

In 1767, with the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Spanish dominions, Paraguayan Jesuits were sent into exile in the Pontifical lands of Romagna, especially in Faenza and Ravenna where they came to during the last months of 1768. Decimated by the long sea travel, threatened by government agents who were trying to push them in order to leave the Company, during the first years of their exile Paraguayan Ignatians experienced a profound identitarian crisis, apart from the organizational aspect, that deepened as the suppression of the Company in 1773; nevertheless the Paraguayans were those, among Spanish Jesuits, who better managed that harsh situation, maintaining strong group cohesion and spirit of belonging to the Company. The main leader of such resistance was Domingo Muriel, last provincial of Paraguay who, by means of numerous writings, was able to create for them a cultural space of radical opposition and reaction to the world outside the Company, perceived as hostile. José Manuel Peramás, former Paraguayan Jesuit, found inspiration in Muriel works when he retook the «reductions» myth, widely known since the end of Seventeenth Century and lately brought to new interest by Muratori, using the concept to criticize the outcomes of the French Revolution.

«GLOCAL» CONFLICTS:

MISSIONARY CONTROVERSIES ON THE COROMANDEL COAST BETWEEN THE XVII AND XVIII CENTURIES (*)

Introduction

The scope of this paper is to consider the Eighteenth-century dispute on the adaptationist methods followed by the Jesuits in the South Indian missions of Madurai, Karnataka (*Carnate*) and Mysore within a much wider context of religious contaminations. The main assumption is that the Jesuit attitude towards the «pagan» customs of their Indian converts has to be interpreted alongside the hybridizations developed by their main religious opponents, particularly the French missionary Capuchins of the Province of Tours, as a means to accommodate Catholicism to the early colonial environment of the English fortress of Fort St. George in Madras. The paper will be articulated in four parts. First, I will discuss the meaning and the utility that the concept of «glocalization» might have in a context of missionary history, relating it to a recent proposal made by Ines Županov. Secondly, I will analyze an instance of glocal conflict of the mid-Seventeenth Century, namely the Inquisitorial process into Fr. Ephraim de Nevers. As a third step, I will consider the initial phase of the controversy on the Malabar Rites and finally I will try to draw some conclusions.

1. Glocalization and missionary tropics

As we try to rethink early modern missions in a global perspective, a possible approach is to decline missionary history within the framework of global history (1). Global interactions and the global circulation of people, ideas and

(*) I am very grateful to Dr. Clare Ashdowne (St Edmund Hall, Oxford University) for the precious and insightful suggestions she gave me whilst I was revising this paper.

(1) A recent contribution in this direction is L. CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

goods that are implied in the missionary activity stand very well within the borders of a discipline – global history – that is trying to move beyond the economical, political, demographical and environmental constraints within which the field has been initially developed. In its turn, the early modern missions have often been considered in the past – as Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent argue in the presentation of a recent and major collection of essays (2) – either through the lens of a national and apologetic institutional history or as a repository of sources for ethnographers. Is it ever possible to combine these two unilateral approaches in order to allow a more comprehensive interpretation of the missions which is able to relate the departure and the destination, the message of salvation and the concrete environment where it was supposed to be implanted, the European clerics and the non-European «pagans» whose conversion was sought? Such a synthesis would be very ambitious and it is not clear whether it is either possible or even useful. Nonetheless, here we would like to consider a possible interpretation that tries to move beyond a spatial dichotomy that is very much related to the dynamic of missionary history. The opposition between the global and the local dimension can be linked to the one of institutional approaches versus ethnographic gazes. The religious orders of the early modern age, and the Society of Jesus (the most studied among all of them) *in primis*, expressed a global projection by the means of an organization able to encompass continents and keep, with very different outcomes, forms of coordination and a sense of unity. On the other hand, the ethnographic dimension implicit in any history of missions represents instances of localisation. If the gospel was a universal message to be spread by a global body of religious specialists, on the contrary «paganism» and «idolatry» expressed particularities whose meaning remained opaque. As Ines Županov has argued in the case of the Madurai mission, the otherness of these local religions could be grasped by the means either of analogies (aristocratic ones in the case of Roberto Nobili), or descriptions (demotic were the ones undertaken by his confrere and adversary Gonçalo Fernandes) (3).

If however a mission can be defined basically by the fact that someone is sent somewhere by someone else to whom he or she has to account (a definition that was agreed upon by participants at a doctoral seminar held at the

(2) *Missions religieuses modernes: «Notre lieu est le monde»*, par P.-A. Fabre et B. Vincent, Rome, École française de Rome, 2007, pp. 1-2.

(3) I. G. ŽUPANOV, *Disputed Mission: Jesuits Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth Century India*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1999.

École française de Rome in February 2004) (4), then we also have to consider the feedback that came from the local context of the place of destination back to the place of origin. A classical example is, of course, given by the studies that historians like Paul Hazard and Virgile Pinot undertook in the 1930s in order to emphasize how the Jesuit missionaries, by giving detailed accounts on China, provided materials that would then be used as tools to attack the exclusivist pretensions of Christianity in relation to the rest of the world (5). The fictitious cultural artefact of «Confucianism», constructed in order to be compatible with Christianity, would become a tool in the hands of Voltaire to assert Deism against Christian exclusivism (6). A similar process also took place in the Indian case, when the *Ezourvedam*, an alleged Veda that had been lost for centuries, was published with the enthusiastic sponsorship of Voltaire (7). The deistic appearance of the text, meant to be a relic of the most ancient Indian philosophy and very different from both the contemporary Indian «heathenism» and the dogmas, rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church (8), would eventually be interpreted by scholars as the clear sign of a Jesuitic forgery, whose aim was to introduce some basic tenets of Christianity in a disguised way leaving aside, as a task for further evangelization, the indoctrination of the positive specificities of the faith (9).

A possible way to interpret within a single frame the complex dynamics of early modern missions, triggering circulations with plural directions (a clear case are the triangular passages between Europe, Mexico and China), could probably be the concept of glocalization (10). This notion was developed in

(4) *Missions religieuses modernes*, cit., p. 16.

(5) P. HAZARD, *La Crise de la conscience européenne (1680-1715)*, Paris, Boivin, 1935, translated in English as *The European Mind, 1680-1715*, London, Hollis and Carter, 1953; V. PINOT, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640-1740)*, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1932.

(6) L. JENSEN, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions & Universal Civilization*, Durham, Duke University Press, 1997.

(7) *L'Ezour-Vedam ou ancien Commentaire du Vedam: contenant l'exposition des opinions religieuses et philosophiques des Indiens; traduit du Samscretan par un brame; Rev. et publ. avec des observations préliminaires, des notes et des éclaircissemens*, Yverdon, dans l'Imprimerie de M. De Felice, 1778.

(8) J. MOHAN, *La civilisation la plus antique: Voltaire's Images of India*, in «Journal of World History», XVI (2005), pp. 173-185.

(9) The whole critical fortune and disgrace of the *Ezourvedam* is reconstructed in *Ezourvedam: A French Veda of The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by L. ROCHER, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1984.

(10) R. ROBERTSON, *Glocalization in Global Modernities*, ed. by M. Featherstone, S. Lash, R. Robertson, London, Sage Publications, 1995, pp. 25-44.

the field of business studies in the 1980s, probably on the model of «Japanese dochakuka (deriving from dochaku, “living on one’s own land”), originally the agricultural principle of adapting one’s farming techniques to local conditions, but also adopted in Japanese business for global localization, a global outlook adapted to local conditions» (11). The concept has since been borrowed by sociology in order either to interpret the process of globalization in a different way, or to highlight a single aspect of it. Roland Robertson, among one of the first authors to use the concept in a sociological sense, adhered to the first option in writing that «globalization – in the broadest sense, the compression of the world – has involved and increasingly involves the creation and incorporation of locality, processes which themselves largely shape, in turn, the compression of the world as whole» (12). Such a notion may be useful to historical analysis, as Robertson claims that globalization not involves only now, but has involved also in the past, the incorporation of locality – meant as the local dimension. In order to better understand such a «locality» it might be useful to generalize a concept originally proposed by Ines Županov as a way to interpret the Jesuit missions to South India during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (13). Županov has introduced a notion of «missionary tropics» that refer

to two particular spaces: a geographical space – India and the Indian Ocean – and a metaphorical space in which texts about India bring home to Europe a sense, sensibility, and knowledge of what lies out there. *Tropics* is also used in this book as a metaphor for time, that is, for movement, change, and turning to or turning away from established routines and practices. Finally, the term may also help us think about the formation of new identities that mushroomed on the frontier between the Portuguese Indian world and the vast gentile and infidel subcontinent. In fact, the Portuguese themselves already established the connection between tropical climate and the oversensual bodies and minds of the Indians (14).

These missionary tropics are a dense category as they refer to space, time and identities. Županov shows in a convincing way how the Portuguese missionaries felt that some inherent character of the land they were working in impeded the success of their evangelical efforts. Some essential features of India led to paganism, a certain *je ne sais quoi* that could be easily summarized by

(11) Ivi, p. 28.

(12) Ivi, p. 40.

