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A Theologian and his Obsession with a Binary Gender Order. Masculinity, Knowledge and Conflicts over Ministry in a Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Province.

This paper deals with a Jesuit theologian, now little known, but who was a central figure of several scholarly scenes in the mid seventeenth century[1]. Father Theophile Raynaud, who lived from around 1583 to 1663, was a quite prolific writer (his entire works were published in a series of 21 in folios) not including his lost manuscripts; his theological points of view covered the gamut of intellectual issues of his time - he is quite famous, for instance, for his 1637 treatise on caesarean section; he actually invented the term[2]. By the end of his life, he was celebrated in Europe as a "new Bellarmine" and his scholarly authority extended well beyond the field of theology, strictly speaking. Yet, he is considered by the bibliographical and theological traditions as an odd baroque figure of little interest. The process of exclusion of Raynaud from what was considered the field of acceptable and valued theology began in the generation succeeding his, which certainly says much about cultural evolutions affecting the place of theology in Early Modern French and European cultures. This makes him a rather relevant historical object : a weathervane of change

Raynaud was inordinately troubled by gender issues and much more explicit on them than were many theologians. Even for a 17th century clergyman, he shows an uncommon degree of obsession with the idea of a binary gender order[3]. He advocated a strict separation between clerics and women, inspiring part of the 19th century pastoral tradition in that regard. He went so far as to call for distance between clerics and widows (be they young or old) in an implicit yet direct attack on many central figures of early modern reformed Catholicism (with the obvious example of François de Sales and Jeanne de Chantal coming to mind)[4]. He wrote a treatise regarding eunuchs and hermaphrodites that directly challenged less binary medical and philosophical accounts of intersex variations[5]. This came at a time of strong anxieties in France over masculinity[6] but also of interrogation about clerical masculinity in a wider context of change in gender relations. What I would like to do here is explore this theological obsession and understand what it shows about the intersection of religion and gender at this particular time and in Raynaud's cultural and religious context. I will do so by turning (1) to his stance on gender relations (2) to his stance on masculinity and finally (3) to how these stances connect with religious and cultural evolutions in 17th century French Catholicism.

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[1] On Raynaud, see Jean-Pascal Gay, *Le dernier théologien ? Théophile Raynaud (v. 1583-1663). Histoire d'une obsolescence* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2018). This paper expands on what I wrote there on Raynaud's theology as evidence of conflict over the evolution of gender configurations in Early Modern Catholicism.

[2] Théophile Raynaud, *De ortu infantium contra naturam per sectione caesaream tractatio* (Lyons: G. Boissat, 1637).

[3] Several historians have noted his contribution to misogynistic discourse in 17th century France, see Ian Maclean, *Woman Triumphant. Feminism in French Literature (1610-1652)* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 44 and Linda Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes à la culture (1598-1715). Un débat d'idées de Saint François de Sales à la Marquise de Lambert* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1993), p. 482.

[4] See his *Dissertatio de sobria alterius sexus frequentatione per sacros et religiosos homines*, (Lyons: M. Duhan, 1653), p. 181.

[5] *Eunuchi, nati, facti, mystici, ex sacra et humana literatura illustrati. Zacharias Pasqualigus puerorum emasculator ob musicam quod loco habendus responsio* (Dijon: P. Chavance, 1655). The first edition was anonymous but the book was reprinted in his complete works. The text was most likely written during Raynaud's tenure as professor of Scriptures at the *Collegio Romano*, in the early 1650s.

[6] See Kathleen P. Long (dir.), *High Anxiety. Masculinity in Crisis in Early Modern* France (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2002).

RAYNAUD, THE JESUIT MINISTRY TO WOMEN AND GENDER RELATIONS.

