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### 3 Jesuit peace-making in the Kingdom of Naples

#### Aspects of reconciliation in early modern Europe

*Stephen Cummins*

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From the kiss of peace to shared toasts to signed contracts, practices of reconciliation were integral parts of social, legal and political life across early modern Europe.<sup>1</sup> The particular outlines of such peace-making varied from country to country, changing due to different constellations of government, local politics, legal traditions and religious dynamics.<sup>2</sup> Such practices were not connected, for the most part, with the aftermath of warfare, rather they were part of patterns of injury and insult within communities. Often, such practices were necessitated by physical violence; homicide was one of the major causes of interpersonal enmity. The early modern European history of reconciliation offers important insights into wider academic investigation of reconciliation practices. It offers examples of instances in which peace-making practices, originally under the auspices of 'local' authorities or actors, are taken up or used by outside or distant authorities in order to perform government. Reconciliation, despite what commonplaces about the voluntary nature of forgiveness, was often a product of larger political strategies or attempts to avoid punishment. It also provides an example in which reconciliation is not seen as transformative but rather as conservative, showing the ways in which peace-making was not a set of 'transitional' practices but rather ones that sought to reproduce pre-existing social dynamics; a return to equilibrium.

The history of reconciliation in early modern Europe has contributed to a general reorientation away from evolutionary legal history and simple models of state formation.<sup>3</sup> This still nascent historiography has revealed the significance of peace-making practices as constituent elements of power relations within these societies. That is, they were not curious survivals or irrelevancies left over as empty ritual from earlier periods. The mantle of reconciliation offered social status for those who exercised it. Peace was a labile but significant ideal in early modern Europe, one that was often used to justify the reproduction of social relations. Reconciliation was associated strongly with the discretionary elements of early modern European legal culture. The religious pressure for reconciliation was strong. Much effort was spent on elaborating, defining and exploring the notion of peace.<sup>4</sup> John Bossy has, through an influential synthesis, demarcated the religious side of

the field and argued that the provision of peace-making was a key to success for branches of the Church due to local demands for mediation.<sup>5</sup>

Yet the early modern period also saw the unpicking of certain communal forms of reconciliation, such as the restriction on shared communion in Lutheran Europe from the 1580s or the marginalisation of private peace pacts in certain Italian states.<sup>6</sup> Central states increasingly co-opted local forms of reconciliation, yet co-option was not the same as destruction; the early modern period never saw a full hollowing out of reconciliation practices; both local politics and economies relied on the mediation of disputes and the continuing significance of discretion in old regime justice was predicated on reconciliation.<sup>7</sup>

The focus of this chapter is Jesuit peace-making practices in the early modern Kingdom of Naples. This particular focus opens up useful perspectives on reconciliation and its hybrid nature. It, first, underscores the Christian aspects of early modern peace-making. Yet it also shows the ways in which this was a negotiated practice between locality, religious order and the power structures of the Kingdom.

This chapter provides an account of aspects of Jesuit peace-making in the Kingdom of Naples, using the sources of the Jesuit Archive in Rome and other published works related to the missions. This empirical case also makes a contribution to the wider history of early modern reconciliation practices. In particular, I argue that particular cultures of reconciliation have to be connected to a set of contexts: local power relations, connected to certain rituals, psychology and physiology, documentation and local memory. Even a case study of 'religious' peace-making did not stay in the so-called 'religious sphere' or reflect only the reconciliation concepts of a clerical elite. A further part of this investigation is understanding reconciliation discourse as encompassing certain forms of emotional ideologies. The Jesuit concept of reconciliation was monolithic and, in theory at least, inflexible, backed as it was by a theology of enmity as sinful. Yet at the same time, it was adjusted to a variety of local realities.

## **Jesuits, peace-making and politics in the Kingdom of Naples**

The Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), founded in 1540, soon became one of the most important evangelical organisations in the Catholic Church. Most famous for its overseas missionary activity, it has been associated with the global transformations of Catholicism in the early modern era. Yet its internal missions within Catholic lands were also an important facet of its activities. These missions aimed at teaching rural populations the tenets of the Catholic faith. However, evangelising was not the only activity pursued by the Jesuit fathers: peace-making was their major preoccupation. One of the most important arenas for their European missions was the Kingdom of Naples. This was a large state, encompassing nearly half of the Italian

peninsula, with a capital that was one of the biggest cities in Europe.<sup>8</sup> Ruled by Spain since 1504 through resident viceroys, it was a society with considerable social conflict and high levels of violence. Its provinces were often famously regarded as uncivilised by outsiders.

Jesuit missionary activity in southern Italy has been well-studied.<sup>9</sup> Scholars have tended to fix much of their attention on the internal history of the society, writing from the perspective of historians of the Jesuits in particular or early modern missions more generally. Much has been gained from these approaches: the detail of the expansion of the Jesuits, their institutional dynamics and rich accounts of the content and development of their missionary strategies. This work has also highlighted their specific contribution to peace-making in early modern Italy. Elisa Novi Chavarria and Jennifer Selwyn, in particular, have highlighted the ways in which the Jesuits developed techniques of peace-making and made these techniques central to their missionary style. Selwyn frames her work as the exploration of a Kingdom that was characterised as a 'paradise inhabited by devils'.<sup>10</sup> In so doing she attempts to explore the ways in which the Jesuits reacted to the proverbial disorder of the city of Naples and the violence found in the entire Kingdom: their peace-making was, in this light, an attempt at promoting social integration, in the aftermath, in part, of the recurrent outbreaks of rebellion.<sup>11</sup> David Gentilcore has pointed to the ways in which Jesuits developed a theatrical and, at times, almost Carnavalesque approach that led to valuing the aesthetic content of devotion higher than the more mundane work of instilling deep understanding of Christian doctrine.<sup>12</sup>