(13) I. G. ŽUPANOV, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th- 17th Centuries)*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2005.

(14) Ivi, p. 1.

a climatic concept. The missionary tropics were therefore a space of contamination, both for European Christians and for Christianity in itself. Tropics derive ultimately from the Greek root *τροπ/τροπ*: the verb *τρέπειν* means «to turn, to return», so that *τρόποι* (*trōpoi*) are rhetorical figures (for instance metaphors) based on a linguistic twist of the normal sense of a word (15). In this sense tropics become spaces where semantic inversions take place and where it is sure that any message or news, even the Good News *par excellence*, is condemned to change its meaning into something that cannot be determined a priori. Our contention is that a notion of missionary tropics so defined could be relevant even in the context of the first half of the Indian Eighteenth Century. If the recent historiography tends to postpone the final consolidation of a European colonial rule to well within the Nineteenth Century (16), then the kind of marginal early colonial religious encounter designed by the expression missionary tropics could be applied correctly to a period like the one we are considering here, the time span between the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Century. In other words, we propose to conjugate the global dimension of early modern missions together with the localized marginality of the missionaries within a non-European environment. In these contexts, the local peoples were still able to exert an effective agency and to manipulate the messages that the missionaries brought to them, religious as well as scientific and of many other different kinds. The feedbacks to Europe were hybridizations that could scare or be assimilated. The Malabar Rites definitely fell within the first category, and the social system of castes that expressed them failed to find an immediate reception in Europe (17). A hybrid like the Jesuit interpretation of Confucianism, to a great extent a model of Western wisdom telescoped to China, achieved a much greater success (18).

(15) Ivi, p. 8.

(16) André Gunder Frank sums up this common historiographical orientation in the following terms: «Europe did not emerge as a Newly Industrializing Economy (NIE) challenging Asia until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Only then and not before did the world economic center of gravity began to shift to Europe». Id., *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998, p. 166.

(17) The history of the controversy on the Malabar Rites, a topic that has been scarcely studied by historiography, is the object of the PhD thesis that I am currently completing by the European University Institute, Florence. A recent and balanced synthesis is provided by E. R. HAMBYE S.J., *History of Christianity in India: The Eighteenth Century*, Bangalore, The Church History Association of India, 1997, pp. 211- 237.

(18) Cfr. P. A. RULE, *K'ung-tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit Intepretation of Confucius*, Sydney-Boston- London, Allen and Unwin, 1986.

2. Ephrem de Nevers

The notion of a missionary glocalization can be tested in the case of the French Capuchin Ephrem de Nevers⁽¹⁹⁾, founder in 1642 of the first Christian church in Fort St. George, the settlement of the East India Company around which the metropolis of Madras (today called Chennai) developed thereafter. The most striking fact in the apostolate of Fr. Ephrem is his contiguity with Englishmen, Anglican or belonging to more radical Protestant denominations, right at the time of the English Civil War. Not surprisingly, his proximity to so-called heretics and schismatics was the pretext under which he was accused and tried by the Inquisition of Goa. The conventional interpretation of the persecution he faced between 27 June 1649 and 5 November 1651 is that he was a victim of a conflict between the moribund royal Portuguese patronage of missions (*Padroado Régio*) and the evangelizing dynamism of the Roman Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* established in 1622. If, however, we consider the case of Ephrem de Nevers together with the official and public beginning of the Malabar Rites controversy, namely the presentation by the French Capuchin François-Marie de Tours on 7 March 1703 of a dossier against the Jesuit missionaries (printed as a libel the following year)⁽²⁰⁾, then we will understand both some difficult points of this dossier and the nature of the Capuchin mission of Madras.

In fact the *Questions* submitted by Fr. François-Marie, in spite of a specific reference to «pagan ceremonies» in the title, contained even some questions on practices that definitely were not used by the Jesuits. Among 36 questions, that were indeed dealing mainly with the Jesuit paganizing customs that

(19) J. A. ISMAEL GRACIAS, *Fr. Ephraim de Nevers e a Inquisição de Goa*, in «O Oriente Português», X (1913), *passim*; F. RICHARD, *Ephrem de Nevers et Zénon de Baugé, premiers auteurs français d'ouvrages en tamoul*, in «Moyen-Orient et Océan Indien», VI (1989), pp. 151-163; G. J. AMES, *The Perils of Spreading the True Faith in Asia: Fr. Ephraim de Nevers and the Goa Inquisition, 1650-1651*, in «Western Society for French History: Proceedings», XXII (1996), pp. 81-94; M. P. M. VINK, *Church and State in Seventeenth-century colonial Asia: Dutch-Parava relations in Southeast India in a comparative perspective*, in «Journal of Early Modern History», IV (2000), pp. 1-43, in particular pp. 38-43; G. J. AMES, *Trade and Inquisition: Fr. Ephraim de Nevers, M. Dellon and the Challenges Confronting the French in India, ca. 1650-1677*, in «Western Society for French History: Proceedings», XXVIII (2002), pp. 113-126.

(20) *Questions proposées à la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande sur les ceremonies payennes que certains Missionnaires permettent aux Chrétiens Malabares dans les Indes Orientales. Par le R.P. François Marie de Tours Capucin, Missionnaire aux Indes Orientales. A Liege chez Guillaume Schupper, ruë des Maures, proche la grande Eglise. M. DCC. IV*

came to be called «Malabar Rites», there was also a series of issues (7 in total, from number 21 to 27) dealing with the relations that Catholics could have with heretics. In the early Eighteenth Century context of the Coromandel Coast this could only mean the English, the Dutch and the Danish Protestants in the trading settlements of the region⁽²¹⁾. François-Marie de Tours asked therefore (q. 21) whether the marriage of a Catholic woman to a heretic man celebrated in front of a heretic minister was always invalid and the children therefore considered illegitimate. Supposing that such a marriage were invalid, was it possible (q. 22) to validate it by the simple fact that the parish priest questioned the heretic husband in front of witnesses about his married status, even though he did not have the intention of ratifying his marriage according Catholic discipline? The Capuchin wondered also (q. 23) whether the Catholic woman could access the sacraments even though she was not regularly married; this was in order to avoid scandal, given the fact that children of such mixed couples were often baptized as Catholics and they therefore had free access to the sacraments. The Capuchin tried also (q. 24) to play the card of the missing notification of the Council of Trent and of its decrees on marriage: in fact Fr. de Tours wondered whether in places under the rule of heretics and therefore where the Council decrees had not been published, a Catholic priest could marry a heretic man to a Catholic woman. He added also, passing from a point *de jure* to one *de facto*, that these mixed marriages were happening at all times and there was no way to impede them. Indeed, the lack of ministers of their own sects led sometimes the heretic rulers to request the assistance of Catholic missionaries in order to celebrate marriages between heretics. The Capuchin wondered whether this could be acceptable (q. 25), adding the circumstance (q. 26) that the refusal of the priest could prompt hatred, persecution and even the expulsion of the Catholics from the territories of the heretics. Finally (q. 27), what was to be done if heretics asked a Catholic missionary to baptise their children but omitting rites that were peculiar to the Roman Ritual? On the one hand, if baptism was refused, children could die without being redeemed of their original sin; on the other hand, heretical parents would not accept Catholic accessory rituals being practised on their children. These rituals had an exorcistic meaning and included salt being put in the mouth of the child, the smearing of saliva according Christ's

(21) For a synthetic account of these European settlements on the Coromandel coast, see E. M. JACOBS, *Merchants in Asia: The Trade of the East India Company during the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, CNWS Publications, 2006, p. 100.

Ephphata miracle (Mark 7: 33), exsufflation of the Holy Ghost and anointing with holy oil (22).

These seven questions were quite unrelated to the Malabar Rites (23): why then did François-Marie de Tours add them to the charges that he was moving against the Jesuit missionaries? It is highly improbable that the inclusion was just casual. In fact, as the Roman authorities started examining the complaints moved by the Capuchins against the adaptationist methods of the Jesuits, they had, first of all, to determine the trustworthiness of those making the indictment. Could an accusation of indulgence to idolatry moved against the Society of Jesus ever be considered if the missionary tradition of the prosecutors had been tainted by the suspicion of Lutheranism, Calvinism and complaisance with heretics and schismatics such as the Englishmen of the

(22) «The devil is the enemy of a man's salvation which is acquired through baptism. He also has certain power over man from the fact that the latter is subject to original sin, or even to actual sin as well. Thus it is wise that demons are cast out by exorcism before baptism lest they prove an impediment to a man's salvation. The act of breathing forth itself signifies this expulsion. The blessing, along with the imposition of hands, bars the way against the return of an expelled demon. The salt placed in the mouth and the anointing of the ears and nostrils with spittle signify that the ear receive the teaching of the faith, the nostrils approve its fragrance, and the mouth confesses it. The anointing with oil signifies man's ability to fight against the demons»: THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation, Introduction, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries*, 57 (3a. 66-72, Baptism and Confirmation), eds. J.J. CUNNINGHAM OP and G. AUSTIN OP, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 177 (3a, q. 71, a. 2).