Regarding gender, and the intersections between religion and gender, Raynaud has already attracted some scholarly attention. He wrote a quite famous treatise regarding the need for clerics to keep away from women. His 1653 *De sobria alterius sexus frequentatione* has been noted as a major attempt to put the new strain of misogyny that emerged in early modern catholic Europe in the early 17th century into theological words. In his call for restraining relations between clerics and women, Raynaud went further than many of his contemporaries. He had gone far enough for a few bibliographers to mention his peculiar strictness in this regard. Pierre Bayle for instance remarked that while Raynaud's age might in itself have made him impervious to suspicions of impropriety, he had throughout his life limited interactions with the other sex to "cases of necessity". Bayle claimed that the type of estrangement from women Raynaud had practiced and advocated was a form of moral statement that "is not ordinarily to the taste of directors of conscience who appear little bored with their *dévotes* if one considers the duration and frequency of their conversations"[7].
Raynaud's misogynistic argument is, in many regards rather ordinary: women are the favored instrument of the demon to lead humankind into spiritual ruin (though he goes further by trying to prove how this is actually an issue in natural theology). Women are deficient human beings - though again he goes further than most by arguing that since sexual pleasure is no real pleasure but rather itself a product of fantasy, even the power of women to attract men does not come from any perfection on their part. One of the main characteristics of his misogyny is that Raynaud turns arguments taken from other scholarly traditions (elaborated for instance from within the "querelle des femmes" with obvious references to Tiraqueau or Lambert) into theological arguments, finding a theological genealogy for them.
Bayle is certainly right in connecting Raynaud's stance with discussions over the legitimacy and forms of Jesuit ministry to women and particularly to the new religious female leaders whose religious agency was fostered by cultural and social changes in early 17th century France[8].The Jesuits from Raynaud's own Province of Lyons had gotten much more involved in ministering to female communities such as Jeanne Chézard de Matel's soeurs du Verbe Incarné or the Dames de la Miséricorde in Grenoble. A key contemporary and rival of Raynaud's in his province, Joseph Gibalin, himself a follower and even disciple of Jeanne de Matel, acted as one of the key defenders of the female religious communities in the 1640s campaign they persistently led against enclosure. He wrote an authoritative theological and canonical treatise *de clausura* where he defended the right of some communities of noblewomen to be exempt from enclosure[9].
The issue of ministry to female religious communities looms large over Raynaud's work as a theologian as well as over his life and career within his province. Many of his texts display his restlessness towards the new religious agency of women. While in Grenoble, in 1646-7, he wrote one of his most celebrated works, one that he himself considered as most significant,

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[7] Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, "Raynaud", note C [vol 3, c. 1544 in the 1702 Rotterdam edition].
[8] On the newfound agency of such women, see Barbara Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity. Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[9] Joseph de Gibalin; *Disquisitiones Canonicæ de Clausura Regulari*, (Lyons: P. Prost, P. Borde, L. Arnaud, 1648).On Matel and her congregation, Léon Cristiani, *Une Grande mystique lyonnaise : Jeanne de Matel : fondatrice de l'Ordre du Verbe Incarné et du Saint-Sacrement, 1596-1670* (Lyons: Emmanuel Vitte, 1947) ; and Mary Clare Underbrink's doctoral dissertation, *Le « Traité des quatre mariages » de Jeanne Chézard de Matel (1596-1670) : Vers une spiritualité de l'Incarnation* (Université Lyon 3, 2011, http://theses.univ-lyon3.fr/documents/lyon3/2011/underbrink_m/).

his *Heteroclita spiritualia*[10]. In the *Heteroclita*, Raynaud offers a sort of encyclopedia of devotions aimed at pruning what he deemed illegitimate and spurious religious 'imaginations'. Many examples of overzealousness that Raynaud pegs as superstitions are actually taken from the devotional warehouses of the *dévots* and *dévotes*, and Raynaud never fails to notice that they have strong feminine overtones. Raynaud's opposition to the *dévotes* and those Jesuits he sees as their enablers certainly proved essential in making him a controversial figure in his province. There is no doubt that many of his critics and adversaries within the Province (such as Paul de Barry[11] and Gibalin), including many of his superiors, were promoters of ministry towards women and that this issue was central in their perception of Raynaud. Those types of Jesuits, Raynauld insultingly describes as men who "caress the Berthas". It is also quite obvious that his *Dissertatio de sobria alterius sexus frequentatione* was written in order to address the ministry to women in his province.