In these ways, the domestic Italian missions of the Jesuits have been framed in terms of an encounter with popular culture, both in real confrontations and the related way they thought and wrote about peasants and plebeians. It is the history of popular culture that has underlain much of the historiography so far. The confrontation between Jesuits and 'folklore' or popular traditions has been central to understanding these missions and the devotional practices generated by them.<sup>13</sup> This tendency is particularly strong in studies that focus upon the Kingdom of Naples; Jennifer Selwyn argues that one of the cornerstones of Jesuit missionising in Naples was 'their accommodation to local religious rituals and emphasis on spectacle'.<sup>14</sup> For other parts of the world, much has been discovered about how the Jesuits developed approaches for missionising those they regarded as uneducated or uncivilised. The 'adaptive' nature of Jesuit missionary techniques informed by their experiences overseas has been seen as promoting a sort of 'syncretism'.<sup>15</sup> These related approaches all describe real challenges faced and innovations deployed by the Jesuits. But many other factors are also needed to explain Jesuit techniques and approaches, particularly if we are to understand why Jesuit activity in Naples was so intertwined with peace-making. The most important of these are the social and political institutions and dynamics that the Jesuits intervened in.

The role of Jesuits as peace-makers and mediators in specific local contexts has not been ignored by scholars. Elisa Novi Chavarria has done the most to establish the significance of the 'specific situations' that shaped Jesuit missions. Jesuit missionaries played a role in conflicts between 'populations and secular and ecclesiastical authorities'.<sup>16</sup> Particularly important was the role of the Jesuits in peace-making in the face of the 'ruptures' produced by the revolt of 1647-1648 and the plague of 1656, which exacerbated tensions between nobles, government and local communities.<sup>17</sup> Such a tumultuous decade reinforced Jesuit obsession with peace.

Certain visions of the society and politics of Naples have shaped prior interpretations. The local has been paramount, but this 'localness' has tended to be a rather general account of the history of the entire Kingdom (with the special dates of 1585 and 1647-1648 standing out) rather than being informed by the sorts of social and political institutions that shaped these experiences or from the micro-politics of communities. The institutional, communal and emotional aspects of Jesuit peace-making or mediation can further be studied.

The history of the missions can be understood within the context of the particular structures of the Kingdom. This is an attempt to understand what it meant for the Jesuits' missions to have taken place in this particular state with its customs, laws and social structure. This context was a collection of related institutions that defined the environment that the Jesuits operated within (and were part of) in terms of structures of social stratification, authority and law. This includes the division of the Kingdom into classes or orders: defined as nobles, *popolo civile* and plebs; the legal systems and institutions of the Kingdom that informed the practices of the Jesuits; the network of administrators and governors, often Spanish, who were the representatives of the Habsburg administration. Attention to the on the ground realities of these structures shows that the metaphor of civilising does not adequately sum up the entire nature of Jesuit missions. Beyond the notion of a 'civilising programme', it should also be recognised how much of what they did was shaped by the civilisation already present, the civic structures of the Kingdom; both in terms of how the idea of peace-making was imagined and in practical involvement by 'royal' and 'civic' personnel in requesting and arranging events of peace-making. As well as context, I will focus on the mechanics of Jesuit reconciliation: how they accomplished their peace-making.

## **Enmity and peace in the Jesuit missions**

Settling enmities and making peace was one of the regular activities of Jesuit peace-making and central to their understanding of the sacrament of penance. Jesuit missionaries described themselves as converting people from hatred to peace. This act of conversion was regarded as an emotional, physical and spiritual transformation.<sup>18</sup> In these Jesuit missions,

such emotional transformations, and the acts of peace-making connected to them, had important links to community and authority: the structures, ideology and practice of government, law and communal life.<sup>19</sup> To understand the peace-making rituals performed in Jesuit missions it is necessary to turn to both the emotional content of these conversions as well as to the civil context: the laws of the Kingdom of Naples and those charged with enforcing them. By exploring these factors Jesuit peace-making can be better understood demonstrating the connection of reconciliation practices to local political contexts.

Jesuit peace-making took its shape from their understanding of the nature of interpersonal enmity. In turn, their notions about enmity do not make sense if divorced from the communities in which they operated. Communal strife was, for the Jesuits, profoundly embedded in the interiors of people. The Jesuits often believed in a variety of characteristics that the healthy community should have.<sup>20</sup> An ideal community was ordered through hierarchy and obedience, especially in terms of the place of the nobility and clergy. Peace-making was an intervention in the civic-religious life of communities as people's hatreds spread out and corrupted entire towns.<sup>21</sup> The emotional lives of individuals, especially the way in which they felt about past injuries, were seen to have effects that went beyond themselves or their families. What needs to be explored is how enmity was regarded as a communal disorder, the ways in which the Jesuits were specialists in the manufacture of certain emotional dispositions and outline the civic context of these missions.

