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978-0-521-88744-1 - Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions

Luke Clossey

Excerpt

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1 Introduction

“Oh, how I sigh, Benito! The missions are not how they paint them to be. . . .”

— Pedro José Cuervo to Benito González Patiño (1766)¹

Every respectable account of early-modern history spotlights the global range of the missionary orders, especially of the Jesuits, who “preached and argued, taught and counselled everywhere from Prague to Paraguay to Peking.”² In speed and extent this expansion of Catholicism dwarfed even the explosion of Islam out to Iberia and Transoxania in the century after the death of Muhammad. The Catholic Church was the preeminent international institution of the era, as even contemporaries recognized. One French cynic quipped that the Swedish Queen Christina had converted to Catholicism – under Jesuit influence – only because of that faith’s convenience for travellers.³ Thomas Macaulay later explained why international Catholicism enjoyed strategic advantages over the national churches of Protestantism: “If a Jesuit was wanted at Lima, he was on the Atlantic in the next fleet. If he was wanted at Baghdad, he was toiling through the desert with the next caravan.” In contrast, Macaulay held that “the Spiritual force of Protestantism was a mere local militia, which might be useful in case of an invasion, but could not be sent abroad, and could therefore make no conquests.”⁴ The Jesuits enjoyed what might be

¹ P. Pedro José Cuervo, Nonoava, to P. Benito González Patiño, September 25, 1766, quoted in Bernd Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa im kolonialen Mexiko: Eine Bio-Bibliographie*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen und Iberoamerikanischen Länder 2 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1995), 69.

² Eugene J. Rice, Jr. and Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460–1559*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1994), 172.

³ J. S. Cummins, *A Question of Rites: Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China* (Hants: Scolar Press, 1993), 26.

⁴ Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II* (London: Macmillan, 1913–15), II.713–14; idem, “Ranke’s History of the Popes,” in *Reviews, Essays, and Poems* (London: Ward, Lock, 1890), 560.

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called a system of “compensation” whereby when one mission failed, its missionaries could be transferred to another.

Drawing from world history and from the history of the Catholic Reformation, two histories too rarely associated with each other, this book seeks to describe the reality of this global mission. An equally striking phenomenon, dependent upon but not equivalent to this geographical expansion of the church, was the birth of a sense of global perspective in religion. This introductory chapter outlines how this project approaches the theory of the early Jesuits’ global mission, as well as its practice in, around, and between the German lands, New Spain (colonial Mexico), and China.

Historians’ Missions

Calls for a world history of Christianity have been, and are being, answered. Recent issues of *Church History* reviewed monographs whose subjects range from Haiti to China, from Michoacán to the Kingdom of Kongo. The agreement on the need for a world history of Christianity is almost universal, as is the disagreement on what a world history of Christianity should include.

One approach considers Christian world history to be all of Christian history, minus Europe. The “world” of this world history is the globe with a gaping abyss north of Africa and west of the Urals, perhaps the result of a hypothetical World War I fought with nuclear weapons. In this understanding, missions in Africa are world historical, but missions in England are not. Of course, defining a world history in terms of Europe, even in terms of Europe’s absence, is itself Eurocentric – and is hardly appropriate to the study of a religion historically centred on Europe. A second kind of world history is that which takes place *anywhere* on the planet. Before the moon landing this was comprehensive, and in this view all history becomes world history. An American Historical Association conference panel on “Writing the History of Christianity: Global Issues” included papers which could only be considered global history in that the subject of each occurred somewhere in the world, rather a ways off from all the others. Here we see a Christian history, the nominal unity of which derives from geographical disunity. Scholarship of both these varieties has begun to fill gaps in our understanding, but merely transplants old historical approaches to unfamiliar locales.