RAYNAUD, MASCULINITY AND CATHOLIC CONFESSIONAL CULTURE

Nonetheless, in his work, the question of the relationship between men and women is never one that has merely to do with relationships between men and women. The fear of effeminacy pervades his discourse. It is at the heart of his *De Pileo* (where he condemns the use of wigs by clergymen)[12]. In the *Dissertatio de sobria alterius sexus frequentatione*, he explicitly sketches contacts between women and clerics as a direct threat to the type of masculine performance that is specifically required from them by the religious nature of the priesthood. Priests, he argues for instance, are warriors of God, and should abide by the strict law that made the Roman army the strongest in history, i.e. the exclusion of women from military camps, a tradition that was upheld by every major figure in Roman military history[13].
Yet nowhere is the theme of effeminacy, and particularly of clerical effeminacy, more explicit and elaborated in theological terms than in Raynaud's dissertation *De Eunuchismo*[14]. The treatise appears as a polemical impugnation of moral theologians who justified castration for liturgical purposes, such as the Italian Theatine Zaccharia Pasqualigo, whom Raynaud calls a 'castrator of children'. The Jesuit theologian sees the legitimization of such a cruel and barbaric practice as the result of the confessional confrontation with Protestantism. The legitimate defence of *castratio mystica* against the Protestant dismissal of celibacy, would have led some theologians to go astray and accept some form of physical castration.
Yet, there is also a specific and wider scholarly side to this discussion. The *disputatio* with Pasqualigo came at a time of significant amplification of discourse over eunuchism and hermaphroditism, in the connected fields of medicine, philosophy, as well as law. After such texts as those of Marcello Francolini (1605)[15], Jacques Duval (1612)[16], and Samuel Smith

[10] A first version was published while Raynaud lived in Grenoble (*Heteroclita spiritualia et anomalia pietatis cœlestium, terrestrium et infernorum*, [Grenoble: Cl. Bureau, 1646]) ; it was republished in Lyons in 1654 and then expanded into the 15th and 16th volume of the 1665 edition of his complete works (Lyons: Boissat).
[11] On De Barry's relations with female congregations, see Heidi Keller-Lapp, 'Devenir des Jésuitesses : les missionnaires ursulines du monde atlantique', *Histoire et missions chrétiennes*, 16/ 4 (2010), 19-51.
[12] Théophile Raynaud, *Tractatus de Pileo cœterisque capitis tegminibus tam sacris quam profanis* (Lyons:, J. Champion, Chr. Fourmy, 1645).
[13] 'Abhorret igitur a castrorum præsentia sexus fœmineus. Quo D. August[inus] refert quod Venus Vulcani coniux cum Marte bellorum præside adulterata diceretur : ad significandum, incongruam esse belligerantibus Venerem, et ab eis alienam ; æque ac incongruit adultero, et ab eo aliena uxor alterius. Arcebantur ergo veteri instituto a castris omnes mulieres. Idque institutum Aristoteles commendat, eo quod non possit confusio et perturbatio deesse, ubi adsunt mulieres : præter enervationem et effœminationem quam inserunt viris', Th. Raynaud, *Dissertatio*, pp. 152-153.
[14] *Eunuchi, nati, facti, mystici*, see above n. 5.
[15] Marcello Francolini, *De matrimonio Spadonis utroque testiculo carentis disputatio* (Venice: D. Zenario 1605).

(1632)[17], the discussion accelerated in the 1650s with the 1653 publication of Inchofer's *De eunuchismo*[18], as well as the dissertations of Francisco de Amaya (1656)[19] and Caspar Loescher[20]. Particular attention was paid to the issue in France, particularly in connection with 'libertinage': the 1662 publication of La Mothe Le Vayer's works included a letter on eunuchism[21] ; in 1654, La Fontaine wrote his own version of Terence's *L'Eunuque*[22]. Raynaud's dissertation therefore appears as much more than just a disputation within the field of theology, it is also an attempt at affirming the value of theology itself in scholarly discussions. The fact that two Jesuits who were often critical of some contemporary evolutions in their order, like Raynaud and Inchofer, felt it necessary to address this issue, should also probably alert to this discussion's having a specifically Jesuit background.

The aim of Raynaud's own treatise is to argue for the scarcity of true androgyny and for the fact that any trouble in gender boundaries cannot be accounted for as an effect of the will of God. To better understand this statement we also need to recall why this scholarly discussion regarding the related but distinct issues of eunuchism and hermaphroditism may have been so vibrant. Castration remained a therapeutic practice in 17th century France, particularly as a possible preventive treatment against hernia or as an answer to some forms of venereal diseases[23]. Furthermore, 17th century science, and even canon law, insisted on the physical reality of hermaphroditism (usually giving the authority to ascribe gender to physicians), and even on the possibility of a woman turning into a man from an outburst of heat[24]. These beliefs affected individuals, occasionally in the context of religious orders, or particularly when an individual was deemed or claimed to have been assigned a wrong gender at a certain moment in their life. Raynaud's, like other treatises, discussed some famous cases of instances of hermaphroditism.