Peace-making was understood as a fruit of penitence. Lengthy accounts of peaces [*paci*] achieved were regularly included in the annual accounts of activities in the Neapolitan province and other incidental reports that were despatched to the central Jesuit administration.<sup>22</sup> These were often noted in long lists under the rubric 'notable reconciliations'; they were a category of activity registered with care and attention, because they testified to success.<sup>23</sup> An account of all missions in 1640 focused almost exclusively on peaces made in cities across the Kingdom. Reconciliations and 'composition of enmities' were defined as one of the 'principal fruits' of a mission to Foggia in 1665. The Jesuit chronicler Scipione Paohicej, in his printed account of all that had been accomplished in the missions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries *Missioni de Padri della Compagnia di Giesu nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1651), placed peace-making firmly at the centre of his vision of the Jesuit achievement. From the reading of his volume, it would be reasonable to see the Neapolitan Jesuits as overwhelmingly occupied with the business of reconciling those at enmity. One chapter of his published account is dedicated to narrating the 'very difficult peaces' that were carried out in virtue of the missions. Within this chapter, remissions of the parties feature repeatedly and prominently in accounts of peace-making.

Paolucci provided a synthetic account of what usual Jesuit peace-making consisted. A day, generally a Friday, should be set aside to explore 'the

necessity, and most great utility, that is provided by pardoning our enemies, and to invite all the people to practice it'.<sup>24</sup> The Jesuits made the Christian drama of the sinner as someone who had offended God and the notion of confession as reconciliation with God central to the practice of their missions. Paolucci encouraged his readers to imagine themselves as observers of these festivals of peace: 'what esteem, what admiration is merited the sight of not one, or two, not even ten or twenty, but more, many hundreds, (where the population of the city permits it), of every age, every sex, of every quality, or condition of person exclaiming in loud voices, and with sincerity of heart, that they pardon those every offence, every injury to their enemies'.<sup>25</sup> The notion of the audience lies at the centre of the performance of exercises of mortification: the penitents were both engaged in devotions that exhibited their own contrition but they also created a spectacle that could be observed and absorbed as it touched the hearts of the audience.

When the Jesuits talked of enmities in a community what did they mean? They found broadly commensurable situations in every town or city they missionised. There were differences between the nature of the disputes in different communities but they drew upon the same lexicon, grammar and narrative resources to articulate these situations. Physical attacks stand out as the main reason for states of hatred. Homicides were the most common cause cited by writers of reports followed by woundings. At times they recorded particularly high rates of homicide which had marked towns before the missionaries' arrival. In one unnamed town, they identified 200 homicides, in Campi 80 and 70 in Squinzano.<sup>26</sup> Other reasons that enmities prevailed included civil lawsuits, insults, adultery and other offences to honour.

While nearly all relations discussed various hatreds existing as a result of homicides, certain places were found to be divided more profoundly by enmities. These severe cases tended to be in situations in which many homicides had occurred due to deep factional divisions arising out of public affairs. Soleto, a small town south of Lecce, was found 'almost destroyed' by its enmities in 1668. This had originated in a civil lawsuit between the two most prominent families. Here a 'vengeful heart' was said to beat. Many homicides had resulted from this enmity that had begun with litigation and the inhabitants were said to have kept their hands on their weapons during the early sermons of the mission.<sup>27</sup> Similarly in Morcone, in 1717 they found 'maximam discordiarum'. The popular class was divided amongst itself and the commune was in conflict with their feudal lord.

Unanimity was said to be the reward of the missions. By combining their wills towards the pursuit of the good, they escaped the curse of rivalry. In Morcone the Jesuit fathers settled lawsuits and the feudal lord provided a remission for the disobedience of the townsmen.<sup>28</sup> In these broader enmities, involving the whole community, aspects of local power relations emerge most clearly. These were factional conflicts that often organised themselves around two large patrician families. Or, instead, between the populace and

their feudal lord. These types of hatreds had most potential for disrupting the entire spiritual life of a community. Despite varying situations, Jesuit accounts do not often go into great detail beyond broad reasons for enmity. At times even this is not specified. Instead enmities are reduced to their status as a regular feature of un-missionised communities which could be dealt within a single category. The redaction of extensive lists of the reconciled signalled success. When the Jesuits probed deeper some social features that interested them included the length of the enmity and the nature of the current relationship between the offended and the offender – did they persecute each other or were they just unwilling to speak and interact?

These sorts of hatreds, with their connections to homicide or other injuries, were inseparable from community memory. For the Jesuits, retaining hatred instead of making peace was disordered and pathological. Resentment and dwelling on the loss of a relative were harmful. The passage of time and its effects on the nature of an enmity were a regular trope in Jesuit sources. The painful memory of a murdered loved one could be 'fresh' or 'present' if recent, or maintain these qualities despite the passage of many years.<sup>29</sup> A certain person's unwillingness to forgive was noted as repugnance and 'contradiction in his soul due to the habit, aged over many years, during which the seed of hatred and vendetta was nourished'. Souls were 'cruelly tyrannised' by hatred, so that it seemed 'that they lived with a spirit only for vendetta'.<sup>30</sup> Hatred of another could be sharp and fresh or old and ingrained. Loss dwelt upon grew into poisonous, dominating hatred which the Jesuits saw no legitimacy for.

