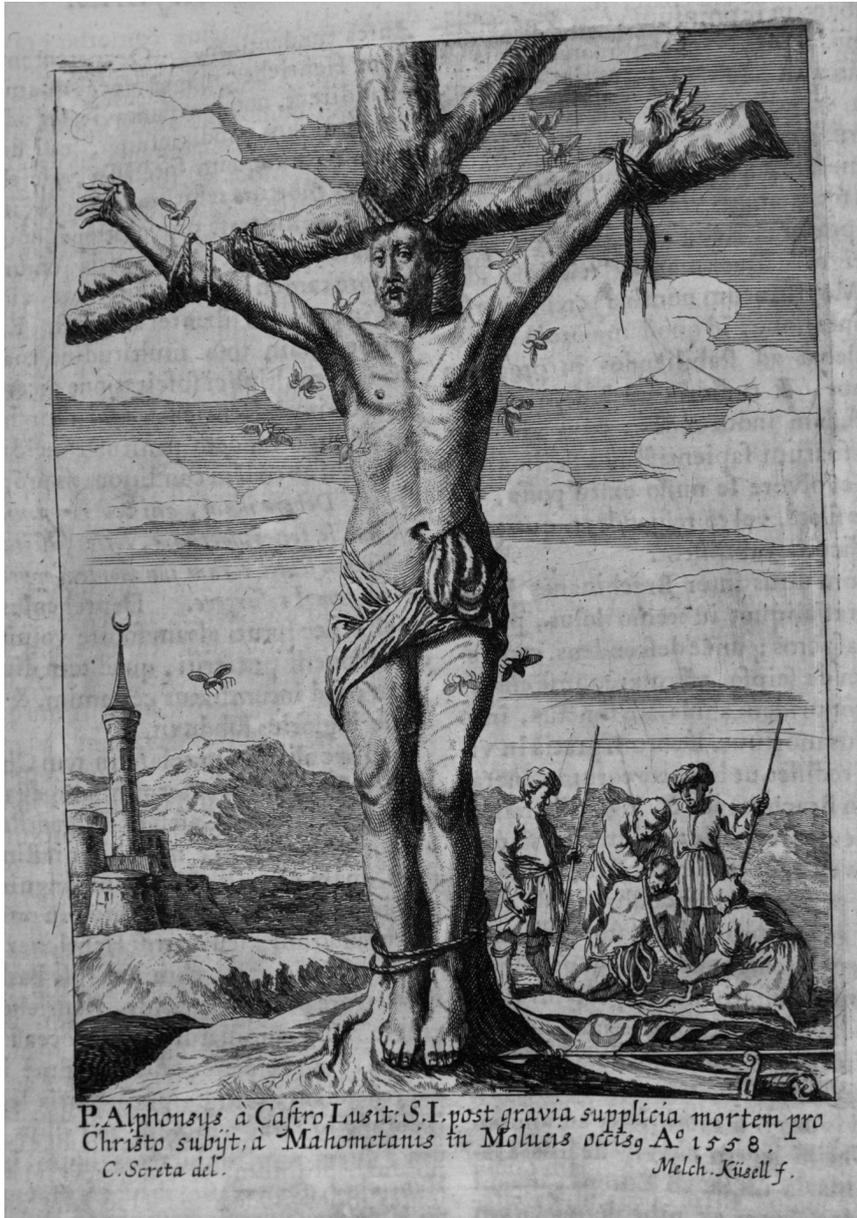


Figure 3. Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis profusionem...* (Prague: 1675), p. 226. Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections.



Figure 4. Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis profusionem...* (Prague: 1675), p. 267. Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections



Figure 5. Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis profusionem...* (Prague: 1675), p. 342. Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections.

The threatening yet flatfooted and static figure is outlined against a stormy sky, while the Jesuit seems to lean into the blow that will take his life.

These images, while they were intended, *inter alia*, to bolster the confidence of Jesuits in training, have nightmare qualities. The Muslims are inaccessible as human beings and present only their potentiality for violence and inevitability. In fact, all of Küssel's villains share many of these threatening characteristics, but Muslims are distinguished by their weapons, beards and headgear.<sup>65</sup> The Muslim's potential to do harm is more straightforward than, for example, that of the Japanese, who employ bizarre forms of execution such as upside down crucifixions or scalding with hot water.

So much for the Muslim body as an instrument of violence. Such instruments were invariably male, but there were also female Muslim bodies. In the *Litterae Annuae* of the Austrian Province for 1688 is an account of a Muslim woman of Eger, a Muslim stronghold in Hungary recaptured by Habsburg forces.<sup>66</sup> As in many other conversion narratives of Jewish and Muslim women, we learn of a daring escape to the safety of the Christian world, but two other features stand out. One is that the woman (who is married to a Muslim and seemingly of Muslim origin herself) is credited with demonstrating compassion and godliness without actually being a Christian. This observation seems to harmonize with the eighteenth-century Jesuit interest in "natural religion."<sup>67</sup> But far more interesting is the observation that the woman is "noble in spirit as well as in person." Not only is this remark an extremely rare reference in Jesuit documents to a women's appearance, but it is also a positive assessment of a Muslim body included in a report sent to the Jesuit headquarters in Rome.

