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A Genealogy of Cosmopolitan Reading

A genealogy of secret cosmopolitanism runs from the Jesuit policy of accommodation in Asia to Goethe's notion of world literature. Without giving primacy to one level over all others, my argument concerns information networks and their interpretive techniques, as they mediate the history of concepts and discourses. In the end my goal is to move past the early modern masquerade to show how the long history of cosmopolitanism informs our debates today about refugees and migrants. This chapter focuses on the question of how Europeans developed textually mediated compassion for unfamiliar peoples. If Europeans were going to recognize their affinity with others, they would need to develop information channels and reading techniques to overcome distance and lack of interest.

In order to understand how people have come to feel sympathy with the suffering of distant strangers, we need to examine specifically the avenues through which affective bonds formed across distances during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Modern

cosmopolitanism entails an emotional response to strangers—in contrast to the ancient Stoic disavow of sympathy, even for family members. Feeling sympathy for victims was not a feature of Roman ethics, nor was it particularly common to Confucianism. Indeed, the proper Stoic individual was supposed to act as if the fate of others had no impact on him. The question of how to care about the suffering of others, both far and near, emerges in Western ethics through Christianity and takes on global dimensions with the spread of missionaries in the Counter-Reformation. Reading techniques developed in late medieval monasteries and refined through Jesuit pedagogy were important first steps. By the eighteenth-century the ability to imagine scenes denoted in texts became a vital secular means for Enlightenment and Romantic readers to identify with foreigners. By the end of this chapter, it will be clear that James Chandler's definition of identificatory reading common to the sentimental novel shares more than a few similarities with Jesuit practices: both are meant "to enable readers to imagine the perceptual and affective field of characters understood to be embodied in time and space, an exercise that depends on giving the sensorium of a fictional character a local habitation, embedding the sensibility in a world."[1]

Early modern studies of European-Chinese relations tend to be divided between a concentration on the Jesuit mission from the 1690s through to the Rites Conflict and then on Enlightenment treatments of the "second wave of exploration" ending in the early nineteenth century with the memoirs published after the failed Macartney embassy. Although this division has its obvious sense in that it separates the religious mission from the Enlightenment's secular anthropology, such periodization also overlooks the long influence of Jesuits. Most histories of the Jesuits in China are understandably weighted toward Matteo Ricci and the founding generation. The abundance of serialized information published in the eighteenth century is always acknowledged as it appeared first in Du Haldes's *Lettres edifiante et curieux* and then in Joseph Stöcklein's *Der Neue Weltbott* (The new world messenger), followed by the *Mémoires*

1. James Chandler, *An Archeology of Sympathy: The Sentimental Mode in Literature and Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 168.

concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages des Chinois (Memoirs concerning the history, the sciences, the arts, the customs, the customs of the Chinese) after the Society's suppression; however, these sources are rarely analyzed with any of the intensity applied to Ricci and company. We should not presume that the decision against the Jesuits in the Rites Controversy resulted in a decline in their publications about China. Enlightenment reports on China continued to be shaped by the 140 years of Jesuit writing on the place. For all its methodological ambitions to free itself from a religious understanding of humans, the Enlightenment anthropological approach to China continued to deploy Jesuit accommodation techniques for thinking with, rather than against, the foreign.

By focusing on the images and tropes that were carried over from missionary reports into the Enlightenment, we can see how modern cosmopolitanism with its sympathetic appreciation of foreign otherness is indebted to missionary accommodation to diverse languages and religious rites as part of the larger drive to establish a world church. Specifically, the Jesuit efforts to foster European compassion for Chinese and Japanese martyrs led indirectly to the modern cosmopolitan belief that affluent Europeans and Americans should feel sympathy for the suffering of distant foreigners. The Enlightenment adapted the Catholic fascination for martyrs by insisting that suffering had to have a general purpose rather than a particular sectarian one, yet the psychology and visuality of both are related.

Europeans identified most readily with distant foreigners if they were perceived as suffering victims deserving compassion. The first East Asian figures for whom early modern Catholics could feel sympathy were Japanese and Chinese Christian converts who were martyred for their faith. In his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Adam Smith described the historical transformation that the term "sympathy" underwent as a movement from crisis to intellectual identification. He explained that shared emotions began as a reaction to suffering and sadness, but that eventually the ability to place oneself in the position of another person became the basis for a cosmopolitan feeling. Smith implies that the feeling has its own history, perhaps a genealogy, as it acquires new meanings quite separate from earlier ones. "Pity and compassion are words appropriated to

signify our fellow-feeling with the sorrow of others. Sympathy, though its meaning was, perhaps, originally the same, may now, however, without much impropriety, be made use of to denote our fellow-feeling with any passion whatever."[2] For the purposes of my study, I would describe the shift from pity to sympathy as following a path from Christian compassion for the suffering of martyrs or the audience's horrified bond with a tragic character to a more general ability to feel identity with other humans. In his *Laokoon* essay, Lessing elaborates the aesthetic forms that most effectively draw sympathy from the onlooker, while at the same time establishing a new mode of emotional masculinity. Greek drama replaces the Gospel and saints' lives, yet the quest remains to demonstrate a higher principle through restrained suffering. "Laokoon suffers, however he suffers like Sophocles' Philoktet: his misery reaches down into our soul; still, we wish to endure the misery like this great man."[3] Over time the insistence on Stoical forbearance is loosened to allow a greater, increasingly wider expression of sentiment. In the history of early modern European literature, this path can be traced as a shift from the aesthetics of the martyr drama and the *Trauerspiel* to a cosmopolitan openness that allowed readers feel the nuances of an another person's everyday life and to expand the range of figures worthy of such identification from kings and saints to unknown foreigners. Here, I trace feelings of pity, compassion, or sympathy as they are evoked by increasingly secular literature over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Martyrs and Sympathy

In his very first review of his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (*Hamburg Dramaturgy*), Gotthold Lessing elaborates on the difference between

2. Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Indianapolis: Liberty, 1976), 49.

3. "Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie," in *Lessings Werke*, ed. Paul Stapf (Berlin: Deutsche Buch Gemeinschaft), 1957; Gotthold Lessing, "Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie," in Stapf, *Lessings Werke*, 2:276 (part 1, sect.1).

Christian martyr plays and tragedies.[4] In discussing the play *Olint und Sophronia*, Lessing points out that the author, Johann Friedrich von Cronegk, portrays Islam as a polytheistic religion in which diverse idols are worshipped in mosques. Aside from insisting that dramatists correctly represent oriental religions, Lessing also dismisses Christian martyr dramas generally. We live in a time of healthy reason, he argues, and so we do not accept that every religious fanatic who races off to his death is a martyr. Lessing does not rule out the possibility that someone might die for his or her beliefs, but he insists that audiences distinguish between false and true martyr, and thereby leaves room for his tragic drama, *Emilia Galotti*. Empathy for a martyr is limited to a sense of melancholy at the blindness and idiocy that drives people to such sacrifice. Lessing distinguishes tragedies from martyr dramas, wherein the protagonist readily marches off to death rather than valiantly defying it. If the victim dies too willingly, then the play calls into question the religion it was trying to validate. Christian tenets, he argues in the next review, such as quiet acceptance or unwavering meekness, the expectation of a reward in the afterlife, or complete unselfishness do not lead to the kinds of conflicts that nurture tragedy.

Carl Niekerk notes that in discussing plays set in the Orient, Lessing judges characters based on their motivations: even if a play shows a spectacular exotic palace, the characters must present plausible reasons for their behavior. Behind Lessing's argument is the simple assumption that foreigners on the European stage must share the psychology of their audiences. Friedrich Schiller struggles with the same problem as he adapts Gozzi's *Turandot*—namely, how to explain the princess's cruel dismissal of all her suitors. Once the audience has accepted the frame within which a character acts, the playwright must carefully balance out his or her motivations. They must ring truthfully within the accepted understanding. Lessing is not suggesting that all humans share the same psychological makeup, but he does insist that theatrical characters act out of "natural" as opposed to supernatural motivations. Miracles may happen in the world, but not in the moral universe of the theater, where all opin-

4. Stapf, *Lessings Werke.*

ions and desires are judged according to whether they really do fit the character. While Lessing recognizes that this expectation has the effect of transforming foreigners into Europeans, he nevertheless admires the ancient Greek convention—from Homer onward—wherein Greek attributes are ascribed to foreigners, so that Trojan warriors, for example, follow the same code of honor as their attackers. The goal is not to strip away the particularities of foreign cultures, but more importantly to avoid projecting stereotypes on to them.[5] In the absence of more accurate knowledge, presume that Asians act for the same reasons Europeans do. The ultimate goal of this strategy is to take foreigners as seriously as domestic rulers. Thus, the question of who deserves the audience's sympathy depends on how recognizable the character's motivations are. Since foreigners who seem "opaque" to Europeans are less likely to receive sympathy, dramatists often feel obliged to attribute familiar thoughts to their behavior, thereby making them less strange.

The path from Asian martyrs to world literature starts with the basic Christian lesson of identifying with the suffering condition of others—for pious Catholics, foremost with the image of Christ on the cross and then the instructive examples of martyrs. Later secular models of sympathy and emulation drew lessons from the affective piety that the Catholic Church nurtured in the late Middle Ages and then intensified following the Council of Trent. With the formulation of each new mode of sympathy, different qualities of the medieval believer's union with Christ's suffering were either adapted or suppressed.

