

At the same time, the authors assert that their book is a response to the call for a history of history-writing that recognizes that the dynamics for its development have 'emerged from various corners of the world'; they join in challenging the 'too readily accepted notion that the Western model remains at the centre of historical studies' (p. 394). On the showing of this text, little progress has been made in the direction of a global, as distinct from a Western, historiography. This is partly evident in the geographical imbalance of the book: while the core societies of the West – Germany, France, Britain, and the USA – are fully covered, Latin America receives only six pages, sub-Saharan Africa five pages, and Indonesia none at all. China, Japan, India, Egypt, and Turkey have clearly earned their high profile because of the vigour of their traditional modes of history-writing. But even here the governing theme is the reception of Western schools of historiography.

Where in this account is the reverse flow of ideas from periphery to metropole? The authors have much more to say about radical perspectives *within* the Western tradition than about global contributions by other parts of the world. During the nineteenth century, world histories were written by Wei Yuan (in China) and Okamoto Kansuke (in Japan), but they remained unread by scholars of other countries. Within the Western tradition, the subversive potential of the repeated reinventions of Marxism is duly recognized, as is the strand of postcolonialism stemming from the work of Edward Said. Only two instances of reverse flow are described: the *dependencia* school of historians in Latin America, and *Subaltern Studies* in India. Even here the shadow of the metropole is unmistakable: André Gunder Frank was of German origin, while the journal *Subaltern Studies* was hatched in the University of Sussex. Probably the most radical critique to emerge from the developing world is Dipesh Chakrabarty's call for the 'provincializing' of Europe. By this he meant that the master concepts of Western history – nationhood and citizenship – must no longer be allowed to determine the content of Indian history, and the 'repressive strategies' of academic history must be uncovered. Chakrabarty's programme is reported here in the spirit of representing the ideological drift of *Subaltern Studies*. What is missing is a strategic evaluation of its merits and its prospects.

This is a book in which the master narrative of global intellectual dissemination is ably documented for every continent. It will be invaluable to scholars of both globalization and historiography.

No disrespect is intended to the authors in suggesting that there is more to the history of history-writing than this. They have provided the indispensable and long-overdue first step, from which subsequent scholars in this field can only profit.

### Salvation and globalization in the early Jesuit missions

By Luke Clossey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. xii + 327. Hardback £55, ISBN 9780521887441.

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As Luke Clossey tells us at the outset, *Salvation and globalization* 'describes the early Jesuits' participation in Christianity as a global religion, and their construction of Christianity as a universal religion' (p. 9). Clossey sets out to accomplish his goals by examining Jesuit institutions, spirituality, and psychology within the context of what he calls 'early modern world Catholicism', covering the period between the 1580s and 1700. The succession of chapters moves from a description of the Jesuit internal organization, with its strengths and limitations in global reach (chapters 2 and 3), through an examination of Jesuit missionary imagination, psychology, and motivation (chapters 4–6), to a description of the interlocking networks – missionary, financial, informational, and spiritual – that sustained the global ambitions of the Jesuits, and elicited the support of their secular and ecclesiastical patrons (chapters 7–10). The introduction and the concluding chapter on 'global salvific Catholicism' touch upon a vast array of historiographical debates in the fields of Jesuit studies, early modern European history, world history, and the history of Christianity.

With a refreshing sense of amazement at what he calls the 'jarringly unfamiliar customs and beliefs' of early modern Jesuits, Clossey follows T. O. Beidelman's 1974 call<sup>1</sup> to look at the missionaries

1 T. O. Beidelman, 'Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 44, 3, 1974, pp. 235–49.

themselves as worthy 'subjects for wonder and analysis', in a sort of 'anthropological research of a subject extraordinary in its banality' (p. 8). Early modern Jesuit missionary spirituality and psychology might have seemed 'banal' and been taken for granted by the often long-forgotten Jesuit historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries profusely quoted by the wide-ranging Clossey. But, to our own contemporaries (and especially to our young undergraduate students, instantly connected through their cell phones and laptops to a world framed by commercial globalization), the mentality, spirituality, and motivations of those priests and their supporters must seem truly extraordinary. This book has the merit to remind us (a trend that has been gaining much strength in recent years) that religious motivation should be taken seriously, not simply as an epiphenomenon of politics and economics, an empty superstructure. Moreover, Clossey also reminds us that it is unwise to imagine religion as separate from economics or politics: especially in the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, a 'sacred economy' of relics, prayers, and rituals (described in chapter 10) was fuelled by financial resources and political backing from aristocrats and ecclesiastics in Europe and the colonies, and by merchants along the routes of the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Indian oceans. Within this global economy of the sacred, salvation of souls (their own, and those of others) always remained the main objective of clergymen and lay people alike.

Clossey's 'global salvific Catholicism' is a useful conceptual synthesis. In it we find the old Christian urge to procure the salvation of as many souls as possible, framed within the newer imagination of a global Christianity and of an even greater harvest of souls, made possible to a large extent by the European conquest of the Americas, and by the opening of commercial routes and colonial entrepôts in Africa and Asia. Ironically, however, even if this book purports to describe a 'global Christianity', it ultimately depicts a fully European enterprise. The book, in Clossey's words, is 'a study of missionaries, and it includes their converts only occasionally, and only to better illuminate the missionaries themselves' (p. 9). Important portions of the early modern global Catholic context, including lay communitarian practices and beliefs in the missions, and Jesuit participation in them, remain marginal to the monograph's narrative. We rarely hear the voices of any 'global Christians' other than the fifty-three central European Jesuits selected as a representative sample, their superiors in the Society of Jesus, and the

emperors, kings, dukes, archbishops, and noblewomen based in Spain and New Spain, Portugal and Goa, and the German lands, who lent their money and their prayers to the enterprise.

