



Fig. 2: "The Plan of an Indian Settlement" (detail); the "inner circle" (Br. H. Guldenberg, SVD. Archive of the SVD Generalate, Rome, 33.382/1-2).

The ideal spatial layout was actually never enforced in practice. Josef Alt believes that the first function of the layout was to comprehend the amount of land to be negotiated with the Paraguayan government (1996: 375 f.). However, the meticulous arrangement of its components also give us certain insight into the doxic "principles of vision and division" and the cultural values, which were embodied in that generation of the SVD men in the course their socialization. This process took place in the cognitive middle ground situated between the traditional and the modern, in the steadily modernizing village communities in Rhineland and Silesia, from which most of those men were recruited. These values included, among other things, the centrality of religious principles, the traditional division of labor into "male" and "female" domains, and the increasing presence of

mechanical skills. As such, they were well-suited for the pursuit of the "Christianizing and civilizing" objectives that the SVD members shared with liberal Paraguayan elites, and with wielders of economic and political power elsewhere in the modernizing world. The "civilizing/Christianizing" in the name of progress consisted of acting upon Indian bodies, or the "embodying" of the new culture, by placing the natives into a newly arranged space that reflected the structures/strictures embodied in the missionaries themselves.

Having been raised and trained in the traditional Catholic orthodoxy, most of the SVD priests and brothers who worked in Puerto Bogarin were at the same time truly modern men whose habitus had been generated by the "Invisible Machine" of the modernizing German society. The emphasis on mechanization was a "natural" (because