For early modern Catholics the promise of salvation was conjoined with the practice of contemplating and incorporating the representation of Christ's suffering into one's own life. By drawing Christ's suffering into their own physical and emotional experience, Catholics were acknowledging their own sinful nature and their belief that Christ's suffering could rescue them. Very often this maneuver was made while meditating on a text or image. Out of the shared sense of misery, a more transcendent happiness was supposed

5. Carl Niekerk, "Der Orient-Diskurs in Lessings *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*," *Lessing Yearbook/Jahrbuch* 41 (2014): 186.

to emerge. The theological contemplation of Christ sought a spiritual union with God, allowing the possibility of feeling love for the other as the other suffers. Christian art tends to construct the image of the suffering Christ in terms that are familiar to the contemporary viewer, thus easing the act of identification. Inevitably emulation and identification began locally, only to move out across space as the church could show the extended reach of its own teachings. Martyrs participate in a geographical ring of emulation for they both demonstrate their own successful emulation of Christ on the cross across the world while serving as models for later, often distant believers. The post-Tridentine missionaries were very much inspired by earlier images of martyrdom. The globalization of the Catholic mission also revived the veneration of martyrs. For inspired young men, to spread the gospel abroad offered the exciting possibility of attaining martyrdom.[6] Japanese Christians whose stories and images appeared in European churches were admired by European Christians for their faith-driven sacrifice, proof that the church lived on around the world. Jesuit school dramas reenacted the sacrifices made by Japanese Christians who refused to recant their new faith.

The primary source for such performances was Nicholas Trigault's *De Christianis apud Iaponios Triumphis* (On Christian triumphs in Japan), published in 1623. Trigault's book provided news of martyrs in its account of how the Japanese church was founded and then suppressed in a manner reminiscent of the early church. Even Protestants were fascinated. Later Dutch publishers catered to the reading public's desire for further graphic portrayals of Japanese martyrs, less out of a sense of piety than to satisfy a fascination in seeing what punishment the Japanese inflicted. The pious interest in Japanese martyrs centered on the suffering of fellow Christians. While Jesuit histories of China provided an increasing array of social and historical information, the first dramas about Japan con-

6. Kristina Müller-Bongard, "Konzepte zur Konsolidierung einer jesuitischen Identiät. Die Märtyrerzyklem der jesuitischen Kollegien in Rom," in *Le monde est une peinture. Jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder*, ed. Elisabeth Oy-Marra and Volker Remmert (Berlin: Akademie, 2011), 153–75.

centrated exclusively on the protagonists as Christian martyrs without any digressions into society at large.[7]

A morality based on sympathy uses the image of another person's suffering to compel an emotional response, in speech or action, from the observer. It operates most effectively in close proximity, yet can be extended beyond localities as information channels deliver news of foreign events. The Scottish Enlightenment understood that the ethical person cannot completely share the suffering of another; there is no possibility of a complete union—or rather, Scottish philosophers maintained a skeptical attitude about such mystical claims. For this reason, moral philosophers sought to distinguish their own psychology from Catholic spiritualism. Nevertheless, the image was fundamental to both systems. The sight of the victim compelled the observer to imagine the suffering of the other. Adam Smith describes the victim as "our brother," thereby changing the love felt for the other from a religious union to a fraternal caring. Within moral philosophy, the process of imagining an other's pain replaces the spiritual connection the Christian seeks while contemplating the crucifixion. Enlightenment moralists tended to view martyrdom as an excessive and misguided passion. The Earl of Shaftesbury would have understood it as a primitive enthusiasm, for which a love of humanity had replaced the more cultish dedication of the martyr. "'Tis well we have the authority of a sacred author in our religion to assure us that the spirit of love and humanity is above that of martyrs."[8] Instead of the concentrated focus on a single figure of piety, Shaftesbury advocated a more cosmopolitan sympathy: "To love the public, to study universal good, and to promote the interest of the whole world, as far as it lies in our power, is surely the height of goodness and makes that temper which we call divine."[9] In the moral scenario, sympathy extends to a wider range of situations than the Christian focus on the crucifixion and its emulation through martyrdom. By moving away from the singular moment of crucifixion,

7. Goran Proot and Johan Verbercknoes, "Japonica in the Jesuit Drama of the Southern Netherlands," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* (2002): 27–47.

8. Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, "A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm," in *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril, 1964), 19.

9. Shaftesbury, "A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm," 27.

moral sympathy still has a fixation on visual contemplation, but it allows a variety of such images, thereby shifting its own analogy with Christianity to the broader principle of showing compassion for others.

In researching the scholarship on Catholic missionaries in China, I was waiting for the point when some expert on Church history would link the Jesuit's accommodation of the Confucian canon with later forms of cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, it seems clear that accommodation in China was grounded in a search for analogies rather than a drive to refute errors. The underlying assumption of a shared human experience of divine revelation allowed for the possibility that Confucian teachings, at some fundamental origin, were not different from Christian. As the last chapters will show, Goethe's approach to world literature shares with Jesuit accommodation the inclination to find analogies between Chinese and European traditions that allow for identification with the foreign despite the obvious differences. His secular approach allows a much broader range of analogies, without requiring a far-reaching reinterpretation of Confucian texts, yet it clearly emerged from the track already dug out by the Jesuits. Unfortunately, such a connection has always remained unspoken and implicit. Thus this book offers an initial historical path connecting missionary accommodation with world literature.

I argue that eighteenth-century sentimentalism with its preference for epistolary expression incorporated reading practices developed in the Catholic Church's missionary networks—a coupling that most Enlightenment thinkers in Germany and Scotland would have rejected. The Enlightenment and sentimentalism are rarely associated with this older Catholic lineage, yet any eighteenth-century person curious about Asia would have inevitably consulted the vast seventeenth-century literature produced by missionaries. Indeed, these texts would have been the primary source of information about East and South Asia available to even the most sophisticated reader. German media scholars have concentrated on sentimental epistolary forms as a principle moment in the formation of emotional inwardness, while overlooking the earlier Catholic culture of missionary letter writing. Bernhard Siegert in his groundbreaking study of postal systems and literature, treats the history of eighteenth-

century letter writing as a transition from feudal rhetoric to intimate confession, thereby overlooking the long Catholic tradition, which long preceded Pietist first-person narratives.[10] In his later work, however, Siegert makes clear that the history of postal delivery is much older than the eighteenth century.[11] There is no doubt that Germans were reading letters sent from the other side of the world already at the end of the sixteenth century. My study tries to draw the sentimental and early modern histories together to show that postal systems stretched from the global missionary church to world literature.

Most analysis of world literature and Enlightenment cosmopolitanism focuses on the most progressive qualities in these ideas, or it critiques their absence. Why not read these terms backward to look for what is oldest in them? How do they emerge from far more aged versions of global relations? How have they adapted Christian teaching while removing its theology? What religious principles does cosmopolitanism preserve even as it positions itself critically against the church? How were the reading strategies of world literature an expansion of monastic meditation, despite Goethe's thorough aversion to the medieval church? Accommodation and world literature share a wonderful open-mindedness as well as an archaic belief in the fundamental sameness of human existence. Cosmopolitanism owes more to religious and mythic thinking than it perhaps wants to admit.

Critics of cosmopolitanism still argue that spatial "closeness" between people is crucial to their feeling compassion and that humans have a far more difficult time sympathizing with someone on the other side of the globe than with their neighbor. How could information about China seem relevant to European readers? What reading techniques bring the reader to form a strong affinity for events and people in China? While the flow of information from Asia to Europe was a remarkable development, it alone did not suffice to make that

10. Bernhard Siegert, *Relays: Literature as an Epoch of the Postal System*, trans. Kevin Repp (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 14.

11. Bernhard Siegert, *Passage des Digitalen: Zeichenpraktiken der neuzeitlichen Wissenschaften, 1500–1900* (Berlin: Brinkmann and Bose, 2003).

news important to the laity when it arrived. Scholars were immediately drawn to the new reports, but less curious readers had to be trained to incorporate information into their daily environment. As with so many literary questions, the problem of how to process the unfamiliar text was addressed by adapting methods first formulated to make the Bible more familiar.

Early modern global networks quickly developed modes of emotional identification that allowed Europeans to form a sympathetic bond with foreigners and foreign places despite the alienation created by distance and difference. Without the Jesuit practices, Europeans would not have possessed the intellectual techniques to perceive and identify with foreigners. Long after readers stopped attending Mass and reading missionary letters, the intellectual maneuvers developed by seventeenth-century Catholics as a means of providing spiritual support for global missions were applied to scientific travel reports.

Roland Barthes was clearly confining himself to his own nation when he wrote: "The Jesuits, as we know, have contributed much to forming our notion of literature. The heirs and propagators of Latin rhetoric, through teaching, over which they had in the past, to all intents and purposes, a monopoly in Europe, they left bourgeois France with the concept of 'fine writing.'"[12] When tracing discursive channels across early modern Europe, it would take little exaggeration to extend his argument to encompass Spain, Italy, and Germany. Few would deny that Jesuit pedagogy and theatrics shaped baroque literature. And while the various strands of the Enlightenment sought to seal themselves off against the Jesuits, their general influence persisted, at least in a negative form, as the atheist insistence on always reversing Jesuit theology (Goethe) and in mainstream thinkers' combined critique and acquiescence (Voltaire). On any questions related to China, their authority declined slowly at first, then suddenly, only to find a quiet revival once the polemics had died down.