(23) The only point of contact is q. 27: the request of not using saliva and insufflation was considered to be one of the Malabar Rites. The Indian converts refused the contact of saliva and the exposure to insufflation because they believed they were impure. An example of this attitude can be drawn from the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*: «But if something made of earth has been touched by wine, urine, excrement, saliva, pus or blood, it cannot be cleaned by baking it again [...] Earth and water should be used as necessary to clean (the organs) that emit urine and excrement and also to clean (the following) twelve bodily defilements: oil, semen, blood, bone marrow, urine, excrement, snot, ear-wax, phlegm, tears, the discharge from the eyes, and sweat; these are the twelve defilements». *The Laws of Manu: With an Introduction and Notes*, tr. W. DONIGER, B.K. SMITH, London-New York, Penguin, 1991, V, ns. 123, 134-135 (pp. 112-114). The influx of continental Reformation ideas to the Anglican Church led to the reduction of baptism to a mere touch of water during the invocation of the Trinity and the abolition of accessory rituals like the *ephphata* sign made with saliva and the insufflation of the Holy Ghost: «considerable alteration were made in 1552, and all the ancient ceremonies have now disappeared from the English Service except the signing with the cross. It is scarcely necessary to add that these ceremonies are no part of the essentials of the Holy Baptism, and that so much popular superstition had grown up around them as to make their abolition appear desirable to those who reconstructed the Offices of the Church of England»: *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer Being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England*, ed. by J. H. BLUNT, London, Rivingtons, 1866, pt. II, p. 210.

East India Company? If an evaluation of the Malabar Rites was impossible without assessing the importance and orthodoxy of the innovations brought by Roberto Nobili, in the same way the stand of the complainants, the French Capuchin on the Coast of Coromandel, had to be judged on the basis of their past records and of their relation towards the authority of the Holy See. Just as the very foundation of the Capuchin Order in the Sixteenth Century had been polluted by the apostasy of Bernardino Ochino (24), an original sin that was probably active even in the Twentieth Century when (as Sergio Luzzatto has recently argued) the figure of Padre Pio da Pietrelcina was extolled even to provide a new and adequate foundation to the Capuchins (25), so Fr. Ephrem de Nevers (†1694), founder of the Catholic mission of Madras, expressed a similar peculiar ambiguity: a christic figure to whom only the stigmata were lacking, but who, like Christ or the later *alter Christus* Padre Pio, had necessarily to pass through the persecution of the ecclesiastic establishment. After the loss of its temporal power, the Holy Office could not use imprisonment to restrain the dangerous action of the Capuchin in San Giovanni Rotondo, so that all the attempts to organize his transfer to a convent in the region of Marche were fruitless. This was not the case for Fr. Ephrem de Nevers, tried by the Inquisition of Goa between 1649 and 1651. Even if he finally was released after being compelled to deliver a public profession of orthodoxy, nonetheless his reputation would never recover totally from such a slur; the suspicion of heresy affecting the Capuchin missionaries would also be betrayed in the following decades in the report delivered by François-Marie de Tours to the Secretary of Propaganda Fide Carlo Agostino Fabroni. In fact Ephrem de Nevers was attacked by the Portuguese clergy of São Thomé de Maliapur (once

(24) Bernardino Tommassini, called Ochino (he was born in Siena in «contrada dell'Oca» in 1487), had been *Definitore Generale* and *Vicario Generale* in the newly-established Capuchin Order. He gained a great reputation as a preacher all throughout Italy and showed an increasing affinity with the Italian evangelical groups, so that in 1542 he decided to leave the Capuchins and the Catholic Church, fleeing to Geneva. His anti-Trinitarian beliefs provoking ire amongst more orthodox Protestants, he decided to settle in the tolerant Principality of Transylvania, but died en route in Austerlitz (in 1564 or 1565), hosted by the Venetian Anabaptist Niccolò Paruta. K. BENRATH, *Bernardino Ochino Von Siena: Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Reformation: Mit Original-Dokumenten, Porträt Und Schriftprobe*, Leipzig, Fues, 1875; D. BERTRAND-BARRAUD, *Les idées philosophiques de Bernardin Ochino, de Sienne*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1924; R. H. BAINTON, *Bernardino Ochino: esule e riformatore senese del Cinquecento, 1487-1563*, Firenze, G. C. Sansoni, 1941; G.G. WILLIAMS, *The Theology of Bernardino Ochino*, Tübingen, PhD thesis, 1955; B. NICOLINI, *Il pensiero di Bernardino Ochino*, Bologna, Patron, 1970.

(25) S. LUZZATTO, *Padre Pio: miracoli e politica nell'Italia del Novecento*, Torino, Einaudi, 2007, p. 31.

a fortress of the *Estado da Índia* but then fallen under the direct rule of the Muslim king of Golkonda) on the basis of three specific accusations, all related to the peculiar apostolate he was undertaking in Madras. The first issue concerned a form of iconoclasm: Fr. Ephrem de Nevers asserted that the Trinity should not be depicted and – according to the witnesses gathered against him – he was generally suspicious towards all representations, which he interpreted as leaning towards idolatry. On the basis of an alleged general practice of the Capuchins in France, he opposed the presence of statues in his church, allowing only paintings. The second great accusation levelled against Fr. Ephrem concerned his ideas on the nature of Anglican orders, an issue that was discussed within the Catholic Church for centuries until Pope Leo XIII declared in 1896 with the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* that these orders are «absolutely null and utterly void» (26). In the mid-Seventeenth Century, Ephrem de Nevers, living among the Anglicans of Fort St. George, had come to the conclusion that even if the Englishmen were schismatic, nonetheless their clergy had been duly ordained. The consequence was clearly that they were able to celebrate the Mass and effectively consecrate the Eucharist. Finally, the third issue was the nature of the respect due to the holy cross. The Inquisitors believed that this should be *latria* (worship) (27), whereas Ephrem – following the doctrine that was set in 787 at the Second Council of Nicaea (28) – claimed that it was

(26) G. RAMBALDI, *Ordinazioni anglicane e sacramento dell'Ordine nella Chiesa: aspetti storici e teologici. A cento anni dalla Bolla Apostolicæ Curæ di Leone XIII*, Roma, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1995.

(27) This was the dominant Catholic doctrine, as expounded by AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiæ*, cit., 3a, q. 25, a. 4.

(28) «We decree with full precision and care that, like the figure of the honoured and life-giving cross, the revered and holy images whether painted or made of mosaic or of other suitable material, are to be exposed in the holy churches of God, on sacred instruments and vestments, on walls and panels, in houses and by public ways; these are the images of our Lord, God and saviour, Jesus Christ, and of our Lady without blemish, the holy God-bearer, and of the revered angels and of any of the saintly holy men [...] Certainly this is not the full adoration [ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν] in accordance with our faith, which is properly paid only to the divine nature, but it resembles that given to the figure of the honoured and life-giving cross, and also to the holy books of the gospels and to other sacred cult objects. Further, people are drawn to honour these images with the offering of incense and lights, as was piously established by ancient custom. Indeed, the honour paid to an image traverses it, reaching the model; and he who venerates the image, venerates the person represented in that image». This formulation was given in the «definition» (ἄρθρον) of the Council: *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. by N. P. TANNER SJ, 2 voll., London-Washington, Sheed & Ward-Georgetown University Press, 1990, I, pp. 135*-136*.

a case of relative veneration, the faithful being compelled to pay respect to the cross merely for the meaning that the sign represented. Ephrem was caught in São Tomé, transferred to Goa, kept for a couple of years in the prisons of the Inquisition and eventually released after a public repentance in the Cathedral. The case of Fr. Ephrem was reported in Europe by French travellers like François Le Gouz de la Boullaye (1610?-1669) (29) and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689) (30); their works were also known to Charles Dellon, the author of a famous description of the Goa Inquisition in which the case of Fr. Ephrem was referred to as a sort of precedent and prefiguration for the fate that also occurred to Dellon himself (31).

It is in such a context that Nicolao Manucci devoted space in his amorphous *Storia del Mogol* to the case of Fr. Ephrem (32). A Venetian traveller and self-made medical doctor, he was interested in defending the Capuchins mainly because their enemies, the Jesuits, were also his own enemies (the difference in the origin of the two convergent aversions was not very relevant) (33).

(29) *Les Voyages et Observations du sieur de la Boullaye Le Gouz, gentil-homme angevin, Où sont décrites les Religions, Gouvernemens & situations des Estats et Royaumes d'Italie, Grece, Natolie, Syrie, Perse, Palestine, Karamenie, Kaldée, Assyrie, grand Mogol, Bijapour, Indes Orientales des Portugais, Arabie, Egypte, Hollande, grande Bretagne, Irlande, Dannemark, Pologne, Isles & autres lieux d'Europe, Asie & Affrique où il a séjourné, le tout enrichy de Figures; Et Dedié à l'Eminentissime Cardinal Capponi*, Paris, Gervais Clousier, 1653, pp. 223-225.

(30) *Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Ecuyer Baron d'Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, Pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir: accompagnés d'observations particulieres sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coutumes & le commerce de chaque país; avec les figures, le poids, & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours. Seconde Partie, ou il est parlé des Indes, & des Isles voisines*, Paris, Gervais Clouzier et Claude Barbin, 1686, pp. 138-146.

