benefitted from additional caveats and further development. Those familiar with the history of missionary linguistics will be puzzled by certain statements. For example: “Given the humanist turn of the sixteenth century, the key to adjudicating if a language was worthy of carrying the Christian word was its amenability to grammatical reduction in the Latin mold” (200–1). While Latin and to a lesser extent Greek and Hebrew were inevitable points of reference for missionary grammarians who had spent their youth in humanist schools, it is hard to find evidence of missionaries actively choosing not to use a language because it lacked a case system or some other familiar Latinate feature. Rather, the choice of language was a largely pragmatic concern and depended on its usefulness on the ground within particular local contexts. If the question were framed in terms of individual lexemes (i.e. calques from Latin vs. repurposed native terminology), then we are perhaps on firmer ground, and indeed the author does address issues of translation later in the chapter. Such gripes are, however, for the most part minor and should not detract from the value of the volume as a whole.

In sum, *Empire of the Apostles* represents an important contribution to the intertwined (although hardly identical) global projects of the Society of Jesus and European monarchies. In a field that is still dominated by scholarship divided according to national and national-linguistic traditions, this study is rare in that it evinces a deep understanding of Jesuit missions in both Brazil and Goa, and refers to material in both European and non-European languages. So, dig out your passport and polish up your Marathi, as we need more studies like this.

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Bruna Soalheiro

A viagem da cruz ao teto do mundo: Encontros culturais e diálogo inter-religioso nas missões da Companhia de Jesus na Índia e no Tibete. Rio de Janeiro: Paco Editorial, 2018. Pp. 364. Pb, R\$52.90.

Since the pioneering works of Arnulf Camps, numerous scholars have explored the history of Jesuit missionaries in South and Central Asia in the early modern period. More recently, the tone has been set by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Jorge Flores, Donald Lopez, and Trent Pomplun in their studies of the transmission

and translation of ideas between Christianity and Islam, Christianity and Buddhism, East and West, Europe and India and Tibet. But the ideas first proposed and discussed by missionaries at the court of Akbar also informed the geopolitical strategies elaborated by the Society of Jesus from the sixteenth until the suppression in the eighteenth century. The experience with the Mughals became a model for Jesuits preaching the Gospel in areas beyond the limits of the Portuguese military and political sphere of influence. This is the argument developed by Bruna Soalheiro in this monograph. Based on her 2014 doctoral dissertation, the book links the missionary strategies promoted by Jesuits at the Mughal court with the two subsequent missions to Tibet, and painstakingly analyzes archival sources often overlooked by scholars. In so doing, the author advocates further exploration of the relationship between the taxonomies of Indians and Tibetans in Jesuit sources and missionary methods along the fringes of the Portuguese *Padroado*.

After a preface by her thesis director, Carlos Zeron, the first two chapters focus on the first (1580–83) and the third (1595–1605) Jesuit missions at the Mughal court. Beyond Jesuit correspondence, her sources include: Antoni de Montserrat's *Mongolicae legationis commentari* (original manuscript written in 1591; modern Latin edition by Henri Hosten, S.J. in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 3, no. 9 [1914]: 518–704) and the Spanish translation by Ramón Sala (Joseph Lluís Alay, *Embajador en la corte del Gran Mogol* [Lleida: Milenio, 2006]); and Jerónimo Xavier's *Fuente de vida* (original manuscript from 1600, with a modern Spanish edition: Jerónimo Javier, *Fuente de Vida: Tratado apolo-gético dirigido al Rey Mogol de la India en 1600* [San Sebastián: Universidad de Deusto, 2007]).

In her analysis, Soalheiro demonstrates how missionaries employed two institutions essential to Akbar's and Jahangir's political projects: the *'Ibādat Khānah* (The house of worship), used for public debates sponsored by the emperor, and the *Maktab Khānah* (The clerk's house), a state-sponsored bureau dedicated to the production of texts and translations. She observes that, whereas the first Jesuits played an active role in public disputes, the third mission was characterized rather by the production of catechetical dialogues and other Christian works in Persian. To understand how Jesuits used public and written dialogues as missionary strategies, Soalheiro classified accounts of disputes as "narratives of nonfictional disputes" and "narratives of fictional disputes." At first, Montserrat and his colleagues recounted debates that had actually taken place in Akbar's House of Worship at Fatepur Sikri and attributed to the ruler and various religious figures lines of dialogue that spoke of a wider, global missionary enterprise. In fact, this literary technique turns out to be fundamental to defend adequate strategies of conversion to Jesuit superiors

in Goa and Rome. During the third Jesuit mission, though, Jesuits reoriented their efforts to the production of *fictional disputes*, rhetorical conventions employed for presenting arguments in favor of the conversion of the emperor and the Persian-speaking elite of the empire. No Mughal ruler, however, ever converted to Christianity. Nevertheless Soalheiro understands that, for the Jesuits, the Mughal capital, Fatehpur Sikri, became a laboratory that produced models and strategies of conversion for future missionaries in the region.