Despite these preoccupations with the flesh, seventeenth and eighteenth-century Jesuits had not yet developed what today might be called a "theology of the body." Instead they were equipped with the *Spiritual Exercises* and the practical document that grew from it, the *Constitu-*

<sup>65</sup> Beards could function in Jesuit presentations as a special signal of male Muslim identity. A Jesuit play staged in the Philippines in 1637 depicted the struggle between *moros y cristianos*, but the *moros* were portrayed not as the Muslims of Mindanao or Jolo, but as "the bearded, arrogant Moor of imported Spanish literature, the Moor of Morocco or of Turkey, the Moor unknown to the Filipino." Fernandez, "Historical Notes," p. 388.

<sup>66</sup> Shore, *Narratives of Diversity*, p. 100.

<sup>67</sup> Mortimer and Robinson, "Nature, Revelation, History," pp. 33-36.



Figure 6. Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis profusionem...* (Prague: 1675), p. 184. Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections.

tions of the Society, both of which linked awareness of one's body and the sensory data it conveys with discipline over that body. The missions of the baroque Society were undertaken in the context of the bracing climate of the Council of Trent, in which clerical submission to bodily appetites – as manifested by previously tolerated concubinage or drunkenness—was now utterly forbidden. This all meant that the Jesuit imagining of the body of the Other was conditioned by an unrelenting, internal, and intentional preoccupation with the Jesuit body.

In the absence of any empirical data of this interior preoccupation, we must proceed cautiously, but a few observations may be made. First, the Society had a keenly felt and cultivated sense of separateness from other institutions, including many older Catholic orders. The perpetuation of this sense of separateness (some contemporaries branded it arrogant aloofness) relied on a clear identification of Others in opposition to the Society's "way of proceeding" that would cause Jesuit actions to shine brightly. The Muslim male in Jesuit writings was contrasted even more strongly, either consciously or unconsciously, with the Jesuit as male surrounded by his fellow males. Unlike the Calvinist, who had earned his place among the malefactors described in Jesuit narratives primarily because of his doctrinal errors and intellectual challenges (not that his acts of violence against Jesuits went unnoticed!) the Muslim's bodily acts, not his theological errors, were the focus of the Jesuit imagination as expressed in visual art.

To return to the second kind of imagining prompted by the *Spiritual Exercises*, the male Muslim body presented a challenge to Jesuits who had to imagine acts and perhaps passions of which they had little or no knowledge—or with which they at least would be reluctant to confess familiarity. But this challenge could be an attraction rather than a drawback in an ambitious Society whose unofficial motto in the seventeenth century was *Unus non sufficit orbis* ("One world is not enough").<sup>68</sup> A confrontation with Muslim physicality complemented the systematic refutation of the *Qur'an*, and even Jesuits who had not read it, knew that this document had much to say about the body. Trained in the Society's schools to engage in competition and emulation,<sup>69</sup> Jesuits would

<sup>68</sup> This motto, first employed in the seventeenth century, appears in *Imago Primi Saeculi*, p. 326.

<sup>69</sup> Gonçalves da Câmara, *Remembering Iñigo*, p. 61.

have seen the governance and discipline of their own bodies, kept useful for service,<sup>70</sup> in a contest with the *Qur'anic* directives. Text against text, body against body.

Yet this story is incomplete without a look at the *outcomes* of Jesuit imagining and at the endeavors that followed from it. In contrast to many of the baroque Society's other enterprises, Jesuit efforts in the Mediterranean world to convert Muslims yielded very modest results,<sup>71</sup> and despite a few spectacular cases elsewhere, in these regions only one documented instance has been found of a Muslim who eventually became a Jesuit.<sup>72</sup> The reasons for this failure are various, and include overextended human and material resources, and most especially, a poor match between the strategies Jesuits most often employed in their mission work (preaching, public debates, drama and emblematics) and many of the Muslim societies in which Jesuits labored.

And while these labors were continuing, Jesuit self-construction and self-representation were changing. In the broadest terms this process can be described as part of the decline of the baroque aesthetic sensibility and devotional culture that had dominated Danubian Catholic life for a century and a half. More specifically, the eighteenth century produced far fewer Jesuit martyrs than the seventeenth or sixteenth—that is, up until the expulsion and eventual suppression of the Society once more brought suffering to hundreds of Jesuits. The decline in documented cases of Jesuit bodily suffering was both a cause and a consequence of the evolution of the Jesuit imagination. As the images of Jesuit struggle and suffering that had echoes the visualizations of the *Spiritual Exercises* grew more remote, the images of Jesuits engaged in *cura animarum*, in writing or in the sciences grew more prominent. Hieronymus Lopez is shown in this late seventeenth-century Jesuit volume (Figure 7) not during his captivity “apud Mauros” but at his apostolic work among the residents of Valencia:

This shift in imagery is profound. Late baroque Jesuits often were a different breed from the Martyrs of Košice,<sup>73</sup> even if men of science, letters and pastoral talents had always been part of the Society. The Je-

<sup>70</sup> Strasser, *States of Virginity*, p. 171.