(31) *Relation de L'Inquisition de Goa*, Paris, Daniel Horthemels, 1688, pp. 15-16, 137.

(32) Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia (BNMV), It. Z. 44 (=8299), pp. 125-147 (original paging of a section towards the end of the volume); English translation and comment with other related documents (but without Manucci's original text, still unpublished) in N. MANUCCI, *Storia Do Mogor: Or, Mogul India, 1653-1708 By Niccolao Manucci Venetian*, transl. and ed. by W. IRVINE, Calcutta, Editions Indian, 1907 (orig. ed. London, 1907), I, pp. 407-457. A recent study on Manucci is S. SUBRAHMANYAM, *Further Thoughts on an Enigma: The Tortuous Life of Nicolò Manucci, 1638-c. 1720*, in «Indian Economic and Social History Review», XLV (2008), pp. 35-76.

(33) Manucci had a strong aversion to the Jesuit Fr. François Catrou (1659-1737), who had established the famous *Journal de Trévoux* in 1701. In 1705 Catrou published a work whose full title was *Histoire générale de l'empire du Mogol depuis sa fondation sur les Mémoires portugais de Manouchi, par le P. Fr. Catrou* (Paris, chez Jean de Nully). The title betrayed the reasons for Manucci's rage: the Jesuit had gained access to a copy of Manucci's text and, editing it with information taken from other authors, had published it without asking the permission

The section of Manucci's manuscript concerning the persecution suffered by Fr. Ephrem de Nevers is written with the same handwriting that can be found in several documents that the French Capuchins of Pondichéry and Madras sent to Rome at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century that were almost certainly drafted by the friar Eusebe de Bourges (34).

Manucci's whole *Storia del Mogol* highlights a peculiar complicity, if not primary responsibility, of the Jesuits in any attack moved against the Capuchins. Such a model, that was projected in the past in order to establish a sort of aetiology, also acted in the present – at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century – as a model of interpretation able to explain how the Capuchins and the Jesuits, on opposite fronts on the issue of the spiritual jurisdiction on the Tamil Christians and consequently dissenting also on the need of an *accommodatio*, could eventually both be victims of the jurisdictional war waged in 1704 by the Papal Legate Carlo Tomaso Maillard de Tournon. The Patriarch of Antioch during his stay in Pondichéry, while awaiting passage to China, tried to assert the Roman jurisdiction. On 23 June 1704 he issued the decree *Inter graviores* against the exuberant autonomy of the Jesuits in the issue of the Malabar Rites; nonetheless, his attack on the Capuchins of Madras was even stronger, accusing them of being insubordinate to his Apostolic author-

of the Venetian and claiming authorship. Manucci reacted by sending his original manuscript to the Venetian Senate through Fr. Eusebe de Bourges: «ofato procuratore yl R. P.º frey Euzebio de Bourges Capucino, Missionario franses de questa yndia, che adesso parte per Europa, y por dare satisfasione A VV. SS. y mostrare là mia veritad, poderano vedere là opera che yo Mando yl vero oreginale, y por testimone dy questo mandò la. 4. parte che segue la mia ystoria, le cualy portera il supre dito RR.». BNMV, It. Z. 44 (=8299), without page numbers, second page of the dedication under the title «yl curiosi y benigno lettore, me dare licencia de meludire questa mia practice», at the beginning of the volume.

(34) See for instance Archivio della Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli «de Propaganda Fide», Roma (=APF), SOCP 23, ff. 77-78r (letter written from Fr. Eusebe de Bourges on 30 September 1705 at Saumur); ff. 85-91v (*Detail de l'affaire suscitée aux Capucins de la Mission de Madras par Monseigneur Dom Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon Patriarche d'Antioche Visiteur de la Chine &c.*); Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Città del Vaticano (=ACDF), St. St., QQ 1-i, ff. 141-144v (*Copia duna [sic] lettera del R. Pre Eusebio de Bourges Capucino Missionario dell'Indie Orientali al R. P. Timotheo de la fleche*, Paris, 1 February 1706). The volumes in the historical archives of the former Roman Holy Office that concern the Malabar Rites controversy (mainly ACDF, St. St., QQ 1, volumes from a to p) have no page or folio numbering. In order to quote precisely each of the many documents conserved in any of those volumes I have chosen to adopt a system of virtual paging, quoting each passage according to the folio number that each volume would have if it were numbered according to the common use.

ity. By tracing back the essential hostility of the Jesuits to the Capuchins (a hostility which to the latter amounted to real persecution), it was possible for Manucci to rule out any kind of interpretation aiming at detecting concrete common interests between the two religious orders, at least in relation to the jurisdictional pretensions of the Holy See, which was engaged in an attack against both these missions. In Manucci's account of the persecution suffered by Fr. Ephrem, the Jesuits were therefore portrayed as willing executioners of a repressive system based on ignorance and envy.

The case of Fr. Ephrem, parish priest of a Catholic community in a small English fortress under the paramount sovereignty of the king of Golkonda, became famous in Europe. We know from Tavernier's writing that while Ephrem was in prison, his brother Monsieur de Château de Bois, Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, took actions with the Ambassador of Portugal to obtain orders for the release of Fr. Ephrem from king Dom João IV (35). Roman archival documents also show that the General Procurator of the Capuchins to the Holy See, Fr. Marcantonio Galizzi da Carpenedolo (36), and the Titular Archbishop of Myra and Apostolic Administrator of Japan, the Franciscan Francesco Antonio Frasella di San Felice (37) (then residing in Goa) intervened in favour of Fr. Ephrem, so that the Congregation de Propaganda Fide discussed his case between the 7 September 1650 and 15 January 1652. The initial strategy was to act in Lisbon by informal channels but then, as the situation appeared more dramatic and no solution was in sight, the choice was to request the Roman Inquisition to ask the Inquisition of Goa to release the Capuchin on the grounds that his innocence was obvious (38). The reaction

(35) *Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, cit., 2, p. 143.

(36) Fr. Marcantonio was the author of works on the thought of Bonaventura da Bagnoregio. *Lexicon Capuccinum: Promptuarium Historico-Bibliographicum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum (1525-1950)*, Romae, Bibliotheca Collegii Internationalis S. Laurentii Brundusini, 1951, col. 1039.

(37) Cfr. G. SORGE, *Matteo De Castro (1594-1677): Profilo di una figura emblematica del conflitto giurisdizionale tra Goa e Roma nel secolo XVII*, Bologna, Clueb, 1986, pp. 34, 36-37, 40-42, 44-47. Frasella was also spelled as «Frassella» and «Frascella». See *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, Sive, Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series: Ab Anno 1198 Usque Ad Annum [1903] Perducta: E Documentis Tabularii Praesertim Vaticani Collecta, Digesta, Edita*, P. Gauchat (ed.), *A pontificatu Clementis PP. VIII (1592) usque ad pontificatum Alexandri PP. VII (1667)*, ed. by C. Eubel et al., Monasterii, Libraria Regensbergiana, 1935, IV, p. 251 (corrected at p. xv).

(38) APF, *Acta 1650*, f. 415v, n. 9; *Acta 1651*, f. 98; *Acta 1651*, ff. 104v-105; *Acta 1652*, ff. 33v-34; *Acta 1652*, ff. 3v-4.

of the Holy Office was extremely cold. In the congregation held on 31 January 1652 (it was a Wednesday meeting, one not in the presence of Pope Clement IX), it was decided that attention would be paid to the memoirs sent from Frasella; much more importantly, the Secretary of the Holy Office, Card. Francesco Barberini Sr., was requested to inform Propaganda Fide that on no account the missionary secretariat make in future requests to the Roman Inquisition in a imperative mode again, as within the Roman administration the latter was superior to the former (39). The case of Ephrem de Nevers not only gave the chance for a clash between Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office, but also became, together with the account of Charles Dellon, one of the most well-known cases of inquisitorial oppression.

The final canonization was the publication of the story of Fr. Ephrem in the *Histoire des Inquisitions* published anonymously by the Jansenist scholar Claude Pierre Goujet (1697-1767) (40). The work appeared in 1759, when the Society of Jesus was suppressed in Portugal, and merely reproduced the section on Fr. Ephrem written by Tavernier. In this way the idea became generally accepted that the Capuchin had been released from the Goan Inquisition because the King of Golkonda, affectionate to the friar, had threatened to destroy São Tomé if the Holy Office persisted in keeping him in jail. Manucci, who clearly expressed the point of view of the Capuchins in his *Storia do Mogol*, does not mention this intervention at all. The providential and mighty intervention of the Muslim king led to a triumphal release of Fr. Ephrem de Nevers. In Goujet's account of Fr. Ephrem there was also a print showing the procession held in his honour, as he was released from the *Santa Casa* of the Goan Inquisition and moved towards the convent of his Capuchin confreres. The pastor of a marginal Catholic community, on better terms with a heretical government than with his own ecclesiastical hierarchy, was finally projected in a glocal constellation. In a somehow similar way the fight that Juan de Palafox

(39) «Relato Decreto Sacrae Congregationis de propaganda fide circa supplicem libellus fratris Britij Rhedonensis Capuccini petens, ut sacra Congregatio dignetur providere, ut frater Ephrem Capuccinus Missionarius Apostolicus in Indijs Goæ carceratus sub falsis criminibus hæresiorum libertati donetur titulo suæ innocentiae stantibus testimonijs Episcopi Mirensis, decretum ut videantur scripturæ dicti Episcopi Mirensis, et dicatur D. Secretario Sacrae Congregationis Sancti Officii, non rescribere Sacram Congregationem de propaganda fide Sacrae Congregationi Sancti Officii, quæ est super omnes Congregationes, modo imperativo»: ACDF, *Decreta S.O.* 1652, f. 19.