12. Roland Barthes, *Sade-Fourier-Loyola*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill & Wang, 1976), 39.

The techniques for visualizing and identifying with distant events were outlined in the foundational text of Jesuit spirituality, Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, and in the medieval devotions that preceded it. The theological intent in using these techniques was to lend biblical narratives, which after all were set far from European localities, an immediate relevance first to monks, then to a wider laity. The yearning pious reader was supposed to visualize how Mary and Joseph sat around the manger, how crowds gathered as Christ was crucified, the terrors of the Last Judgement. "The immediate force of this desire is to be read in the very materiality of the objects whose representation Ignatius calls for: places in their precise, complete dimensions, characters in their costumes, their attitudes, their actions, their actual words."[13] Spiritual narratives were organized by detailed scenes that the reader contemplated almost as if they were illustrations.[14] These readerly views provided the setting for later theatrical adaptations of missionary writings in Jesuit schools. The theatricality was already present in the *Spiritual Exercises*: "The 'mysteries' excerpted by Ignatius from the Christian narrative take on a theatrical quality which relates them to the medieval mysteries: they are 'scenes' the exercitant is called upon to live out, as in a psychodrama."[15] The techniques were initially applied to the life of Christ but extended to other spiritual narratives, such as saints' lives, missionary reports, and martyrs' deaths.

Eventually the ability to imagine distant scenes, both spatially and temporally, as if they were happening "right before our eyes" could be applied to secular fiction with much the same intensity as a monk in his chamber contemplating the crucifixion. Kant, for example, in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, defines imagination as "the faculty of representing in intuition an object that is *not itself present*."[16] In order to prevent outright inventions, Kant cautions that the representation of what is not itself present be based on established analogies with nature as it is already known. To avoid excessive speculation,

13. Barthes, *Sade-Fourier-Loyola*, 62.
14. Barthes, *Sade-Fourier-Loyola*, 55.
15. Barthes, *Sade-Fourier-Loyola*, 61.
16. Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), 165 (B 151), (emphasis in original).

Kant requires that the imagination to be accompanied by reason—"Einbildungskraft in Begleitung der Vernunft"[17]—much as the Jesuits expect the reading of sacred texts to be accompanied by the explanations of a priest. Barthes traces this coupling, typified by Loyola's *Exercises*, back to Roman rhetoric and the mysticism of the High Middle Ages.[18] Manuals on oratory stressed the importance of speech making a scene visible to an audience. Aristotle refers to *phantasia* and *energeia* to describe speech's visual productivity.[19] In the *Poetics* he advises: "In constructing the plot and working it out with the proper diction, the poet should place the scene, as far as possible, before his eyes. In this way, seeing everything with the utmost vividness, as if were a spectator of the action, he will discover what is in keeping with it."[20] Within eighteenth-century fiction, German critics refer to such readerly spectatorship as arising from a text's *Anschaulichkeit* (vividness).[21] The graphic effect emerges from both the manner in which the text is composed and the reader's attentiveness to details. Loyola incorporates these tropes into his meditation. He instructs pious readers to imagine a biblical scene by filling in the physical properties of the space within which events occur. The moral aim of such visualization was for the reader not only to perceive the meaning of religious texts, but to imitate them, particularly the life of Christ.

The emotional concentration on the scenes from Christ's life was first developed in the monasteries of the eleventh century, but over

17. Immanuel Kant, "Mutmasslicher Anfang der Menschengeschichte," in *Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik 1*, in vol. 11 of *Wekausgabe*, ed. Wilhelm Weischedel (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1981), 85.

18. Barthes, *Sade-Fourier-Loyola*, 55.

19. Debra Hawhee, "Looking into Aristotle's Eyes: Toward a Theory of Rhetorical Vision," *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 14.2 (2011): 139–65.

20. Aristotle, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, trans. S. H. Butcher (New York: Dover, 1951), 61 (sect. 17).

21. For an excellent account of *Anschaulichkeit* in Loyola's spiritual exercises, see Paul Rabbow, *Seelenführung, Methodie der Exerzitien in der Antike* (Munich: Kösel, 1954), 70–90. Dorothea von Mücke explains the difficulty in translating the term into English, while defining *Anschaulichkeit* for Enlightenment semiotics, in *Virtue and the Veil of Illusion: Generic Innovation and the Pedagogical Project in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 18–44.

time became widespread among the laity, first by Franciscans, and then after Trent even more widely by Jesuits and other Catholic orders.[22] The compassionate mode of reading about Christ included an attention to detail, to the physical and emotional state that Christ must have undergone, to the look and tone of his immediate environment. This mode of reading drew the believer to imagine additional details, to fill in gaps in the text to provide a more vivid understanding of the biblical scene, to pull the space, sound, emotions, pains from their own life into their contemplation of the text. Medieval Christians who practiced this form of meditation on the figures of Christ and Mary were drawn to imagine how Jerusalem looked and sounded. In a broad sense, reading the Bible obliged Christians to perceive the Orient.

With the spread of missionaries around the world, the compassionate gaze of the believer with its inventive construction of sacred scenes was redirected toward other locations. Catholics in Europe were thus drawn to imagine the sites where Xavier preached in Asia, a practice encouraged by missionary letters and reports. While this intense mode of identifying with Christ's Passion started off as secluded monastic practice that would lead devotees to cloister themselves from the world, Jesuits took an entirely different approach, for they refused seclusion in order to place themselves deliberately in the arenas from which older orders retreated.[23] Although medieval monastic practices such as praying the rosary did spread into the laity, the Jesuits took a more active stance towards the world as

22. R. W. Southern notes that new medieval meditative practices had-long term effects on the history of emotions in his *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953): "The theme of tenderness and compassion for the sufferings and helplessness of the Saviour of the world was one which had a new birth in the monasteries of the eleventh century, and every century since has paid tribute to the monastic inspiration of this century by some new development of the theme" (232); "It was the Franciscans who first brought the fruits of the monastic experiences of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to ordinary people" (255).

23. J. Michelle Molina, *To Overcome Oneself: The Jesuit Self and Spirit of Global Expansion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 36–38. Molina strikes a Foucauldian tone when she writes: "Early modern Christians were monasticized when Christian technologies of the self that had hitherto remained the realm of the spiritual elite began to percolate more rapidly than ever before into lay society" (45).

they propagated Loyola's version of medieval spiritual exercises. Jesuit instructions were often cautious about a spiritual posture that might require withdrawal into mystical inwardness or social detachment. Rather than remain in monastic isolation, they introduced such practices to the pious urban elite by teaching students across Catholic Europe to use this imaginative mode of reading. "Affective imagination was the key means by which individuals were summoned to be active in worldly service to God."[24] What started off as an esoteric practice of spiritual retreat became a pedagogical principle for Jesuit versions of worldliness.

Pierre Hadot has argued that Loyola inherited certain concerns from the spiritual exercises of Greek antiquity.[25] Hadot claims that ancient practitioners read philosophy not so that they could formulate systematic knowledge of the world but in order to reinforce their exercises. Both Stoic and Jesuit exercises thus sought to instill *prosoche* (attention and vigilance over oneself) and its goal, *apatheia* (tranquility and equilibrium of mind, an indifference to worldly matters). The position of the monk, Hadot explains, was one of attention in the form of a constant vigilance over the mind, a self-consciousness that never rests and holds the spirit in constant tension, allowing the philosopher to always be aware and to regulate his actions. The ultimate purpose of attentiveness was to free the self from the passions that overwhelm it. Hadot's own attentiveness to the many continuities between ancient philosophy and the *Spiritual Exercises* allows us to recognize new formulations as they emerge. Missing from Hadot's list of shared goals is the distinctly Christian interest in expressing compassion for the suffering of others. In his moral philosophy, Adam Smith similarly updates Stoicism by rejecting its coldness, its apathy toward others, while at the same time dispensing with an overtly Christian spirituality. Sympathy for others constitutes a major difference between his moral philosophy and ancient practices. By sympathizing with the suffering of others, one often loses the detachment and com-

24. Molina, *To Overcome Oneself*, 52, 131–33.

25. Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, trans. Michael Chase (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 82.

posure intended by the ancient exercises. Instead practitioners are thrown into an excited state in which they want to act quickly to alleviate the other's misery.

While Samuel Taylor Coleridge called on readers in 1817 to "suspend disbelief" while reading about the supernatural because he presumed that skepticism was always at play, Ignatius Loyola, the Society of Jesus's founder, wrote with an entirely different orientation to the divine: well before the critiques of the Enlightenment, he calls on the reader to activate belief, to bring all the powers of the imagination into play in order to give shape and color to a reality that is unquestioned in a religious text. Learning how to project oneself into the thoughts of an Old Testament patriarch eventually made it possible for Europeans to imagine that they could think and feel like a Persian prince or a Chinese emperor. The remaining chapters of this book will trace the shifting forms of emotional identification, starting with early Jesuit representation of Asian martyrs and ending with Goethe's reading of a Chinese novel.

The Jesuit's appeals to visualizing a scene became a means of understanding a narrative. To read one's way into a text was to see it unfold around oneself. The capacity to imagine a spatial reality allowed the act of reading to become transformed into a visual experience. German Romanticism adopted an extreme form of this identification, wherein metaphors were perceived as actually existing realities. This notion, however, has a long history preceding the eighteenth century, for the ability to think about ideas as vivid images situated in a familiar space had been codified in Roman rhetorical treatises as the correct way for a public speaker to store and then retrieve information: the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which had long been credited to Cicero, then Cicero's own *De Oratore*, and Quintilian's *Instituio oratoria*.[26] The practice of mnemonics required the speaker to picture a familiar place (*locus*) wherein they could store information by associating it with striking

26. The scholarship on the Christian adoption of Roman mnemonics is vast. Caroline Behrmann, "'Le monde est une peinture': Zu Louis Richeômes Bildtheorie im Kontext globaler Mission," in *Le monde est une peinture: Jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder*, ed. Elisabeth Oy-Marra and Volker R. Remmert (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011): 15–44.

visual cues (*imagines*). Imagining foreign locations was an added challenge, for the Romans had used buildings in the forum as their memory sites. Still this mental maneuver was fundamental to Christian meditation, for most Europeans had never visited the Holy Land. If they were going to construct visual images of biblical scenes, they needed to conjure them up with the assistance of sacred art and the transference of scenes from their own environment. Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, which were intended to help guide the individual's development, often begin with a prelude that calls on the meditator to compose an image of a physical place in order to concentrate his or her thoughts on it.[27] The first prelude to the first exercise states generally the manner of imagining a sacred space that precedes most meditations.