One of the key ways in which Jesuits framed their attempts at conciliation was that previous attempts to make peace had failed. The Jesuits talked about themselves as special measures peace-makers, God's ambassadors for reconciliation, able to move in where resident pacifiers had failed in their attempts to convince enemies to make up or sign treaties of peace. They tackled obstinate enemies and communities where the poison of hatred was everywhere. Those named as the everyday peace-makers were local nobles, notables and parish priests or, higher up the social ladder, feudal lords, other local title-holders (such as Spanish governors or an official of a provincial royal court, a *Regia Audiencia*) or senior clergy ranging from Bishops, Archbishops to Cardinals. During a 1666 mission to Benevento a woman whose husband had been murdered resisted the pleas of many 'titled' aristocrats and numerous cardinals.<sup>31</sup> The Jesuits identified the attempts of others to make peace most often as through 'their authority'.<sup>32</sup> It was their place in the social hierarchy that endowed them with the presumed power to intervene in difference between other members. In Capua, the prayers and counsels of 'many noble people, of much authority' had failed to achieve the peace-making that the Jesuits were able to in 1649. Notables were those who possessed the vital authority to make peace. The normal path of peace-making, from these accounts, was through the intervention of secular or ecclesiastical elites who attempted to convince those in enmity



of the benefits of peace and their duty to forgive. While the level of detail given for any one case is far from enough to establish the exact nature of these quotidian resolutions, it seems that Jesuits may have been requested for partially functional reasons in situations when internal pacification had reached its limit. In Squinzano, it was apparently Jesuit peace-making that was able to reconcile an Archpriest and Vicar who, had taken each other to court regularly and who, despite the intervention of the bishop, remained enemies.

How did Jesuits think their peace-making worked? The answer to this lies in their understanding of conversion. While there was no single Jesuit attitude towards their missionising, their ideas about how missions worked, how peace could be achieved were shared. Selwyn has noted the 'heroic image' that Jesuits could draw upon in their role as peace-makers. They shared a vocabulary much of which came from their training in the Ignatian spiritual exercises as well as other Counter-Reformation devotional trends.<sup>33</sup> Attending to some of the topoi used by the Jesuits to report upon their missions revealed how they understood reconciliation.

## **Ritual and reconciliation**

The Jesuits became specialists in the provision of opportunities to make peace. At their best, they were able to create liminal spaces outside the normal course of events in which peace could be made without the emotional and material costs that forgiveness bore in everyday life. Reconciliation required openness in the sentiments that could be procured through participation in devotional exercises.<sup>34</sup> The missions provided an emotionally charged atmosphere that made the embracing of enemies feasible. They featured mass events, at times carefully choreographed, in which status was achieved by humility and releasing grudges.<sup>35</sup> The extraordinary atmosphere of a conciliatory mission gave honourable and pious ways out from conflicts that may have become harmful or burdensome for their participants. The Jesuits provided a forgiveness that did not shy away from the blood and suffering of grief and revenge. Their devotions centred on the emotions that underpinned revenge. Jesuit peace-making was not modelled on a quiet burial of anger and resentment, forgetting, but instead violent reversals and passionate conversions.

These opportunities followed emotive preaching and were signalled by embraces and the public exchange of the kiss of peace.<sup>36</sup> The Jesuits sought to provide edifying spectacles. They have often been described as both innovators in theatre (and in a more general sense as 'theatrical' in their devotions).<sup>37</sup> Indeed they relished using metaphors that drew from this idea of performance and used vocabularies of theatres, audiences and viewing. Selwyn has claimed that Jesuits competed consciously with secular theatre, they were 'vigilant in their efforts to represent their own abilities as equal, if

not superior to, those of secular entertainers'.<sup>38</sup> It is also hard to discuss the missions without using the languages of stage management, choreography and performance. But these languages of theatre do not mean their strategies are best understood as knowingly false or solely based on appearances. Instead of dissembling performance, the preaching and manipulation of the sensory world they undertook should be understood as direct attempts to create certain dispositions of the heart: the production of emotion or its conversion.<sup>39</sup> Attending to the theatrical requires a careful reconstruction of how Jesuits understood both spectacle and audience.<sup>40</sup> Jesuit devotions aimed at the manufacture of certain emotional dispositions and transformations in belief, and from the evidence we can gather, the Jesuits do seem to have been effective at this.<sup>41</sup>

For higher status people, performing humility was vital. The missions required the apparent lowering of ambition and the greater prize was for the people who debased themselves the most rather than those who clung to worldly pride. It was this competitive humiliation that drew feudal lords to be the most penitent in the missions. But all had to show this humility, many who forgave their enemies threw themselves 'humbly' at the feet of their prior enemies. Public penance was largely concerned with humiliation: the biblical example of King Ahab dressed in sackcloth was often cited.<sup>42</sup> An obstinate Greek-speaking community was described as 'not wanting to say one word in humiliation' or 'make one humble step'.<sup>43</sup> This lowering of worldly pride and temporary performance of slavehood was a vital part of the contrition necessary to achieve peace. It also provided an example for others to view and witness the ways in which the Holy Spirit moved within the community. Humility was also a temporary reversal of social hierarchy but, due to its ephemeral mirroring effect, not a set of practices that challenged this hierarchy in any way.

## **The psychology and physiology of reconciliation**

The discussion of hearts and blood was central to Paolucci's and other Jesuits' discussion of the business of reconciliation; a conversion of hearts was sought that would transform passions for revenge into love. Hatred took up residence in the heart and fixed itself there. This was a physical and spiritual conversion of hard hearts to tender ones, a softening and an acceptance of Christ's message; reconciliation required sentiments of the heart, tenderness and a readiness of the will. The obstinate, those who failed readily to subscribe to the missionary endeavour, lacked precisely these dispositions. When the Jesuits came into towns and villages, and had some success in convincing many to convert, those who resisted likely found themselves open to continual bother from solicitous Jesuit fathers. The modalities of persuasion included personal entreaties, sermons, cooperation with family members; in sum, attempts to break down rancorous barriers in people in order to convince them of the boon of forgiveness.