(40) *Histoire des Inquisitions, Où l'on rapporte l'origin & les progrès de ces Tribunaux, leurs variations, & la forme de leur Jurisdiction*, Cologne, Pierre Marteau, 1759, II, pp. 158-174.

y Mendoza (1600-1659) engaged in against the Jesuits in Mexico transcended its local terms and in the eyes of the adversaries of the Society of Jesus he became a symbol, which was ultimately to be sanctioned by declaring his sanctity (41).

3. Malabar Rites

At the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, the adaptationist methods of the Jesuits became the target of the attacks of several actors, mainly Apostolic missionaries of the Pontifical Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* (both religious and secular priests), as well as of some laymen, like the Venetian Nicolao Manucci. The Roman archival sources show that, contrary to common belief, the controversy on the Malabar Rites did not really start with the presentation in 1703 of the *Questions* of François-Marie de Tours to *Propaganda Fide* (42). A discussion occurred in a Particular Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* held in Rome between 17 and 22 December 1702 can be considered the moment in which the Holy See started to consider again, after the controversy on Roberto Nobili had been solved by Gregory XV in 1623 with the Brief *Romanæ Sedis Antistes*, the complaints moved against the way the Society of Jesus undertook its missionary endeavour in South India (43). Cardinals Carlo Barberini (Prefect), Gasparo Carpegna, Fabrizio Spada, Leandro Colloredo, Benedetto Pamphilj, Giuseppe Sacripante, Fabrizio Paolucci and Giuseppe

(41) See for instance C. ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, *Politics and Reform in Spain and Viceregal Mexico: The Life and Thought of Juan De Palafox, 1600-1659*, Oxford-New York, Clarendon Press-Oxford University Press, 2004 (1st ed. 2000); A. R. GARCIA, *St. Palafox: Methaphorical Images of Disputed Sainthood*, ch. 10 of *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, edited by A. Greer, J. Bilinkoff, New York, Routledge, 2003, pp. 193-207.

(42) Fr. de Tours' memorandum has lately been presented once again as the start of the Malabar Rites controversy in the paper *Inquisizione romana e riti malabarici: una controversia* read by Sabina Pavone at the International Conference *A dieci anni dall'apertura dell'archivio della Congregazione per la dottrina della fede: storia e archivi dell'inquisizione*, held in Rome (Accademia dei Lincei, Biblioteca del Senato and Biblioteca Casanatense) on 21-23 February 2008. De Tours' memorandum is definitely the public start of the controversy, but in the years immediately before 1703 the conflict between some missionaries of Propaganda Fide and the Jesuits working in Madurai, Mysore and «Carnate» had already taken a clear shape that can be understood by considering the relevant documents kept in APF.

(43) APF, *Acta CP 2 (1701-1717)*, f. 31. During our ongoing researches on the Malabar Rites controversy it has not been possible to find other denunciations of the Jesuit accommodation in India dating between the *Romanæ Sedis Antistes* and the letters of Della Valle and Placente.

Renato Imperiali were informed about the files sent from two Italian missionaries working in the Tamil country, Fr. Guglielmo Della Valle, a Theatine settled in Madras (Madrasspatan), and the secular priest Fr. Ignazio Placente. Both Della Valle and Placente were primarily concerned with the activities of the Jesuit missionaries, mainly of the French nation, that in their view had created turmoil in the Eastern Indies Christianity. According to them, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus claimed in fact an exclusive jurisdiction on the Indian neophytes and consistently impeded with prepotence missionaries of other orders, as well secular priests, from entering that field, even though there was a great need of more workers for such a big harvest of souls. Furthermore, Guglielmo Della Valle and Ignazio Placente «blamed the same Fathers because they did not follow the pure Catholic Rite, but practised many superstitious and idolatric rites and ceremonies» (44). Moreover, according to the two Italian missionaries, the Jesuits did not observe the Bulls and authority of the Pope, being presented as less involved in missionary activities than what amounted to a shameful trade. It should be noted, however, that this complaint did not apply to the Jesuit missionaries posted on the Fishery Coast, who were engaged in a restless apostolate for the salvation of the souls. As a solution to these problems Della Valle and Placente suggested that the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* send an Apostolic Visitor in the East Indies. The two Italian priests wrote that this very message was conveyed in greater detail by their compatriot Fr. Giovanni Appiani, another Apostolic Missionary, who was already on his way to Rome (45).

In fact the initiative of Fr. Ignazio Placente can be interpreted in the light of a letter that he sent from Pondichéry on 20 January 1702 to the Prefect of *Propaganda Fide* (46). In it Placente beseeched the protection of the Cardinal

(44) «Si dolgono ancora de' medesimi PP. perché non osservano il puro Rito Cattolico, ma praticano molte ceremonie, e Riti superstiziosi, e idolatri»: *ibidem*.

(45) Appiani, in a letter written in Paris on 20 August 1702, stated that he had been appointed by an assembly of Apostolic Missionaries in order to communicate to Rome correct news on the condition of the Mughal mission (including even regions beyond the actual reach of the Mughal Empire). The Theatine Fathers of Goa had bestowed on him a similar charge and his departure had been approved by his direct superior, the Titular Archbishop of Ancyra Mons. Ferdinando Palma (called Pietro Paolo da San Francesco, when he was Carmelite), and encouraged by the Apostolic Vicar in Malabar and Titular Bishop of Metellopolis, Angelo Francesco di Santa Teresa (another Carmelite). By 23 July 1702 Appiani had reached the harbour of Port-Louis on a French ship and on 14 August he was in Paris, planning to reach Rome within a month. APF, SRC, *Indie Orientali e Cina* 8, f. 267.

(46) APF, SRC, *Indie Orientali e Cina* 8, ff. 120r-v.

Barberini on the basis of a connection that his uncle, Don Benedetto Gerace («Hyerace»), born in the homonymous Calabrian town of Gerace, had with the late Cardinals Antonio and Francesco Barberini Sr. Under their patronage, Gerace had been appointed Bishop of Lipari (1650- 1660) (47); he had eventually died in Rome. Ignazio Placente was therefore writing to Card. Francesco Barberini Jr. as the nephew of a man who had been greatly favoured by the Barberini family. Placente requested the Cardinal to appoint him officially as an Apostolic Missionary to the East Indies, the region where he was already settled (48). The accusations moved against the Jesuits by Ignazio Placente could therefore be linked to his aspirations to achieve the status of Apostolic Missionary, an ecclesiastic condition which in concrete terms meant a substantial financial endowment (49). By showing his concern for both the spread and the conservation of the pure Catholic faith in the missions of the East, Placente could therefore have been pleading his own case and interests by the means of showing his usefulness to *Propaganda Fide*.

On 15 January 1702, just 5 days before his letter asking Card. Barberini for the grace to be elevated to the status of Apostolic Missionary, Ignazio Placente had written a long letter containing a detailed charge against the way the Jesuits were proceeding in their mission in the Tamil region (50). More precisely, Placente's polemical target were the French Jesuits working on the Coromandel Coast (*Costa di Ciurmandella*). They were, he argued, establishing new rites and ecclesiastic ceremonies, both in marriages and in the interment of the dead and in the order of processions, confusing and mixing up everything with the rites of the Gentiles, to the extent that – for the sake of

(47) P. GAUCHAT, *A pontificatu Clementis PP. VIII*, cit., p. 222.

(48) In the year 1701 he had been welcomed in the Kingdom of Bengala by Fr. Nicolò Pio Pascoli on behalf of the Bishop of Ancyra. Pascoli had sent Placente to Surat in order to let him swear the oath of allegiance to the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*, required to become an Apostolic Missionary. Placente writes however that, probably as a consequence of his many sins, he only reached Surat when Mons. Palma was already dead. For this reason he had dared to disturb Card. Francesco Barberini Jr.

(49) An idea of the financial expenses that *Propaganda Fide* had to bear in the XVIII Century in order to support its missionaries is given in J. METZLER, *Die Kongregation in Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Struktur, Missionspläne und Maßnahmen allgemeiner Art (1700- 1795)*, in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum: 350 anni a servizio delle missioni*, ed. by J. Metzler, Rom-Freiburg-Wien, Herder, 1973, II, specifically pp. 64-72.