A third kind of world history is that which takes place *everywhere* in the world, which trespasses across national and regional boundaries to consider subjects of extended geographical scope. This trend toward global histories has coexisted in recent years, often in the same fields of study,

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with a flourishing interest in local religious issues, inspired in large part by William Christian's study of sixteenth-century Spain (1981).⁵ Global and local approaches offer alternatives to national history, but they also share a more subtle affinity, for scholarship that is considered world historical for its attention to a less-studied geographical area typically restricts the area under study to maintain a local focus. The most expressly world historical studies thus emphasize their subjects' particularity and uniqueness, and so become also the most local studies. Even the ambitious scholarship that encompasses a variety of regions only imperfectly traces out connections among places. Recent projects such as the *World History of Christianity* promise a global view, but again largely consider Christianity as a world-historical phenomenon in discrete chapters for discrete regions. Few pursue world Christianity as a single entity, focussing on its unity rather than on its regional particularities.

Nowhere is this remarkable relation between "world" and "local" Christianity clearer than in mission history. Naturally, a broad geographical range has never been foreign to the history of missions, and few missionaries have pioneered a path into the wilds without later being hounded by an intrepid historian. An impressive scholarship will soon cover every place in the global range of early-modern Catholic proselytizing activity.

These works typically fail to take the early-modern Catholic mission seriously as a macrohistorical phenomenon, that is, as a single world-spanning enterprise. Most historians have treated the Jesuit project as a disjointed collection of homomorphic regional missions directed and supported from centres of power in Rome, Madrid, and Lisbon. China, with an early-seventeenth-century population some hundred times greater than that of New Spain, hosted only dozens of Jesuits as New Spain counted hundreds. Surely the missions there were very different, but in our histories they receive similar treatment. Stephen Neill's one-volume *History of Christian Missions*, the most complete in English, takes the reader along on "our imaginary journey" from one mission station to the next, and any actual connections disappear behind this rhetorical strategy.⁶ This same approach appears in the principal multivolume works, K. S. Latourette's *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (1937–45) and S. Delacroix's *Histoire Universelle des Missions Catholiques* [*Universal History of Catholic Missions*] (1956–59).

⁵ William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

⁶ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, Penguin History of the Church 6 (New York: Penguin, 1986), 56. The journey seems to disappear as the book progresses, but the presentation of discrete geographical areas does not.

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Reaching back before the modern study of missiology, we occasionally unearth, amidst the nineteenth century's cloying missionary biographies and trenchant apologetics, other attempts at global mission history. Patrizius Wittmann's *Die Herrlichkeit der Kirche in ihren Missionen* [*The Glory of the Church in Its Missions*] (1841) tries to synthesize the various regional studies available to him. M. R. A. Henrion's *Histoire Générale des Missions Catholiques* [*General History of the Catholic Missions*] (1844) settles for a method more annalistic than analytic.⁷

These "global" mission histories are essentially anthologies of regional mission histories – long the field's great strength. Several venerable works do cover in encyclopaedic detail the Jesuit missions of the three regions of this book, notably B. Duhr's *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge* [*History of the Jesuits in the Lands of the German Tongue*] (1907–28), F. J. Alegre's *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España* [*History of the Province of the Company of Jesus in New Spain*] (1841–2), Zambrano and Casillas's *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México* [*Bio-bibliographical Dictionary of the Company of Jesus in Mexico*] (1961–77), and J. Dehergne's *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* [*Repertoire of the Jesuits in China from 1552 to 1800*] (1974). Since their publication, authors of numerous monographs on various aspects of the missions have built upon these foundations.

Less frequently, scholars have traced connections among these regions. In addition to missionaries' travels,⁸ the exchange of personnel has commanded the most attention, especially the overseas work of central-European missionaries. The modern study of the activities of German Jesuits abroad began with Platzweg (1882) and found mature expression in Huonder (1899). Scholars then focussed on German influence in China, as in the works of Münsterberg (1894), Leidinger (1904), Schneller (1914), and Maas (1933). Later works on the German-China missionary connection turned to specific German cities, namely Würzburg (Willeke 1974; Steininger 1983) and Ingolstadt (Treffer 1989;

⁷ At Robert Streit's suggestion, in 1910 a chair in missiology was established at Münster, to be filled by Joseph Schmidlin. See R. Hoffmann, "Missiology," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), IX.902. For a discussion of such early works see Karl Müller, "Katholische Missionsgeschichtsschreibung seit dem 16. Jahrhundert," in *Einleitung in die Missionsgeschichte: Tradition, Situation und Dynamik des Christentums*, ed. Karl Müller and Werner Ustorf (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995), 28–31.