> First Prelude. This the composition of the place. It should be noted at this point that when the contemplation or meditation is about something visible, such as when we contemplate Christ our Lord, the composition will consist in seeing with the imagination the physical location of the object contemplated. I said the physical place such as the temple or mountain where Jesus was, according to the subject matter of the contemplation.[28]

At least initially, the practice of imagining a place is dependent on reading from the Bible. Imagination is coupled with a very well-known text. Over time, the exercises are more freely based on sources other than scripture, as when the exercitant is asked to imagine the tortures of hell or the Babylonian battlefield of Satan, both scenes that have been represented many times. The exercises go beyond the familiar, to encompass a global survey of diverse cultures. "First Point. This will be to see the different persons. First, those on the face of the earth, with such diversity of dress and custom. Some are white, others are black; some at peace, others at

27. Philip Endean, "The Spiritual Exercises," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 52–68.

28. Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola*, trans. Elisabeth Meier Tetlow (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), 23.

war."[29] Paul Rabbow points out that the meditative reader's ability to visualize spaces belongs to a long rhetorical tradition intended to activate the passions. "It is the fully self-conscious, methodical and well-versed application of the profound force that the visual image possesses for exciting the affects, as rhetoric teaches and practices in its lessons on comparisons [*de similititudinibus*]."[30] Loyola writes that the meditative reader does not view the image as image, but rather as fantastical animation immediately present as his or her own experience.[31] This insistence on a rhetoric that excites the passions to the point of hallucinating the presence of a scene described in words clearly distinguishes the Jesuit exercises from those practiced by the ancient Stoics, who sought precisely to tamp down all such excitement.

Not every spiritual image or text automatically produced such responses.[32] Only if they are embedded in spiritual practices, within the church service, meditation, or structured prayer do they rise up to the level of immediate visualization of distant places. In the case of missionaries in China, Jesuit correspondences and the spiritual practices they fostered were placed within a larger liturgical context, so that when Europeans learned to care about Asians—first about their souls, eventually about their daily lives—they did so within the church's rituals.

Jesuits were always clear that the source for Loyola's exercises reaches back into late medieval monastic practices.[33] The society's founding legend recounts that in 1521 as Ignatius Loyola lay wounded from a cannonball during the French army's siege of Pamplona, he

29. Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, 42.

30. Rabbow, *Seelenführung*, 74.

31. Rabbow, *Seelenführung*, 75.

32. Evonne Levy warns that it is crucial to consider the specific context within which the exercises are pursued rather than allowing them serve as the blanket explanation for all Jesuit images in "Early Modern Jesuit Arts and Jesuit Visual Culture: A View from the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014): 81.

33. David Freedberg provides the definitive art historical analysis of medieval meditation before a sacred image. He also shows how these practices were revived after the Reformation by the Jesuit *Exercises* in *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 161–88.

had only three books available to read. *Vita Christi*, composed by Ludolph of Saxony (1295–1378), was one. It had long circulated as a written manuscript; eventually a Spanish translation was printed in 1503. A Carthusian monk, Ludolph compiled the meditative techniques for reading the Gospels.[34] The Carthusian tendency was to offer works of practical mysticism.[35] *Vita Christi* pulls together an array of medieval approaches focused on the life of Christ as a model for religious life. This technique of reading sacred texts inspired a wide array of religious movements. Another devotional work in the same tradition, Thomas á Kempis's (1380–1471) *Imitation of Christ*, became the most widely read and translated Christian book of devotion. As Karl Phillip Moritz mentions in his autobiographical novel, *Anton Reiser*, Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* was included in children's Latin lessons well into the eighteenth century.[36]

In contemplating the events depicted in the Gospel, Ludolph urges the faithful to read what once happened as if it were happening here and now.[37] The act of reading becomes a compassionate meditation in which readers place themselves visually within the scenes: "Be present at his Nativity and Circumcision like a good foster-parent with Joseph. Go with the Magi to Bethlehem, and worship with them the infant king. Assist with his parents to take him and present him at the Temple. Be in escort with the apostles as the Good Shepherd performs his glorious miracles. Be present at his death with his blessed Mother and John to suffer with them and to console them: and with a certain devout curiosity, feeling your way, touch each of the wounds of your Saviour, who has thus died for

34. John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 26.

35. Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*, ed. George E. Ganss, SJ (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 21.

36. Karl Philipp Moritz, *Anton Reiser, Ein psychologischer Roman* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1979), 40. Anton Reiser generally read sacred biographies with the intention of imitating the saints: "As tasteless and strange as their stories often were, the old fathers were still the most venerable model for Anton to emulate" (20).

37. Milton Walsh, "'To Always Be Thinking Somehow about Jesus': The Prologue of Ludolph's *Vita Christi*," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 43.1 (Spring 2011): 1–39.

you."[38] Placing hands in Christ's wounds becomes the paradigmatic metaphor for the reader's hermeneutic *Einfühlung* (empathy). The preface makes clear that Ludolph has specific procedures in mind that will encourage the reader to imagine sensually the events signified by the text. Ludolph's meditation is unconcerned with historicizing even as it does try to simulate a physical environment for speeches and actions. The biblical scene is supposed to appear as if it were part of the viewer's familiar environment. This explains in part why biblical paintings are never "historically accurate" in the modern sense. They were never intended as costume dramas. Ludolph continues: "As you read the narrative, imagine you are seeing each event with your own eyes and hearing it with your own ears, because the sweetest thoughts are born of desire—and these are much more pleasing to the taste. Although these accounts describe events that occurred in the past, you must meditate upon them as if they were taking place now: there is no question but that you will savor them with greater pleasure. Read what once happened as if it were happening here and now."[39]

Ludolph's example of how to meditate on the book of Christ's life was eventually transported all the way to China via into the widely admired *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Pictures of the Gospel history), composed by one of the founders of the Jesuit Society, Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580). Published in Antwerp by the Plantin press in 1593 and 1594, Nadal's book provided 153 illustrated meditations on the Gospel.[40] It became the standard for illustrating the narrative of Christ's life. Nicolai Longobardo and other missionaries in China requested that Nadal's book be sent to them, so that they might show the pictures as objects of meditation to potential converts. If Ludolph urged readers to imagine the scene in

38. Charles Abbot Conway Jr., *The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion Centred on the Incarnation: A Descriptive Analysis* (Salzburg: Analecta Cartusiana, 1976), 126–27.

39. Ludolph of Saxony, Carthusian, *The Life of Jesus Christ*, trans. Milton T. Walsh (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2018), part 1, 1:17.

40. Paul Begheyn, "The Jesuits in the Low Countries 1540–1773: Apostles of the Printing Press," *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540–1773)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 135.

which Christ's life takes place, Nadal's work provided illustrations on the page for readers to contemplate, meditate, and remember. The title page resembles an altar piece. Similarly, the frontispiece to Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditations* (Annotations and meditations) portrays saints as sculptures standing in niches within a church's façade, thereby establishing a triangular reiteration of sacred architecture, reading the book, and contemplating the image. So successful was the book-church-saint sequence that it was reiterated in countless publications, including Guilo Aleni's translation with images into Chinese.[41] The illustrations allowed Nadal's work to address readers who did not understand Latin by providing a visual framework around which translations of text could be organized. If the visualization of biblical scenes was the secondary effect of Ludolph's reading strategy, the new techniques of Antwerp printers allowed images to become the equal to the written word, thereby allowing meditations on the Gospel to drift away from a singular focus on the text and into the more diffuse impressions of the visual.

The purpose of visualization in this context was not merely to perceive more intensely with more senses, but also to feel compassion for the figures. Ludolph and the early Jesuits understood visualization as a means of strengthening the reader's emotional affinity for Christ. The point of identification was for the reader to be absorbed into the image that arises from reading, to pass over into it, and thereby to be so transformed that he or she adopts a new form of living. By placing themselves within the text's scene, it became easier for readers and their pious listeners, for reading aloud was certainly the most common method, to feel compassion for other religious figures, such as the missionaries and their converts. Herein begins the psychological process whereby European Christians could develop sympathy for distant people.

Antoine Sucquet advises that a faithful reader preparing to contemplate a religious book should imagine the space in which the book transpired—under a heading "imagining the place is almost

41. Nicholas Standaert, "Jesuits in China," *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 182.

always useful."[42] Ralph Dekonick suggests that these instructions are replicated in Jesuit frontispieces generally. The architecture shown in a book's opening page implicitly encourages the reader to imagine this space while moving through the text. "This metonymic dimension inaugurates the act of reading by an act of imagining, which constructs a virtual and prospective image of the text to be discovered."[43] For example, the widely read and influential 1687 introduction to Confucius's life and philosophy, *Confucius Sinarum philosophus* ("Confucius, the philosopher of the Chinese"), opened with a page showing the Chinese thinker dressed in robes, which could also have been worn by a European scholar or Church father, while standing in a building that had the checkerboard floor tiles along with a high vaulted ceiling that culminated in the same rounded arch found in many classically designed European churches (see figure 3).[44] Only his facial features, the script on the books, and the hats worn by small figures in the background identify the representation as Chinese; otherwise, the Confucian temple could easily have been taken as a European library. Similar to drawings and paintings from Raphael to David of Greek philosophers debating in Athens, the title page at the start of Confucius's biography offers readers an image of the space within which to situate the short dialogues between teacher and student that organize classical Chinese philosophy.