<sup>71</sup> For example, see Carmel Cassar's essay in this collection.

<sup>72</sup> Colombo, “Balthasar Loyola.”

<sup>73</sup> Hevenesi, *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia*, pp. 106-110.

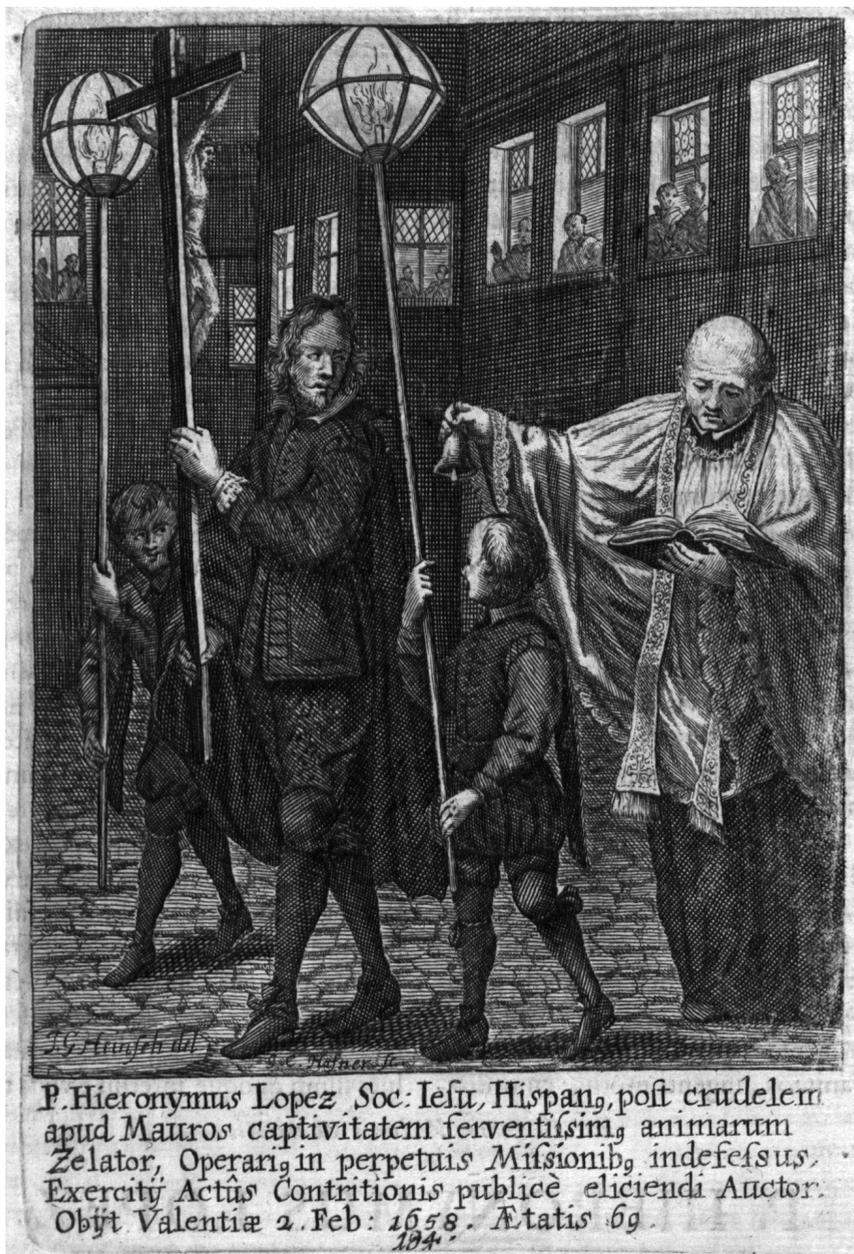


Figure 7. Matthias Tanner, *Societas Iesu apostolorum imitatrix* (Prague, 1694), p. 840. Courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Special Collections.

suit self-representation influenced recruitment into the Society, drawing more men who saw their bodies less as objects to be tested and perhaps broken in service to the Church.

At the same time the image of the Muslim body was being altered by political and military developments. As the “Turkish menace” receded after 1683, it became easier for Christian Europeans to encounter Ottoman cultural products without feeling threatened.<sup>74</sup> Paralleling this trend was the disappearance of hostile or vanquished Turkish figures from Habsburg or Jesuit art. The Other was fading away from the Jesuit imagination and from the works of art and literature the Society produced, and would not reappear when the Society was restored in 1814.

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<sup>74</sup> Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 8-9. Yet as late as 1761, long after the danger of Turkish attacks had faded, a Jesuit school in Hungary produced a drama featuring among its characters the prophet Mohammed. “Exercuit ad finem anni scholastici Mahometem 4 in Imperio habitilem in proscenium adduxit.” *Annuae Residentiae S. J. Eperiesiensis ad annum Xti 1761... Historia Residentiae Eperiesiensis*, Ms II, 1, Ab 90, folio 102r, ELTEK; Staud, *A magyarországi jezsuita iskolai színjátékok*, 2, p. 433.

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