(50) APF, SOCP 22, ff. 360-362v. The fact that the two letters had been written at distance of 5 days only can be easily understood considering that both messages would have been sent on the same ship.

decency – it was impossible to explain everything, but the mere order of the ceremonies they performed. Even more precisely, the victims of the Jesuits were the Indian Christians of the city of Pondichéry, where these Fathers held the office of parish priests for the Tamil people (*gente Malaver*) (51); these Christians were the very ones amongst whom the Jesuits used to perform their shameful ceremonies, of which Placente could not describe the whole, but only the most curious (*non li descrivo totalment' il tutto, m' il più curioso*). Placente dealt with superstitions followed by the Christian converts (mainly during marriages and funerals) rather than with the rituals of the pagans.

The perfect correspondence of the data referred by Placente with two illustrations drawn by another Apostolic Missionary, Giovanni Battista de Maij, is surprising. The latter was a member of the party accompanying Carlo Tomaso Maillard de Tournon; on 26 June 1704, just a few days before their departure to the Philippines, he wrote from Pondichéry to a cardinal in Rome (probably Carlo Barberini) (52). De Maij sent a brief account on the religion of the Indian pagans (focused mainly on the *trimurti*), on their ceremonies and their government. He claimed that his source was a manuscript written by a Jesuit missionary. In fact the visual illustrations of the pagan burials and weddings (53) that de Maij attached to his letter corresponded in detail to what Placente had been writing two years before in order to describe the ceremonies not of the pagans, but of the paganizing Christians under the direction of the Jesuits. Furthermore, the same rituals were denounced in a third source, of a very different nature, namely the part IV of the *Storia del Mogol* of Nicolao Manucci (54),

(51) Malabar is properly the historical name of the region today called Kerala. In the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries the Tamil region was part of the Jesuit Province of Malabar. Moreover «the Portuguese [...] sailing from Malabar on voyages of exploration [...] made their acquaintance with various places on the eastern or Coromandel Coast [...] and finding the language spoken by the fishing and sea-faring classes on the eastern coast similar to that spoken on the western, they came to the conclusion that it was identical with it, and called it in consequence by the same name - viz. Malabar [...] A circumstance which naturally confirmed the Portuguese in their notion of the identity of the people and language of Coromandel Coast with those of Malabar was that when they arrived at Cael, in Tinnevely, on the Coromandel Coast [...] they found the King of Quilon (one of the most important places on the Malabar Coast) residing there». R. CALDWELL, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, London, Trübner, 1875², pp. 10-12, quot. in HJ 541.

(52) ASV, Fondo Albani 228, ff. 168-183v.

(53) ASV, Fondo Albani 228, ff. 182v, *Esequie, ò sia Processione che li Gentili fanno nel tempo delle loro esequie*; f. 183, *Processione fatta dalli Gentili nel tempo di Matrimonio*.

(54) *Storia do Mogor*, cit., III, pp. 1-71.

that reached Lorenzo Tiepolo, the Venetian Ambassador in Paris, by January 1706 (55). The description that Placente drafted in 1702, either based or not on Jesuit sources as claimed by Giovanni Battista de Maij, was going to provide a sort of compact set of knowledge on the idolatry, real or just assumed, into which the Tamil Christians had fallen as a consequence of being misled by their Jesuit missionaries. The accusation became standardized and its circulation much easier, so that a commonly shared view on the Indian superstition could take shape and compete in Europe as an authoritative interpretation of the Jesuit missions in the Tamil country. One of the most interesting tasks in a study on the controversy on the Malabar Rites is therefore the reconstruction of the local missionary context within which a standardized interpretation of paganism and of accommodated Christianity, often represented as one and the same, eventually emerged. The pictures that we have mentioned, similar to many others concerning the Chinese Rites (56), represent in a very icastic way the glocal transmission by which forms of ethnographic knowledge, drafted in terms of accusations, were standardized and made available for lobbying at the other end of the world, in the Roman curia.

4. Conclusions: Glocal networks

The two cases of Ephrem de Nevers and the first charges against the Malabar Rites have been considered here as examples that might support a glocal paradigm within the history of missions. The glocal dimension is a synthesis that tries to highlight the global dimension without losing the local one. The hope is clearly to avoid the eurocentrism into which we would fall if we were to pay attention only to movements of European missionaries around the globe, to the flow of information from the periphery to the centre and consequently the transmission of orders and instructions along the reverse direction. Rather, the model that we have presented here is instead based on the assumption that, within the narrow margins of the early modern colonial set-

(55) N. MANUCCI, *Storia Del Mogol*, (partial edition), ed. by P. Falchetta, Milano, Franco Maria Ricci, 1986, I, p. 35.

(56) The model can be found even in representations of a much later period and concerning Asian regions other than India and China, as for instance Cochinchina. See APF, SOCP 75 (1822- 1833), f. 383: *Breve idea del modo, ed ordine, onde con cerimonia sacro-pagana si celebrano in Cocincina i funerali, e si portano i cadaveri a seppellir nel Cimitero da' Cristiani*.

lements in South India, local dynamics took place that would eventually exert considerable effects on a global scale and at a great distance.

A globalized interpretation of missionary history might lead to a greater convergence with fields of research like economic history, where the concept has been initially tested. Such a possibility should not be considered as a loss of the peculiar specificity of missions, but as the recognition of what the sources betray, even though historians have difficulties in understanding them. An example can illustrate this point. In *Storia del Mogol*, Manucci defends the Capuchin Fr. Michel Ange de Tours, parish priest in Madras, claiming that he was punished unjustly by the Patriarch of Antioch (57). In fact the crux of the controversy was that Fr. Michel Ange had been entrusted a considerable amount of money by an Armenian Dominican priest named Fr. Dominic, who had passed away in Madras on 24 November 1703; this money had been gathered among the Armenian communities in the East and was meant for the support of the Dominican Province of Greater Armenia or Naxivan (58). The Abbé Francesco Giacinto Biandrate di San Giorgio, Apostolic Commissioner sent from Patriarch de Tournon to Madras, had requested Fr. Michel Ange to hand the money over as it was to be transferred to the Apostolic Camera of the Holy See.

This incident triggered an extremely complex conflict. The interesting point is that Manucci claims that Biandrate di San Giorgio wanted the money of the Armenian Dominican in order to establish the capital for an Italian trading company. The Abbé hoped that Manucci might help in obtaining a *firman* (royal decree) from the emperor Aurangzeb to concede the new Italian company freedom of trade within the Mughal empire. The Venetian declined

(57) *Storia do Mogor*, cit., IV, pp. 1-55, 99-105.

(58) The name of the region is also spelt as Nakhitchevan, Naxijewan and Naxčevan. It was a part of Armenia where Catholics exerted a special influence. Since the Fourteenth century the pastoral care was entrusted to the *Fratres Unitores*, the Armenian branch of the *Fratres Peregrinantes*, the missionaries of the Dominican Order. B. L. ZEKTYAN, *La formazione e gli sviluppi tra gli armeni di correnti ecclesiali simpatizzanti per la comunione romana. Spunti per una rilettura delle dinamiche storiche*, in *EYKOΣMIA. Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.*, a cura di V. Ruggeri e L. Pieralli, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2003, p. 649. On the general history of the *Fratres Unitores*, see F. TOURNEBIZE, *Les Frères Unitaires ou les Dominicains Arméniens (1330-1794)*, in «Revue de l'Orient Chrétien», XXII (1921-1922), pp. 145-161, 249-279; M. A. VAN DEN OUDENDRIJN O.P., *Unitaires et Dominicains d'Arménie*, in «Oriens Christianus», XL (1956), pp. 94-112; XLII (1958), pp. 110-133; XLIII (1959), pp. 110-119; XLV (1961), pp. 95-108; XLVI (1962), pp. 99-116. Fr. Dominic came from the convent of All Saints at «Baranein», sent by the Provincial Fr. «Stefano Surata». Letter of the Capuchin Father «Lorenzo D'Angoulesme» (Laurent d'Angoulême), without date. APF, SC, *Indie Orientali e Cina* 8, f. 7.

the proposal on account of his old age and by claiming that at that time he no longer had a close relationship with the imperial court (59). According to Manucci, Biandrate di San Giorgio did not just need a contact with the Mughal court but also believed it was necessary to strengthen the presence of Italian missionaries on the Coromandel coast. This goal would be achieved by pushing the Capuchins out of Madras and the parish priest Fr. Paulo de Sá out of Cuddalore. They would be replaced by Italian missionaries sent by Propaganda fide, who would provide a support for the new Italian Company of the East Indies: they would «prepare the bed» and make everything ready for the officers and directors of the Company to come to the Indian coast. Moreover, the Italian missionaries would serve as intelligence agents, providing the Company with all the information necessary to ensure that profits would parallel the endeavour put into the whole trading enterprise (60).