The inclusion of illustrations in devotional books did not supersede the link between text and imagination. As we have seen, classical rhetoric well understood that poetry could employ language so vivid that readers would have the impression that they could see

42. Antoine Sucquet, *Wege zum ewigen Leben*, trans. Carl Stengel (Augsburg: Langenwalder, 1627), 7.

43. Ralph Dekoninck, "On the Threshold of a Spiritual Journey: The Appealing Function of a Jesuit Frontispiece (Antwerp, 1593–1640)," in *Le monde est une peinture: Jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder*, ed. Elisabeth Oy-Marra and Volker R. Remmert (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 80.

44. *Confucius Sinarum philosophus,* trans. Prosperi Intorcetta, Christian Herdtrich, Francisci Rougemont, Philipp Cpuplet. (Paris: Daniel Horthemel, 1687), 122.

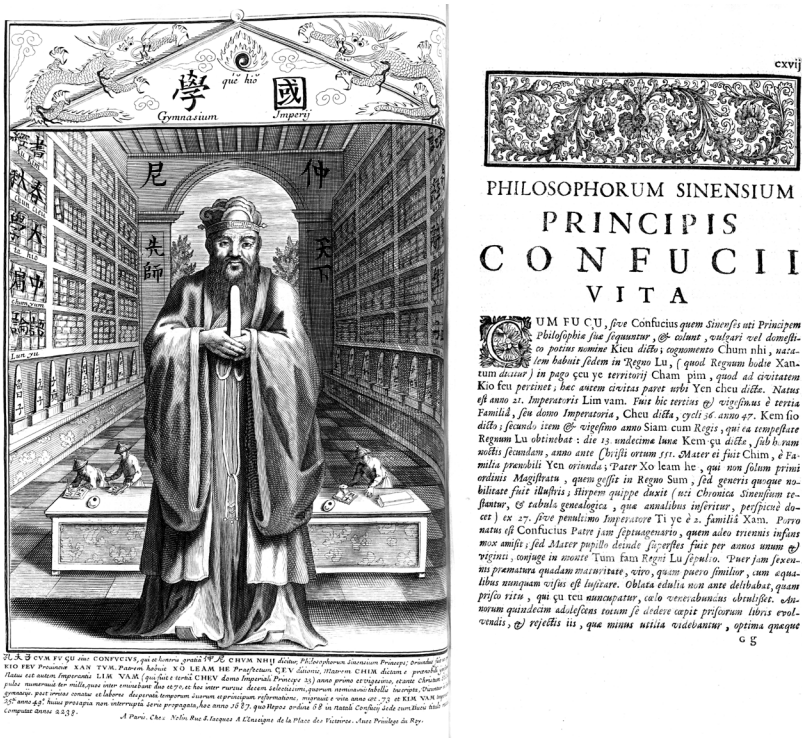

Figure 3. Depiction of Confucius in a European styled library. Source: *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, trans. Prosperi Intorcetta, Christian Herdtrich, Francisci Rougemont, and Philipp Couplet (Paris: Daniel Horthemel,1687), 122.

the scene for themselves.[45] Without abandoning this ideal, medieval Christianity also reversed the formula when it approached texts meditatively.[46] Faithful readers took it upon themselves to conjure

45. G. Zanker, "Enargeia in the Ancient Criticism of Poetry," *Rheinische Museum für Philologie* N.F. 124 (1981): 297–311.

46. Mary Carruthers's insistence that monastic practice deployed the memory arts, in particular their reliance on mental visualization, for the sake of inventive composition rather than passive information storage reflects this shift toward the reader rather than the orator. See her *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

up the image through their own effort, even if the text was not brimming with visual detail, thereby conjoining rhetoric with contemplative hermeneutics.

The European inclination to identify with foreign figures, to feel an emotional bond with them based on a written description, to sympathize and even share in their suffering and happiness has a long genealogy. We will begin with the martyr. Three types of dramatic scenes—the emperor's court, the martyr's death, and the idyllic retreat—were introduced by the first missionaries into the European discourse on China in order to foster identification from West to East. The first two place the Asian within a nexus of power and violence, the third removes him entirely from it. All three scenes appealed to humanist Christians as familiar from history, literature, and philosophy of the Mediterranean antiquity. Contemporary cosmopolitan appeals to aid and support suffering people outside the West descend from the staging of martyr dramas in the early modern period. Modern cosmopolitanism still uses the images of suffering that were at the core of the Catholic Church's claim to be represent the universal Christian church. Without the stagecraft of early martyr dramas, we would not have the modern media spectacle of cosmopolitan appeals to rescue the Third World. The cruel deaths of Christian converts in East Asia established the possibility that Europeans could sympathize with complete strangers on the basis of a shared religion. The stories of how Japanese Christians were tortured and killed circulated widely in seventeenth-century Europe: they were the basis for school plays performed in public markets; they were shown on church walls, eulogized in sermons; and their stories circulated widely in church literature. While Europeans might have no other basis for seeking affinity with Japanese peasants, a shared religious faith was enough to open an imaginary emotional connection. From theatrical depictions of Asian Christians dying for their faith, it was a small but crucial step for plays to depict non-Christian Asians, often Chinese, who shared certain virtues in common with Christian Europeans—indeed who might even have had an inclination to convert. Martyr dramas contributed strongly to the image of the Asiatic despot who mercilessly and with absolute power subjugated all subjects, foreigner as well as native. Europeans sympathized with the suffering of Asian converts

specifically because they had abandoned their traditional religion in favor of Christianity. That they had fallen away from their own culture made them objects of long-distance identification—an alignment quite different from Enlightenment curiosity, which fixated on difference.

Harsh autocrats were a staple of baroque tragic dramas, as in Andreas Gryphius's *Catharina von Georgien*. The longevity of this stereotype was reinforced by its frequent adaptation, so that the despotism of the Asian ruler was portrayed as operating against different types of victims. In the nineteenth century, it was not Christian converts so much as English merchants with free-market principles who were at least figuratively tyrannized by Chinese and Japanese rulers uninterested in opening their markets. However, Asian monarchs were not all type cast as harsh tyrants; some were reflective rulers cautiously interested in Western teachings. Already in the seventeenth century, urban theater splits away from Jesuit school dramas, so that tyrannical power is often shown to be operating against the monarch rather than at his behest. These almost-Christians could also be the objects of sympathy for naïve Europeans. For humanist Europeans, such as the Jesuits, Confucian moral philosophy could also become an object of admiration worthy of emulation. The Jesuit efforts to establish a connection between the ethical and cosmological principles in a humanist Christianity and Confucian texts broadened the terms of an abstract emotional bond between cultures. If Scholastic Christians could incorporate Greek and Roman philosophy, then the Jesuits postulated that they ought try the same with the classical works transcribed by the students of Confucius. In this manner there emerged a very real possibility for the Catholic seventeenth century to find an affinity with a small, refined sector of Chinese culture.

As these affinities became more abstract, they were often turned against each other. The spectacle of martyrdom could be turned against Europeans if one contemplated the possibility that Christian campaigns to convert others were themselves tyrannical, especially if these critiques reinforced divisions within Christianity. Thus, Protestants could present resistance to Catholic conquest as a form of martyrdom based on abstract principles such as autonomy and

sovereignty. In *The Indian Emperour*, John Dryden could portray Montezuma as a martyr suffering for his civilization at the hands of obsessed conquistadores. As the monarch he is, of course, representative of the fate of his civilization, which is driven by *fortuna*, the sheer chance that Spanish strangers have landed on his shores. In either case, whether the violence was administered by or to the head of state, the victims were portrayed in Stoic terms, as calmly accepting horrific bodily punishment without blinking. The calm of the medieval martyr was revived in representations of Asia. If certain Japanese and Chinese converts seemed capable of quietly undergoing torturous misery, it was because missionaries ascribed to them the virtues they perceived in early Christian martyrs. By the end of the eighteenth century, English philosophers took for granted that Londoners could feel sympathy for the suffering of distant Asians; the question for Edmund Burke and Adam Smith was no longer whether it was possible to feel for the misery people in China or India, but how strong were these feelings? Were they as strong as the emotional affections Englishmen had for each other? If they were not as strong, was this then a sign of moral failure?

One problem with the figure of the martyr is he or she is understood to represent an entire nation, yet we can easily say that the suffering Japanese Christian convert is by no means typical of Edo Japanese society. By the tragic conventions of baroque martyr dramas, the suffering monarch was the embodiment of his or her nation. Montezuma tortured by conquistadores is understood by the conventions of tragedy to embody the fate of all native peoples in the Americas. As compelling as these images are, we must ask to what extent do they summarize the history of two societies' interaction? Does the refugee who has landed on an island represent his homeland just because Europeans and Americans have formed an emotional bond with him on account of his suffering? What pressure does the theatrics of martyrdom place on the refugee to be the perfect Syrian or to speak for all Sudan? Furthermore, to what extent is the West aware of a place when it is not in crisis? If sympathy is the first bond between cultures, how do those connections develop when there is no longer a desperate situation? How can sympathy lead to a more complete cultural exchange rather than

relying on the breakdown of culture as the basis for building an emotional bond? The reliance on spectacles of suffering to find a shared humanity may reinforce the cycle of forgetting that typifies the early modern European connection with China—foreign societies matter only in moments of crisis or, in that clear contrast to cosmopolitan unity, when they threaten the West militarily. Outside of such emotional peaks, they run the risk of being forgotten. Sympathy for martyrs always entails an emotional appeal for a person and often a culture on the brink of destruction, whereas accommodation entails a respectful integration of the self into the other. Only when the conditions of fatalistic *Trauerspiele* are preceded by dialogue in advance of disaster, only when sympathy is expanded to become identification so that observers come to believe that they share a complex identity with the other, does a sophisticated cultural exchange such as in accommodation or world literature commence.