Clossey's ambitious objective is to unify in a global field all Jesuit missions: 'By emphasizing the missionaries over the potential converts and by focusing on the process of salvation at the core of the attendant power plays and cultural negotiation, we restore the essential unity of these seemingly disparate missions' (p. 240). If unity of intent in Jesuit education and spiritual training is undeniable, can we say that spending most of one's adult life in a mission station in central China or Baja California, far removed from confreres and other Europeans, immersed in the social fabric of native societies, would not make an isolated Jesuit a full participant in the locale where he happened to live, speak in native tongues, interact day after day with 'potential converts'? Would that Jesuit's primary cultural identity and religious sensibility remain first and foremost linked to the global project of the Society of Jesus (or even to his own original national identities) as outlined by Clossey, or be influenced and modified as strongly by the new local context? Alas, the written intentions of superiors and patrons in Europe, and the letters written to those superiors and patrons back from the missions to get their approval and financial support may not always be the best sources to explore how the missionary experience played out in the field and in the lives of individual missionaries. Unfortunately, the archives containing the correspondence among missionaries in the field have usually perished: we will almost certainly never know what a Jesuit in Beijing would write to a confrere in Hangzhou regarding the daily life of their communities, and matters too mundane (and perhaps too petty or personal), to figure in a report to Europe.

Ultimately, Clossey unequivocally links his reconstruction of the multiple global Jesuit networks to the emergence of 'modernity'. Although he sees the Jesuits as partly 'medieval' in their religious sensibility, he points to their 'awareness of causality' (p. 253) among disparate and far-flung phenomena as a distinctively modern characteristic. It is an awareness that only the Jesuits (as beneficiaries of the European expansion) possessed, unlike the Ming Chinese merchant who ignored how the Spanish silver from Potosí affected his country's domestic inflation. Clossey concludes that, together with European merchants, European missionaries 'fashioned the early-modern world and the globalization that integrated it'

(p. 255). The fleets of Chinese, Malay, and Indian commercial ships plying the waters of Asia, the export industries of China, the internal economic and social dynamics of Africa, and the life of the native peoples in the New World colonies, seem to be, once again, only the backdrop in a historical chain of European causality and European-led globalization.

That said, this book is full of wonderfully unexpected connections, and overflowing with ideas and proposals for a new global history of the early modern period. More work will be needed to integrate Clossey's synthetic picture of the Jesuit worldwide networks within the fabric of a fully global history, which several other innovative scholars have recently been writing, and continue to write. This can be accomplished by further clarifying how Catholic missionary global networks fitted within the broader context of the economic and cultural exchanges between Europeans and other peoples, and within the non-European social milieus that the missionaries encountered. Perhaps such research may also show us how a new global awareness emerged not only among Europeans but also among inhabitants and rulers of Asia, Africa, and the Americas, who participated in, opposed, or cautiously monitored the dynamics of European cultural, religious, economic, and military expansion. Otherwise, whose 'globalization' would it be?

### **Travellers and cosmographers: studies in the history of early modern travel and ethnology**

Joan-Pau Rubiés. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007. Pp. xiv + 428. Hardback £75, ISBN: 978-0-7546-5936-5.

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Ashgate Variorum publications bring together a corpus of related essays, the goal being to present readers with essays that have appeared in different journals and books, and to cluster them under themes that have been central in the scholar's work.

*Travellers and cosmographers* includes eleven articles that were published between 1991 and 2005 in journals that range from *Portuguese Studies* to *History and Anthropology*, from *Renaissance Studies* to the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. In

two cases (articles IV and XI), Joan-Pau Rubiés took the opportunity of the Variorum format to revise his work. The collection brings to the English-reading public research conducted in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and Dutch archives. It fills an important gap for historians of the early modern world and unravels a wealth of documentary resources.

Joan-Pau Rubiés is one of the foremost writers on the history of early modern western travel, and the relation between travel, ethnography, and cosmography. In his *Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), he focussed attention on travel literature about India, showing the importance of the eastward European gaze. In this collection of essays, he turns his attention to the Americas at the same time that he continues his work on Asia. The essays are divided between 'Historical perspectives' (four essays) and 'Texts and debates' (seven essays). Rubiés sets out his theoretical and methodological apparatus, and then continues with specific case studies about individual travellers, religious groups (Jesuits), primary printed sources, and manuscripts.

It is difficult in a short review to do justice to all the essays in this collection. But, unlike many such collections where the levels of scholarship and acumen vary from one essay to another, these essays are uniformly superlative. Rubiés views travel writing as one of the factors that helped bring about the Enlightenment: despite the racism and bigotry that were expressed by writers, the diversity of peoples from America to India and Japan forced on Europeans new forms of thinking and contributed to the development of modern science, with its grounding in epistemology and empirical observation. This relationship between travel and the Enlightenment is a project that Rubiés intends to examine more fully in his forthcoming *Europe's new worlds: travel writing and the origins of the Enlightenment, 1550–1750*. From Rousseau to Kant, thinkers repeatedly showed awareness of the new peoples and worlds that had come to their European attention: Rubiés undertakes a crucial project in focussing on the lineages of the ideas that became fundamental in the second part of the eighteenth century.

The essays in the 'Historical perspectives' unit examine the impact of specific cultures on the production of travel literature; the difference between fictional and authentic accounts; and the