⁸ See Joseph Sebes, "Jesuit Attempts to Establish an Overland Route to China," *The Canada-Mongolia Review* 5 (1979): 51–67; Theodore Edward Treutlein, "Jesuit Travel to New Spain (1678–1756)," *Mid-America* 19 (1937): 104–23; Sabine Sauer, *Gottes streitbare Diener für Amerika: Missionsresien im Spiegel der ersten Briefe niederländischer Jesuiten (1616–1618)*, *Weltbild und Kulturbegrenzung* 4 (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992).

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Wilczek 1993–4) – or to specific people, such as Leibniz (Widmaier 1990).

Occasionally a work of comparison brings together in the historian's mind geographically disparate regions. Abandoning an earlier plan to look at the movement of personnel, Paolo Broggio (2004) has studied the circulation of missionary strategies between Spain and Spanish South America.⁹ J. S. Cummins (1978, 1993) and Johannes Beckmann (1964) focus on the missionary connections between China and New Spain. Gauvin A. Bailey's wide-ranging *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* mentions in passing a global exchange of images.¹⁰ Dauril Alden's distinguished *The Making of an Enterprise* presents the history of the Jesuit Portuguese Assistancy, including connections within that administrative unit, and because of the geographical range of the Assistancy, these connections encompass exchanges among Portugal, Brazil, littoral Africa, and Asia.¹¹

Apart from Hantzsch (1909) and Stitz (1930), only with World War II did historians shift attention from central Europeans proselytizing in China to their counterparts in America. Sierra (1944) and Blankenburg (1947) followed the Germans, while Odložilík (1945) and Kalista (1947) wrote on the Czechs. The later works signalled a new trend of looking at non-German Jesuits in America. Stretching back to Hoffmann's (1939) study of Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian Jesuits abroad, this undertaking endured throughout the Cold War. Thus Štěpánek (1968) continued researching the Czechs, and Bettray (1976) the Austrians, while Prpić (1971), Ryneš (1971), and González Rodríguez (1970) took up the Bohemian, Croatian, and Flemish sides. Even Jaksch's 1957 study of German missionaries restricts itself to the Sudeten Germans. This continued with Grulich (1981) and Kašpar and Fechtnerová (1988, 1991). Six years after the fall of the Berlin wall, Hausberger's (1995) masterful look at Jesuits from all over central Europe in America reintegrated the Germans into this historiography. Among scholars of Latin America, Treutlein (1945), Rey (1970), and Borges Morán (1977) investigated non-Spanish Jesuits in the Americas, many of whom came from central Europe. In any case, these studies trace only the outlines of a global Christianity. These are essential to writing a macrohistory of the Christian missions, but they do not perform that task.

⁹ Paolo Broggio, *Evangelizzare il mondo: Le missioni della Compagnia di Gesù tra Europa e America (secoli XVI–XVII)* (Rome: Carocci: 2004), 27.

¹⁰ Gauvin A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

¹¹ See J. Correia-Afonso, "Indo-American Contacts through Jesuit Missionaries," *Indica* 14.1 (1977), 34–37.

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This book pairs this global perspective with a willingness to be astonished at the familiar. It explores both the development of the missionaries' global impulses and how their motivations played out on a global stage. Taking up a global perspective allows us to see the existence of a global religion, at the heart of which lies, in the principal argument of this book, the importance of salvific religion and soteriology – the study and technology of salvation.