A second line of identification fostered by missionary discourse was predicated on the perceived similarity between European intellectuals and their counterparts in Asia. Its emotional success depended on a sense of equality between the two cultures. Eighteenth-century continental thinkers, bureaucrats, and courtiers themselves, could find a strong affinity for the Chinese ruling class, mandarins, or literati, who not only engaged in learned study, but also exercised real political power under the guidance of a wise and just monarch. While the Jesuits saw the literati as scholars with a similar cosmological and ethical philosophy, Enlightenment thinkers followed a similar track of identification, though without a particularly strong faith in an omnipotent deity. As the Enlightenment turned to reexamine the first translations of Confucian texts, rationalist philosophers continued to accept the Jesuit claim that the European and Chinese intellectual elite shared similar ethical principles, but they did so precisely for the opposite reason than the missionaries. Chinese intellectuals were appealing to the Enlightenment precisely because they showed little sign of believing in God the creator. Each one of these encounters with China came almost anew. If European depictions of China follow a continuous line, it depends on the remarkable consistency and discipline of the Jesuit missionaries' discourse. How could such a far-flung association of

intellectuals maintain such a consistent position for almost two centuries?

Jesuit Techniques Shared

The similarities between Catholic missionary communities and eighteenth-century sentimentalism deserve greater attention.[47] Eighteenth-century German media scholarship has treated emotional subjectivity as a circuit that begins with Pietism in the late seventeenth century and emerges as a literary form with sentimentalism in the late eighteenth. Recent work has made explicit how important communication systems were in providing the conditions for long-distance expressions of feeling. The privacy and direct address made possible by postal delivery allowed writers to heighten the intensity of their subjective utterances to recipients living far away, so much so that without mail delivery, one might suspect that the moral psychology of sentimentalism would not have been possible. Christian Gellert's discourse on letter writing, *Praktische Abhandlung von dem guten Geschmack in Briefen* (Practical treatise on good taste in letters), is regularly cited as the turning point from letters composed according to a rhetoric intent on demonstrating feudal, courtly status to a personalized inner voice of emotional vulnerability.[48] Most every German literary historian overlooks the Catholic history of reading practices that precedes Gellert's advice on how to narrate a story: "Tell a story not so that one simply understands the matter, but rather so that one believes to see it before oneself and to thus be a witness thereof. This is what it means to narrate in a lively manner. This comes about through the small portraits that one composes in a story about the circumstances, or people."[49] Gellert's practical recommendation recapitulates the medieval reader's relationship to sacred and edifying scripture. Gellert's

47. Astrida Tantillo offers a singular analysis in "The Catholicism of Werther," *German Quarterly* 81.4 (2008): 408–23.

48. Siegert, *Relays*, 33.

49. Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, "Praktische Abhandlung von dem guten Geschmack in Briefen," *Sämtiche Schriften* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1867), 4:68.

radical innovation in lies in switching a mode of reading into a style of narrating. The medieval mode of reading sacred stories by envisioning them becomes a method of writing secular stories so that they may be visualized. No medieval believer would have assumed the authorial position of sacred literature, and Gellert extends his advice only to personal narratives, yet the reversal opens up the possibility that the successful modern author could claim the position of a "second Creator," an aesthetic that Goethe and the Sturm-und Drang actualized decades after Gellert's rather sensible advice.

A second blind spot in eighteenth-century German media studies is the manner in which they sometimes reinforce the periodization of traditional literary history. Although media history has often claimed that its chronology is driven by technologies and practices, all too often the history of postal systems reinscribes canonical German literary historiographies by presenting Pietist literature as a precursor to the young Goethe, who inevitably becomes the decisive starting point for German literature's tradition of intensely subjective writing. Werther's presumption that court life is filled with cold wooden puppets who cannot express an inner genius finds its media equivalent in the claim that rhetorically organized letters written by aristocrats were formulaic and without feeling. Most scholars follow Goethe's recollections in book 8 of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (*Poetry and Truth*) that Pietist circles offered the natural link between sentimentalist reading and religious practices.[50] All too often Pietism is treated as the origin of German soulfulness. Nevertheless, a glance at letters circulating within the early modern Catholic world reveals that a passionate epistolary culture flourished in the church, not as a rebellion but as an actively

50. Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, in *Werke*, ed. Erich Trunz (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), 9:308–53; *Werke* is hereafter referred to as HA. The title will be translated henceforth as *Poetry and Truth* in order to preserve poetry's primacy. As a general note on translations in eighteenth-century German scholarship: For philosophers writing in English, there exist standard translations of Immanuel Kant's three *Critiques* and many other works in the German tradition, from which quotations are commonly taken. English scholars of German literature, on the other hand, do not rely on standard translations. Even though translations from German abound, scholars are obliged, in the case of Goethe's work as well as most every author since, to provide their own as part of their analysis.

encouraged communication that was understood to motivate the faithful. In his history of German letter writing, Albrecht Koschorke notes that Gellert reactivates the Roman view that a written correspondence substitutes for a personal conversation, implying that this was an entirely new rediscovery, as opposed to having been a staple of humanist friendship.[51] The long history of Catholic epistles with their manifold proclamations of faith and yearning is thereby discounted. Missionary correspondents constituted one of the communities where intimacy and the desire to be reunited with distant friends were expressed frequently and with complex tropes. Missionaries often stressed that their great separation from old friends meant that they would never again be able to speak with one another in person and that letters would thus have to stand in substitution. Gellert's distinction between the formality of baroque administrative style and the oral simulation of private letters appears in Jesuit letter-writing advice over a century before.

In tracing out these comparisons between letter writing and conversation as an ideal, we must bear in mind that interpersonal conversations have their own history. Cicero and Gellert may have held the private conversation as the model for letter writing, but we can hardly imagine that their speech was much the same. How a patrician Roman spoke with a favorite friend would have differed considerably from a dialogue between two sensitive German poets, just as it would surely have varied from any conversation between two Jesuit priests. Thus, even if a sentimental conversation sounded different from the pious talk between Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, we can still recognize that they shared a similar model of written communication—to simulate spoken intimacy. Despite their historical differences, we can imagine similar problems arising for anyone taking advantage of a postal system. In writing their personal letters, Jesuits, Pietists, and sentimentalists would all have had to negotiate the curious paradox of writing about personal feelings for a friend with the understanding that the more successfully their text reveals the nuances of spiritual or emotional intimacy, the more

51. Albrecht Koschorke, *Körperströme und Schriftverkehr: Mediologies des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wilhlem Fink, 1999), 191–92.

likely it was that it would be shared publicly. Church readings of missionary letters and their republication in vernacular translation inspired many young men to apply for missionary positions in the East and West Indies, just as Sturm-und-Drang epistolary novels encouraged swarms of emulators. Young missionaries' greatest aspirations had more than a little in common with Werther's ultimate end: to demonstrate their everlasting faith by dying a martyr's death. Rather than seeing sentimentalism as a wholly new mode of expression, we should consider it a secularized, sensualized revision of earlier postal communications. Hans Robert Jauß argued already in the 1970s that *Werther* drew from and indeed exhausted the older religious tradition of edifying literature that urges readers to identify compassionately with Christ's suffering.[52]

The aesthetic practice of sympathizing with fictional characters still places great importance on the suffering of others and the observer's ability to imagine him- or herself in the same situation, however the range of scenes expanded over time. If late medieval readers shared Christ's suffering as they read, eighteenth-century readers applied similar techniques to very different characters. By all accounts Pietism served as conduit between medieval mysticism and eighteenth-century sentimentalism.[53] Karl Phillip Moritz was not the only such child raised on Thomas a Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*. Johann Caspar Lavater read the book daily while a student. The model of emulating Christ led Lavater to see the divine in every person, to find the highest ideals in humanity. Lavater adapted the Christian medieval model of reading as involving compassionate identification to an Enlightenment faith in progress.[54] While his enthusiastic reiterations of Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* may have

52. Hans Robert Jauß, *Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), 173.

53. "[Der Pietismus] überliefert vor allem starkes mystisches Gut dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in ihm wurzelt, wie erwähnt, der Subjectivismus des 18 Jahrhunderts, der in der Romantik einen Höhenpunkt erreicht" (August Langen, *Der Wortschatz des deutschen Pietismus* [Tübingen: Max Niemey er, 1954], 3).

54. Kurt Guggisberg, "Johann Caspar Lavater und die Idee der 'Imitatio Christi,'" *Zwingliana* 7.5 (1941): 337–66; Gerhard Kaiser, *Pietismus und Patriotismus im literarischen Deutschland: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Säkularistion*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1973), 21.

been seen by contemporaries such as Goethe as excessive, unrelenting, and a model of uncritical readerly reception, the basic notion of identifying through the text with a revered figure resonated broadly among German readers.