The subsequent two chapters deal with Jesuit missions in Tibet. By using the Mughal court setting as a springboard into Central Asia, António de Andrade and his companions reached the capital of the western Tibetan kingdom of Guge at Tsaparang in 1624. Andrade described Tibetans as white people and pious people. Rather than a concern with race, Soalheiro understands that these notions signaled a different type of missionary method was necessary, one predicated on persuasion. In 1635, Nuno Coresma, successor to Andrade, arrived in Tibet. His arrival and the consequent profound change of perspective regarding the inclination of Tibetans to conversion played a great role in his decision to end the mission. She next considers the mission founded by the Italian Jesuit Ippolito Desideri in 1717 in Lhasa. According to Soalheiro, Desideri reviewed previous Jesuit experiences in the region and formulated numerous suggestions for future missionaries. She traces a common thread from Jesuit experiences at the Mughal court and in Tsaparang to Desideri's mission. In this, Desideri's description of the Tibetans as blind people is key to Soalheiro's reading. She explains Desideri's choice of the term by referring to the Thomistic notion of blindness as a temporary obstacle to salvation, arguing that this category became the basis for the methods adopted by the missionary.

Despite the long tradition of dialectic literature in Europe, Soalheiro believes that the decision to choose disputes and debates as strategies of conversion resulted not from the Thomistic and Scholastic training received by Jesuits in Europe; they were rather the result of local political circumstances. Jesuit experiences with the Mughals and Tibetans made clear how insufficient traditional terms and categories such as idolater, pagan, and infidel were. New categories, new concepts were needed, especially to "describe a possible future convert while anticipating the most prudent form of catechesis" (341). Soalheiro notes but does not develop similarities between this strategy and Jesuit experiences in China and Japan.

The book shows how Jesuit missions developed in dialogue with the tension between local political forces and the limits of superiors' knowledge of local conditions. Most of the missionaries' textual production, from letters to chronicles, are read by Soalheiro as political instruments in negotiations with

superiors in India and Europe. Her book is an example of contemporary Brazilian scholarship regarding religious aspects of Portuguese Asia. She follows the path opened by trailblazers such as Adone Agnolin, Bruno Feitler, Célia Tavares, Margareth Gonçalves, and Patrícia Souza de Faria. Drawing upon the rich historiography of Brazilian and Portuguese colonial history and not limiting themselves to comparative perspectives, scholars such as Soalheiro confirm the great potential of Brazilian scholarship.

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Esther Schmid Heer, Nikolaus Klein, and Paul Oberholzer, eds.

Transfer, Begegnung, Skandalon?: Neue Perspektiven auf die Jesuitenmissionen in Spanisch-Amerika. Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2019. Pp. 434, 47 illustrations, 12 tables, 4 graphics, 4 maps. Pb, €64.00.

This is an ambitious book. Based on a 2017 conference on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America, the sixteen contributions to this edited volume discuss various aspects of the Jesuit missions in mainly South America, from its beginnings in the sixteenth century to the religiosity that continues to exist in the ex-missions into the twenty-first century. Given the vast territory, time and disciplinary foci the book attempts to cover, it is only partially successful in giving a coherent overview of the topic. However, many of its contributions are first-rate and show the impressive German contributions to Jesuit studies.

The book is divided into four sections. The first is on Introduction and Context. Each author brings a different focus in their contributions. Johannes Meier compares the Portuguese Jesuit enterprise and shows that in Brazil, the Jesuits, defenders of the Indians, were largely seen as hindrances to the colonial enterprise. This compares to the Spanish Jesuit missions, which were evaluated more positively. Mariano Delgado evaluates whether the Jesuit missions were indeed unique or within the range of success of other mission systems. They were more rational and well administered. It is not clear if, in the end, Delgado thinks that the missions were unique, but he does assert that the success of the missions brought about the seeds of their eventual destruction. Fabian Fechner, in turn, scrutinizes the pictorial representations of Jesuits, finding that both those denigrating and those supporting the Jesuits were