It is against the backdrops of medical discourse on hermaphroditism and legal discourses on eunuchism that Raynaud wrote. He does indeed acknowledge the physical spectrum of sex. His typology of eunuchs includes the 'born eunuch', who were born without the proper attribute of either sex or who due to their humoral constitution do not seem to appear to belong to the sex that is actually their own. Yet he is not only, or mainly concerned with actual cases of intersexuality, but also with eunuchism as a result of human activity and also as a spiritual category (with the necessity of explaining the verse about 'eunuchs for the kingdom' in Matthew 9). With the exception of true spiritual eunuchism (i.e. clerical

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[16] Jacques Duval, *Des Hermaphrodites, accouchemens des femmes et traitement qui est requis pour les relever en santé et bien élever leurs enfans* (Rouen: D.Gevefroy, 1612). On this text, See K. P. Long, 'Jacques Duval on Hermaphrodites' in *High Anxiety. Masculinity in Crisis in Early Modern France*, pp. 107-138.

[17] Samuel Smith, *The Ethiopian Eunuchs conversion or the Summe of Thirtie Sermons upon part of the eight Chapter of the Acts*, (London: Th. Harper, 1632).

[18] Melchior Inchofer, *De eunuchismo dissertatio ad clarissimum virum Leonem Allatium* dans *Leonis Allatii, Symmikta sive opusculorum Græcorum et Latinorum vetustiorum ac recentiorum libri duo* (Cologne: I. Kalcovium, 1653) pp. 394-413

[19] Francisco de Amaya, *Eunuchus sive in Flavii Julii Constantii imp. aug. rescriptum quod extat in l. Eunuchis v. c. qui testamenta facere possunt Commentarius*, (Salamanca: A. Ramirez, 1625) ; republished in his *Opera Iuridica seu Commentarii in Tres Posteriores Libros Codicis Imp. Iustiniani, necnon Observationes Iuris nunc noviter additæ* (Lyons: A. Borde, 1667), pp. 608-620

[20] Caspar Löscher, *De Eunuchis dissertatio* (Leipzig: J. Wittigau, 1666).

[21] François de La Mothe Levayer, *Œuvres*, letter CXII, « Des Eunuques », in the extended 1662 edition (Paris : A. Courbé, 1662), p. 913-918.

[22] Jean de la Fontaine, *L'Eunuque. Comédie*, (Paris: A. Courbé) 1654.

[23] See Katherine Crawford, *Eunuchs and Castrati. Disability and Normativity in Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 31-36.

[24] Gail Kern Paster, 'Unbearable Coldness of Female Being: Women's Imperfection and the Humoral Economy', *English Literary Renaissance*, 28/3 (1998), 416-440 ; Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 32-34.

celibacy), Raynaud paints any sort of eunuchism as a form of deficient masculinity. To him all these deficient masculinities come with a strong affinity to the female character. The eunuch – in particular – shares with women a softness (*mollitia*) that makes him incapable of perseverance in virtue. He is inapt for war as well as for government. As women, eunuchs show a propensity to heresy (as the story of Arianism would seem to show). For these reasons, except in legitimate cases (such as disease), castration is detestable[25]. Furthermore, Raynaud explicitly states that castration creates a third gender in a world where God only created two. Castration goes against both divine and natural law. While acknowledging and accepting medical discourse on eunuchism, Raynaud's treatise appears as an attempt to make theological sense of the latter and fight possible doctrinal consequences that would go well beyond the mere question of castration for liturgical purposes.