The medieval model persisted within sentimentalism, though in a secularized form. Martyrdom was one obvious trope that carried over into a poetic and unreligious use in the eighteenth century. The structure of Richardson's most famous novels mirror a basic conflict in baroque tragic drama, an absolute male tyrant demanding the sexual submission of a virtuous virgin or mother through rape, marriage, or both. These configurations hearken back to medieval martyr plays, such as Hroswitha von Gandersheim's Latin *Dulcitus*, also known as *Die Leiden der heiligen Jungfrauen Agaoe, Chionia und Irene* (The sufferings of the holy virgins Agaoe, Chionia and Irene). In noting the affinities, Margaret Ann Doody is also quite clear that the martyrdom was disregarded in the eighteenth century. An avowed aversion to martyrdom does not prevent its recuperation as sentimentalism. Doody elucidates the ways in which Richardson's Lovelace recreates the rape and desire of Dryden's tyrannical lovers, thereby drawing a lineage from baroque tragedy to the emerging novel.[55]

German religious authorities sensed that sentimental fiction was encroaching on their own terrain. The conservative Hamburg pastor Johann Melchior Goeze, for example, was outraged by how many readers of *The Sorrows of Young Werther* tended to treat the protagonist's suicide as a martyrdom.[56] The novel is saturated with allusions to the Gospel's account of Christ's passion even as it elaborates a pantheist worldview.[57] In Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz's *Briefe über die Moralität der Leiden des jungen Werthers*

55. See Margaret Ann Doody's chapter on "Tyrannic Love and the Virgin Martyr" in her *A Natural Passion: A Study of the Novels of Samuel Richardson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

56. Johann Melchior Goeze, *Kurze aber nothwendige Erinnerungen über die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (Hamburg: Schröders Wittwer, 1775), 9.

57. For a close reading of the biblical references as they mix with Ossian and pantheism, see Herbert Schöffler, *Deutscher Geist im 18. Jahrhundert: Essays zur Geistes- und Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967) 155–81.

(Letters on the morality of the sorrows of young Werther), itself one of the most intense glorifications of identificatory reading, Werther is characterized as a martyr with whom the reader strives to share every emotion.[58] The eighth letter states: "Werther is the image . . . of a crucified Prometheus whose example offers you a mirror with which to contemplate yourselves."[59] Rather than suffering for the sake of transcendence in the afterlife, Werther is seen as martyr for sensual love in the here and now. Goethe revived the image of the martyr on the last page of *Elective Affinities*, when Eduard is found dead and, despite his wife Charlotte's fears that he might have killed himself, is then buried in a chapel alongside his beloved Ottilie. His last lines in the novel made the comparison explicit: "I feel indeed . . . that there is a genius to everything, even to martyrdom."[60]

Reception theory in the 1970s sought to integrate pious edification and secular fiction by considering how the novel's discourse guided its reception. As book historians point out, sentimental novels increasingly took the place of edifying religious books in the late eighteenth century. While this shift did not require that the older modes of reading for religious edification be abandoned, in the secularized mode of the Enlightenment, identificatory reading was treated as a natural practice, rather than as an explicitly Christian one. Lenz's fifth letter on *Werther* points out that readers gladly mimic what they find in texts: "The human heart is inclined to imitate that which has moved it extraordinarily, as Cicero already recognized."[61] Lenz suggests further that Werther's virtues have much more in common with martyrdom than with Roman Stoics: "Sacrifice, self-denial, renunciation of the purest pleasures for the sake of a higher purpose."[62]

Another trait that sentimentalism acquired from earlier devotional works was the expectation that readers would visualize narrative scenes. Scholarship on *Werther* used to characterize identificatory

58. Klaus R. Scherpe, *Werther und Wertherwirkung, Zum Syndrom bürgerlicher Gesellschaftsordnung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Bad Homburg: Gehlein, 1970), 77.

59. Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz, *Werke und Schriften*. Band 1 (Stuttgart: Gouverts 1966),1:396.

60. Goethe, *Die Wahlverwandschaften*, HA, 6:490.

61. Lenz, *Werke*, 1:388.

62. Lenz, *Werke*, 1:399.

readings of the novel as naïvely mistaken, though since at least the 1960s, such enthusiastic modes of literary apprehension have gained greater academic respect, as more than just the antithesis of autonomy aesthetics.[63] Despite his later efforts to distance himself from the *Werther* emulators, Goethe often wrote about author's need to provide an image through the text. In his notebook while traveling through Switzerland in 1797 he reflects that human nature has a fierce desire to give words to everything we see and that the desire to see with our own eyes what we have heard described is even greater. As universal as this statement sounds, he immediately situates these urges within his own era. The English and the Germans have in recent times been drawn particularly to this experience, he claims. They embrace any artist who sets a landscape before their eyes, who can make the protagonist of a novel or poem appear visibly in action. Just as welcome is the speaker or poet who can transport an audience through his description into a place, either by reviving memories or stirring up fantasies. Reverting again to the model of reading presented in *Werther*, Goethe concludes that readers are happy to wander through the landscape with book in hand.[64] Decades later he attributes this poetic ability to produce visions to Shakespeare, whom he characterizes as a poet to whom one listens, and who could transport readers into another world by giving words to what he saw within himself. Goethe isolated "inneres Anschauen," inner observation, as Shakespeare's particular genius. "The eye may be called the clearest of the senses, with which we can convey most readily. Yet the inner sense is even more clear and it succeeds in conveying meaning better and more quickly through the word. . . . Shakespeare speaks through this inner sense through which the imagination's world of pictures springs to life."[65] Goethe is again drawing from the ancient

63. For further analysis, see chapter 2 in my *The Tyranny of Elegance: Consumer Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Goethe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

64. *Goethes Werke* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1887–1919), 1.34:1, 354–55; henceforth referred to as WA. See also Karl S. Guthke, *Goethes Weimar und "Die große Öffnung in die weite Welt"* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 29–30.

65. Goethe, "Shakespeare und kein Ende," HA 12:288.

tradition of the memory arts by presuming that the artist possesses a treasure chamber of images that evoke dramatic stories. Recollection and speaking both originate from the author's theatrical imagination, and if performed well, they produce the same internal vision within the listener. Both author and audience indulge in their own ability to produce inner visions.

As familiar as this characterization is to readers of sentimental and Romantic literature, it shares many qualities with Ignatius Loyola's sixteenth-century instructions. Kurt Weinberg suggests a correlation between the two traditions: "Goethe's quite secular idea of theatricality seems to owe . . . much to his childhood experiences with Protestant Pietism. . . . [His] notion of theatricality emerges from his remote Christian past as an *inneres Anschauen* . . . —the urbane crystallization of religious meditation in the sense of Loyola's *Exercises*, with the addition of the Illuminists' 'inner light.'"[66] The eighteenth-century literature reader was more likely to waver ironically in and out of a text's diegesis, but for the sentimental being absorbed by a narrative description remained an ideal.[67] Falling into the illusion of being transported by travel literature was a desired effect, even for the most analytical. Carl Linnaeus, surely the Enlightenment's most seasoned reader of travel reports, praised Peter Osbeck's *Voyage to China and the East Indies* for its ability to conjure of the illusion of a foreign landscape's presence: "I seem myself to have travelled with you, and to have examined every object you saw with my own eyes. If voyages were thus written, science might truly reap advantage from them."[68] Science writing, as Linnaeus enjoyed it best, should adopt the narrative techniques of devotional and adventure literature. The addition of illustrations enhanced the illusion already provided by imagistic reading of the text, as the philosopher John Locke suggests in his summary of Jan Nieuhoff's account of his travels with the Dutch East India Com-

66. Kurt Weinberg, *The Figure of Faust in Valery and Goethe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 223–24.

67. Michael Bell, *Sentimentalism, Ethics and the Culture of Feeling* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000): 57–65.

68. Peter Osbeck, *A Voyage to China and the East Indies*, trans. John Reinhold Forster (London: Benjamin White, 1771), 2:128.

pany: "He leaves nothing worth relating untouched . . . from China all along the coast of India and Persia; so plainly representing all things observable or strange there, that with the help of his [wood] cuts we seem to be conversing with the people of those parts, to see all their towns and living creatures, and to be thoroughly acquainted with their habits, customs, and superstitions.[69] Both Locke and Linnaeus praised authors not only for their abilities to observe and take notes about Asia, but also for actualizing their impressions in the reader, thus combining scientific practice with literary effect by encouraging readers to construct their own images of distant places—a move enhanced by the Nieuhoff's tendency to draw Chinese cities from a vantage point along a body of water, in a manner very similar to Dutch cityscapes of the seventeenth century. Like many philosophers, Locke treated metaphors with suspicion, denouncing the beautiful deceit of figural language;[70] however, the readerly inclination to visualize a narrative scene seems to fall outside such hostility to the extent that it recreates an observation originally professed by the travel writer.

In positing similar reading practices from Loyola to Pietists to sentimentalism and the Enlightenment, we should not presume that these sects shunned each other. Max Weber already noted that Catholic and Calvinist exercises share similar aims and techniques in self-examination: "This absolute self-control, like the aim of the *êxercitia* of Saint Ignatius and the highest forms of all rational monastic virtues, was also the decisive practical ideal of Puritanism."[71] Such overlapping traits emerged out of the competition between confessions, with each studying the other as part of their long disputation. For the larger argument that Catholic strategies for fostering and managing a long-distance missionary operation while inspiring support from European congregations, it is important to point out that all sides kept track of each other: "Just as the Calvinists

69. John Locke, "A Catalogue and Character of most Books of Voyages and Travels," in *The Works of John Locke* (London: Thomas Davison, 1823), 10:557.