It is useful to focus on those identified as obstinate as it was precisely when discussing these cases that the Jesuits outlined their approach and understanding of reconciliation and enmity in most detail. Almost exclusively the obstinate had lost a close family member to murder. Their grief was characterised as a barrier; something that stood in the way of the desired movement towards forgiveness and reconciliation. It was an internal blockage that barred their passage to a truly Christian life.<sup>44</sup> One woman whose adult son had died at the hands of his enemies was described as: almost 'numbed and frozen' in her grief; it was only the sight of the blood of a penitent that caused a transformation in her passions; what was sometimes referred to as a 'mutation of the heart' or, simply, a conversion.<sup>45</sup>

The language of hearts being hard or wounded and the notions of their hardness (rather than the required tenderness) was not simply metaphorical. It drew on a humoral theory of the body and this understanding explained, in part, the transformative effects of the religious devotions of the Jesuits.<sup>46</sup> An example given by Paolucci was that of a woman who had lost her favourite brother a decade earlier. Her life remained dominated by loss and pain. She lived a life which was extremely 'mournful and funereal' and 'all her plans were of vengeance'. This desire for revenge was rooted in her heart and it gave her blood an 'excess of heat' which led to fevers and that when reconciliation was mentioned her 'humours were placed in discord'.<sup>47</sup> This disorder was based in wider beliefs: the natural philosopher Giambattista della Porta noted that too much green choler – bile – was evidence of an excess of blood that disposed a person 'to hatred, to malignity, to cruelty, and to vendetta'.<sup>48</sup> Through observing penitence, the vengeful were able to be healed.<sup>49</sup>

Jesuit peace-making, with its concentration on the individual heart's connection to community health, combined two approaches to penance that have sometimes been seen to have been separate: the communal and the personal. While this is not to claim that Jesuits saw it as possible to partake in the sacrament as an undifferentiated group, the concentration upon the value and efficacy of being part of a multitude, performing physical penitence, there were clearly many ways in which this reconciliation had a strongly communal element. It was precisely this exterior, public, communal devotion that could lead to the profound internal transformations required.<sup>50</sup>

For the Jesuits these emotional and spiritual conversions required integration with the legal system of the Kingdom of Naples. As Paolucci noted exclamations of forgiveness could be 'like summer storms that are more terrifying than damaging' so people should be obliged 'with fine writings in their own hand, and other authentications'.<sup>51</sup> Despite, or perhaps due to their dedication to high emotional drama, they were also concerned about deception and the simulation of forgiveness. It was precisely an integration with notarial, legal frameworks that was necessary in order to fix a peace and extend it into the future. These frameworks were normally the legal

instrument of the 'remission of the offended party' which was a notarial act that could be used to remove punitive consequences for crimes such as homicide.<sup>52</sup>

Part of the request for legal permanence can be explained by a concern that the flamboyance of mortification misled. Anyone could cry and continue to hate. The emphasis on hearts and sadness in penitence created difficulties in an age when anxieties about dissimulation were high. As Paolucci wrote, the connection between the external and the internal was tightly bound, but deception could still occur.<sup>53</sup> Outside the signing of a remission was an act that did something real: it had concrete effects on peoples' lives that could persist long after the Jesuits had left a town.

## Documenting reconciliation

More than convenience, however, the Jesuits saw remissions of injuries and the acts of writing and producing documentation of peace as the essence of what they were trying to do: these achievements and the act of signing was the final act in the ritual of peace. One account given by Paolucci concerned a woman whose husband, a gentleman, had been killed by two other principal citizens. The rich emotional vocabulary used by Paolucci to describe the widow and her feelings is striking. She possessed a visceral determination to remain in a state of hatred towards her husband's killers. She was described as possessing 'manly and resolute courage' and her bitter enmity was born from 'the feeling with which she had tenderly loved her husband' and that, although she was young, her grief, to which she was 'irreparably condemned', led her to remain a widow. She 'would not suffer to hear the name of peace with her enemies' and 'renounced every other pleasure, every other desire' but 'that of vendetta'. Her desires were disordered, perverted by grief that the Jesuits believed should have been laid aside for forgiveness. She was finally persuaded by the priests and monks that dwelt in her town to pardon her enemies and admit that she did not wish them ill but she emphatically would not sign the remission of the injury saying, according to Paolucci: 'Oh that no ... that no, I'm not obliged to do that by the law of Christ, and you cannot demand more of me than God. I am not bound to you, and I should not, nor do I want to, do it; and if I had to do it, I know I could not do so'.<sup>54</sup> Signing the legal instrument of the remission of the injury is presented as a step beyond all other forms of forgiveness: it was too much to ask, outside of the bounds of Christian charity.

Jesuit peace-making had a central place for the officials of justice, they saw the correct end of their peace-making in the arrangement of peace with the officials of justice. In Squinzano in 1646, some gentlewomen were 'pardoned publicly, and in front of the officials'.<sup>55</sup> A foreign gentleman who had persecuted those who had shot at him, for ten months 'in their lives and their goods', but he pardoned his enemies and kissed the crucifix and he wrote the judicial remission.<sup>56</sup> In 1666 in the Papal enclave of Benevento, a

woman made a remission 'with authentic writing'.<sup>57</sup> In another, the 'hand of the notary' was dwelt upon as a key part of the process of remission.