This at first seems to have little connection to the clergy, except of course for the reiteration of the Church's prohibition of the ordination of eunuchs and hermaphrodites. Yet Raynaud made a further connection. While he of course defended celibacy as 'eunuchism for the kingdom', he also discerned other categories of spiritual eunuchism that he felt were worthy of reprobation[26] : such as celibacy imposed by parents on their children (something that according to Raynaud happens daily), that of men who choose the clerical status for reasons other than the search for the Kingdom of God, that of men who do so in order to escape having to perform marital duties (a possible rare allusion to homosexuality within the clergy). Finally among those reproved forms of spiritual eunuchism, Raynaud mentioned men who turned to clerical celibacy to quote 'seduce and entertain their vainglory'. At the end of the spectrum is the spiritual eunuch whom Raynaud calls analogous[27], a clergyman who has voluntarily put aside his own masculinity, by embracing spiritual infertility. Here Raynaud innovates with regard to his predecessors and to the theological tradition. The traditional defects in virtue and virility of eunuchs or hermaphrodites personify a figure of inaction, a refusal to edify, and pastoral sterility. The analogous eunuch is a Jesuit in reverse: he lacks every quality a Jesuit should have. Yet, in turn, those qualities become not only those of a Jesuit but are tightly bound up by Raynaud with maleness. In the context of Raynaud's other works and his relations to other Jesuits in his provinces, there is but little doubt as to whom the invention of the category of "analogous eunuchs" aims to criticize: those very Jesuits who minister to women and against whom Raynaud argues for a strong separation between women and clergymen.

What Raynaud worries about but also points to is not only a change in gender relations in early modern Catholicism but actually a change in gender definitions. It is also quite clear that Raynaud's theological stance on eunuchism and hermaphroditism is an assessment of the masculinity of his colleagues whose familiarity with women has excluded them from the world of men. I would argue that this assessment – polemical as it is – makes an evolution in French clerical masculinities visible.

RAYNAUD : MASCULINITY AND RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL CHANGE.

How can we account for such an assessment? And what does it have to tell us about the intersection between gender and religion at this particular moment of the Catholic reformation, and in the particular context of French Catholicism?

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[25] *Eunichi, nati, facti, mystici*, cap. 5. *Sigillatim de malitia Eunuchismi, ultro suscepti in variis eventibus, extra medicina necessitatem*.
[26] *Eunichi, nati, facti, mystici*, cap. 6, *De morali bonitate et malitia Eunuchismi spiritualis*.
[27] *Eunichi, nati, facti, mystici*, pp. 196-197.

A possible way to explore these issues would be to turn to Raynaud's own masculinity and relationship to women. Very few women appear in his autobiography[28]. Yet two do at the darkest moment in Raynaud's own life narrative. In 1641, he was imprisoned in Avignon. He had come under suspicion of being in league with political enemies of Richelieu. After having taken refuge in Avignon, he was abandoned by his local superior and French political envoys managed to convince the vice legate, Federico Sforza, to have him imprisoned. That six month stint in jail actually proved to be a turning point in Raynaud's career. Sforza's own enquiry as well as Raynaud's own connection to the Barberini cultural network led the vice-legate to change his opinion regarding the theologian: he made him his confessor and theological advisor; he also managed to get Raynaud a position in the *Collegio Romano*. After this turn of fortune, Raynaud eventually came to be a prominent theological figure. His superiors in the province could no longer prevent him from publishing most of his works – as they had tried to do before – and rather decided to endorse from then on.

In his account of this decisive moment of imprisonment, Raynaud mentions two quite archetypical women: one is a prostitute sent to him by guards trying to lead him astray but whom he managed to turn away from her bad purposes; the other one is an unnamed Carmelite to whose prayer, Raynaud attributes his own triumphant turnabout and his perseverance in that trial (she had sent him a note informing him that his imprisonment had been allowed by God for his own perfection). In those episodes, his masculinity does not conflict with his celibacy quite to the contrary. Nor does it conflict with his own theological assessment of gender and gender relations, which seems to have shaped his life narrative as much it was shaped by it.

To best answer these questions, we need to take another look at what troubles Raynaud most in relationships between women and clerics. He is always restless when confronted with the possibility of women having authority over men. For this very reason, he was for instance very critical of the order of Fontevraud. In his *De sobria alterius sexu frequetatione*, Raynaud painted Fontevraud's founder, Robert d'Arbrisssel, as an example of disordered relationships between clerics and devout women[29]. He presented Fontevraud's exception of having women rule over men, as a mere tolerance[30]. Even when political pressure – the abbess of Fontevraud was after all the daughter of Henri IV – made him soften his stance, he did so by trying to find distinctions that allowed for limited acknowledgment of the abbess' authority over the male community within the order[31]. By asserting that the friars do not represent a true monastic community in their own right, he escapes the conundrum the Fontevraud case had put him in. At Fontevraud, obedience to legal female authority means neither subjection nor domination, wherefrom effeminacy would surely ensue, something the Church would not have allowed. Men's obedience to women at Fontevraud is therefore recast as more heroic and more virile : it is an ascetic choice made by rational men who accept a form of obedience that runs counter to the natural relationship between the sexes. He compares this obedience to that of Christ who through circumcision placed himself under the rule of a Law that had no authority over Him[32].