The Religious Perspective

In recent years mission history, and colonial historiography more broadly, has pursued an increasingly sophisticated understanding of the “other.” This usually has meant non-Europeans, as seen through European eyes, although some daring historians have attempted to reconstruct this history by relying on surviving non-European sources. The history of the “other” is fascinating history, but it is not the complete history. The most alarming disadvantage to this approach is the resulting tendency to see the counterpart of the “other,” that is, the Europeans, in terms of sameness.

The unspoken but widely lurking prejudice of the Europeans as the “same” leads to two fallacies. The first is essentialism, the idea that all Europeans are the same. In fact, even Europeans had attitudes and goals that could vary widely by profession, social status, national origin, and from individual to individual. As we shall see, the bitterness of the fights among missionaries shows that even Europeans with similar backgrounds and similar goals could hold violently different outlooks.

The second fallacy is anachronism. Europeans are the same as we modern historians, who mostly labour under a Eurocentric historiographical perspective. This fallacy is perhaps more misleading than the first. In their search for exotic mental universes, historical anthropologists rush to the “other,” grudgingly making use of the missionaries' sources but deeply uninterested in their mental universes. Still, any historian who has done fieldwork among the early-modern missionaries notices jarringly unfamiliar customs and beliefs. Perhaps most outstanding in this regard is the missionaries' absolutizing fanaticism, a trait largely lacking in modern European religious sentiment. The historian of the missions answers teleological questions dealing with how institutions, and religious attitudes, came to be how they are today, rather than wandering down the dead ends that have died out in the intervening centuries.

Almost a caricature of current concerns about incommensurability, the idea that the meeting of a representative of the “same” and a representative of the “other” necessarily results in cross-cultural dialogue skirts the issue of intention, which is all-important when dealing with

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missionaries. In the pre-modern period neither representative sought an equal exchange of values. The typical missionary intended religious and cultural values to flow in one direction, and the typical quarry had no interest even in that. The truer reaction might even follow T. S. Eliot's cannibal Sweeney, who responds to impending proselytism by playing on the physical and spiritual meanings of "conversion": "I'll convert *you!* / Into a stew! / A nice little, white little, missionary stew!"¹²

Treating missionaries like modern anthropologists and ignoring intention have led many historians to leave salvation and soteriology out of their studies, which results in missionaries who are inexplicably oblivious to the point of Christian mission. In the extreme cases that make clear a more general trend, we encounter atheistic Jesuits risking their lives to travel to the ends of the earth to embrace multiculturalism, to find themselves, or even to be converted. One historian, unsupported by any evidence, explains the religious elements in Jesuit Joseph Neumann's (1648–1732) *Historia seditionum* [*History of Insurrections*] (1730) merely as a method to appease church censors.¹³ Another discovers in Francis Xavier's (1506–52) disapproval of Hinduism proof of the "religious bigotry" of the apostle of the Indies.¹⁴ That "Jesuits stubbornly refused to adopt elements of foreign religion" should surprise no historian of early-modern Christian missions. On the contrary, in these centuries, the exceptions to it should raise eyebrows.¹⁵ As Jonathan Chaves reflects, "How ironic, if we apply anthropological empathy to non-Western religions, only to deny it to Christianity."¹⁶

With empathy and acumen, K. G. Izikowitz has attracted attention by calling religion – specifically, the feast of ancestors – the "driving force in the entire economic and social life" of the Lamet peasants in northern Laos.¹⁷ This is a key change from previous anthropologists'

¹² "Fragment of an Agon" from *Sweeney Agonistes*, in T. S. Eliot, *The Complete Poems and Plays, 1909–1950* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1980), 80.

¹³ Bohumír Roedl, "La Historia de José Neumann sobre la sublevación de los Tarahumaras como fuente historiográfica," trans. Bohumil Zavadil, *Ibero-Americana Pragmensia* 10 (1976): 208. He goes on to admit that the work remains important to Latin American historiography, despite Neumann's religious phraseology.

¹⁴ Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999), 97.