(59) *Storia do Mogor*, cit., IV, pp. 4-6, 8. The original Portuguese text describes in the following terms the intention of establishing an Italian trading company: «He de saber em primeiro lugar (pois he certo) que o S[enh]or Abbade Fran[cis].^{co} de São George, logo q[ue] chegou a Madrasta, deo à entender por seus modos, q[ue] a sua primeira e principal intenção (exceptuando sua vizita) foi a buscår meyoys pera negociar na Costa de Chormandel, dos lugares, em q[ue] fundar hu[m]a Companhia nova de alguns mercadores Italianos que pretendião navegår nos mares da India, & contratar nàs terras do Mogol. O primeiro passo que deo sobre esto desenho foi sigürar huma pessoa capaz, e de consideração que pudeçe solicitar na corte esta diligência, elalcançar do Rey hum firmã; com olqual püdeçe livre mente alnova e Italiana companhia tratar, e contratar neste seu tão admiravel comò dilatado emperjo, principal m[ent].^e em Golconda, aonde ha minos de preçozos diamantes, ou os conduzem allj os mercadores com facilidade por ser mais proximo a Ellas.

Pera o q[ue] selvaleo delm? por falar allingoa perçiana, e Industana com perfeição elter grande entrada com os Mouros, elmuita experiencia delles; olqual por velho elpor ter delprezente pouco trato nalCorte do Rey melescuzey. Comlolq[ue] se recorro, olS[enh].^{or} Abbade aloutras certas pessoas, mas como estes negocios não correm senão muito devagar; elnem selpodem acabar senão alpoder deldinheiro oltempo alquem por agora me remetto mostrara o suçeço deste primeiro avante, que athe olprezente senão sabe». BNMV, It. Z. 44 (=8299), pp. 165-166 (original paging of a section entitled *Relação dolque passou em Madrasta patão da chegada do Ill[ustriss].^{mo} elReverendissimo S[enh].^{or} Carlòs Thomas de Tournon Patriarcha de Antiochia elvizador apostolico de China com poder de legado a latere & a the alsua partida deste costa de Choromandel pera as Ilbas de Philipinas*), with English translation in *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 5-6.

(60) «..em segundo lugar pareço essential ao S[enho]r Abbade para dar hum felis principio alseu projeto; foi lançar fora de Madrasta os Capuchinhos, elde Codolur ao R.^{do} P.^e Paulo de Saã que administra ambas as Igrejas de ally, como Parocho que he dellas, e colocar em lugar destes outros Padres Italianos que pudeçem delpouco alpouco mançam[en].^{te} e sem estrôdo dispor todas, ou asmais da couzas que foçem necessarias para olnegocio; delmaneira que chegando os S[enhor].^{es} ministros eldirectores da nova companhia achacem alcama feita, eltudo leste [=lesto?] elaperelhado pera poder comecar logo seus contratos; e com alassistencia dos

At first sight Manucci's reconstruction of the projects envisaged by Biandrate di San Giorgio might appear somewhat fanciful; on the contrary, the Venetian's interpretation is confirmed by archival evidence that shows how relevant the connection was between evangelization and early modern European colonial trade in Asia. Fr. Giovanni Appiani, whom we have already mentioned in relation with Fr. Guglielmo della Valle and Fr. Ignazio Placente's denunciations of the Malabar Rites, wrote on 20 February 1701 to Cardinal Francesco Barberini (a member of the congregation of *Propaganda fide*) confirming exactly what Manucci claimed. Appiani had been sent to India in order to find a solution to the conflicts among missionaries that were making it impossible to assert the pre-eminence of *Propaganda fide*. Different nationalities, customs, doctrine, institutional bodies and principles created great confusion and could be overcome only when the authority of *Propaganda fide* had been acknowledged by all missionaries. To achieve this, *Propaganda fide* deemed it necessary to have as many Italian missionaries as possible in the eastern countries, basing their policy on the assumption that Italian missionaries were naturally devout and obedient to the Congregation whereas missionaries of other nationalities more easily resorted to the authority of their sovereigns in order to avoid obedience to the Roman missionary secretariat. It was decided to invite «well regulated» religious priests from seminaries in Rome, Bologna or Genua or any other expedient Italian cities to the mission in the Indies. Appiani was appointed by *Propaganda fide* to find candidates for the eastern missions but *Propaganda fide* and also entrusted with a second more difficult task. The cardinals of the Congregation had observed that «all» European nations had settlements, fortresses and cities on the coast and ports of the Mughal empire, in a position that allowed them to trade with Europe, Africa and all the Asian kingdoms; Appiani was asked to solicit some of the wealthiest Italian merchants to form a company that would sail to and trade in the Mughal Empire, using the information that he would be able to provide them. The establishment of the Italian trading company would put an end to the quarrels amongst missionaries as *Propaganda fide* would be able to appoint its own representatives in all the colonies of the Italian company and therefore assert its authority. The headquarters of the company and the residence of its General Directors

P.^{es} Italianos nos lugares referidos lhes não faltariao avizos e noticias deltodo para mayor assesto; pois sendo assi disposto se podia esperar mediante al bom governo que he serto olavião de ter no negocio logro equivalente ao trabalho». BNMV, It. Z. 44 (=8299), p. 166, with English translation in *Storia do Mogor*, cit., I, pp. 6-7.

would be in Rome; the company would also have a commercial port in the Papal States. It was hoped that such a close connection with the Holy See would prevent the possible problems that could derive from having the company associated with another Italian state. If the Italian trading company to the East Indies could not be established, then a possible solution to the missionary quarrels in India might be the appointment of an Apostolic Nuncio to Goa, in order to counteract the pretensions of the Portuguese *Padroado* with a direct representative of the Holy See. Finally, Appiani should propose any other suggestions that could help to increase the diffusion of the Catholic faith and defend the authority of *Propaganda fide* against the frequent attacks it suffered (61).

(61) «4°. la diversità delle nazioni, de costumi, della dottrina, de corpi, e delle massime, generando, e nodrendo tutti i scompigli che vi sono tra i missionari, si osservava che mai si vedrebbe il fine di tanta miserie, sinche l'autorità della Sacra Congregatione, venendo da tutti li missionari di qualunque corpo riconosciuta, non termini le differenze, con ridurre in se medesima tutta la disposizione delle missioni, facendo in maniera che ad essa medesima si apelli nelle cause ecclesiastiche che toccano li missionari e ad essa medesima si facci ricorso ne dubbi che occorrono per ottenere la decisione; il che non può facilmente riuscire sin che non vi siano in questi paesi molti operari Evangelici di nazione Italiana, per mezzo de quali si possino mandare li ordini, e ricevere le giuste notizie, come quelli che sono naturalmente divoti della S. Congregatione che non avrà con li medesimi tante misure da prendere, come è obbligata con quelli di diverse nazioni, che si prevalgono dell'autorità de loro Principi naturali per palliare la loro o poca ubbidienza, o aversione contro la Sacra Congregatione, di cui soffrono mal volontieri l'autorità.

5°. Perché questo mezzo potesse più facilmente porsi in esecuzione si considerava esser necessario d'eccitare i corpi di Religiosi ben regolati in Italia a mandar soggetti, e suscitare seminari di Preti Secolari in Roma, Bologna, Genova o altra città d'Italia opportuna per quest'impresa, che mandassero parimente soggetti a queste missioni sotto la direzione ed ordini della S. Congregatione; e che avrebbe molto giovato a questo fine l'andata di una persona informata del sistema di questi Paesi, perché potesse dare i lumi necessari per prendere le più giuste misure.

6°. Vedendo che tutte le nazioni dell'Europa sono in più e più luoghi stabilite con colonie numerose, fortezze e città, alle coste e porti di questo vasto Impero, che è opportunamente a portata di corrispondere, far traffico e commercio coll'Europa, Affrica, e tutti li Regni dell'Asia, si giudicò espediente d'incaricare la medesima persona, che si mandava di sollecitare alcuni de più ricchi mercanti d'Italia ad unire una Compagnia che mandasse anche vascelli a quest'Impero, il che non sarebbe stato molto difficile ad ottenersi, quando si avessero le giuste notizie delle disposizioni che vi sono, che la medesima Persona avrebbe suggerite.

7° Con questo mezzo si sarebbe posto fine alle discordie tra i missionari venendo l'autorità della Santa Sede a gettare solidi fondamenti in questi Regni coll'assistenza de suoi ministri nelle colonie della nazione Italiana.

8° Si doveva avvertire di procurare che li Direttori Generali di questa Compagnia risiedessero in Roma, ed avessero un Porto per il commercio ne' Stati della Chiesa, per evitare i scompigli che col tempo potrebbero nascere, venendo stabilita in altro Stato.