70. David Porter, *Ideographia: The Chinese Cipher in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 25–26.

71. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the "Spirit" of Capitalism*, trans. Peter Baehr and Gordon Wells (New York: Penguin, 2002), 81.

are wont to quote the Catholic moral theologians, and not only Thomas Aquinas, Bernard of Clairvaux, or Bonaventura, but also contemporaries, so did the Catholic casuists regularly take note of the heretical ethic."[72] Maximilian Sandaeus was perhaps the most important Jesuit mediating between the medieval tradition and Pietism. Writing in Cologne, he identified and interpreted some 800 mystical terms in his *Pro theologia mystica Clavis* (The key to mystical theology, 1640), providing Pietists a frequently cited point of access to medieval mystical sources.[73] While Weber does not worry himself with readers' imagination or emotional expressions as they arose from the Catholic devotions, for eighteenth-century sentimentalism, medieval and Jesuit exercises were important not only because they taught practitioners to be attentive to their own internal states, but also because they intensified readers' emotional relationship to the text, inspired them to fill in details with their own reservoir of images, and provided a general model of devotional reading.

Halle Pietists were also well aware of the Jesuit's efforts in Asia, for they aspired to compete directly with them. They often framed their own missionary efforts in terms of the Jesuits who preceded them.[74] The first Pietist missionaries in Asia learned many of the same logistical and theological lessons that the Jesuits learned in China: that the long distance from Europe allowed missionaries to accommodate themselves and their teachings to their audience's culture. Eighteenth-century Pietists did not reach China, but they did found a very small mission in India. They lacked the logistical network that Catholic seafaring nations could provide, ye they were able to develop a working relationship with the Dutch East India Company. The first important Pietist mission in Asia was established 1706 in the small Tamil village of Tranquebar by Bartholomaeus

72. Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 186.

73. Langen, *Der Wortschatz des deutschen Pietismus*, 402.

74. Hans-Jörg Hintze, "Christian Missionaries and their Perceptions of Hinduism: Intercultural Exchange," in *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau, (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 2:885–902. See also the complaints of the fallen Jesuit, Maturin Veyssiere La Croze, *Abbildung des Indianischen Christenstaates*, trans. G. Chr. Bohnstedt (Leipzig: Samuel Benjamin Walther, 1739), 715.

Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) and Henry Plütschau (1677–1746) under the political authority of the Danish king Frederick IV (1671–1730), but with the spiritual and financial support of Halle.[75] The Tranquebar mission also received indirect influence from the British Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The mission remained small yet enthusiastic, with its members learning Tamil in order to approach the local population in their own idiom. Ziegenbalg commenced the task of translating the New Testament into Tamil. The preachers sent reports from India back to Halle, which after 1710 were published at regular intervals. These *Hallesche Berichte* (*Halle reports*) provided German readers a media avenue into India and an opportunity for intellectuals to comment upon and critique the India mission.[76] August Francke, the founder of the Pietist foundation in Halle, had been wary of Ziegenbalg's sympathetic portrayal of Hindu culture, allowing "only a select few of his most trusted allies full access" before prohibiting the publication of his two major works.[77]

Ziegenbalg is credited as having opened an ethnological dialogue on the sources for Hindu traditions that led him to set aside European stereotypes about so-called "heathens."[78] Gita Dharampal-Frick considers his writings to be an extraordinarily rich source for

75. Daniel Jeyaraj, "Mission Reports from South India and Their Impact on the Western Mind: The Tranquebar Mission of the Eighteenth Century," in *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914*, ed. Dana L. Robert (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 21–42. Hanco Jürgens, "On the Crossroads: Pietist, Orthodox and Enlightened Views on Mission in the Eighteenth Century," in *Halle and the Beginnings of Protestant Christianity in India*, ed. Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (Halle: Verlag des Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 1:7–36.

76. These reports were published intermittently from 1735 to 1772. The first volume: *Der Königlich Dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandter Ausführlichen Berichten,* ed. Gotthilf August Francken (Halle: Waysen Hauses, 1735). A digitalization of the entire run is available at https://digital.francke-halle.de/fsdhm.

77. Anthony Gregg Roeber, *Hopes for Better Spouses: Protestant Marriage and Church Renewal in Early Modern Europe, India, and North America* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdsmann, 2013), 199.

78. Monica Juneja, "'Malabarian' Dialogues: The Encounter between German Pietists and the Tamilian Populace during the Early Eighteenth Century," *Medieval History Journal* 5.2 (2002): 344.

the oral history of southern India.[79] Monica Juneja implicitly compares him with Jesuits in China by characterizing his writings as an attempt to find "accommodation" between his beliefs and his observations.[80] Even as Ziegenbalg's writing from India was attempting to understand local beliefs, back in Germany, Francke made a point of censoring the letters before they appeared in the *Hallesche Berichte* because they highlighted the discrepancy between a dangerous ethnographic interest in Tamil culture and what leading Pietists thought European Christians should know about India.[81] The ancient anxiety that all missions struggle to contain is the fear that efforts to understand non-Christian culture will introduce heretical ideas into the home country. In order to learn Tamil and to engage the people he was intent on converting, Ziegenbalg opened an interfaith dialogue by soliciting letters with Indians about their religious tenets. Traveling to Madras in early 1711, Ziegenbalg participated in religious disputations and gathered explanations from Hindus on their faith. Between October and December 1711, he collected fifty-eight letters and later another forty-eight. These he translated into German and then sent them with the originals on to Halle for publication. Ziegenbalg followed a familiar Pietist form when he engaged Hindus by asking them to write personal letters about their faith. These were intended to be the kind of first-person narratives that came to define eighteenth-century subjectivity in the epistolary novel. Rather like Goethe's "Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele" (Confessions of a beautiful soul), Ziegenbalg solicited confessions of a Hindu soul. In writing about Brahmin learnedness, he strikes a pose similar to Werther: "Oh, you Brahmans! you who instruct in many disciplines and carry on with so many books. When

79. Gita Dharampal-Frick, *Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen der Frühen Neuzeit (1500–1750): Studien zu einer interkulturellen Konstellation* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), 105–6.

80. Juneja, "'Malabarian' Dialogues, 345: "The missionary's deepening ethnological engagement with the sources of Hindu traditions led him to question more openly European stereotypes by setting aside the language of Christian universalism in favour of alternative frameworks of 'civility' within which he sought to accommodate his observations of the Tamilian socio-religious order."

81. Dharampal-Frick, *Indien im Spiegel*, 100.

you die, what use will these books be to you. If you would only know God and live according to this knowledge, then you would have life."[82]

Francke was decidedly unimpressed and did not wish to publish any personal Hindu confessions, but was obliged to respond to pressure from the Danish crown prince. In the end, for the work published under the title of *Malabarische Correspondenz* (Malabarian correspondences), he removed some letters and expunged the sections he felt were too critical of Christians in India. An English translation based on the original German translations also appeared shortly thereafter. It provides a more complete version of Ziegenbalg's views than the Halle publication. Sensing the danger that curious German readers might be attracted to Asian beliefs, Francke also refused to publish Ziegenbalg's longer treatises on the genealogy of the South Indian gods, stating: "The missionaries were sent out to exterminate heathenism in India, not spread the heathen nonsense all over Europe."[83] Although Ziegenbalg had originally been inspired by Lange to take up the call to India,[84] his written accounts of the place met with such disfavor that they were not published in their completed version until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He composed his *Genealogie der malabarischen Götter* (*Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods*) in 1713, but it did not appear in full until 1791.[85]

82. Quoted in Dharampal-Frick, *Indien im Spiegel*, 363.

83. Brijraj Singh, *The First Protestant Missionary to India: Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1683–1719)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 78. Singh quotes Arno Lehmann, *Es began in Tranquebar: die Geschichte der ersten evangelischen Kirche in Indien* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1956), 56. Lehmann in turn quotes a paraphrase of August Francke from the forward to the nineteenth-century publication of Ziegenbalg's treatise: *Genealogy of the Malabar Gods*, ed. Wilhelm Germann (Madras: Christian Knowledge Society Press, 1867), vii.

84. Ziegenbalg was a student at the gymnasium in Berlin Lange directed. See J. F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission* (Tranquebar: Evangelical Lutheran Press, 1863), 19; Daniel Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities: An English Translation of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's Original German Manuscript with a Textual Analysis and Glossary* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 10.

85. Modern scholars uniformly overstate the time lag to publication because they rely on Wilhelm Germann's incorrect claim in 1867 that Zeigenbalg's manuscript had lain in the archives for 150 years until he provided for its publication

His interest in Hindu beliefs as a form of natural theology would have drawn the attention of Goethe and the Romantics.[86] As a regular reader of the *Hallesche Berichte* from 1770 to 1830, Goethe kept up with Pietist missionary reports.[87] Zeigenbalg's opening line shows the sympathy he carried for the Indians he was sent to convert: "The Indians recognize God from the light of nature. This truth was not brought to them first by Christians, but rather witnessed in their souls through their conscience."[88] His acceptance of natural theology as an alternative to Christian preaching leads Ziegenbalg to recognize Hindus as bearers of a shared religious truth. The similarities between their respective teachings created for him an obvious emotional bond. As Francke correctly understood, Ziegenbalg's turn to natural theology was a threat to dogma, for he seemed willing to include thoughtful Hindus in his "invisible church of saints."

Pietist missionaries were yet another link between late eighteenth-century sentimentalism and Jesuit adaptations of medieval reading practices, thereby reinforcing the eighteenth-century ideas about a global union of sympathetic spirits. Without providing the many reports and translations the Jesuits produced in China, the first Pietists missionaries did replicate the lessons of accommodation in a smaller, less imperial Indian context.

(*Genealogy of the Malabar Gods*, x). Germann seems to be unaware of the 1791 edition, which is largely identical, and most scholars have continued to accept his claim to have rescued Zeigenbalg's work from the archive.

86. Ziegenbalg, *Beschreibung der Religion und heiligen Gebräuche der Malabarischen Hindous* (Berlin: Königl Preußischen akademischen Kunst und Buchhandlung, 1791).

87. Lehmann, *Es began in Tranquebar*, 47.

88. Both the 1791 and the 1867 edition include this opening.