¹⁵ Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 7. Exceptions appear with any frequency in Christian missions only after the debacle of the First World War stripped Europe of its moral superiority. This liberalism found its most famous expression in *Rethinking Missions*, the 1932 Report of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Enquiry, chaired by the philosopher William Ernest Hocking. See Neill, 455–6.

¹⁶ Jonathan Chaves, "Inculturation versus Evangelization: Are Contemporary Values Causing Us to Misinterpret the 16–18th Century Jesuit Missionaries?" *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 22 (2000): 59–60.

¹⁷ Karl Gustav Izikowitz, *Lamet: Hill Peasants in French Indochina* (Göteborg: [Elanders boktr.], 1951), 332–3.

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condescension, considering “religion as a reflection of a somehow more concrete social reality so that ancestors, for example, are mere symbols of prestige.”¹⁸ An explanation of the Jesuits’ global mission must take their religious vision just as seriously.

If we try to follow the Jesuits with a modern sensibility, we come to loggerheads even when working out such basic issues as what constitutes victory and defeat. Occasionally, the records offer perplexing assessments of success, so unfamiliar that they suggest the Jesuits’ real objectives truly were not of this world. In 1701 one Jesuit superior boasted that the Madura mission was “more flourishing than ever. We have had four considerable persecutions this year. One of our missionaries has had his teeth knocked out.”¹⁹

When we step past this problematic understanding of “same” and “other,” we can take up T. O. Beidelman’s proposal for the anthropological research of a subject extraordinary in its banality. Instead of focussing on “alien, exotic societies,” anthropologists should consider the missionaries themselves as worthy “subjects for wonder and analysis.”²⁰ The Jesuits, too, were anthropologists, secondarily in something like the modern sense, but fundamentally in the older theological sense of the study of man’s place in the process of salvation. When we overcome our hesitation to anthropologize the anthropologists, the pagans who were previously “other” often appear more familiar to us than do the missionaries. We discover a missionary mentality just as exotic as the mentalities of the “other,” and some surprising, unmodern similarities between them. We discover the Jesuits had their own understanding of “other,” distinct from that of modern historians – for their “other” were those to be converted, whether European or not.²¹ We discover the missionaries’ “cosmovision” – the combination of their “cosmological notions relating to time and space into a structured and systematic worldview” – to be just as alien as the Mesoamericans’, and inextricably

¹⁸ Jonathan Friedman, “Religion as Economy and Economy as Religion,” *Ethnos* 40.1–4 (1975): 46.

¹⁹ Quoted in Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise, The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996), 205. Palafox had also equated persecution with progress, even more strongly than did the Jesuits. See Cummins, *Question*, 141.

²⁰ T. O. Beidelman, “Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa,” *Africa* 44 (1974): 235.

²¹ Dominique Deslandres, “Mission et altérité: Les missionnaires français et la définition de l’‘Autre’ au XVII^e siècle,” in *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society, Providence, R. I., May 1993*, ed. James Pritchard (Cleveland: French Colonial Historical Society, 1993), 12.

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tied to a global perspective and span.²² This, then, is a study of missionaries, and it includes their converts only occasionally, and only to better illuminate the missionaries themselves.

Specifically, this book describes the early Jesuits' participation in Christianity as a global religion, and their construction of Christianity as a universal religion. It is important to distinguish between the concrete, practical global religion and the more theoretical, and more abstract, universal religion. As John Phelan explains, "The medieval Christian Church was, of course, always universal in its claims. All men had a common origin and a common end. But before the Age of Discovery, Christianity was geographically parochial, confined to a rather small part of the world." In our period, however, "Christianity for the first time could implement its universal claims on a world-wide basis [and] could be global as well as universal."²³ The defence of the idea of a universal church serves as an excellent example of "the contrast between unbounded right and actual helplessness" by which James Bryce once found medieval Europe amazingly unperturbed.²⁴ Because the geographical reality is irrelevant, a religion limited to a small geographical area might still qualify as a universal religion merely on the strength of its pretensions, just as Frederick Bronski, the main character in Mel Brooks's *To Be Or Not To Be*, can be "world famous in Poland."