The Jesuits consistently placed an emphasis on 'authenticated writings' as the proper way to track accomplishments. They counted enmities settled by remissions signed in front of a notary. Legal and religious forms of peace-making were intertwined. This is precisely one of the ways in which the Jesuit missions had lasting effects, whether for good or ill. John Bossy has claimed that for Lazarist missions, as opposed from Jesuit ones, '[t]he thing that makes me believe their missions of peace-making were more than a flash in the pan is that they always, so far as I can see, required that the reconciliations they promoted be properly registered by a notary' and that while he thinks Jesuits probably used notaries regularly 'it does not seem to have been part of the strategy'. This judgment must be revised; the Jesuits worked closely with notaries and strongly supported the notarising of peaces made. It was regularly stressed as central to the practice of the missions.

In the practice of the missions, the Jesuits attempted to draw upon notions of community that were deeply grounded in emotive understandings of the hierarchy of communities. Peace in a community was about the varieties of love that united it: the paternal love of the lord for his vassals; the obedient, filial love returned by them; the fraternal love that they bore for each other.<sup>58</sup> The Prince of Cardito showed devotion to justice and love towards his vassals. Don Carlo Carafa, the Duke of Andria, whose violent penance left blood on pavement of the town, not only washed his sins away with this blood but it was a 'good example that aided his vassals to wash their sins'.<sup>59</sup> Confraternities of the 'Slaves of the Blessed Virgin' were set up during many missions and the language used to model their relations to Mary was that of vassalage. The involvement of elites in such acts of humiliation served, paradoxically, to underscore hierarchy but also to stress the bonds of love that knit communities together. This meshed well with the desires of feudal lords and perhaps explains the phenomenon of 'secular' published accounts of missions.

## **Conclusion: The problem of reconciliation**

Reconciliation, peace-making and pardon have almost innately positive connotations. They imply 'getting along' and the collective resolution of disputes. But settlements were far from necessarily events that led to equal satisfaction; they reinforced unequal power relations that were essential to *ancien régime* society. Rather than acts of forgiveness, penitence and satisfaction they could instead be events of silencing, forgetting and coercion. When Jesuits record using their authority to persuade grieving mothers to forgive the murderers of their sons, and label them as obstinate if they refuse, the coercive aspects of reconciliation are striking. Jesuit model of reconciliation was de-personalised, focusing on the ways in which all offenses could

be forgiven with reference to God and without the necessity for recompense or restorative justice.

A more complex perspective on the morality of peace-making can be gained from recent work on forgiveness during processes of transitional justice in the wake of atrocity or profoundly unequal politico-social regimes. Thomas Brudholm's study of the refusal to forgive is particularly useful and focuses on South Africa and the post-Holocaust writings of Jean Amery.<sup>60</sup> Brudholm highlights the widespread 'assumption that people who have been seriously wronged will be seething with a lust for revenge' which is 'commonly pictured as manifesting in *cycles* of hatred, violence, or revenge, which is one reason why the transformation of victims' emotional responses to injustice and injury is a central concern of efforts to promote reconciliation after mass atrocity'.<sup>61</sup> But this, as Brudholm notes, is framed as 'the overcoming or taming of emotion' through transformation: what he identifies as 'alchemies of reconciliation'.<sup>62</sup> Brudholm's scepticism towards the sudden conversion model of reconciliation is instructive. The Jesuits' discussions of obstinate grievors match very well with this belief that cycles of hatred can be escaped through an alchemical, magical conversion experience.

In their intense emotive spirituality Jesuit missions then provide a case study for thinking about the relation between emotional states regarded by political and ecclesiastical authorities as disruptive. Enmity was a dangerous feeling that supposedly damaged communities. For authorities it caused anxiety in its various, slippery forms; for citizens it was unavoidable and, at times, necessary. Jesuit reconciliation in the Kingdom of Naples was deeply shaped by theological commitments to forgiveness but was also shaped by the local power structures of the Kingdom of Naples. These missions were not outside impositions but welcomed and requested by the elites of local communities. Despite this general welcoming not all individuals within these communities were amenable to the pressure to reconcile. One of the most important points is that Jesuit ritualised peace-making went hand-in-hand with notarised reconciliation. There was a usage both of spectacle and of bureaucratic methods.

The sorts of reconciliation performed by the Jesuits in early modern Italy drew on long-standing Christian doctrines of forgiveness but were also shaped by local political structures and dynamics. They had a monolithic focus on the necessity to forgive and spent much less energy describing reparations. Jesuit reconciliation tended to be described as fast, sudden and thereby reflecting spiritual movement. Reconciliation was a conservative force in early modern Naples, running along the grooves of power rather than upending or disturbing them. Their reconciliation interacted with legal culture and the ways in which government operated in the towns and villages of the Kingdom. Despite their identity as special measures peace-makers, the Jesuits' reconciliation was not a disturbing novelty or imposed civilising mission but drew most of its character from early modern Italian communal cultures of reconciliation.