No trading company under the auspices of *Propaganda fide* was ever established, but the very fact that it had been discussed and examined is noteworthy (62). It shows a global economic venture, such as an Italian trading company, being considered a possible solution to a local missionary problem, here the contested pre-eminence of *Propaganda fide* on the Coromandel coast. Moreover, in order to find the start-up capital for a company that had been envisaged primarily by the Holy See, an attempt was made to seize the money that Fr. Dominic had been able to gather among the Armenian merchants of the East and out of which he already hoped might derive income from a global network to be used on a more specific local cause. Manucci states that the alms amount to 5000 *pagodas* (63); the Capuchin Fr. Laurent d'Angoulême translated it into Roman terms, giving a figure of 10,000 *scudi*, also specifying that Fr. Dominic had invested this in ships involved in wholesale trade between Madras and Bengal, gaining 20% interest. When Fr. Dominic fell ill, he appointed three attorneys to execute his testament, namely Fr. Michel Ange de Bourges, Superior of the Madras mission, and two Portuguese men. He asked Masses to be celebrated and alms to be given for the salvation of his soul, but most importantly gave instructions on how the capital he had gathered among the Armenian merchants of the East should be sent to his Province of Naxivan. We might imagine that the obvious way to do this was to send exchange bills directly from Madras to Persia. Fr. Dominic, though, instructed that the money be handed over to Armenian merchants for them to take to Bengal and onto Ispahan, from where the money was to be transferred to Venice and deposited in a bank, the interest it gained being used as a periodical income for his poverty-stricken convent in Greater Armenia (64). At

9° Supposto che questa Compagnia non potesse stabilirsi, l'autorità della Santa Sede avrebbe potuto prender radice in queste parti, per l'assistenza d'un Nunzio apostolico in Goa.
10° La persona che mandava doveva suggerire molt'altri spediendi particolari che servirebbero grandemente all'aumento della nostra S[an]ta Fede, ed allo stabilimento dell'autorità troppo vilipesa della S.[acra] Congregatione». APF, SRC, *Indie Orientali e Cina* 8, ff. 62r-v.

(62) The failed project of a *Propaganda fide* East India company can be compared with the project for a Luso-Italian East India Company that was envisaged in the years 1665-1685 and is currently studied in Portugal by the young Italian historian Antonella Viola.

(63) BNMV, It. Z. 44 (=8299), p. 165, with English translation in *Storia do Mogor*, cit., I, p. 4. In 1700 a pagoda was equal to 12 English shillings. S. MENTZ, *The English Gentleman Merchant at Work: Madras and the City of London 1660-1740*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, 2005, p. 147.

(64) «...havendo dato buona parte di questo denaro alla Grossa, à vinti per cento sopra i vascelli che trafficano da Madras à Bengala, et essendosi in questo punto ammalato nell'ospitio nostro di Madras, e vedendosi morire, chiamò un Cristiano del Paese per aiutare i suoi

the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, the poverty of a Dominican convent in a remote Caucasian region could be tackled by the use of a global trading network that, passing through Madras, extended its reach from the Far East to Venice.

If in Madras Fr. Dominic considered this network the most expedient tool to solve the problems of his confreres in Naxivan, in Rome the same network was discovered to be a possible solution to the financial precariousness of the missionaries of Propaganda Fide in the East. On 15 February 1701 Lorenzo Casone, Papal Nuncio to Naples, wrote a letter to Card. Carlo Barberini (65). Casone had been asked by the latter to look in Naples for merchants who had correspondents in Ispahan or in other places in Persia. His efforts had been vain and he was very sorry about it as he was aware that, by finding merchants whose network extended up to that region, it would have been possible to pay the salaries to the missionaries who were toiling there «in the Lord's vineyard». Nevertheless, a merchant had informed him that in Venice and Leghorn it was possible to find Armenian merchants who could help *Propaganda Fide* in ensuring the payment of its missionaries. These were the Armenians of New Julfa, today a suburb of Ispahan, who had developed a commercial network spread out all over Asia with a major hub in India (66). It is not surprising that during his stay in Rome François-Marie de Tours took care not only to denounce the

Interessi, nominò per esecutori della Sua ultima volontà 1° il P.re Michelangelo di Bourges superiore della Missione di Madras. 2° il S. Franc[esc]o Cardozza di Mancedo 3° Gabriele del Rosario. Questi due Portughesi, tutti e tre congregati, doppoi morì alli 24 novembre 1703. Il detto P[ad]re ordinò prima di morire che doppo soddisfatto il bene per l'anima sua, e l'elemosine scritte l'Anno 1703 adi 24 novembre il detto denaro sia consegnato nelle mani dell'Armeni, per esser trasportato à Bengala, di Bengala à Ispahan Capitale della Persia, e di la à Venezia, per esser messo nel banco, e mandare il frutto al detto Convento di tutti S[an]ti». APF, SC, *Indie Orientali e Cina* 8, ff. 7rv.

(65) «Havendo io fatte, in esecuzione del comandamento di V. E. esattissime diligenze in questa città per trovare negotianti, ò altre persone, che havessero corrispondenza in Aspaam, ò in alcuni luoghi del Regno della Persia, mi sono riuscite, non senza mio grandissimo dispiacere, infruttuose per veder differito il sussidio a quei poveri ministri, che lavorano nella vigna del Signore, mi ha però uno de medesimi negotianti soggiunto, che facendosi le pratiche in Venetia, et in Livorno, dove non mancano mercanti Armeni, sarebbe facile, che qualcheduno di essi si prendesse il pensiero di servire cotesta Sacra Congregatione nel modo significatomi da V. E.». APF, SRC, *Indie Orientali e Cina* 8, f. 57.

(66) I. BAGHDIAANTZ MCCABE, *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: the Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530-1750)*, Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1999; S. ASLANIAN, «The Salt in a Merchant's Letter»: *The Culture of Julfan Correspondence in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean*, in «Journal of World History», XIX (2008), pp. 127-188.

Malabar Rites, but also to request *Propaganda fide* to endow him with Armenian books for the mission of Madras (67).

The origin of the Malabar Rites controversy, the project of an Italian company of the East Indies under the patronage of *Propaganda fide* and the conflict over the legacy of the Armenian Fr. Dominic have a common character. On the one hand they appear as social interactions set in a precise local context, the early Eighteenth-century Coromandel coast; on the other hand, they are active parts of processes that act well beyond the narrow limits of those «missionary tropics». Local interactions so globally interconnected and global processes so highly localized really suggest that a glocal paradigm might help us.

PAOLO ARANHA

At the beginning of the Eighteenth century the Holy See was called to solve the controversy on the Malabar Rites. The Jesuits that were working in the missions of Madurai, Mysore and «Carnate» were blamed for their tolerance of pagan practices and caste discriminations against the pariahs. This article proposes a category of «glocal», synthesis of «global» and «local», as a tool to interpret the conflict over the Malabar Rites beyond a narrow Romanocentric perspective. The Jesuit accommodatio appears therefore as a particular case of a more general trend towards adaptation shared by all the Catholic missionaries operating in South India. The article shows then that the denunciation made by the Capuchin François-Marie de Tours, considered until now as the very origin of a theological conflict on global scale, was in fact just an expression of an anti-Jesuitic front developed along the Coromandel coast and that included also the Venetian traveler Nicolao Manucci or the obscure Calabrian missionary Ignazio Placente. Finally, the article shows how the category of «glocal» may be useful not only to interpret the origin of the Malabar Rites controversy but also to contextualize the project, never accomplished, of an Italian East India Company to be established under the aegis of the congregation of Propaganda Fide.

(67) APF, SC, *Indie Orientali e Cina* 8, ff. 725-726.

CRITIQUE DE LA GLOBALISATION ET HISTOIRE DES MISSIONS D'ÉVANGÉLISATION TROIS PROPOSITIONS (1)

I. L'avenir d'un «désenclavement»

Les années récentes ont été largement dominées, dans le domaine de l'histoire des missions d'évangélisation, par la Compagnie de Jésus (2). Le trait le plus remarquable de cette historiographie a été, dans ce domaine comme dans d'autres, de propulser l'histoire de l'institution jésuite dans une série de champs – politique, scientifique, artistique, etc. – qui ont progressivement constitué l'histoire de cette institution comme un observatoire privilégié pour la compréhension des grandes évolutions du monde moderne, du point de vue de la perception du monde, du monde social, du monde des créations humaines, de l'articulation entre les discours de ces différents mondes, philosophique, théologique, etc. Cette dynamique centrifuge, extrêmement féconde, a parallèlement mis en évidence les conditions en fonction desquelles la Compagnie de Jésus pouvait être un pareil observatoire, et le chemin a été parcouru, des sources documentaires par lesquelles ces conditions étaient réunies jusqu'aux conditions de la production des sources, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à l'exceptionnalité historique et non pas seulement historiographique, de cet ordre religieux spécifique. Nous en sommes là, et ce que l'on appelle familièrement la «jésuitologie» (les plus éminents des jésuitologues se défendant souvent d'en être, précisément parce

(1) Je me permets de renvoyer, pour un panorama plus complet de l'historiographie récente, à P.-A. FABRE, *Missions chrétiennes modernes: notions, terrains, problèmes* dans *Historiographies religieuses croisées*, éd. par C. Duhamelle, Paris, Editions de la MSH, 2009. Voir aussi dans la production critique récente, en particulier pour le domaine latino-américain, J. VALENZUELA, *El culto a las imágenes en la cristianización del Perú: herencias, ambigüedades y resignificaciones*, in «Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo», (2008). Je suis enfin et surtout reconnaissant aux contributions du dossier réuni ici, auxquelles les réflexions qui suivent s'efforcent de faire écho.

(2) Antonella Romano et moi-même avons tenté, il y a tout juste dix ans, un premier bilan de cette historiographie, in *Les jésuites dans le monde moderne*, «Revue de Synthèse», CXX (1999).