This "global religion" must be sharply distinguished from the usual concept "world religion," by which is meant a faith that has enjoyed "great success in propagating themselves over time and space."²⁵ Thus any world religion could have both local and global aspects.²⁶ Even the great "world

²² The term, and the definition, are from David Carrasco, *Religions of Mesoamerica: Cosmopolitanism and Ceremonial Centers* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990), xix.

²³ John L. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 18.

²⁴ James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (New York: Macmillan, 1877), 118.

²⁵ Robert W. Hefner, "Introduction: World Building and the Rationality of Conversion," *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 4. Although Hefner refers to the discussion of world religion in Max Weber's 1922 *Sociology of Religion* and in Robert Bellah's 1964 "Religious Evolution," the concept explicitly appears in neither. The equivalent subjects in Weber's and Bellah's works are "religion" (as opposed to magic) and "modern religion," respectively. Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963); Robert N. Bellah, "Religious Evolution," *American Sociological Review* 29 (3): 358–74.

²⁶ Terrence Ranger argues that even a traditional (i.e. non-world) religion can include a global perspective. See his "The Local and the Global in Southern African Religious History," in *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 65–98.

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religions” may lack the global motivation. In medieval England, Jews could actively discourage Christians from converting to their faith, fearing such pyrrhic victories would fuel retribution. In early-modern India, despite the prevalence of regional overland pilgrimages, many Hindus considered merely traversing the ocean to be itself a ritual defilement for the upper castes.²⁷ Although scholars are increasingly problematizing world religion, Christianity will be included as long as the category exists, for the Jesuits and their colleagues thought universally and acted globally, to make their faith the most popular and widespread religion today.²⁸

The Scope of This Study

The preceding comments should differentiate this from a work of multiple area studies, nor is this comparative history. Rather than comparing three missions in Germany, Mexico, and China, this is a non-comparative study of a single transregional phenomenon, three interrelated components of which are singled out for this book.²⁹ It is perhaps most neatly classified as a work of historical “dromography,” a neologism indicating the study of “geography, history and logistics of trade, movement, transportation and communication networks.”³⁰ This is not to say that a comparison of the three areas would not be useful. More ambitiously, a comparison of the Catholic missions with other world missions of the early-modern period would be most instructive.

²⁷ Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800* (London: Hutchison, 1965), 45; Surinder M. Bhardwaj and Pillai Lokacarya, “Hindu Pilgrimage,” *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan; London: Collier Macmillan, 1987), XI.353–54. The *Caturvargacintamani*, the thirteenth-century dharmanibandha by Hemadri, is cited (iii.2:667) in Nicholas Ostler, *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 199. I am grateful to Kyle Jackson for pursuing this reference.

²⁸ For additional thoughts on approaching global and world religion, see Luke Clossey, “The Early-Modern Jesuit Missions as a Global Movement” (November 16, 2005), UC World History Workshop, Working Papers from the World History Workshop Conference Series 3, <http://repositories.cdlib.org/ucwhw/wp/3>. For a critical discussion of “world religion” see Joel Tishken, “Lies Teachers Teach about World Religious History,” *World History Bulletin* 23 (2007): 14–18.

²⁹ Although here we are centuries away from independent political entities called “Germany” or “Mexico,” these are words used by contemporary Jesuits.

³⁰ The term derives from the Greek *dromos*, meaning “street or route,” and has a closer cousin in “dromograph,” an instrument that records the circulation of blood. T. Matthew Ciolek, “Old World Traditional Trade Routes (OWTRAD) Project,” May 6, 2004. <http://www.ciolek.com/owtrad.html> (accessed May 8, 2004). This definition comes from the Ibero-Mundo Regional Atlas Team. “Project Description,” 21 November 2001, <http://redgeomatematica.rediris.es/ecai/atlas.iberomundo/>. (accessed May 8, 2004).