The question of gender is never just one of gender for him but also one of power. It is also specifically one of knowledge. In the *De sobria alterius sexu frequentatione*, Raynaud

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[28] *Amedei Sallyi Hetæriani speciminum divinæ erga se providentiæ, visitantis nocte et igne examinantis in camino paupertatis, historia anecdotos*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), Baluze 28, 10-91 [a copy can be found at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Rome), Vitæ 136].
[29] *Dissertatio*, pp. 131-132.
[30] *Dissertatio*, pp. 297.
[31] See his 1657 *Trias fortium David* (Lyons: J.Canier).
[32] *Trias fortium David*, 105-108.

condemns directors who encourage women to read scripture and discuss religious issues[33]. Knowledgeable women, he argues, have greater tendencies to voluptuousness[34]. In them knowledge is not checked by constancy, integrity, modesty, and prudence - as it is for men[35]. Women should therefore never be able to hold teaching positions, except for a public of children, and to a lesser extent, other women. With a particular aim at the contemporary situation he's witnessing, Raynaud argues that restrictions of female teaching ought to be particularly strenuous in urban settings. In his disputation on eunuchism, where he portrays the analogous effeminate eunuch who is a figure of the Jesuits from his province who minister to women's religious communities, he adds another dimension to that portrait. The analogous eunuch is also dispossessed of the knowledge that ought to be his : he has submitted himself to the theological authority of the '*theologastra*'. And here again we return to the issue of ministry to women and its downsides. By ministering to empowered women, like those from the new French urban elites, other Jesuits do not only weaken the right social order of the Church, they also endanger its right doctrinal order and, in so doing, put their very own masculinity in danger. The *theologastra* does not come alone, the devirilized cleric is a by-product of her existence, of her authority over clerics; one would say, of her very agency.

In the *Heteroclita*, Raynaud keeps returning to this issue of the authority of women over theologians themselves. Raynaud picks up on Martín Delrío's already strongly gendered account of the downfall of the Peruvian Dominican Francisco de la Cruz under the influence of María Pizarro[36]. Raynaud builds on this case to further generalize on the relationship between director and directed and describes how theologians may end up renouncing their positions as theologians in spiritual conversations with women mystics[37]. Speaking of a specific new form of devotion he objected to, he denounced it as "a new practice of some Bertha, a mistress of theologians". His censors noted that here he was speaking ironically[38]. In his answer to their censure[39], Raynaud answered he absolutely was not: this title of 'mistress of theologians', he insisted, was certainly ridiculous but certainly not ironical. For Raynaud, the 'mistress of theologians' regrettably exists: this is the very reality he feels he has been confronted with in his province, and he make a point of denouncing it as a reality. In the *dissertatio de sobria alterius sexus frequentatione*, Raynaud list the cases of knowledgeable directors who were led astray by their directees. Much more clearly than in the earlier *Heteroclita*, the issue appears as a systemic one, one that has recurred regularly in Church history. Yet, in this list, Raynaud starts the discussion with a case that would speak most to Jesuits, that of the famous former Jesuit Guillaume Postel and of Mother Zuana[40]. One of the