## Notes

1. Paolo Broggio and Maria Pia Paoli (eds), *Stringere la pace: teorie e pratiche della conciliazione nell'Europa moderna (secoli XV-XVIII)* (Rome: Viella, 2011). For a study on the kiss of peace see Kiril Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace; Ritual, Self and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) and Craig Koslofsky, 'The kiss of peace in the German Reformation', in *The Kiss in History*, ed. by Karen Harvey (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 18-35.
2. For an overview of these differing practices see Stuart Carroll, 'Peace-making in Early Modern Europe: towards a comparative history', in *Stringere la pace: teorie e pratiche della conciliazione nell'Europa moderna (secoli XV-XVIII)*, ed. by Paolo Broggio and Maria Pia Paoli (Rome: Viella, 2011), pp. 75-92.
3. Stuart Carroll, 'Afterword', *Cultures of Conflict Resolution in Early Modern Europe*.
4. Phil Withington, 'The Semantics of "Peace" in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 23 (2013), 127-53.
5. Most notably in John Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), but also in his various writings on early modern Christianity call attention to the significance of this to the social history of Christian Europe. In particular: John Bossy, 'Postscript' in *Dispute and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. by John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) and John Bossy 'The Social Miracle' in his *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1985), p. 52.
6. Ulinka Rublack, 'Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions', *History Workshop Journal* 53.1 2002, p. 9.
7. Stuart Carroll, 'Afterword', pp. 282-3.
8. Giovanni Muto, 'Urban Structures and Population' in Tommaso Astarita (ed.) *A Companion to Early Modern Naples* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 35-36.
9. David Gentilcore, "'Adapt Yourself to the People's Capabilities": Missionary Strategies, Methods and Impact in the Kingdom of Naples, 1600-1800', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 269-96. Elisa Novi Chavarria, *Il governo delle anime: Azione pastorale, predicazione e missioni nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia. Secoli XVI-XVIII* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001); Elisa Novi Chavarria, 'L'attività missionaria dei Gesuiti nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia tra XVI e XVIII secolo', in *Per la storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, ed. by Giuseppe Galasso and Carla Russo (Naples: Guida, 1980).
10. Jennifer Selwyn, 'Angels of Peace: The Social Drama of Reconciliation in the Jesuit Missions in Southern Italy', in *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Paula Findlen, Michelle M. Fontaine and Duane J. Osheim (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Jennifer Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004). Elisa Novi Chavarria, 'L'attività missionaria dei Gesuiti nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia tra XVI e XVIII secolo', in *Per la storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, ed. by Giuseppe Galasso and Carla Russo (Naples: Guida, 1980) and *Il governo delle anime: Azione pastorale, predicazione e missioni nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia. Secoli XVI-XVIII* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001).
11. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, p. 43.
12. Gentilcore, "'Adapt Yourself to the People's Capabilities'", p. 270.
13. Laura Barletta, *La regolata licenza: il carnevale a Napoli* (Messina: G. D'Anna, 1978), p. 215: 'Nel Meridione i gesuiti, nella loro opera missionaria, incontrarono una cultura folklorica molto tenace alla quale si imposero solo permettendo la fusione delle forme rituali preesistenti con il nuovo culto.'

14. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils*, p. 18.
15. Guy Bedouelle, *The Reform of Catholicism, 1480-1620*, trans. James K. Farge (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2008), p. 128.
16. Elisa Novi Chavarria, 'L'attività missionaria', p. 389.
17. Elisa Novi Chavarria, 'L'attività missionaria', p. 389: 'La necessità di una mediazione e di un controllo delle aspre conflittualità e della frattura aprtersi tra comunità, nobiltà ed autorità civili e di un'opera di riagggregazione sociale e religiosa determinò il convogliarsi degli interventi operativi della Compagnia sulla capitale e i centri limitrofi'.
18. Studies of missionary activities are beginning to draw from and contribute to the history of the emotions. For example, see Laura Stevens, *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Mary Laven, *Mission to China* (Chatham: Faber & Faber, 2011), pp. 227-230. More generally the place of affect in the history of early modern religion is more firmly established. Susan C. Karant-Nunn's impressive study of the varying 'emotive spiritualities' of Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
19. Selwyn, 'Angels of Peace'.
20. Silvia Mostaccio, *Early Modern Jesuits between Obedience and Conscience during the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 32-33.
21. John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 168-71.
22. Gentilcore, p. 271.
23. ARSI, *Neap.*, 75 fols. 252<sup>r</sup>-254<sup>v</sup>: 'Insignia pietatis opera, & notabiles reconciliaones'.
24. Paolucci, *Missioni*, p. 18.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
26. ARSI, *Neap.*, 76, fol. 56<sup>v</sup> and *Neap.*, 74a, fols. 215<sup>v</sup>, 234<sup>v</sup>. These rates of homicides seem, if accurate, considerably high. However, beyond the difficulty of establishing that these figures are not marked by exaggeration it is of course very hard to see what the annual rate might have been.
27. ARSI, *Neap.*, 76, fols. 53<sup>r</sup>-<sup>v</sup>.
28. *Ibid.*, fol. 25<sup>r</sup>.
29. ARSI, *Neap.*, 75, fol. 183<sup>v</sup>: 'teneva memoria si presente, e fresca'.
30. ARSI, *Neap.*, 74a, fol. 270<sup>v</sup>: 'animi tiranneggiati crudelmente dall'odio, parendo che vivessero collo spirito solo della vendetta'.
31. ARSI, *Neap.*, 76, fols. 32<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>.
32. ARSI, *Neap.*, 74a, fol. 215<sup>v</sup>: 'ne anco con l'autorità del Vescovo'.
33. However, later Jesuit practice deviated from Ignatius' advice that bodily penance as an 'outer exercise of repentence' should be done in private.
34. Ulinka Rublack has discussed the somatic experience of the emotions as understood as flows with disordered blockages in Ulinka Rublack, 'Fluxes: the Early Modern Body and the Emotions', *History Workshop Journal*, 53 (2002), 1-16 (esp. p. 2 and p. 6).
35. While it is surely correct to note the choreography of the Jesuits it was also probably the case that the unfolding of larger missions cannot be placed solely under the rubric of Jesuit control. The audience had its own agency and pressures upon Jesuit missionaries that would rarely surface within the accounts.
36. The Jesuit stress upon the public kiss diverges from the German Lutheran experience discussed by Craig Koslofsky, 'The kiss of peace in the German Reformation', in *The Kiss in History*, ed. by Karen Harvey (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 29.



37. See Mario Chiabò and Federico Doglio (eds.), *I Gesuiti e I Primordi del Teatro Barocco in Europa* (Rome: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, 1995).
38. Selwyn, 'Schools of Mortification', p. 219.
39. Nevertheless, the risk was high that if missionary spirituality faltered, the Jesuits would fall into mere performance. One Jesuit Giovanni Battista Cancellotti was in great turmoil due to the misbehaviour of his Jesuit companions. He wrote to the authorities of the order hoping for this problem to be resolved 'otherwise the missionaries of the Company will be Charlatans of the *piazza*'. ARSI, *Neap.*, 198, fol. 329v: 'Altrimenti i Missionari della Compagnia saranno Ciarlattiani di piazza'.
40. Recent studies of early modern theatre do not rely on clichéd ideas of the superficiality of performance, instead many consider how performance created affect in theory and practice. The opposition between the 'theatrical' and the creation of emotions is perhaps more apparent than real.
41. Analysing the 'production' of emotion has been a concern of anthropologists: such as Dennis Gaffin's examination of the place of taunting in order to create anger in the Faeroe Islands, 'The Production of Emotion and Social Control: Taunting, Anger, and the Rukka in the Faeroe Islands', *Ethos*, 23 (1995), 149-72.
42. King Acab was also used as a counter-example, according to Paolucci, to a powerful feudal lord who felt that the 'excesses of public penance' [*l'esorbitanze dell'esterne penitenze*] were suitable for 'small towns, and those were uncultured and rough people live' [*tolerabili in terre piccole, & habitate da gente rozza, & inculta*] but for 'such a noble City' [città sì nobile] that there was no need. They replied with the words of Isaiah: *Nonne vidisti humiliatum Acab?* Paolucci, *Missioni*, pp. 37-38.
43. ARSI, *Neap.*, 76, fol. 53r: 'non voleva ne meno dire una parola d'humilitatione non che far un passo per humiliarsi'.
44. This language of 'blocked' flows draws from the 'somatised' understanding of emotion common in early modern Europe. See the discussion in Rublack, 'Fluxes', esp. p. 5.
45. Paolucci, *Missioni*, p. 133.
46. The Jesuits used humoral theory regularly in their institutional practice: they assessed the quality of their members by routinely assessing them according to their predominant humours.
47. Paolucci, *Missioni*, p. 134.
48. Giambattista Della Porta, *La fisionomia dell'huomo et la celeste* (Venice, 1652), p. 120.
49. Another seventeenth-century religious thinker Francis de Sales recommended flagellation for, as Niklaus Largier has argued, its psychophysiological benefits as whipping "'heats up the heart and purifies it" of a depressive mood that "proceeds from the dry and cool temperament"', *In Praise of the Whip*, pp. 47-48.
50. Mary C. Mansfield *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 289.
51. Paolucci, *Missioni*, p. 125: 'come borasca di state, che hà più terrore, che effetto, si obbligano ovunque è necessario con belle scritte di propria mano, & altre autentiche'.
52. For a detailed account of these legal instruments see Stephen Cummins, 'Forgiving Crimes in Early Modern Naples', *Cultures of Conflict Resolution in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2016).

53. The missions of P. Ignazio Saverio Costanzi and Paolo Segneri Jr were particularly occupied with this problem. P. Costanzi preached that: "Some weep over their sins, and you see the tears running, but perhaps this is not a sufficient sign of true penitence. Consider how the wood that whines most in the fire is that which burns the least. One needs to have anguish in the heart, so much that it's true that some cannot cry. It's enough that you are one who has truly killed the sin, that is: you have sorrow in your heart and a firm intention [to live without sin]' ('Alcuni piangono i lor peccati, e si vedono uscir le lagrime, ma forse questo non è segno bastante del vero pentimento. Badate quai legna nel fuoco piangano più: son quelle che ardono meno. Bisogna avere il dolore nel cuore, e tanto è ciò vero che indarno alcuni si lagnano di non poter piangere. Basta ben che abbiate quello che veramente uccide il peccato, cioè il dolore nel cuore e il proposito fermo'). Giuseppe Orlandi, 'L. A. Muratori e le missioni di P. Segneri Jr.', *Spicilegium Historicum Congregations SS. mi Redemptoris*, 20 (1972), pp. 158-294.
54. Paolucci, *Missioni*, p. 53.
55. ARSI, *Neap.*, 74a, fol. 215<sup>r</sup>.
56. Ibid, 'fece la remissione giuditiale in scriptis'.
57. ARSI, *Neap.*, 76, fol. 33<sup>r</sup>: 'con scrittura autentiea la remissione alia parte'.
58. Paolucci describes how a lord joined a procession at the insistence of the Jesuits and the results that this had: 'andò a porsi trà le fila de gli altri con quale stupore insieme, e tenerezza de'vassalli, con qual esempio, e confusione di chiunque poi lo riseppe', *Missioni*, p. 35.
59. ARSI, *Neap.*, 74, fol. 200<sup>v</sup>.
60. Thomas Brudholm, *Resentment's Virtue: Jean Amery and the Refusal to Forgive* (Philadelphia; Temple University Press, 2008).
61. Ibid., p. 6.
62. Ibid., p. 4.