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[33] *Dissertatio*, § *In captantes mulierum familiaritatem, ut doceant, vel doceantur sacras literas*, pp. 451-470.
[34] *Dissertatio*, pp. 489.
[35] 'Considerat itaque Gerso mulierem destitui dotibus disseminatorem prædicationis Evangelicæ decentibus, nimirum constantia, prudentia, pudicitia, integritate etiam respectiva ; id est, ita ut non modo niteat ipsa, sed etiam nemini illex sit ad turpitudinem : quæ omnia fere deficiunt mulieres. Nam constantia, qua prædicator nec frangitur adversis, nec effertur applausibus, raro cadit in vasculum adeo infirmum, et variam semper atque mutabilem personam. Prudentiam fere exulare a sexu fœmineo, agnovit Aristoteles ; nec multum abesse a pueris, Comicus pronunciavit. Illicium vero libidinis semper a fœmina esse timendum, sic ibi conficit Gerso [...] Merito igitur submotæ, sunt a publica Ecclesiastica doctrina mulieres, de lege (ut sic dicam,) communi : præter quam fuit, quod aliquando ex speciali privilegio, Spiritus sanctus apud quem non est mas neque fœmina, aliquas mulieres ad evangelizandum assumpsit, ut Magdalenam et Martham, ac Christianam', *Dissertatio*, pp. 463-464.
[36] Isabelle Poutrin has noted the difference between Delrío's account and the earlier account by Acosta. See Isablle Poutrin, *Le voile et la plume. Autobiographie et sainteté féminine dans l'Espagne moderne* (Madrid : Casa de Velázquez, 1995), pp. 59-60.
[37] *Heteroclita spiritualia*, pp. 242-243.
[38] ARSI, FG 665 I-II Censuræ Librorum 1619-1654 602b.
[39] Published in the pseudonymous final volume of his complete works, *Apopompæus* **(Krakow = Lyons,** 1669), p. 253-255.
[40] *Dissertatio*, p. 31-32.

explicit failures of Postel, that Raynaud points out, is his incapacity to check his own infatuation not only with Zuana and her mysticism but specifically with her doctrines.
To Raynaud, only a right order of knowledge can preserve the legitimate religious order, which includes and requires a legitimate gender order. Raynaud is not the only one worried about the newfound religious agency of women and their authority over men. Yet, he is specifically worried about the connection of this newfound agency with a demise of the status of theology as knowledge, and as normative knowledge both within the Society and within the Church. It is difficult here not to connect this assessment of the situation of early modern French Catholicism with the cultural and religious evolutions that dispossess theologians from their professional monopoly by making the public an arbitrator of theological disputes, a public that has a strong female element[41]. Raynaud's anxiety is not only about what becomes of masculinity, or about the difficulty for clerics to affirm their being part of the world of men, or about a form of 'queering' of the clerical world by mysticism and connection with prominent and authoritative women; it also has very much to do with the connected evolutions of culture that structure the regime of ecclesiality[42] he knew.

CONCLUSION

Raynaud's work cannot be described as merely a pure byproduct of the growing misogyny of the Reformation era, nor as the simple expression of the anxieties over masculinity in early modern Catholic Europe. The issue of gender relations has for him very specific religious overtones. He is particularly wary of the pastoral interactions of his fellow Jesuits with socially prominent and culturally proficient women. Not only do these groups of *dévots* and *devotes* promote a type of mysticism and spirituality that conflicts with his own understanding of the ideals of Catholic reformation, he also sees it as a challenge to the right order of knowledge, as the newfound religious agency of women in early modern France has to do with the emergence of the public sphere and the crisis of the authority of professional theologians like himself. This leads him to an assessment of the masculinity of his Jesuit adversaries that can be easily analyzed in terms of exclusion, subordination, and authorization. Yet, his position is that of a discontented Jesuit, prominent on the theological scene yet marginal in his province. The activation of a certain type of rhetoric on gender and specifically on masculinity in Raynaud's work has much to do in his case with a specific ideal of what the right order of the Church and of doctrine is. His understanding of the norms of Catholic Reformation conflicted with that of other members of his order. Therefore, the pervasiveness of his ideals of masculinity with hegemonic tropes cannot be accounted for without reference to the multifaceted conflicts that characterized Catholic Reformation. Characterizing Raynaud's discourse in terms of hegemony would be both accurate and anachronistic, just as it would be to characterize it as a reaction against some form of queering of Catholicism that he nonetheless bears witness to. Such analytical vocabulary certainly helps to stylize historical evolutions, yet by giving a greater implicit weight to gender dynamics, it also tends to draw focus from other specifically religious evolutions. Raynaud's work appears as evidence of the strong connection between changes in Catholic confessional culture (publicity, actors, status of theology, etc) and in gender relations in seventeenth-century France and reminds us of the necessity for the historian to explore this very connection.

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[41] On this see Jean-Pascal Gay, *Morales en conflit. Théologie et polémique au Grand Siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 2011).
[42] On 'regimes of ecclesiality' see my 'Lettres de controverse. Religion, publication et espace public en France au XVIIe siècle', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 68/ 1 (2013), 7-41.

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